

# Dynastic Politics Of The Democratic Era In Indonesia (Hadith Perspective On Nepotism In Politics)

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**Abstract.** Dynastic politics is a phenomenon where political power is inherited within a single family, often resulting in a concentration of power and a disregard for democratic principles, leading to inequality in the distribution of power. This article discusses the influence of a political system dominated by dynasties in the context of modern governance, particularly its impact on public policy and the limitations of social mobility. In the history of Indonesian governance, dynastic politics has occurred in a hereditary manner, with dynastic political strategies being used as tools to secure power by placing family members or relatives in both formal (government) and informal (projects or businesses) positions. As a result, dynastic politics will continue to evolve, generating both support and opposition amid the implementation of a democracy-based government. There is a discussion of hadith regarding the prohibition of granting positions or providing references based on familial relationships, which contradicts the principles of justice and meritocracy. Therefore, this article explores potential solutions that may support policies of transparency, accountability, and equal opportunities for all individuals, aiming to provide an understanding of the impact of dynastic politics and the importance of an inclusive and fair political system.

**Keywords:** Politics; Dynasty, Positions, Democracy.

## Introduction

The phenomenon of dynastic politics (*political family* or *legacy politician*), gives rise to several definitions of dynastic politics. Broadly speaking, dynastic politics is defined as a family that has several members who occupy elected positions and has a significant influence on local, regional, or national politics<sup>1</sup>. Some experts agree that the limit on the number of members for a family can be called a dynasty in a minimum of four families in the circle of government. This happens in democratic countries, such as Indonesia and even in the United States (US) which is an established democracy.

Some studies have stated that this dynastic politics is a consequence of the practice of democracy itself. Because, in the principle of democracy there is a principle of equal rights, so that all citizens, whether they are the president's children or children of the lower middle class, have the same opportunity. However, it should be emphasized that political dynasties will have consequences in the form of damage to the pillars of democracy and, in practice, disrupt the effectiveness of the government. Countries that are carried away in protracted dynastic politics usually find it difficult to realize *good governance*.

Seeing the portrait of political dynasties in Indonesia as a process in regeneration and political contestation to gain and maintain power in blood relations, marriage, or being in one extended family.

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<sup>1</sup> Wawan kurniawan, Universitas Indonesia. <https://theconversation-Asian Journal of Comparative politics> (03/11/2023, 12.07 Wib). Diakses 18 maret 2025.

This political dynasty has been going on since the New Order era with the sandalwood family as clear evidence that political dynasties can influence Indonesian democracy.

During the reform period, political dynasties continued to occur. The thing that is in the spotlight of the public today is the Jokowi family, whose son Gibran Rakabuming Raka and son-in-law Bobby Nasution who now occupy strategic positions in local government plus his sister's marriage with the chief justice of the constitutional court succeeded in completing the political power of the Jokowi family. The power of the political dynasty was firmly rooted in the province of Banten which was formed by the chasan sohib then the rise of the queen atut chosiyah mengoctopus until the rise of husbands, children, sons-in-law, younger siblings and other big people sat in executive and legislative positions of the DPD and DPR.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, there are around 57 regional heads or deputy regional heads, have family relations or relatives of other officials. They are spread across 15 provincial areas, such as; Provinces of Lampung, Banten, South Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, North Sumatra, Jambi, South Sumatra, West Java, Central Java, Special Region of Yogyakarta, East Java, West Nusa Tenggara, Central Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, and Maluku.

Reflecting on the above facts, when viewed from modern political analysis, the emergence of dynastic politics is caused by the sterility of democracy. This is because this then structurally results in overdose autonomy, so that ethnic power in the region emerges. From this ethnicity the dynasty grew, while political ethics were low because the regeneration of political party cadres and political education did not go well.<sup>3</sup>

In the context of modern politics, dynastic politics is becoming an increasingly relevant issue, especially in countries that implement democratic systems, resulting in the concentration of power in one family, which hinders wider political participation and harms social justice. The relevance of hadith in dynastic politics, the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH which prohibits the granting of positions to people who ask or want it emphasizes the importance of choosing leaders based on ability and integrity, not based on blood relations alone. This article aims to analyze the impact of dynastic politics in the democratic era and how the hadith prohibiting giving office can be used as a guideline in creating a fairer and more transparent system of government. By understanding the context and implications of the hadith, it is hoped that solutions can be found to reduce the negative influence of dynastic politics, as well as encourage the creation of a more inclusive leadership oriented to the interests of the wider community.

