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## Kinship Politics in the 2020 *Pilkada* in Central Java

The Actors Involved and Their Influences

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**Abstract:** Kinship politics in the 2020 *Pilkada* in Central Java occurred in 11 out of 21 regions that held *Pilkada*. This number indicates that more than half of the regions in Central Java are exposed to kinship politics in the 2020 *Pilkada*. This condition would not have happened without the actors involved. The role of actors in constructing kinship politics is something that is difficult to deny. Therefore, this research is important to find actors involved in kinship politics in the 2020 *Pilkada* in Central Java. The fundamental question that is important to ask is who is involved in kinship politics in the 2020 *Pilkada* in Central Java? How do these actors influence the 2020 *Pilkada* contest in Central Java? The purpose of this research is to find the formulation of the problem. This article shows three actors who play a role in constructing kinship politics in Central Java, namely (1) the main actor; (2) relative actor; and (3) other actors. The influence of these three actors can be classified into large, medium, and small influences. This article shows that these three actors have varied and inconsistent effects. This article concludes that kinship politics is not a guarantee for a candidate to win local political contestation.

**Keywords:** actor; kinship politics; *Pilkada*; Central Java

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## I. Introduction

Indonesia succeeded in holding Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) at the end of 2020. The 2020 Pilkada, which was delayed due to the Covid 19 pandemic, had been running smoothly, orderly and peacefully. The 2020 Pilkada attracted public attention because it was carried out simultaneously in 270 regions divided into 9 provinces, 224 regencies and 37 cities. Initially, the 2020 Pilkada was to be held in 269 regions. However, because the Makassar City Pilkada was repeated, the 2020 Pilkada was held in 270 regions (Nurita, 2019).

The total number of prospective pairs of candidates or *bapaslon* appointed as participants in the 2020 Pilkada up to October 4, 2020 are 721 candidate pairs (*paslon*) or 1,442 people. This number consists of 24 candidate pairs for gubernatorial elections and 697 candidates for regents and mayors. The majority of the *bapaslon* were promoted by political parties, namely as many as 672 *bapaslon*. The rest, 69 *bapaslon*, were progressed through individual or independent channels. In addition, there were 25 regions that would be followed by a single candidate pair, which would be divided into regent and mayor elections. Until that date, there were still 20 *bapaslon* that had not been determined as candidate pairs because they had to be examined first (Wardi, 2020).

The phenomenon of the number of regions holding the 2020 Pilkada and the candidate pairs that followed it, make the 2020 Pilkada an interesting topic to be discussed by the public. The 2020 Pilkada attracted attention because it involved a large number of regions and candidate pairs and was held in the atmosphere of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Another thing that is also interesting in the 2020 Pilkada is that there were several contestants who are in kinship with people who are currently serving or have served, both at the regional and national levels. Kinship affiliations in Pilkada contestations are more popularly referred to as kinship politics or dynasty politics and can be called political families (Purdey, 2016, p. 320; Sutisna, 2017, p. 271).

According to the Nagara Institute, the number of cases in the 2020 Pilkada that were indicated to be affiliated with kinship politics reached 124 candidates for regional head. The number consists of 5 candidates for governor, 4 candidates for deputy governor, 57 candidates for regent, 30 candidates for deputy regent, 20

**Table 1.** Comparison of Kinship Politics at the National Level with Central Java in the 2020 Pilkada

	National	Central Java
Number of Pilkada Regions	270	21
Number of Candidate Pairs	721	41
Number of People as Participants	1,442	82
Total Kinship Politics	124/158	10

Source: (Akbar, 2020; Astuti, 2020; Cahyatina, 2020; Nurita, 2019; Syambudi, 2020; Wardi, 2020)

candidates for mayor and 8 candidates for deputy mayor. Of these, 57 candidates were female and 67 candidates were male (Astuti, 2020).

Yoes C. Kenawas mentioned a larger number. Research conducted by Yoes C. Kenawas, as quoted by Syambudi (2020), found that at least 158 candidates were indicated to be in the category of kinship politics. Research data from Yoes C. Kenawas also states that there has been an increase in political dynasties from the 2015 Pilkada, which recorded 52 candidates in 269 regions. This means that there is an increase of more than three times or more than 300% (Syambudi, 2020).

In Central Java, if you refer to the results of Nagara Institute's research, with the number of Pilkada as many as 21 regencies and cities, which were attended by 41 candidate pairs or 82 people, there were 10 candidates who have kinship political affiliations (Akbar, 2020; Cahyatina, 2020). The data shows that more than 10% of the candidates who participated in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java indicated kinship politics. This number is not much different from the national conditions. Table 1 shows the comparison of kinship politics at the national level with Central Java.

The number of regional head candidate pairs in Central Java who are affiliated with or related to kinship politics raises the question: Who are the actual actors involved in kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java? The actors that the researcher mean are those who are participants in regional head elections and parties who are related to them.

The researcher assumes and tries to construct a theory that it is impossible for kinship politics to occur without the involvement of influential actors. The actor in this case is the main subject that constructs the birth of kinship politics.

Based on this background, the problem formulations in this study are (1) who are the actors involved in kinship politics in the 2020

Pilkada in Central Java?; (2) How do political kinship actors influence the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java?

The purpose of the research carried out by the researcher was based on the formulation of the problem, namely to find the actors involved and their influence related to kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java.

