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## Kinship Politics

### Political Elite's Desire for Power Versus the Ethics of Consequentialism

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**Abstract:** Kinship Politics as a form of control of political space by the elites makes it easier for their family members to win an election against other candidates. Kinship Politics is prone to abuse of power that benefits just a few people. The author studied this problem using philosophical reflection. Humans have a relentless desire to achieve success or felicity (as Hobbes stated) that requires humans to continue accumulating power. Power must be attained and defended, although it means forgoing the ethical foundation. For this reason, this study aimed to analyse the moral consequences of the desire for power of the political elites in the 2020 Regional-Head Election (Pilkada) through an ethical lens. This study used descriptive and literature study method, as well as a qualitative approach, and the results of the study showed that the kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada should not be continued in the perspective of consequentialism ethic that emphasizes the goal of happiness for as many people as possible, since Kinship politics that concentrated the power in one person supported by the circle of power will benefit only a handful of people.

**Keywords:** kinship politics; desire for power; political elites; ethics

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## I. Introduction

This study discusses the rise of kinship politics in the 2020 Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) conducted by most of the political party elites, especially the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) as the winner of the 2019 election. This caught the public's attention because the son and son-in-law of the Indonesian President received a political mandate from the PDI-P in this simultaneous Regional Head Election (Pilkada) (Maharani, 2020). Kinship politics referred to in this research is the political power exercised by political actors who have blood ties or kinship with government officials at the national and regional levels (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, 2015). Political recruitment is no longer based on the candidate's qualification (Suryono et al., 2018, p. 68). The control of political space by the political elites with family relations increasingly limits opportunities for candidates outside of the family circle (Fitriyah, 2018). This is legal, of course, but what is 'legal' is not the same with being wise (acknowledging one's own limits because we are aware that there are others), and it is not in accordance with an ethical foundation.

Ethics in politics acts as a basis for the elites in exercising their power. But practical politics sometimes ignorant of ethics. It can be seen in the phenomenon of kinship politics, which never have a good outcome, fosters nepotism, and is prone to bribery cases. Politics is used as a tool to gain and maintain power (with any means, including ensuring the victory of their family on the political stage) without any ethics.

Machiavelli (1469-1567), in his magnum opus, *The Prince* (2008), stated that power can only be secured with technique and tactics against accidental excesses and disturbances. Machiavelli's thinking is currently practiced through kinship politics, the tactic of placing relatives in various positions in the government. Politics seems to be a battle of power and interest between political elites who tend to use various means in fighting for their (individual or political group) interests.

To minimize this situation, the Indonesian Government and the House of Representatives (DPR) made a regulation requiring that regional head candidates and their deputies do not have a conflict of interest with the incumbent. This limitation is stated in Article 7 letter r of Law No. 8 of 2015 (Hady, 2018, p. 485). However, this article was annulled by the Constitutional Court (MK) because it was deemed be discriminatory and

against the 1945 Constitution (Putri, 2020). As such, there is no obstacle for the incumbent family to transfer the power to their family members, and the "preservation of power" in the hands of one family becomes a new strategy in the management of local government (Muhtar Haboddin, 2017, p. 2).

Legally, it is not prohibited, but kinship politics together with corrupt state administration practices are prone to misappropriation of the state budget (Masyitha, 2015). For example, in the case of bribery for infrastructure projects in the East Kutai Regency Government, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) arrested the Regent and Chairman of the DPRD, who are husband and wife. The East Kutai Regent, the husband, as the executive was allegedly in charge of ensuring that no project budget cuts on the project, while the head of the DPRD, the wife, who should be responsible for supervising the work of the regional head and his staff, intervened in the direct appointment of the project (Ramadhan, 2020). The two of them can cooperate in "abuse of power" since everything was controlled by people in the same family (Bimantara & Harsasto, 2018, p. 213), as such, there were no checks and balances in the government (Sugiharto et al., 2017, p. 40).

