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The Origin of Kinship Politics in 2020 Regional Elections in Sleman Regency

Tedi Gunawan  

Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

Jl. Medan Merdeka Utara No. 7 Central Jakarta, DKI Jakarta 10110 Indonesia

 gtedi07@gmail.com OPEN ACCESS

Citation: Gunawan, T. (2021). The Origin of Kinship Politics in 2020 Regional Elections in Sleman Regency. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 13(2), 183–194. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.13.2021.183-194>

Received: 4 May 2021

Accepted: 7 July 2021

Published: 31 August 2021

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Abstract: On December 9, 2020, The Sleman Regional Head Election was won by the Kustini-Danang pair. The victory of Kustini (wife of Sri Purnomo, the incumbent Regent) is referred to as part of kinship politics. Kinship politics is understood as an attempt to perpetuate power, in this case, Sri Purnomo's power. Sri Purnomo himself is the Regent of Sleman who is famous for his political superiority, which is shown by winning two consecutive terms. This study aims to capture the local political phenomenon in Sleman by identifying the political contestation in the 2020 Regional Head Election from a socio-historical and some political momentum that occurred during the Sri Purnomo regime. To further explore the phenomenon of kinship politics in Sleman Regency, this study used a qualitative approach and used two main data search methods: primary data and secondary data. The results showed that Sri Purnomo has high superiority in his leadership. Sri Purnomo transformed into a local strongman with the support of some local elite networks he had built. As the local strongmen, he formed political alliances that had high loyalty based on patron-client relationships. In the end, by presenting his wife, Kustini Sri Purnomo as his successor, it shows that the politics of kinship are nothing more than an extension of the hand to continue Sri Purnomo's power.

Keywords: kinship politics; Sleman regional elections; local strongman; patron-client

1. Introduction

The collapse of the New Order regime marked the transformation of the political map in Indonesia from an authoritarian political system to a more democratic government. This change will undoubtedly also impact the political system to the local level, which is becoming more open (Tan, 2020). The direct election of regional heads is a form of political openness (Erb & Sulistiyanto, 2009). It is because the general election is a form of political activity that directly involves the wider community. The transparency of the political system brings hope for democratization at all levels of state life, both at the center and in the regions (Khairi, 2020). On the other hand, many contradictory gaps arise in implementing the political process conducted by political elites, especially local political elites (Humaizi et al., 2019). There is the emergence of dynastic politics or kinship politics that appears in various areas in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, kinship politics is identical to the concentration of power in certain political families or relatives (Fitriyah, 2020). The politics of kinship is often equated with the term dynastic politics (Harjanto, 2011). Kinship politics will thrive if an area is only controlled by a handful of political elites (Susanti, 2017). This phenomenon is unavoidable in Indonesia's democratic system and regional autonomy systems, all of which tend to require very high political costs and solid political networks. With these conditions, only a few people have the opportunity to access the pinnacle of power (Arifulloh, 2016).

The increasing number can indicate the rise of kinship politics in the regions of nominations for regional heads and deputy regional heads, which, if traced in detail, have kinship relations with the previous regional head. Based on a search by Bayu (2020), the 2020 regional elections, which were held simultaneously on December 9, were followed mainly by political candidates with a background in kinship politics. The Nagara Institute (Bayu, 2020), in its press release, noted that in both the central and local governments, there are around 124 candidates for regional leaders who are children, wives, husbands, families, or relatives of incumbent officials.

One of the exciting patterns of kinship politics in the 2020 regional elections is wives who continue the relay of their husbands' positions. Referring to a Nagara Institute search, at least 29 female election participants are wives of the regional head still or have served. Some of the areas that became the relay of power include Manado City, Binjai City, Bandung Regency, South Buru Regency, Blora Regency, and Sleman Regency.

Sleman Regency is an area that is also part of the practice of kinship politics. So far, Sleman is synonymous with the big-name Sri Purnomo. His big-name is often referred to as a strong regime because of his long reign (15 years). The domination carried out by the Sri Purnomo regime succeeded in bringing local politics in Slemanrat to its name and making it the main figure of political representation. Sleman under the Sri Purnomo regime is interesting to see from a critical perspective. Three periods of Sri Purnomo leading Sleman from 2005–2009 (deputy regent) and 2010–2020 (regent), continued in the relay by his wife, Kustini Sri Purnomo in the 2020–2025 period, proving that Sri Purnomo has a strong hegemony in Sleman.

This pattern of kinship political tradition that is rife is then often misused by some parties in the practice of democracy in Indonesia, especially at the local government level. When the family that replaces the regional head has sufficient capacity to continue the government, it is not a problem (Yulfiyanto, 2016). However, the facts show that the inheritance of kinship politics in the regions contributes to preserving the hegemony of the regional elites. Regional autonomy provides great room for the rise of local elites to emerge as the only key players (Effendi, 2018).

