

# Political Dynasty Practices in Regional Head Leadership In Konawe Regency (Case Study of the Kery Saiful Konggoasa Family)

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**Abstract.** The Practice of Political Dynasties in the Leadership of Regional Heads in Konawe Regency (Case Study of the Kery Saiful Konggoasa Family). The purpose of this study is to find out political dynasties practice in regional head leadership in Konawe district. This research method uses descriptive qualitative research, data collection techniques use interviews, observations, and literature studies. The results of this study show that the practice of political dynasty in the leadership of regional heads in Konawe Regency has characteristics that are clearly visible through the practice of various modalities to expand and maintain the power of the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family. Economic capital is an important factor in securing and strengthening political positions. The social capital invested by Kery Saiful Konggoasa throughout his leadership has strengthened his family's mass base and political network. Kinship culture is a strong foundation for supporting the practice of political dynasties. Family involvement in the management of political parties provides greater influence and support in political contestation.

**Keywords:** Political dynasty; Leadership; Power; Election; Modality.

## 1 Introduction

Democracy in Indonesia developed when power collapsed during the New Order era. The Indonesian people have experienced that the people will experience losses and setbacks that occur in a country because of fraud in democracy which was seen in the New Order. In the democratic process, the People's Consultative Assembly made amendments to the 1945 Law in four years (1999-2002) which later became the starting point for the development of democracy in Indonesia (Budiarjo, 2013: 105). General elections are carried out by the people to elect leaders, both heads of state and regional heads. The implementation of elections in Indonesia shows that democracy in Indonesia is working. The reason is that this election involves all Indonesian people and the people also have the right to determine their regional leaders based on their own judgment. Regional head elections in Indonesia were carried out through elections which were first held in 2005. The aim of these elections was to make regional governments more democratic.

Elections in Indonesia have gone through a long period. Several changes also occurred in the election system and process. One of the significant changes was the holding of simultaneous elections in 2015 in accordance with the mandate of Law Number 8 of 2015. Simultaneous regional elections were carried out in stages. The first stage in implementing

simultaneous regional elections was held on December 9 2015 in 9 Provinces, 36 Cities and 224 Regencies. The second stage of simultaneous elections was held in February 2017, which was attended by 7 Provinces, 18 Cities and 76 Regencies. Then in June 2018, simultaneous elections were held in 171 regions consisting of 17 provinces, 39 cities and 115 districts (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2015).

Throughout the development of elections in Indonesia, several political phenomena occurred. One phenomenon that occurs is political dynasty. Political dynasties are usually used by experts to define a cycle of power that only revolves around a particular family environment. The phenomenon of political dynasties is characterized by the participation of husbands, wives, children and other relatives of incumbents in the political arena, whether in regional head elections (pilkada), legislative elections (pileg) or placement in other important positions. The increasing strength of kinship politics indicates that there are small kings in the regions who are increasingly expanding their political power through kinship networks.

A political dynasty, in simple language, can be interpreted as a regime of political power or political actors that is run from generation to generation or carried out by family or close relatives. This political regime was formed due to the very high level of concern among family members towards politics and usually the orientation of this political dynasty is power. Political dynasties in Indonesia are actually something that is rarely talked about or discussed, even though in practice political dynasties have consciously or unconsciously been a seed in politics in Indonesia since the era of independence. Political dynasty is actually a pattern that exists in modern Western society as well as in societies that imitate Western styles. This can be seen in politics in America and also in the Philippines. Political dynasties do not only grow among liberal-democratic societies. But in essence, political dynasties also grow in autocratic societies and also monarchical societies, where in a monarchical system, power will clearly fall to the crown prince in the kingdom. Political dynasties exist in societies with low levels of political education, weak legal systems and law enforcement and political institutions that are not yet stable, so political dynasties can have a negative meaning. Another term that is commensurate with the meaning of political dynasty is the political trend of kinship.

The implementation of a decentralized government system and regional autonomy has produced local elites who come to power by using symbols of their power to mobilize people's support, in order to control all aspects of life from an economic, social and political perspective. The ability of the local elite is supported by their wealth and political ability to gain votes, manipulate, make offers and mobilize the community based on their hereditary origins and customary laws that are trusted by the local community. After four elections during the reform period, there is an interesting phenomenon that in contemporary political theory elites are usually based on groups, for example this political elite is based on family. This fact tends to foster the emergence of political dynasties at the central or local level. Therefore, this family's political closeness then strengthens political networks.

