

Democratic Elections, Political Families, and Political Dynasty in Indonesia

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Family of Abdul Rasyid AS in Central Kalimantan



Abdul Rasyid

Self- Introduction

- Area Studies
 - Indonesian Politics
 - Research interests :
 - ❑ **Local politics**
 - ❑ Politics and Resources
 - ❑ Political culture
 - ❑ **Profile of Parliament members**
- } Kalimantan



Former Governor of
West Kalimantan Drs.
Cornelis and his family

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1. Political family and Political dynasty

[Definition]

□ Political family

“A political family consists of a family where more than one family member gains elected political positions in a particular geographic unit” (Aspinall & Uhaib As’ad 2016: 422).

* Elected political positions in Indonesia:

[At the national level]

- President, Vice President
- Members of Parliament (DPR)
- Members of Regional Representative Council (DPD)

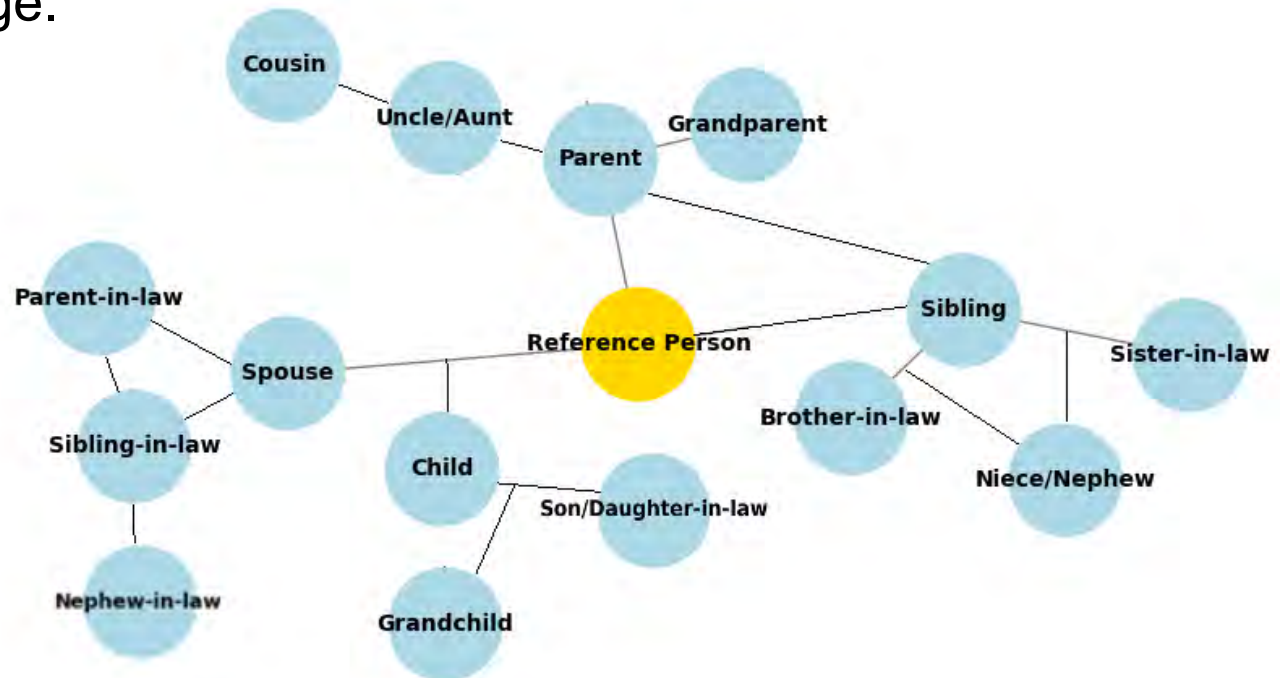
[At the local level]

- Governor, Deputy Governor
- District Head (Bupati), Deputy District Head
- Mayor, Deputy Mayor
- Provincial, District, and City Legislators (DPRD)

□ Political family

“A political family consists of a family where **more than one family member gains elected political positions** in a particular geographic unit” (Aspinall & Uhaib As’ad 2016: 422).

* In this presentation, a political family includes **a spouse and relatives up to the third degree of kinship**, including both blood relatives and relatives by marriage.



This diagram does not include all third-degree relatives.

□ Political dynasty

- “A political family becomes a political dynasty only when it is able to extend its power temporally, so that **once the dynasty’s founder loses office, he or she is succeeded by a family member**” (Aspinall & Uhaib As’ad 2016: 422).

Intra-generational succession (e.g. a spouse or sibling)

Inter-generational succession (e.g. a child or son/daughter-in-law)

c.f. Political dynasty in the Philippines

- “Traditional political families or the practices by these political families of monopolizing political power and public offices **from generation to generation** and treating the public elective officers almost as their personal property” (Park 2008: 120).

What has been discussed about political families and dynasties in Indonesia

Buehler 2009, Hadiz 2010, Mietzner 2010, Aspinall & Uhaib As'ad 2016, Okamoto 2019 etc.

- **A relatively short history** of political families and dynasties (since democratization) c.f. The Philippine case
- Political families and dynasties **at the provincial and district levels**
- **Horizontal** spread of the power of political families

e.g.,

[Only at the district level] ← Majority of political families

Members of a political family occupy a position of district head, a district legislative seat, and a local bureaucratic position in a single district.

[At the provincial and district levels]

Members of a political family occupy some political positions in a single province, such as governor, district head, and seats in district, provincial and national legislatures.

What has been discussed about political families and dynasties in Indonesia

Buehler 2009, Hadiz 2010, Mietzner 2010, Aspinall & Uhaib As'ad 2016, Okamoto 2019 etc.

