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## Failed Kinship Politics

### Three Cases of the 2020 Regional-Head Election in Jambi

Arfan, Sinta Rahmatil Fadhilah, Siti Aminah

**Abstract:** The 2020 Regional Head Election continued to show the presence of Kinship Politics at the regional level, including in Jambi. The incumbents encouraged their family members to run as candidates in the election for Governor and Deputy Governor of Jambi, Regent of Batang Hari, and Mayor of Sungai Penuh. Surprisingly, Kinship politics failed to win in all three locations. This study aimed to analyze the failure of Kinship politics in the 2020 Regional Head Election in Jambi (namely Yuninta Asmara-Muhammad Mahdan in Batang Hari Regency, Cek Endra-Ratu Munawaroh in the election for the Governor of Jambi, and Fikar Azami-Yos Andrino in the election for Mayor of Sungai Penuh) through an independent observation from November 2020 to January 2021, as well as documentation of data and news related to the 2020 Regional Head Election in Jambi. The failure of the three candidate pairs was due to: first, the lack of public trust in the incumbent's family; second, the lack of campaign fund contributions; third, lack of promotions for the candidate pairs on social media; fourth, the lack of political communication between candidates, political parties, and constituents, while the alternative candidates optimally, effectively and efficiently managed the campaign team, campaign logistics, and their constituents; five, the alternative candidates' track records showed better credibility and capability; and six, better electability and acceptability of the alternative candidates. This study concluded that Jambi could be an example of minimizing the dominance of Kinship politics by using an alternative candidate who has a solid team, good online campaign management, and effective logistics management. Jambi can be a barometer of the rise of real democracy.

**Keywords:** kinship politics; 2020 Pilkada; Jambi

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## I. Introduction

The power of Kinship Politics in Indonesia was evidenced by the candidacy of Gibran and Bobby in the 2020 Regional Head Election (Fealy, 2020, p. 315). Gibran Rakabuming Raka is the first son of Joko Widodo, while Bobby Nasution is the son-in-law of Joko Widodo. Joko Widodo is the seventh President who was democratically elected in the presidential election in 2014 and was re-elected again in the second term in 2019.

Gibran Rakabuming Raka is the first son of Joko Widodo, while Bobby Nasution is the son-in-law of Joko Widodo. Joko Widodo is the seventh President of Indonesia, who was democratically elected in the presidential election in 2014 and was re-elected again for the second term in 2019.

The two family members of President Joko Widodo ran for the Mayoral Election (Pilwakot) in Solo and Medan for the 2020-2024 period. In addition to using the name of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Kinship Politics in the 2020 Pilkada also involved Ma'ruf Amin, Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia. Siti Nur Azizah, the daughter of Ma'ruf Amin, ran as a candidate in the 2020 South Tangerang Mayor election (Gunanto, 2020, p. 180).

The presence of these candidates that originated from kinship or family relations shows that the political structure in Indonesia remains as it was during the New Order era (Anggariani, 2013).

The incumbents' modus operandi that use their family members in Indonesia's political structure can be seen throughout Indonesia's history. Although the reforms era revitalized democracy, it fails to prevent the re-emergence of Kinship Politics (Suryatwan, 2020, p. 290).

This type of recruitment or appointment of regional head candidates is a form of political uncertainty before an election, and it is a recurring problem that remains a challenge for the sustainability of democracy (Malik et al., 2020, p. 262). Kinship Politics is used by the political elites in the major political parties that won the General Election. Megawati is the daughter of the late President Soekarno, and as the Chairperson of the PDIP, she has paved the way for her daughter, Puan Maharani, to be in the political structure. Currently, Puan is serving as the Chair of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia.

Prior to the reform, the Suharto family, Siti Hardianti Rukmana (Mbak Tutut) served as

Minister of Social Affairs in 1998 and Hutomo Mandala Putra (Tommy Soeharto) served as a member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia for the period 1992-1998. While in the Democratic Party, the family of the ex-president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, which are Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, Eddie Baskoro, Hartanto Edhie Wibowo, Agus Hermanto, Sartono Hutomo, Dwi Astuti Wulandari, and Agung Budi Santosa, also parts of the Indonesian Kinship Politics (Gunanto, 2020, p. 180; Suryatwan, 2020, p. 290).

Other Southeast Asian countries also have Kinship Politics, such as the Philippines (Mendoza et al., 2012; Pasan, 2013), Sri Lanka, and Thailand. It even in developed countries such as Belgium and the United States (Purwaningsih, 2015, p. 98), also in Argentina, Mexico, Korea, and Japan (Ruud & Islam, 2016, p. 3). It means that this model will continue to exist at the regional, national, and even international levels.

In the Indonesian context, apart from money politics, Kinship Politics is an obstacle to democracy. Almost every district or province in Indonesia becomes an arena for Kinship Politics. Some surfaced to the public eye and studied, such as in Banten, North Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, Indramayu, Bantul, Lampung, Kutai Kartanegara, Bali (Purwaningsih, 2015, p. 98), Riau (Darmansyah et al., 2020, p. 35), Tangerang (Gunanto, 2020, p. 180), North Sumatera (Sembiring & Simanihuruk, 2018, p. 95), and Kalimantan (Purdey et al., 2016, p. 420).