The political dynasty that is starting to spread in Indonesia is a threat. Apart from closing the opportunity for the birth of quality leaders, it can also give birth to tyranny in a new form. Weaknesses in the law on the one hand and broad political freedom on the other hand have become loopholes exploited by political actors who have all the access to gain money and gain power. This gave birth to dynastic political practices which, with their networks, carried out politics of retribution, money politics and politics of perpetuating power, giving rise to political practices such as corruption, collusion and nepotism. Dynastic politics also blocked people's access to political contestation because all of the ruler's relatives were dominantly involved in various political contestations. Despite the fact that political dynasties in Indonesia are not referred to as nepotism as long as they do not violate the constitution as it states that a

public official may not appoint or promote his relatives to occupy certain positions in which he holds office.

The phenomenon of political dynasties also occurred in Southeast Sulawesi Province. There are several areas where the phenomenon of political dynasties is found. One of them is the Konawe Regency government. This area then attracted the attention of researchers because it indicated that there were political dynasty practices. Regional heads should develop the region evenly, providing transparency of political positions to the entire community. So, people feel justice and do not cause social decline in the lives of their people. However, Kery Saiful Konggoasa's government relied on the interests of a group of people which ultimately gave rise to oligarchic politics. Power in an oligarchy follows Duverger's power postulate that power consists of the entire framework of social institutions related to authority, which means there is domination of some people over others. There are institutions (positions), there are authorities (authority/power) and there are objects that will be controlled or dominated. Democracy is different from oligarchy. If in a democracy, the highest power is the people, then in an oligarchy, the highest power is effectively held by a small elite group of society, whether differentiated based on wealth, family, or military.

Indications of the emergence of political dynasty practices have been seen where the children and wife of the Konawe regent were elected for 2 terms, Kery Saiful Konggoasa. Since 2019 it has entered through the legislative doors. The son of the regent of Konawe, Fachry Pahlevi Konggoasa, was elected as a member of the DPR RI through the National Mandate Party (PAN) together with 5 other senators from Southeast Sulawesi with a total of 101,727 votes, it is known based on the results of the open plenary meeting of the Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU) regarding the determination of seats and selected candidates. members of the DPR and DPD RI 2019 General Election (KPU RI, 2019). The daughter of the Regent of Konawe, Kery Saiful Konggoasa Devi Thesya Fariska Konggoasa was also elected as the youngest member of the Konawe Regency DPRD for Electoral District II, Amonggedo, Pondidaha, Meluhu, Besulutu, Wonggeduku and West Wonggeduku Districts for the 2019-2024 period with the same party as Fachry Pahlevi Konggoasa, namely the Amanat Party. National (PAN) with a total of 3,234 valid votes together with 30 elected legislative candidates was identified based on the plenary meeting to determine the chairman of the political party and determine the candidates for members of the Konawe Regency DPRD (KPUD Konawe, 2019). The first wife of the Regent of Konawe, Titin Nurbaya Saranani was elected as a member of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) Southeast Sulawesi Electoral District (Dapil) VI Konawe Regency, North Konawe and Konawe Islands for the 2019-2024 period through the same party, namely the National Mandate Party (PAN). with 26,111 votes (Southeast Sulawesi Provincial KPU, 2019). Apart from being Chair of the Konawe Regency PKK Mobilization Team (TP), Titin Nurbaya Saranani also served as Chair of the Konawe Regency Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) organization for 2 consecutive periods 2018–2022 followed by the 2022–2027 period. Meanwhile, the second wife of Konawe Regent Kerry Saiful Konggoasa, Vince Sonaru occupies the position of head of the organization in Konawe Regency, namely Chair of the Konawe Regency National Nurses Association (PPNI) for the period 2022-2027 and also as Chair of the Konawe Scout Movement Branch Quarter with a term of service 2019-2024 .

Before being elected as a member of the Southeast Sulawesi DPRD, the Konawe Regent's first wife previously served as a member of the Konawe Islands Regency DPRD (Konkep). His council performance was verbally reprimanded several times by the Chairman of the Honorary Board (BK) H Abdurrazak Lakudu regarding his laziness in carrying out his council

duties. This was proven by his failure to attend three consecutive council plenary meetings (sultrakini.com).

Kery Saiful Konggoasa's family followed in Kery Saiful Konggoasa's footsteps and entered through the legislative doors using the same party, namely the National Mandate Party (PAN). Kery Saiful Konggoasa served as Chair of the Regional Leadership Council (DPW) of the Southeast Sulawesi National Mandate Party for the 2005-2015 period before finally in 2022 Kery Saiful Konggoasa moved to the Nasdem Party. The Kery family's dominance at the National Mandate Party (PAN) management level is very visible where the Konawe Regent's son Fachry Pahlevi Konggoasa serves as Chair of the Daily Management of the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) for the 2022-2025 period and the Konawe Regent's daughter Devi Thesya Feriska Konggoasa as one of the Deputy Chairmen of the Management National Mandate Party Regional Leadership Council (DPD) Daily (Decree on Amendments to the DPD PAN Konawe Regency, 2020-2025).

