

Governance of Presidential Elections: Dynasty Politics and Institutional Ethics

Muhammad Rais Rahmat Razak^{1*}, Andi Astinah Adnan¹, Affandi Agusman Aris²

¹ Universitas Muhammadiyah Sidenreng Rappang, Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia

² Universitas Wira Bhakti, Makassar, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: mraisrahmat@gmail.com

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Abstract: The governance of the 2024 Presidential Election leaves an important note for democracy in Indonesia. The President as head of State is considered not neutral, weakening state institutions practicing dynasty politics in a democratic country. This study aims to determine the practice of presidential dynasty politics and the ethics of state institutions in the 2024 national leadership succession. Using a descriptive-qualitative approach with an in-depth analysis method of the state process and the President's response in facing the leadership succession. Data collection was conducted through media coverage analysis and a literature review from previous studies. The results show that the involvement of the President strengthens dynasty politics through policies and decisions of the Constitutional Court, which are considered not neutral, so they can weaken democratic ethics. This fact is something new in the practice of democracy in Indonesia, and it has an impact on the integrity of state institutions and election organizers. This study reveals a new perspective on the President's involvement in dynastic politics and its implications for the ethical governance of state institutions during the 2024 presidential election. These findings contribute to the understanding of the challenges of Indonesian democracy and their potential impacts on the 2024 regional head elections, emphasizing the need to strengthen integrity in the democratic process.

Keywords: *Constitutional Ethics; Dynastic Politics; Governance of Presidential Elections*

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INTRODUCTION

Governance in the presidential election of the Republic of Indonesia is regulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, specifically Article 169 letter "q" concerning the requirements to become candidates for President and Vice President. The context of the presidential election provides wide opportunities for citizens, but it is subject to restrictions in terms of age and experience.

The determination of the results of the Constitutional Court hearing Number 90 dated October 16, 2023, whose decision revised the minimum age limit for presidential and vice presidential candidates, became the basis and guideline for ratifying the nomination of Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the eldest son of President Joko Widodo, as a candidate for Vice President accompanying Prabowo Subianto, a presidential candidate supported by the Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PAN, Democrat Party, and several non-parliamentary parties (Dirgantara & Prabowo, 2023).

The President's statement and the weakening of the ethics of constitutional institutions have sparked harsh criticism from democracy activists and academics from leading campuses such as Gadjah Mada University (Demo, 2024), the Islamic University of Indonesia Yogyakarta (Zhan, 2024), Andalas University Sumatra (Ginting, 2024). and Hasanuddin University South Sulawesi (Noer, 2024). This criticism was followed by more than 30 other state and private universities (Qodir, 2024), who collectively called on President Joko Widodo to maintain neutrality and democratic ethics in the national leadership succession (Mujani & Liddle, 2021).

Professors and academics argue that the President has deviated from democratic ethics by practicing dynasty politics in a democratic country and showing a non-neutral attitude in the 2024 national succession process. This has had an impact on the weakening of the ethics of constitutional institutions, including the Constitutional Court and election organizing institutions such as the KPU, which have repeatedly been hit by cases of ethical violations (Poskota, 2024; Rich, 2024).

The President's partisanship and neutrality are questioned, especially because of his involvement in the distribution of social assistance (Bansos), which is often associated with candidate pair number 2 (Singgih, 2024). In fact, it was found that the social assistance package was given the candidate's attributes (Hakim, 2024). The public believes the accusation that the President took advantage of the social assistance program, which should have been managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs for the poor but was instead distributed through institutions and ministries known as part of his son's candidate's success team (Zakiah, 2024).

This study offers novelty by highlighting the practice of dynasty politics in Indonesia from a broader perspective, namely through the approach of political ethics and its consequences for the quality of democracy. This study also links the practice to a phenomenon known in other countries as "pork barrel politics," where state resources are used for personal or family purposes to increase the popularity of a particular candidate. In this context, the distribution of social assistance becomes a strategic instrument to strengthen dynasty politics. This study not only examines formal legality but also highlights how this practice damages democratic ethics and erodes public trust in state institutions. The novelty of this research lies in the combination of analysis of local phenomena and global comparisons with concepts such as "pork barrel politics," which are rarely raised in similar studies in Indonesia.

National Leadership Succession 2024

The governance of the 2024 succession is an important note in the journey of Indonesian democracy. The recruitment process of national leaders, which should prioritize compliance with laws and regulations, ignores democratic ethics (Jahar, 2024). This not only damages the neutrality of the bureaucracy that has been built since the reform era (Perdana, 2019) but also opens up opportunities for the development of dynastic political practices in democratic countries (Dedi, 2022).