The writing method is based on the problems presented, so this article is carried out with library *research*, which is research that is carried out and focused on studying or reviewing literature sources that are relevant to the language and help understanding. It is also studied using a type of descriptive content analysis research, which is a method by using a procedure to make valid inferences from texts whose content is a description, describing aspects and characteristics of a message.

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<sup>2</sup> Alvina Alya Rahma, Dkk. "PENGARUH DINASTI POLITIK TERHADAP PERKEMBANGAN DEMOKRASI PANCASILA DI INDONESIA", Jurnal Kewarganegaraan Vol.6 No. 1 Juni 2022, <https://journal.upy.ac.id/index.php/pkn/article/download/2966/pdf/7247>. Diakses 18/03/2025

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

## Discussion

### Dynastic Politics in Indonesia

According to the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (KBBI), Politics is (knowledge) about the constitution or statehood (such as about the system of government, the basis of government), all affairs and actions (policies, strategies, and so on) regarding the government of the country or towards other countries and the way of acting (in facing or handling a problem); wisdom.<sup>4</sup> And dynasties are the descendants of ruling kings, all of whom come from one family.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, according to his definition, dynastic politics is a system of political power carried out by a group of people who still have blood relations. Dynastic politics is very synonymous with the royal era. This is because the government will be passed down from the father to the next descendants.<sup>6</sup>

Indonesia is included in the countries that participate in practicing the politics of the dynasty<sup>7</sup>. Dynastic politics has become a legacy of traditional power that has existed in Indonesia for centuries. Signs that Indonesia will enter the era of dynastic politics have actually been very pronounced since Suharto began placing his son and daughter-in-law in various decisive positions in the cabinet<sup>8</sup>. Starting in the era of autocracy, genealogical ties have been used as a basis for political regeneration to perpetuate power.

In Indonesia itself, before the hype of the formation of President Joko Widodo's dynasty, political dynasties had become an old practice. The most obvious was during the Suharto regime, the second president of Indonesia.

During the New Order period, Suharto often brought his children into the political circle. Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, for example, served as a member of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia from the Golkar Party faction for the period 1992-1998 and became the Minister of Social Affairs in 1998.

In general, political dynasties are based on direct blood relations in the family (*consanguinity*) and *marriage* relationships with other clans. Family loyalty, obedience, and solidarity are the important points of political dynasties. With that, power and a number of interests that have been and temporarily carried out can still be maintained or controlled.

In the Indonesian context, the legacy of the existing value system cannot be completely eliminated when democracy has been implemented in this country since 1998. Consequently, political dynasties get their chance in the democratic era, precisely because the democracy applied in Indonesia is very procedural in nature and tends to reflect a mixed/hybrid system model.

The lack of law enforcement and the practice of procedural democracy have become a field for the growth and development of political dynasties because it allows entrenched forces to stick their nails in politics and government.

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<sup>4</sup> E. ST. Harahap, KBBI, <https://kbbi.web.id/politik>. Diakses 18/03/2025

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Tifa Fauziah, "*Arti Politik Dinasti, Tujuan & Apakah Melanggar Konstitusi?*", Terbit 25 Jun 2023 Diakses 18/03/2025

<sup>7</sup> Noer Fadilah Raissoevel, "*Pengaruh Politik Dinasti Terhadap Pemenuhan Hak Politik Warga Negara (Studi Kasus Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Kota Surakarta Tahun 2020)*". Skripsi Jakarta UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, (2022), h. 22. 5

<sup>8</sup> Bambang Cipto, Buku "*Bebek Dunggu Presiden Profesional atau Politik Dinasti?*", (Yogyakarta: PT. BIGRAF Publishing), h.52

According to the records of the Ministry of Home Affairs, there were 60 (11 percent) cases of political dynasties in the era of direct elections during 2005-2014. This number tends to increase during 2015-2018 to 117 (21.5 percent) and in 2020 it increased to 175 (32 percent).<sup>9</sup>

### Causes of Dynastic Politics

The emergence of political dynasties is caused by a number of factors. Among them are the following: The emergence of the desire in the family or oneself to hold power, the emergence of collaboration between businessmen and rulers in order to collaborate political power and capital, the emergence of organized groups due to agreement and togetherness in a group, so that followers and group rulers arise, there is a division of duties between political power and capital power, so that it is vulnerable to corruption.