The analysts see Kinship Politics as part of the power cycle of a region, which is marked by the continuation of power by the same family and is popularly called the Political Dynasty (Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018, p. 302). Susanti, in her article, explains that Political Dynasty and Dynasty Politics have different meanings. (Susanti, 2017, p. 112). According to Susanti, Political Dynasty is a primitive power reproduction system, which relies only on blood relations and descent of several groups. Meanwhile, Dynasty Politics is a political system that directs regeneration for certain groups, such as the bourgeoisie, in maintaining power (Susanti, 2017, pp. 113-114). In essence, Dynasty Politics, Political Dynasty, or Kinship Politics do not have a uniform definition. This paper refers to the concept of Kinship Politics in the latest Anthropological perspective, which considers it as a recruitment pattern for the legislative or executive seats based on family relations, either due to descent or marital ties. The recruitment does not consider the normal

procedure, and the candidates' merit, and qualifications (Purwaningsih, 2015, p. 102). Kinship Politics has at least two drivers: the incumbent's desire to form a political family to maintain power and support from the political elite of major parties (Darmansyah et al., 2020, p. 38).

However, candidates from political family backgrounds do not always win the election. Many aspects affect Kinship Politics, namely corruption committed by their family and former officials, high political costs, community pluralism (Sembiring & Simanihuruk, 2018, p. 92), and provisions that has portions or restrictions on Dynasty Politics (Ruud & Islam, 2016, p. 3). Citra Darminto stated that the defeat of the incumbent family might be because the community became politically literate, or the community was fed up with candidates from the political dynasty and sought alternative candidates, such as those from the bureaucrats (Khusnizar, 2020).

In the context of Jambi, where the study for this paper was conducted, Hatta Abdi Muhammad's opinion can be used as a reference (IMCNews.id, 2020a).

According to him, four factors caused the failure of kinship politics, which are: first, better literacy of the public in terms of politics; second, public anger against the previous leadership for not being able to increase their welfare; third, the lure of money politics; fourth, the emergence of an alternative candidate to be their choice.

In general, this article aims to analyze the failure of Kinship Politics in the 2020 Regional Head Election in Jambi, and to present the official, processed, and field data from the three locations in Jambi Province where Kinship Politics failed. The first focus was on the collapse of the oligarchy in Batang Hari district, which was defeated by newcomer candidates after having been alternately held by two families for 20 years.

Next, this article discussed the failure of Ratu Munawaroh Zulkifli to be Deputy Governor by a majority vote.

Ratu is the wife of Zulkifli Nurdin, who was Governor of Jambi for 10 years (1999-2010) and the mother of Zumi Zola Zulkifli, the Governor of Jambi for the period of 2016-2021 that was dismissed as the Governor in 2018 due to being named as a corruption suspect.

The final focus of this article is the failed Kinship Politics at Sungai Penuh, where the transfer of power from the mayor to his son does not go as well as they planned.

There are three reasons that this paper focuses on the failure of Kinship Politics as a topic of discussion. First, Kinship Politics is against the principles of democracy, which respects meritocracy and the pure choice of the people based on their conscience. Hence, the failure of Kinship Politics in the region that has been successful in forming a Kinship Political system needs to be explored. Second, the incumbent families who took part in the elections at the three regions had sufficient power capital, and networks to win the election, but they did not win. Third, the major parties supporting the candidate pairs from incumbent families are unable to help in winning the elections.

## II. Methods

This article was the result of a qualitative study conducted through observations during the 2020 Regional Head Election in Jambi and documentation of various relevant sources, which include the track records of each candidate, vote acquisition data, political activities from kinship politics and challengers, data from the KPU and KPUD, as well as other references that strengthens the argument for the failure of Kinship Politics in three regions in Jambi Province in the 2020 Pilkada, namely in the Pilkada of Batang Hari Regency, Sungai Penuh City and the election of the Jambi Governor.

## III. Results and Discussion

### A. The Collapse of the Oligarchy in Batang Hari Regency

The Pilkada or simultaneous local elections in 2020 was the first Pilkada during the Covid-19 pandemic that was carried out following the Health Protocol.

Although there were debates on whether it was safe for the voters to cast their votes, this situation does not dampen the voters' desire to participate in this democratic system. The spirit of the people is evidence of democracy in Indonesia, as explained by Toke and Dalibor that democracy does not only talk about political contest, but also electoral participation and civil liberties (Aidt & Eterovic, 2011, p. 197).

