

A Political Dynasty in Nagan Raya District

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Abstract—Regional Election has been implemented since 2006 in Aceh. As much as the election has brought positive impact in the implementation of democracy in Aceh for 12 years, it also has disadvantages. One of the phenomena is political dynasties such as in Nagan Raya District under the leadership of Regent period 2012-2017, and he had run the office for about 15 years. During his term of office, he has built a political dynasty by appointing a number of his family members and relatives as heads in Nagan Raya District government institutions. This political dynasty has become a chance for corruption, collusion, and nepotism in the district. This research was aimed at finding out the processes, practices, and procedures which Nagan Raya Regent period 2012-2017 followed to maintain his political dynasty. This research used primary and secondary data. The data were analyzed quantitatively by using a content analysis model. The research results show that Nagan Raya Regent period 2012-2017 maintained his political dynasty by appointing his family members and relatives in strategic positions in the government structures, nominating his wife to become a member and the leader of Legislative Council, assisting his younger brother to run for a regent candidate nominated by the Golkar Party. He helped his brother to win the vote by using political mobilization and by intimidating village administrators and civil servants, forcing subdistrict heads to collect some village fund from each village head to finance his brother political campaign, and advertising his brother by distributing campaign calendar in a number of offices, departments, and institutions in Nagan Raya District.

Keywords—dynasty; politic; Nagan Raya Regent; regional election

I. INTRODUCTION

The General Elections Commission recorded that the Regional Election since 2015 participated by 269 districts has spent IDR. 6.8 trillion (USD 463 million). Meanwhile, the Regional Election in 2007 with 101 regents spent IDR 4.2 trillion (USD 286 million) (www.republika.co.id, 2017). Meanwhile, according to the People's Voter Education Network (JPPR), the fund spent for second Simultaneous Regional Election in 2007 was as much as IDR. 26 billion (USD 1,77 million) for each district in average, IDR 3 billion (USD 204 thousand) for each subdistrict (on average), and IDR 150 million (USD 10.2 thousand) for each village. In the process of seeking for support from political parties and the people, the candidates require a lot of monetary support, so that only candidates with access to a big amount of money can participate in this political contest. This opportunity can only be used by incumbents, businessmen, and some political elites who are close to people in power. They have more chance of winning in the Regional Election because they have adequate supports - both political support and power. The need for a lot of money to participate and win the Regional Election, such election is considered to cause corruption, collusion, and nepotism by leaders in district governments.

The data obtained from the ministry of home affairs state that in 2010, there were 206 leaders of regional governments who were involved in corruption, and the number decreased 20 in 2011, 41 in 2012, and 23 in 2013. In addition, the data from the ICW show that 183 leaders of regional government were alleged corruptors between 2010 and 2015. The number includes 110 regents, 34 mayors, 16 subdistrict heads, seven vice mayors, and two governors (www.antikorupsi.org.id, 2017).

More interestingly, the Regional Election can also result in a political dynasty. It is a common phenomenon in many modern democratic countries. It is defined as a phenomenon in which a group of people is continuously in power. States that each group of people shows a tendency to support the dynasty system, especially when the political system is open for everyone (Mosca in Dal Bo, 2009).

According to the coordinator of the Watch Committee for Regional Autonomy Implementation, there are three types of a political dynasty in Indonesia. The first type is called *arisan* model (rotating savings gathering), where the power is on the hands of one person or one family, and it is passed down to the next generation. The second type is an inter-family political dynasty with power branch, for example, an older brother becomes the regent, the younger brother becomes the head of Regional Legislative Councils, and family members are appointed to strategic positions. The third type is a cross-regional political dynasty, i.e. the powers in more than one region are reserved for one family (<http://news.liputan6.com>, 2017).

Based on press records, the political dynasty has been spread in many regional governments in Indonesia. The number of political dynasties in Indonesia has reached at least 58 since the implementation of special autonomy. Based on the data from Clean Regional Election Coalition, they have found at least 12 candidates of regional government heads from 11 districts were from political dynasties to participate in the 2017 simultaneous regional election in 2017 (<http://news.liputan6.com>, 2017).

One of the districts above was the focus of this research, i.e. Nagan Raya District because the Regent period 2012-2017 has run political dynasty for about 15 years. The Regent period 2012-2017 won the regional election twice, i.e. in 2007 and 2012, and he had been the acting regent for two years (2002-2007), when the district was first established.

The political dynasty run by Regent period 2012-2017 for 15 years is a very long running political dynasty. He can be considered as a successful person in maintaining his political dynasty in Nagan Raya District. Therefore, it is very significant that a study be conducted to find out how was the political dynasty maintained in Nagan Raya in terms of process, practices, and procedures.

II. METHOD

This research was a case study which was aimed at understanding ideas and values from the research subject. In case study research, a researcher determines the framework to collect information or data based on certain categories, such as sociocultural background, interpretation system, etc. The research method suitable for case study research is a qualitative method. With the above assumption, this research used a case study design and the object of the study was the political dynasty in Nagan Raya. The method adopted was a qualitative method, with ethnographic and naturalistic inquiry approaches.