The practice of dynastic politics, although not explicitly prohibited by the Constitution (Dairani, 2022), has a broad impact on the quality of democracy and public trust in state institutions. This phenomenon, which was previously recorded during the end of President Suharto's leadership, shows how the practice of nepotism and collusion strengthened the power of certain families, leading to a crisis of public trust and a major reform movement in 1998 (Parandaru, 2024). Therefore, re-examining the practice of dynastic politics in a contemporary context is crucial to maintaining the quality of democracy in Indonesia.

The study focuses on the practice of dynasty politics carried out by President Joko Widodo in the 2024 national leadership succession. This study includes an analysis of the impact of dynasty politics on the ethics of constitutional institutions and election organizers, such as the Constitutional Court and the General Election Commission, whose neutrality is often questioned.

The data in this study involved a number of criticisms from various groups, including academics from more than 30 state and private universities, as well as public views represented in leading mass media. The active participation of this intellectual community provides significant weight in the research analysis.

The practice of dynasty politics has become a widespread trend, not only at the national level but also at the regional level (Khairi, 2022). Therefore, the results of this study can provide insight into strengthening democratic mechanisms at both the national and regional levels. This research was conducted in the critical period leading up to the 2024 Election when the practice of dynasty

politics was in the public and academic spotlight. This will have a broad impact on the simultaneous regional elections on November 27, 2024.

This research uses a qualitative descriptive method with a literature analysis approach, document data collection, and issue mapping using text analysis technology such as word clouds. This study seeks to identify patterns of dynastic political practices and their impact on democratic ethics. This research offers strategic solutions to strengthen democracy. One of the solutions proposed is a comprehensive evaluation of existing election regulations and institutional ethics monitoring mechanisms. So that dynastic political practices can be minimized without violating the principle of equality upheld by the democratic system.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Politics of Dynasties and Other Countries

Dynasty politics is an attempt to seize or maintain power in a democratic country by placing close relatives or descendants to continue government while still being guided by the Constitution (Siboy, 2020). So that a state official can encourage and use all the authority he has and state resources to choose a replacement from his close relatives (Azzahra & Sukri, 2022).

The history of dynastic politics in this world is in line with classical civilization, which has widely practiced dynastic politics in monarchical systems of government (Heriyanto, 2022). Candidates to replace a leader or king are determined based on the relationship of the *nazab* and are ranked according to the order of the crown prince, which is determined by the king or the royal constitutional council (Pasani & Effendi, 2020). The process of leadership succession in a monarchical system only revolves around the King's immediate family, which is assessed based on the strength of royal blood.

The king can choose his successor candidate and does not have to look at the strength of his royal blood. He can also look at the ability of the candidate from within the family, with the main considerations being ethics and competence (Zulkarnain, 2020). The King's decision is absolute, and all his decisions can be legalized with the support of the Constitution and institutions affiliated with the King. Dynastic politics is the product of a country that adheres to a monarchy system.

Global political changes with the issue of democracy, especially in countries that previously adhered to a monarchical system, have apparently not been able to eradicate dynasties in government. In fact, dynastic politics is an important factor in increasing electoral power. There is concern that if this is not regulated by law, then political affairs will only belong to certain families and can be passed down from generation to generation. A new balance is needed in the form of a political strategy that is acceptable to society (Coppenolle, 2014).

The existence of political dynasties in democratic societies, especially in democratic countries that are consolidating, has sparked debate among activists, academics, and pro-democracy policymakers. In many cases, activists, political experts, politicians, and intellectuals accuse political dynasties of being a stumbling block to democratic consolidation, eroding the quality of democracy, a source of corruption, the root cause of underdeveloped development, and an obstacle to the development of reformist movements to hold power (Dedi, 2022).

Efforts to thwart political dynasties by enacting anti-political dynasty laws will actually be controversial and contrary to democratic values, which prioritize equality and will ultimately be difficult to achieve. Democracy requires enthusiasm and ethics, which prioritizes decency and propriety. Many developed and developing countries in the world have practiced dynastic politics with different variants (Baskara, 2024).

The British Empire in the post-Reformation period placed royal succession and royal family marriage affairs in the public political space. Citizens are no longer embarrassed to talk about succession in the palace. In other studies of what is called 'princely society,' social life in European dynasties, such as weddings, musical theater performances, and splendor, are always associated with the political dimension of the kingdom (Riotte, 2020). Several post-Reformation records show that there was a relationship between Catholic teachings and the Royal Palace (Questier, 2019).

