


Local Political Dynasty of Saring Sungai Binjai Village Kusan Hilir Sub-District, Tanah Bumbu Regency

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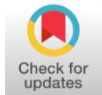
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Abstract: This research explains what factors have made the political dynasty of the Anafson Hadi family to survive to this day. Three variables are used to analyze this case, namely: political opportunity, internal influence, and external influence. By using qualitative research methods, this study shows that the factor of experience is not a consideration for society in making choices, but that educational factors are superior to the average community, political networks and economic capital are quite capable, then also history and culture that make the dynasty. Anafson Hadi still exists today. In its political opportunity, the Anafson Hadi dynasty does not dwell solely on the election of the head of the village government, which is the direct choice of the community in the Pilkades. The education of the village head candidate from the Anafson Hadi Dynasty influenced the development of this dynasty such as skills in managing the village, supporting the existence of the family, and having advantages over the average community. Some of the political networks of the Anafson Hadi dynasty come from a legacy that continues to be expanded and strengthened by future generations.

Keyword: *Political Dynasty; Political Capital; Elections.*

INTRODUCTION

This research focusses more on political actors who play a role in the dynamics of local politics or in this case the local politics of Saring Sungai Binjai village, Kusan Hilir district, Tanah Bumbu Regency. In general, political actors are people who are involved and influence decisions, policies, or consensus reached through village deliberations up to the selection of the relevant village apparatus. Meanwhile, Brian McNair is in [\(Nugraheni, 2017\)](#) said that political actors are individuals who have high hopes for an institution or organization and have the desire to influence policy decision making. On the other hand, that strong actor implemented the leader of the political dynasty, that is who is playing the practice of power by “giving” the position of family members in the power structure, another term often used to describe the practice of power is kinship politics, where the successor of leadership is the family of the incumbent [\(Razzaq, 2018\)](#).

Following direct local election to elect a local government head (district head, mayor, and governor) which began taking effect in 200), there is a new threat to local democracy as politicians from political dynasties rise and spread in various regions across the country. [\(Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, 2018\)](#) This focus on the dynamics of local village politics is interpreted as a process of progressing politics from one actor to another and from time to

time. As mentioned above, society plays a role in influencing policy decisions as a political actor. However, specifically this research is aimed at village government as an institution or an organization. By continuing Brian Mcnair's statement, the Jelau community has lofty ideals that depend on the village government as a pillar in policy making and as an actor in implementing policies.

Dynastic politics according (Halim, 2014) namely political power exercised by a group of people who are still related in family relationships or kinship political trends that prioritize political regeneration based on genealogical ties or lineage. When viewed from the lineage, the regeneration of the village head of Saring Sungai Binjai as head of government was carried out by a family group. This is known by researchers in the pre-research obtained through direct interviews with a resource, namely Anafson Hadi as the village head who is currently serving in the 2017-2023 period.

Local political dynamics in the village of Saring Sungai Binjai have more exotic power when viewed from the perspective of village officials as political actors who influence local political dynamics. The village apparatus in question is more dominant to the village head as the head of local government. Further point or third point CHAPTER I article 1 Law no. 6/2014 above reads: "Village Government is the Village Head or as referred to by any other name assisted by Village apparatus as an element of Village Government administrators." (dpr.go.id, 2014). The attraction in question is the change in the village government of Saring Sungai Binjai, indicating the existence of dynastic politics.

The indication of dynastic politics in the village of Saring Sungai Binjai was strengthened by the statement of the source who told his story at the village hall of Saring Sungai Binjai on July 12, 2020. Researchers received information from the informants that the leadership of the village head of Saring Sungai Binjai is still ongoing today. The informant acknowledged the lineage he had with the village head who had previously held office. The resource person as the village head has served in the second term in his leadership. He said, he had served as village head in the 2007-2012 period. However, in 2009, the village head who is familiarly called Ambo Lau chose to step down from his position before the maturity period was due because there was an offer or choice from the Regent at that time to the village head in Tanah Bumbu to choose to remain the village head or choose to become a Civil Servant (ASN at that time) on condition that they leave the position of village head. The resource person continued, he preferred to become a State Civil Servant with several other village heads who also chose ASN status.



