

## ***The Impact of Political Dynasties on Community Development in Kediri Regency***

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### ***Abstract***

Communities are a key aspect of development administration. Due to decentralization, the Regional Government has broader autonomy to run its government independently and is expected to be able to resolve the problems that exist in its region to develop its communities. One of the current issues is political dynasties which have been a longstanding phenomenon in Indonesia, including in the Kediri Regency. Political dynasties consist of elected politicians who have family relatives who have also been elected in current or previous governments. How the leader of the regional government allocates its budget becomes important, especially for the education and health sectors, which have mandatory 20% and 10% from APBD, respectively. This research analyzes the impact of budget allocation for education and health on the community development of the Kediri Regent, with the Human Development Index (HDI) as its value. The method used is descriptive analysis, utilizing secondary data sourced from the Directorate General of Fiscal Balance and the Central Statistics Agency. According to the findings of this study, the allocation of expenditure on education has no substantial impact on the HDI score while expenditure on the health sector has a substantial impact on the HDI score.

**Keywords:** *Political Dynasties, Expenditure, Education, Health, Human Development Index.*

### ***Abstrak***

Masyarakat merupakan aspek kunci dalam administrasi pembangunan. Dengan adanya desentralisasi maka Pemerintah Daerah mempunyai otonomi yang lebih luas untuk menjalankan pemerintahannya secara mandiri dan diharapkan mampu menyelesaikan permasalahan yang ada di daerahnya untuk membangun masyarakatnya. Salah satu isu yang sedang hangat saat ini adalah dinasti politik yang sudah menjadi fenomena yang sudah lama terjadi di Indonesia, termasuk di Kabupaten Kediri. Dinasti politik terdiri dari politisi terpilih yang memiliki kerabat keluarga yang juga terpilih pada pemerintahan saat ini atau sebelumnya. Cara pemimpin daerah mengalokasikan anggarannya menjadi penting, terutama bagi sektor pendidikan dan kesehatan yang memiliki kewajiban anggaran masing-masing sebesar 20% dan 10% dari APBD. Penelitian ini menganalisis dampak pengalokasian anggaran pendidikan dan kesehatan terhadap pembangunan masyarakat Bupati Kediri dengan Indeks Pembangunan Manusia (IPM) sebagai nilainya. Metode yang digunakan adalah analisa deskriptif dengan menggunakan secondary data yang bersumber dari Direktorat Jenderal Perimbangan Keuangan dan Badan Pusat Statistik. Berdasarkan temuan studi ini, alokasi belanja pendidikan tidak mempunyai dampak besar terhadap nilai IPM, sedangkan belanja sektor kesehatan mempunyai pengaruh besar terhadap nilai IPM.

**Keywords:** *Dinasti Politik, Belanja, Pendidikan, Kesehatan, Indeks Pembangunan Manusia*

## 1. Introduction

Communities are a key aspect of development administration, where the government implements various programs with a specific emphasis on bringing about changes and achieving desired objectives (Ngusmanto, 2015). Through decentralization, as regulated in Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 23 of 2014 about the Regional Government, the Regional Government has broader autonomy or authority to run its government independently and is expected to be able to resolve the problems that exist in its region including political stability.

Meanwhile, the political situation in Indonesia has seen turbulence in recent times. As the Presidential Election of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) for the 2024-2029 term approaches, there was an interesting phenomenon regarding the selection of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Among the three presidential and vice-presidential pairs declared by the three coalitions, one pair has attracted extra attention due to their direct familial relationship with the President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2014-2024 period. This leads to the emergence of a phenomenon that has gained significant attention in society and is commonly referred to as a political dynasty.