Apart from Europe, political dynasties are a phenomenon in South Asia, although political dynasties receive much attention at the national level. However, it is almost ignored at regional and local levels. In South Asia, three main elements stand out in the development of political

dynasties: reciprocity, trust, and failure. These three factors can justify the development of dynastic politics in government (Ruud & Nielsen, 2018).

Japan is a country with the fourth highest number of dynastic politicians after Thailand, the Philippines, and Iceland. The results of the qualitative research show that even though people do not like dynastic candidates, they recognize the advantages they have, such as political networks, potential, capacity, and ability to bring projects to their constituencies. However, some people are neutral and do not care whether a candidate comes from a dynastic family (Miwa et al., 2023; Asako et al., 2015).

The Philippines has proven itself to be a country steeped in dynastic politics. In the 2022 presidential election, Ferdinand Marcos Jr., the son of the late dictator, won a landslide victory after campaigning with themes about nostalgia, authoritarian rule, and the perception of the Philippines' past greatness. Some people believe that dynasties are endemic to this system, born from a history of feudalism and patronage that made it difficult for society to escape (Oh, 2023).

Another fact in the Philippines is that 66% of mayoral positions and 85% of governorships are obtained from the practice of dynastic politics. This trend is also reflected in national elections. Currently, the 24 senators in the 16th Congress are also dominated by dynasties. This condition occurs even though the 1987 Philippine Constitution expressly states that "the State must guarantee equal access to public service opportunities, and prohibit political dynasties as regulated in law (Oh, 2023; Mendoza et al., 2023).

The same case also occurs in Angola and several countries in Africa. Dynastic politics is still a model in democratic countries. Certain families still control government power because they have more resources than others. However, in current developments, this dynastic politics is in danger of collapsing because the behavior of the ruler's sons and daughters cannot set a good example and model for the citizens (Balisacan & Fuwa, 2004).

In Asia (Mendoza et al., 2023), especially in Southeast Asia (Bunte, 2021) In the 21st century, female politicians have emerged and cannot be separated from the influence of their parents' figures, and they rely on family ties and emotional relationships (Labonne et al., 2019). This is considered effective in gaining the most votes. Some democracy activists consider it a threat to the democratization process (Prihatini & Halimatusa'diyah, 2024; Dewi, 2022).

Political dynasties, both in Indonesia and other countries, have been proven to be able to maximize family potential effectively and increase electoral votes because they have historical records of predecessors. Having popularity and a wide network to develop and promote political messages, ensuring sustainable social choice for candidates and political parties, and facilitating political socialization for new generations (Barkov et al., 2020; Ramadhan & Gunawan, 2023).

Dynasty Politics in Democratic Government

An interesting phenomenon in democratic countries with a majority vote regime gives rise to the creativity of politicians and rulers to maintain their power, one of which is exerting influence on state institutions, both legislative and judicial, by placing their relatives or supporters in these institutions. So, this affiliation gives power to the ruler's cronies and can be used to carry out various maneuvers to pass on political power to his descendants or close relatives (Kenawas, 2023).

Continuing power for reasons of sustainable development is realized by maintaining and filling people in institutions that can accommodate the interests of the dynasty without violating the Constitution but ignoring ethical factors. Facts show that political dynasties in Indonesia experienced a significant increase of more than three times, especially from 2010 to 2018. This is supported by gradual changes in institutions that began with the democratic transition in 1998 (Kenawas, 2023).

In Indonesia, which adheres to a democratic government system, especially after reform (Dinarto & Ng, 2021; Aspinall & Masudi, 2017), Dynastic politics started to become a topic of conversation when several regions holding regional elections in districts and cities produced regional election winners from close relatives (son/daughter/husband/wife) of the previous regional head. Constitutionally, they are elected through direct general elections by the people and have legitimacy because their votes exceed those of other candidates.

Incumbent officials in the succession of national leadership will make efforts and play using the power they have (Ufen, 2018) to increase electoral votes to candidates from close relatives. As is currently happening, President Joko Widodo's eldest son is running as a vice-presidential

candidate alongside Prabowo Subianto. Incumbent officials cannot avoid accusations of not being neutral and using state resources from their relatives for the benefit of candidates.

