



ARTICLE

Received
February 2021

Accepted
April 2021

Published online
May 2021

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Discourse Analysis

Kinship Politics in the 2020 Regional Head Election

Moch Edward Trias Pahlevi, Azka Abdi Amrullobbi, Muhammad Iqbal Khatami, Bambang Eka Cahya Widodo

Abstract: After the issuance of the Constitutional Court Decision No. 33/PUU-XIII/2015 as the cancellation of the ban on dynastic politics, a number of candidates from the incumbent's relatives advanced in the direct Pilkada and mushroomed up to the 2020 regional elections. The occurrence of kinship politics is not only seen in terms of regulation, but the rise of kinship politics is also due to problems in political parties in carrying out the political recruitment function. This study seeks to analyze the findings of the online media reported in Kompas and Tempo. This study uses qualitative methods and uses Nvivo 12 Plus in processing data. In this study, it is explained that the factors for the formation of dynastic politics from online media coverage of Kompas dominantly explains the recruitment of political parties which are less democratic, while Tempo online media dominantly explains that the supporting factors for the formation of kinship politics are party recruitment, family support, and weak legal rules. In addition, the impact of kinship politics from the analysis of Kompas online media reports is the creation of corrupt behaviour and damaging the bureaucratic order. Meanwhile, the impact of kinship politics from the analysis of Tempo online media is the decline in the quality of democracy and damage to the structure of the party. This type of research used in this research is qualitative research. The analysis used in this paper is descriptive analysis. Analysis was performed using the Nvivo 12 plus software.

Keywords: discourse analysis; kinship politics; online media; simultaneous regional elections 2020

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I. Introduction

The issue of dynastic politics in the political network in Indonesia seems to continue and has become commonplace in every political momentum. The phenomenon of kinship politics actually occurs not only in Indonesia but also in other countries such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, even in developed countries such as Belgium and the United States. In his research, Stephen Hess stated that in the United States there are 22 deep political dynasties (Kurtz, 1989). The development of kinship politics appears to have begun with the emergence of clientelism in the nomination of legislative members and regional heads, and the issue that has recently emerged is clientelism in the succession of national leadership.

In Purwaningsih's view (2015), kinship politics occurs when political recruitment is based on considerations of kinship relations and not based on aspects of candidate qualifications. From these various dimensions, kinship politics in this study is political recruitment which results in family members who occupy political/governmental positions that are not based on their abilities or not through outlined procedures but are based more on considerations of kinship relations (both due to descent or marriage ties). This article uses the term kinship politics, not dynastic politics, to minimize dynastic distortion which is often interpreted as a royal system.

Kinship politics thrives in various waves of Pilkada in Indonesia, including in the 2020 Pilkada simultaneously. Although some people perceive this practice negatively, structural issues such as regulations, social conditions, and political institutions make kinship politics still have the opportunity to continue developing. The findings of the release put forward by the Nagara Institute of 124 political dynastic/political kinship candidates are spread evenly in 270 regions consisting of 57 candidates for regent and 30 candidates for vice-regent, 20 candidates for mayor, and 8 candidates for deputy mayor, as well as 5 candidates for governor and 4 candidates for deputy governor.

The increase in the number of political dynasties is due, one of which is the Constitutional Court 33/PUU-XIII/2015 decision. Prior to this decision, the number of political dynasties in the 2005-2014 period was only 59 dynastic candidates. However, the simultaneous regional elections in 2015, 2017, and 2018 saw a drastic increase of 86 candidates. In the 2020

simultaneous regional elections, the number of candidates for regional leaders exposed to kinship politics has swelled up to 124 candidates. The Constitutional Court's decision has clearly and convincingly become the justification for the increase in the number of political dynasties in Indonesia.

Kinship politics has become popular news in the 2020 Pilkada, this right is due to the phenomenon of the president's son and son-in-law taking part in the 2020 Pilkada contest. The debate over whether it is called a political dynasty or not, this article will not discuss. The headlines in the news about kinship politics point to the figures of Gibran and Bobby who are the son and the son-in-law of the president. In fact, to explore more deeply the phenomenon of kinship politics occurs in circles of other officials, not only the son and son-in-law of the president.

The Indonesian Institute in its study explained that the proliferation of kinship politics will have negative impacts on regional development. The negative impact of kinship politics is, first, it opens up opportunities for rampant corruption. Second, destroying the bureaucratic order in the regions (Purbolaksono, 2015). Indonesian House of Representatives Commission II member Zulfikar Arse Sadikin, quoted from rumahpemilu.org (2020), said dynastic politics is a problem because its practice in Indonesia is relatively bad. In the constitution and statutory regulations, there is indeed no prohibition against this practice. However, the practice that occurs suddenly and tends to take advantage of privileges without going through a fair screening process, makes dynastic political practices unpopular with some people.