- **Factors** shaping the rise and features of political families and dynasties in Indonesia → Colonial policy, democratization, electoral system, the weaknesses of political parties, etc.
- The dominance of political families, **oligarchic politics**
- Use of **violence** in some cases
- **Rent-seeking and patronage**
- **Money politics**
- Accusations of **corruption**, civil society campaigns
 - Difficulties in making the transition from political families to political dynasties

What has been **little** discussed about political families and dynasties in Indonesia

- **Different types** of political families
- Political family **at the national level**
 - Former and current Presidents and Vice Presidents
 - Members of Parliament (DPR) and DPD
- The role of the position of Vice President, Deputy Governor, Deputy District Head, and Deputy Mayor
- **Regional distribution** of political families
- Who is the most influential figure in local politics?
 - Political families are sometimes backed by influential local patrons.

► Elections in Indonesia

At the national level



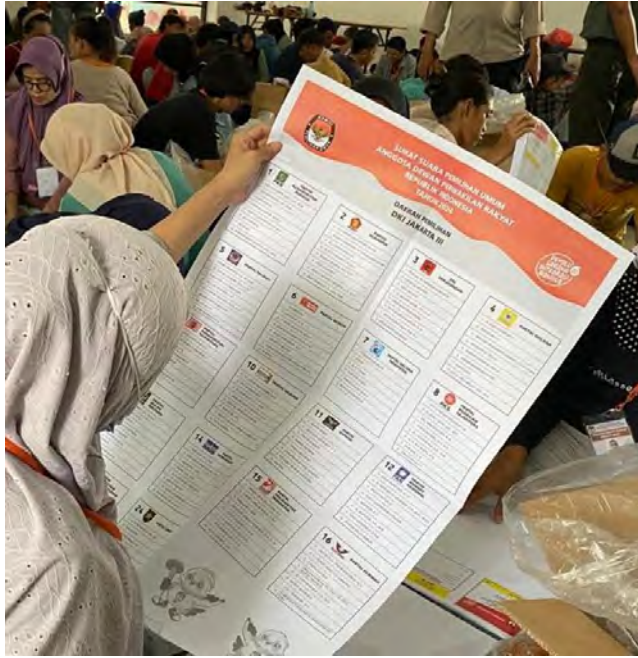
- ❑ **President & Vice President** (maximum **two 5-year terms**)
- ❑ **DPR:** Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (People's Representative Council) (**no term limit**)
- ❑ **DPD:** Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representative Council) (**no term limit**)

At the local level

38 provinces, 416 districts, 98 cities

- ❑ **Governors, District Heads, Mayors, and Deputies** (maximum **two 5-year terms**)
- ❑ **DPRD Provinsi:** Provincial Representative Council (**no term limit**)
- ❑ **DPRD Kabupaten/Kota:** District/City Representative Council (**no term limit**)

► Elections in Indonesia



- Once a five years
- **Presidential Election**
 - **Direct election**
 - Presidential election has been held on the same day as the general elections since 2019.
- **General Elections**
 - Members of DPR, DPD, DPRD
 - **Open list proportional representation system** for the DPR and DPRD elections
- **Elections for Local Government Heads**
 - Governor, Mayor, District Head, and Deputies
 - **Direct election**
 - Unified nationwide local elections have been implemented since 2024.



2. Data

- ❑ Family members of former and current **presidents** who hold political positions as of 2025
 - Soekarno and Megawati, Suharto, BJ Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Joko Widodo, Prabowo

- ❑ Current **Governors and Deputy Governors** and their family members who have held or currently hold political positions
 - Governors and Deputy Governors who were elected in the 2024 elections
 - Occupational background of Governor and Deputy Governor
 - Family members who have held or currently hold political positions

❑ Database:

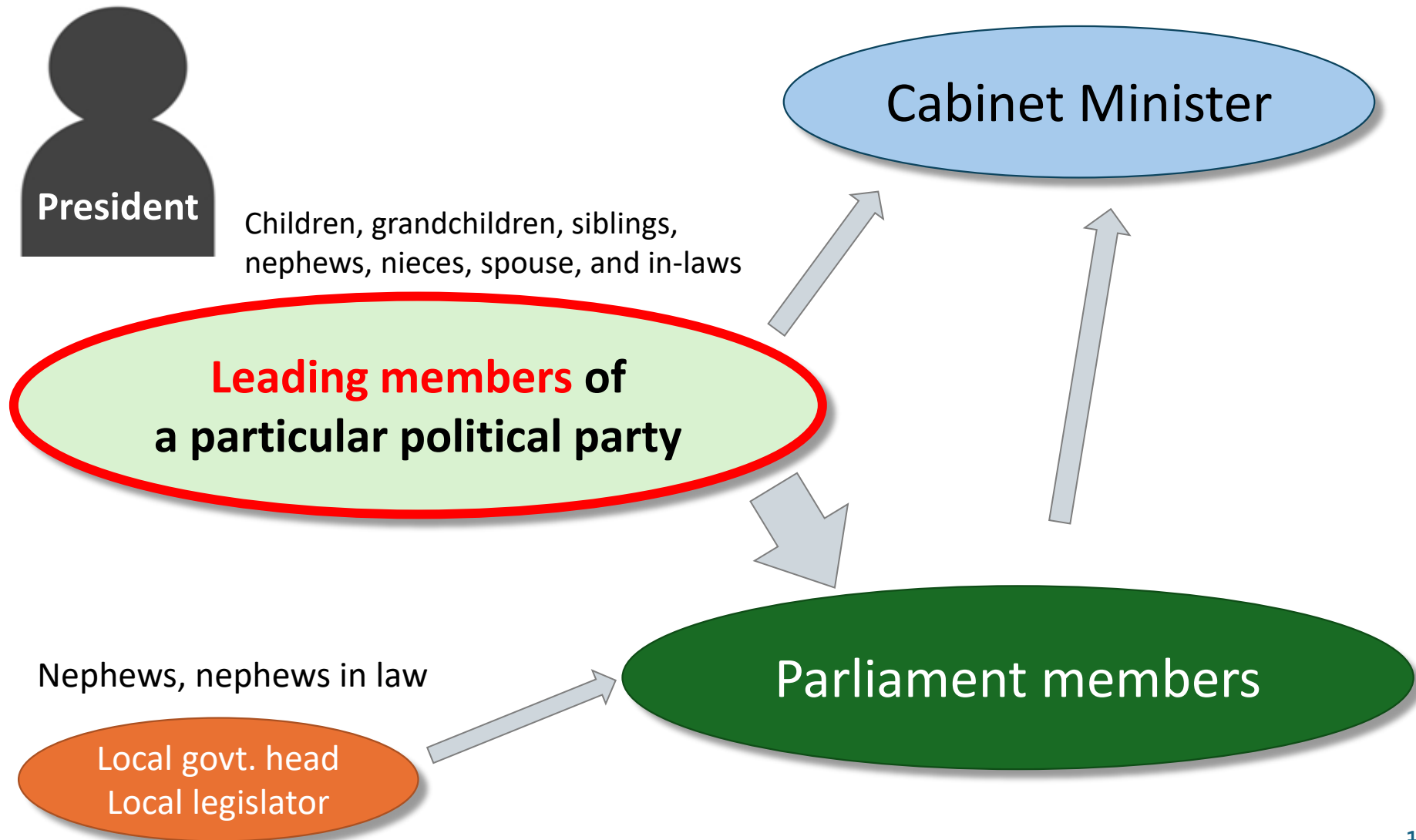
Personal profiles of the 580 members of **Parliament (DPR), 2024-2029**

- Name, year of election
- **Constituency**
- Political party
- Year and place of birth
- Religion
- Gender
- **Family background**
- Academic background
- **Political background**
- Occupational background
- Organizations wo which he/she belongs or belonged
- Others

etc.

3. Families of Former and Current Presidents

[Soekarno/Megawati family, Wahid family, Yudhoyono family, Prabowo family]



3. Families of Former and Current Presidents

[Jokowi family]



Former President Joko Widodo (2014-2024)
and his family

Vice President

Son

Mayor of
Surakarta

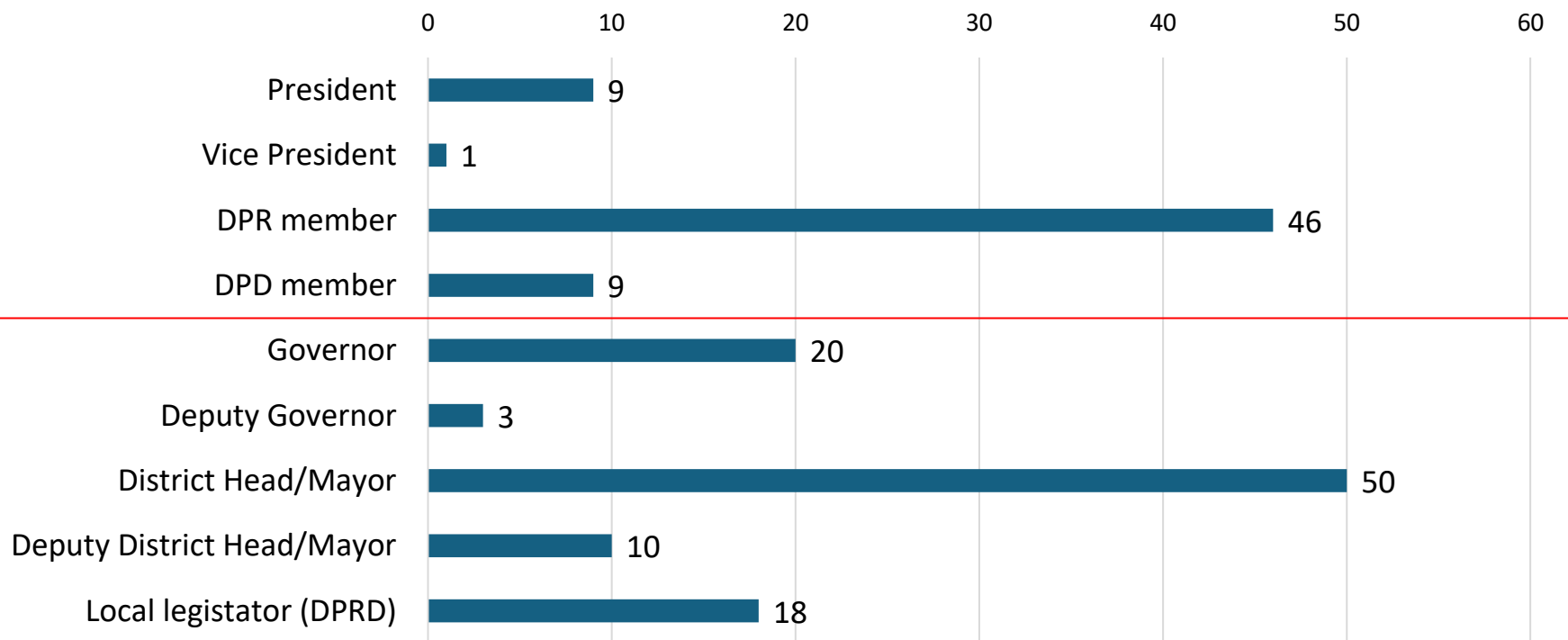
Son-in-law, sister of son-in-law

Governor of Sumatera Utara
Provincial legislator in Sumut

4. Families of the 2024-2029 Parliament members

Among the 580 DPR members, **at least 121** have a family member who has held or currently holds a political position.

