

Election of Ipuk Fiestiandani in the 2020 Banyuwangi Regency Election: the Contextuality of Political Patronation And Social Transformation

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ABSTRACT: *Ipuk Fiestiandani's victory in the Banyuwangi Regency Election cannot be separated from the figure of her husband, Regent Abdullah Azwar Anas. As regent for two terms and incumbent during the 2020 Banyuwangi Regency Election, Anas' presence was also used as an entry point to continue the transformation that had been initiated by Ipuk to be resumed. The research method used is mix methods. This study found the strong influence of Anas in the nomination and election of Ipuk Fiestiandani in the 2020 Banyuwangi Regency Election. This is evidenced by the strong support from political parties that consider Anas' big name as a vote getter in Banyuwangi Regency and the people's political choices which are determined by the figure of Anas behind Ipuk. And finding relationships based on family closeness is not always bad, through the ability of Ipuk Banyuwangi Regency to be able to maintain achievements and various awards. The conclusions that can be drawn from this research are: First, the existence of Anas has a significant role in the nomination and election of Ipuk. The amount of support from political parties is none other than the figure of Anas. The two choices of the community were also determined by the figure of Anas. Third, this relationship pattern explains that the existence of a big family name in the political stage is not always bad, but must still be accompanied by the ability of a qualified candidate.*

Keyword: *Pilkada, Political Party, Figure, Patronage, Social Transformation*

I. INTRODUCTION :

The implementation of direct regional head elections is one form of democratic instruments that aims to create a democratic government. Through this system, all citizens have the same opportunity to run for regional head and have the freedom to choose a regional head candidate. In the world of politics, Pilkada is often referred to as part of a local democratic party, because at that moment the community determines which contestants will be the mouthpiece of the community at the regional level. Therefore, the Pilkada needs to be held in a quality manner by applying the principles of direct, general, free, honest and fair.

However, the election contestation in Indonesia is often used as an arena for local elites to take advantage of electoral democracy in order to secure strategic positions at the local level of the executive and legislative branches to their families, relatives, cronies, and loyalists. So it is not uncommon if this election moment is actually used by several parties by placing their family members through the big name of the family at the government level to continue the family's political power. This is proof that the Pilkada is very friendly with officials who have big names and large capital, in the empirical order in the nomination of regional heads, the modalities of each candidate will be different from one another. However, pairs of candidates who will run for office often have to have three bases that are commonly used to run for regional heads and elections, First,

past political investment, second, formal and informal power networks, third, wealth as an effort to buy political parties and voters. The ability of the incumbent families to properly operationalize the three material bases will facilitate the actions of candidates from these families. Not only that, the structure and position of the family is an opportunity to maintain the pattern that has been formed and strengthen political patronage.

As happened in the 2020 Banyuwangi Regency Election, which was attended by two pairs of candidates, namely Ipuk Fiestiandani with the Sugirah pair against the incumbent deputy regent, Yusuf Widyatmoko, who was paired with KH. Muhammad Riza Azizy (Gus Riza). The candidacy of the Ipuk and Sugirah pair was carried by a coalition of 5 political parties with a total of 18 seats for the Banyuwangi DPRD, which included the Nasdem Party with 5 seats, PDI-Perjuangan 11 seats, Hanura 1 seat, Gerindra 5 seats, and PPP 4 seats. Meanwhile, the Yusuf - Gus Riza pair was carried by a coalition of 4 political parties with a total of 11 seats in the DPRD, namely the Democratic Party with 6 seats, PKB with 9 seats, PKS with 1 seat and Golkar with 5 seats. Yusuf in the 2020 Pilkada is paired with Gus Riza, who comes from the influential Darussalam Blokagung Islamic Boarding School family in Banyuwangi Regency (Husdinariyanto, 2020). Thus, the modality of the Yusuf-Gus Reza pair is also strong in the head to head contest with the Ipuk-Sugirah pair. Ipuk's status as the incumbent's wife became a strong modality, the high level of popularity of the leader figure only with the regent, as the first person. While the deputy regent is rarely covered, this is like the widespread media coverage of the success of Banyuwangi Regency which is attached to the leadership of Azwar Anas (Buhori, 2014) the high level of popularity of the leader figure is only with the regent, as the first person. While the deputy regent is rarely covered, this is like the widespread media coverage of the success of Banyuwangi Regency which is attached to the leadership of Azwar Anas (Buhori, 2014)