### Factors Causing Dynastic Politics in Indonesia

The rise of dynastic political practices that occur in Indonesia is certainly not without cause, therefore there are several factors that cause the occurrence of destructive dynastic politics, which researchers have summarized, including:

#### 1. Legal Rules That Allow Politics

At least three laws that regulate and impose limits on incumbents that are able to eliminate dynastic political habits. However, these three laws have never been applied in the election of regional heads. It has never been implemented because so far there are parties who feel that their constitutional rights are violated by the law so they take legal steps by testing the law to the Constitutional Court and in the end it was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court on July 8, 2015 through decision Number 33/PUUXIII/2015. Article 7 letter r of Law No.33/PUU-XIII/2015 according to the Constitutional Court contains discrimination that limits a person's right to run for regional head elections and is considered contrary to Article 28 Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution.<sup>10</sup>

#### 2. Political Party Institutions That Are Not Yet Democratic

The existence of political parties in the country is one of the crucial institutions. Political parties are part of the pillars of democracy. Without political parties, democracy cannot run and run. Although in its development there are mixed reactions to the existence of political parties that appear currently, all parties agree that democratic practices will improve if political parties are professional, democratic, and accountable. In this context, political parties are obliged to carry out a number of functions. The functions that must be carried out by political parties are: mediating between the government and the community; nomination of candidates; organizing the government; promoting public accountability; political education; and conflict management. These functions then serve as a benchmark for the institutionalization of a political party.<sup>11</sup>

#### 3. Cost of Political Costs or Costs

The high cost of politics in electoral contestation contributes to introducing and fostering dynastic politics. The practice of political dowry or buying and selling candidacy tickets also invites the formation of dynastic politics. The practice of dynastic politics aims to perpetuate power. Power itself means the right of access to the state budget, access to energy sources. The high cost of politics also nourishes the practice of dynastic politics, because it is said to be expensive, triggering illegal

<sup>9</sup> R Siti Zuhro, "*Dinasti Politik dan Ancaman Demokrasi*", (4 November 2023, 09.00 Wib). Diakses 2025

<sup>10</sup> Gaundensius Suhardi, "*Dinasti Politik*", 16 Desember 2019, diakses 2025

<sup>11</sup> Miriam Budiardjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1985).

things such as the practice of political dowry, money politics, and leading to corruption, collusion, and nepotism to achieve its goals.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. Low public awareness to evaluate dynastic politics

The next factor is the low awareness of public politics. This happens because the education of the people as voters with political education is not optimal.<sup>18</sup> So far, the permissive attitude of the public towards various forms of money political bribery is based on the economic inability that is being experienced by many people, where this situation is then used by the oligarchs to buy support.<sup>13</sup>

#### 5. Human Rights Factors

Human Rights (HAM) is considered to be related to the fertility of dynastic political practices in Indonesia. The right to vote and be elected is a right that needs to be protected and recognized. Because this matter has been regulated in the 1945 Constitution Article 27 paragraph 1, Article 28D paragraph 3, Article 28E paragraph 3, and Article 43 paragraph 1 of Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights These provisions then become the legal basis for every citizen to have the right to vote and the right to vote. So that this makes everyone who wants to go forward and participate in the regional elections should not be hindered. Thus, making a ban on family members of prisoners from participating in running for office is an offense because it is considered to deprive citizens of their constitutional rights and contrary to human rights principles.<sup>14</sup>

### Pros and Cons of Dynastic Political Practices in Indonesia

The dominant influence of politics determines the running of a State. A good and healthy political spirit will support the progress of a nation and state. On the contrary, negative and subversive politics can make a nation and state weak to the point of regression. Politics as a learning material for the scope of the state, as well as as a form and distribution of power. Dynastic politics has basically emerged in democracy for a long time. Dynastic politics that emerged in the democratic era raised concerns about inequality in the circulation of political power, so it would reflect the weakness of democratic representation in politics.<sup>15</sup>

