

POST POPULISM: THE END OF JOKOWI'S POLITICAL POSITION FOR HIS SUCCESSORS

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ABSTRACT

Populism emerges as an antithesis to government elitism amidst the crisis of democracy. Some experts also note that populism will also create a new elite for the government itself. Some countries show that populism is also the beginning of authoritarianism, such as Poland. This research shows that the same thing happened in Indonesia at the end of Joko Widodo's administration. Through the theoretical approach of Dynastic Politics and Populism, this paper explains that Jokowi built his dynasty through populism, brought Indonesia towards an authoritarian state, and brought democracy to a decline. Jokowi did so through constitutional means so that his dynasty could be democratically legitimized. Gibran was able to run for Vice President with Prabowo Subianto after his uncle, Anwar Usman, the chief judge of the Constitutional Court, granted a motion to change the minimum age of candidacy. Previously, Kaesang managed to become the chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party, which also supports Gibran. Meanwhile, in 2020, Bobby Nasution also managed to win the election in Medan as Mayor. Some parties considered the election to be forced. Jokowi is considered one of the actors who brought Indonesia towards authoritarianism.

Keywords: Post Populism, Dynasty Politics, Jokowi's Family,

ABSTRAK

Populisme muncul sebagai antitesis dari sifat elitisme pemerintahan ditengah krisis demokrasi, beberapa ahli juga memberikan catatan bahwa populisme juga akan menciptakan elit baru bagi pemerintahan itu sendiri. Beberapa negara menunjukkan bahwa populisme juga menjadi awal dari otoritarianisme, sebut saja Polandia. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa hal serupa terjadi di Indonesia pada akhir periode pemerintahan Joko Widodo. Melalui pendekatan teoritis Politik Dinasti dan Populisme, tulisan ini berhasil menjelaskan bahwa Jokowi justru membangun dinastinya melalui populisme dan membawa Indonesia menuju negara otoriter dan membawa demokrasi ke arah kemunduran. Jokowi melakukannya dengan cara-cara konstitusional sehingga dinasti yang dibangun dapat dilegitimasi secara demokratis. Gibran dapat mencalonkan diri sebagai Wakil Presiden bersama dengan Prabowo Subianto setelah, Pamannya, Anwar Usman, ketua hakim MK mengabulkan gugatan untuk mengganti usia minimum usia pencalonan. Sebelumnya, Kaesang berhasil menjadi ketua Partai Solidaritas Indonesia yang saat ini juga mengusung Gibran. Sementara itu, pada 2020, Bobby Nasution juga berhasil memenangkan Pemilu di Medan sebagai Walikota, beberapa pihak menilai Pemilu tersebut ialah Pemilu yang dipaksakan. Jokowi dinilai sebagai salah satu aktor yang membawa Indonesia ke arah otoritarianisme.

Kata kunci: Pasca Populisme, Politik Dinasti, Keluarga Jokowi

BACKGROUND

Indonesia is one of the countries that made a democratic transition (Kenawas, 2017), but the development of democracy in

Indonesia has simultaneously regressed after the reformation (Edward Aspinall, 2010; Mietzner, 2015b; Mietzner & Aspinall, 2010; Warburton & Aspinall,

2019). In the context of democratic decline, Mujani and Liddle (2021) said it occurs in various dimensions of democracy, such as electoral integrity, civil liberties, legislative control over the executive, parliamentary opposition resilience, civic participation, judicial independence, dynastic politics, economic inequality and corruption (Agustino & Yusoff, 2010; Agustino & Fitriani, 2017; Hadiz, 2022; Mujani & Liddle, 2021).

Populist leaders utilize the conditions of democracy in Indonesia to answer various problems of the people. Politicians such as Joko Widodo, who is a figure that symbolizes the success of populism in Indonesia, have succeeded in taking the attention of the people (Aspinall, 2015; Mietzner, 2015b). Riedel (2017) explains that populism harms democracy by utilizing democracy itself. Departing from this argument, in Indonesia, populist leader Jokowi Widodo, instead of improving democratic conditions, is involved in dynastic political practices in the 2020 Local Leaders Election (Nathanael, 2020). Populist leaders want to maintain their power and expand it by nominating family members in the Local Leaders Election contestation (Adam dkk., 2020).

Dynastic politics in the 2020 Local Leaders Election shows several new patterns with the participation of populist leaders in dynastic politics. First, dynastic political practices with prospective leaders who have built family networks before the election are held at the regional level. Second, dynastic political practices were conducted previously, building family political networks at the regional level. In this second pattern, dynastic political

practices in the 2020 Local Leaders Election were conducted by populist figures at the national level.