After the Konawe Regent's wife, Titin Nurbaya Saranani and the Konawe Regent's children, Fachry Pahlevi Konggoasa and Devi Thesya Feriska Konggoasa entered through the legislative doors. In the upcoming 2024 Legislative General Election, Alfandy Fahreza Konggoasa is ready to run as a legislative candidate for member of the Southeast Sulawesi Provincial DPRD in 2024 following in the footsteps of his brothers and ahead of the 2024 Regional Head Election (Pilkada) the son of Konawe Regent Fachry Pahlevi Konggoasa declares himself ready to run as a candidate The Regent of Konawe continues the leadership of Kery Saiful Konggoasa.

Based on this background, the author is interested in conducting research on the Practice of Political Dynasties in Regional Leadership in Konawe Regency (Case Study of the Kery Saiful Konggoasa Family)

## **2 Literature Review**

### **2.1 Political Concept**

Politics is an effort to achieve a better life. The Ancient Greeks, especially Plato and Aristotle, called it *en dam onia* or the good life. However, the definition of politics as an effort to achieve a society that is better than the one facing it, or what Peter Merkl said: "Politics in its best form is an effort to achieve a good and just social order (Politics, at its best is a noble quest for good order and justice)" – however vague – remains present as the background and aim of political activity. At the same time, of course it is necessary to realize that perceptions of what is good and fair are influenced by the values and ideology of each person and the era in question (Miriam Budiarto, 2008: 15).

In general, it can be said that politics according to Miriam Budiarto (2008: 15) is an effort to determine regulations that are acceptable to the majority of citizens, to bring society towards a harmonious life together. Efforts to achieve the good life involve various activities which, among other things, involve the process of determining the goals of the political system and this involves the choice between several alternatives and the priority order of the goals that have been determined. However, these activities can give rise to conflict because the values (both material and mental) that are pursued are usually scarce in nature. On the other hand, in democratic countries, this activity also requires cooperation because human life is collective. In this framework, politics can basically be seen as an effort to resolve conflict (conflict resolution) or consensus (consensus) (Miriam Budiarto, 2008: 15).

Based on the understanding of politics above, the author concludes that politics is the power possessed by the authorities over citizens which aims to influence (support, change, oppose) a state/public policy.

## **2.2 The Concept of Political Dynasty**

Political dynasties in the world of modern politics are known as elite politics based on blood ties or marriage, so some political observers call them political oligarchies. In the Indonesian context, elite groups are groups that have the ability to influence the political decision-making process. So it is relatively easy for them to reach power or struggle for power. Before the emergence of symptoms of political dynasties, these elite groups were associated with political party elites, military and police elites, business or financier elites, religious elites, thug or mafia elites, artist elites, and activist elites. According to Pareto in Varma (2007: 206), what is called an elite group is a small group of individuals who have the best qualities, who can reach the center of socio-political power.

Elites are successful people who are able to occupy high positions in society. Pareto believed that elites spread across different occupational sectors generally came from the same class. Namely people who are rich and smart. He classifies society into two classes, the upper layer (elite) and the lower layer (non-elite). The upper layer or elite class is divided into two groups, namely the governing elite and the non-governing elite. Meanwhile, Gaetano Mosca stated that in every society of any kind, two classes always emerge, namely the ruling class and the ruled class. The ruling class is small in number, holds all political functions, monopolies power and enjoys the benefits derived from power, which is sometimes legal, arbitrary and uses violence.

Based on the concept of political dynasty above, the author can conclude that political dynasties in the world of modern politics are known as political elites based on blood or marriage ties, so some political observers call them political oligarchy. In the Indonesian context, elite groups are groups that have the ability to influence the political decision-making process. Political dynasty is a collective form of elite patronage in a collective form based on family relations, ethnicity or other blood relations which essentially gives rise to monarchy in local level democracy.

## **2.3 Power**

According to Michael Foucault, power is a dimension of relationships, which means that power exists when relationships are established, and it can also be said that where there are relationships, there must be power. Michael Foucault's concept of power is not understood in a relationship of property ownership or acquisition as a privilege, by a small group of people who are threatened with extinction (Mudhoffir, 2013). Meanwhile, according to Marxian or Weberian power (in Mudhoffir, 2013), power is not a function of domination based on economic control or ideological manipulation (Marxian), power is also not possessed based on a person's charisma (Weberian). Power is everywhere, arises because of the relationship of the distribution of power, occurs absolutely and does not depend on human consciousness.