The ideal democracy is one in which people have a great opportunity to participate in the political process. This means that the space for public participation is very open to all people who want to participate in running and competing for political office. However, dynastic politics has become a barrier for society to the point of losing its social rights. If democracy means that government is run by the people, by the people, and for the people, then dynastic politics has made political pragmatism by prioritizing incumbent relatives to occupy positions and fill public positions.<sup>16</sup>

Political power exercised by family or relatives, has become a phenomenon that triggers debates in Indonesia so that it raises pros and cons,

<sup>12</sup> Bayu Hermawan, "Perludem sebut empat faktor penyebab munculnya politik dinasti", 29 Juli 2020, diakses pada 18 Maret 2025.

<sup>13</sup> Hertanto, dkk, *Pilkada di Masa Pandemi: Tantangan dan Harapan dari Beragam Perspektif*, (Lampung: Aura, 2021), h. 404-405

<sup>14</sup> Isnu Harjo Prayitno Dkk, "Politik Dinasti Pada Pilkada 2020 Dalam Perspektif Hukum Dan Demokrasi (Analisa Yuridis Pada Pemilihan Walikota Dan Wakil Walikota Kota Tangerang Selatan 2020)", *Jurnal Surya Kencana Dua: Dinamika Masalah Hukum dan Keadilan*, Vol.8 No.1, 2021, 81.

<sup>15</sup> Djoni Gunanto, "Tinjauan Kritis Politik Dinasti di Indonesia", *Sawala : Jurnal Administrasi Negara* Vol. 8. No. 2. 2020, 177-191

<sup>16</sup> Prayitno et al., "Dynastic Politics in the 2020 Regional Elections in the Perspective of ...", 70.

### Pros of dynastic politics:

- a. Policy Continuity: Dynastic politics can maintain the continuity of government policies because family members usually have a similar vision to previous leaders.
- b. Legally Valid: The Constitutional Court ruled that the prohibition of dynastic politics is contrary to the political rights of citizens, so dynastic politics is considered constitutional.
- c. Network Efficiency: Families that are already established in politics have extensive networks and access to resources that can accelerate policy implementation.

### Against Dynastic Politics:

- a. Threatens Democracy: Dynastic politics is considered to injure the principle of equality of political rights and undermine democracy because it only benefits certain elite groups.
- b. Nepotism and Corruption: This practice has the potential to foster a culture of nepotism, where positions are given based on family relationships, not competence. This is often associated with abuse of power and corruption.
- c. Weakens Party Recruitment: Dynastic politics can hinder political party regeneration, where candidates are selected based on popularity or wealth rather than ability or experience.
- d. Discrimination of Opportunity: The circulation of power only revolves around elite families, so the general public loses the opportunity to participate in government.

Dynastic politics has a positive side in maintaining policy continuity, but its impact on democracy is often negative, such as ignoring the principle of equality and opening up opportunities for corruption. Therefore, strict supervision of this practice is necessary to maintain the integrity of the democratic system in Indonesia.

### Hadith Perspective on Nepotism in Dynastic Politics

Al-Muhabah is a mention of nepotism in Arabic. It is used to describe the practice in public power that prioritizes the interests of close family to get a chance to obtain a position. The Qur'an is a guideline for life that has warned humans not to manipulate requirements (do it in unjust ways) to get something they want. Property or position that usually boils down to material satisfaction as explained in the words of Allah swt in QS. Al-Baqarah verse 188:

*"And do not eat any of your possessions among others in an unlawful way, and (do not) bring the property to the judge, so that you may eat some of the property of another person by sin, even though you know."* (QS. Al-Baqarah 2:188).

In the past, the Prophet PBUH was accused of nepotism.<sup>17</sup> In HR Bukhari, it is narrated that there were several young men from the Ansar who satirized the Prophet PBUH. At that time, the Prophet was giving a share to the Quraysh in the form of 100 camels as part of the ghanimah (spoils of war) after fighting the Hawazin tribe. The Ansar then said, "May Allah SWT forgive the Prophet PBUH because he gave a portion to the Quraysh and left us. In fact, it is our swords that shed their blood."