## II. Methods

This research uses a qualitative research approach based on literature study. The reason for this study using a qualitative approach is because this study portrays social conditions in society with a descriptive narrative form. The qualitative research approach is an approach that portrays the social conditions that exist in society as they are. The portrait is then narrated descriptively according to reality (Hardani et al., 2020, pp. 277–278). This research portrays the politics of kinship in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java as it is. The captured image of the research was then descriptively analysed and constructed with Van Coppenolle's theory of kinship politics (Van Coppenolle, 2014, pp. 95–97). The results of the analysis then draw conclusions to answer the problem formulation. Researchers took the object of research related to kinship politics in Central Java in the 2020 Pilkada on the grounds that many areas in Central Java in the 2020 Pilkada indicated kinship politics. This is in accordance with the data previously stated.

This type of research conducted in this study uses descriptive research. Descriptive research emphasizes the presentation of social phenomena in society in a sequential and measurable manner. This means that this type of research is related to a qualitative research approach. The qualitative research approach is a way of photographing phenomena in society. This type of descriptive research is to present a portrait of the phenomenon that has been captured (Hardani et al., 2020, p. 54). The reason the researcher uses this type of descriptive research is so that the problems studied by the researcher can be portrayed as a whole and described as it is for further analysis.

Sources of data used in this study are secondary data sources. The secondary data sources referred to are statutory regulations and documents from state institutions. Secondary data sources in this study also include library sources such as books, journals, and the internet or electronic media.

The data analysis technique in this study was carried out with interactive models. This technique is formulated in data analysis, namely (1) data collection; (2) data reduction; (3) data analysis; (4) data presentation; and (5) drawing conclusions. First, the researchers collected data from data sources. After collecting the data, the researcher then performed data reduction. Data reduction is needed to eliminate incompatible data so that only appropriate data are obtained to answer the problem formulation. Data analysis was carried out on the correct data and then the data was confirmed. Data presentation is done after the data is analyzed. Presentation of data is done by presenting the data as it is. Conclusion drawing is done to answer the problem formulation, so that the problem formulation is answered in the conclusion.

## III. Results and Discussion

### A. Actors Involved in Kinship Politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java

Pilkada is a process of transition of power at the regional level which is carried out democratically and constitutionally. The existence of kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada seems to be protected by democracy and the constitution (Mariana & Husin, 2017, pp. 95–96; H. H. Mukti & Rodiyah, 2020, p. 533; Setyaningrum & Saragih, 2019, p. 136).

Even though there are many pros and cons in society because democracy also provides space for the emergence of pros and cons. However, the reality is that democracy and the constitution provide room for the growth of kinship politics. In Indonesia, this is not something new. The presidential threshold case, which has many pros and cons in society, is also protected by democracy and the constitution. It is not surprising then that kinship politics that reap pros and cons are also protected by democracy and the constitution (Buehler & Muhtada, 2016; Diniyanto, 2018, p. 83, 2019, pp. 166–167; Diniyanto & Suhendar, 2020, p. 419; Muhtada & Diniyanto, 2018, pp. 34–36).

Democracy and constitution that provide space for kinship politics do not only occur in Indonesia. A country that is established in democracy and constitution like the United States, in fact also has kinship politics. The same condition also occurred in Belgium, Sri Lanka, Japan, India, South America, Thailand and the Philippines. This means that in addition to being given space by democracy and the constitution,

kinship politics can also grow in various countries (Cranston, 2016, p. 3; Nurdin et al., 2017, p. 334; Purwaningsih, 2015, p. 98).

Democracy and the constitution, furthermore, have become a medium for the growth of kinship politics. Why did that happen? This is inseparable from the role of the subject which fosters kinship politics itself. If democracy and the constitution become the media for the flourishing of kinship politics, of course there are subjects that move them to cultivate and nourish kinship politics. These subjects are actors involved in kinship politics.

Thus, actors in kinship politics are certain. Without actors, kinship politics will not be possible in the Pilkada. The researcher divided the actors involved in kinship politics into three categories.

First, is the main actor. The main actor is the primary subject who runs kinship politics. The main actor can be said to be the actor who participated in the Pilkada or the candidate for regional head. Regional head candidates are said to be the main actors because the candidates are prepared to become regional heads. A regional head is the object of kinship politics. Without kinship pairs of candidates, it is impossible to create kinship politics. Therefore, regional head candidates are the main actor in kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java.

Second, namely the relative actor. The relative actor is a subject who is in kinship with the main actor. Relative actor is a subject that supports direct kinship politics. It is not surprising that the actor is the relative who initiates or constructs the birth of kinship politics. A relative actor has two characters, namely (1) has been or is currently serving in a public position; and (2) has a kinship with the main actor.

A relative actor is born because of kinship due to marriage or descents with the main actor. Marriage is related to interpersonal relationships who later will become relatives (husband and wife). Descendants are related to lineage (matrilineal or patrilineal). Descendants in this case are not only children, grandchildren, and straight down lines, but also include spouses of children, grandchildren, and straight down lines (Jamaludin, 2015, p. 260; Meiyenti & Syahrizal, 2014, p. 57; Munir, 2015, p. 2).

Kinship is not only related to family alone. Kinship in the political system is one of the characters in constructing a political structure (Anggariani, 2013). This means that the relative actor, in this case, aims to show one of the

characteristics of the political system, namely constructing the political structure at the state or local (regional) level.