Predecessors have widely researched the first dynastic political practice, and the first phenomenon can be found in the Atut political dynasty (Hamid, 2014). They monopolize every local government and non-government institution, such as provinces and regencies/cities, to a more local level, namely the village (Berenschot dkk., 2021).

The second dynastic political practice in the 2020 Local Leaders Elections in Indonesia presents a different dynastic political pattern and new actors in dynastic politics in Indonesia, namely the involvement of populist leaders at the national level who participate in power contestation at the local level, for example, one of the dynastic political practices carried out by Jokowi in the 2020 Local Leaders Election, specifically in the nomination of Bobby Nasution in Medan City. Jokowi nominated two family members in the 2020 Local Leaders Election. Gibran's candidacy in Solo City is similar to the dynastic political approach in Indonesia, such as that carried out by the Yasin Limpo family in Sulawesi. Although dynastic political actors are in the vortex of national politics, the family political network was owned and built by Jokowi long before Gibran ran for Solo City (Amali, 2020).

Different from Gibran in Solo City, Bobby Nasution's candidacy in Medan City shows different patterns. First, Bobby is a newcomer to Medan City who, before the Local Leaders Election was held, did not have a political career in Medan City. Second, Jokowi, Bobby's father-in-law,

needs a family network in Medan City. Third, Bobby's candidacy in Medan City uses the political machine Jokowi owns at the national level. Fourth, Bobby's career is in the business (economic) area (Adam, 2020). Bobby Nasution was nominated as Mayor of Medan in the 2020 Local Leaders Election, where the campaign team owned by Bobby in Medan City was filled with national political figures who entered the Jokowi government coalition, such as Sandiaga Uno, Djarot Saiful Hidayat, Ahmad Doli Kurnia Tanjung, Maruar Sirait, Sukur Nababan and many more individuals (Lubis, 2020). The big names in Bobby's success team structure did not just step in to win the two candidates. Of course, there are factors from the family's big name as a national actor (Aulia Adam dkk., 2020).

Then, on October 17, 2023, there was a Constitutional Court decision No.90/PUU-XXI/2023, which allowed the nomination of a president or vice president with a minimum age limit of 40 years and has served as a regional head through the General Election mechanism. The decision came at a time when Gibran was rumored to be running for vice president even though he was still 36 years old. The chairman of the Constitutional Court also endorsed the Constitutional Court's decision, Gibran's uncle and Jokowi's brother-in-law. Of course, the ratification effort is loaded with the interests of a handful of parties concerning political interests.

The phenomenon of the 2020 Local Leaders Election and the potential candidacy of Gibran Rakabuming as vice president in the 2024 presidential election show that populist leaders embrace a form of representational democracy and claim to

speak on behalf of the people themselves (Nathanael, 2020), but at the same time they undermine its liberal constitutional foundation. They erode the substance of democracy and gradually transform it into various illiberal forms of power (Müller, 2015), in this case populist leaders in Indonesia expand their power with dynastic political practices, which is a new phenomenon in the study of dynastic politics in Indonesia.

The phenomenon of dynastic politics carried out by Jokowi Widodo as a populist leader shows symptoms of the use of the family name of a former official who provides advantages for family members who are contesting as the main factor to attract voters (Crowley & Reece, 2013). Nehru Gandhi is one of the most famous political dynasties in India. Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Prime Minister of India, this dynasty was continued by Indira Gandhi's son-in-law and continued by her grandson Rajiv Gandhi. The Gandhi dynasty has a great influence in the Indian National Congress Party, their dynasty is able to lead many voters and party members. In addition, the appeal of the Gandhi family is considered similar to Jokowi. Jokowi and Gandhi use a populist approach to win the hearts of the people. However, their popularity is known for their historical heritage and family influence, compared to individual achievements. The phenomenon of dynasty politics is the result of a combination of family heritage, strong networks, and sustainable political strategies.

The character approach, which then has similarities with Bobby's candidacy in Medan City by using the figure of Jokowi as

a populist leader, makes an essential lesson in the journey of dynastic politics in Indonesia, a process of power production born at the national level to enter the vortex of local politics in a top-down manner. Apart from Bobby Nasution, Jokowi's biological son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, indicated an opportunity to run for Vice President. Previously, through the Constitutional Court, Joko Widodo launched an interest in the age limit for candidacy for President or vice president, resulting in the decision that the minimum age is 40 years old and has been a Regional Head through the mechanism of General Elections. In this way, Gibran can be nominated as President or vice president even though he has not reached the age of 40 but has served as a regional head elected through the General Election.