The negative consequences from kinship politics above should be valuable lessons to avoid in the regional elections held on Wednesday, December 9, 2020. However, candidates affiliated with the political elites were still promoted by several political parties such as the PDI-P. PDI-P was even supporting the son and son-in-law of the current president. In Medan, Bobby Nasution (President Joko Widodo's son-in-law) was paired with Aulia Rachman. Meanwhile, in Solo, Central Java, Gibran Rakabuming Raka (Jokowi's eldest son) was paired with Teguh Prakosa. Hanindhito Himawan Pramono, the son of the Cabinet Secretary of the 2019-2024 Cabinet, Pramono Anung, also ran in the Pilkada of Kediri Regency, East Java (Permatasari, 2020). The three of them received direct letter of recommendations from the chairman of the PDI-P, Megawati Soekarnoputri (Mashabi, 2020).

The nomination of family members of political elites to fill public positions has long plagued the political scene in Indonesia. Megawati's family in PDI-P, Amien Rais's family in PAN, Usman Al Hadar's family in PPP, Yusril Ihza Mahendra's family in PBB, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's family in Demokrat shows the fact that the 2009 election candidates were full of kinship politics. This

phenomenon also happened during the 2014 legislative elections (Muhtar Haboddin, 2015, p. 71).

It is an irony that kinship politics, as a way to preserve power, continues to appear, even though some studies showed its bad impacts. Saragih & Setyaningrum (2017), found that kinship politics have a negative impact on the performance of local governments. Other study also shown that kinship politics potentially can undermine justice and lead to corrupt behaviour because the officials can easily create policies for their personal gain and benefit their relatives (Sugiharto et al., 2017, p. 30). In line with previous studies, Guritno et al. (2018) found that 8 out of 12 regions that has kinship politics is in the low income category. All three of the studies found negative impacts of kinship politics.

The negative impacts of kinship politics are not only found in Indonesia. George & Ponattu (2018) found that in India, leaders with elite lineages also exacerbate poverty and the provision of public goods in the villages they represent. found that in India, leaders with elite lineages also exacerbate poverty and hamper the provision of public goods in the villages that they represent. A study by Bragança et al. (2015) in Brazil also showed the same result that leaders affiliated with the elites spend more resources without creating significant economic improvements.

Based on the previous studies mentioned above, it appears that the negative consequences of kinship politics have not been studied from a philosophical perspective. Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gap in the study on the rise of candidates from the inner circles of the political elites from an ethical point of view. This study will focus on discussing the desire for power of the elites that caused the rise of kinship politics in 2020 Pilkada, which often has negative consequences for society.

## II. Method

This study combined descriptive methods and document analysis. The descriptive method was used to describe the kinship politics phenomenon in the 2020 Pilkada as a unit of analysis based on facts as they were presented (Nasution et al., 2020, p. 106). The literature review method (Zed, 2004) was used to collect information relevant to kinship politics in the 2020 Pilkada by candidates from PDI-P that nominated the children, sons-in-law, and family relatives of the political elites to fill

public positions from an ethical perspective. The information was obtained from literature, extracting materials from books, journals, newspapers, magazines, or study reports related to the study theme adopted by the author and other sources (Hasan, 2002, p. 11). The approach used in this study was a qualitative approach. This approach was considered suitable since the 2020 Pilkada was multidimensional, and it had interconnected variables, which exact nature of their connection was not known (Alwasilah, 2002, p. 103). The collection of facts and data was conducted by tracing the news in mainstream mass media to enrich the analysis. The term "Mainstream mass media" in this study referred to several mass media that can influence public opinion. The study was conducted for four months from October 2020 to early February 2021. The location of this study was Indonesia, especially Solo, Medan, and Kediri. The location was selected due to its nature as the strongest base for PDI-P candidates with kinship relations to the current state officials.

## III. Results and Discussion

"Blood is thicker than water" is an appropriate adage to describe the victory of the family of the political elites in the 2020 Pilkada. Kinship politics, which is the distribution of power between members of the ruling family, dominate the political stage, and sometimes it is being used to enrich themselves. This situation, of course, is detrimental to the people.