The practice of dynastic politics in the DPR RI parliament is shown by the increase in the number of female parliamentarians from 42% in 2009 to 44% in 2019 (Prihatini & Halimatusa'diyah, 2024). For every four members of parliament, one comes from a dynasty. Her election cannot be separated from the influence of political parties and dynasties. This also happened in the Republic of Korea when the first female President was elected. Her election was not based on achievements or being the first female President, especially because of the influence of the dynasty (Lee, 2023).

At the Regional Head level, the practice of dynastic politics in Bima Regency is demonstrated by the continued concentration of power by the Sultan Bima royal family for 20 years or the previous four periods of leadership. In Bima's case, the political actors coincidentally were his wife and children, who had ancestors who had reigned at the time of Sultan Bima. And in other areas, political dynasties no longer emphasize whether the leader is blue-blooded or not but rather about maintaining power within a particular family (Yuliadi et al., 2021; Buehler et al., 2021).

Dynastic politics in Bima Regency is carried out using the image of the Sultan as cultural legitimacy. The people of Bima, who were still influenced by the past and feudalism, facilitated the continuation of politics and won the most votes in the regent election contest. Another factor causing the perpetuation of dynastic politics in Bima is that the opposition is still weak and has to accept defeat because it is unable to collect more resources from the ruler (Yuliadi et al., 2021).

The victory of President Joko Widodo's son and daughter-in-law in the 2020 regional elections shows the strong influence of dynastic politics. The 2020 simultaneous regional elections showed that 44% or 55 of the 124 regional head candidates running as candidates were related to the authorities. This cannot be denied because, for the sake of electability, parties continue to prioritize candidates who have the popularity of their family name without taking into account morality and ethics in their pursuit of power (Rifki & Mujaeni, 2021; Subekti et al., 2023).

An investigation into the results of the regional head elections, from a constitutional perspective, found no violations because they were put forward as context and appeared as candidates proposed by political parties, fighting and competing in the general elections. Nothing has been violated, but it needs serious attention by carrying out internal reforms at the party level, prioritizing ethics, and returning the party's mission to the interests of the nation and State, not interests based on power (Garnett & James, 2021).

Dynastic politics can actually be accepted and is not questioned as long as the implementation of the system for recruiting and selecting candidates in political contestations in Indonesia is carried out fairly and professionally. Therefore, the determination of candidates or candidates in political contestation in Indonesia must be based on a meritocracy system, namely giving more rights to anyone who has good achievements and track records to occupy strategic seats in government (Gunanto, 2020; Aspinall & As'ad, 2016).

Governance of Presidential Elections

The implementation of general elections by the KPU, compared to other countries such as Malaysia, is considered better in terms of neutrality and implementation (Sunarso et al., 2022), but this is in danger of collapsing due to the behavior of election organizers and the attitude of the President who tends to be considered not neutral, regarding politics. a dynasty that is being built and run in a democratic country.

Democratic government, with the jargon of government from the people by the people and for the people, is interpreted as the election process being carried out starting at the lowest level, namely by involving all the people in determining their leaders. The leader is elected from the people, implemented in the form of all the people being involved in choosing legislative candidates who have been determined by the General Election Commission (Aman & Tomsa, 2023), based on the proposed list of permanent candidates from the Election Contesting Political Parties.

Permanent party candidates are recruited from the people with the consideration of having an ideology and understanding between the candidate and the party and having a high electoral level without prioritizing ethical factors. The recruitment pattern for prospective legislative candidates for each party is different, and the KPU/KPUD, as the Election Organizing Institution, is obliged to determine the rules of the game in accordance with the Constitution (Hertanto, 2022).

The people elect regional and national leaders through regional head elections (Pemilukada) and presidential elections, and the vice president is elected through presidential elections. The elected legislative and executive members are then understood as government by the people and by the people. At this stage, it can be understood as a process that gives birth to people's representation to achieve people's prosperity (Boiliu et al., 2022). Furthermore, the government jargon is "For the People".

The people who have been transformed into representatives of the people (legislative) and the head of government (executive) are jointly regulated in the Constitution to run the wheels of government by carrying out the spirit of government "For the People" (Aman & Tomsa, 2023). Those who are elected manage the government and the people who sit in institutions based on the Constitution without prioritizing ethics and integrity. The main thing is how to seize and maintain superiority.

The journey of democracy (Bermeo, 2016), post-reformation with direct election products produce people's representatives and leaders. General elections place representatives and officials no longer purely from the people but instead from close relatives or sons/daughters, husbands/wives of incumbents so that the hope of electing people's representatives or officials from general elections shifts to the descendants of previous officials which the politicians and academics then interpret as the practice of dynastic politics in a democratic country.