Power is just a strategy where, within that strategy there are rules, systems and regulations. Michael Foucault sees power as a very fair thing that exists in society. This is because they are both bound by the conditions of social relations that occur in general. This means that according to Foucault, power occurs when there is a relationship or connection between the distribution of power. According to Gaetano Mosca, in the distribution of political

power in society two classes of people emerge, where the first class is the ruling class and the second class is the ruled class. The number of the first class is always less than the number of the second class. The first class carries out political functions, monopolies power and enjoys the results of what it carries out through power. Meanwhile, the second class is controlled by the first class, through methods that are more or less legal, sometimes arbitrary and harsh (in Jumrah, 2018).

Based on the concept of power above, the author can conclude that power is a dimension of relationships, which means that power exists when a relationship is established, and it can also be said that where there is a relationship, there must be power, meaning that power occurs when there is a relationship or relationship resulting from the distribution of power.

## **2.4 Modality Theory**

Bourdieu (1986) states that capital is an accumulation of labor in the form of material or symbolic which, if allocated privately by an agent or group of agents, allows them to gain social power. Capital is meant here as a social relationship, because capital is a social energy that only exists and produces results in contestation where capital produces and reproduces. In maintaining the assumption of capital as an accumulation of labor, Bourdieu explains that connection requires labor. Solidarity in a network is only possible because membership in it increases profits, both material profits and symbolic profits.

To maintain this, according to Field (2016:27), an investment strategy is needed both individually and collectively which aims to transform ongoing relationships, be it relationships in the village, workplace and kinship which can be converted into social relationships that can be directly used. for both short and long term. So, in general, according to Bourdieu in (Haryanto, 2014: 19), capital is any effective resource in a particular social space that allows someone to ensure special benefits arising from participation and contestation in it.

The greater the volume of capital a person has, according to Fashri (2014: 29), the greater the power he will manifest. Basically, capital is divided into four categories, including economic capital (in the form of wealth, money, property), cultural capital (in the form of knowledge, educational qualifications, academic degrees and languages), social capital (various types of relationships and networks) and symbolic capital. (such as prestige, honor and charisma) (Bourdieu, 1989 and Jenkins, 2016: 125). One of the most important capitals is the potential to convert from one form to another, which is where these capitals then have fundamental social powers (Haryanto, 2015: 15). Then added again by Casey (2008), namely political capital which Bourdieu did not have time to elaborate on. The following will be explained in detail:

### **1. Economic Capital**

According to Bourdieu (1986) Economic capital is capital owned that is easiest to convert into money and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights. For Bourdieu (1986) economic capital is the root of all other types of capital. Having economic capital, such as company ownership, is often seen as a determining factor in encouraging innovation and increasing competitive advantage. (Field, 2016:81). According to Putnam in (Field, 2016: 81), economic capital will operate effectively if the owners of economic capital increase their relationships. This is emphasized by Baum (2000) that people who have more economic capital will also have an impact on having more social networks.

## **2. Social Capital**

Several experts provide descriptions to understand social capital, here is the explanation: Bourdieu (1986) defines that social capital is the amount of resources, both actual and virtual, that are gathered in individuals or groups because they have long-lasting social networks through reciprocal relationships of introduction and little recognition. much institutionalized. By building relationships with others and maintaining them over time, according to Field (2016: 1), people are able to work together to achieve things that they cannot do alone. People are connected through a series of networks and they tend to have similar values with other members of the network, so this can be seen as capital.

## **3. Cultural capital**

Cultural capital according to Bourdieu (1986) is divided into three forms. First, in non-physical conditions, namely in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body such as language, walking and other behavior. Second, in material form, such as in the form of cultural goods (paintings, books, electronic devices, machines) and many more that show social status. Third, institutionalized conditions, such as academic qualifications, degrees that describe intellectual qualities. Basically, the dominant interpretation of cultural capital according to Lareau (2003) has been put together from two different places. First, cultural capital indicates knowledge or facility with cultural aesthetics. Second, cultural capital is analytical and causal of knowledge, competence, skills and achievements. Cultural capital is a mechanism for reproducing structures of power relations and symbolic relationships that create social stratification which is the result of cultural reproduction through the education system (Bourdieu, 1999). This was emphasized by Haryanto (2014: 67) that the education system is an instrument of cultural reproduction in society starting from birth, school years to cultural activities related to knowledge and literacy culture, both formal and traditional institutions. When the reproduction of knowledge is continuously carried out, behind all of this there is an attempt to maintain power by the dominant class over the dominated, and vice versa, where the dominated class tries to gain access to dominant positions. So according to Jenkins (2016: 171) the process of cultural reproduction reproduces class relations in the social structure.