Mietzner (2010) considers that the tendency of kinship politics is quite strong in contemporary Indonesian politics. According to him, the practice of kinship or dynastic politics is not healthy for democracy, partly because the control over the government that is needed in democracy, for example checks and balances, are weak. Kinship politics in the modern world of politics is known as a political elite based on blood ties, marriage, or closest friends and relatives so that some political observers call it a political oligarchy. In the Indonesian context, an elite group is a group that has the ability to influence the political decision-making process. So that they are relatively easy to reach power or fight for power (Mietzner, 2010). The strengthening of the political network built by political dynasties/kinship politics based on the closeness of family politics led to the closure of

political recruitment for people outside the kinship circle. This is as explained by Turner in [Bathoro \(2011\)](#), that a network has an important influence on the dynamics of the transition to political power which can have an impact on the closure of political recruitment.

Pros and cons regarding kinship politics are commonplace in disagreements in democratic systems. This research views the issue of kinship politics as a phenomenon that needs to be studied more deeply in the impact of kinship politics whether it will have a negative impact on democratic values. This research will present an overview of the debate on kinship politics in the 2020 Regional Head Election (Pilkada). How is the debate on kinship politics in Indonesian online media, namely Tempo and Kompas.

The novelty of this research is related to how the factors in the formation of dynastic politics as seen from the news on Indonesian online media, namely Tempo and Kompas. In addition, this research uses a tool, namely Nvivo 12 Plus.

II. Methods

This type of research used in this research is qualitative research. According to Auerbach & Silverstein in [Sugiyono \(2011\)](#), it is a study that analyzes and interprets texts and interviews that aim to find meaning. A phenomenon. Qualitative research is conducted by comparing and providing credible information that can be obtained ([Moleong, 2012](#)). This research was conducted to find information from various studies about effective solutions. The analysis used in this paper is descriptive. Data processing was performed using the Nvivo 12 plus software. The data source for this study is concentrated on secondary data including relevant and reputable websites in providing news based on interviews with several informants regarding women's participation in politics in Indonesia. In this study, data collection was taken from online news sources Kompas and Tempo. Tempo and Kompas Daily are the "best language" news media named by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia (2020). The time span for the data collection on news sources was carried out from September to December 2020 on the grounds that September was the registration stage for candidates and December was at the voting stage. The Nvivo 12 plus analysis in this study uses the features of crosstab analysis, concept map analysis, and word cloud analysis ([Brandão, 2015](#)). Crosstab analysis is used for the

process of making contingency tables from the frequency distribution of multivariate variables, presented in a matrix format. While the Concept Map is mapping thoughts in a concept and proposition based on variables. Meanwhile, the use of text research analysis is to find meanings, words, and contexts related to research problems in women's participation in politics in Indonesia. Analysis of website content from several national media on women's participation in politics in Indonesia.

The analysis was carried out in three stages, first, namely the capture of reputable media websites, and articles. The second step is data analysis with Nvivo 12 Plus software, reading text and content that have similarities with other data, finding interrelated items, looking for interrelated meanings, words, and contexts between websites and articles; the third stage is to conclude and interpret the content of the website, and the articles that have been analyzed. Nvivo is used to analyze qualitative data in order to produce more professional results ([Hilal & Alabri, 2013](#)).

III. Results and Discussion

Essential democracy should have a positive correlation with the emergence of pluralism of political actors. However, the existence of the political kinship phenomenon creates the opposite. This means that the actors who appear in the democratic process only revolve around the same thing. There was no actor variation. Kinship politics, especially in Indonesia, has flourished since the direct Pilkada was implemented. The implementation of direct Pilkada actually functions to bring sovereignty closer to the people. Theoretically, there are many positive values from direct Pilkada; such as the embodiment of democratization and accountability. In basic understanding, the existence of public access or participation to vote directly in the Pilkada system indicates a better quality of democracy. Considered more democratic, considering that society is free without pressure to voice its aspirations. As a result, the elected regional head/ deputy regional head will be more legitimate by the support of the community. On the other hand, government accountability is also more secure. Financially, the direct Pilkada may appear to be a waste of the budget, but in fact, it is able to reduce social costs, which as a result can cause losses more than just costs. In essence, in many aspects, the direct Pilkada has more value than any other electoral system. Including, through direct Pilkada it is possible to have competition

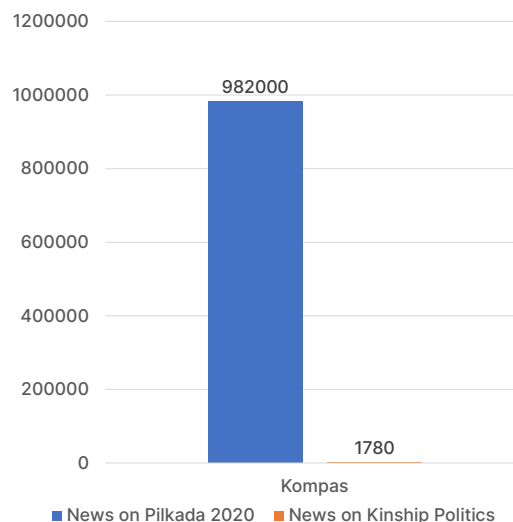
among candidates in a democratic, honest and fair manner so that in the end the best candidate will be elected.