This research will discuss dynastic political practices during Jokowi's leadership by making Jokowi a case study that will be studied using a dynastic political approach. First, this research will explain how populism is related to dynastic politics in the 2020 Local Leaders Election. Second, it will reveal Jokowi's populist power resources used to support his family's candidacy in the 2020 Local Leaders Election. Third, this research will explain how Jokowi secured the Constitutional Court to strengthen his dynastic politics in the 2024 presidential election. Thus, this research tries to answer the question: After populism in the figure of Joko Widodo in Indonesia, how does Jokowi play a role in the creation of dynastic political practices in the 2020 Local Leaders Election and the Vice-Presidential Candidacy in the 2024 Presidential Election?

Populism as a Pragmatic Political Strategy

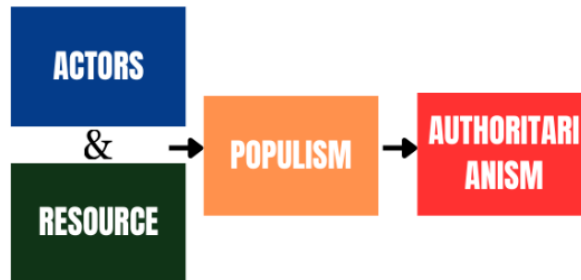
Populism, as a pragmatic political strategy, becomes a tool for political actors to gain, seize, exercise, and maintain power (Ritonga, 2020). Furthermore, this approach is said by Paskarina (2017a) says this approach is a strategy for figures, actors, or movements that carry anti-establishment issues and gain public support to form a new government. Mietzner explains that this approach is more pragmatic than ideological. This pragmatic populism shows its inclusive, nonconfessional character and supports democratic practices (Paskarina, 2017a).

In Indonesia, there is a phenomenon where families not only nominate family members to replace positions of power, but in the context of expanding power in different institutional areas, the time variable is also a benchmark in defining dynastic politics (Yoes. C. Kenawas, 2017). Mietzner (2015) explained that populists in this approach provide an alternative discourse to solve the political-economic problems of a country in the context of attracting public support in electoral contestation (Mietzner, 2015b). He described that in this approach, the emphasis is on the figure. As happened in Indonesia, there were two forms of populism: conventional populism offered by Prabowo, and technocratic populism offered by Jokowi in the 2014 Presidential Election.

The technocratic approach can next describe populism as a pragmatic strategy. This approach has been successful in Indonesia as a new approach to populism to enter government power. As a political strategy, the technocratic approach

presented by Jokowi does not play a central issue in political economy, namely against the establishment controlled by the elite. Mietzner explains that this approach is more

pragmatic than ideological. This pragmatic populism shows its inclusive, nonconfessional character and supports democratic practices (Paskarina, 2017a).



Populism indicates a move towards dictatorship or authoritarianism. Such practices are already evident in countries such as Hungary and Poland. The characteristics that indicate such a change include mass clientelism, corruption, and systematic repression of civil society. Muller (2016) views populism as an ongoing danger. The reason is the impact produced by actors who utilize populism in government. Populist actors in Hungary and Poland, for example, succeeded in institutionalizing their interests in various aspects, even in reforming the law for the benefit of the political elites who were in power at the time. Of course, this gave birth to semi-authoritarian regimes that eroded democracy. In addition, there were also attacks on the judiciary through a weakened rule of law, restrictions on civil rights and media restrictions, and election fraud.

Populism also creates social dislocation as part of the accumulation of appropriation and hijacking public interests into elite interests through deregulation to redistribution of power and wealth by the elite (Hadiz & Robinson, 2017; Harvey,

2005). From a political point of view, this leads to a civil rights gap where civil society is in a position of having no choice and is positioned in a vulnerable state. At the same time, the elite makes populism a discourse to solve people's problems (Gandesha, 2018).

Dynastic Politics

“When a person holds more power, it becomes more likely that this person will start or continue a political dynasty. Thus, political power in democracies becomes inheritable de facto for reasons other than permanent differences in family characteristics...” (DAL BÓ dkk., 2009).

Dynastic politics is a political effort to perpetuate itself by family members by carrying out their family members (DAL BÓ dkk., 2009). Querubin (2011) defines a *political dynasty* as a small number of families dominating power distribution in a particular geographical area. Furthermore, Purwaningsih (2015) argues that dynastic politics occurs when two or more family members hold political positions. Of the two

family members, kinship politics tend to occur in the second person.

METHOD

This manuscript wants to explain several things. First is the definition of populism, what are its characteristics, and the use of populism in Jokowi's campaigns and governance. Second, discuss the rise of populism as a national phenomenon, and how is populism impact Jokowi family politics on the electorate and impact democracy. It is undeniable that there have been many studies that explain democratization as bringing a political system in a more open, inclusive, and effective direction (Diamond, 2020; Landemore, 2020; Nazarov & Obydenkova, 2020). However, the findings of this article refute this idea because the findings of this study describe the persistence of non-democratic practices at the national level.