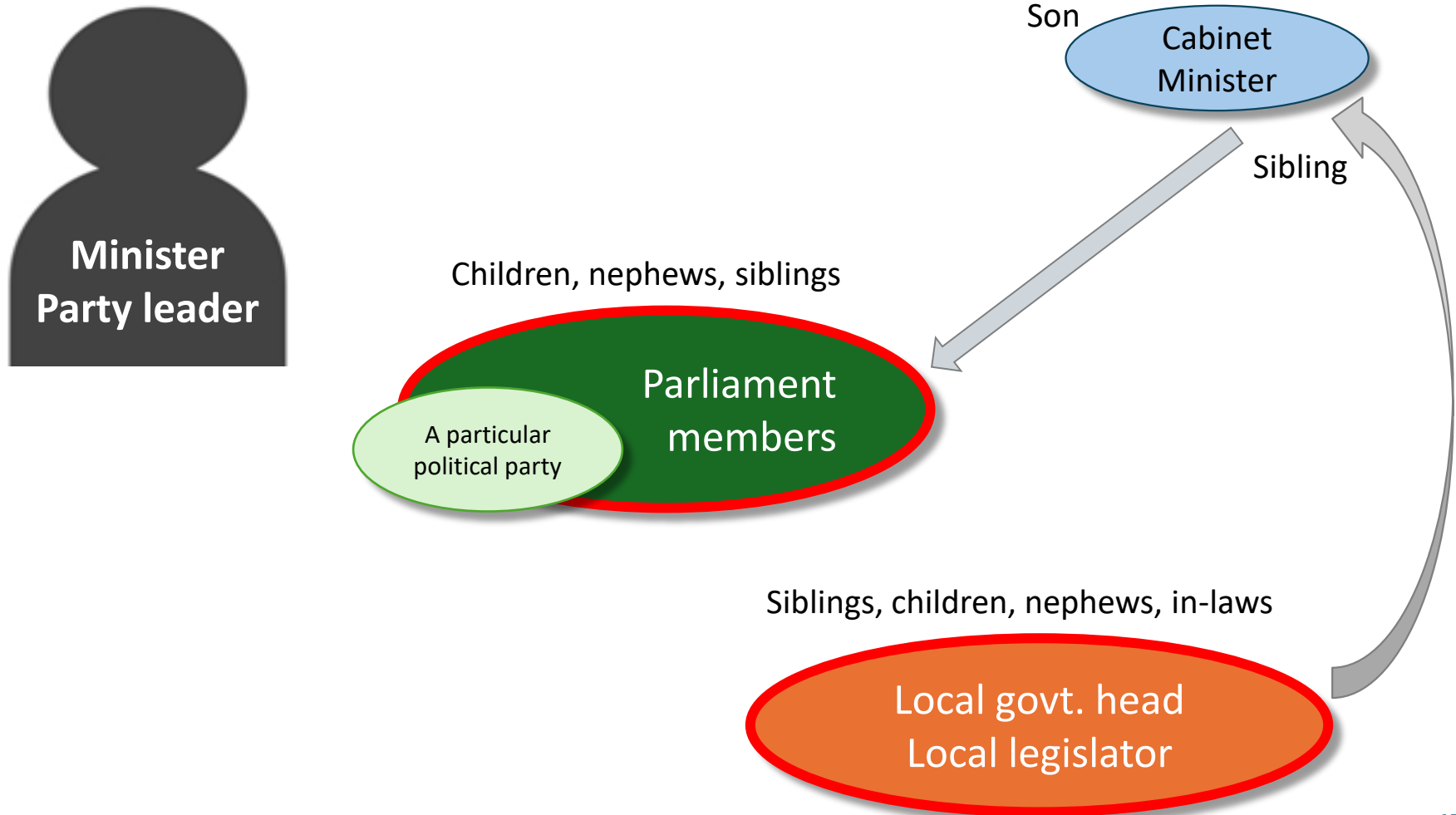
The number of the 2024-2029 DPR members whose family member has held or currently holds a political position such as..



Note: The numeric data includes duplicate values.