In reality, the direct Pilkada does not always run fairly. Kinship politics raises concerns that inequalities in the distribution of political power may reflect imperfections in democratic representation (Anggariani, 2013). The existence of kinship politics is one of the causes of unfair competition between candidates in Pilkada. Candidates supported by political dynasties usually have more potential to win. However, in a political dynasty, it is almost certain to have a network of winning teams that are well-established, structured, and rampant (Harjanto, 2011).

This article analyzes the news discourse in two national online media, namely Kompas and Tempo by using the Nvivo12 Plus application in reporting on kinship politics, especially in the 2020 Pilkada. This article will explain and describe the media content related to the supporting factors for the proliferation of kinship politics in Indonesia during the direct Pilkada implementation.

A. Kinship Politics and Kompas Media Framing

Kinship politics has long been a phenomenon in Indonesia. Kompas as one of the national media that was present on the internet in 1995 did not escape reporting on the phenomenon of kinship politics. Based on the data that the author has compiled from the search column feature owned by Kompas, Kompas reported 1,780 times news related to kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada out



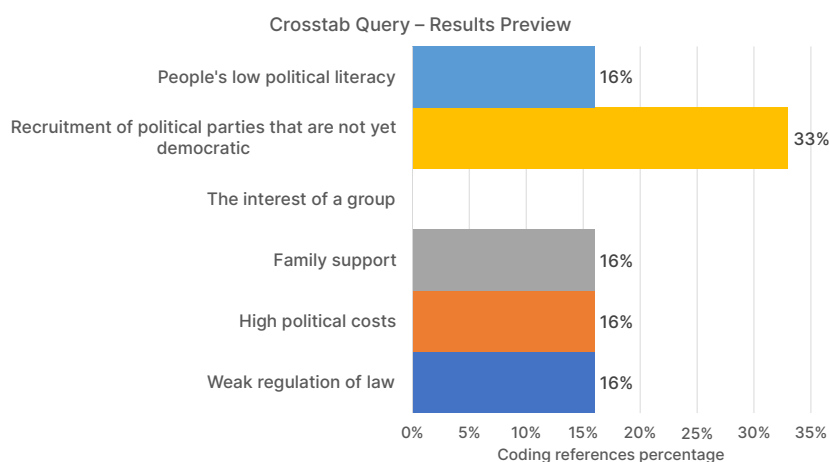
Source: Kompas (2020)

Figure 1. Number of reports related to the 2020 Pilkada and Kinship Politics at the 2020 Pilkada

of 982,000 news related to the 2020 Pilkada. This can be seen in Figure 1.

Based on these data, the authors analyzed that although the amount of news carried out by Kompas related to kinship politics was only 0.18% or 1780 of all news discussing the 2020 Pilkada, this proves that Kompas as a national media also reports on phenomena that are considered to be one of the reasons for the withdrawal of democracy in Indonesia.

In addition, kinship politics cannot be separated from several factors that support this phenomenon. Based on the results of news analysis related to kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada in the Kompas media, the results are shown in Figure 2.



Source: Author analysis using Nvivo12 Plus

Figure 2. Contents of Kompas media coverage related to the supporting factors for the creation of kinship politics

Figure 2 shows that there are several factors that support the creation of kinship politics based on news analysis on Kompas. These factors are undemocratic recruitment, low political literacy of society, family support, political costs, and weak rule of law. However, Kompas considers that the factor of political party recruitment that is not yet democratic is considered to be the factor that most supports kinship politics to occur. This can be seen from 33% of Kompas' reports that the recruitment of political parties that are not yet democratic can create kinship politics.