Nevertheless, the researcher agrees that the process of democracy will continue to trickle down to the national level. But the problem is, democratization in Indonesia has been going on for more than 20 years (Davidson, 2018). Society cannot survive as it is or return to the past. For this reason, to understand the political dynamics at the national level, researchers need to do their research carefully and thoroughly. In order for a satisfactory picture of political dynamics at the national level to emerge. For this reason, this research will be based on qualitative methods. This method seeks to investigate as well as gain a deep and authentic understanding of individual or group experiences (Flick, 2022; Timmermans & Tavory, 2022). As felt by

residents or community groups in the village being studied.

Purwaningsih (2015) adds another dimension besides the time dimension and the number of families in political positions, namely the dimension of political recruitment. Dynastic politics occurs when political recruitment is based on considerations of kinship relations and not based on aspects of candidate qualifications. Purwaningsih emphasizes the importance of assessing political recruitment. Political recruitment of political dynasties results in family members occupying political positions. The qualifications are not based on their abilities or not through outlined procedures, but instead based on family relationship considerations, thus forming a political dynasty.

Furthermore, dynastic politics also has a time dimension. Kenawas (2017) stated that *"who have a familial connection with an incumbent at the same, lower, or higher level (district to provincial) based on the marital relationship, vertical lineage, or extended family."* This definition includes a broad time dimension for nominating family members but also applies to extending family power across institutions (Crowley & Reece, 2013).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Several Notes on Family Politics in Indonesia

In some previous phenomena, dynastic politics in Indonesia generally occurred with a bottom-up scheme. The network built in local politics was eventually strengthened, leading to a broader network that touched national boundaries. The bottom-up phenomenon can be seen from

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several case studies, such as Yasin Limpo, who has built his political network in South Sulawesi, especially in Gowa Regency. Muhammad Yasin Limpo was once a Regent in Gowa Regency and then continued by his two children, Syahrul Yasin Limpo (1994-2002) and Ichsan Yasin Limpo, who also served two terms from

2005-2015. During this period, the Yasin Limpo family built a strong network with its social capital so that this influence was ultimately treated to form a solid political dynasty in the area. This can be seen from the data in the table regarding the Yasin Limpo family, who became public officials.

Table 1. Yasin Limpo's Family

No	Family Member	Position
1	Syahrul Yasin Limpo	Regent of Gowa (1994-2002) Deputy Governor of South Sulawesi (2003-2008) Governor of South Sulawesi (2008-2018)
2	Ichsan Yasin Limpo	Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of South Sulawesi (1999-2004) Regent of Gowa (2005-2015)
3	Sitti Nurhayati Yasin Limpo	Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of South Sulawesi (1987-1999) Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI) (2004-2009)
4	Tenri Olle Yasin Limpo	Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of Gowa (2004-2009) Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of South Sulawesi (2009-2014) Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI) (2014-2019)
5	Haris Yasin Limpo	Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of Makassar (2004-2014)
6	Indira Chunda Syahrul	Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI) (2009-2019)
7	Adnan Purichta Ichsan	Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of South Sulawesi (2009-2019) Regent of Gowa (2016-2021)
8	Andi Pahlevi	Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of Makassar (2014-2019)
9	Akbar Danu Indarta	Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of Gowa (2014-2019)
10	Andi Ishak	Provincial Legislatives Council (DPRD) of Gowa (2014-2019)

Sources: obtained by researcher, 2023

The table above shows that the Yasin Limpo family built a political network in the local area and then moved upwards through several families who eventually occupied positions as cross-national legislators. The network has been maintained over a long time so that the

dynastic politics of the Yasin Limpo family is maintained and even develops towards a wider cross-national area.

In addition, another phenomenon also occurs in the same case, the Atut political dynasty (Hamid, 2014). They monopolize every government and non-

government institution at the local level, such as provinces and regencies/cities, down to the more local level of villages

(Berenschot dkk., 2021). This can be seen from the data of Ratu Atut's family, who became public officials.