Figure 1. Profile of the Village Head



Figure 2. Profile of the Village Head

Source: Documentation archive of Saring Sungai Binjai Village

According to historical data from the village administration attached to the Village Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMDes), there are 10 village heads who have served in Saring Sungai Binjai Village up to the Anafson Hadi period. The following is a derivative tree from the history of the government:

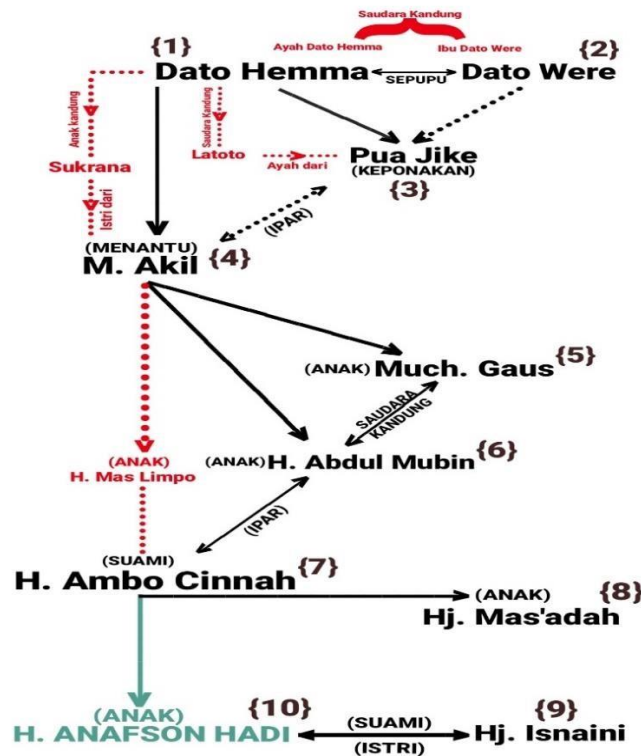


Figure 3. Village Leadership Chain

However, dynastic politics did not necessarily have a negative connotation. This is because, after 1998 until now, efforts to democratize have been encouraged through various efforts, such as in the practice of electoral politics. Regeneration of regional head leadership is of course carried out by general elections, including the election of regional heads at the village level or Pilkades. Simply put, the community has the right to determine the village head as they wish, and there is no direct appointment of the village head position. Therefore, every candidate for village head has the right to show his capital so that the community will glance at the Pilkades. If we refer to Piere Boudieu about the theory of capital that intersects with domination and power, then dynastic politics in the village of Saring Sungai Binjai is more suitable. categorized into the use of cultural capital. As quoted from [Halim A., 2014](#).

Cultural capital is the ability to intellectually and present oneself in public and build relationships obtained through formal education processes or inherited family inheritance. Referring to Halim's opinion, several heads of the village of Saring Sungai Binjai who have or are currently in office have received intellectuality and the ability to build relationships that are more oriented than the form of family descent. This is because when viewed from formal education, these village heads have a formal education route that is almost equal to that of the general population in the village, or there is almost no specificity in the route of formal education. Therefore, the cultural capital obtained is limited to personal observations and informal transfer of knowledge from closest relatives.

That is the reason behind the selection of the title "The Dynamics of Local Politics in Saring Sungai Binjai Village, Kusan Hilir District, Tanah Bumbu Regency". Some of the dynamics have been presented in the background as a result of the data obtained from the pre-study. However, further and comprehensive data will be sought and examined more deeply in further research and will be described in the data findings in the next chapter. Behind the indications of dynastic politics coupled with the existence of social capital as the main capital of political actors in Saring Sungai Binjai Village, researchers are interested in proposing problem formulations: "How did the Anafson Hadi family's political dynasty in Saring Sungai Binjai Village survive?"

RESEARCH METHOD

The type used is a qualitative approach which is meant by [\(Herdiansyah, 2010\)](#) qualitative based on an understanding of a social phenomenon in which the interaction between the researcher and the research object takes place in a deep and comprehensive manner. emphasizes more on the process than the results, this is because the relationship with the parts being studied will be clearer when observed in terms of the process. The qualitative approach is the researcher's choice to simplify the analysis of local political dynasties in the village of Saring Sungai Binjai, Kusan Hilir sub-district, Tanah Bumbu district by collecting data in the form of interviews.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Political Dynasty and Participatory in Indonesian Local Democracy

Several scholars have explained some reasons behind the emergence of political dynasties in a democratic society. Dynasty politics is a political power that is exercised by a group of people who are still involved in family relations or close relatives. [\(Hadi Prabowo, 2019\)](#) The existence of a political dynasty, which is increasingly developing, has always been pros and cons. It is no longer common knowledge that political dynasties are assumed to have the potential to cause abuse of power [\(Novia Fatimatuzzahra, 2021\)](#). Of course, the domination of local politics by dynastic powers also occurs outside of Indonesia. Families, compared with other groups, are better able to cooperate and solve collective action problems because of two main features: hierarchical structure and high levels of trust. They allow for coordinated decisions concerning issues of succession and the intergenerational transmission of economic resources across time [\(Hamid, 2015\)](#).