The term political dynasty is often known as dynastic politics, however, there are differences between the two terms. Dynastic politics is a political framework typically implemented in a country with a monarchy system, where the transfer of power is directly based on genetics. On the other hand, a political dynasty refers to a condition where one family can dominate a position of power (Andriyani L. 2023). The rise of political dynasties is being attributed to the lack of effective regulations aimed at preventing the emergence of political dynasties (Susanti, 2018). Mendoza et al. (2016) described that political dynasties consist of elected politicians who have family relatives who have also been elected in current or previous governments. One factor that leads to the emergence of a political dynasty is when an incumbent official has intangible advantages, such as high popularity and political connections (Reyes et al., 2019). These advantages are then utilized by their successor, who also has a direct familial relationship with the incumbent, to participate in the political contest in the subsequent period (Geys & Smith, 2017). With this advantage, the potential for political dynasties to occur in a region will increase, allowing the successors of leadership to maintain their power. Another factor that triggers the occurrence of political dynasties is the absence of challengers from other parties that have comparable levels of popularity or electability with the candidate who is the successor of the previous incumbent leader (Purdey et al., 2016). The gap in competition may indeed emerge from the absence of competent political contenders or the reluctance of others to challenge the existing political dynasty, thereby making the political dynasty inevitable.

However, the factor of candidate competence needs to be considered when there is a tendency towards a political dynasty (Andriyani L. 2023).

Furthermore, political dynasties have been a longstanding phenomenon in Indonesia (Gunanto, 2020). The democratic process in Indonesia, which involves the direct election of state officials such as the President, Governor, Regent, and Mayor, inevitably gives chances to the phenomenon of political dynasties as an inherent part of the democratic process. (Guritno et al., 2018) state that certain regions are associated with the presence of political dynasties, one of which is the Kediri Regency. Kediri Regency is located in the province of East Java and has a land area of 1,386.05 square kilometers. It has a population of 1.6 million people (according to the 2020 census by the Central Statistics Agency (*Bahasa: Badan Pusat Statistik - BPS*)). The Regent, who has been in charge for five years, oversees the administration of the Kediri regency. Practically for about twenty years, Kediri Regency has been led by a regent from the same family because the Regent for the 2010-2015 and 2016-2021 periods (HS) is the wife of the regent for the 2000-2005 and 2005-2010 periods (S). Furthermore, the incumbent regent (HHP) has a direct relationship with one of the state officials in the Central Government. This has led to a strong sense of political dynasty that has been perceived in the Kediri Regency for over the past two decades.

The impact of political dynasties varies according to research that has been conducted. Political dynasties are considered negative since they might worsen the image of democracy due to the presence of unfair power distribution (Bo, 2009). Asako et al. (2015) also described that the influence of political dynasties harms the democratic process of policy formulation. The study by (Mendoza et al., 2016) suggests that political dynasties worsen poverty levels. However, on the other hand, a study conducted by (Rougier et al., 2022) revealed that regional economies benefit from the presence of political dynasties. A government led by a political dynasty can effectively allocate expenditures under regulations and reduce poverty levels (Guritno et al., 2018). Haliim & Hakim (2020) explained that the people were quite satisfied with the bureaucracy's performance, despite its association with political dynasties.

Meanwhile, the concept of governance in the current period has shifted from the concept of centralization to the concept of decentralization. Decentralization is shown as the delegation of authority to all existing structures within the framework of governance (Schiavo-Campo, 2019). The primary objective of implementing the concept of decentralization is to achieve effectiveness and efficiency in public service (Olum, 2014). Specifically in Indonesia, the anticipated result of decentralization is to foster growth and attain fair and impartial development across all regions (Pertwi, 2023). On one hand, decentralization, as a

manifestation of the democratic system, can provide opportunities for regions to maximize their potential based on the understanding that the ones who are most aware of the necessary programs in a region are the residents of that region themselves. However, on the other hand, there is a risk if the leader in that region is not competent in managing their authority, which might potentially harm the region and its people.