The success of national leadership with the practice of dynastic politics in Indonesian democracy is still understood as a phenomenon that is in the interests of the nation and State. President Joko Widodo, at the end of his first term, was considered to have experienced a decline in democracy (Tillyris, 2023), and the end of the second period became more pragmatic (Tirtosudarmo & Carey, 2022), with dynastic politics. Then, approaching the third period, prepare replacement candidates from people who are in line and close relatives while remaining in accordance with the Constitution.

The President's attitude and the statement that he is allowed to side with one of the candidate pairs is understood by other parties as an attempt by President Joko Widodo to perpetuate his power at all costs without paying attention to democratic ethics. Tampering with the Constitution, politicizing social assistance, and promoting one-round elections. Therefore, it can trigger continuous resistance from the public and the university academic community (Power, 2018), who consider the President to have undermined democracy in order to fight for his son's succession to national leadership.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research was descriptive qualitative. Data collection included observation, verification, and document tracking from reputable journals and leading media. The documents were selected based on relevance to the topic of dynastic politics, focusing on articles and reports published within the last three months that extensively discuss presidential involvement in dynasty politics. A total of 20 journal articles and 30 media reports were analyzed to ensure a comprehensive understanding.

The research employed NVivo software to facilitate data analysis. A word cloud was generated using NVivo to identify frequently discussed terms and themes related to dynasty politics in public discourse. The themes were then categorized and prioritized for deeper analysis.

Data presentation was conducted in several stages. First, the collected documents were systematically reviewed to extract key themes and patterns. Second, the data were reduced and organized into categories aligned with the research focus. Finally, conclusions were drawn and verified by compiling opinions and critiques from the academic community, which provided valuable insights and criticisms of President Joko Widodo's responses to the ongoing national leadership succession.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Presidential Dynasty Politics

The center of the presidential dynasty was President Joko Widodo, who gave the Indonesian people the mandate as head of government and head of State. In managing the State, he acts as the top executive and has broad and enormous authority to regulate and manage the State based on

the Constitution. Currently, the previous President is known for his transformational leadership (Asmawi & Fulazzaky, 2022) and cannot run for office because he has already served two terms.

The President's Obligation to Guarantee National Leadership Succession

The theory of dynasty politics, as explained by (Kenawas, 2023), states that; "dynastic politics is interpreted as an effort to maintain power through family relationships in a democratic system." This theory states that power tends to be passed on to close family members with state resources and formal legitimacy. This theoretical approach is relevant in providing an analysis of President Joko Widodo's actions in the context of the 2024 national leadership succession.

President Joko Widodo, as head of State, has an obligation to guarantee the leadership succession process according to the Constitution. However, the results of this study show that the President utilized legal mechanisms by changing the age limit for vice presidential candidates through the Constitutional Court to support the nomination of his son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka. From the perspective of democratic ethics, this action indicates a strong suspicion of dynasty political practices and blurs the ethical boundaries between constitutional compliance and the practice of abuse of power for the benefit of the family.

Empirical facts show that President Joko Widodo's dynasty's political practices are nothing new. Previously, it had been practiced during Gibran's nomination as Mayor of Solo in 2020, with full support from PDIP, the party led by Megawati Soekarnoputri, becoming early evidence of the influence of family power. The election results showed Gibran's victory, which could not be separated from the influence of President Joko Widodo's position as head of State at that time (Arrianie et al., 2023).

The theory of political patronage (Ufen, 2018) describes how power can be used to provide support to family or close relatives through existing political networks and open access to state resources. The facts on the ground with the distribution of social assistance using the attributes of certain candidate pairs further strengthen the suspicion and argument that power has been used massively to build electoral support (Singgih, 2024). This gives a strong impression that democratic mechanisms and processes have been manipulated to facilitate the interests of dynastic politics.

This study is a new perspective that integrates the theory of political dynasty and political patronage to analyze the impact of the president's attitudes and actions on the quality of democracy in Indonesia. Empirical data from election results, media statements, and decisions of constitutional institutions, this study provides concrete evidence of the influence of family power that can damage the order and public trust in the quality of the democratic system.

In the context of National Leadership succession, with arguments for the sustainability of national development. The President allowed his eldest son, who is still Mayor of Solo, to be proposed as a vice presidential candidate after a judicial review by a student in Solo of the age limit requirements for President and Vice President candidates. The drama at the Constitutional Court then resulted in a controversial decision and received strong criticism from the public. Figure 2 shows the dynastic politics built by President Jokowi.