Political dynasty happens not only at national level, but also occurs at local level. He argues that feudalism and patrimonial culture could be considered as the main source of political dynasty [\(Yus, 2016\)](#) Following direct local election to elect a local government head (district head, mayor, and governor) which began taking effect in 2000, there is a new threat to local democracy as politicians from political dynasties rise and spread in various regions across the country [\(Dewi, 2018\)](#). Political dynasty is often understood as the rule of certain families for a relatively long period by using strategies such as: "1) the establishment and maintenance of a kinship network; 2) the organization of political machines; 3) the mobilization of wealth and property; 4) access to state resources; 5) the use of violence and coercion; and 6) the cultivation of issues, image, and popularity" [\(Wadi, 2008\)](#).

Dynasty is a word that defines autocracy as the sensitivity of imaging of ancestors, grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, siblings and relatives is still a bastion of the legitimacy of power [\(Utomo, 2020\)](#). Dynasty in politics creates a circle of power or structuring that occupies

the family, children and colleagues (Utomo, 2020). Political dynasty is also a mechanism for promoting and protecting the status and economic interest of the family (Amundsen, 2013). Political dynasties tend to accumulate economic positions, to be owners of private businesses and to be managers of public enterprises, in addition their political positions (Amundsen, 2013). Political dynasty refers to the ability of a family to inherit and to accumulate power and wealth from one generation to the next and frequently functions across a variety of political systems and across time (Purdey, 2016).

Indonesia has experienced improved performance in democracy which can be measured from the application of decentralisation and local autonomy (Mariana, 2017). Political participation in local election, therefore, becomes a central issue as it determines the quality of local democracy. For developmentalist theory, like Lipset, people's participation in democracy is highly determined by the economic background they have, and accordingly democratisation is always hand in hand with development agenda (Mariana, 2017). An emerging sub-theme in the burgeoning literature on local politics in Indonesia is the rise of political dynasties in the country's provinces and districts (Aspinall, 2016). Though we still do not know much about the extent of, and variation within, this phenomenon, it is obvious that, all around the country, local government leaders who were elected early in the period of post-Suharto democratic decentralisation have endeavoured to install their relatives in government posts (Aspinall, 2016). There are many families that have managed stay in power across two executive election cycles' with many 'trying to broaden their base to incorporate legislative posts at different levels of government', to add to the executive government posts they dominate (Aspinall, 2016).

As decentralization constitutes a strategy to achieve good governance, the failure of good governance might be caused by unsuccessful decentralization framework. Utomo, n.y) In that sense, the failure of decentralization is caused mostly by the low capacity of local government (Utomo, 2012). From the beginning of decentralization policy, there was wide anxiety on the capacity of local government to run the new wave of government management. Such concern implies that government capacity constitutes condition sine qua non for rewarding decentralization (Utomo, 2012). The term political dynasty became a trend topic to discuss, after the emergence of several regional leaders in Indonesia who were the families of the previous leaders (Razzaq, 2018). Not a few of the regional leaders who are descendants or families of previous regional leaders, for example in South Sumatra, in Jambi, in Banten, in East Java. Leadership of regional heads in some places are relayed relay, either to children, wife, brother, sister, niece, or other familial relationship (Razzaq, 2018).

Political Dynasty in Saring Sungai Binjai Village

In this third chapter, we presented the results of the field findings obtained through the interview process with related parties for this case study. The results of the interview are primary data to support the discussion and analysis of cases of political dynasties in Saring Sungai Binjai Village, Kusan Hilir District, Tanah Bumbu Regency as well as supporting secondary data. The data that has been obtained will be analyzed for further simplification and classification so that the description of the results is easy to understand. Researchers position Anafson Hadi's family as a political actor who has been the head of the village government from the time the government was formed. The political dynasty that developed in Saring Sungai Binjai Village was caused by 3 (three) factors, namely: political opportunity, internal factors, and external factors. By using these factors, researchers dissect this case in such a way.

In its political opportunity, the Anafson Hadi dynasty does not focus solely on the election of the village government head who is the direct choice of the community in Pilkades, but this dynasty shows that they are part of an individual figure and one of the families who have been active in regional elections from the past until now. with strong community support for this figure or family. The role of this dynasty as a political elite dynasty is expanding, which is related to their strong desire as incumbents of government to expand their political opportunities. Internal variables that influence the development of political dynasties lie in the motivation and capital of these political actors in meeting the requirements needed in the process of expanding the power network. This is in accordance with the opinion of (Norris & Lovenduski, If Only More Candidates Came Forward: Supply-Side Explanation of Candidates

Selection in Britain, 1993) which states that there are two factors that lead to the entry of kinship members into politics, namely political capital and political motivation. According to Prewitt in (Kurtz & Donn, 1989) the motivational factor is influential because the parents inherit their political interests to their children, which then the child continues the interests of the parents. Socialization from parents to their children is one of the factors in the emergence of kinship politics. In addition, candidates from political families usually have sufficient political capital, such as: education, political networks, experience, and financial resources.