Reports from the Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) website shown that since 2016 the KPK found 11 corruption cases committed by regional heads, six of which were related to kinship politics: Atut Dynasty in Banten (Christiawan, 2016, pp. 137–138); Syaokani in Kutai Kartanegara, East Kalimantan (Afriandi, 2019, pp. 58–59); Klaten Regent Sri Hartini (Sjafrina, 2019, pp. 45–46); Atty Suharti (Cimahi Mayor); Yan Anton Ferdian (Banyuasin Regent); Fuad Amin (Bangkalan Regent) (Indonesia Corruption Watch, 2017).

Meanwhile, detik.com reported that in 2017 the KPK arrested 7 political dynasties that had committed corruption. These reports showed that power attained through family relationship will tend to lead to abuse of power (corruption). Plato (427–347 BC) stated that politics is something noble because it is directed to realize the common good. For this purpose the elites must be able to control power based on science and ethics so that the common good can be realized (Heryanto, 2019, pp. 212–213).

In reality, that is not the case, because the elites are often only seek to amass power for their personal gain (Lendong, 2017). Especially, according to Bourdieu (1986), with strong funding, the social power of the elites is easily be obtained. The fund is passed on to other family members (Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018, p. 309) to maintain the family political power.

candidate recruitment process carried out by several political parties often are not based on political 'ability', but based on biological ties with the elites (Tempo, 2020). A study by Nagara Institute found: The Golkar Party ranks first in promoting kinship politics (12.9%), followed by the PDI-P (12.4%), and the Nasdem Party (10.1%). Parties that promote non-cadre as regional head candidates are: Nasdem with 13.1%, followed by the PDIP (11.7%), and the Hanura Party (9.7%). The findings of this study also noted that 124 candidates with close family relationship competed for regional head positions spread across the territory of Indonesia: 57 candidates for regent, 30 candidates for deputy regent, 20 candidates for mayor, 8 candidates for deputy mayor, as well as 5 candidates for governor, and 4 candidates for deputy governor. They consist of children, wives, or close relatives of local and national level officials. This number increased compared to the 2004-2015 Pilkada (there were only 59 candidates who had family relations with the elites), while in 2015, 2017 and 2018 there were 86 candidates (Nagara Institute, 2020).

**7 DINASTI POLITIK DICIDUK KPK**

**RATU ATUT CHOSIYAH** (Gubernur Banten)  
 Pengadaan dan gratifikasi alat kesehatan dengan kerugian negara Rp 79 miliar dan suap pilkada Lebak  
 Pada 20 Juli 2017 dihukum 5,5 tahun penjara  
 Andika Hazrumy, anak (wakil gubernur Banten, 2017)  
 Ratu Tatu Chasanah, adik (Wakil Bupati Serang)  
 Tubagus Haerul Jakan, adik tiri (Wali Kota Serang)  
 Airin Rahmi Diany, adik ipar (Wali Kota Tangerang)

**ADRIANSYAH** (Bupati Tanah Laut, 2013)  
 Menerima suap dari pengusaha batubara  
 Pada 24 November 2016 divonis tiga tahun penjara  
 Bambang Alamsyah, anak (Bupati Tanah Laut)

**ATTY SUHARTI** (Wali kota Cimahi, 2012)  
 Suap pembangunan pasar  
 Pada 30 Agustus 2017 divonis empat tahun penjara  
 Itoc Tochija, suami (wali kota Cimahi, 2002-2012)

**SRI HARTINI** (Bupati Klaten 2016)  
 Suap promosi jabatan  
 Pada 21 September 2017 divonis 11 tahun penjara  
 Haryanto Wibowo, suami (bupati Klaten 2000-2005)

**KH FUAD AMIN** (Bupati Bangkalan, 2013)  
 Menerima suap dan korupsi APBD  
 Pada 9 Februari 2016 Majelis Bading memperberat hukuman dari 8 menjadi 13 tahun  
 Makmun Ibnu Fuad, anak (bupati Bangkalan, 2013)

**EDDY RUMPOKO** (Wali Kota Batu, 2007-2017)  
 Menerima suap dalam penyidikan KPK  
 Dewianti Rumpoko, isteri (wali kota terpilih Kota Batu, 2017)