Third, namely other actors. Other actors in this regard are actors who have the power to support the birth of kinship politics. Other actors at the normative level are political parties. Political parties are organizations that have the authority to nominate candidates for regional head. Without a political party, it is difficult for someone to become a candidate for regional head in the Pilkada contest, except through individual or independent channels. It is not surprising then that many political parties are being targeted and are targeting for regional heads to advance in the Pilkada. The role of political parties in Pilkada cannot be denied.

The transition of power carried out through the Pilkada cannot be separated from the role of political parties as pillars of democracy. Political parties, aside from playing a role in the formation of policies in the regions (Muhtada, 2018, pp. 12–16). The role of political parties is very large in the Pilkada arena. Of the 270 Pilkada events in 2020, there are 672 bapason carried by political parties or coalitions of political parties. The rest, namely 69, nominated through individual channels (Wardi, 2020). This means that 89.74% of candidates were nominated by political parties or coalitions of political parties. In other words, only 10.26% of candidates nominated through individual channels. This number indicates that political parties play a major role in the promotion of regional head candidate pairs.

The large role of political parties in the Pilkada arena is appropriate to position political parties as other actors that support kinship politics in the Pilkada. Kinship politics will not flourish in the 2020 Pilkada if political parties form borders by not allowing kinship politics. The fact is that political parties pave the way for kinship politics, in addition to the constitution and democracy that provide opportunities and possibilities for this to occur.

In Central Java, the researcher found that of the 21 regions that held the 2020 Pilkada, there were at least 11 (eleven) regions that showed the phenomenon of kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada. The eleven regions were (1) Blora Regency; (2) Kendal Regency; (3) Klaten Regency; (4) Pemalang Regency; (5) Purbalingga Regency; (6) Semarang Regency; (7) Sragen Regency; (8) Sukoharjo Regency; (9) Magelang City; (10) Pekalongan City; and (11) Surakarta City. In here, the researcher only limits kinship politics to

**Table 2.** Regions with Kinship Politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java

No	Region	Kinship Politics
1	Blora Regency	Yes
2	Boyolali Regency	Unknown
3	Demak Regency	Unknown
4	Grobogan Regency	Unknown
5	Kebumen Regency	Unknown
6	Kendal Regency	Yes
7	Klaten Regency	Yes
8	Pekalongan Regency	Unknown
9	Pemalang Regency	Yes
10	Purbalingga Regency	Yes
11	Purworejo Regency	Unknown
12	Rembang Regency	Unknown
13	Semarang Regency	Yes
14	Sragen Regency	Yes
15	Sukoharjo Regency	Yes
16	Wonogiri Regency	Unknown
17	Wonosobo Regency	Unknown
18	Magelang City	Yes
19	Pekalongan City	Yes
20	Semarang City	Unknown
21	Surakarta City	Yes
<b>Total</b>		<b>11</b>

Source: Purbaya (2020) and compiled from various sources.

regional head candidates, not including candidates for deputy regional head. This is so that research and analysis are carried out more focused and in-depth. The list of regions in Central Java that have cases of kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada can be seen in [Table 2](#).

The eleven regions where there were kinship politics did not appear suddenly. In this article, the researcher analyzes one by one the regions in Central Java that have the potential for kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada. The researcher also conducted an analysis with three categories of actors in kinship politics, as previously explained.

First, Blora Regency. The 2020 Pilkada of Blora Regency was attended by one of them, Umi Kulsum, who was running for Regent of Blora 2021-2024. Umi Kulsum is none other than the wife of Djoko Nugroho, who is the Regent of Blora for the 2010-2021 period (Nanda, 2020). In the nomination for regent this time, Umi Kulsum was promoted by the National Democratic Party (Nasdem), the United Development Party (PPP), and the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) (Blora Regency KPU Decision No: 64//

PL.02.3/Kpt/3316/KPU-Kab/IX/2020).

Second, Kendal Regency. The data obtained by the researcher shows that there is a candidate for the Kendal Regent in the 2020 Pilkada who has kinship politics, namely Dico Ganinduto. Dico Ganinduto, who is promoted by the Working Group Party (Golkar), the Democrat Party (Partai Demokrat), the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and the United Indonesia Party (Perindo) (Kendal Regency KPU Announcement No: 617/PL .02.3-Pu/3324/KPU-Kab/IX/2020) is none other than the son of Dito Ganinduto. Dito Ganundito is a Member of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia or DPR RI 2019-2024 from the Electoral District of Central Java VIII, which includes Banyumas Regency and Cilacap Regency. Dico Ganunduto, apart from being the son of a member of the DPR RI, is also a legislative candidate for the DPR-RI 2019-2024 from the Electoral District of Central Java I, which includes Semarang City, Semarang Regency, Salatiga City, and Kendal Regency (Harahap, 2019; Priyanto, 2020; Winarso, 2016).

Third, Klaten Regency. The kinship politics in Klaten Regency seems to have continued after the Incumbent Regent Sri Mulyani returned to the 2020 Pilkada with the support of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and Golkar (Klaten Regency KPU Decision No: 292/PL.02.3-Kpt/3310/KPU-Kab/IX/2020). Sri Mulyani is none other than the wife of Sunarna (Regent of Klaten 2005-2015 and Member of the Indonesian House of Representatives 2019-2024) (Irfani, 2020; smscom, 2019).