Referring to Halim's opinion, several heads of the village of Saring Sungai Binjai who have or are currently in office have received intellectuality and the ability to build relationships that are more oriented than the form of family descent. This is because when viewed from formal education, these village heads have a formal education route that is almost equal to that of the general population in the village, or there is almost no specificity in the route of formal education. Therefore, the cultural capital obtained is limited to personal observations and informal transfer of knowledge from closest relatives. The education of the village head candidate from the Anafson Hadi Dynasty influenced the development of this dynasty such as skills in managing the village, supporting the existence of the family, and having an advantage over the average community, which until now some of the people of Saring Sungai Binjai are not literate.

Political networks may stem from a legacy that is continued to be expanded and strengthened by future generations. However, some of the political networks were formed with the awareness that it was not sufficient to rely solely on the existence of the family, and therefore political capital was added to the effort to raise the mass base towards the victory of the electoral constellation.

Table.1 Elite Experience Before Serving as Village Head

No	Name	Previous Experience/Period	Village Head Period
1.	Dato Hemma	Education Community Figures / -	1984-1930 & 1931-1936
2.	Dato Were'	Public Figure / -	1930-1931
3.	M. Akil	Deputy Village Head / 1931 - 1936	1936-1952
4.	H. Abd Majid	Religious Leader / -	1952-1956
5.	Much Gaus	Deputy Village Head / 1952 1959	1956-1958
6.	H. Abd Mubin	Deputy Village Head / 1956 - 1958	1958-1962
7.	H. Ambo Cinnah	Youyh Leader / -	1962-1984
8.	Hj. Mas'adah	Student / -	1984-2007
9.	Hj. Monday	Chairman of PKK / 2007-2010	2010-2017
10.	H. Anafson Hadi	Youth Leader / - Village Secretary / 2001-2004 Member of BPD / 2004-2007	2007-2010 & 2017-2023

Source: Interview Result Data

According to the findings of research conducted by Daniel Markham in (Smith, 2012) in Japan, it is analyzed that external variable will have an influence on political dynasties. The results of his research show that an electoral system that focuses on candidate candidates will benefit a political family because the candidate comes from a political family that is well known to the public. According to (Purwaningsih, Kinship Politics in Local Politics in South Sulawesi in the Reform Era (Study of Political Recruitment in the Golkar Party, the National Mandate Party and the Democratic Party of South Sulawesi in 2009), 2015) the process of development of kinship politics is not carried out in a vacuum, but is influenced by external factors such as cultural and historical aspects that cover it. Regarding the case of the local political dynasty in Saring Sungai Binjai Village, the researcher does not emphasize the focus of the party system in this external variable, but the researcher will emphasize more on field findings in the form of historical and cultural aspects that affect candidates from political families in Saring Sungai Binjai Village.

Not only that, the dynamics of leadership regeneration in this village, there were still several periods before Anafson Hadi was involved in the local politics of Saring Sungai Binjai.

Including his siblings, his father, his uncle, and other lineages who have served as heads of the village of Saring Sungai Binjai. To strengthen the background of the dynamics of village politics that have been influenced by dynastic politics, the researcher quotes from (Hermansyah, 2017) dynastic politics is a political strategy in maintaining power so that power remains on the side of one family group by passing power to others who have a relationship kinship. Revivalism of the political dynasties in the modern era, as indicated by many studies in different countries, has a very close relationship with family interests or the kinship politics.

The kinship culture in the bugis culture in the Saring Sungai Binjai community is used by political families, including the Anafson Hadi family, to be converted into cultural capital. The participation of other family members in the political arena to continue their previous power is also supported by the attitude of society that has given the green light. Of course, apart from the attitude of the community, this opportunity is also used as best as possible by family members to get involved in the world of politics.

CONCLUSION

In its political opportunity, the Anafson Hadi dynasty does not dwell solely on the election of the head of the village government, which is the direct choice of the community in the Pilkades. The education of the village head candidate from the Anafson Hadi Dynasty influenced the development of this dynasty such as skills in managing the village, supporting the existence of the family, and having advantages over the average community. Some of the political networks of the Anafson Hadi dynasty come from a legacy that continues to be expanded and strengthened by future generations.

However, some of the political networks were formed with the awareness that it was not sufficient to rely solely on the existence of the family, and therefore political capital was added to the effort to raise the mass base towards the victory of the electoral constellation. The political dominance of the Anafson Hadi dynasty in the village of Saring Sungai Binjai has been around for a long time. Even before independence, Culture and History that covered this village made the people imprinted from their subconscious to still choose candidates from that political family.

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