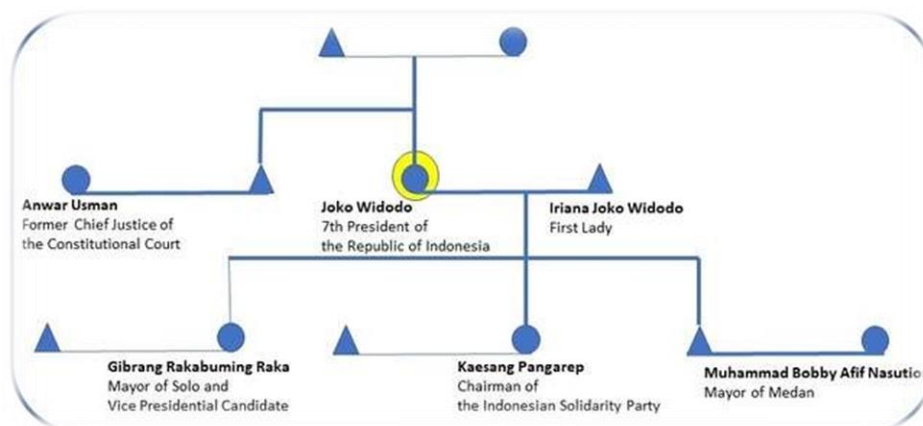


Figure 2. The political vortex of President Jokowi's dynasty

Source: Researcher data processing, Razak, MRR (2024)

President Joko Widodo's brother-in-law, Anwar Usman, as Chairman of the Constitutional Court, then used the authority granted by the State and decided on Constitutional Court Decree number 90 of 2023, dated October 16, 2023, regarding the minimum age limit of 40 years or having previously served as Regional Head. As a result, the President's Son was approved as Vice Presidential Candidate to accompany Prabowo Subianto. This is perceived by the public as a decision that has been intervened by the President (BBCnews.com, 2023).

The President's youngest son, Kaesang Pangarep, caused a stir among the Indonesian people because only a few days after joining the Indonesian Solidarity Party (called PSI), he was immediately elected as Party Chairman. This confirmed public suspicions about the political ties to the dynasty that President Joko Widodo was building. The role of the Party Chair is very strategic in a democratic country and has the potential to become a new force in strengthening dynastic politics.

President Joko Widodo's son-in-law, Muhammad Bobby Afif Nasution, followed in his brother-in-law's footsteps and was elected as Mayor of Medan for the 2022-2024 period, promoted by PDIP Perjuangan and prepared to run for the Governor of North Sumatra in 2024, adding the facts about the involvement of President Joko Widodo's close relatives. In this important position in the Republic, it is increasingly evident that the President is practicing dynastic politics in a democratic government.

Governance of Presidential Elections and Constitutional Ethics

The National Leadership Succession Event on February 14, 2024, is the peak of the democratic party, which will determine the next President and Vice President as well as elect candidates for people's representatives at regional, provincial, senatorial, and DPR RI levels at the national level. The succession process has been regulated in the democratic Constitution through the General Election Commission, but along the way, the 2024 national leadership succession has been marked by constitutional drama and the practice of dynastic politics by President Joko Widodo.

The politics of the presidential dynasty as voting day approaches increasingly manifests itself and is depicted in sketch figure 3, which is depicted as a triple helix in the political vessel of the presidential dynasty. The Constitutional Court is an institution that protects the Constitution (Satriawan & Mokhtar, 2015). Tinkering with the Constitution and becoming a solid foundation for the development of the President's dynastic politics, then the President's attitude will always set the rhythm for the rare march of dynastic politics, which is outlined and strengthened by the General Election Commission Institution.

After the issuance of Constitutional Court Decision Number 90, dated October 16, 2023, concerning the age limit requirements for candidates. Furthermore, the KPU responded quickly by accepting the candidacy of Presidential Candidate Prabowo Subianto and vice Presidential candidate Gibrang Rakabuming Raka without changing PKPU Number 19 of 2023 concerning the requirements for nominating participants in the presidential and vice presidential elections (not yet adjusted to the Constitutional Court Decision). The Prabowo-Gibran pair was accepted as the candidate with serial number 2 (two).