Hearing these words, the companion of Anas bin Malik then complained to the Prophet PBUH. The Prophet also sent someone to the Ansar to hold a meeting in the tent that had been guarded so that no one else could hear the meeting. There, the Prophet PBUH said:

*"Indeed, I give a share to those whose lives are still close to disbelief. Do you want them to go home with their treasures, but instead you return to your place of residence with the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him). The Ansar said: "We are pleased, O Messenger of Allah." Then the Prophet said: "From Usaid bin Hudlair (may Allah be pleased with him) said: there was someone from among the Ansar*

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<sup>17</sup> A.Syalaby Ichsan, "Saat Rasulullah dituding berlaku nepotisme", Republika 29 Desember 2020, diakses 2025.

*who said: "O Messenger of Allah, should he not employ me as he employed the fulan?" He replied: "After I die, you will encounter utsrab attitudes (individualism, selfishness, selfishness). So be patient until you meet me in the lake of al-Haudl (in Paradise)." (HR. Bukhari) [No. 3792 Fathul Bari].*

The administration of power with an attitude of nepotism has been predicted by the Prophet (peace be upon him) as in several hadith texts. The two hadiths in question are the narration of Al-Bukhari and Al-Tirmidhi as follows, Hadith narrated by Bukhari (1987: no. 3508)

*"Muhammad bin Bashshar narrated to me, narrated to us Ghundar, narrated to us Shu'bah said, "Muhammad bin Bashshar narrated to us, said: Gundar narrated to us, said: Shu'bah narrated to us, said: "I heard Qatadah, said: From Anas bin Malik said: From Usaid bin Hudayr all these narrations (Hopefully) be pleased by Allah SWT. said: "That a man of the Ansar said: "O Messenger of Allah, did you not raise the Fulan? The Messenger replied: "You will meet after me the act of prioritizing your own interests (nepotism), so be patient until you meet me at the lake of Al-Kautsar on the Day of Resurrection."*

Hadith narrated by at-Turmudhi (1998; no. 2115) *"It was narrated to us that Mahmud bin Ghaylani said: Abu Dawud narrated to us, saying: Qatadah bin Hudhair said that a man from the Ansar said: O Messenger of Allah, did you not raise the fulan? The Messenger replied: "You will meet after me an act of prioritizing your own interests (nepotism), so be patient until you meet me at the lake of al-kautsar (on the Day of Resurrection)."*<sup>18</sup>

The hadith is a clarification from the Prophet that his actions of giving great ghanimah were not due to closeness as fellow Quraish. The gift was more of the Prophet's da'wah strategy to win the hearts of the Quraysh who had just converted to Islam. Not only that, the accusation of nepotism should also be doubted because previously the Prophet experienced extraordinary torture and intimidation from the Quraysh while in Makkah. The Prophet also raised the status of the Ansar because he was close to the Prophet. The Prophet also had time to show his rejection of the practice of nepotism when a noblewoman was arrested for stealing. At that time, the Quraysh were confused when a noble woman from their circle was caught stealing. They also asked Usamah bin Zaid, as a young man who was loved by the Prophet, to ask for a waiver of the sentence for the execution of the hand that was sentenced to the woman. The Prophet PBUH also preached after talking with Usamah.

*"Amma go. Indeed, what destroys those before you is that if there is a respectable person among them who steals, then the punishment is for him. For the sake of the Substance in which my soul is in His hands. If Fatimah bint Muhammad steals, I myself will cut off her hand." (HR Muslim).*

The Prophet PBUH also explicitly prohibited the practice of nepotism. In a saheeh hadith narrated by Imam al-Hakim in al-Mustadrak from the companion of Abdullah ibn Abbas, as follows:

*"Whoever gives a position to someone solely because it is based on family considerations, even though among them there is a person who has more rights than that person, then he has betrayed Allah SWT, the Messenger of Allah, and the believers." (HR. Al-Hakim)*