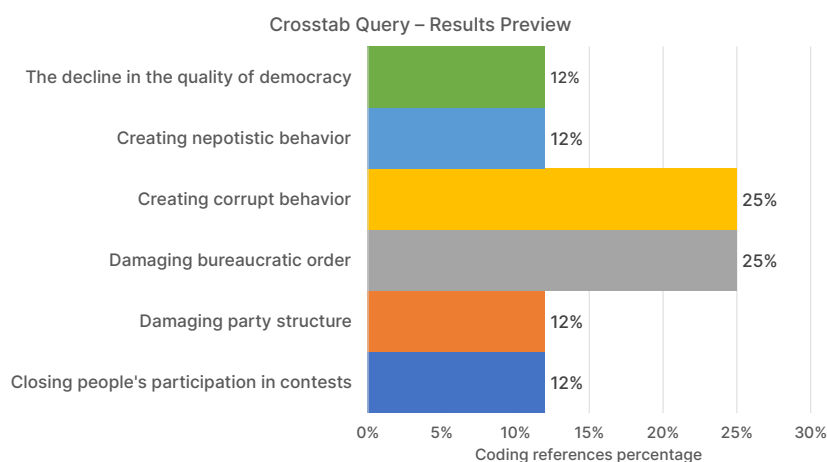
The content of news in online media Kompas related to the high influence of the recruitment of closed political parties in support of kinship politics is a phenomenon that is no longer a specific phenomenon but has become a common thing and is felt by the people. The problem with political parties in Indonesia that failed to reform open parties has resulted in political parties being only owned by certain groups.

One of the functions of political parties in a democratic political system is the function of political recruitment (Norris, 2012), this function is a typical function of political parties. For political parties, nominated candidates play an important role in determining the characteristics of the political parties concerned in public (Katz, 2001) and political recruitment shows party typology. So, whether a party is categorized as a mass, cadre, catch-all, and cartel (business-firm) party can be seen from how political recruitment is carried out (Katz, 1997).

The study described by Mietzner (2008) regarding political parties that occurred in Indonesia in the post-Suharto era is still relevant.

He explained that in the post-Suharto era, political parties had changed their movement patterns from being based on left or right ideology to becoming centered in the center or what was known as centripetal events. This is very relevant until now. In addition, the authors analyze that the change in political parties to become centripetal also affects the recruitment process of political parties. Political parties only think about how they can win the contest regardless of what ideology they are fighting for. The typical regime in Indonesia is strongly influenced by the quality of the elite resulting from the recruitment process carried out by political parties (Fitriyah, 2020). So don't be surprised, if the quality of the regime that is formed is worse and that is the result of a problematic recruitment system.

One of the important stages of an election is the candidacy of a political party. However, in this process, it is very difficult for the people to be directly involved in the candidacy process. As a result, the public is only presented with candidates who are not the will of the people, but the will of the political parties. This phenomenon is a form of discrimination by political parties against the people. P. Norris & Lovenduski (1995) found the practice of political recruitment by discriminatory political parties, namely in the process of selecting candidates the criteria for the selection team became part of an instrument that could be used to create discriminatory practices. This study found that personal closeness actually has a big influence on the chances of someone being elected as a candidate, especially if they are supported by a feudalistic and oligarchic party climate.



Source: Author analysis using Nvivo12 Plus

Figure 3. Contents of Kompas media coverage regarding the impact of kinship politics

In addition, [Figure 2](#) explains that the content of news in Kompas online media related to kinship politics, low political literacy of society, family support, high political costs, and weak legal rules have the same value, namely 16%. These four phenomena have become things that are often heard by the general public. This illustrates that democracy in Indonesia is still in a developing position, it cannot be categorized as a mature democracy. Weak political party infrastructure and minimal political education literacy are long-term work for democracy.

The phenomenon of kinship politics that is increasingly fertile in Indonesia will have negative impacts on democracy, especially at the local level. Based on the results of the author's analysis of Kompas media, it shows that there are several impacts that will arise when kinship politics occurs, namely the creation of corrupt behavior, destroying bureaucratic order, decreasing the quality of democracy, creating nepotistic behavior, damaging political party structures, and closing people's participation in contests.

However, based on the results of the analysis of Kompas news reports, there are two most prominent impacts in the practice of kinship politics, namely the creation of corrupt behavior and destroying the bureaucratic order. Based on the results of the analysis of Kompas coverage, each of the most prominent impact has a value of 25% of the coverage. The phenomenon of kinship politics and corrupt behavior is an event that cannot be separated from the reporting of online media in Indonesia, and there are no studies that explain that kinship politics has an impact and brings positive change in a region. This is in line with the opinion of [Bragança et al. \(2015\)](#) who see that dynastic/kinship politics consumes more resources, especially in investment in urban infrastructure, health, and sanitation. However, it has not resulted in improvements in economic growth and changes in the quality of public services.