Leaders have extensive authority to formulate policies and budgets (Wahyuli et al. 2022). The leader's maturity in coordinating executive government members' actions determines policy development success (Pangestu, 2024). The commitment of the leader to fulfilling his responsibilities and operating the government also determines the sustainable program for human development in the region (Raharja, 2020). The government budget is crucial for governance and is utilized to achieve policy goals (Schiavo-Campo, 2019), including in the education and healthcare sectors. Particular rules related to education and health budgets have been arranged through the Central Government through Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System and Law No. 36 of 2009 on Health. The budget for education and healthcare in the regional government is 20% and 10% of the regional income and expenditure budget (*Bahasa: Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah, APBD*), respectively.

The allocation of the budget becomes an important issue for the leaders, especially those who have political dynasties issues. Besley & Reynal-Querol (2017) described that hereditary leadership represents a relational contract that boosts policy incentives and economic growth, but only when few executive powers are limited. Meanwhile in Indonesia, Larasati & Rezki (2024) showed that the incumbent dynasty leader had a negative impact on various forms of public spending, such as grants and social assistance, social protection, housing and public facilities, and education. Specifically, Lewis et al. (2020) explained that second-term elected leaders spend less on education and health and more on infrastructure, manage their budgets less wisely, and deliver public services neither better nor worse than their first-term predecessors. Given these assertions, it is necessary to evaluate the impact of budget allocation from leaders with political dynasties, such as in Kediri Regency, which had long stories of political dynasties, on communities to enhance comprehension. This is particularly important because there is a lack of academic study on this topic.

The Human Development Index (HDI) comes as an indicator to assess the impact in communities. HDI consists of four components of measurements, namely life expectancy at birth (*Bahasa: Angka Harapan Hidup Saat Lahir - AHH*), mean years of schooling (*Bahasa: Angka Harapan Lama Sekolah - HLS*), expected years of schooling (*Bahasa: Rata-Rata Lama Sekolah - RLS*), and gross national income per capita (*Bahasa: Pendapatan Riil per Kapita - PRK*).

## **2. Method**

The purpose of this study is to analyze the government that has elements of the political dynasty (e.g. Kediri Regency) by examining the influence of the use of budget on education and health expenditures from the period 2015 to 2022 in Kediri Regency, and its impact on the HDI. This study used descriptive research. The data used is secondary data that comes from the following sources: the financial reports of the Kediri regency period 2015–2022, which are based on data from the Directorate General of Fiscal Balance Ministry of Finance, and the HDI period 2015–2022, which are based on data from the BPS. The period of research has been selected as 2015–2022 since these years are recognized as a new era in the implementation of decentralization with the issuance of Law No. 23 of 2014 about the Regional Government. The analysis technique employed in this paper is conducted by the method of descriptive analytics, which involves comparing the aforementioned data and additional analysis of multiple linear regression.

## **3. Result and Discussion**

Family, patronage, nepotism, and dynasty play a prominent role in the political systems of emerging democracies in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia (Purdey et al., 2016). Some were supported by democratic and electoral processes, while others were manifestations of long-standing practices of political power-sharing among regimes. Three conditions make it easier for political dynasties to emerge. First, the executive and organization are the same; as a result, parties have no separate organization. Second, dynastic parties do not mobilize support through autonomous civil society associations. Third, dynastic parties focus their fund-raising on leadership, but non-dynastic parties may also do so (Chhibber, 2013).

The preference for retaining control is the underlying purpose of political dynasties (Maharani et al., 2024). Political leaders at various levels, from national to local region, often rely on political dynasties to preserve their power and advance their agendas. They attempted to establish a lasting regime by leveraging their family members' (spouse, son, son-in-law, nephew, grandson, etc.) influence in the upcoming election to further their objectives. These practices of political dynasties raise the question of whether they are compatible with an ideal democracy.

The form of democracy in Indonesia can be seen in the process of selecting the leaders of a country or region, where every individual has the same opportunity to nominate themselves. This opens up opportunities for the emergence of political dynasty practices in a region or country because, arguably, it does not violate the principles of democracy. In democratic systems, political parties play a vital role in fostering political dynasties. Political

parties evaluate three key factors when selecting leader candidates for candidacy which are skills, track record, and electoralability. Skills and track record alone are not enough to achieve victory in a leader's election, but rather electoral factors. Candidates who have a kinship have greater opportunities based on electoral capital (Purwaningsih et al., 2020).

