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**Dynastic Politics in Local Elections from the Perspective of Asabiyyah Theory: A
Study on the Pilkada Contestation in Ogan Ilir in 2020**

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ABSTRACT

The aim to be achieved in this research is to explain the portrait of the political dynasty phenomenon in the 2020 regent election in Ogan Ilir. The method used in this research is qualitative with a descriptive method aimed at getting a clear and real picture of the symptoms in the field as a whole, then express descriptively about political dynasties according to Ashabiyah theory. The results of this research show that political insantia in Ogan Ilir occurred because of the connection between previous leadership and current leadership. One of the distinctive characteristics of the election of Panca to replace Mawardi Yahya was that Mawardi Yahya's term of office could not be continued due to limited regulations, making it easier for the Mawardi Yahya family to be elected, where this could create benefits from the formal authority possessed by Mawardi Yahya. Dynasty politics gives rise to negative speculation in the realm of society where dynastic politics provides easy space for elite groups to make their families become leaders from generation to generation and can easily carry out corruption. According to Ashabiyah theory, it is very important for the ruling group to create strong political stability and maintain its power as long as possible. According to him, it is halal to maintain power in various ways with the noble aim of only maintaining political stability.

Keywords: Political Dynasty, Ogan Ilir, Ashabiyah

ABSTRAK

Tujuan yang ingin dicapai dalam penelitian ini adalah untuk menjelaskan terkait dengan potret fenomena dinasti politik dalam pemilihan bupati di Ogan Ilir tahun 2020. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif bertujuan untuk mendapatkan gambaran secara jelas dan nyata gejala dilapangan secara menyeluruh, kemudian mengungkapkan secara deskriptif tentang dinasti politik menurut teori Ashabiyyah. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dnasti politik di ogan ilir terjadi karena adanya keterkaitan antara kepemimpinan sebelumnya terhadap kepemimpinan saat ini. salah satu ciri yang khas dari terpilihnya Panca menggantikan mawardi yahya dimana masa jabatan yang tidak bisa dilanjutkan Mawardi Yahya karena terbatasnya regulasi menjadikan kemudahan atas terpilihnya keluarga Mawardi Yahya dimana hal tersebut dapat menciptakan keuntungan dari otoritas formal yang dimiliki oleh mawardi yahya. Politik dinasti menimbulkan spekulasi negatif pada ranah masyarakat dimana politik dinasti memberikan kemudahan atas ruang bagi para kelompok elit menjadikan keluarganya secara turun temurun menjadi seorang pimpinan dan dapat dengan mudah melakukan korupsi. Menurut Teori Ashabiyyah sangat penting bagi kelompok penguasa yaitu menciptakan kestabilan politik yang kokoh dan mempertahankan kekuasaannya selama mungkin. Halal menurutnya dalam mempertahankan kekuasaan dengan berbagai cara dalam tujuan mulia hanya untuk menjaga kestabilan politik.

Keywords: Dinasti Politik, Ogan Ilir, Ashabiyyah

INTRODUCTION

The power acquired through lineage typically occurs among royal descendants. Such power can be observed in countries with a monarchical system of governance, such as Brunei Darussalam. However, in reality, even in countries with democratic systems of governance, there still exists a phenomenon of political lineage, often referred to as political dynasties, as exemplified in Indonesia. This contradicts Indonesia's democratic system of governance. In a democratic system, it is not inherently wrong for the elected individual to be the child or grandchild of a previous figure or official. What is wrong is when ideas are realized through someone solely because they are descendants of an official and rely solely on familial ties to officials or former officials without the ability to lead in a given area.

The phenomenon of numerous familial relationships in political leadership in this country further strengthens the phenomenon of political dynasties. This is particularly evident in direct local elections (pilkada). The mechanism of political dynasties in direct regional head elections undermines the possibility of healthy political competition. Moreover, political kinship is seen as potentially hindering the flow of open and participatory politics.

In an ideal democracy, people should have greater opportunities to engage in the political process. This means there should be ample room for participation for all members of society to contest political positions from the regional to the national level according to applicable laws and regulations. However, in reality, people are still hindered by their status or social rights as a result of the phenomenon of political dynasties. If democracy means political power or governance exercised by the people,

for the people, and from the people, then political dynasties have created political pragmatism by encouraging family members of regional leaders to become public officials.

Political dynasties have closed off equal opportunities for all citizens. Continuous practice in building political dynasties will eventually rot the economy and politics of the country. As expressed by Lord Acton, "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely," and the birth and practice of political dynasties demonstrate this. The presence of political dynasties within representative bodies is also a significant issue. The phenomenon of political dynasties at the local level emerged alongside the implementation of direct local elections. As this process unfolds as a manifestation of democratization at the local level, various elites emerge in regions to co-opt with the process.