The next impact is the decline of democracy, the creation of nepotistic behavior, the destruction of the party structure, and the shutting down of public participation, these four indicators get a point of 12%. It is undeniable that the impact of kinship politics results in the quality of democracy. This is due to the fact that democracy is only enjoyed by some people and cannot be enjoyed for the benefit of the wider community which results in the lack of community involvement in public policy decisions. Therefore,

the quality of democracy has decreased. Damaging the party structure is also undeniable because if strong kinship politics results in the party leadership process being favored only by the relatives of the strongest dynasty, not through a democratic process that prioritizes one's qualities. A process that does not prioritize personal qualities in a transparent way, results in closing people's participation in contests.

Kinship politics not only creates a tendency for injustice in democracy as well as in-effectiveness and in-efficiency of government but also has the potential to create problems for the abuse of power. [Querubin \(2016\)](#) previously stated that political dynasties are prone to abuses of political ethics. Many claim that political kinship develops politics and corruption ([Purdey et al., 2016](#)).

The combination of an impulse to need, the existence of evil intentions, and a corrupt mentality is suspected to be the trigger for rampant corruption in the regions. This condition will be easier to metamorphose into corrupt behavior if the opportunity is wide open. Political dynasties or kinship politics require large costs and a lot of resources to perpetuate power. On the other hand, the ruling political dynasty controls access to existing resources. With this large cost, there will be a backflow, namely corrupt behavior, and of course, it will damage the bureaucratic order. The bureaucracy that was supposed to be a place for public service turned into "extortion" or other deviant behavior. This is a symptom that arises in the process of democratization. Reorganization of traditional powers to rule in the regions in a democratic system.

Another impact of kinship politics in coverage of Kompas online media, namely the decline in the quality of democracy, the creation of nepotistic behavior, damaging the structure of political parties, and closing public participation in contestation, the four of which have the same value, namely 16% of the total news.

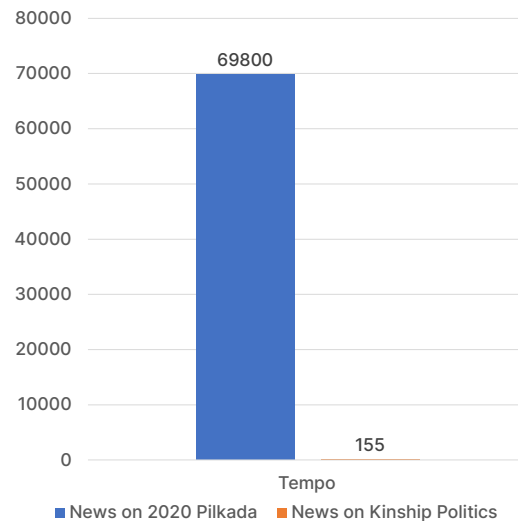
Indonesia is experiencing a dilemma, in the context of holding elections, Indonesia is considered to be good enough, but in terms of the quality of democracy, Indonesia is decreasing. The output of our election administration often produces leaders who are nepotistic and unqualified leaders. The phenomenon of kinship politics makes the opportunity for people to be involved in the contestation process or want to become leaders increasingly closed due to the absence of a competitive selection process. This also has an impact on the destruction of

regeneration in political parties. Party cadres who have strong ideological strength and capacity will lose to people who have economic power and political kinship.

B. Kinship Politics and Tempo Media Framing

Apart from Kompas, Tempo is one of the many media that is passionate about reporting on various phenomena occurring in Indonesia. Tempo has been around since 1995 which strives to apply high standards of journalism in covering events and writing in a sharp, intelligent, and balanced manner. Tempo also did not miss reporting on the political kinship phenomenon which in 2020 Pilkada became hot again to be discussed. Based on the results of data compiled from the search column feature owned by Tempo, the results show that as many as 155 times Tempo reported on the political kinship phenomenon in the 2020 Pilkada, out of 69800 news related to the Pilkada.

Figure 4 shows that 0.22% or 155 Tempo articles discuss kinship politics from all news related to the 2020 Pilkada. Although Tempo is indeed not too intense because only 155 reports that discussed kinship politics compared to Kompas, which discussed kinship politics at Pilkada 2020 as many as 1780 news. In addition, not much different from Kompas, Tempo also mapped several supporting factors for the practice of kinship politics, especially in the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada. This can be seen in the table below which is obtained from the author's analysis.