**TUBAGUS IMAM ARIYADI** (Wali Kota Cilegon)  
 Menerima suap dalam penyidikan KPK  
 Tubagus Aat Syafaat, ayah (wali kota Cilegon, 2005)

SUMBER: DETIKCOM  
 NASKAH: SUDRAJAT | INFOGRAFIS: ANDHIKA AKBARYANSYAH

Source: Sudrajat (2017)



Source: Nagara Institute (2020)

### A. PDI-P Politicians Family Succeed in the 2020 Pilkada

In every regional head election, the issue of kinship politics always appears, including the 2020 Pilkada. For practical purposes, the

Based on this study, the dominance of kinship politics is rising in the 2020 Pilkada. The rise can be seen by the many candidates with relations to the high-ranking officials or former officials in the central and regional governments. Of the 124 candidate candidates from kinship politics, 55 candidates, or the equivalent of 44%, won the election (Hidayat, 2020, p. 5). The PDI-P's were also part of it (JawaPos.com, 2020).

The nomination of Gibran, Bobby, and Hanindhito in the 2020 Pilkada attracted public attention since it was an easy way for the political elites' families in the presidents' circles to accumulate power. Jokowi's appearance on the political stage was believed to break the



dominance of Indonesian “kinship politics.” But shortly after that, two of his family members were taking part in the regional level political scene. The temptation of power might be difficult to resist. Jokowi made history as the first president to have his son and son-in-law as regional heads.

The number of votes that they get to win the election was quite high. Based on the vote count from the General Election Commission (KPU) in Solo, for example, Gibran won a landslide victory with 225,336 votes (86.5%). Hanindhito also won against an empty box. He managed to get 590,317 (76.5%) votes from Kediri residents. In Medan, even though Bobby was supported by a big coalition and enormous political power, he could only win narrowly against the incumbent with a total of 393,533 votes (53.5%) (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum, n.d.*). This victory paved the way for Jokowi and Pramono Anung as PDI-P politicians who were also palace officials to extend their reach in the Indonesian political scene. Long before their terms as president and cabinet secretary ended, they had placed their successors in the ranks of the political elites at the regional level.

This victory was predicted by many people since the “legacy” capital of their predecessor was strong. Gibran had an advantage as the son of the President and former Mayor of Solo for two terms, and he was also supported by PDI-P, which won the Legislative Election in Solo, as well as other political parties (minus PKS). Although the regional and central PDI-P administrators were not cohesive at first, the party finally unanimously supported Gibran and paired him with Teguh, who was also a senior politician in PDI-P Solo (*Syambudi, 2020, p. 12*). According to Arya Fernandes (a researcher at the Center for Strategic and International Studies), another determining factor for the victory was Gibran's weak rival. The independent candidate, Bagyo-Supardjo (Bajo), was less popular. Even at the voting station where they cast their ballot, their votes are very few compared to Gibran's vote (*Oktara, 2020b, p. 2*). Gibran also spent far more on campaign funds than his opponent. Based on the Campaign Fund Contribution Receipt Report (LPSDK) of the 2020 Solo Pilkada candidates: the Bajo campaign funds were recorded at Rp153,475 million, while the campaign funds for Gibran - Teguh pair were Rp650 million (*KPU Kota Surakarta, 2020*). The difference in the amount of campaign donations between the two pairs was almost Rp500 million. Gibran strolled easily to victory. Even the Executive Director of Indo

Barometer, M Qodari, assessed that the road to his victory is as smooth as a toll road because the determining factor for his victory is already in his hand (*Hutabarat, 2020*).

Although Gibran wins the Solo Pilkada easily, Bobby's victory is not that easy. Although both were supported by political patronage and social capital, Gibran and Bobby faced different type of political rivals in their respective area. In Solo, Gibran did not compete against the incumbent, and his opponent was weak, which made his victory relatively easy (*Oktara, 2020a, p. 4*). Meanwhile, Bobby had to face the incumbent, Akhyar. He also must strive to increase the number of voter participation to come to the voting station and vote for him (*Nasution et al., 2020, p. 98*). However, it turned out that Bobby was able to conquer his political opponents and overcome voter apathy (voter participation increased by 100%) (*Manik, 2020*). His (thin) victory was certainly not cheap, based on letter number 1343/PL.02.5-Pu/1271/KPU-Kot/XII/2020 concerning the Audit Results of the Campaign Fund for Medan Mayor and Deputy Mayor for 2020, Bobby- Aulia received Rp18,063,885,875 campaign funds and incurred Rp15,440,079,208 expenses (*Rahayu, 2020*). The fantastic numbers are in line with the fact that Gibran and Bobby were initially not part of the party circle and subsequently received recommendations and support from the majority of the party. All of these are certainly not cheap.