Political dynasties are a negative consequence of the birth of regional autonomy, creating a situation where democracy is hijacked by genealogical or non-genealogical core relationships based on familial ties with interests in the continuity of family power. This impacts elite relatives, thus creating political dynasties. Political dynasties act as ruling elites with patronage relationships with various parties, primarily influential informal figures in sociocultural and socio-political spheres of society, who contribute to the sustainability of existing political dynasties.

The issue of political dynasties, if depicted explicitly, aligns with the theory of asabiyyah put forward by Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun's concept of asabiyyah in political theory is not just a study and analysis of objective data comparison, but an attempt to understand humans in the past and present to determine the future with various inclinations. This theory of asabiyyah has propelled his name in the eyes of modern thinkers. Asabiyyah, literally translated into Indonesian, means group solidarity with love and affection among humans towards their relatives or neighbors, based on characteristics such as blood ties, equality in religion, and place of residence. Hence, the ultimate goal of group solidarity is to defend oneself and defeat enemies with power, depending on the solidarity of the group.

The theory of asabiyyah is one of the proofs of Ibn Khaldun's insight and intelligence in analyzing political and state issues. Asabiyyah is the key to the birth and formation of a state. Conversely, if the asabiyyah element of a state weakens, then that state is in danger of collapse. As a result, until now, this thesis has proven to be true, and even the theory of asabiyyah has become an inspiration for contemporary political movements.

One such practice of political dynasties occurs in the election of regents in Ogan Ilir, South Sumatra. The political dynasty mechanism that took place within the Mawardi Yahya family placed Mawardi Yahya's son as the elected regent. Previously, Mawardi Yahya had served as regent for two consecutive terms. After his term ended, Mawardi Yahya's biological son, Ahmad Wazir Noviadi, succeeded him as regent. Noviadi was elected as regent alongside his deputy, Ilyas Pandji Alam, after defeating the presenter duo Helmy Yahya-Muchendi Mahazarekki and Sobli Rozali-Taufik Toha. The Noviadi-Panji pair led Ogan Ilir after receiving 107,578 votes, while their competitors, Helmi Yahya-Mushendi, only garnered 94,144 votes. They were officially inaugurated as Regent and Deputy Regent of Ogan Ilir for the 2016-2021 period on February 17, 2021.

However, Noviadi was involved in a drug abuse case and was arrested by the National Narcotics Agency (BNN) in March 2016. Consequently, his position was immediately terminated by the Minister of Home Affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo. Mawardi Yahya's son, the son of the South Sumatra Vice Governor, then emerged again and

prepared to register as a candidate for regent of Ogan Ilir in the 2020 regional elections. He teamed up with Ardani as the candidate for Deputy Regent of Ogan Ilir.

The strong root of the political dynasty of the Mawardi Yahya family in Ogan Ilir, as described above, still allows them to nominate themselves as regional leaders. This is because of the support and political machinery they have in nominating themselves as heads or deputy heads of the region. This mechanism is further facilitated by their networks, particularly within the Gerindra Party. This octopus-like network within the political dynasty of Ogan Ilir is what prevents Indonesia from achieving stability in terms of democracy, given that the people are beginning to lose their right to choose leaders with quality.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The first referenced study in this research was conducted by Setio Budi Utomo, titled "Reading Ibnu Khaldun's Ashabiyah Politics on Winning Strategies of Elected Regent in the 2020 Regional Head Elections in Demak District" (Utomo, 2020). This research falls under the category of field research, utilizing data collection techniques such as direct observation, semi-structured interviews, documentation, and literature review. The research findings revealed that: 1) The winning strategy of the elected regent in the 2020 Demak district regional head elections involved consolidation and coordination with internal party members, solidifying the political party's structure from grassroots branches to branch executives and factions, engaging directly with the community through face-to-face interactions employing a humanistic approach, and recruiting campaign and success teams comprising local figures. 2) Factors contributing to the regent's victory in the Demak district regional head elections include profession or career, family connections, financial resources, superior vision and mission, political party coalitions, and community organizations. 3) Based on the above discussion, Ibnu Khaldun's ashabiyah political theory was meticulously implemented, fostering group solidarity based on ideological alignment, community organization, and religious affinity.

The second referenced study in this research was conducted by Anwar Saputra, titled "Political Dynasty: The Perspective of Ibnu Khaldun's Ashabiyyah Political Theory (Case Study of the Banten Provincial Government Period 2007-2014)." The method used in this study was qualitative, employing both primary and secondary data sources. The research findings indicate that the practice of political dynasty or familial politics during the reign of Ratu Atut Chosiah in Banten demonstrated a proliferation phenomenon not only in the executive and legislative realms but also in business, socio-cultural, educational, and religious domains.

The third referenced study in this research was conducted by Nurhayati, titled "Ashabiyah Concept of the National Awakening Party in Bandar Lampung City (Analysis of Ibnu Khaldun's Thought)." The method used was qualitative descriptive analysis. The research findings suggest that the fervent relationship between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the National Awakening Party (PKB) in Bandar Lampung is crucial, as NU's affection and support significantly influence PKB's vote acquisition. Ibnu Khaldun's ashabiyah theory posits that strong solidarity will weaken over time with societal changes.