Various parties well recognize Kustini Sri Purnomo's success in winning the 2020 regional elections. It cannot be separated from Sri Purnomo's very wide network in Sleman after wandering around for several periods as a leader, one of which is that he could unite the masses and elites of Muhammadiyah and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). In this case, the possibility that the wife who has replaced

her husband is still influenced in decision-making and policy is quite wide open. Here it can be interpreted that the husband uses the wife only to perpetuate his power and become like a puppet or puppet. It is a dilemma in local democracy. Also, the local election is a good mechanism in democratic life (Shin, 2015). Still, on the other hand, there is a process of paralyzing democracy due to the emergence of kinship politics, which in the end, will only last the power of the elite, either individuals or groups.

The kinship politics in Indonesia, especially in Sleman, is an effort to maintain power from the interests of an incumbent. The incumbent's popularity has brought his relatives to be known in the community (Purwanti & Alfirdaus, 2020). The community follows his actions when the incumbent can no longer be an official due to age or tenure regulations. A figure in the elite circle around that figure has been prepared as his successor. In this case, Kustini, who has no experience in leadership, except as a supervisor for the Sleman Family Welfare Development (PKK), succeeded in continuing his family's hegemony in the 2020 local elections due to kinship factors.

Then, discussing the elite here refers to the political elite, a group or individual with superiority over resources in the political structure (Anggara, 2008). These resources are usually wrapped with authority attached to them. Elite groups are also understood as groups that can influence the political decision-making process (Choi, 2014). In the study of the political elite, they, in their struggle, have an important role in maintaining or even changing a system. However, in its journey, the elite sometimes obscures the substance of democracy itself in maintaining its existence.

Joel S. Migdal (Nishizaki, 2005) mentions local strongmen (elite) as local strongmen. He argues that local strongmen are a reflection of the strength of social control in society. It often happens in communities in third world countries where there are social variants of community. They (the leaders) are relatively autonomous from state control and control abundant resources. Migdal believes that local strongmen come from the backgrounds of tribal chiefs, landlords, traditional leaders, and others.

On the other hand, Sidel (1997) believes that local strongmen come from the background of Regional Heads, Council Members, Entrepreneurs, and others. Sidel also added that local strongmen do not always reflect the demands of the community. Furthermore, he explained that local strongmen usually appear when the state is very weak in its social control in society.

In this study, local strongmen play a very important role in winning candidates for regional heads. It can be said that the main participants in the election of regional heads are the local strongmen themselves (Shair-Rosenfield, 2016). This happens because strong local people can relate to the broader community (Argenti, 2018). Because without strong support from the community, the existence of a candidate for the regional head is meaningless.

For this reason, every elite or local strongmen must have the political power to form alliances (Agustino & Yusoff, 2010). It is why local strongmen have a gaining position that can be utilized in direct regional head elections (Lismawati, 2010). The role of local strongmen as the main players in the dynamics of local politics is what causes in the Regional Head Election there is always an interaction between strong people in establishing and utilizing support (Zainal, 2017). The interaction that occurs will eventually produce a form of symbiotic mutualism between local strongmen. However, the fabric of these strong people will only revolve in their environment. The map of power in the regions is becoming increasingly monotonous because local strongmen tend to share power only with their relatives (Akbar, 2019).

This network of local strongmen can be understood through the lens of patronage relationships. The pattern of patronage relationships is one of the prominent political cultures in Indonesia, both among the rulers and the community (Allen, 2015). Scott (1972) has a more popular term by calling this relationship a pattern of patron-client relationships.

The pattern of relationships in this sense, according to Gaffar (2000), is individual. However, there is a reciprocal interaction between two people, namely Patron and

Client, where each party exchanges resources. Patrons have power, status or position, security, and material resources such as property, cultivated land, and money (Ngusmanto, 2016). In contrast, the client has energy, support, and loyalty as a tool (Maftuchin, 2016). As long as each party controls the capital, the partnership pattern will continue.

This clientelistic transactional relationship pattern often occurs at the national and local levels (Agustino, 2014). The history of the New Order shows that the alliance between the rulers and the corporate world is very strong. Non-indigenous entrepreneurs, in particular, were experienced in how to "serve" the government authorities in power at the time (Yusoff & Agustino, 2012). They also refer to themselves as clients to reap benefits such as the ease of doing business and the ease of tendering for government programs (Tjahjoko, 2015). The patron-client relationships will be used to see the pattern of symbiosis among strong people in the Regional Head Election, thus making Kustini Sri Purnomo elected in the 2020 Sleman Regional Head Election and perpetuating the political succession kinship, in addition to using the local strongmen role approach.

This study intends to look at the background of dynastic politics in the 2020 Sleman Regional Head Election. In addition, the researcher also tries to look at the socio-historical context that occurred long before the regional head election took place. During Sri Purnomo's regime, the political momentum in power up to the political relay event will be discussed in-depth with several theories described above. This research is expected to capture local political phenomena in Sleman in a good, complete, and comprehensive manner.

2. Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach to achieve the research objectives (Saputra & Setiawan, 2021). According to Bogdan and Taylor (1992), the qualitative approach is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in written or spoken words from people and observable behavior. The qualitative approach is also concerned with the principles that form the manifestation of the unit of symptoms that exist in social life.