Similar to Gibran, Hanindhito competed in Kediri, the area where his father was a member of the legislature for four terms. The “initial advantages,” such as family name, wealth, political networks, and political reconstruction, were crucial for his victory (*Aminuddin, 2020b, p. 18*). His victory was a genealogical political legacy. In addition, Hanindhito gained the support of all political parties (*Dwi, 2020*) and became the sole candidate for the area (*Agriesta, 2020*).

Apart from being a candidate that is a “politician's son,” being “a sole candidate” ensures his victory. Based on the Constitutional Court decision No. 100/PUUXIII/2015, a single candidate pair in the regional election is legal (*Ishak, 2020, p. 134*). Even though the decision was originally intended to overcome the deadlock, a single candidate in an election closed the opportunity to have other alternative candidates (*Rahmanto, 2018, p. 111*). Political parties also support it (*Aminuddin, 2020a*) because it is beneficial for them.

## B. Philosophical Reflections on Human Desire for Power

Hobbes in *Leviathan* (1968, p. 130) stated that the desire of the elites to rule is a natural and fundamental human trait. By utilizing the proposition of motion, humans are creatures who endlessly seek something. After obtaining a plot of land, humans desire two plots of land, and then four, and it goes on. Life is motion, and human motion is expressed in desires that never stopped and never be satisfied. What do humans desire? Success (felicity), which is being able to achieve the object of desire continuously: "Continual success in achieving anything over time, or continuous success called felicity. There is no lasting peace of mind as long as we live in this world because life is nothing but motion".

To achieve felicity (success), humans need a means. The means of achieving success are called power: wealth, reputation, a network of friends, and the like. The relentless desire to achieve felicity requires human beings to continuously accumulate power (Hamilton, 2016, p. 141). Hobbes' statement is reflected in the extreme politics of the 2020 Pilkada. When the father is in power, to fulfil the desire for power even longer, the son and son-in-law are encouraged to compete for further power.

Power has become opium for the elites. The intoxicating and complacent effect caused many of the elites to rush for power. When the power is already held, it needs to be passed on to the closest relatives as much as possible. Countries such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Nepal have become fertile places for kinship politics. Indonesia is no different.

After successfully rising to the national political stage through direct elections, Jokowi placed his son and son-in-law as mayors through direct elections as well. Not only Gibran and Bobby, Hanindhito's victory was also part of the new "Kinship Politics" in the President's circles.

For the first time, the son and son-in-law of a sitting president won the direct election (Febriyanti & Karina, 2021, p. 151). As family members of the number one person in the country, they certainly have privileges. It started since the nomination phase, the three of them went through a fairly short nomination process to obtain a magic letter from the General Chairperson (Ketum) of the PDI-P, Megawati Soekarnoputri (Maharani, 2020). To pave the way for Bobby and Gibran, internal chaos erupted within the PDI-P of Medan and Solo. Akhyar

Nasution, a senior cadre and the acting mayor of Medan, was fired from the party. Similar to Akhyar, Megawati also canceled the recommendation to Achmad Purnomo for the Solo elections (Suwiknyo, 2020). According to a senior political researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Siti Zuhro, political parties should be responsible for the quality of the candidates that they promoted and supported (Harbowo et al., 2020). However, the parties often choose shortcuts by bringing in a single candidate who is affiliated with kinship politics for pragmatic reasons (Noor, 2014, p. 57).