The phenomenon of the Banyuwangi Regency Election is a clear example of the relationship that Ipuk Fiestiandani got as the wife of the Regent Abdullah Azwar Anas shows the framework of political power in the family circle, the inheritance of power obtained by Ipuk provides benefits in several aspects, both political party relations and relations with the bureaucracy. In addition, Anas has earlier built political relations with various social organizations during his two decades in power. Cumulatively, then Ipuk has more political investment when compared to opponents. In line with the above discussion, Wasisto Rahardjo in (Djati, 2015) said "The current Pilkada has become a trend in passing power to relatives to maintain power and hide political shame. This will form a system of political dynasties in the region. Political dynasties rely on the power of kinship, and genetic relationships that place elites above society. This is also a shortcut to guarantee the existence of a certain political regime. (Harjanto, 2011).

Regardless of the controversy that accompanies Ipuk Fiestiandani in the 2020 Banyuwangi Regency Election, where Ipuk's role does not only rely on the family's big name, but personal quality and capability is one of the keys to fighting for power. Being the wife of the regent is able to give Ipuk space to appear and take on a role to be used as capital in competing in the Banyuwangi Regency Election. Various organizations that have been initiated by Ipuk can at least help to win over voters' hearts through the name Anas behind it. This means that political practices like this do not always have a destructive impact.

In this regard, everything depends on the morality that accepts power in carrying out its authority. The concept of dynastic politics is closely related to patronage by relying on kinship relations. However, it should be noted that patronae do not always give a negative connotation which is felt to be hampering new figures in regional politics, but a positive picture of the owner of power must be a generation that is indeed competent and capable in leading the region, so what happens is that the dynastic political system will be very assist in the alienation of a group or groups.

In addition, the figure who appears as a candidate for regional head is also better known to the public and has undergone political education in his family so that he has a long political track record in accordance with his family's journey (David Ganda Silalahi, 2015). The pattern of patronage relationships and dynastic politics is not only a matter of ethical or unethical, good or bad, likes or dislikes but whether dynastic politicians have the capacity, capability and accessibility if one day they are trusted to be leaders (Melky Jakhin Pangemanan, 2018).

This negative view is reinforced by several cases that occurred in Indonesia, this relationship based on kinship actually caused a negative effect, but not always the relationship was bad, some regions in Indonesia also used the practice of dynastic politics, with positive effects, by paying attention to the figures who competed. is someone who is competent, credible and has organizational experience as evidence that the person inherits the political line that belongs to the family, not necessarily their role is only to fulfill the family's political desires. However, the quality and political ability of candidates are very much needed in the struggle for strategic positions. Other factors also influenced the victory, such as moral or material support from certain elites who then formed new forces in existing politics. In fact, there are several things that are the cause of the persistence of family politics at the regional level, one of which is the two-term limit that has been carried out by the incumbent. So often incumbent families still want to take advantage of this moment by proposing their son-in-law, husband, wife, or sister, as an alternative in continuing the leadership relay through the figures and beliefs that have been built.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of patronage is not new, using patronage theory (Haboddin, 2017) highlighting how the practice of kinship politics in democratic practice through direct elections. Then (Susanti, 2018) sees that the existence of political dynasties allows for a large abuse of power and threatens the democratic transition phase. Meanwhile (Bimantara, 2018) observes the practice of political dynasties in Kediri Regency which has been running for a dozen years while at the same time views that political dynasties will continue to develop as there are no democratic system regulations which will later become a threat to democracy. However, the three studies focus too much on the view of patronage or family politics as a negative view for democracy.