Regardless of the presence of political dynasties, the leader's performance during their terms has become a benchmark for assessing the effects of their leadership on the community. The performance of a leader is measured, in part, by how much progress they make in their community development. Through the implementation of decentralization in regional government, the regional leaders have the authority to allocate their budget using the APBD. According to Daniele et al. (2021), the leaders that came from political dynasties did not have a different approach to budgeting aspects (revenue and expenditure) than the leaders with non-political dynasties.

APBD operates as the primary tool for Local Governments to implement the programs that have been formulated to achieve the targets, particularly for the benefit and development of the community. The APBD consists of two primary components: revenue and expenditure. The revenue provides the sources of capital for the Local Government, obtained through tax payments or non-tax state revenue (*Bahasa: Penerimaan Negara Bukan Pajak - PNB*) such as local taxes or fees. In addition, the Local Government also receives income from the Central Government, such as revenue from royalty sharing in the mining sector. On the other hand, the expenditure refers to the spending carried out by the Regional Government, which consists of personnel expenditure, goods and services expenditure, and capital expenditure. Employee expenditure refers to the financial resources allocated for the payment of wages and allowances to government employees. Then, spending on goods and services encompasses many sorts of non-asset expenses that cannot be classified under capital expenditure, including governmental travel expenses and social program expenses. Capital expenditure refers to the expenses that are incurred to create or acquire fixed assets, such as buildings, structures, roads, irrigation systems, or equipment.

The Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, especially the Directorate General of Fiscal Balance, categorizes the expenditures into several functions for administrative purposes:

- a. Expenditure in the field of Economics;
- b. Expenditure in the field of Health;
- c. Expenditure in the field of Order and Security;
- d. Expenditure in the field of Environment;

- e. Expenditure in the field of Tourism and Culture;
- f. Expenditure in the field of Public Service;
- g. Expenditure in the field of Education;
- h. Expenditure in the field of Social Protection;
- i. Expenditure in the field of Housing and Public Facilities;

The function is related to the nature and types of expenditures carried out by the Central Government or by the Regional Government. For instance, capital expenditures like constructing roads or bridges might be classified as expenditures on the Housing and Public Facilities function, but expenses related to promoting tourism can be allocated to the tourism and culture function. This paper will utilize expenditure realization in the economic, education, and health functions due to their relevance to community development as assessed by the HDI. Based on data from the Directorate General of Fiscal Balance Ministry of Finance, it is known that the budget utilization by the regional government of Kediri Regency for expenditure purposes for the period from 2015 to 2022 is shown in the following table:

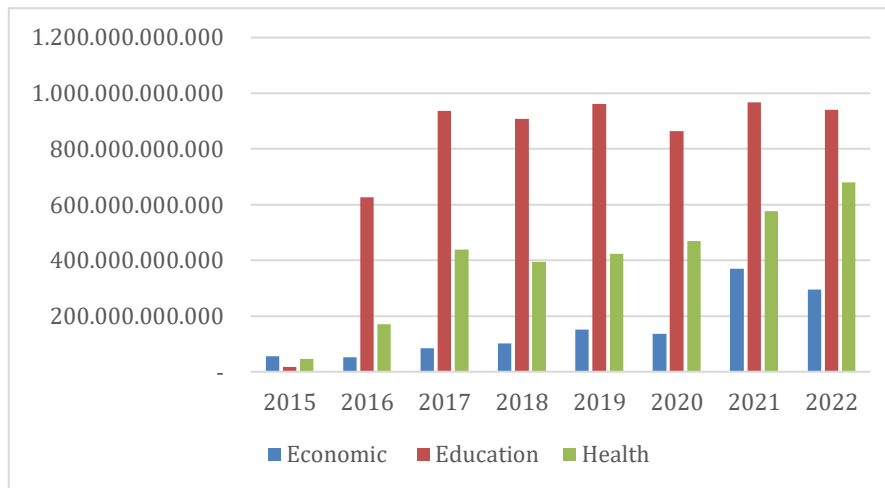
**Table 1. Realization of Expenditure in Kediri Regency from 2015 to 2022  
in the Economic, Education, and Health Functions**