METHOD

The research entitled "Political Dynasty in the 2020 Regional Elections: Analysis of Ashabiyyah Theory" is a descriptive research with a qualitative approach aimed at systematically, accurately, and factually describing the investigated phenomenon. It is limited to uncovering a problem and condition as they are, thus presenting facts without hypothesis testing.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The political dynasty in Ogan Ilir essentially, when associated with the theory of political dynasty, leads to the theory of dynasties based on power, midal theory, and dynasties based on kinship. Firstly, the elaboration of the power theory leads to the interconnectedness between previous leadership and the current one. This can be seen from the election of Ovi, notably the child of Mawardi Yahya who previously served as the Regent of Ogan Ilir. This aligns with the concept of power where power emerges due to the relationship of power distribution, occurring absolutely, independent of human consciousness. Power is merely a strategy where, within that strategy, there are rules, systems, and regulations.

Marcus Mietzner (2009) in his paper titled Indonesia's 2009 Elections: Populism, Dynasties and the Consolidation of the Party System, assessed that the tendency of political dynasties is quite strong in contemporary Indonesian politics. According to him, the practice of political dynasties is unhealthy for democracy; one reason being the weakening of government control, such as the checks and balances needed for democracy. Political dynasty in the modern political world is characterized as political elites based on blood relations, kinship, or marriage, hence some political observers refer to it as political oligarchy.

Political dynasties are built on political power acquired by elites which is then converted into personal and group wealth. Politicians in dynasties are those who inherit the same public office from their family members who held it before them, and the practice of political dynasties is seen to hinder economic development and lead to corruption (Darmansyah, 2020).

The practice of political dynasties is expected to be a hindrance to the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. Because, in this case, governance tends to be oligarchic and potentially leads to arbitrary actions or abuse of power. The easier it is for someone to obtain and have absolute power, the higher the potential for abuse of power. This is as stated by Lord Acton that: "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely" (Budiarjo, 2017:175).

The practice of political dynasties can also be said to be a concentration of power. This is diametrically opposed to democracy, which is based on the decentralization of power, both vertically and horizontally. This centralized power tends to be close to absolute power. Absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely as well. This is the fundamental reason why political dynasties are suspected to be intertwined with corruption (Azzahra, 2022).

The victory of this family in applying political dynasties over two generations of governance is caused by a large number of political supporters loyal to them. Each

generation of regents from this political dynasty has been able to maintain the loyalty of their supporters, and over time they have been able to expand their number of supporters. This means that the first regent from this political dynasty has built a power network, which has been successfully maintained and strengthened by subsequent generations of village heads from that dynasty.

The loyalty of these political supporters is not without reason; they have their own reasons for continuing to support the family dynasty. There is a good relationship maintained by the family with their political supporters, by providing various benefits in both material and non-material forms (Hermansyah, 2017:685). Some segments of society accept political dynasties as reasonable, namely ensuring equal guarantees for all citizens.

However, regardless of the loyalty held by the community, political dynasties also raise negative speculation among society, where political dynasties facilitate space for elite groups to perpetuate their family line as leaders and easily engage in corruption. Regarding this matter, interviews with the community stated that:

“political dynasties indeed often make families easily engage in corruption because leadership always has ties to kinship, thus creating very easy opportunities for corruption. Well, from this standpoint, I disagree with the practice of dynasties because of its shortcomings like this, where leadership stemming from kinship is feared to create mechanisms and opportunities for hidden corruption.”

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CONCLUSION

Based on the exposition provided, several conclusions in this research include the following:

1. The political dynasty occurring in Ogan Ilir essentially, when associated with the theory of political dynasty, leads to the theory of dynasties based on power, midal theory, and dynasties based on kinship. First, the elaboration of the

power theory leads to the interconnectedness between previous leadership and the current one. Second, based on the capital theory, within this mechanism there are several divisions including political capital, social capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital. Third, the kinship theory certainly becomes one of the characteristic features of Ovi's election replacing Mawardi Yahya, where the limited term of office of Mawardi Yahya due to regulatory constraints makes it easier for the Mawardi Yahya family to be elected, which can create advantages from the formal authority held by Mawardi Yahya.

2. The public perception of Ovi's election as Regent is due to the loyalty of the voters. There is a good relationship maintained by the family with their political supporters, by providing various benefits in both material and non-material forms. However, regardless of the loyalty held by the community, political dynasties also raise negative speculation among society, where political dynasties facilitate space for elite groups to perpetuate their family line as leaders and easily engage in corruption.

3. According to the Ashabiyah Theory, it is crucial for ruling groups to create strong political stability and maintain their power for as long as possible. It is considered permissible to maintain power by any means for noble purposes only to maintain political stability. The path to political stability is by creating political dynasties because it is easy to maintain power by creating leaders from one lineage who can be instructed as desired by the previous leader.

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