Fourth, Pemalang Regency. Mukti Agung Wibowo, a former Deputy Regent of Pemalang 2010-2015 who had lost in the 2015 Pemalang Pilkada, returned to the 2020 Pemalang Pilkada through PPP and Gerindra vehicles (KPU Pemalang Regency Announcement No: 636/PL.02.3-Pu/3327/KPU-Kab/IX/2020). The politics of kinship in Pemalang Regency can be seen from the kinship relationship between Mukti Agung Wibowo and Idza Priyanti, Regent of Brebes 2012-2022. Mukti Agung Wibowo is the younger brother of Idza Priyanti. Both of them are part of the Dewi Sri clan which often competes in Pilkada in the Central Java region of the West Pantura part (Luluardi & Diniyanto, 2021, p. 111).

Fifth, Purbalingga Regency. This area is inseparable from kinship politics, after Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi (Incumbent Regent) returned to the Purbalingga Pilkada 2020. Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi is the daughter of Triyono Budi Sasongko,

Regent of Purbalingga 2000-2010 (Kurniawan, 2021). Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi in the 2020 Pilkada was supported by PDIP, Golkar, PAN, and PKS (Purbalingga Regency KPU Announcement No: 884/PL.02.3-Pu/3303/KPU-Kab/IX/2020).

Sixth, Semarang Regency. One of the candidates for the Semarang Regent in the 2020 Pilkada has a relationship with the Semarang Regent 2010-2021. Bintang Narsasi, which is supported by PPP, PKS, Golkar, Gerindra, PAN, and Nasdem, is the wife of Mundjirin, the Regent of Semarang 2010-2021 (KPU Semarang Regency Decision No: 700/PL.02.3-Kpt/3322/KPU-Kab./IX/2020) (A. H. Mukti, 2020).

Seventh, Sragen Regency. The politics of kinship in Sragen Regency will certainly continue after Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati, or usually called Yuni, was against an empty column in the Sragen Pilkada 2020. Yuni, who is the Head of the Petahana District in Sragen, is none other than the daughter of Untung Wiyono, Regent of Sragen 2001-2011 (Salabi, 2020). Yuni in the 2020 Pilkada was supported by a combination of political parties namely PDIP, National Awakening Party (PKB), Golkar, PAN, and Nasdem (Sragen Regency KPU Announcement No: 255/PL.02.3-Pu/3314/KPU-Kab/IX/2020).

Eighth, Sukoharjo Regency. Etik Suryani who is a candidate for Regent of Sukoharjo in the 2020 Pilkada is the wife of Wardoyo Wijaya, Regent of Sukoharjo 2010-2021 (Idhom, 2020). Etik Suryani at the 2020 Pilkada event used the supporting parties, namely PDIP, Golkar, Democrats, and Nasdem (Sukoharjo Regency KPU Announcement No: 277/PL.02.3-Pu/3311/KPU-Kab/IX/2020).

Ninth, Magelang City. The 2020 Pilkada of Magelang City cannot be separated from kinship politics. This can be seen after Aji Setyawan has advanced in the 2020 Pilkada of Magelang City. Aji Setyawan is the son of Sigit Widyonindito (Mayor of Magelang 2010-2021). Aji Setyawan is also a member of the Magelang City Regional House of Representatives 2019-2024 (magelangekspres.com, 2020). Aji Setyawan in the 2020 Pilkada was carried out by the PDIP, Gerindra, Perindo, and the People's Conscience Party (Hanura) (Magelang City KPU Announcement No: 433/PL.02.2-Pu/3371/Kota/IX/2020).

Tenth, Pekalongan City. The chairperson of the 2019-2024 Pekalongan Regional House of Representatives, Balgis Diab advances in the 2020 Pekalongan City Pilkada. Balgis Diab has advanced using political parties namely Golkar, PKB, PKS, Gerindra, and Nasdem. Balgis Diab is

**Table 3.** Actors Involved in Kinship Politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java

No	Region	Main Actor	Relative actor/Position	Other Actors
1	Blora Regency	Umi Kulsum	Djoko Nugroho (Husband)/Regent of Blora 2010-2021	Nasdem, PPP, and Gerindra
2	Kendal Regency	Dico Ganinduto	Dito Ganinduto (Father)/Member of DPR RI 2019-2024	Golkar, Demokrat, PAN, PKS, and Perindo
3	Klaten Regency	Sri Mulyani	Sunarna (Husband)/Regent of Klaten 2005-2015 and Member of DPR RI 2019-2024	PDIP and Golkar
4	Pemalang Regency	Mukti Agung Wibowo	Idza Priyanti (Sister)/Regent of Brebes 2012-2022	PPP and Gerindra
5	Purbalingga Regency	Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi	Triyono Budi Sasongko (Father)/Regent of Purbalingga 2000-2010	PDIP, Golkar, PAN, and PKS
6	Semarang Regency	Bintang Narsasi	Mundjirin (Husband)/Regent of Semarang 2010-2021	PPP, PKS, Golkar, Gerindra, PAN, and Nasdem
7	Sragen Regency	Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati	Untung Wiyono (Father)/Regent of Sragen 2001-2011	PDIP, PKB, Golkar, PAN, and Nasdem
8	Sukoharjo Regency	Etik Suryani	Wardoyo Wijaya (Husband)/Regent of Sukoharjo 2010-2021	PDIP, Golkar, Demokrat, and Nasdem
9	Magelang City	Aji Setyawan	Sigit Widyonindito (Father)/Mayor of Magelang 2010-2021	PDIP, Gerindra, Perindo, and Hanura
10	Pekalongan City	Balgis Diab	M. Basyir Ahmad Syawie (Husband)/Mayor of Pekalongan 2005-2015	Golkar, PKB, PKS, Gerindra, and Nasdem
11	Surakarta City	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	Joko Widodo (Husband)/President of the Republic of Indonesia 2014-2024  Governor of DKI Jakarta 2012-2014  Mayor of Surakarta 2005-2012	PDIP

the wife of M. Basyir Ahmad Syawie, Mayor of Pekalongan 2005-2015 (Pekalongan City KPU Announcement No: 217/PL.02.3-Kpt/3375/KPU-Kot/IX/2020) (Bernardi, 2020; Sinaga, 2014, p. 115).