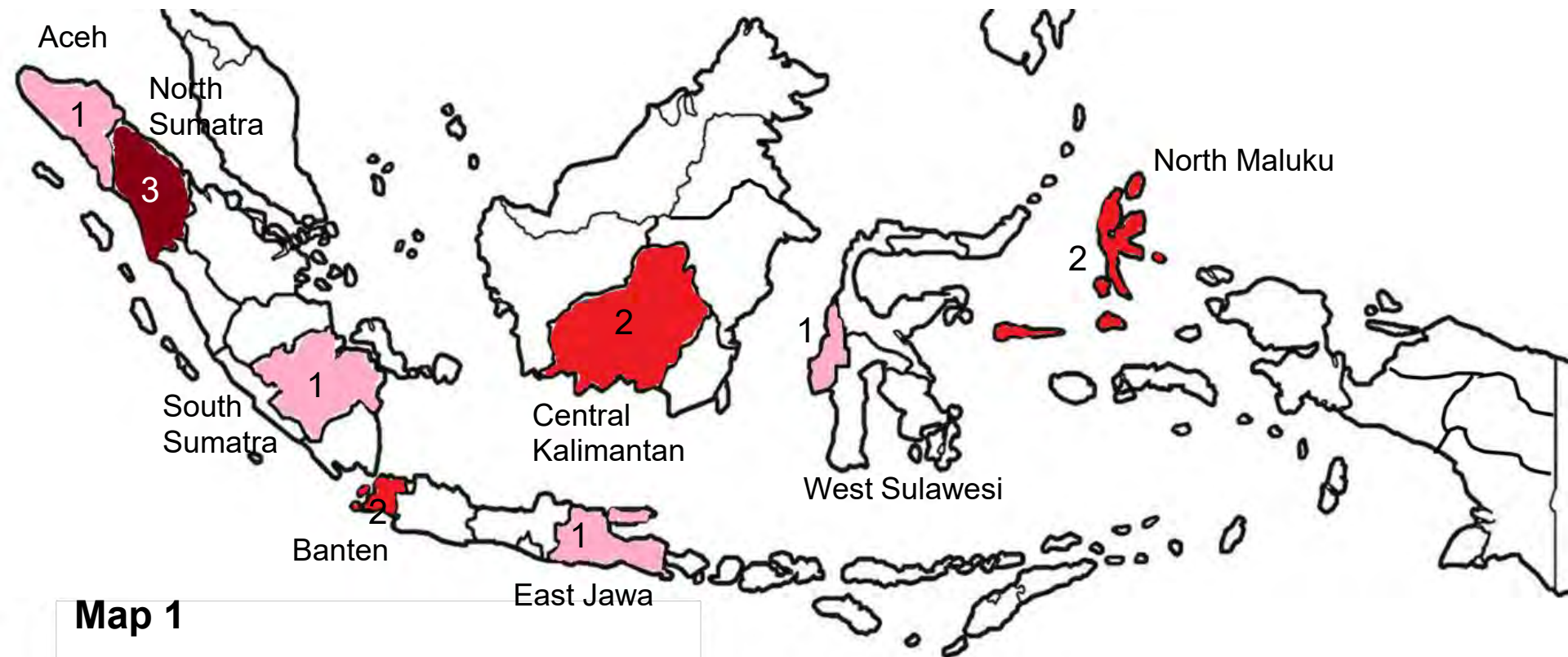
4. Families of the 2024-2029 Parliament members

5 families of ministers and party leaders have more than two family members who have held or currently hold political positions, and at least one is a DPR member.



4. Families of the 2024-2029 Parliament members

13 families of Governors, District Heads, and Mayors (the coloured provinces on the map) have more than two family members who have held or currently hold political positions, and at least one is a DPR member.