The records (Abdi, 2020) showed that 11 women participated as candidates to continue their husband's leadership as Regional Heads during the 2020 Pilkada. Of the 11 women, five failed to continue the power of their husbands. One of them was Yunninta Asmara, who was the

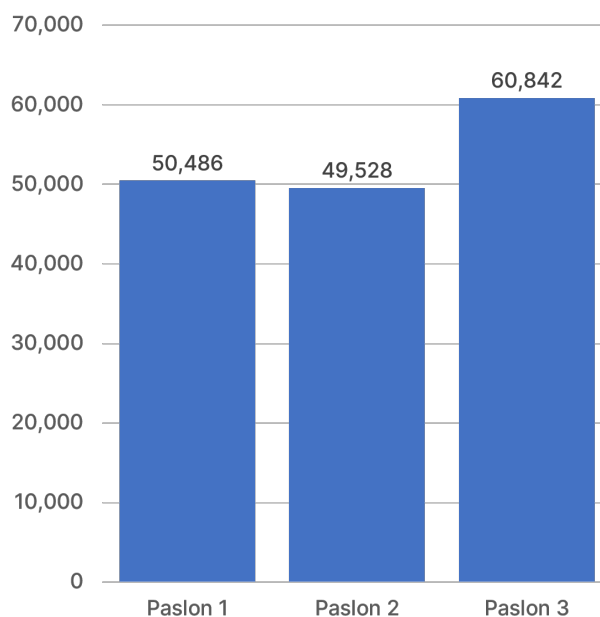
wife of Syahirsah (Regent of Batang Hari 2006-2011 and 2016-2021).

Syahirsah was the elected Regent of Batang Hari Regency in the 2015 Pilkada, paired with Sofia Joesoef (wife of the former Regent of Batang Hari Regency, Abdul Fattah). Syahirsah and Sofia were sworn in by Governor Zumi Zola Zulkifli for the 2016-2021 term ([Pemerintah Kabupaten Batang Hari, 2016](#)). Syahirsah track record showed various bureaucratic positions in the Batang Hari Regency government, such as Head of the Batang Hari District Public Works Office in 1994-1996, Head of the Batang Hari Regency Cipta Karya Office in 1996-2001, Deputy Regent of Batang Hari in 2001- 2006, Regent of Batang Hari in 2006-2011, member of the Jambi Provincial DPRD from the Golkar Party Electoral District of Batang Hari-Muaro Jambi in 2014-2019. During his tenure as Regent of Batang Hari Regency, Syahirsah showed several achievements.

However, there were several issues during Syahirsah's leadership, such as delays in paying employee allowances and allocating village funds. Ilhamudin, Deputy Chair of the Batang Hari DPRD, stated that this was a debt that Syahirsah had to pay so that it would not interfere with the next Regent's budget ([Wahidin, 2021](#)). During his tenure, the relationship between the Regent and Deputy Regent of Batang Hari appeared to be less harmonious, which may be due to the absence of communication regarding the policies of the Batang Hari District Government ([Faisal, 2019](#)).

Three pairs of candidates competed for the position of the Regent and Deputy Regent of Batang Hari during the December 9, 2020 simultaneous regional elections. Candidate pair 1 is Yunninta Asmara and Muhammad Mahdan, supported by the Golkar Party, PDIP, Gerindra Party, and the Perindo Party; Candidate pair 2 is Muhammad Firdaus and with Camelia Puji Astuti supported by the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Democratic Party, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and the Berkarya Party; Candidate pair 3 is Muhammad Fadhiel Arif and Bakhtiar supported by the United Development Party (PPP), NasDem Party, National Awakening Party (PKB), the Gelora Party and PKPI ([Feny, 2020](#)).

Similar to Yunninta, Muhammad Firdaus also part of a family with a political base in the Batang Hari Regency as he is the son of Abdul Fattah (former Regent of Batang Hari) and Sofia Joesoef (former Deputy Regent of Batang Hari). The two candidate pairs have a strong political kinship base. However, based on the vote count result,



**Figure 1.** Number of Vote for the Candidate of Regent and Deputy Regent

the Kinship Politics candidates were defeated by the newcomers, Muhammad Fadhiel Arif and Bakhtiar, who won the December 9, 2020 election. [Figure 1](#) is the vote count result from the General Election Commission (KPU) of Batang Hari Regency conveyed at the KPU plenary meeting at the Muarabulian Youth Building ([Jambi Ekspres Online, 2020](#)), and it showed the community enthusiasm in supporting Fadhiel Arif, who is an alternative figure to the Kinship Politics.

Kinship Politics, which fosters the oligarchy at the regional level (District) of two large families with a political base in Batang Hari Regency, is not the first and only one in Indonesia. Similar situations have happened in several districts throughout Indonesia. Purdey, Aspinal, and As'ad explained in their articles that, "In most of the 14 districts in the province, signs of dynastic politics abound, with many district heads (bupati) installing family members in legislative or other posts ([Purdey et al., 2016, p. 2](#))." Other than several districts in Kalimantan, Kinship Politics also present in the Sulawesi (Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018, p. 301) and several districts in North Sumatra ([Sembiring & Simanihuruk, 2018, p. 92](#)).

