
**REGIONAL HEAD OF WOMEN, PARTICIPATION OR
EXPLOITATION? (THE PHENOMENON OF AIRIN-ANA AND
HARYANTI IN THE MAELSTROM OF POLITICAL DYNASTIES &
LOCAL OLIGARCHY)**

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ARTICLE INFO ABSTRACT

Received: October, 26th 2021	<i>Pilkada after pilkada continue to roll and are still dwelling on the same pattern of problems from the previous Pilkada which actually experienced a significant increase in the journey of regional heads who came from the Political Dynasty. When viewed by gender, in the 2020 Simultaneous Pilkada it can be seen that 57 women = 10.7%, of which 29 are female candidates who are wives of the previous regional head. This qualitative research prioritizes secondary data sources with 4M writing techniques, namely Describing, Analyzing, Concluding and Describing the phenomenon of Airin Rachmy Diany as Mayor of South Tangerang, Ana Sophanah as Regent of Indramayu and Haryanti as Regent of Kediri who are in the vortex of political dynasties & oligarchy, with big questions. Is this a form of participation or exploitation? Based on this phenomenon, it can be concluded that both Airin Rachmy Diany and Ana Sophanah and also Haryanti have been exploited by oligarchs who are in-laws, or husbands in order to strengthen political dynasties and oligarchic networks in their respective regions, rather than in the form of political participation themselves. As a Regional Head, he is exploited for the defense industry his power is also correlated with the defense of wealth which</i>
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makes him not independent in running the wheels of government in the region. The influence of male masculinity or family power still prevails in the government even if the position of the wife or daughter is higher than that of her father or husband as members of ordinary society.

KEYWORDS

Political Dynasties, Local Oligarchy, Exploitation



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INTRODUCTION

Twenty years after the 1998 reform, political dynasties thrived like mushrooms in the rainy season. Political dynasties can be found in all supporting political parties, at all levels of government and in various regions in Indonesia (Purwaningsih & Widodo, 2020). Most of the women as elected regional heads are the wives or children of male politicians who previously served or had strong influence in their regions (Aspinall & As'ad, 2016). This phenomenon shows that the kinship factor is still strong in Jahan's language as "family connections"—with a male family (father or husband) who is an influential political figure. These "Family connections" enable women to overcome various obstacles to advancing in politics (such as lack of financial capital, skills, experience, networks, information) and help them break out of the constraints of the purdah tradition because they can seek patrons from within their family circle.

In East Asia, connections with male families (husbands, fathers) who have strong political power or influence are an important factor behind the emergence of female political leaders. According (Richter, 1990) analyzes the factors behind the emergence of female political leaders in South and Southeast Asia and concludes that "familial ties" or kinship with their families, namely male politicians who are very influential such as husbands, fathers, are the factors behind their political emergence. Similar to Richter, (Thompson Mark, 2002) analyzed the political history of senior female politicians in Asia using the term "political dynasties", to describe the element of strong kinship with influential male politicians such as husbands or fathers, as a key factor for women. political leaders in Southeast Asia gained power.

Political dynasty is another type of transition and circulation of political power that involves family members. According to (Irham, 2016), political dynasties are divided into three models. The first model, a model where one family holds full power and clumps in a kinship circle and is carried out on the regeneration of the same family. The second model is the one-family model which is divided into politics across power rooms, for example, the father serves as the Regent, the son serves as the chairman of the DPRD and other strategic positions (Prayogo, 2017). The third model, a cross-regional dynasty model where there are at least two politicians in power in different areas, but the two politicians seem to be related in one family circle.

The father or husband is a patron for the female regional head. This reciprocal relationship between mutually beneficial patron-clients is what makes the survival of a power in a region. The Political Dynasty model that has developed in Indonesia over the years still follows the same pattern. Starting from political dynasties that maintain power in one area, political dynasties that expand power outside the region and across power, to the wife of a regional head who advances in regional elections in order to

perpetuate/maintain the policies of her previous husband while in office. These women have ties to kinship or family ties from prominent political dynasties, either as wives, children, or relatives. According to (Derichs & Thompson, 2013), this phenomenon is typical of Asian politics.