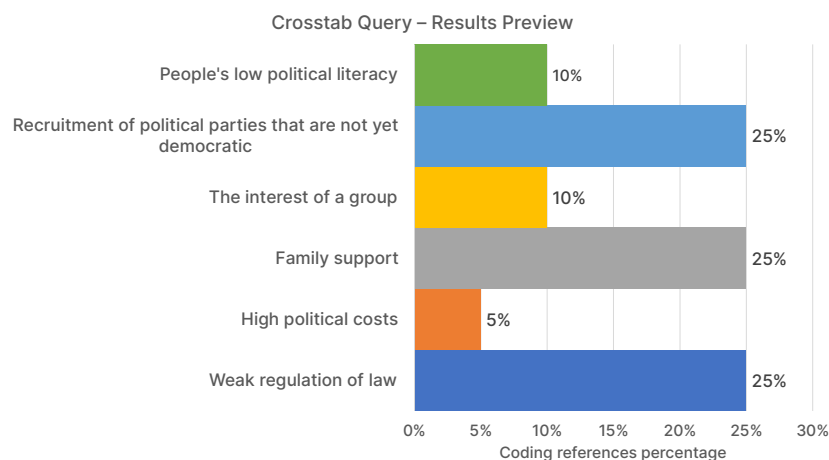


Source: Tempo (2020)

Figure 4. Number of Tempo reports related to the 2020 Pilkada and Kinship Politics at the 2020 Pilkada

Figure 5 shows the content of online media coverage due to the supporting factors for the emergence of kinship politics. There are three highest points processed by researchers observing Tempo media, namely the recruitment of political parties that are not yet democratic, family support, and weak legal rules. These three points have a percentage of 25%. The content of Tempo online media coverage shows more dominant factors than Kompas, which is only one dominant factor in the creation of kinship politics.

The first dominant factor is the recruitment of political parties that are not open, this is the same as the content of the news on the Kompas. The



Source: Author analysis using Nvivo12 Plus

Figure 5. Contents of Tempo media coverage of factors supporting the emergence of kinship politics

bad phenomenon of the process of candidates for leadership through political parties has resulted in the closure of the selection process, this has resulted in the proliferation of dynastic and kinship politics. The closure of this candidacy room will have a negative impact on the results of incompetent leaders and harm society. In addition, the authors analyze that the recruitment of political parties that is not open is something that is not in accordance with the ideals of the presence of political parties in Indonesia. As said by Scarrow (2005) regarding political parties, which states that democracy in political parties consists of inclusiveness, decentralization/centralization, and party institutionalization. In addition, the power to make decisions or recommendations is very strongly held by party elites, as a result, recruitment to take part in the contest is very much determined by the political party elite. In fact, the recruitment of political parties should be based on the quality of the candidates and measured from previous political experiences. This is also explained by Garry Jacobson and Samuel Kernell in [Purwaningsih \(2015\)](#). The case of political parties that are not democratic or well-organized in their regeneration proves that political parties in Indonesia are not yet institutionalized political parties. Selznick in [Levitsky \(1998\)](#) explains that organizations that are not institutionalized tend to only try to enlarge the goals of a few people. Meanwhile, institutionalized organizations are more marked by mutual concern and commitment to always maintain the continuity of the organization in ways that are better and not detrimental to one another.

The second dominant factor supporting the occurrence of kinship politics related to the content of the coverage of Tempo is weak legal rules. The Constitutional Court (MK) has issued Decision Number 33/PUU-XIII/2015. This decision examines Law Number 8 of 2015 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 of 2015 concerning Government Regulations in Lieu of Law for the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors against the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. This decision is related to constitutionality regulations for regional head candidates so as not to have conflicts of interest with incumbents and regional head candidates who are members of the legislature in the Pilkada.

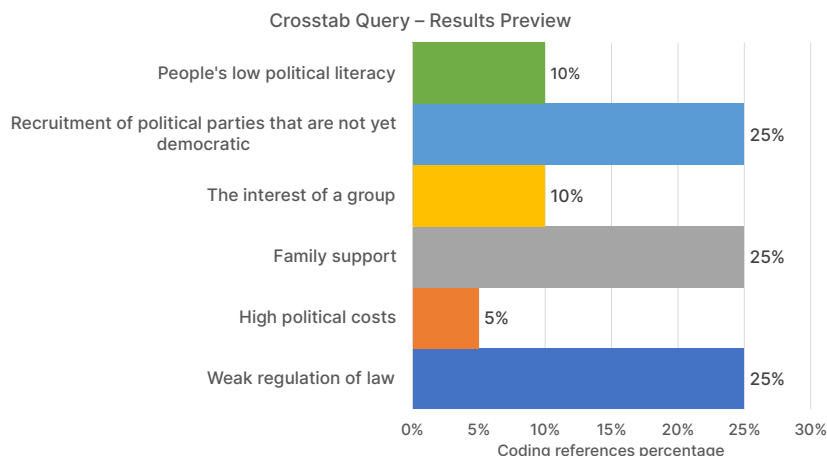
This decision raised pros and cons as well as public anxiety, especially with regard to conflicts of interest of the incumbent's family. This polemic arose because the public considered that the Constitutional Court through its decision had

declared the practice of dynastic politics/kinship politics as a legitimate practice in accordance with the constitution of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This public assessment has led to the opinion that the Constitutional Court's decision has further enriched the political dynasty and legalized incumbent relatives in the Pilkada. This people's concern arises because the practice of political dynasties in this country is still very rife and increasingly widespread, which is influenced by the kinship system.