No.	Years	Realization of Expenditure in Economy ( <i>in Rupiah</i> )	Realization of Expenditure in Education ( <i>in Rupiah</i> )	Realization of Expenditure in Health ( <i>in Rupiah</i> )
1	2015	55.462.991.369	17.594.086.025	46.467.042.179
2	2016	51.331.239.176	626.668.454.071	170.061.993.439
3	2017	84.236.136.572	935.815.496.134	438.704.251.433
4	2018	101.388.821.990	907.974.224.577	395.322.438.007
5	2019	151.135.125.797	961.842.447.293	422.908.549.216
6	2020	136.752.769.803	863.177.179.955	468.879.033.221
7	2021	369.728.870.416	968.097.631.315	576.201.711.050
8	2022 **	295.756.134.032	941.213.953.142	679.462.318.852

Sources: the financial reports of the Kediri regency

Notes: The expenditure budget value for 2022 is utilized due to the unavailability of realization data.

The data above indicates a significant increase in spending on education and health functions from 2015 to 2016. The graph below shows further comparisons on the increase in expenditures:



**Figure 1. Realization of Expenditure in Kediri Regency from 2015 to 2022 in the Economic, Education, and Health Functions**

The education sector in Kediri Regency has the highest value out of the three mentioned functions, with the economy and health coming in at positions two and three, respectively. Over the past six years, expenditures on education have remained consistent between 800 million rupiahs and nearly 1 billion rupiahs, and this aligns with government laws that designated 20% for the educational sector. Meanwhile, after a relatively stable yet fluctuating period from 2017 to 2019, health expenditures have shown a steady increase from 2020 to 2022 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, necessitating the government to enhance budget allocation and expenditure in the health sector. On the other hand, expenditures in areas related to the field of economics are very small compared to others. Although it was formerly the largest expenditure allocation in 2015, this situation was reversed in the following years. In 2021, there was a significant and drastic increase of approximately Rp 200 million due to the reallocation policies of the government in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Meanwhile, the HDI in Kediri Regency for the period of 2015 to 2022 indicates the following values:

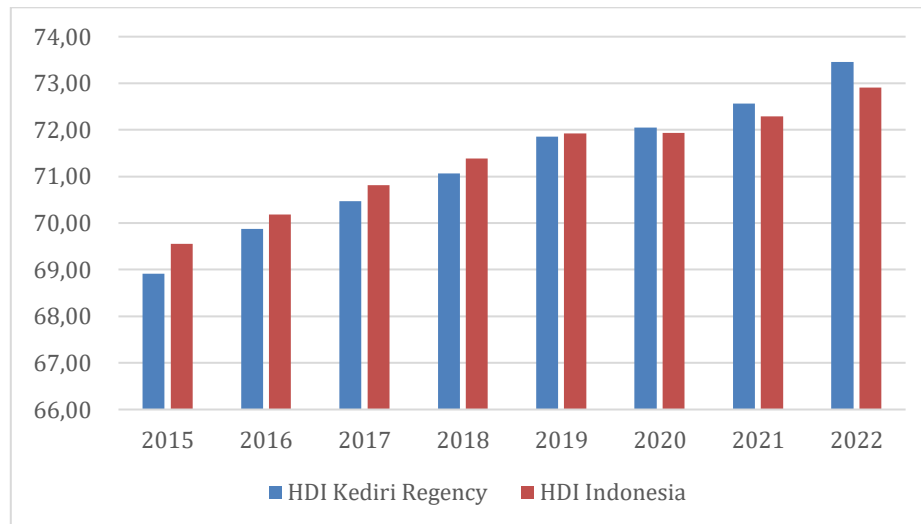
**Table 2. HDI for Kediri Regency from 2015 to 2022**