## **4. Political Capital**

According to Casey (2008) is the accumulation of a combination of other types of capital which according to Boudieu is divided into four, namely economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital for political action or returns for investment in political capital. The concept of capital that Bourdieu has developed can be actualized and included in the form of power. Added by Casey (2008) that other capital resources are very necessary for the production of political capital. Other capital resources are combined and applied to specific markets identified as distinctive new forms of capital. In other words, economic capital is mobilized for political purposes, no longer economic capital in the sense that it can be applied directly in economic efforts, but is used to obtain political results, whether to fill projects, parties, candidates and so on. Political capital is then actualized into three forms of political markets according to Casey (2008),

namely general elections to elect leaders in a democratic system, policy formulation and implementation, and institutional domination. According to Zaldi (2012) the formation of political capital resembles the formation of other types of capital, in that actors actively pursue political results. Then it was emphasized by Marijan (2015: 184) that political capital is the existence of political support, both from the people and from political forces which are seen as representatives of the people or elites. The elite referred to here is the political elite which according to Lasswell in Bottomore (2006:10) is the elite consisting of the power holders of a political institution to whom responsibility is given for a predetermined period of time. Modalities needed by each candidate in political contestation.

## **2.5 Leadership Concept**

Leadership is divided into three, namely: (1) Self Leadership, (2) Team Leadership and (3) Organizational Leadership. Self Leadership means leading yourself so that you don't fail in life. Team Leadership is defined as leading other people. The leader is known as a team leader (group leader) who understands what his leadership responsibilities are, understands the conditions of his subordinates, is willing to immerse himself in the demands and consequences of the responsibilities he bears, and has a commitment to bring each of his subordinates to explore their own capacities to produce achievements. highest. Meanwhile, organizational leadership is seen in the context of an organization led by an organizational leader who is able to understand the business breath of the government he leads, build a vision and mission for business development, a willingness to merge with the demands and consequences of social responsibility, and a high commitment to making The company he leads is a bringer of blessings to the community at the local, national and international levels. Based on the definition of leadership above, the author can conclude that leadership is the ability to obtain agreement on a common goal. Leadership is an effort to direct other people to achieve certain goals. Leadership is a relationship of mutual influence between the leader and his followers. Although it is quite difficult to generalize, in principle leadership is concerned with someone influencing the behavior of other people for a purpose. But that doesn't mean that everyone who influences others for a purpose is called a leader.

## **3 Method**

In conducting this research, the researcher used a qualitative research method approach, which in this method is descriptive. Qualitative research is scientific research that aims to understand phenomena in a social context scientifically by prioritizing a process of in-depth communication interaction between the researcher and the phenomenon being studied (Herdiansyah, 2010). The location of this research will be carried out in Konawe Regency. This research location was chosen based on the suitability of the research location by looking at the issue of the practice of political dynasties.



## **4 Findings and Discussion**

### **4.1 The Practice of Political Dynasties in the Leadership of Regional Heads in Konawe Regency**

The implementation of a decentralized government system and regional autonomy has produced local elites who come to power by using symbols of their power to mobilize people's support, in order to control all aspects of life from an economic, social and political perspective. The local elite's ability is supported by their wealth and political ability to gain votes, manipulate data, make offers and mobilize the community based on their hereditary origins and customary laws that are trusted by the local community. After four elections during the reform period, there is an interesting phenomenon that in contemporary political theory elites are usually based on groups, for example this political elite is based on family. The political dynasty that is starting to spread in Southeast Sulawesi, especially in Konawe Regency, is a threat. During the leadership of Konawe Regent Kery Saiful Konggoasa, who served as regent for two terms (2013-2023), it was seen that since 2019, the Konawe Regent's children and wife entered through the legislative doors. Before being elected as a member of the Southeast Sulawesi DPRD, the Konawe Regent's first wife previously served as a member of the Konawe Islands Regency DPRD (Konkep). His council performance was verbally reprimanded several times by the Chairman of the Honorary Board (BK) H Abdurrazak Lakudu regarding his laziness in carrying out his council duties. This was proven by his failure to attend three consecutive council plenary meetings (sultrakini.com). Ahead of the 2024 Regional Head Election (Pilkada), the son of the Regent of Konawe, Fachry Pahlevi Konggoasa, has declared himself ready to run as a candidate for Regent of Konawe, continuing the leadership of Kery Saiful Konggoasa. Political dynasty practices that occurred in Konawe Regency. Apart from closing the opportunity for the birth of quality leaders, it can also give birth to tyranny in a new form. Weaknesses in the law on the one hand and broad political freedom on the other hand have become loopholes exploited by political actors from the Kery family who have all the access to gain money and gain power. Political dynasties also block people's access to political contestation because all of the ruler's relatives are dominantly involved in various political contestations.