In Pekalongan City, there is another candidate who has a kinship with the previous official, namely Achmad Afzan Arslan Djunaid or Aaf. Aaf has a relationship with Achmad Alf Arslan Djunaid (older brother), who was the Mayor of Pekalongan 2016-2017. Achmad Alf Arslan Djunaid died before the 2020 Pilkada so it is irrelevant to be associated with the analysis of kinship politics. This is because Achmad Alf Arslan Djunaid has died so he had no influence in the 2020 Pilkada of Pekalongan City (Gatra.com, 2020).

Eleventh, Surakarta City. The politics of kinship in the Surakarta city is busy being discussed by the political elite to the wider community. This is because the politics of kinship in the Surakarta city are related to the highest officials in this country. Gibran Rakabuming Raka, one of the Candidates for Mayor of Surakarta in the 2020 Pilkada, is the son of Joko Widodo, President of the Republic of Indonesia 2014-2024, Governor of DKI Jakarta 2012-2014, and Mayor of Surakarta 2005-2012 (Amali, 2020). The important position occupied by Joko Widodo has made the politics of kinship in the 2020 Surakarta Pilkada become a hot topic of public discussion. Gibran, his nickname, was carried by PDIP (Surakarta City KPU Announcement No: 643/PL.02.3-Pu/3372/KPU-Kot/IX/2020).

More clearly related to kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java and the actors involved can be seen in Table 3.

## **B. The Influence of Political Kinship Actors in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java**

Actors involved in kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java have an influence on political contestation in the regions, either directly or indirectly. Without the influence of the actors, kinship politics is difficult to realize. For example, without the influence of the main actor to win the Pilkada, it is difficult for the main actor to win the Pilkada. Consequently, kinship politics is difficult to materialize. Likewise with relative actor and other actors. Without the influence of relative actor and other actors, it is difficult for the main actor to win the Pilkada. Given that the main actor advancing in the Pilkada because of the support from relative actor and other actors.

The influence of kinship political actors in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java is divided into three categories, namely: (1) large influence; (2) medium influence; and (3) small influence. Large influence is the political kinship actor who has influence in forming or continuing kinship politics. Large influence places political actors in the level of independent variables. That is, political actors who have large influence can ensure that candidates for regional heads receive majority support from the public with whoever the candidate is and whichever party supports them, even winning using individual channels.

Medium influence is a kinship political actor that has the influence to support the occurrence of kinship politics. Kinship political actors who have medium influence cannot work alone and need support from other variables. However, the existence of medium influence cannot be underestimated, because it can determine the victory of the Pilkada through its resources. This means that actors who have medium influence must be involved in forming kinship politics with the aim of ensuring the formation of kinship politics through Pilkada.

The small influence in this case is the actors in kinship politics who have insignificant influence. The existence of kinship political actors who have small influence is often not taken into account.

This actor is often a supporting factor only. His presence is not considered to have a significant effect on winning political contestation in the Pilkada.

First, Blora Regency. In this regency, a large influence was found in kinship politics, namely the Relative Actor (Djoko Nugroho was the Regent of Blora 2010-2021). As the incumbent regent, Djoko Nugroho certainly has a strong influence on the Blora people. His influence in the nomination of his wife, Umi Kulsum, certainly cannot be taken lightly. Apart from Relative Actor, in this regency we can also look at Other Actors, who have medium influence. They are a coalition of supporting parties that carried the candidacy of Umi Kulsum. Other actors in this case cannot be underestimated because they have a party machine that can be moved to gain votes. Meanwhile, the Main Actor can be said to have a Small Influence, especially when compared to the influence of Relative actor and Other Actors.

Second, Kendal Regency. Large influence in kinship politics in the 2020 Kendal Pilkada is held by the Main Actor. Dico Ganinduto, who is a 2019 DPR RI Legislative Candidate from the Golkar

Party for the Electoral District of Central Java 1 (Semarang City, Semarang Regency, Salatiga City, and Kendal Regency). This has become an asset for Dico Ganinduto to strengthen his mass base in Kendal Regency and make it easier for him to reap potential voters because of his popularity among the people of Kendal Regency. The Medium Influence can be seen in the involvement of Other Actors. There are countless party coalitions with the strong potential to move the party machine to gain votes. Meanwhile, the Small Influence on Kinship politics in the 2020 Kendal Pilkada can be seen in Relative actor. Even though Dico Ganunduto's father, Dito Ganundito, is a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives, he is not from the Central Java I electoral district. Dito Ganinduto comes from the electoral district of Central Java VIII (Banyumas and Cilacap). Thus, Dito Ganunduto's popularity can be said to have not helped much in the candidacy of Dico Ganunduto in the 2020 Pilkada of Kendal Regency.