III. THEORY

Patronage:

According to Scott, patronage is a special case of a dichotomous and hierarchical (two-person) bond, between the "higher" (patron) and "lower" (client). That is, there is a two-way interaction between the patron client, where the patron has a higher role in making a decision to determine something and can rule with the power he has, and the client is the person who is under his control. Patronase :

The Emergence of Political Patronage

Understanding the Emergence of Political Patronage quoted through (Zulkieflimansyah, 2015) is due to several things: First, there is a desire within oneself and one's family to hold power. Second, there are groups that are organized because of an agreement and togetherness with the candidate's family. In groups to form group leaders and group followers. Third, there is cooperation between leaders and entrepreneurs to combine the power of capital with the power of politicians. Fourth, there is a division of labor between political power and capital power, resulting in acts of corruption. The desire of the family or power holders to perpetuate their political career as a form of resource control often occurs.

So it is not unusual if in various regional elections, the incumbents are able to maintain their power. As a result, almost no other figures from various political entities are able to compete with the level of popularity of a regional head. This, as has been stated above, cannot be separated from the poor process of political recruitment carried out by political parties both in general elections and in regional head elections. So for a

period after ten years because they are still in power and have very strong power, but are no longer entitled to run for a third time, then in order to maintain their existence in the circle of power, the incumbents are looking for the crown prince in the inner circle of the family (Budi Prianto, 2016)

Political Patronage

Understanding Political Patronage by Sheffter (Sukmajati, 2013) is a profit sharing among politicians to distribute something individually to voters. Patronage is also understood in a broad sense, but still at a core, namely the sharing of profits from the two parties who are given and those who give. The concept of patronage is often studied in large-scale general elections such as in regional head elections, legislative member elections, or presidential elections because it is related to the vehicles of political parties as government supporters.

In addition, patronage can also be realized by locking important positions in government by those closest to them. This effort was made to streamline the power of a single elite which was few in number, so that through this method the effective defense of power was carried out again by the local elite. In addition, the meaning of a pluralist elite is more dynamic than the meaning of a single elite which is considered very static. Pluralist elites are defined as networks of inter-elite networks within the framework of power sharing related to political economy. (Haryanto, 2005).

Patronage in Local Democracy

The embodiment of an ideal democracy, the people should have a greater opportunity to be involved in the political process. This means that there is openness and space for active participation for the entire community to participate in fighting for political positions from regional to national levels in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. But in the end, they are still constrained by their status and social rights as a result of the phenomenon of patronage and political dynasty. If democracy is defined as political power or government that is run from the people, by the people and for the people, dynastic politics also creates political pragmatism by encouraging relatives or friends. family to become leaders or Regional Heads (Susanti, 2018). In line with the above concept, The political transformation that is taking place in Indonesia is used by the incumbent or the Regional Head by using his position to play the role of the main resource owner. This pattern of patron-client relationships is contrary to democracy which upholds freedom. (Leo Agustino, 2009)

According to Joseph Schumpeter, democracy is a government where the people have the same freedom and opportunity to reject the politicians who govern (Schumpeter, 2017). In Schumpeter's view, it is often known as procedural democracy, which implies the need for an open arena based on the principle of equality in the leadership selection process. Schumpeter also added the need for fair competition and broad participation from the community in determining people's representatives or government leaders through general election mechanisms and local elections (Huntington, 1976). This means that democracy is political control that prioritizes political equality, by restoring political rights as citizens and society. On the other hand, the control and political participation of citizens has become the main requirement in the creation of a real democratic system. (Cahyono, 2012). In understanding democracy is equal opportunity, but in this case patronage eliminates the equal opportunity.

Patronage in Positive Connotations

The achievement of this victory is a portrait of their ability to conquer and maintain power at the local level which is nothing but closing the gap for the community to choose leaders in a competitive way. Besley and Querol's research (Besley & Reynal-Querol, 2013) proves that the dynasty will end by itself when the economic performance (mastery of economic resources) of the dynasty's leadership is poor. This also shows the fact that citizens will only accept the leadership of the dynasty when their economic performance is good. This finding implies that political dynasties do not always have a bad image in the eyes of citizens. The contradiction and ambiguity of the role of patronage in democracy has been a source of division and conflict, particularly between patronage and democracy. However,

IV. METHODS

The research method used is mix methods. Qualitative data collection techniques using interviews, observations, documentation to informants selected purposively, while and quantitatively using questionnaires to selected voters using area sampling techniques (cluster sampling). The data obtained were then analyzed based on qualitative and quantitative analysis.