Therefore, their candidacy was marked by pros and cons. The accusation of kinship politics was inevitable because Gibran, Bobby, and Hanindhito were family members of the political elites. Moreover, the public saw that the political track records of the three of them were very minimal, and they become public officials prematurely only because of their elite families and the support of certain political parties (Suryatwan, 2020, p. 293). Political parties should act as gatekeepers by supporting capable candidates for the post of the regional head (Norris, 2006, p. 89). Not by their level of popularity, electability, financial ability, or family background (Fitriyah, 2020, p. 14), but for the greatest chance of winning the election.

The goal to win is indeed the basic tendency of every human being. The constant and unceasing desire for more and more power, which will cease only in death (Hobbes, 1968, p. 161). This means that at a certain level, the power is no longer sufficiently satisfying. At this point, Hobbes describes what happens. The reason is "not because man is dissatisfied with a moderate level of power, but because he has no guarantee that he can live a successful life without having more power than other people" (Hobbes, 1968, p. 161). Since everyone else has the same desire, namely constant success, which also requires the constant pursuit of power, thus there is never any guarantee that what is owned or desired will not be taken by other people.

Competition for property, honour, control, or others, leads to strife, enmity, and war because the way a competitor achieves his desire is to kill, subdue, and get rid of the other competitors (Hobbes, 1968, p. 161).

What Hobbes described, of course, was in a different context from the present era. Gaining power and subduing other rivals no longer need a

brutal physical war. It happens through an open democratic system, the direct elections.

Taking down an opponent is even easier if a candidate is related by blood to the elites. This can be seen when Gibran registering himself through the Central Java PDI-P DPD for his candidacy as Mayor of Solo, knowing that his chances of advancing through the DPC PDI-P Solo are already closed.

Gibran's status as the son of the President of the Republic of Indonesia certainly has a privilege in preventing Purnomo from obtaining a PDI-P recommendation (CNN Indonesia, 2020). It must be admitted that some people, including Gibran, Bobby, and Hanindhito, to some extent already have more power than other people (power in Hobbes' language), whether it is wealth, physical look, intelligence, relationships, and others. This initial capital was used by Gibran, Bobby, and Hanindhito for politics.

### C. Kinship Politics from the View of Consequential Ethics

Legally speaking, there is nothing wrong with kinship politics, especially when the Constitutional Court decided that a relative of the political elites had the right to run for regional head elections (Susanti, 2017, pp. 112–113). However, if we reflect on history, the practice of kinship politics has more negative than positive consequences for the people. So ethically, teleologically, it cannot be justified (to be perpetuated). Teleological ethics is the same as consequentialist ethics, which emphasizes the telos (goal) of political action.

Although ethics, in this case, does not directly interfere with practical politics and dictate what a politician should do (Magnis-Suseno, 1999, p. 3). It is more of a philosophical foundation as an art of life (Haryatmoko, 2014, p. 2) that leads to happiness and wisdom to realize a just, orderly, peaceful, and prosperous life for the common good.

But how can this be realized, when in reality, kinship politics that the elites continue to practice, has had a more negative than positive impact? First, in the recruitment process for Gibran, Bobby, and Hanindhito, party chiefs have the power to select and determine candidate pairs to fight in the regional head elections. As such, the leaders' nomination is not based on the candidate's capacities and capabilities but rather based on wealth, popularity, and relations with political party elites (Aminah et al., 2020, p. 653). To gain

power, the elites are ultimately trapped in the competition in gaining and maintaining their positions by paving the way for their relatives. The domination of the desire for power (as stated by Hobbes) turns humans into wolves for others (homo homini lupus) (Lubienski, 1930, p. 175).

Second, limiting the chance for candidates outside of the circle of the elites' family to enter the circle of power. The kinship politics' distribution of power only revolves within the elites, so there is potential for negotiations and conspiracy in carrying out state duties (Thompson, 2000, p. viii).

Third, many regional heads, who are affiliated with the elites' families, are often caught in corruption cases. Kinship politics is prone to abuse of power that benefits just a few people. As such, it is not surprising that kinship politics resulted in continuing poverty problems in Indonesia, which even tends to increase.