Nevertheless, Kinship Politics does not guarantee that it will be strong and runs smoothly. Even though they have a strong capital to continue in power, the Kinship Politics relationships with the government and external



**Table 1.**

LHKPN and LPSDK of the Candidate Pairs for Regent and Deputy Regent of Batang Hari Regency

Candidate Name	Wealth	Donations
Yunninta Asmara	Rp2,830,344,186	Rp150,000,000
Muhamad Mahdan	Rp1,589,500,000	Rp243,720,000
M. Firdaus	Rp4,635,469,287	Rp400,000,000
Camelia Puji Astuti	Rp14,916,500,468	Rp68,450,000
M. Fadhiel Arief	Rp4,211,410,990	Rp640,200,000
Bakhtiar	Rp1,321,662,217	

parties during the previous leadership will determine whether it will collapse or be resilient for the next candidate from the incumbent family.

In the context of the 2020 Batang Hari Pilkada, the husband's power capital, cannot be used as leverage for the election of Yunninta to continue the leadership of Syahirsah. Likewise, the capital of Abdul Fattah's family could not win the vote of Muhammad Firdaus. Based on the State Administration Wealth Report (LKHPN), the candidate pair with the highest assets is Firdaus-Camelia, followed by Fadhiel-Bakhtiar, and finally Yunninta-Mahdan.

Table 1 is a breakdown of personal assets based on the State Administration Wealth Report (LKHPN) (Ferdiyul, 2020; Jambiupdate.co, 2020), as well as funding contributions based on the Campaign Fund Contribution Receipt Report (LPSDK) (Aziz, 2020; Faisal, 2020) of the Candidate pairs for Regent and Deputy Regent of Batang Hari Regency.

Based on the LKHPN, the candidate pair with the highest assets is Firdaus-Camelia, followed by Fadhiel-Bakhtiar, and Yunninta-Mahdan.

The total campaign fund donations for candidate pair 1 is Rp393,720,000, candidate pair 2 is Rp468,450,000, and candidate pair 3 is Rp640,200. 000. The LPSDK showed that the largest recipients of campaign fund donations are candidate pair 3 originating from individual donations, while candidate pairs 1 and 2 receive funds from their own pockets, not from individuals donations (Faisal, 2020). So it can be concluded that there was an indication that the cause of defeat was not based on the economic capital (assets) owned by the Regent and Deputy Regent candidates, but based on the campaign fund contributions received by the candidate pairs, as well as an optimal campaign logistics management. Firdaus-Camelia is the wealthiest

candidate pair, but they get the lowest votes in the Pilkada. Fadhiel-Bakhtiar received the highest amount of campaign fund contributions from individuals, which could be interpreted as a large support from the community to back Fadhiel-Bakhtiar in the election. The importance of the campaign fund donation in the Batang Hari Pilkada is similar to Purwaningsih's study on the victory of candidate Adnan with the highest campaign funding contributions (Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018, p. 307).

Apart from having a powerful family name and economic capital in the Pilkada arena, the determinant factor of the people's choice in Batang Hari Regency is the individual factor of each candidate. This can be seen from the work history of each of these candidates. Fadhiel, who received the most votes in the Pilkada Regent of Batang Hari Regency, is a Bachelor of Economics from the Faculty of Economics, Jambi University. Fadhiel pursued a career as a bureaucrat.

Regent Candidate Pair 1, Yunninta Asmara, is a Bachelor of Laws from Batang Hari University. Yunninta Asmara's track records showed that she is the Deputy Chairperson of the Batang Hari DPRD for three periods, namely from 2009-2014, 2014-2019, and 2019-2024 (Wiriyosukiro, 2020). Regent Candidate Pair 2 dr. Muhammad Firdaus,

**Table 2.**

Muhammad Fadhiel Arif Track Records

Name Position and Work Unit	Month/Year
Section Head of Governance & General Affairs of Pasar Baru Urban Village, Batang Hari District	2/2005-6/2006
Section Head of Urban or Rural Village Community Empowerment, Sub-district Maro Sebo Ilir, Batang Hari District	6/2006-7/2010
Secretary of the Sub-district Head Maro Sebo Ilir, Batang Hari Regency	7/2010-3/2011
Acting Sub-district Head Maro Sebo Ilir, Batang Hari Regency	3/2011-8/2012
Sub-district Head of Maro Sebo Ilir Batang Hari Regency	8/2012-9/2014
Secretary of Plantation Office, Batang Hari Regency	9/2014-11/2014
Head of Regional Revenue Office, Batang Hari District	11/2014-5/2015
Acting Regional Secretary of Batang Hari District	5/2015-1/2017
Head of Community and Village Empowerment Office	1/2017-7/2018
Regional Secretary of Muaro Jambi District	7/2018-2020