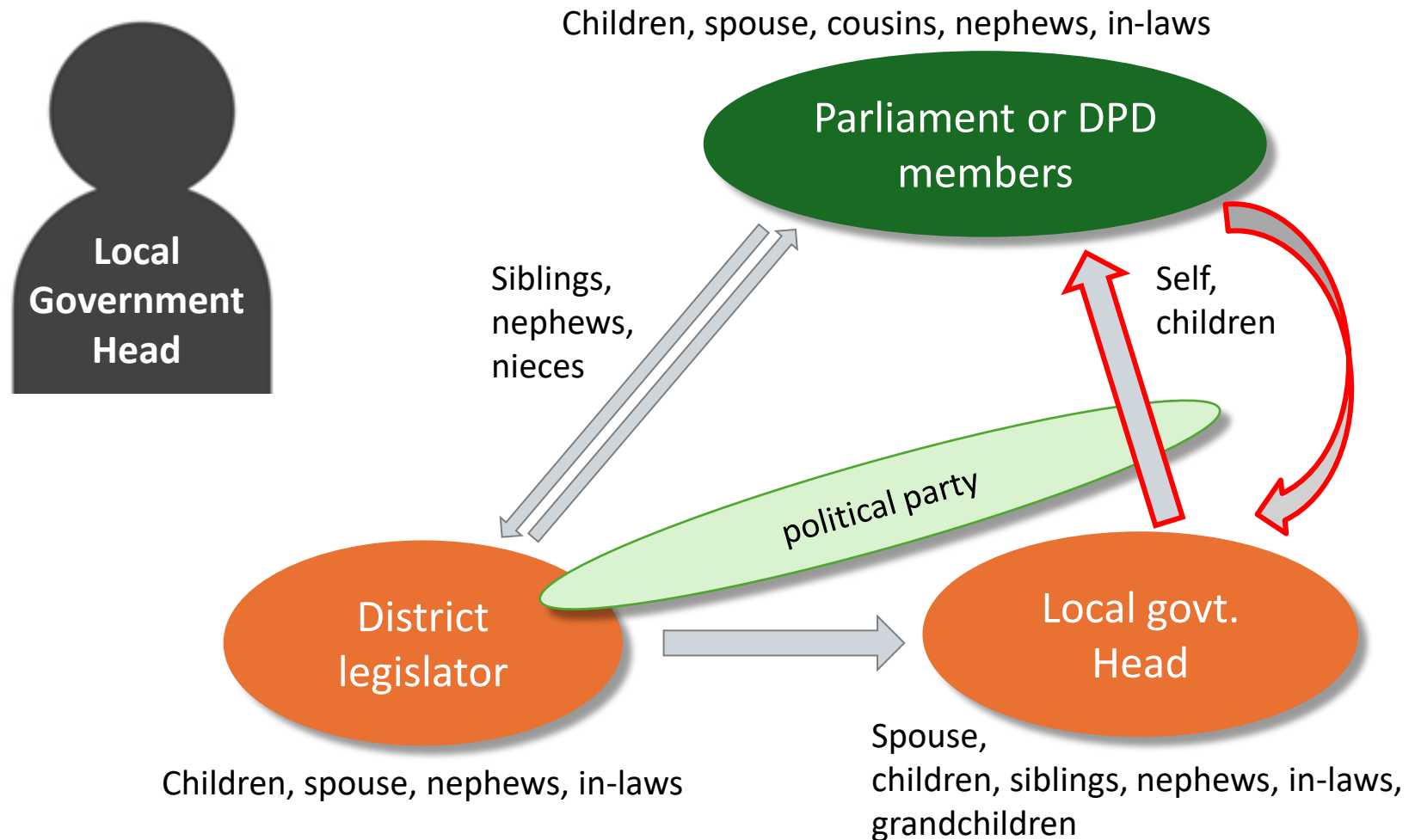


Map 1

The number of political families in each province

4. Families of the 2024-2029 Parliament members

13 families of **Governors, District Heads, and Mayors** (the coloured provinces on the map) have more than two family members who have held or currently hold political positions, and at least one is a DPR member.



4. Families of the 2024-2029 Parliament members

Among the 580 DPR members, **at least 41** can be regarded a member of **political dynasty**.

Succession to the position of _____ within or across generations

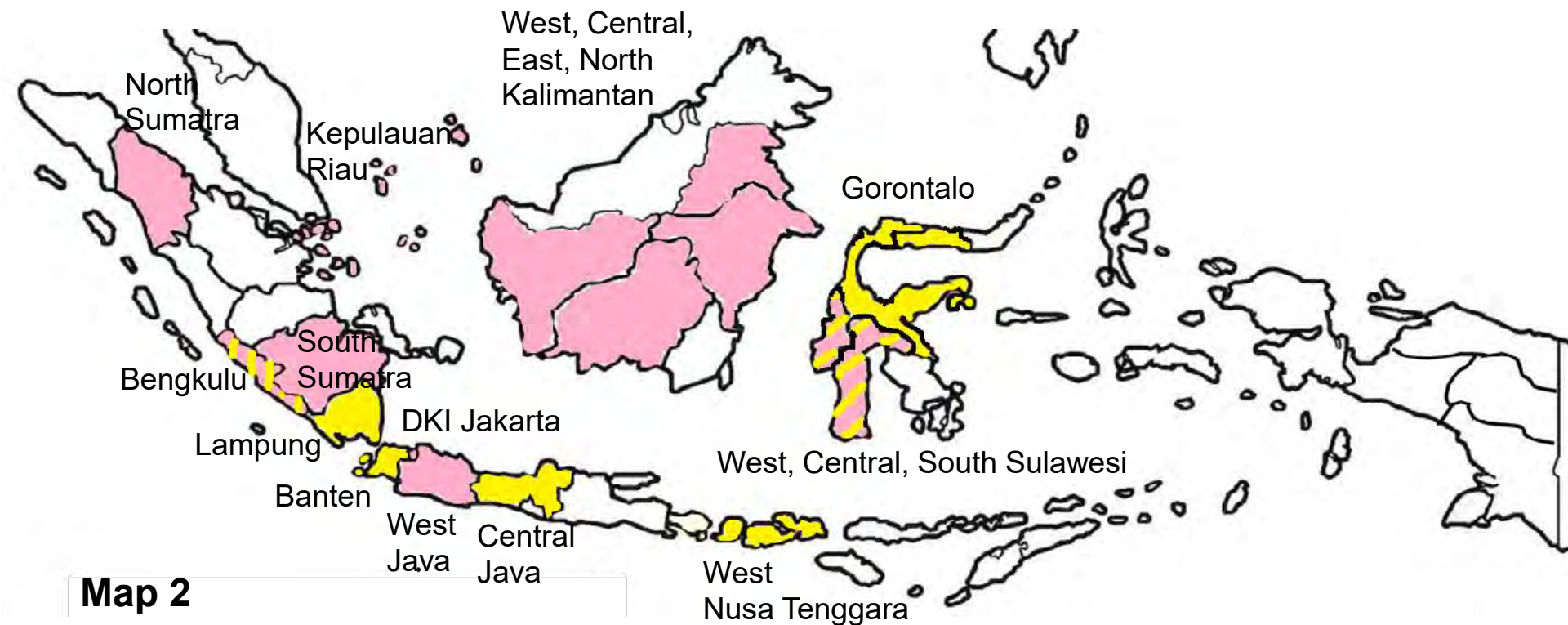


- DPR member (from the same constituency) ... 23
- Governor ... 0
- District Head ... 18
- Mayor ... 0