Areas	2019	2015
Banyu Asin	11.33%	12.45%
Serang	4.08%	5.09%
Serang City	5.28%	6.28%
South Tangerang City	1.68%	1.69%
Cimahi City	4.39%	5.84%
Indramayu	11.11%	14.98%
Kutai Kartanegara	7.20%	7.99%
Klaten	12.28%	14.89%
Kediri	10.42%	12.91%
Probolinggo	17.76%	20.82%
Bangkalan	18.90%	22.57%

Source: Compiled from Asfar (2020)

The map of kinship politics and poverty above shows that kinship politics do not have a positive correlation with the welfare of the people. Some leaders in the region, such as Banyu Asin, Cimahi, Kutai Kartanegara, and Bangkalan, have been arrested by the KPK. They occupy their positions, not for the welfare of the people, but only to enrich themselves and their descendants. Poverty caused by kinship politics is inevitable. This kind of poverty does not only happen in Indonesia, the Philippines also experiences the same situation (Roces, 2000, p. 218) due to kinship politics. This situation happens because officials are not capable to carry out their duties, and the checks and balance mechanism does not function

properly. The leader's policy should aim to provide equal access to development for the people instead of enriching himself and his relatives.

Politicians should consider not only legal and political issues but also their moral responsibility in making their political decisions or actions (Haryatmoko, 2013, p. 60). Ethics functioned as a reminder of the moral responsibility of the elites, so they can make decisions that minimize the number of victims or maximize the number of people who benefit from the decision.

John Stuart Mill's view of "The greatest happiness of the greatest number" is a suitable benchmark for assessing and making decisions on whether an action is morally justifiable or not. Thus, the moral judgments of political action are determined by whether or not it will produce more good than bad consequences from the action (Sudarminta, 2013, p. 127). Thus, as in the belief of one of the schools of consequentialist ethics, utilitarianism, the right action among all the actions that may be taken is the one that, as far as it can be determined, will produce the greatest good for the largest number of people (Magnis-Suseno, 1979, p. 94).

The utilitarian ethics seems to be appropriate for the elites to reconsider their actions in continuing the kinship politics in Indonesia. First, the utilitarian is rational in assessing political action (more good results or bad consequences); second, whether an action is morally right or wrong is linked to the goal (telos) to be achieved; third, it is universal, in the sense that this ethical theory pays attention to the public interest and not only the personal interests of the elites as moral agents (Sudarminta, 2013).

While kinship politics is a political narcissism: I am the best and need to be continued or duplicated, so there is no need for an alternative (Mohamad, 2020, p. 98). Sooner or later, kinship politics created a weak and closed regeneration, and there is no new candidate from outside of the circle because it is born from blind lust for power without positive results for the people.

#### IV. Conclusion

Despite the legality, the kinship politics that dominated the 2020 Pilkada, cannot be continued based on a consequentialist ethical perspective that prioritizes telos (goals) for happiness or benefits for as many people as possible. This is because the gathering of power in one hand with support within the circle of power is only to fulfil

the desires of power of the elites and give no room to "other more competent people" to join the party or government (power is only circulating within the circle of the elites). Kinship politics is also closely related to abuse of power because there is no functioning mechanism for checks and balances. As such, it is not surprising that kinship politics only benefited a few people and resulted in continuing poverty problems in Indonesia, which even tends to increase.

The elites, as the highest power holders in the country, should consider the moral responsibility to the people in their political decisions or actions. Ethics would serve as a reminder to elites of their moral responsibility to avoid making decisions or actions that caused more victims or to do more harm than benefits the people. The principle is used to assess whether a political action is morally justified or not.

As such, this study proposed three recommendations.

First, to minimize human desire for power, it is necessary to have a legal mechanism that limits this nature. The election laws and the political parties' institutionalisation must be adjusted to ensure that they are not controlled by a handful number of people. As such, the "candidate" will not be selected due to their closeness or family relations with the elites but rather based on competence (fair experience and capacity).

Second, the citizens, as holders of sovereignty, must (become filters) refuse to choose candidates affiliated with the elites.

Third, philosophical foundations such as ethics should not be neglected in every action or political policy of the elites. So that kinship politics will no longer continue to be practiced in the next election.

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