Table 2. Ratu Atut Chosiyah's Family

No	Family Member	Position
1	Hikmat Tomet (Husband)	Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI) (2009-2014)
2	Andika Hazrumy (Son)	House of Representatives (DPD) (2009-2014) Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI) (2014-2019)
3	Ade Rossi Khaerunisa (Daughter-in-law)	Provincial Legislatures Council (DPRD) of Serang City (2009-2014)
4	Ratu Tatu Chasanah (Sister)	Provincial Legislatures Council (DPRD) of Banten (2010-2015)
5	Th. Khaerul Jaman (Brother)	Vice Mayor of Serang (2008-2013)
6	Ratna Komalasari (Stepmother)	Provincial Legislatures Council (DPRD) of Serang City (2009-2014)
7	Heryani (Stepmother)	Provincial Legislatures Council (DPRD) of Serang City (2009-2014)
8	Airin Rachmi Diany (Sister-in-law)	Mayor of Tangerang City (2011-2016)

Sources: obtained by researcher, 2023

The two phenomena above show similarities where the Yasin Limpo family and Ratu Atut Chosiyah's family have social capital in their respective regions so that dynastic politics that are built bottom-up are well maintained and ultimately spread to a broader sector, namely national politics. This phenomenon occurs in dynastic politics in Indonesia, where bottom-up patterns almost generally dominate studies of dynastic politics.

In this research, the study of dynastic politics discusses the continuation of power owned by family members and how dynastic politics works in the democratic dimension to expand power at lower or higher levels.

Dynastic politics that works at the local level in the 2020 Medan Mayoral Election can be seen from the strength of the national political coalition that "went down the mountain" to help the campaign of Bobby Nasution-Aulia Rahman.

Jokowi's Family Politics in the 2020 Local Leaders Election

Table 3. Figures who support Bobby Nasution and Aulia Rahman

No	Figure	Role
1	Sandiaga Uno	Attending the First Debate of the Medan Mayoral Election
2	Fahri Hamzah	Declaration of Support

3	Fadli Zon	Support for Bobby-Aulia
4	Ganjar Pranowo	Support for Bobby-Aulia
5	Akbar Tandjung	Support for Bobby-Aulia

Sources: obtained by researcher, 2023

There are several reasons why those figures above supporting Bobby Nasution and Aulia Rahman. First is Sandiaga Uno, carrying an entrepreneurship program in the Saksawira village enticing him to support Bobby Nasution and Aulia Rahman. Next figure is Fahri Hamzah, his reason is different because he has confidence in his political background. He claims at least 80% of Medan City population to vote for Bobby-Aulia. Meanwhile Fadli Zon and Akbar Tandjung has similar reason to vote Bobby Nasution and Aulia Rahman, the reason is everyone have their rights to vote, and they believe Medan City can change to be a better City in the future. As for Ganjar Pranowo, he likes Bobby-Aulia's program to make a creative hub because he thinks it is a cool program.

In addition, several party actors also attended the Bobby-Aulia campaign in the 2020 Medan Mayoral Election from the Golkar Party with the presence of Jurkamnas (National Campaigners) including the Minister of Youth and Sports (Menpora) Zainuddin Amali, Deputy Chairman of the DPP Golkar Party, Deputy Chairman of the Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI), Azis Syamsyudin, and Waketum DPP Golkar Ahmad Doli Kurnia, Meutya Hafid Chairman of Commission I of Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (Komisi I DPR RI), Lamhot Sinaga Golkar Faction

Final Voter North Sumatra. In addition, Djarot Saiful Hidayat, Ahmad Doli Kurnia Tanjung, Maruar Sirait, Sukur Nababan and others (Lubis, 2020).

These figures present a new dynastic political nuance where the family machine in formal and non-formal institutions is not used. However, there is power from the national political coalition owned by populist leader Jokowi to play a role in local contestation in the 2020 Local Leaders Election.

Consider it from the political resources owned by Bobby Nasution before becoming Jokowi's son-in-law to become a candidate for Medan Mayor in the 2020 Local Leaders Election. In that case, it seems that Bobby Nasution's involvement is only affiliated with the business he is running, such as share ownership in PT Pilar Wirasena Sinergi, where Muhammad Andri Alfisah, who is a commissioner, is the first son of Idaham, Mayor of Binjai for the 2010-2015 and 2016-2021 periods and is a member of the North Sumatra Provincial Legislatures Council (DPRD) from the Democratic Party for the 2019-2024 period (Adam, 2020). Bobby Nasution, before he married Kahiyang Ayu, Jokowi's daughter, had a business background. This can be seen from Adam's note (2020), which explains Bobby Nasution's background before marrying Kahiyang Ayu.

Table 4. Bobby Nasution's Business Background

No	Business	Roles
1	Veteran Café	Owner

2	PT Wirasena Cipta Reswara	Commissioner
3	PT Pilar Wirasena Sinergi	Shareholder (IDR 1.53 Billion)
4	Takke Group	Marketing Director
5	PT Sahabat Jaya Reswara	Shareholder (IDR 650 Million)
6	P.T. Sambas Mineral Mining	Shareholder (IDR 5.7 Billion)

Source: Adam (2020)

In this background, the political resources owned by Bobby Nasution are minimal, so Bobby Nasution's appearance in the 2020 Mayoral election is considered as one of the applications of dynastic politics by utilizing Jokowi's populist figure with the status of son-in-law. As stated by Purwaningsih (2015), there is another dimension in dynastic politics: political recruitment. Dynastic politics occurs when political recruitment is based on considerations of kinship relations and not based on aspects of candidate qualifications. Purwaningsih emphasizes the importance of assessing political recruitment. Political recruitment results in family members occupying political positions that are not based on their abilities or not through outlined procedures but instead based on family relationship considerations, thus forming a political dynasty.