5. Families of Current Governor and Deputy Governor

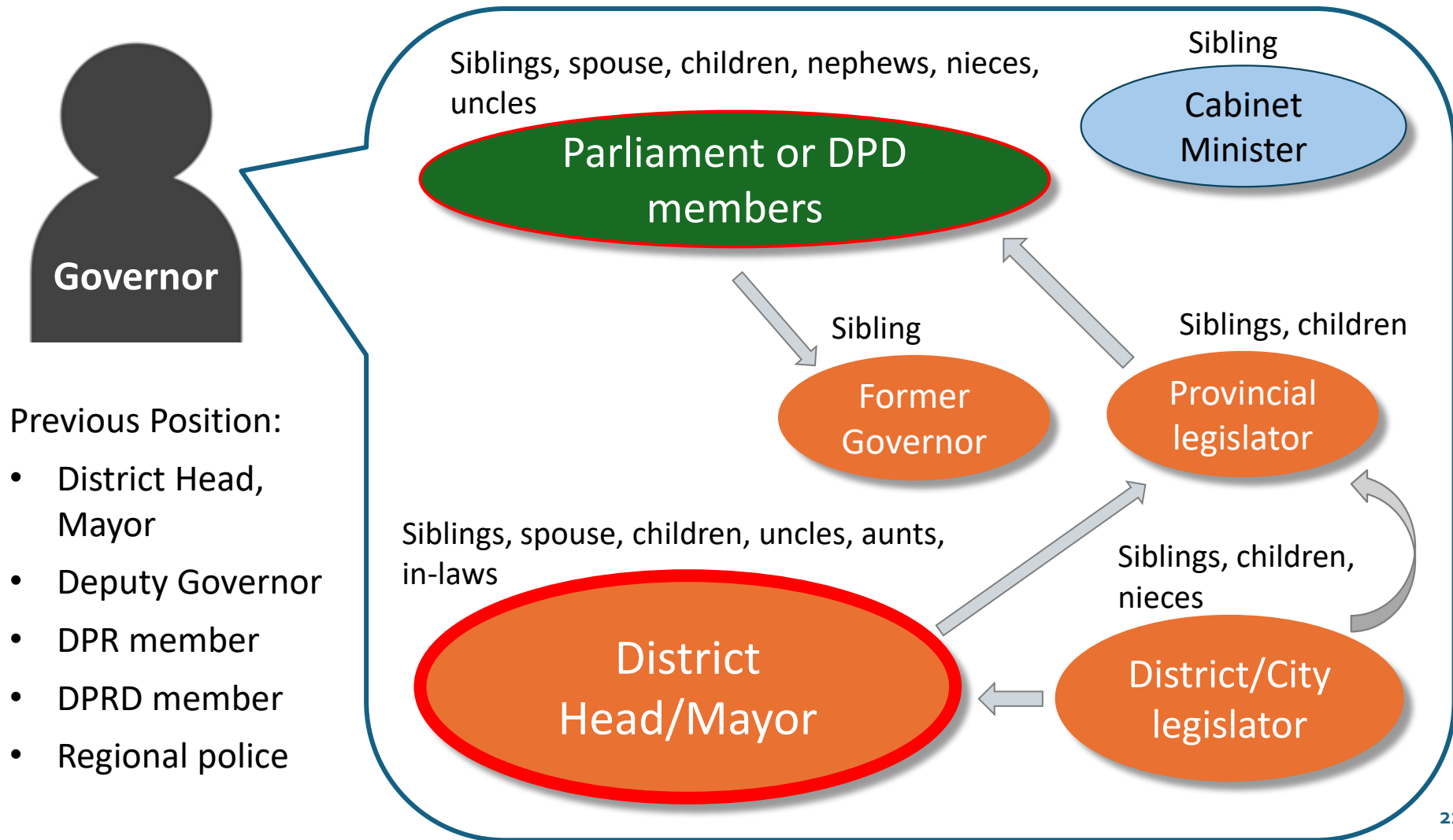
Among **37 Governors**, **at least 12 (the pink provinces on the map)** have a family member who has held or currently holds a political position.

Among **37 Deputy Governors**, **at least 9 (the yellow provinces on the map)** have a family member who has held or currently holds a political position.



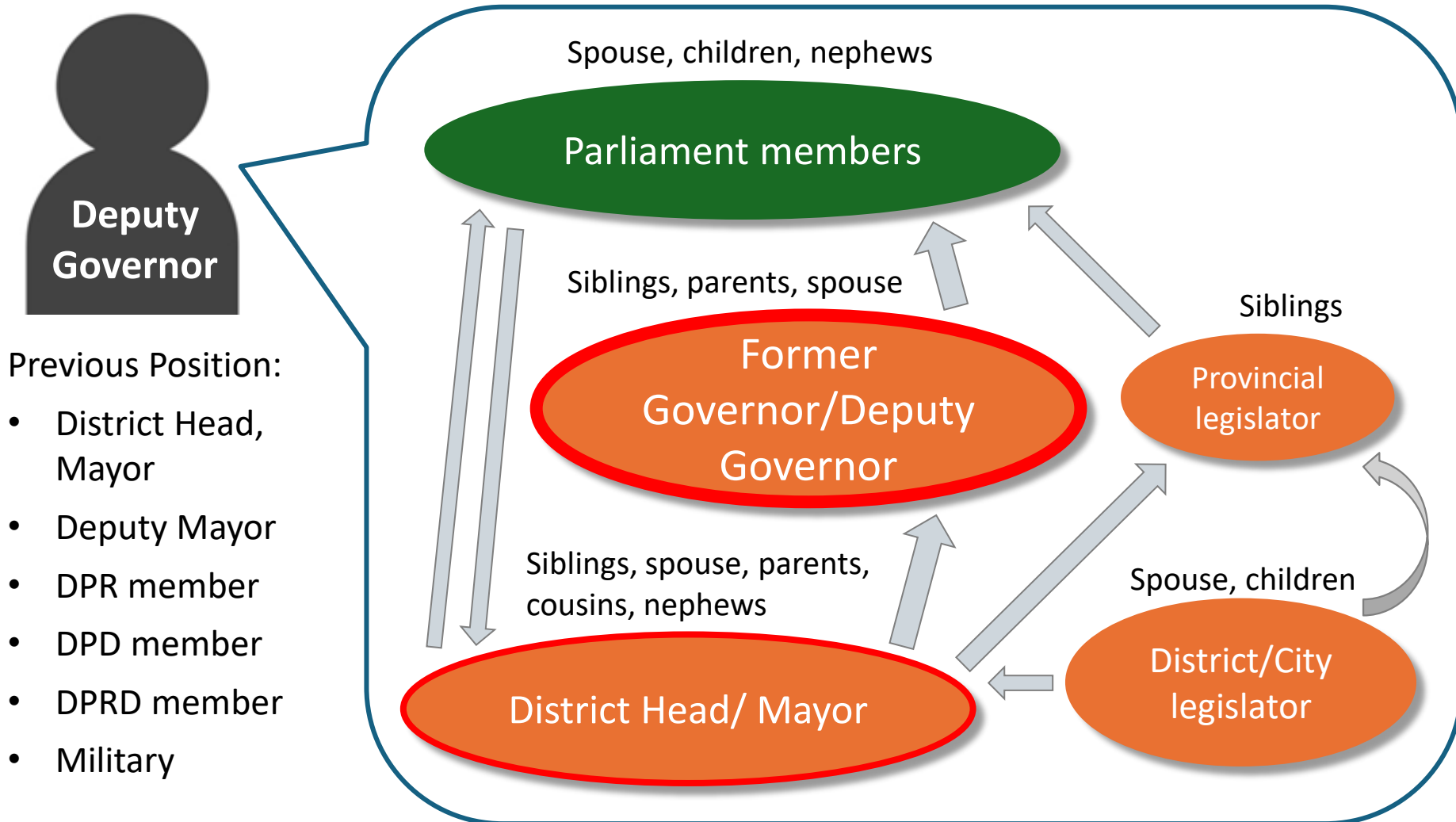
5. Families of Current Governor and Deputy Governor