No.	Years	HDI Kediri Regency	HDI Indonesia
1	2015	68,91	69,55
2	2016	69,87	70,18
3	2017	70,47	70,81
4	2018	71,07	71,39
5	2019	71,85	71,92
6	2020	72,05	71,94
7	2021	72,56	72,92
8	2022	73,46	72,91

Source: BPS



The HDI of Kediri Regency demonstrated consistent improvement each year, with an average increase of 0.65. Although the HDI of Kediri Regency was behind the national average from 2015 to 2019, it has surpassed the national average from 2020 to 2022 with an average difference of 0.31. The image below gives a more distinct depiction.



**Figure 2. HDI for Kediri Regency from 2015 to 2022**

BPS (2022) describes the levels of HDI values according to the following categories:

- Low level = HDI < 60
- Middle level = HDI  $\geq$  60 and/or HDI < 70;
- High level = HDI  $\geq$  70 and/or < 80;
- Advance level = HDI  $\geq$  80;

As the number stayed below 70 in both 2016 and 2015, HDI in Kediri Regency stayed at a low level. Starting in 2017, when the HDI statistic surpassed 70, there has been a consistent increasing trend, placing Kediri Regency at a high level of HDI.

Further elaboration on the elements of the Kediri Regency HDI, namely AHSL, AHLS, RRLS, and PRK, can be described in a table as follows:

**Table 3. HDI Data for Kediri Regency for 2015 – 2022 Period**

No.	Years	AHSL	AHLS	RRLS	PRK*
1	2015	72,14	12,15	7,41	9.883,09
2	2016	72,20	12,57	7,58	10.140,00
3	2017	72,25	12,86	7,65	10,326,00
4	2018	72,37	12,87	7,68	10.853,00
5	2019	72,54	12,88	8,01	11.146,00
6	2020	72,61	13,15	8,02	11.000,00
7	2021	72,65	13,44	8,08	11.127,00
8	2022	72,97	13,61	8,23	11.565,00

Source: BPS

Notes: in thousand rupiah/person/year

The four HDI components show a consistently improving trend, with an average annual rise of 0.12 for AHSL and RRLS, 0.21 for AHLS, and IDR 240,000 for PRK. The life expectancy at birth in 2022 is 72.97 years, indicating that children born in that year may expect to live for around 72 or 73 years. When comparing the life expectancy of children born in 2015 to those born in 2022, there is a difference of 0.83 years. This indicates that the rise in life expectancy between these two years is relatively slow. Regarding education, the expected number of years of schooling, which is a number that represents children aged 7 (seven) years for the continuity of schooling in the future for kids who were born in 2022, shows that children in Kediri Regency can go to school for the next 13 years or up to the second semester of college. When compared with 2015, this figure has shown positive development, wherein in 2015 the expected length of schooling only reached 12 years, which means that children are expected to be able to attend school until they graduate from senior high school. Meanwhile, the average length of schooling, which represents the length of schooling for individuals aged twenty-five years and over, shows that in 2022, the average length of schooling for adults in Kediri Regency will be eight years or up to second grade at junior high schools. The average duration of schooling for adults in Kediri Regency was just the first grade of junior high in 2015; hence, this number has grown by 1.56%. Earnings potential per capita in a given year expressed as a percentage of the total is known as the real per capita growth rate (BPS 2022). From 2015 to 2019, there was consistent growth annually. However, in 2020, as a result of the global pandemic, people's buying power declined, but there was a promising recovery in value in 2021 and 2022. According to BPS statistics, the average annual spending of a person in Kediri Regency will be 11.5 million IDR in 2022, an increase of 1.7 million from 2015.