Third, Klaten Regency. Large influence in the context of kinship politics in the 2020 Klaten Pilkada is owned by the Main Actor. Sri Mulyani, as the Incumbent Regent, certainly has quite high popularity among the people. In addition, her position as the incumbent gave Sri Mulyani a strong influence in the bureaucracy, local politics, and society. Furthermore, Medium Influence is found in Relative actor, namely Sunarna, who is the husband of Sri Mulyani and the former Regent of Klaten for the 2005-2015 period and Member of the Indonesian House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 period. Sunarna was proven to have won the Pilkada twice with the vehicles of different major political parties. This means that Sunarna's popularity and influence on the Klaten people is very strong. Middle Influence can also be found in Other Actors, namely parties that bear the candidates. As the ruling party in Klaten, PDIP can move the engine and wheels of the party to win Sri Mulyani over. Although of course this is not a guarantee, because it was proven in the 2005 Pilkada, this party suffered a defeat (Prasetyo, 2017).

Fourth, Pemalang Regency. The large influence in kinship politics in the 2020 Pemalang Pilkada can be found in the Main Actor. Mukti Agung Wibowo, who was the Deputy Regent of Pemalang 2010-2015 and Candidate for the 2015 Regent of Pemalang. This fact makes Mukti Agung Wibowo more popular with Pemalang people and becomes a strong asset to win the Pemalang Pilkada 2020. Medium influence can be found in other actors, namely PPP and Gerindra as the

supporting parties. Although they are not the ruling parties in Pemalang, the machines of these two parties can be expected to win over the proposed regional head candidates. The Minor Influence can be seen in Relative Actors. Idza Priyanti, who is Mukti Agung Wibowo's older sister, does not have any position or political influence in Pemalang Regency, because Idza Priyanti is the 2012-2022 Regent of Brebes. This means that Idza Priyanti's influence can be categorized into the small group.

Fifth, Purbalingga Regency. The large influence in the 2020 Pilkada in Purbalingga Regency can be seen in the existence of other actors. PDIP, as the ruling party supported by other parties, has made the coalition supporting candidates the largest compared to the opposing coalition. Moreover, during the direct elections held in Purbalingga Regency, PDIP always won the political contestation. This means that the influence of political parties, in this case PDIP, is very strong in Purbalingga Regency. The facts show that whoever is the PDIP candidate in the Purbalingga Pilkada from 2005 to 2020 always wins the competition. Apart from other actors, the main actor, namely Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi is also an actor with a large influence. As Incumbent Regent, Dyah Hayuning has various resources to win the contest. In addition, she also has high popularity on the people and has a strong influence, both in the local social and political sphere. Medium Influence can be seen in Relative actor. The Triyono Budi Sasongko factor seems to be still strong. Triyono Budi Sasongko, apart from being the Regent of Purbalingga 2000-2010, was also still involved in the Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi Campaign Team. This fact indicates that Triyono Budi Sasongko's influence is still considered strong.

Sixth, Semarang Regency. The Large influence of Kinship politics in the 2020 Semarang Regency Pilkada can be seen in Relative actor. The figure of Mundjirin, who was the Regent of Semarang from 2010 to 2021, certainly still has a strong influence in Semarang Regency. As the currently serving Regent, Mundjirin has various resources that can be used to help his wife win as a candidate for regional head. The Medium Influence we can see in Other Actors. Combinations of political parties, which are many in number of parties, become the capital to move the party machine in order to influence the people of Semarang Regency to choose their candidates. Minor Influence is held by the Main Actor. Bintang Narsasi as the Regent's Wife, of course, is still less influential than the



Regent, so that the influence of the Main Actor is relatively small compared to Relative actor and Other Actors.

Seventh, Sragen Regency. Large influence is occupied by the Main Actor. Yuni as the incumbent regent and single candidate certainly benefited more. Moreover, Yuni has won the Pilkada in Sragen Regency with a different main party. This condition indicates that Yuni's influence in Sragen Regency is very strong. Medium Influence can be said to belong to the Relative actor. Untung Wiyono as Regent of Sragen 2001-2011 certainly has a strong influence. It was proven that Untung Wiyono's daughter became a Regent with a different main vehicle. Besides that, other actors also have a medium influence. As the ruling party in Sragen Regency, PDIP can play a solid party machine to win the Pilkada contest. Although this is not a guarantee, because it was proven in the 2015 Sragen Pilkada, the candidate from this party suffered a defeat (Setiyoko, 2015).

Eighth, Sukoharjo Regency. The Large influence of kinship politics in the 2020 Sukoharjo Pilkada is in relative actor. Wardoyo Wijaya, the Regent of Sragen 2010-2021, certainly has a strong influence because he is the highest leader in Sragen until the beginning of 2021. Middle influence is on other actors. PDIP is strong in Sukoharjo plus other supporting parties, making the party machine easy to move in winning the Pilkada. Small Influence lies in the Main Actor. Etik Suryani as the regent's wife is certainly still less influential than the regent and the party. This is because the regent's wife is not a political position that can have or take power.

Ninth, Magelang City. Large influence is seen in Relative actor. Sigit Widyonindito as Mayor of Magelang 2010-2021 certainly has a strong

influence in the Magelang city because he is the Incumbent Mayor and has served for two terms. The Medium Influence is reflected in Other Actors. The bearer parties, especially the PDIP, have a strong influence in the Magelang city. Small Influence is depicted on the Main Actor. As the Mayor's son, Aji Setyawan is certainly still less influential than the Mayor. Aji Setyawan as a member of the Magelang City Regional House of Representatives and a PDIP cadre indicates that he is still less influential than the PDIP.