Among 37 Governors, **at least 13** have a family member who has held or currently holds a political position.



5. Families of Current Governor and Deputy Governor

Among 37 Deputy Governors, **at least 9** have a family member who has held or currently holds a political position.



5. Families of Current Governor and Deputy Governor

Among the 74 Governors and Deputy Governors, **at least 10** can be regarded a member of **a political dynasty**.

Succession to the position of _____ within or across generations



- Governor ... 1
- District Head ... 9
- Mayors ... 0

6. Discussion and Conclusion

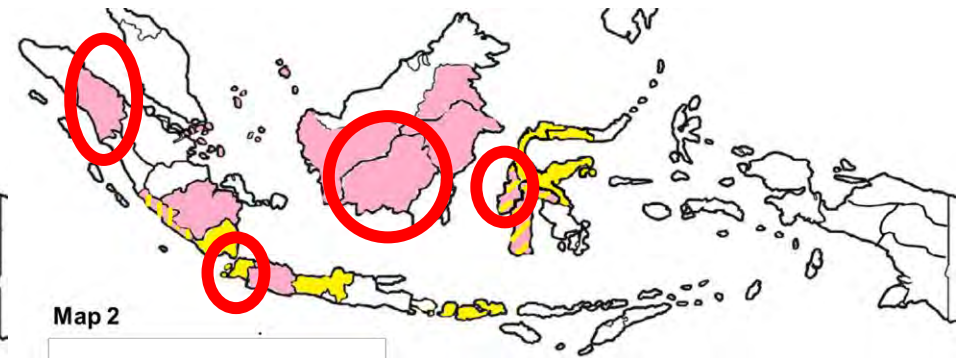
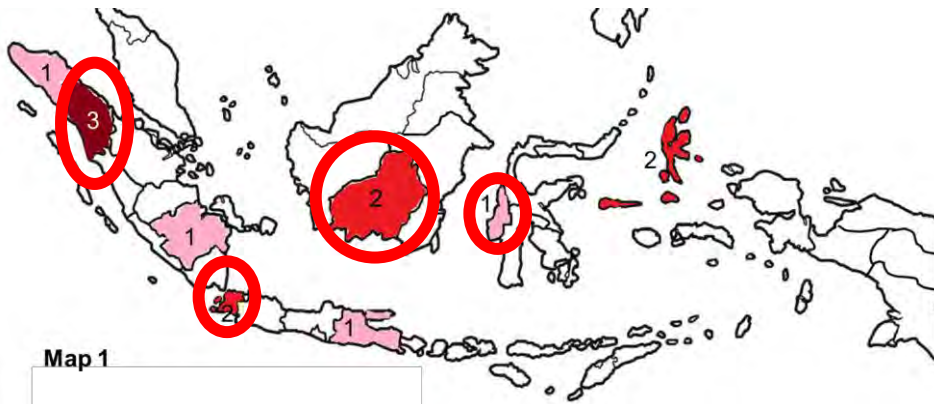
Different types of political families:

- **A family of President** whose power base lies in **a leading position within a political party** * Except for the Jokowi family
- **A family of a minister and a party leader** whose family members hold political positions **at the both national and local levels**
- **A family of a local government head (Governor, District Head, or Mayor)** who **uses the position of a DPR or DPD member as a political resource** to expand its political power at the local level
- **A family of Governor** whose power base lies **in a district** and includes a DPR or DPD member
- **A family of Deputy Governor** whose power base lies **at both the provincial and district levels**, and includes a DPR or DPD member

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Regional distribution of political families

- Powerful political families—holding political positions at the national, provincial, and district/city levels—are concentrated in some provinces, particularly North Sumatra, Banten, Central Kalimantan, and West Sulawesi.



Remaining questions

- Factors behind **regional differences** in the concentration of powerful political families
- The role of influential **local political patrons**