Dynastic politics that occurs in the dimension of political recruitment in the 2020 Medan Mayoral Election by looking at Bobby Nasution's background in terms of the aspect of minimal qualifications in politics makes dynastic politics work because kinship considerations dominate the nomination of Bobby Nasution in the 2020 mayoral election, namely as Jokowi's son-in-law.

In previous research, Suryatwan (2020) stated that Jokowi, when compared to the previous President, appears to be one of the low-profile presidents related to political dynasties. Before the emergence of Gibran (Son) and Bobby (Son-in-law), Jokowi's family served as public officials and in other strategic positions. This can be seen from the table regarding the family of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, who became public officials.

Table 4. The President's Family in Politics

No	President	Family who became Public Officials	Description
1	Soekarno	Megawati (Fifth President)	Daughter
2	Soeharto	Siti Hardijanti Rukmana (Tutut) (MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS 1998) Titiek Soeharto (Legislative Member of Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI) 2014-2018) Tommy Soeharto (Legislative Member of Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI) 1992-1998)	Daughter Son
3	Habibie	-	
4	Gusdur	Yenni Wahid (President's Exclusive Staff)	Daughter

5	Megawati	Puan Maharani (Chairwoman of DPR RI 2019-2024)	Daughter
		Alm. Taufik Kiemas (MPR RI 2009-2014)	Husband
6	SBY	Edhie Baskoro (Legislative Member of Regional Representatives Council of R.I. (DPR RI))	Son
7	Jokowi	-	

Source: Suryatwan (2020)

In an interview session in December 2019, Bobby Afif Nasution denied that his goal of running for Mayor of Medan was a form of dynastic politics that President Jokowi was building. *"If you say dynasty, it is not a dynasty."* In addition, Bobby Nasution also added that the dynasty that was carried out was not a political dynasty but a dynasty of work motivation or leadership style from President Jokowi, who was considered to have enthusiasm for work, more or less Bobby's statement is as follows *"You can see for yourself, how President Jokowi is doing, maybe the dynasty is just that. If it is a political dynasty, a dynasty of power, what are the purposes?"* (liputan6.com).

However, at the same time, Bobby said that his nomination as a candidate for Mayor was a momentum to realize hope and unity. Bobby said that he brought the spirit of collaboration to build Medan City, which was born from Bung Karno's gotong-royong spirit (Tanjung, 2021). The campaign style that Bobby is trying to display is almost the same as Jokowi's style as a populist figure, such as diving into the local region, often called "blusukan" style of meeting the community to find out the actual conditions faced. In several moments, such as the floods in 2020 in Medan, Bobby took part in helping the community. In

addition, Bobby's assumption as a figure who will lead a clean and transparent Medan City community is seen from the figure of President Joko Widodo, as one of the people said, "Bobby Nasution is the son-in-law of Indonesian President Joko Widodo, so he will never and dare to commit corruption" (Tanjung, 2021).

From the explanation above, it is explained that populism in the populist figure of Jokowi plays a role in helping to form Dynastic Politics in Medan City in the 2020 Mayoral Election, starting from the "going down the mountain" of the national political elite to help win Bobby-Aulia is none other than the figure of Jokowi in national politics so that support for the national coalition plays a role in supporting Bobby-Aulia to win the 2020 Medan City Mayoral Election. In addition, based on the data that has been presented concerning public responses about Bobby is the son-in-law of President Jokowi, so it plays a role in shaping Bobby's figure who will not commit corruption because he is considered clean and transparent, and finally seen from the style that is trying to be displayed to the public that Bobby is a figure close to the community seen from the "blusukan" style that is trying to be displayed the same as Jokowi's communication style which is famous for the "blusukan" style as a factor

that supports Bobby to win political contestation.

Political resources, which are networks owned by candidates during the contestation period to support the contestants to win the contestation, can be seen how Bobby, after becoming Jokowi's son-in-law, who previously had a background as a businessman and was minimally affiliated with the circulation of political elites, finally obtained supportive political resources where networks were formed with the emergence of national figures who came directly to help win Bobby in the 2020 Mayoral Election.