Nepotism on the normative aspect is faced in the concept of religion. This prohibition is certainly reasonable, namely because it is seen as unlawful, immoral, and persecuted in the sense of harming other parties. It can also be argued that the purpose of establishing laws in Islam, including the prohibition of nepotism, is to maintain human welfare while avoiding mafsadat (adverse effects that will arise).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Jurnal muhammad sabir, "Nepotisme dalam Prespektif Hadis", UIN Alauiddin, hal 31

<sup>19</sup> Taqiyuddin Ahmad bin Abd Halim Ibnu Taimiyah, *al-Siyasah al-Syar'iyah* (Al-Mamlakah al-Sa'udiyah al-'Arabiyyah: Wizarah al-Syu'un al-Islamiyyah, Cet. I, 1918 H.), 10.

The Fatwa Commission of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) of DKI Jakarta had issued a fatwa on April 12, 2000. At that time, the Indonesian people were still hit by euphoria after the Reformasi.<sup>20</sup> The excerpt of the DKI Jakarta MUI fatwa reads, "Nepotism prohibited by Islamic teachings is nepotism that is solely based on the considerations of the family or relatives without paying attention to the ability and professionalism and nature of the trust of a person who will be given a position. As for nepotism that is accompanied by consideration of the ability and professionalism as well as the nature of the trust of a person who will be given a position, then it is not prohibited."

Allah swt explains in the Qur'an that one must always be fair to others. This implicitly implies that it is not permissible for a state official who is a public office holder to act arbitrarily by giving public power to his own family, even those closest to him even though they are not his family, without paying attention to the element of justice in the transfer of his authority and power. However, Allah swt also emphasizes the need to be fair both to himself and to his relatives. In this case, the act of nepotism cannot be justified for that reason.

Dynastic politics in the Islamic view is understandable if it is in accordance with the applicable procedures, terms and conditions. The principles instilled in Islam are competence and achievement and no party feels that they are being bullied. Dynastic politics that meet the criteria, professionalism and morality are not prohibited in Islam.

This is as done by Prophet Moses when he appointed his brother Prophet Aaron to assist in carrying out prophetic treatises. The story of Prophet Moses and Prophet Aaron if it is related to the process of interpretation carried out by a person who is mandated in a department is in line with the rules of the Imam/leader of the people must be based on the principle of benefit. Everyone who performs *tasarruf* for the benefit of others, he is obliged to recite it based on benefits.<sup>21</sup>

Dynastic politics was then known to have both positive and negative connotations. These negative and positive factors depend on the process and results of power or leadership owned by the holder of the political network. If the electoral process is fair and democratic, and the leadership of the election process brings benefits to the development and welfare of the community, then dynastic politics can be positive. However, if the opposite happens, it will be negative. In addition, the positive and negative meanings of dynastic politics also depend on the social conditions of society, the legal system and law enforcement, and the reality of political institutions.

## Conclusion

Dynastic politics has existed since the time of the Prophet until modern times even in Indonesia, dynastic politics is something that is not allowed if in practice it is caused by the desire to power for personal interests and has a bad impact on society. However, if in a situation there is no candidate who meets the criteria to fill a position, it is permissible to appoint from the family, but it must be based on the requirements of the existing leader and must be in accordance with the appointment process exemplified by the Prophet and companions. In this case, dynastic politics is possible when the leader is in accordance with the expectations of the people and the leader is an expert in his field.

Dynastic politics is not allowed if a leader is a personal or group will and is not an expert as a leader and prioritizes personal and group interests. To become and look for a leader who is seen first

<sup>20</sup> Syalaby Ichsan, "*Saat Rasulullah dituding berlaku nepotisme*", *Republika* 29 Desember 2020, diakses 2025.

<sup>21</sup> Miftahuddin, "*Politik Dinasti dalam Islam (Studi kritis atas Keputusan Mahkamah Konstitusi No 33/PUU-XIII/2015)*", *Al Ihda ; Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pemikiran*, Vol 11, No 2, 2016, 3.



is not a factor of his descent, but what must be considered is a person's ability and appropriateness to become a leader. On the other hand, to maintain the stability of the government, a leader cannot rely on the element of kinship, in other words position family members in a government, but for the sake of creating government stability, a leader must act fairly.

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