The third factor supporting the occurrence of kinship politics is the influence or support of the family. This is important in encouraging kinship politics. Usually, the supporting factor is having a chance to win the competition which is also due to access to power and economy. In addition, one of the goals in perpetuating kinship politics is to secure existing assets. [P. Norris & Lovenduski \(1995\)](#) stated that there are two factors that influence the entry of kinship members into politics, namely motivation and political capital. According to Prewitt in [Kurtz \(1989\)](#), family politics occurs because of two things, namely the inheritance of political interest from parents to their children and a child to continue the work done by his father.

In contrast to the two experts above, [Djati \(2015\)](#) in his research explains that the symptoms of kinship politics or what he calls a symptom of familism as political preferences are based on the ruler who appoints his relatives or relatives as an attempt to cover up the shame of his power. Furthermore, he explained that there are also kinship political preferences, namely: First, familism, which means that kinship politics is purely based on blood relations in a family (consanguinity) and marital relations (marriage) with other groups. Second, quasi-familism, which means that kinship politics is based on affection and solidarity that arises from family members in a power structure. Third, familism egoism, which means that kinship politics is based on the fulfillment of functionalism. Simply put, this is based on the theory of the tendency to prioritize the family over public opportunities in filling strategic public positions or in government succession.

The aspect of socialization carried out by parents is one of the factors in the emergence of kinship politics. In addition, candidates from political families usually have sufficient political capital consisting of political networks, education, experience, and financial resources. As stated by [Almond & Verba \(1963\)](#) which is reinforced by



Source: Author analysis using Nvivo12 Plus

Figure 6. Analysis of the Tempo media regarding the impact of kinship politics

Prewitt and Martinez (2010) that socialization in the family also determines the continuity of the political family because there is the inheritance of political knowledge and skills so that candidates who come from political families have the qualifications needed in political recruitment. This also occurs in cases in the United States where family traditions, familiar surnames (brand names), and abilities inherited by families are factors in the creation of kinship or dynastic politics (Hess, 2016).

Apart from the three dominant factors that support the creation of kinship politics that have been described earlier, based on the results of the analysis in the Tempo media, it shows that there are three other factors that support the emergence of kinship politics even though this factor is considered not dominant or very influential specifically based on the analysis of the Tempo media. The three factors are first, the low level of people's political literacy with a value of 10%. This shows that political parties that should be actors or media that are tasked with providing political education to the public are not running optimally. Even though political literacy is important. O'Dwyer (2006) explains that the weak people's political literacy allows political parties to rely on activists or popular leaders who usually have close ties to participate in Election/Pilkada contestations. Political literacy can be interpreted as a process of political education to create a state of a politically literate society. In-depth, this is defined as a condition that can not only increase people's knowledge but also create an increase in the skills and attitudes needed by society about politics (Chang, 1993).

Second, the factor of the interests of a group also scores 10% of Tempo's reports related to kinship politics. The problem is when kinship politics creates negative group interests. This will create a political oligarchy as stated by Hadiz (2005) or Winters (2011) which then creates an oligarchic elite.

Third, there are high political costs. This has a value of 5% of what Tempo reported. High political costs are a common phenomenon in Indonesia. The political cost in question is the cost to enter into a political party, up to the cost to contest in the General Election/Pilkada. This will create a cartel political phenomenon which according to Katz & Mair (1995) is defined as a political or political party that works on the basis of capital incentives and tends to be centralized. In fact, these factors can be a single factor and encourage the creation of kinship politics and can also be related to one another.

Furthermore, as is well known, the practice of kinship politics will have several impacts. Based on the results of an analysis of Tempo news related to kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada, the data shows as in Figure 6.

In contrast to the impact of kinship politics which is explained based on the news analysis of Kompas, from the data above, the content of Tempo media coverage is related to the impact of kinship politics, there are two points that dominate the content of Tempo media coverage, namely the decline in the quality of democracy and damage to the party structure which has a percentage of 25%. The content of the news about the decline in the quality of Indonesian democracy is also a phenomenon that is well known to the public in

Indonesia. In view of the fact that the amount of political participation can be said to be quite good, but in terms of intelligence and knowledge, voters still tend to be pragmatic and not long-term. This is also the result of the impact of kinship politics which does not reflect good political education. Democracy is expected to create equal contestation for all people who have fulfilled the requirements by means of elections/Pilkada. But with the existence of kinship politics, it cannot be created. It is certain that it will deny the ideals of a democratic country and create a decline in the quality of democracy. In addition, in this way, democracy in Indonesia will follow an increasingly difficult and winding road.