**Table 3.**  
Firdaus Track Records

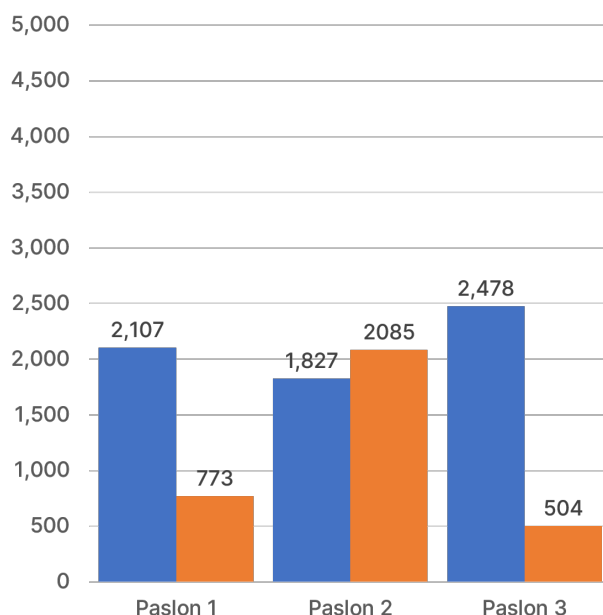
Name Position and Work Unit	Month/Year
Resident in RSUD Haji Abdoel Madjid Batoe	2011-2015
Head of Service Section of RSUD Haji Abdoel Madjid Batoe Hospital	2015-2017
Head of Service Section of RS Mitra Medika Hospital	2017-now
Director of PT. Tanggoharjo Bulian Husada	2014-now

MARS, is a Masters in Hospital Administration (MARS) University of Indonesia who is a medical doctor.

Based on the track records of the Regent candidates, Muhammad Fadhiel Arif has more capital and experience leading organizational units than the two competing Regent candidates. Also, during his career path, Fadhiel received many awards from the Regent of Batang Hari, the Governor of Jambi, and the President of the Republic of Indonesia for his achievements in several fields. Yunninta, on the other hand, had only one award during her career path, the Manggala Karya Kencana award from the head of the central BKKBN. While Firdaus did not receive any awards during his career.

The variety of work and the awards received by Fadhiel also show that Fadhiel is dedicated to the people of Batang Hari. The bureaucracy network and connectivity that he has built since 2005 seemed to manifested into votes from the civil servants and the non-permanent employees in Batang Hari Regency. The local community seemed to already have high hopes on Fadhiel's candidacy as the Regent of Batang Hari before the Pilkada was held (Sopian, 2019). In addition, based on a survey by the Public Trust Institute (PUTIN) in September 2020, Fadhiel-Bakhtiar's electability and acceptability are superior to the other two candidates (Infojambi.com, 2020). The local community believes that homegrown officials of Batang Hari Regency will be able to bring changes to Batang Hari Regency. This belief was manifested by the voters' votes. This situation is in line with Oh's victory in the Seoul Mayor election, the reason the public chose Oh: First, Oh is a local representative that is better to solve the local problems in Seoul, Second, his performance track records was good (Choi, 2013, p. 251).

The millennials' vote, the majority of whom are social media users, was obtained by Fadhiel



**Figure 2.** Follower of Instagram Account of Candidate for Regent and Deputy Regent

through his Instagram account mhd\_fadhil\_arief. Fadhiel's Instagram account has the highest number of followers (2,478) compared to other candidates. Figure 2 is a comparison diagram of the followers of each candidate.

The Batang Hari Pilkada teaches the return to democracy through the nomination of Fadhiel-Bakhtiar. It is possible to run and win an election for Regional Heads through dedication, integrity, work experience, and a solid political team. On the other hand, the cause of failure of the incumbent family in winning the election as the Regional Head in Batang Hari Regency can be formulated into 4 reasons, both internal and external: first, there was a strong spirit for change from the community, as shown in the electability and acceptability surveys towards the newcomer candidate pair, second, the management of campaign logistics is not optimal, third, the newcomer candidate pair's track record and awards, and fourth the lack of social media presence of the other candidate pairs.

**B. The Failure of the Governor's Wife to become the Governor**

A common phenomenon during the election season, both at regional and national levels, is kinship politics. During the election season, the wives, children, or close relatives of a political figure become candidates in the executive and legislative elections. In the 2020 election for the

Governor of Jambi Province, Ratu Munawaroh Zulkifli ran as Deputy Governor with Cek Endra, Regent of Sarolangun. Ratu is the wife of Zulkifli Nurdin, Governor of Jambi for the period 1999-2010. Ratu is known to be friendly, polite, and religious. However, the Zulkifli family's kinship politics was in decline due to the 2018 corruption case of his son, Zumi Zola Zulkifli, the Governor of Jambi for the 2016-2021 period.

The emergence of Ratu Munawaroh Zulkifli as a candidate for Deputy Governor was a historical point in Jambi Province's political scene.

At the time, Ratu Munawaroh Zulkifli was the first woman running in the election for governor. As the wife of Zulkifli Nurdin and mother of Zumi Zola Zulkifli, Ratu Munawaroh proved her integrity as a driving force for the PKK when her husband was the Governor of Jambi. However, two items hampered her political journey: first, her track record was not good when she served as a member of the DPR RI for the Electoral District of Jambi from the National Mandate Party (PAN) faction in the 2009-2014 period. Ratu Munawaroh never attended an important meeting at the DPR RI and she was eventually replaced by a PAN cadre, Chaerun Naim ([Jambione.com](http://Jambione.com), 2020). Second, as a candidate for Deputy Governor, Ratu Munawaroh was seen as the shadow of his son Zumi Zola, Jambi Governor, a graft suspect who failed to bring significant government development. ([Wardhani, 2018](#)).