### **4.2 Kery Saiful Konggoasa Family Modalities**

Pierre Bourdieu (1986: 241) to dominate a social situation certainly cannot be separated from the situation of capital resources that a person has. According to him, capital is the accumulation of work in the form of material and symbolic goods and is allocated privately to gain social power. Capital is social energy that is capable of producing results in an arena of struggle in an effort to gain social power or power. Modalities are needed as an effort to gain victory in political competition. As explained by Bourdieu (1986), capital is an accumulation of labor in the form of material or symbolic which, if allocated privately by an agent or group of agents, allows them to gain social power. To maintain this, an investment strategy is needed both individually and collectively which aims to transform ongoing relationships, be it relationships in the village, workplace and kinship which can be converted into social relationships that can be used directly for the short and long term. The greater the volume of capital a person owns, the greater the power they manifest (Field 2016, 27; Fashri 2014, 29). Basically, capital is divided into four categories, including economic capital (in the form of wealth, money, property), cultural capital (in the form of knowledge, educational

qualifications, academic degrees and languages), social capital (various types of relationships and networks) and capital. symbolic (such as prestige, honor and charisma) (Bourdieu 1989 and Jenkins (2016, 125). One of the most important capitals is the potential to convert them from one form to another and with it these capitals then have powers fundamental social (Haryanto 2015, 15). Then added by Casey (2008) that there is also political capital that has not been elaborated by Bourdieu in his works. These four modalities will be discussed one by one to see how the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family expands and maintains his authority in Konawe Regency.

#### **4.3 Economic Capital**

Economic capital is capital owned that is easiest to convert into money and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights (Bourdieu 1986). For Bourdieu, economic capital is the root of all other types of capital. In this case, economic capital is seen from various aspects owned by politicians in political contestations, including personal assets and campaign donations. It is not surprising that this capital is an important measure in winning an election. At least this tendency has similarities with the opinion expressed by Field (2016, 81) who emphasizes that the superiority of economic capital is seen as one of the factors that encourages innovation and increases competitive advantage, including political competition. An indication of the victory of the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family in every executive and legislative election by maximizing the economic capital they have. Based on data from [elhkpn.kpk.go.id](http://elhkpn.kpk.go.id), Kery Saiful Konggoasa has total assets of IDR 10,811,596,600 as of the reporting date/report type for the 2022 periodic year, these assets are divided into several assets. Land and buildings totaling Rp. 5,240,000. However, Kery Saiful Konggoasa was also recorded as having debts worth IDR 500,000,000. So the total net assets he owns are IDR 10,811,596,600. The interview results show that the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family has significant economic capital which plays a role in influencing political dynasties. The influence of Kery Saiful Konggoasa's family's economic capital is very strong. This can be seen from the participation of various family members, including children and wives, in legislative seats at various levels (Regency, Provincial and Indonesian DPRD). Their presence in the legislative body shows a large influence from an economic perspective. Political dynasty is a phenomenon in which several members of one family hold influential political positions successively. In this case, the interview results show that the Kery family's economic capital has played an important role in forming a political dynasty at the local and national level. Strong economic capital has provided opportunities for Kery family members to be active in politics. They have access and resources that allow them to compete in political contestations. The success and involvement of family members in politics also highlights the importance of economic resources in the political arena. With access to economic capital, they can gain support and influence political dynamics. The presence of many family members in various legislative positions shows the potential to maintain and expand the Kery family's political dynasty. Strong economic capital became the foundation for the continuity of this dynasty. Their economic power enabled family members' participation in politics, and formed a strong base for their political influence at local to national levels.