Meanwhile, Gibran's candidacy as Mayor of Solo has also drawn much criticism. The statement that Jokowi is building his dynasty is further strengthened by Jokowi's support for nominating his first son as Mayor of Solo. Gibran is considered too premature to become Mayor because, in September 2019, he only joined the same party as his father, the PDI-Perjuangan. The PDI-P DPP also made maneuvers that were considered favorable to the Jokowi family by changing the candidate for Mayor, who was originally the incumbent at that time, Achmad Purnomo, until finally replaced with Gibran.

Jokowi in building his political dynasty in Solo is also evident from Gibran's victory, which is full of privileges. Gibran was a nobody and suddenly became a political elite. In addition, he certainly also utilized the network that Jokowi had built during his leadership of Solo several years earlier. His position as a political elite is not considered natural. However, it has passed through mechanisms and social structures so that he has more value, for example, the

status as the President's son. In terms of background, he has more capital to win the General Election, both in terms of economic, social, and cultural. Another capital is based on his father's leadership experience so that he has a solid coalition or network that can be utilized.

The evidence that Gibran can easily get the position as Mayor of Solo in a reasonably short time is considered evidence of political parties' failure in regenerating their members. Furthermore, what has been debated is that Gibran needs to be more capable of leading Solo City politically and otherwise. Gibran needs to prove through hard work that he can lead Solo City, not because of Jokowi's big name or his famous populist leadership style.

Jokowi's Post Populism: Dynastic Politics in Indonesia

Through populism, Jokowi built his small kingdom. Dynastic politics is a symptom that democracy does not work ideally in a country. In Libya, for example, Muammar Gaddafi, who was also a President and dictator, built his dynasty in such a way as to create a small kingdom for his children to continue reproducing power within the scope of government.

In addition to nominating his son-in-law Bobby Nasution in the Medan regional election and paving the way for Gibran to run for Vice President in the 2024 presidential election, Kaesang, Jokowi's youngest son, also became chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party on September 25, 2023, 2 days after joining the party. The Indonesian Solidarity Party is also one of the parties supporting Prabowo-Gibran in the upcoming 2024 Presidential Election. There

are indications that Jokowi is playing "two feet" (bermain "dua kaki") with the existence of 2 parties in Jokowi's core family. In addition to helping increase PSI's electability, Kaesang's appearance is also used to gain the votes of young people. Kaesang is also branding populism in that he is close to young people, understands the economic problems of the upper middle class, and supports the progress of the creative industry.

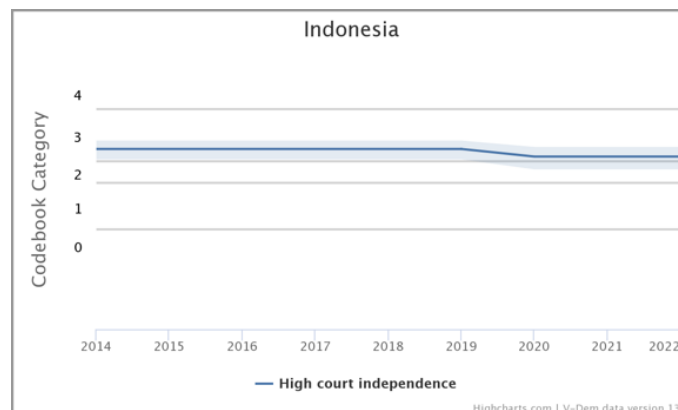
Jokowi's steps in building his dynasty are increasingly evident. He started by nominating his son-in-law and his son in the mayoral elections of Medan and Solo, then also marrying his younger sibling to Anwar Usman, the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court. Some parties considered that the marriage was full of political attitudes from both parties. The allegation of a political attitude in the marriage was at least proven on October 17, 2023, where, on that day, Anwar Usman granted a petition related to the minimum age limit for presidential candidacy. The Constitutional Court decided that the minimum age limit was 40 or had been a regional head through the General Election

mechanism through Decree No.90/PUU-XXI/2023. The decision was made when Gibran Rakabuming Raka, Jokowi's son and Anwar Usman's nephew, was rumored to be running for President.

Of course, Jokowi's actions differ from what he portrayed to the public during his presidential campaign: prioritizing the people's interests over political parties (Fukuoka & Djani, 2016). Just a few months after he was re-elected as President in 2019, he "returned the favor" to his supporters by placing them in strategic positions. An example is when he appointed Prabowo Subianto as Minister of Defense. Bland (2020) considered that this action was a betrayal of democracy. On the other hand, he did this to paralyze the opposition.