Public pressure on the Constitutional Court became increasingly strong due to allegations of ethical violations in decision-making, so the Honorary Council of the Constitutional Court, chaired by Prof. Jimly Asshidiqie, convened and examined the Chairman and members of the Constitutional Court judges who decided case number 90/PUU-XXI/2023 and. Decided that there was an ethical violation committed by Chairman Anwar Usman in deciding the case that passed Gibran as Vice Presidential Candidate.

The Honorary Council's decision only provides sanctions to the judge who decides but does not cancel the results of the decision. This has given rise to controversy over whether or not the results of decisions made by judges have been determined to violate ethics. The legal expert's opinion is that the nomination of the President's son is still considered valid, but from an ethical perspective, this is clearly inappropriate and should disqualify him from being a contestant as a candidate pair. The KPU will continue to allow this condition, and the presidential election process will continue according to the previously determined stages.

The public questioned the acceptance of the Prabowo-Gibran candidate by the General Election Commission (KPU) because it was considered that there was no legal umbrella. KPU Regulation number 19 of 2023, which is the reference for accepting candidate registration, still

requires an age limit of 40 years without being equipped with experience as a Regional Head, and there has been no revision of the regulations. This adds further complexity to the nomination of candidate pair number 2. This also makes the Chairman of the KPU and its members were given a strong warning from the KPU Ethics Council

Responding to the increasingly high national political tension ahead of the general election on February 14, 2024. President Jokowi, who also serves as Head of State, answered journalists' questions about the President's attitude in implementing the general election process. The President reminded that the President may take sides and campaign in the context of general elections, as explained in law number 17 concerning Elections. This will have a direct impact on the electoral election of certain candidates, namely Candidate Pair number 2 Prabowo-Gibran.

This Statement of Attitude received a strong reaction from the public, and even more than 30 leading universities, through their professors, issued various appeals which, in essence, asked the President to stop destroying democracy, be neutral, maintain democratic ethics, set an example, stop endorsing one of the candidates and practicing dynastic politics.

The President responded to the wave of criticism from the academic community that continued to flow by stating that criticism from professors was the democratic right of citizens. This increasingly convinces the public that the President has no ethics in democracy. The President's attitude did not dampen the wave of criticism from the public, and even on February 7, 2024, student and student organization alliances began to take to the streets and voice their impeachment (removing the President). Urge the public not to vote for parties that do not support impeachment.

The series of events at the Constitutional Court, the General Election Commission, and the President's attitude shows the weakening of the ethics of the constitutional institution, which is supported by the President's attitude, which often changes and harms democracy. The three institutions (triple Helix), namely the President, the Constitutional Court (MK), and the General Election Commission (KPU), are important actors in the development of dynastic politics built by President Joko Widodo.

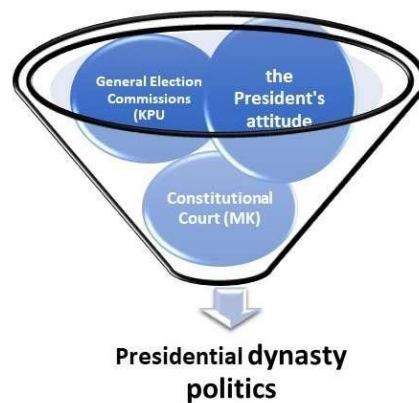


Figure 3. Triple Helix Supporting President Joko Widodo's Political Dynasty

Source: Researcher data processing, Razak, MRR (2024)

The Existence of Dynasty Politics in the 2024 Presidential Election

Support for dynasty politics is shown in Figure 3, with the existence of kinship relations between actors as simulated in Figure 2. This occurred massively amidst the weakening of ethical principles in the Constitutional Court and the General Election Commission, which had previously received strong reprimands due to ethical violations. The collaboration of these three institutions forms what is called the triple helix. The main driver of the development of dynasty politics was the leadership of President Joko Widodo, even though he had received strong criticism from academics.

Increase in Family-Based Candidates in the 2024 Election

Registration data for presidential and vice Presidential candidate pairs shows that one of the main candidates in the 2024 Presidential Election, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, is the eldest son of President Joko Widodo. This decision was made possible after the Constitutional Court decided

to change the age limit for vice presidential candidates. This fact is one of the facts that the family power network has had a major influence in determining the rules of the election (Dirgantara & Prabowo, 2023).

Another fact is that previous research showed results: 44% of regional head candidates in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections were part of a dynasty politics network (Rifki & Mujaeni, 2021). In fact, there has been an increase in members of the Indonesian House of Representatives with family backgrounds, including female parliamentarians, who reached 25% of all DPR members (Lee, 2023). This condition continues to experience an increasing trend both at the national and regional levels.