Furthermore, statistical testing was conducted utilizing the multiple linear regression analysis approach for the data. Multiple linear regression analysis is employed to examine the relationship between two or more independent variables (X) and a dependent variable (Y) (Yuliara, I.M., 2016). The figures used are based on the period from 2015 to 2022 for expenditure allocations based on the economic and education sectors (variable X) and HDI (variable Y). The results of the calculation can be stated as follows:

SUMMARY OUTPUT

Regression Statistics	
Multiple R	0,95159343
R Square	0,905530057
Adjusted R Square	0,86774208
Standard Error	0,543145432
Observations	8

ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	2	14,1387652	7,069382601	23,96344346	0,002743053
Residual	5	1,475034799	0,29500696		
Total	7	15,6138			

	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95,0%	Upper 95,0%
Intercept	68,65782145	0,526025323	130,5218941	5,00742E-10	67,30563031	70,0100126	67,30563031	70,0100126
Education Function	-6,08361E-13	1,19457E-12	-0,509270556	0,632235063	-3,67911E-12	2,4624E-12	-3,6791E-12	2,4624E-12
Health Function	7,74322E-12	1,90449E-12	4,065763721	0,009674138	2,84757E-12	1,2639E-11	2,84757E-12	1,2639E-11

a. Correlation Test

The correlation coefficient (multiple R) indicates a value of 0.95, suggesting that the variables Educational Function (X1) and Health Function (X2) demonstrate a very significant degree of correlation. The adjusted  $R^2$ , also known as the coefficient of determination, is 0.8677 (86.77%). This indicates that variables X1 and X2 are possible to account for about 86.77% of the variance in the HDI (Y);

b. ANOVA (F Test)

A value of 0.0027 is displayed for the significance value of F, which is lower than the value of  $\alpha = 0.05$ . This indicates that the variables X1 and X2 have a substantial impact on the variable Y;

c. t-partial test

As a reference value, the P-value is utilized to compare the importance of variables X and Y. The value of  $\alpha$  is set at 0.05, which is the significant level. The P-value for variable X1, which represents expenditure in the education sector, was found to be 0.6322, which was higher than the  $\alpha$  value. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that variable X1 is higher than the  $\alpha$  value. It may be argued that variable X2 (health) has a substantial impact on variable Y (HDI) since the P-value for variable X2 (spending in the health sector) is 0.0096, which is lower than the  $\alpha$  value.

#### 4. Conclusion

The establishment of a democratic government in a nation coincided with the emergence of the phenomena of political dynasties. The desire of a leader to maintain his agenda of interests through the people who have a kinship relationship with him or her is the motivation for the formation of political dynasties. The debate over the presence of political dynasties gives rise to a variety of perspectives among individuals. Despite the commonly held belief that political dynasties undermine democracy and contribute to corruption, the study by

Purwaningsih et al. (2020) revealed a contrasting finding: just a minority (9%) of corruption cases really include political dynasties. Therefore, in evaluating a leader's performance and its effect on communities, their track record during their term of office stands out as a reliable indicator.

The Kediri Regency is a region that has established a long-standing connection with the political dynasties. Despite its frequent association with political dynasties, analysis of the HDI data for the Kediri Regency shows that the HDI value has been steadily rising from 2015 to 2022, even going above the national average value in 2022. This challenges the notion that regions with political dynasty concerns offer little benefit to their communities. Further analysis on their budgeting show that the only variable that has a substantial impact on the HDI value is the allocation of expenditure for the health function. On the other hand, the allocation of expenditure for the education sector does not have a significant effect on the HDI value. The lesser influence of education expenditure allocation on the HDI value raises questions about the distribution mechanism of the education-related budget in the Kediri Regency. This information can assist regional governments in enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of their budget allocation planning through Regional Development Planning (musrenbang) which encourage community initiatives and participation in integrated development and foster community dynamics (Sidik, 2016). This paper does include certain limitations. Some of these limitations include a limited number of independent variables and the statistical procedures that were utilized. Furthermore, future research could go further into some topics about political dynasties and their effect on financial and investment performance.

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