The phenomenon between Airin Rachmy Diany as Mayor of South Tangerang, Ana Sophanah as Regent of Indramayu and Haryanti as Regent of Kediri have similarities in terms of the figures behind their formation, both have the influence of male masculinism or family power, in South Tangerang Banten Province there are Figures and the role of father-in-law and husband Tubagus Chaeri Wardana, one of Chasan Shohib's children, who led Airin to become Mayor of South Tangerang, while in Indramayu there was Rianto MS Syafiuddin, often called Yance (Regent of Indramayu in the period 2000 – 2005 and 2005 – 2010) and in Kediri there is a figure of Sutrisno (1999-2009) in encouraging his wife to run in the Pilkada. The Political Dynasty model which makes the wife as the Regional Head, makes women's political participation in the spotlight. Do these wives really participate as "pure" regional head candidates of their own will so that they are able to become actors for women's representation in the Government, or do the wives/women only become stage actors or puppets in the context of perpetuating the political dynasty from the power of the previous husband.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research method used qualitative research prioritizes secondary data sources with 4M writing techniques, namely Describing, Analyzing, Concluding and Describing the phenomenon of Airin Rachmy Diany as Mayor of South Tangerang, Ana Sophanah as Regent of Indramayu and Haryanti as Regent of Kediri who are in the vortex of political dynasties & oligarchy, with big questions. Is this a form of participation or exploitation? This research will analysis and draw a conclusion.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Roadmap in building a Political Dynasty – Local Oligarchy

The road map in building a Political Dynasty from various literatures goes through four stages, among others: In the first stage, Before building a political dynasty, local contestants-mostly by gender, started by men who are fathers or husbands, are nobody. They generally come from the social strata of ordinary people who then advance to contest the Pilkada, win the Pilkada and in the end they collect capital sourced from local government projects. The goal in this first stage is to seize power. The second stage, after they have obtained sufficient capital, they run again in the Pilkada as incumbents, with the aim of maintaining power by expanding their power over projects and positions in government. The goal to be achieved in this second stage is to use power to accumulate capital to accumulate wealth. In the third stage, when the incumbent succeeds in becoming a regional head for two terms, they begin to build their political dynasty by encouraging their wives to advance in the Pilkada with the wealth that has been obtained in the second stage. That of all the wives who ran for the regional head elections, especially those in Java, especially in Indramayu and Kediri, had the same pattern, namely all of them were wives of regional heads who had served two consecutive terms. This means that there is a suspicion that the desire to maintain power is getting stronger, and the desire for family hegemony in local government is getting stronger. This oligarchy is by buying political parties, which means the businessman's affair with the

Chair of a Political Party in order to finance a series of political processes, determine Party Decisions and Recommendations, facilitate certain candidates to be elected with the aim of controlling political parties and expanding their access and control over regional economic resources to strengthen the Oligarchy, the Political-Oligarchy Dynasties Circle will then take care of each other's interests in order to strengthen the Oligarchy entering the fourth Stage (Syauket, 2021).

2. Kinship factor and Oligarchy

The Political Dynasty model where the wife has a desire to continue her husband's power is a tendency to "safeguard" the program of the previous regional head, as a political investment. The wife has the opportunity to attract public sympathy through selling programs that have been planned or development programs that have been implemented by her previous husband. In other words, both Hariyanti and Ana carry the stick of their husband's struggle for power. This is related to the reproduction of the discourse of heroism and populism of the previous government's program which was used as a campaign material for the wife to replace her husband - as the previous regional head. In addition, the wife who ran in the election contestation for example in Kediri and Indramayu was more because it was supported by social capital in the form of popularity as the wife of the previous Regent. Unlike Airin, who was the first mayor in South Tangerang, her existence could not be separated from the influence of Tubagus Haji Chasan Sohib the in-laws and Wawan, her husband and brother-in-law – Ratu Atut Chosiyah – Governor of Banten who is part of the political dynasty in Banten.

Sutrino, in this case, as the husband of Hariyanti, as well as Yance, Ana's husband, especially Tubagus Haji Chasan Sohib in Banten, used the influence of his character as a reflection of his invisible power to win his son-in-law as Mayor of South Tangerang or his wife as Regent of Kediri, the next Regent of Indramayu, by mobilizing formal figures. such as the bureaucracy and the informal in order to win and garner support from religious and traditional leaders. Moreover, Tubagus Haji Chasan Sohib is an elder of culture and religion in Banten as a voice booster. The role of religious and customary leaders is very significant in gaining votes as a consequence of social-society stratification.

Kinship in this context refers to the fact that these female politicians have very influential male politicians (husband, father, mother-in-law, brother, sister). They also helped facilitate the emergence and victory in direct elections. The continuity of the leadership baton from male patrons to the next generation, be it wives or daughters, through the procedural mechanism of direct elections, can actually be said to be an effort to build a political dynasty and perpetuate power at the local level. Why is that? This can happen because these qualified male politicians have previously served as regional heads for two consecutive terms or as local strongmen as happened with Airin.

The influence of Tubagus Haji Chasan Sohib and Wawan to Airin, Yance to Ana and Sutrisno to Haryanti show the strength of male hegemony in society. In a society like this, men are positioned superior to women in various sectors of life, both domestic and public. The hegemony of men over women derives legitimacy from social values, religion, state law, and is socialized from generation to generation.