Tenth, Pekalongan City. The Large influence of Kinship Politics in the 2020 Pekalongan City Pilkada is in the Main Actor. Balgis Diab as Chairperson of the Pekalongan City Regional House of Representatives is certainly popular among the people of Pekalongan City. This makes Balgis Diab a strong influence on the people of Pekalongan City. Medium Influence is owned by Other Actors. Golkar as the ruling party and supported by many parties make this coalition party machine not to be underestimated. The number of fat coalitions certainly has a significant effect if the party machine is totally mobilized. Small Influence seems to have joined the Relative actor section. M. Basyir Ahmad Syawie, although he was the Mayor of Pekalongan from 2005 to 2015, was still less influential than Balgis Diab, because Balgis Diab was still the Chairman of the Regional House of Representatives when he was about to advance for the Pilkada.

Eleventh, Surakarta City. The politics of kinship in the Surakarta Pilkada have become popular and are widely discussed by the public. This is actually because there are actors involved and these actors are often discussed by the wider community. The large influence in kinship politics in the 2020 Surakarta Pilkada clearly belongs to the Relative actor. The popularity and electability

**Table 4.** The Influence of Political Kinship Actors in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java

No	Region	Main Actor	Relative actor	Other Actors
1	Blora Regency	Small Influence	Large Influence	Medium Influence
2	Kendal Regency	Large Influence	Small Influence	Medium Influence
3	Klaten Regency	Large Influence	Medium Influence	Medium Influence
4	Pemalang Regency	Large Influence	Small Influence	Medium Influence
5	Purbalingga Regency	Large Influence	Medium Influence	Large Influence
6	Semarang Regency	Small Influence	Large Influence	Medium Influence
7	Sragen Regency	Large Influence	Medium Influence	Medium Influence
8	Sukoharjo Regency	Small Influence	Large Influence	Medium Influence
9	Magelang City	Small Influence	Large Influence	Medium Influence
10	Pekalongan City	Large Influence	Small Influence	Medium Influence
11	Surakarta City	Small Influence	Large Influence	Medium Influence

of Joko Widodo in Surakarta cannot be doubted. The data shows that the majority of the people of Surakarta support Joko Widodo in every Pilkada and Presidential Election (Pilpres) competition. In the 2010 Surakarta Pilkada, for example, Joko Widodo won 90.09% of the vote. Then in the 2019 presidential election, Joko Widodo gained 82.22% of votes in Surakarta (Rafiq, 2019; Rejeki & Sinombor, 2010).

This fact indicates the strong influence of Joko Widodo in Surakarta. Medium Influence is owned by Other Actors. PDIP as the absolute ruling party in Surakarta certainly has a strong influence, especially since Surakarta is one of the main bases of the PDIP. Minor Influence is on the Main Actor. The influence of Gibran Rakabuming Raka is certainly still inferior to that of Joko Widodo and the PDIP. This is because Gibran Rakabuming Raka has never been in government and is not a politician.

The influence of actors in kinship is varied and not always consistent. For example, relative actor do not always have a large influence, and vice versa, the main actor or other actors sometimes have medium or small influence. The influence of kinship political actors in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java which has been analyzed by researchers is clearly documented in [Table 4](#).

The influence of actors in kinship politics is quite varied and does not guarantee the victory of a candidate in the Pilkada. This was proven in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java. The results of the 2020 Blora Pilkada stated that Umi Kulsum, who in fact the Regent's wife, lost in the 2020 Pilkada. The 2020 Semarang Regency Pilkada was the same as the 2020 Blora Pilkada, in which Bintang Narsisi as the Regent's wife who was still in office at the time of the Pilkada, lost to her competitor (Blora Regency KPU Decision No.: Number: 781/PL.02.6-Kpt/3316/KPU-Kab/XII/2020; Semarang Regency KPU Decision No: 29/PL.02.7-Pu/3322/KPU-Kab/I/2021).

The 2020 Magelang City Pilkada also gave birth to a surprise, in which Aji Setyawan, who is a member of the Magelang City Regional House of Representatives and son of the Mayor, lost the competition. The 2020 Pekalongan Pilkada is also almost the same as the 2020 Blora and Semarang Regency Pilkada. Balgis Diab as the wife of the Mayor of Pekalongan 2005-2015 lost in the local democracy arena (Magelang City KPU Announcement No: 824/PL.02.6-Pu/3371/Kota/XII/2020; Pekalongan City KPU Announcement No: 131/PL.02.7-PU/3375/KPU-Kot/I/2021).

Another surprise occurred in the 2020 Pemalang Pilkada, which was won by a candidate related to kinship politics, namely Mukti Agung Wibowo. Mukti Agung Wibowo previously lost in the 2015 Pilkada (Minutes of the 2020 Pemalang Regency Pilkada Vote Count).

The results of the 2020 Kendal Pilkada won Dito Ganinduto as the Elected Regent of Kendal Regency in the 2020 Pilkada. The 2020 Klaten Pilkada, which was a match for the Incumbent Regent, showed Sri Mulyani was re-elected to lead Klaten. The same thing as in Klaten, happened in the 2020 Purbalingga Pilkada. Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi as the incumbent won the head to head duel in the 2020 Pilkada (Minutes of the 2020 Kendal Regency Pilkada Vote Count; Klaten Regency KPU Announcement No: 20/PL.02.7-Pu/3310/KPU-Kab/I/2021; Purbalingga Regency KPU Decision No: 6/PL.02.7-Kpt/3303/KPU-Kab/I/2021).