Ratu Munawaroh Zulkifli was one of several names participating in the 2020 Governor Election in Jambi Province. There were three candidate pairs for governor and deputy governor: Candidate Pair 1, Cek Endra and Ratu Munawaroh, supported by two parties (PDIP and the Golkar Party); The incumbent, Candidate Pair 2, Fachrori Umar and Syafril Nursal, supported by four parties (Hanura Party, Democrats, Gerindra and PPP), and Candidate Pair 3, Al Haris and Abdullah Sani, supported by four parties (PKS, PKB, PAN, and the Berkarya Party). Running in the election with Cek Endra is a big asset for Ratu Munawaroh Zulkifli. Cek Endra's political base and track record in politics are not far behind his rivals. However, Cek Endra-Ratu, who ran with the vision of "Realizing Jambi CERAH 2024" ([Saragih, 2020](#)), lost in the vote acquisition to Al-Haris-Sani, with a vote difference of only 12,118 votes or 2 percent ([Ramadhani, 2020](#)).

Based on the Real Count result of the Jambi Province KPU, Candidate Pair 3 for Governor and Deputy Governor of Jambi, Al Haris-Abdullah Sani, won with 597,518 votes or 38.1 percent in the

2020 Jambi Governor election. They were followed closely by Candidate Pair 1, Cek Endra-Ratu, with 585,400 votes or 37.3 percent. Meanwhile, Candidate Pair 2, Fachrori-Syafril, acquired 385,312 votes or 24.6 percent.

Based on the KPU real count results, the Haris-Sani excelled in three regions, namely Jambi City, Muaro Jambi Regency, and Merangin Regency. While, Endra-Ratu excelled in five districts, namely Sarolangun Regency, West Tanjung Jabung Regency, East Tanjung Jabung Regency, Tebo Regency, and Batanghari Regency. Candidate Pair 2, Fachrori-Syafril, has the upper hand in three regions: Sungai Penuh City, Kerinci Regency, and Bungo Regency ([Komisi Pemilihan Umum Provinsi Jambi, 2020](#)). This result also indicated that the candidate's victory was also not determined by the supporting party because, in this election, four major parties (Democrat, Gerindra, PDIP, and Golkar) failed to push for the win of their supported candidate pair. According to Hatta Abdi Muhammad, the failure of major parties was caused by two factors, which are: first, the political parties do not have an established institution, and second, the people of Jambi do not respect political parties. The results of a survey conducted by the Public Trust Institute (Putin) reinforce this opinion. Instead of choosing a candidate based on political parties, the people of Jambi seek beyond the political party to find their candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor ([IMCNews.id, 2020b](#)).

Political parties and assets owned by candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor do not influence the election for Governor in Jambi Province. The winner, Al-Haris and Sani, were the candidate pair with the lowest assets. The following figure is a breakdown of the assets of the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Jambi Province ([KPK, 2020](#)).

**Table 4.**  
LKHPN Reports of the Candidate Pair for Governor of Jambi Province

Name	Wealth
Al Haris	Rp4,714,441,791
Abdullah Sani	Rp2,291,211,127
Cek Endra	Rp23,978,173,556
Ratu Munawaroh	Rp30,036,303,682
Fachori Umar	Rp4,795,203,665
Syafril Nursal	Rp4,519,716,300

Based on Table 4, Cek Endra-Ratu has the most assets while Al-Haris-Sani has the least. However, based on the Campaign Fund Contribution Receipt Report (LPSDK), Al Haris-Sani received the most fund (IDR 789,250,000) from the candidates, individual donations, and private legal entities donations, followed by Cek Endra-Ratu (IDR 650,000,000) from the candidates and individual donations), lastly, Fachrori-Syafril (IDR 400,000,000) from the candidates themselves (KPU, 2020).

As such, wealth was not a determining factor to win during the governor election in Jambi Province. Instead, the public contribution to the candidates' campaign funds represented the public support and determined the victory in the election of governor and deputy governor of Jambi Province.

The lack of social media presence by other candidate pairs also had had a significant influence, especially to attract the attention of millennials (Fajri & Fadillah, 2017). Hilde and Kristof stated, "...Acquaintance among voters (personally or through media) plays a major role for (candidate) politicians in obtaining preference votes, and gains momentum within political parties as selection criterion," (van Liefferinge & Steyvers, 2009, p. 145). According to Hilde and Kristof, candidates will get more votes if the voters knows them directly or through social media. Media has been known as the dominant platform for campaigns, and social media is at the top of

the list (Jackson, 2013, p. 385). In the election for the Governor of Jambi Province, Al Haris is a fairly active social media user, as evidenced by his personal account (alharismrg23) and accounts of Al Haris' supporters, such as youth\_alharis, alharis\_sani, volunteers, massive kantiwoharis.official on various social media platforms.