The kinship factor is not an ordinary kinship, but a kinship anchored in an oligarchic network at the local level. The concept of oligarchy according to Hadiz and Robison is closely related to power relations (political power), not only to material resources (economics). Hadiz and Robison view oligarchy as a system of power relations that allows the concentration of wealth and authority as well as the collective protection of both. In other words, it can be said that based on the views of Hadiz and Robison,

oligarchs form a collective network with the accumulation of abundant material (economic) resources and also political power. For Hadiz and Robison, as described by Ford and Pepinsky, what is fundamental to oligarchy is the collective nature of oligarchy and the interrelated relationship between conflicts over wealth and political authority (Ford & Pepinsky, 2013).

2.1. Airin's Position in the Maelstrom of the Rau Political Dynasty in Banten

How did Airin appear in South Tangerang City in the 2010 direct election? It must be understood that South Tangerang as a relatively new area, has not many political players. This opportunity was seized by the family of Chasan Sochib (hereinafter referred to as Chasan), a very influential businessman champion, a Golkar figure since the New Order, thus becoming the most powerful figure to dominate Banten since it became a new province in 2000. Chasan died in 2011, however. when Chasan was still alive, he was the one who organized and encouraged Airin's candidacy in the 2008 direct election in Tangerang Regency, and in the 2010 Tangsel direct election⁹. One thing that must be looked at in depth is that Airin's position as a politician cannot be separated from her position as Wawan's wife. , one of the key heirs of the very powerful Chasan dynasty in Banten. As (Hamid, 2014) analysis, local politics in Banten since the founding of the province in 2000 has been marked by the strengthening of “familial ties” (or in the author's language in this chapter translated as “strong kinship politics”) which provide a hierarchical structure and high trust allows for coordinating decisions. related to succession and intergenerational transfer of economic and political resources; This “familial ties” political model can maintain political power depending on the ability of kinship networks to mobilize support, both from nuclear and distant families, on the basis of regional ties, marriage, and customary ties (Hamid, 2014). The Chasan dynasty began to slowly control Banten since 2004 and continued to dominate Banten.

In the direct Pilkada of Tangerang Regency, Chasan saw a very good opportunity to be able to seat his people in this new area. Chasan in his dynasty tried to forge and prepare his son-in-law, Airin. At the end of 2007, ahead of the Tangerang Regency Pilkada, Chasan urged Airin to run as a candidate for deputy regent of Tangerang Regency. Chasan openly and proudly said that it was he who ordered Airin's nomination and not her husband (Wawan). Chasan is able to create an oligarchic network by controlling, controlling, and accumulating material resources and controlling political authority for the benefit of himself and his family.

Even after Airin became the Mayor of South Tangerang, the oligarchic network of Chasan via Wawan as Airin's husband continued to be built. Even though Airin may want to separate between political issues and the Rau family's business issues, in practice it seems that Airin is finding it difficult to distance herself from the interests of the Rau family's capital accumulation. Airin as the Mayor of South Tangerang seems difficult to separate herself from the chains of the Chasan oligarchy network, which her husband Wawan then passed on to various development projects in South Tangerang⁹. One of the impacts of the strong kinship factor in the direct Pilkada in South Tangerang 2010 was the difficulty of Airin maintaining independence with her family in determining various development projects in South Tangerang. the tendency of rent-seeking politics, in the variant of the oligarchic network, is difficult to avoid. In fact, the Rau family company (the company of Airin's husband and eldest son) participates in infrastructure development projects in South Tangerang and its surroundings (Kusumaningtyas, Dewi, Ekawati, & Izzati, 2017).

2.2. Ana Sopanah's position in the Yance Dynasty-Oligarchy's snare in Indramayu

Indramayu Regency is one of the areas with a high poverty rate in West Java with a very low life expectancy and literacy rate. In addition, Indramayu Regency also has several important problems, especially related to the daily lives of women there, such as employment problems (the number of women migrant workers working abroad due to the lack of job opportunities), as well as maternal and child health problems (maternal mortality rate) /MMR and infant mortality rate/IMR).

The emergence of Anna as Regent of Indramayu was strongly influenced by the phenomenon of the strengthening of political oligarchic networks at the regional level, in this case what happened in Indramayu Regency. Anna's victory in the 2015 Pilkada was strongly influenced by at least two factors. First, the strong factor of her husband's political power, Yance. Yance was the incumbent regent for two terms as well as a Golkar and Pancasila Youth leader in Indramayu. During his leadership in Indramayu, Yance was known not to hesitate to use violence against anyone who opposed him. "If Anna's mother appeared, it was actually because of her husband's factor, not how she was able to do that,". Second, the strong factor of the bureaucratic network down to the lowest level in winning Anna, especially in rural areas (Kusumasari, 2020).