The Sragen Pilkada became the Pilkada which ensured Yuni's victory. By fighting the empty column, Yuni won the 2020 Sragen Pilkada against the empty column. In the 2020 Sukoharjo Pilkada, Etik Suryani who is the Regent's wife was able to win the battle in the 2020 Pilkada (Sragen Regency KPU Announcement No: 015/PL.02.7-Pu/3314/KPU-Kab/I/2021; Minutes of Sukoharjo Regency KPU No: 01/PL.02.7-BA/3311/KPU-Kab/I/2021).

The Surakarta Pilkada as the most popular Pilkada seems to have been predicted by many observers. The large influence of relative actor paved the way for Gibran Rakabuming Raka to win over the people's hearts in the momentum of the Pilkada. The results of the 2020 Surakarta Pilkada show Gibran Rakabuming Raka won by absolute numbers (Surakarta City KPU Announcement No: 34/PL.02.7-Pu/3372/KPU-Kot/I/2021). More clearly related to the results of the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java related to kinship politics can be seen in [Table 5](#).

Data on eleven kinship politics that competed in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java, there were 7 (seven) regional head candidates who won the Pilkada. The remaining 4 (four) regional head candidates must bear the defeat. The data does show the majority, but not all kinship politics can win the Pilkada. The data also illustrates that kinship politics does not guarantee victory in the Pilkada.

This finding corrects the argument that kinship politics is always favorable, especially for candidates who are part of certain political

**Table 5.** The results of the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java related to Kinship Politics

No	Region	Regional Head Candidates (Relationship to Kinship)	Win/Lose
1	Blora Regency	Umi Kulsum (Wife)	Lose
2	Kendal Regency	Dico Ganinduto (Son)	Win
3	Klaten Regency	Sri Mulyani (Wife)	Win
4	Pemalang Regency	Mukti Agung Wibowo (Brother)	Win
5	Purbalingga Regency	Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi (Daughter)	Win
6	Semarang Regency	Bintang Narsasi (Wife)	Lose
7	Sragen Regency	Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati (Daughter)	Win
8	Sukoharjo Regency	Etik Suryani (Wife)	Win
9	Magelang City	Aji Setyawan (Son)	Lose
10	Pekalongan City	Balgis Diab (Wife)	Lose
11	Surakarta City	Gibran Rakabuming Raka (Son)	Win

Source: Compiled from various sources

dynasties. For example, the argument made by [Van Coppenolle \(2014\)](#). In a study of kinship politics in two countries, namely Belgium and England, [Van Coppenolle \(2014\)](#) argues that kinship politics has benefited quite a lot from democracy. These advantages are based on three things, namely (1) kinship politics is considered more experienced; (2) Kinship politics have networks in political parties; and (3) Candidates from kinship politics are more easily recognized ([Van Coppenolle, 2014, pp. 95–97](#)).

First, kinship politics is considered more experienced because there are previous relatives who have held public positions. This makes it easier for voters to get references in making choices. The number of references to a particular candidate strengthens voters to choose that candidate. Kinship politics can provide a lot of references to voters because it has been done from previous generations of relatives. Second, kinship politics in elections tend to have networks in political parties. This condition certainly benefits the political kinship. It is undeniable that political parties have a strong role in elections. The networks that are owned by kinship politics in political parties increasingly benefit those who

play kinship politics in democratic elections. Third, political kinship candidates are more easily recognized by voters. This is because political kinship candidates have existed in previous generations who are known to voters. It is not surprising that many kinship political candidates use the last names of relatives who have served or participated in previous elections ([Van Coppenolle, 2014, pp. 95–97](#)).

In the context of the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java, [Van Coppenolle's \(2014\)](#) theory applies to seven regencies/cities, namely Kendal Regency, Klaten Regency, Pemalang Regency, Purbalingga Regency, Sragen Regency, Sukoharjo Regency, and Surakarta City. Candidates who have a kinship with certain political dynasties have won the 2020 Pilkada contest. However, this theory does not apply to the other four regions, namely Blora Regency, Semarang Regency, Magelang City, and Pekalongan City. Thus, although kinship politics provides an advantage for certain candidates to win Pilkada contestation, as in [Van Coppenolle's \(2014\)](#) theory above, this is not a guarantee. There are other factors that may influence such as the popularity of the candidate, the influence of the political dynasty, and the performance and image of the political dynasty associated with the candidate.

#### IV. Conclusion

The 2020 Pilkada has witnessed the construction of kinship politics. In Central Java, there are eleven regions that are related to kinship politics, out of twenty one that hold the 2020 Pilkada. This means that the kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada in Central Java is real and constructed by actors. There are three actors involved in kinship politics in the Pilkada. The three actors include (1) main actor; (2) relative actor; and (3) other actors. The main actor is a candidate for regional head. Relative actor are relatives of the main actor. Other actor is a political party that proposes the main actor as a candidate for regional head.

These actors in constructing kinship politics have influence. There are three influences that can be exercised by actors, namely large influence, medium influence, and small influence. Interestingly, in Central Java the three actors have varied and inconsistent effects. The main actors don't always have a large influence. Relative actor also do not always have a large or medium degree of influence. Likewise other actors who do not always have little influence. Another interesting thing is that kinship politics does not always win

the Pilkada. Kinship politics in other words does not provide a guarantee to win local political contestation. Although in the theory previously mentioned, kinship politics in democracy benefits.

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