Social Support Patterns Utilized for Electability The distribution of social assistance (Bansos) carried out ahead of the election, accompanied by certain candidate attributes, is an example of the use of state resources to strengthen the political position of the President's family (Singgih, 2024). This further adds to the evidence that, in terms of influencing public perception, dynasty politics is not limited to formal channels but also informal strategies.

Transformation of Dynasty Politics in a Democratic System

Dynasty politics, previously known as a legacy of the monarchical system of government, has now transformed into part of the practice of a democratic system. Modern democratic countries, such as Indonesia, show a pattern in which the ruling family can utilize constitutional instruments in order to increase the electoral potential of dynasty candidates (Subekti et al., 2023). In the 2024 presidential and vice Presidential elections, this practice is very strong through various formal and informal mechanisms that can support the influence of the presidential family. The facts and data presented show clear evidence that dynasty politics had a strong influence on the 2024 national leadership succession. This evidence is not limited to the nomination of presidential family members but is also shown by the pattern of power distribution, including state resources deployed to provide support to dynasty candidates. This study confirms that dynasty politics in Indonesia is a systemic element that can affect the quality of democracy.

The current situation in Indonesia is similar to that in the Philippines, and dynasty politics has become an important issue that can affect the quality of democracy. The Philippines is even known to have regulations to prohibit the practice of dynasty politics with the 1987 Constitution. This is an affirmation and prohibition of the practice of political dynasties in order to provide guarantees of access and equality to public services to strengthen the democratic system (Oh, 2023; Mendoza et al., 2023). However, in its implementation, this regulation is still difficult and faces many obstacles because the dominance of families in the power structure is still strong.

On the other hand, in Indonesia, efforts to prohibit the practice of dynasty politics have not been realized because they are considered inconsistent with the principles of equality guaranteed in the 1945 Constitution. This principle emphasizes that every citizen has the same right to run for election without discrimination based on family relationships. This is the basic principle of legality in the nomination of Gibran Rakabuming Raka in the 2024 Election. In terms of formal aspects, there is no violation of the Constitution. However, from the perspective of ethics and the spirit of democracy, this has raised criticism because it is considered to be able to weaken the principle of substantive democracy, which prioritizes competence and integrity and not on the basis of family relationships (Garnett & James, 2021).

The data shows that although dynasty politics does not violate the rules, its effects on democratic life are very real. Dynasty politics tends to strengthen the oligarchy, reduce healthy political competition, and create dependency and power in certain families. For example, in the Philippines, regulations have been made by more than 70% of members of parliament who come from political dynasties (Mendoza et al., 2023). Something similar is clearly seen in Indonesia, with 44% of regional head candidates in the 2020 Simultaneous Elections coming from political dynasty families (Rifki & Mujaeni, 2021).

This argument shows that formal regulations are not enough to stem dynasty politics. A holistic approach is needed that can combine legal and ethical aspects so that it can be ensured that dynasty politics will not weaken democratic practices. In addition, there is a need to increase political literacy and public awareness, which can have an impact on strategic efforts to create a healthier democratic system environment in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The nomination of Gibran Rakabuming Raka as presidential candidate alongside Prabowo Subianto with candidate number 2 is proof that President Joko Widodo is practicing dynastic politics in Indonesia, which adheres to a democratic system. Using state resources and influence as Head of Government and Head of State to support one of the Candidate Pairs for President and Vice President.

The existence of the Constitutional Court since the issuance of Decree No. 90 of 2023 has called into question its independence as a constitutional bulwark to safeguard the democratic process by tampering with the Constitution and passing President Joko Widodo's son as a candidate for vice president alongside Prabowo Subianto. Then, it was ratified by the General Election Organizing Commission (KPU) without paying attention to the rules of law, and the officials of these two constitutional institutions were declared to have violated ethics. They were given harsh sanctions by the Constitutional Court of Honor and the KPU Ethics Council.

The results and discussion of this research show that there is a need for a comprehensive evaluation of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections and Law Number 24 of 2003 concerning the Constitutional Court so that these respected state institutions can protect themselves from ethical violations.

This study was limited to the analysis of events leading up to the 2024 presidential election and recommends further research that focuses on the long-term impacts of dynastic politics and ethical violations on the consolidation of Indonesian democracy. In addition, further research can explore the effectiveness of the proposed legal reforms in strengthening institutional independence and promoting democratic integrity.

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