The content of news about damaging the party structure or it can be said that it is a phenomenon of damaging the regeneration of political parties is also a dominant impact. As a result, the recruitment process in the formulation of candidates tends to be nepotistic and financial-based compared to the candidate's capacity. So the tiered regeneration process that prioritizes ideology cannot run because it will lose to the financial strength and political kinship. In addition, currently, political elites provide or spread narratives that kinship politics does not violate the constitution. In fact, this practice can actually limit people's access to enter and fight for public office at both the national and local levels. The author assumes that political parties that nurture kinship politics cannot change the internal system of these political parties. Therefore, changes to the political party system can only be carried out by the people themselves. This was also conveyed by Siti Zuhro (2012) who is a senior political researcher from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences.

Furthermore, the news about the emergence of corrupt behavior and nepotism as a result of kinship politics. It has become a negative sentiment over kinship politics, this is inseparable from various corruption cases involving regional heads and their political dynasties. This practice makes it difficult for the Republic of Indonesia to create a democracy that is anti-corruption. There have been many cases that prove that family politics can create negative practices such as corruption, for example, the bribery case for infrastructure projects in Kutai Kartanegara. The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) arrested the East Kutai Regent, Ismunandar, and the Chairman of the East Kutai Regional House of Representatives (DPRD), Encek Unguria, who were a married couple. It is suspected that billions

of rupiah in bribes will be used to win Ismunandar back in the 2020 Pilkada. In addition, the case at the end of 2016 occurred in Klaten Regency. This case is quite unique because it involved two married couples who took turns leading the Klaten Regency for 20 years. The next case is the phenomenon in Banten which involved the Atut clan which was very corrupt and also resulted in the area not being prosperous. In 2011, Atut's younger brother, Haerul Zaman, became the mayor of Serang. In 2010, Atut's other younger brother, Ratu Atut Chasanah, was elected as deputy regent of Serang. Meanwhile, Atut's stepmother, Heryani, became deputy regent of Pandeglang in 2011. In the same year, Airin became the mayor of South Tangerang. Outside Banten Province, Ratu Atut's late husband, Hikmat Tomet, was a member of Commission V House of Representatives (DPR) for the 2009-2014 period. Ratu Atut's son, Andika Hazrumy, is a member of the Republic of Indonesia Regional Representative Board (DPD RI). Meanwhile, Andika's wife, Ade Rossi Kharunnisa, is the deputy chairman of the Serang Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) ([Andryanto, 2017](#); [Ramadhan, 2020](#); [Tempo.co, 2017](#)).

The content of the news regarding the destruction of the bureaucratic order gets 10% points as a result of this kinship politics in line with the explanation of the impact of corrupt behavior and produce a bureaucracy that does not serve the public but instead monopolizes the public as a means of seeking personal gain. So the behavior of kinship politics can more deeply damage society and impoverish the condition of the people. Apart from that, in the contestation process, for example, bureaucratic mobilization can be carried out to sustain or support kinship political interests. This case, for example, occurred in the Pilkada of Banten Province in 2011, where it was found that the distribution of religious tools, namely prayer mats, stickers, and calendars depicting Queen Atut Chosiyah and money during the socialization of the establishment of a Disaster Preparedness Village on Anyer Beach ([Saptowalyono et al., 2011](#)).

IV. Conclusion

The phenomenon of political kinship obtaining political office is considered as kinship politics. The content of news in online media such as Tempo and Kompas reporting related to the phenomenon of kinship politics in the 2020 simultaneous Pilkada is an important delivery of information for political education, especially in

Indonesia. Media is a pillar of democracy, so news related to politics is one thing that must be independent so that people can get correct and credible information references.

This study analyzes discourse originating from Tempo and Kompas online media related to news about kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada. The dominant factor to support the formation of kinship politics. From the results of the analysis of the news in the Kompas online media related to the supporting factors for the formation of kinship politics, it is more dominant reporting that the recruitment of less democratic political parties is the dominant factor in supporting the formation of kinship politics.

Meanwhile, in Tempo online media, there are three points that are often raised about factors supporting kinship politics, namely party recruitment that is not yet democratic, family supports, and weak legal regulations. These three things were predominantly reported by Tempo as a supporting factor for the formation of dynastic politics.

Furthermore, regarding the impact of kinship politics, in the news in Kompas online media, the impact is due to the occurrence of kinship politics, namely the creation of corrupt behavior and damaging the bureaucratic order. These two things are the most dominant impact of kinship politics reported by Kompas online media. Meanwhile, in Tempo online media, the content of the news regarding the impact of kinship politics is about the decline in the quality of democracy and damage to party structures. These two things become the dominant news regarding the impact of kinship politics.

V. References

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