One of the indicators of Al Haris-Sani's success in obtaining votes from millennials was the number of followers of the social media accounts of Al Haris-Sani campaign volunteers and success team that were more than 1,000 on average. This figure is fairly high compared to their rivals' number of followers. Also, Al-Haris is active on his YouTube account named Wo Haris, with a subscriber of 279.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that Ratu Munawaroh's failure to become Deputy Governor was due to several factors, namely: no experience of individuality in leading, her son's poor track record, lack of campaign on social media, and less campaign fund donations compared to the winning candidate pair. Regardless of the cause, the defeat of Ratu Munawaroh was the second failure of Kinship Politics in Jambi after Yunninta's failure in Batang Hari.

### C. Kinship Dysfunction in Kinship Land

The City of Sungai Penuh was the third failure of Kinship Politics in the simultaneous regional elections on 9 December 2020, after the failure of Ratu Munawaroh to become Deputy Governor of Jambi Province and Yunninta to become Regent of Batang Hari Regency. The failure of kinship politics in Sungai Penuh City is a new phenomenon. The residents of Tanah Sakti Alam Kerinci, which are divided into two regions, Kerinci Regency and Sungai Penuh City, are known to have strong familial solidarity even outside of the area. The Kerinci Family Association (HKK) is an organization whose branches are located in various provinces in Indonesia, even as far as Malaysia. Family solidity is a characteristic of the Kerinci people, which is well known to the public in Jambi. So, candidates from Sungai Penuh City certainly have a solid base voter from their families and various other aspects to win an election, such as financial strength, supporter base, and a credible team. However, the presence of a candidate from the bureaucratic circles, outside of the kinship politics, has provided a new face and new choice for the people of Sungai Penuh City.

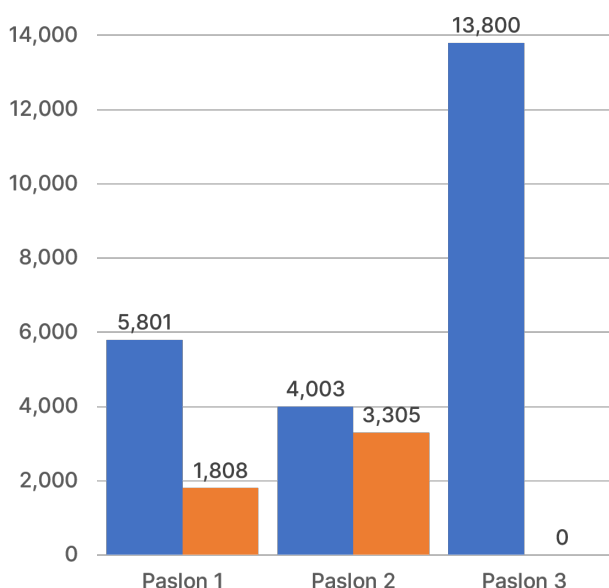


Figure 3. Follower of Instagram Account of Candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor

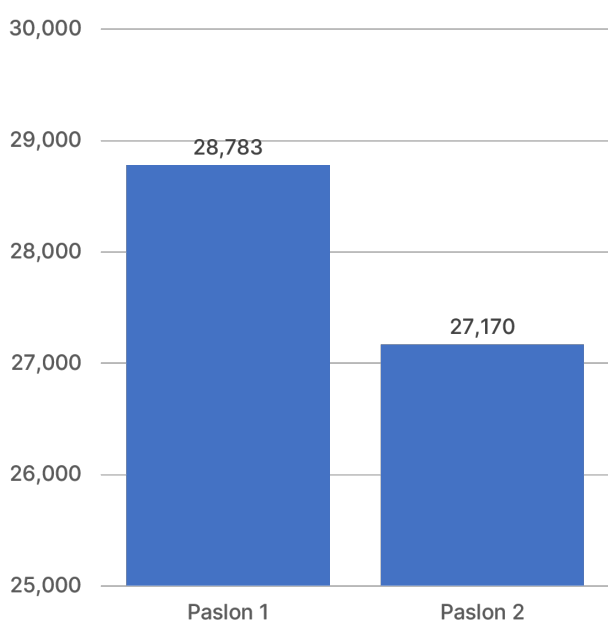


However, the presence of an alternative candidate from the bureaucratic circles, outside of the kinship politics, has provided a new face and new choice for the people of Sungai Penuh City.

In the election for Mayor of Sungai Penuh, two candidate pairs competed for mayor and deputy mayor position, namely Candidate pair 1 Ahmadi-Antos and Candidate pair 2 Fikar Azami-Yos Adrino.

Fikar Azami is the son of Asafry Jaya Bakri (Mayor of Sengai Penuh for two periods, 2011-2016 and 2016-2021). The two periods of Asafry Jaya Bakri's leadership left a bad political record in people's minds. During the 2020 simultaneous election of Mayor of Sungai Penuh City in December 2020, Sungai Penuh City's voters preferred the new populist candidate with a clean record, Ahmadi Zubir, who was declared as the winner by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Sungai Penuh City. The following is the result of the vote-counting from the General Election Commission (KPU) of Sungai Penuh City (Woe, 2020).