#### **4.4 Social Capital**

Social capital of the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family is a respected family in Konawe Regency. This figure was built starting from Konggoasa in 1973 who was once the Regent's

Officer in Konawe Regency. Then, this influence was continued by his son, Kery Saiful Konggoasa, who became Regent of Konawe for two terms (2013-2023). With this relatively long time span, of course the Kery family has invested a lot of social capital in the people of Konawe Regency so that in every executive and legislative election the Kery family always wins. This cannot be separated from the relationship that has been built between the regent and the community and maintained that it continues throughout the period of his leadership. The consistency of the relationship between these family members as regents and people's representatives gives rise to strong memories and connections between the two and ultimately accumulates in the urge to continue the relationship again (Field 2016). Konggoasa's leadership in 1973 as an Acting Regent has formed the foundation of respected relationships among the community. This influence was successfully passed on to his son, Kery Saiful Konggoasa, who served as Regent for two terms (2013-2023). In this relatively long period of time, the Kery family has succeeded in instilling strong social capital in the community, building strong connections, and maintaining them throughout their leadership. The consistent relationship between family members as regents and people's representatives triggers the formation of strong memories and connections between the two. This drives the urge to maintain and continue the relationship, as mentioned by Field (2016). People's political choices tend to be focused on the nominating family members, driven by people's trust in the ruler's descendants. The social capital invested by Kery Saiful Konggoasa during his leadership became a valuable legacy for his family. The mature mass base gives the Kery family a distinct advantage in the election. In fact, the highest vote acquisition by one of the family members in legislative elections is proof of the strength of this social capital. In addition, the respected bureaucratic network that had been established thanks to Kery's leadership as Regent gave the Kery family significant advantages. This bureaucratic connection supports the smooth running of the nomination process and the mobilization of support through the village level. Even though village heads are not local government employees, they can still be influenced through government programs that contain incentives. When creating bureaucratic compliance, regional heads can use instruments such as decisions or policies that influence the transfer or removal of civil servant positions. Kery Saiful Konggoasa also succeeded in politicizing the bureaucracy, directing part of the bureaucracy into the political realm.

Thus, the social capital owned by the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family has played a very important role in influencing and strengthening their political position in Konawe Regency. The relationships they have with the community and bureaucracy, coupled with the success of maintaining strong connections during the leadership period, are the keys to their success in every executive and legislative election.

#### **4.5 Cultural Capital**

Kery Saiful Konggoasa's Tolaki ethnicity as Cultural Capital in Konawe Regency and Kery Saiful Konggoasa's status as a Regional Son as Cultural Capital in political contestation. Cultural Identity and Values The Tolaki Kery ethnic group brings with it a unique cultural identity, including language, traditions, social norms, and special values that differentiate it from other ethnic groups. Kery, as a member of the Tolaki ethnicity, has cultural knowledge and experience that can shape the way he interacts with the people of Konawe. With the characteristic that Kery is fluent in Tolaki, he will utilize this language in his interactions with members of the Tolaki community in Konawe Regency. This ethnic-specific communication style can also influence the Konawe community's perception of Kery Saiful Konggoasa. Kery

Saiful Konggoasa's status as a Regional Son as Cultural Capital. Kery is recognized as a person from Konawe. This gives him a strong identity with the area, and local people may view him as a leader who understands and represents local interests. Status as a regional son can help Kery build strong relationships with the local community. People are more likely to support leaders they identify as part of their own community. Family culture is also the capital of Kery Saiful Konggoasa's family. The phenomenon of political families at both provincial and district or city levels is very real and widespread. A family's big name becomes cultural capital that has great influence that can be converted into power. In several areas in Southeast Sulawesi, including Konawe Regency, leaders can be seen involving other family members in the world of politics, not only as regional leaders but also as members of the legislature. This situation strengthens the potential for continuing power to become increasingly wide open. Apart from that, there is also the factor of the community's desire to be led by the incumbent family again or the status quo condition in society which wants their region to be held back by the incumbent family (Jati 2013; Purwaningsih 2015).

By considering all the elements above, it can be concluded that the cultural capital of the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family from ethnic identity, regional son status, family history, unity within the extended family, and kinship culture play an important role in building the identity and political legitimacy of the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family. This capital influenced the way he interacted with society, built credibility, and gained the political support of Kery Saiful Konggoasa's family.