V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The phenomenon of the Banyuwangi Regency Election can be an example of the above statement. The political investment that Abdullah Azwar Anas has invested during his two terms as well as the figure of a successful regent. Ipuk Fiestiandani's political victory in the 2020 Banyuwangi Regency Election showed several things: First, the existence of a power network owned by the old elite consisting of family members and close people who are still effectively used to win contestations and fight for power through election contestation. Second, the power of the old elite has expanded with the joining of people and community organizations as well as a network of political parties owned by the old elite who have strong potential in winning, and become part of their power network. Third, democracy is considered to provide an opportunity for other elites to hold political positions, in fact it strengthens the hegemony of the old elite towards these positions, in fact the new elite is part of the old elite which is close and has strong potential with the old elite. So that people who are in the network of power feel an interest in continuing to support and maintain the position of regional head, to ensure the sustainability of the program that has been built by the old elite.

Anas' political manifestations in fact provide an opportunity for Ipuk to get recommendations from political parties in his bearers, besides that Anas' figure and popularity have been known to the people of Banyuwangi Regency for a long time. Thus, candidates from political families usually have adequate political capital consisting of political networks, education, experience, and financial resources. From a democratic point of view, this kind of practice is perfectly legal for someone who has the popularity and ability to gain public support. However, what will be a concern from this practice is the possibility of a conflict of interest, where the incumbent has the opportunity to abuse both personal and group interests.

However, what needs to be known is that patronage relationships are not the only trigger for the destruction of democracy, this will certainly be a benchmark for political parties and the community that as long as the candidate for leadership has the capacity, capability, and trust, it is not good to regard patronage as a negative thing. In addition, the social community has become an integral part of the leadership family, where the community places full trust in family leadership in a certain lineage. So what happens is that the control system or regulation of the social system will be easier to do. The practice of patronage in Banyuwangi Regency seems to be interesting to discuss, the existence of Ipuk as Anas's wife will provide a middle way to advance in the contest called Pilkada.

The negative stigma about Banyuwangi Regency's achievements began to decline when Ipuk brushed it off one by one, another proof of Ipuk's achievements after being elected Regent of Banyuwangi Regency is that Banyuwangi Regency has won various prestigious achievements and awards. For the first time, two months after Ipuk's leadership, Banyuwangi Regency won several awards including from the East Java Provincial Government (Pemprov). At that time, the Sunrise of Java Regency was awarded as the best builder of food management places (TPP) and innovator of mental health services at the puskesmas through the innovation of Binoculars or Occupational Therapy and Empowerment of People with Mental Disorders (ODGJ).

The direct correlation with family politics is only used as an entry point to enter the government level, although many say that the patronage relationship is able to strengthen the dynastic political system in Banyuwangi Regency, but the persistence of achievements and awards owned by Banyuwangi Regency does not change the slightest influence of the pattern. patronage. However, this pattern of relations seems very bad for democracy, because it only relies on relationships with family, blood relations, and family names to be able to control the area of the same lineage.

However, the phenomenon in the Banyuwangi Regency Pilkada did not occur badly, the achievements and awards previously led by Anas were able to survive in the hands of Ipuk, even several programs were added in order to reform government administration and improve regional welfare.

VI. CONCLUSION

Anas' achievements over the last ten years in Banyuwangi Regency have encouraged political pragmatism through the various opportunities offered so as to widen the path of Ipuk, who incidentally is Anas' wife, into a contest without stiff competition by political parties, where competition is a value of an open democracy. Attachment and closeness became one of the sources of power that opened a network for Ipuk as a female candidate in the Banyuwangi Regency Pilkada arena. That way, anyone who wants to perpetuate a family policy must work well so that they have a chance to be elected. Through her abilities, over the past two years, Ipuk has been able to dismiss one by one the question that relationships are based on family, and a big family name is not a bad thing. Capabilities and abilities are needed in a power leadership, through this Banyuwangi Regency is able to maintain various achievements and awards that have been achieved so far.

The important point of the Banyuwangi Regency Pilkada phenomenon in 2020 shows that patronage relationships are not always seen as bad, through competent and qualified candidates the area will have a positive impact, the presence of Ipuk provides fresh air for the people of Banyuwangi Regency, especially the achievements and awards that make this city proud regained.

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