Meanwhile, from Anna's perspective, almost all Research informants in Indramayu stated that she did not have a bright political role, other than playing the role of the bupati's wife, who automatically later became the Chairperson of the PKK. In various interviews with the mass media, Anna openly revealed that her candidacy for regent was indeed based on her husband's political progress, and not on her own decision as a woman with the ideas she wanted to bring. This condition then influenced the programs that Anna carried out in her government. In the interview that was broadcast nationally, Anna admitted that she carried the same program as the program that her husband carried when he was still the Regent of Indramayu. In terms of running the government, Anna's position as the Regent of Indramayu is also under the full control of her husband. Yance openly admits that he even has a special room in the Regent's office or more commonly known as a "pendopo" to fully control the policies and decisions made by his wife, Anna. Provide direction, advice, or guidance in issuing certain policies (Putri, Hidayat, & Romli, 2021), (Arianto, 2021).

Thus, the emergence of Anna Sophanah as Regent of Indramayu for two periods (2005–2010) and (2015–2020) can be seen as part of the extension of the power of the oligarchic network at the local level built by her husband, Yance. The maximum use of political authority, even accompanied by repressive measures, is a strong feature of the network of political oligarchy built by Yance in Indramayu Regency. On the other hand, personally, Anna herself tends not to be able to show leadership qualities outside the design of political power that has been built by her husband for a long time. As a female regional head, Anna tends to have not been able to push a different policy agenda from the one her husband had promoted during the two previous leadership periods (2001–2010).

2.3. Haryanti's position in the Sutrisno dynasty-oligarchy vortex in Kediri

Kediri which is located in the western part of the province of East Java is an area that is very thick with Mataraman culture, especially Islamic Mataram, the number of Islamic boarding schools in Kediri Regency as a characteristic that is thick with the character of Mataraman Kediri, "nderek kersane mbah yai" is a sentence or term that is commonly used Most Kediri people say that they live in villages and areas around Islamic boarding schools, with the characteristic form of the Kediri Mataram community which is very thick (Bimantara & Harsasto, 2018).

Robert Endi Jaweng in (Syauket, 2021), this phenomenon in Kediri Regency is included in the regeneration dynasty model. This political dynasty is carried out in rotation without a break. The existence of the Sutrisno dynasty at the peak of power in Kediri survived because of its ability to use patronage networks. Initially, Sutrisno before serving as regent of Kediri was to become a Field Extension Officer (PPL) in the field of education in agriculture. While working as a PPL, he also established relationships and communicated with many parties, especially those in power in villages in the Kediri district. He collaborated in the form of transactional politics with village government officials, one of which was infrastructure development in the village, the impact was sympathy and community support to focus on him because he succeeded in helping development in villages in the Kediri Regency which had been lagging behind and finally able to develop. The people in Kediri seem to have been conditioned by Sutrisno's attitude and policies as the holder of the highest power. When his wife served two terms as regent, Pak Sutrisno was also given a very important position in the Kediri district government, namely being the Head of the Regional Revenue Technical Implementation Unit (TPPD), this is what he really took advantage of by carrying out political cartelization in the form of forpimda, many relations officials or people who work under him serve loyally in order to get rewards in the form of positions or strategic projects in government development with the aim that all government affairs and powers that have been built continue to run according to Sutrisno's plan, in the end many parties are competing to approach and ready to help Mr. Sutrisno and Mrs. Haryanti either from old people or new people. This reciprocal relationship between mutually beneficial patron-clients is what makes the survival of a power in a region. This is a form of political approach by involving the community in its economic projects. Moreover, supported by the village fund budget from the central government, all the policies made by Sutrisno through his wife can run effectively. By being behind the scenes, Sutrisno can be more flexible in managing the fabric of family relations who occupy regional seats and their legislative officials to remain solid and consistent in the development of dynastic politics.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis and discussion, it can be concluded that the visible phenomena of Airin Rachmy Diany and Ana Sophanah and also Haryanti have been exploited by oligarchs who are in-laws, or husbands in order to strengthen political dynasties and oligarchic networks in their respective regions, rather than in the form of political participation. himself. As a Regional Head, he is exploited for the defense industry, his power is also correlated with the defense of wealth which makes him not independent in running the wheels of government in the region. The influence of male masculinity or family power still applies in the government even though the position of the wife or daughter is higher than that of her father or husband as members of ordinary society. Because traditionally, humans organize themselves or are arranged in a patriarchal political building, that is men who hold fast to become leaders.

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