The Constitutional Court's decision regarding the minimum age limit for presidential candidacy is a form of *constitutional backsliding* because of the *conflict of interest* that underlies the issuance of the decision or legal consideration. Of course, Anwar Usman, from President Jokowi's family, has objectivity problems and is influenced by political conditions in issuing Decree No.90/PUU-XXI/2023.

Table 5. Scale of Independence of the Court or High Court in Indonesia



Source: V-Dem, 2023

The problem of institutional independence concerning the high courts is evident from the data collected by v-dem. The independence of the high court in Indonesia is affected by several things, such as the monopoly of government interests through court or high court decisions, the relevance of court or high court decisions to government positions, and legal records that favor the government. It can be seen from the diagram that the smaller the number, the more often the government utilizes the court or high court for its interests. The scale means 0: always; 1: often; 2: at certain times; 3: rarely; 4: never.

During 2014-2022 or Jokowi's second term in office, there was stagnation and a decline in the independence index of the court or high court. In the first period of Jokowi's leadership (2014-2019), it can be seen that the scale of the diagram almost touched the number 3, which means that the government rarely uses the court or high court for government-related interests. However, in the second period of Jokowi's administration (2019-current), it can be seen that the figure decreased to close to a scale of 2. This indicates that the government sometimes utilizes the court or high court to further its interests.

Of course, Decree No.90/PUU-XXI/2023 shows the momentum in which Jokowi utilizes the court or high court to benefit the government or his interests. It should be underlined that legal products are loaded with political interests. This will harm both democracy and the institution. Public trust in the court, high court, and other government institutions will decline. Likewise, democracy will suffer a setback due to the hijacking of institutions.

There are signs that his leadership is heading towards authoritarianism, especially in controlling social and economic resources and attempting to change the constitution. Jokowi argues that efforts to control economic resources are necessary to move Indonesia forward. He also claims that the constitution can be changed for democratic interests. Regarding the crackdown on the opposition, he argues that such measures are necessary to maintain stability and order.

Jokowi's populism has successfully institutionalized his interests and those of the political elite around him. Jokowi has taken strong measures against his political opposition. He has often used the security forces and the law to repress human rights activists. Jokowi's authoritarian attitude has been demonstrated through several incidents, including the arrest and detention of activists and the enactment of laws that grant greater authority to security forces. These actions were carried out successfully and attributed to his populist approach.

Other evidence is that Jokowi has restricted press freedom during his leadership. There has been an increase in cases of criminalization of press freedom. Several journalists and independent media have faced intimidation, questionable legal action, and political pressure. This raises concerns that Jokowi is trying to limit media criticism and control the narrative that develops in the public sphere. Then, there is the shutdown of internet access. During several critical political events, such as student protests and the Papua incident, the Indonesian government blocked internet and social media access. This was seen as an attempt to control the circulation of

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information and reduce the mobility of activists and demonstrators.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon in the 2020 Medan City Mayoral Election where Bobby Nasution-Aulia provides a new view is from the perspective of dynastic politics where populism in the populist figure of Jokowi plays a role in dynastic politics. The top-down pattern of dynastic politics, one of the new phenomena, provides space for developing dynastic politics. The top-down pattern applied in the 2020 Medan City Mayoral Election does not lead to family machines but instead to using national coalition political capital, which is then mobilized to win Bobby in local political contestation. This phenomenon can be seen from the role of national political elites who "went down the mountain" to win Bobby as Mayor of Medan.

In addition, Bobby Nasution ultimately has political capital obtained from President Jokowi as the father-in-law of Bobby Nasution. In addition, the dynastic politics seen in the nomination of Bobby Nasution is more directed towards political recruitment because the basis used to nominate Bobby Nasution does not lead to qualifications but rather a kinship relationship attached to Bobby, in this case as Jokowi's son-in-law. Apart from Bobby,

indications and opportunities for Gibran's candidacy as vice president in the 2024 Presidential Election also characterize the dynastic politics that have strengthened in the Jokowi family. Through a fairly short method and time, Gibran can run for President or Vice President even though he is not yet 40 years old, but through the requirement to have been a regional head through the General Election mechanism. Previously, the Constitutional Court ratified the new regulation led by Gibran's uncle, Anwar Usman.

The dynastic politics built by Jokowi began with the spirit of populism and the power of rhetoric to side with the people. Similarly, the image built by Kaesang continues Jokowi's populism. Kaesang approaches and shows his closeness to youth groups in urban areas. Of course, the populist jargon echoed by Jokowi does not reflect what he is currently doing. Joko Widodo built a populist image during his administration by emphasizing his connection with the people and focusing on everyday issues. However, criticism of dynastic politics in his family should continue to be echoed as it can affect political integrity and democracy. Transparency and accountability in dynastic politics should be monitored to balance the populist image and democratic norms in Indonesia's political system.

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