A naturalistic inquiry is an approach for the understanding of social actualities and realities, and human understanding which has not contaminated with dominant characteristics of formal measurements or previously-formed questions. Therefore, an ethnographer task in an ethnographic research study with a naturalistic inquiry approach is to extract people's perception, not to interpret their perception. One of the methods to extract their perception is fox taxonomy, i.e. extracting people's perception gradually (James P. Spradley, 2006).

The use of a qualitative method in this research was motivated by the fact that it was more adaptable to situations when there is more than one fact and when they are more than one influences, values, and procedures. Therefore, in this research, the results will reflect the data which have been conducted through documentation study, observation, and in-depth interview with informants (Moleong, 2007)

Based on the description above, this research was descriptive exploratory research to understand the political dynasty in Nagan Raya in terms of processes, practices, and procedures that Regent period 2012-2017 used in maintaining his political dynasty. The results of this exploratory study can become a preliminary insight into the political dynasty in Nagan Raya under the leadership of Regent period 2012-2017

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

In the post-reformation political context in Indonesia, we can observe that the implementation of direct Regional Election gives more power to the citizen. Theoretically, there were many positive aspects of this direct regional election such as the realization of democracy and accountability. The access and participation of citizens to vote directly in the Regional Election indicate better quality of democracy because the citizens can express their voices without force or pressure. Consequently, the elected regents and vice regents are more legitimated by people's support, and the government is more accountable.

However, in reality, the implementation of the Regional Election is not always fair. The political dynasty increases the possibility for inequality in the distribution of political power, and it shows imperfect democratic representation. Political dynasty is the cause of unfair competition between candidates in the regional election.

The political dynasty does not only spread among exclusive position such as regents and vice regents, but it also extends to other political positions such as legislative positions (Regional Legislative Council and District Legislative Council). The political dynasty which is accumulated in one area become strong because of the dynastic power of a party and dynastic condition of other external parties. The processes, practices, and procedures of the political dynasty in Nagan Raya used by Regent period 2012-2017 for 15 years are presented in the following.

A. *Process, practices, and procedures of the political dynasty in Nagan Raya*

Based on the research results, under the leadership of Nagan Raya Regent period 2012-2017, the political dynasty has been built. It evident from the fact that many of his relatives and family members have been appointed to the government offices in Nagan Raya. The strategic positions in the government such as heads of departments were mostly given to his family members and relatives.

TABLE I. THE LIST OF FAMILY MEMBERS AND RELATIVES WHO HAVE POSITIONS IN GOVERMENT INSTITUTION OF NAGAN RAYA.

Name	Position	Family relation
Teuku Raja Keumangan (TRK)	Head of Development Planning Board	Younger brother
T.AmaluiAlamuddin (AmponMudin)	Head of Health Department and Head of Marine and Fishery Department	Younger brother
Cut Intan Mala	Health of Education Department	Younger sister
Cut Syarifah Burhani (Pocut)	Treasurer of Department of Finance and Asset Management	Younger sister
Popon	Health of Youth and Sports Department	Younger brother
T. Syahrizal	Secretary of Community Empowerment Board	Son
T. Zamzami TS.MM	Regional Secretary	Cousin
Abdurrani Cut	Assistant III	Relative
Cut Meli	Treasurer of Education Department	Niece
Cut Maneh	Secretary of Social Department	Cousin
Said Kamaruddin	Head of Financial Division at Education Department	Cousin
Syarifah Junaidah	Secretary of Health Department	Cousin
Arifudin	Treasurer of Health Department	Extended family
Said Azman	Secretary of Development Planning Board	Cousin
Safriadi	Treasurer of Development Planning Board	Family
Abdul Kadir	Head of the Department of Finance and Asset Management	Family
Ardi Martha	Head of Public Works Department and Head of Urban Design	Former brother in law
Said Darwis	Acting Head and Secretary Agriculture Department	Relative
Said Umar	Treasurer of Agriculture Department	Relative
Said Abdullah	Head of Plantation and Forestry Department	Family
Zulkifli	Health of Sanitation Department	Relative
Habib	Treasurer of Community Empowerment Board	Close relative
Afnizar	Division Head at of Community Empowerment Board	Close family
Said Azman	Board Secretary of District Legislative Council	Close family
Said Nazzarudin	Head of General Division at Regional Secretary	Former brother in law
T. Rian	Head of Youth and Sports Department	Cousin
Mahlil	Secretary of Population and Civil Registry Department	Relative
dr. Hasbi	Director of District Public Hospital	Relative
Cut Aman	Secretary of District Public Hospital	Cousin
Meilisna	Treasurer	Close relative

Cut Syahriah	Head of Personnel Division at District Public Hospital	Relative
Aja Putri	Kabid of Disease Control and Environment Division	Relative
JhonBerly Betta	Head of Transportation Department	Relative
Bismi	Secretary of Transportation Department	Close relative
Said Johan	Head of Food Security Department	Close relative
SyarifahAzizah	Secretary of Food Security Department	Close relative
HisbulWatan	Acting Head of Irrigation Department	Close relative
Ali Basyah	Expert Staff and Former Head of Agriculture Department	Relative

Based on the table above, the practice of appointing family members and relatives to strategic positions in government system was a practice of a political dynasty by Regent period 2012-2017 to maintain his political power in Nagan Raya. This policy was made to keep his power strong in governments and among people of Nagan Raya.