Figure 4 shows Ahmadi-Antos obtained 51.44 percent of votes, while Fikar-Yos Adrino was 48.56 percent, and the difference of votes was just 1.613 votes or 2.88 percent. The small difference in the votes was due to the loyal supporters of Fikar-Yos Adrino's many supporting parties (Democrat, PAN, Hanura, Gerindra, Nasdem, PKB, PKS, and the Golkar Party). This is inversely proportional to the assets owned by Ahmadi, who has the most



**Figure 4.** Total Number of Votes for the Candidate Pairs for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Sungai Penuh

**Table 5.**

LHKPN and LPSDK of candidate pairs for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Sungai Penuh City

Candidate Name	Wealth	Donations
Ahmadi Zubir	Rp33,176,000,000	Rp57,040,000
Alvia Santoni	Rp1 180,000,000	
Fikar Azami	Rp1,438,513,891	Rp75,000,000
Yos Adrino	Rp4,782,000,000	

assets. Table 5 is the amount of wealth (KPK, 2020) and campaign funds contribution (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kota Sungai Penuh, 2020) of the candidate pairs for mayor and deputy mayor of Sungai Penuh City.

The patrimonialism pursued by the Asafri Jaya Bakri family to maintain political power by having Fikar Azami as a candidate for Mayor of Sungai Penuh city had failed. The track record of the previous mayor, his father, Asafri Jaya Bakri, could be a reason behind the failure of this kinship politics. However, Asafri still has three political actors in his family. His son still serves as Chairman of the Sungai Penuh DPC Democrats, Fikar's younger sister serves as a member of the Jambi Provincial DPRD, in addition to Asafri's wife, who is also targeting the position of Nasdem Party Sungai Penuh chairman (jamberita.com, 2019).

Prior to being named as a suspect in the campaigning case of one of the would-be-candidates for the Deputy Governor for Jambi, Syafril Nursal (Tondang, 2020), the Sungai Penuh City Community Alliance expressed disappointment with Asafri's leadership in a peaceful demonstration at the Mayor of Sungai Penuh's office to question and evaluate the performance of the Mayor of Sungai Penuh City (Conet, 2020).

Despite the strong family solidarity in Tanah Kerinci, the style of Kinship Politics displayed by the Asafri family during his leadership has formed a new paradigm in the people of Sungai Penuh City. The Sungai Penuh community wanted change and has proven their unconditional support for the candidate pair chosen as Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Sungai Penuh city, Ahmadi-Antos (Woe, 2020). The lessening of support from the community might happen after the voters experienced Asafri's leadership, especially in the second period in Kinship Politics that were not close to the public. Wasisto stated that the continuity of the Kinship Politics is very much

determined by the public's trust in the incumbent's family, by building a close relationship between the leader and the community without any practices of adultery, corruption, collusion, and nepotism (Djati, 2015, p. 219).

On the other hand, the victory of Ahmadi-Antos was not only due to society's discontent with kinship politics but also because Ahmadi-Antos' track records were much more robust and longer compared to Fikar-Yos Adrino (Wirjosukiro, 2020). These track records made the pair seem to be more capable and credible to win the election for Mayor Sungai Penuh city in 2020.

The failure of Asafri Jaya Bakri's Kinship Politics also showed evidence of voters' weariness with the Kinship Politics model, which betrays the spirit of democracy.

#### IV. Conclusion

Kinship politics continue to be present in Indonesia's political arena after the New Order era. The decentralized system continues to be an arena for kinship politics up to the regional level, including in Jambi. However, the competitiveness of the alternative candidates and the desire of voters to switch to new leaders have changed the political landscape of the three elections in Jambi during the 2020 Pilkada in the election of Jambi Governor, Batanghari Regent, and Sungai Penuh Mayor. Despite the Pandemic situation, voter turnout in the three election areas increased compared to 2015 and produced new leaders, which were not from the incumbent's family.

It can be concluded that the failure of Kinship Politics in the three areas was due to six factors. First, the erosion of public trust in the incumbent's family; Second, the lack of campaign fund contributions; Third, lack of promotions for the candidate pairs on social media; Fourth, the lack of political communication between candidates and political parties and constituents, while on the other hand the alternative candidates optimally, effectively and efficiently managing team solidity, campaign logistics, and their constituent; Five, the track records of the alternative candidates look more credible and capable; and Sixth, the public's electability and acceptability of alternative candidates.

The above factors generally show that clientelism, primordialism, patrimonialism, and large political parties, which are considered effective political machines, are not an assurance to win an election. Candidate profiles, team

solidity, massive and effective campaigns, and proper logistics management have diverted the voters' votes to the newcomers during the simultaneous Pilkada. These three elections represent a transformation that has cut off the leadership transfer of the Kinship Politics in three places in Jambi Province.

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