#### **4.6 Political Capital**

Kery Saiful Konggoasa before serving as Regent of Konawe was listed as a member of the DPRD for the period (2004-2009) of Konawe Regency. This experience as a regional council member is political capital that can be used to maximize opportunities in regional elections (Hidayat 2016). This experience in the legislature became political capital to approach ordinary people to the elite and this was done while he was still a member of the DPRD so that at the time of the regional elections he had rich political experience which made it another aspect of political capital. Before moving to the Nasdem party in 2022, Kery Saiful Konggoasa was a cadre of the National Mandate Party with experience serving as a member of the DPW PAN Sultra (2000-2015) and then serving as Daily Chair of the DPW PAN Konawe (2016-2021). The Konawe Regent's children and wife also followed in Kery Saiful Konggoasa's footsteps by using the National Mandate Party as their political vehicle to enter through the legislative doors. Political party support is an aspect of the political capital owned by the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family. The Kery family has significant dominance within the PAN Party. This can include family members who are involved in managing the party, as well as the influence that family members have within the party. The involvement of Kery's family members, such as his children and wife, are involved in politics through the PAN Party. This may include management positions or membership in the party, which may give them access and influence within the party structure. The Kery Family's dominance at the National Mandate Party (PAN) management level is very visible where the Konawe Regent's son Fachry Pahlevi Konggoasa serves as Chair of the Daily Management of the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) for the 2022-2025 period and the Konawe Regent's daughter Devi Thesya Feriska Konggoasa as one of the Deputy Chairmen of the Management National Mandate Party Regional Leadership Council (DPD) Daily (Decree on Amendments to the DPD PAN Konawe Regency, 2020-2025).

Kery family members use the PAN Party as a tool or vehicle to advance their political goals. Political parties can provide access to political platforms and networks that can be used to gain support and influence policy. The influence of the Kery family in decision making and party direction. The involvement of family members in party management can give them the ability to shape party views and policies that are in line with the family's interests. When family members dominate positions or influence within the party, this strengthens the position and influence of the political dynasty at the party level. The Kery family's focus on parties and party management is more related to the goal of achieving greater political power and influence. Parties become a tool to achieve the desired political position. This shows how the Kery family dominates the PAN Party, takes a role in managing the party, and uses it as a political vehicle. The implications of political dynasties and a focus on power and influence are important elements in this dynamic. Kery Saiful Konggoasa's family utilizes political economic capital, political experience, political party support, and family dominance in the party to strengthen its political position. The use of money political strategies is also seen to influence election results. Apart from that, his move to the Nasdem party is Kery Saiful Konggoasa's political strategy in achieving victory in 2024. The dominance of the Kery family in the PAN Party also reflects how family members can use the party as a tool to achieve their political goals. Economic modalities also play an important role, especially in terms of logistics and APBD management. Kery's ability to manage these economic resources provides additional power in influencing society and strengthening his political position. By considering these various factors, it appears that the combination of political capital and economic capital has helped build and strengthen the Kery political dynasty in the region. This also shows the complexity of the relationship between political modalities and dynasties in the local political context.

## **5 Conclusion and Recommendation**

### **5.1 Conclusion**

Based on the results of the discussion, it can be concluded that the practice of political dynasty in the leadership of regional heads by the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family in Konawe Regency has characteristics that are clearly visible through the practice of various modalities. Economic capital is an important factor in securing and strengthening political position. Kery Saiful Konggoasa and his family succeeded in using their wealth and financial connections to influence society and form a strong political network. The social capital invested by Kery Saiful Konggoasa throughout his leadership has strengthened his family's mass base and political network. Consistent support from the community and strong relationships with various stakeholders at various levels help them maintain power.

Kinship culture is a strong foundation to support the practice of political dynasty. The public's desire to re-elect the incumbent family has given encouragement to the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family to continue to expand their influence. Family involvement in political party management, especially in PAN, gives them greater influence and support in political contestation.

The practice of political dynasty that occurred in the Kery Saiful Konggoasa family did not only rely on one type of modality, but involved a combination of these modalities. Their strength in political contestation is not only based on wealth alone, but is also formed through social relationships, cultural influence and structured political support. However, the phenomenon of political dynasties also gives rise to various impacts and issues, such as lack of fair political participation, monopoly of power, and limiting opportunities for other

candidates. Although political dynasties can provide continuity in leadership, they can also close space for quality leaders and create inequality in political competition.

## 5.2 Recommendation

Of course, in response to all of the above, suggestions from the author are needed to reduce or overcome the practice of political dynasties in Konawe Regency, namely:

1. Financial Transparency: Encourage candidates to openly disclose their sources of income and financial assets. This can help prevent the encryption of private wealth to gain political support.
2. Community Empowerment: delivering political education and training programs for the community. This can help increase public awareness about the importance of independent participation and its impact on sustainable leadership.
3. Diversification of Support Base: Encourage regional heads and political groups not to only depend on mass bases and certain networks. This can be done by strengthening connections with diverse groups to avoid the domination of one social group.
4. Reforms in Political Parties: Encourage political parties to adopt a system of rotation of positions and promotions based on qualifications, not just family relationships. This can reduce family dominance in the party structure.

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