B. Nominating his wife to be a member and the head of Nagan Raya District Legislative Council

The winning of Kelimah, the wife of Regent period 2012-2017 as the head of Nagan Raya District Legislative Council (DPRK) strengthened his practice of political dynasty in Nagan Raya. Because he was not satisfied with his long-time success in appointing his family members and relatives in the government institutions, The Regent period 2012-2017 kept maintaining his political dynasty by nominating his wife to be a member of District Legislative Council in 2014. His wife was nominated by Golkar Party, in which Regent period 2012-2017 was the leader. His effort to maintain his dynasty resulted in success. Kelimah successfully secured 5,451 votes in Electoral Area I, which includes Beutong Ateuh, Banggalang Subdistrict, Beutong Subdistrict, Seunagan Timur Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, and Suka Mamue Subdistrict. Her winning with the most votes made her qualified to be the head of Nagan Raya District Legislative Council for the period of 2014-2019.

TABLE II. WINNING CANDIDATES IN REGIONAL ELECTION FOR NAGAN RAYA DISTRICT LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN 2014

No	Electoral Subdistrict	Winning Candidates	Political Party of Nomination	Number of Votes
1	Beutong Subdistrict, Beutong Ateuh Banggalang Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, Keunagantimur Subdistrict, and Suka Makmue Subdistrict	Hj. Kelimah, S.Sos	Golkar	5415
2	Beutong Subdistrict, Beutong Ateuh Banggalang Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, Seunagan Timur and Suka Makmue Subdistrict	Cut Merdom, TA.	Golkar	1524
3	Beutong Subdistrict, Beutong Ateuh Banggalang Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, Seunagan Timur Subdistrict and Suka Makmue Subdistrict	H. T. Zulkarnaini, S.Sos	Golkar	1488
4	Beutong Subdistrict, Beutong Ateuh Banggalang Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, Seunagan Timur Subdistrict and Suka Makmue Subdistrict	Samsul Bahri	Demokrat	1215
5	Beutong Subdistrict, Beutong Ateuh Banggalang Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, Seunagan Timur Subdistrict and Suka Makmue Subdistrict	Syamsul Bahri Syam, S.Pd	PA	1021

6	Beutong Subdistrict, Beutong Ateuh Banggalang Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, Seunagan Timur Subdistrict and Suka Makmue Subdistrict	Drs. Mawardi. IH, M.Pd	PKB	951
7	Beutong Subdistrict, Beutong Ateuh Banggalang Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, Seunagan Timur Subdistrict and Suka Makmue Subdistrict	Drs. Khalidi	PAN	843
8	Beutong Subdistrict, Beutong Ateuh Banggalang Subdistrict, Seunagan Subdistrict, Seunagan Timur Subdistrict and Suka Makmue Subdistrict	Mustafa	Nasdem	623

IV. CONCLUSION

In maintaining his political dynasty in Nagan Raya, the Regent period 2012-2017 adopted the following processes, practices, and procedures. First, appointed his family members and relatives to strategic positions such as heads of departments in Nagan Raya Subdistrict government. Second, he used his power as the head of a political party to nominate his wife to be a member of Nagan Raya District Legislative Council for the period of 2014-2019. He also strongly suggested that Subdistrict Heads and Village Officials to help to secure votes for his wife. He abused his power in the legislative candidate recruitment through the party he led. He also mobilized all party potential in the District Legislative Council to guarantee votes for his wife to be the head of the District Legislative Council for the period of 2014-2019. Third, in the simultaneous Regional Election in 2017, the Regent period 2012-2017 to nominate his younger brother, as a candidate for Nagan Raya Regent for the period of 2017-2022, nominated by Golkar Party, which he himself led. He helped his brother to win by intimidating village officials and civil servants, ordering subdistrict heads to ask collect village fund from every village head to finance the campaign of his younger brother and promote him by putting campaign calendars in a number of offices and departments in Nagan Raya government.

The processes, practices, and procures that Regent period 2012-2017 used to run his political dynasty in Nagan Raya District also shows that politicians in a dynasty tended to maintain and extend their power in their area of the dynasty. His family members and relatives were confident that they would be able to win political competitions from the support of the dynasty. In addition, the political dynasty has been commonly associated with efforts to protect themselves from practices of abuses of power they have previously made so that the people in power would put much effort to extend their powers by appointing family members and relatives in every position.

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