This study will use two sources of data, namely primary and secondary. Primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews with related parties (informants) such as Representatives of the Sleman Muhammadiyah Organization, Sleman Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) Cadres, Kustini Success Team, and other Sri Purnomo organizational networks. In contrast, secondary data is not taken directly from the source, namely through library research.

Furthermore, the data that has been collected is presented in a time series. Data analysis involves arranging data sequences and organizing them into one form, category, and basic description unit. Then the data is grouped, then a cross-check is carried out to see the validity of the data collected. There are many ways to analyze data, but in general, this research follows the following procedures and steps: a. Data reduction; b. Organizing data; c. Conclusion drawing and verification.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Sleman Regency Social Setting

To begin the analysis of the research results, the author will explain the social setting of the research by outlining the local political constellation in Sleman Regency in general, both from a social and political perspective. Next, the researcher will explain some of the political momenta that occurred. In addition to functioning as a writing link chain, it will provide a clearer picture of how the politics of kinship was built by the Sri Purnomo regime.

Sleman Regency is located at the northern end of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY). This regency has the largest population compared to other regencies/cities in the DIY region. Based on 2019 data, the total population of Sleman is 1,206,714

people (BPS-Statistics of Sleman Regency, 2018). The male population is 608,968 people (50.23%), the female population is 597,756 people (49.77%), followed by population growth of around 1.66%, and the number of Heads of Families (KK) is 361,263 (BPS-Statistics of Sleman Regency, 2018). The population of Sleman inhabits an area of 574.82 km² spread over 17 districts, 86 villages, and 1,212 hamlets.

In terms of demographics, as part of a student city, the Sleman community is classified as a pluralistic society (Nugraha, 2018). The existence of various educational institutions in Sleman Regency causes this region to become the main supporter of Yogyakarta's attribute as a "student city." Migrants are competing to study in Yogyakarta, causing the immigrant population in Sleman Regency to also increase from year to year. Regarding religion, the majority of the population is Muslim, with the two largest organizations being Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

3.2. Sleman Local Political Configuration: The Beginning of the Sri Purnomo Regime

Suppose you look at several general elections held in Sleman Regency after the collapse of the new order. In that case, it turns out that the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) always won. This is because this party has traditionally always dominated the vote in the General Elections in Sleman. Even until the last legislative general election in 2019, PDI-P still dominated 15 seats, up from 12 seats in the 2014 legislative elections (KPU Kabupaten Sleman, 2021). Meanwhile, the National Awakening Party (PKB), Gerindra, PKS, and PAN each got six seats.

Then, let's talk about the National Mandate Party (PAN) and The National Awakening Party (PKB). These two parties represent the two largest religious organizations in Indonesia in general and in Sleman Regency in particular. PAN is often closely associated with the Muhammadiyah organization, while PKB represents the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization.

The discussion about the Sri Purnomo era regime began with the Sleman regional head election in 2005. He succeeded in becoming the deputy regent of Sleman with Ibnu Subiyanto as the elected Regent. Ibnu Subiyanto himself is a candidate promoted by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) as the largest political party in Sleman. Meanwhile, Sri Purnomo has a support base from Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah can be the organization with the second-largest mass base after the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). You can imagine mathematically, the strength of these two social bases is combined. Of course, the alliance of the two biggest powers in Sleman will get a majority vote. The strength of Muhammadiyah is the most ideal and strategic choice for Ibn Subiyanto's victory (Anggara, 2008). Ibnu Subiyanto as Sleman regent candidate in the 2005 Sleman Regional Head Election, succeeded in exploiting the potentials of political power bases in society by cooperating with Sri Purnomo, who is a strong Muhammadiyah man, as his companion.

Muhammadiyah's decision to participate in the 2005 Sleman Regional Head Election was a natural step because Muhammadiyah was the second-largest mass base in Sleman. At that time, Muhammadiyah was one of the keys for PDIP in winning the 2005 Sleman Pilkada. At that time, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) lacked a mass base among moderate Muslims. In addition, Muhammadiyah also has a high bargaining position in front of other political forces in the Sleman Regency because it has a large and quite solid mass.

Sri Purnomo as a candidate for deputy regent at that time, was a new player in the world of politics. He spent a lot of energy and his mind in socio-religious activities. Previously, Sri Purnomo was a Muhammadiyah activist and also the Chairperson of the Sleman Regency Mosque Team. Although Sri Purnomo is an organizational activist, he has never been active in practical political activities, including in PAN, closely related to the Muhammadiyah environment. Therefore, it was the right choice why

Muhammadiyah only dared to take a position as a candidate for deputy regent for that time because one of them was to invest in future Regional Head Elections.

3.3. Sri Purnomo in Period I: Upgrading to Regent

In the 2010 Sleman Regional Head Election, Muhammadiyah's investment became real, with Sri Purnomo running for Sleman Regent for the 2010-2015 period. By choosing Yuni Satia Rahayu as her running mate, this pair was determined as the winner with 35.18 percent of the votes. These two pairs have been favored from the start because they are supported by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), the National Mandate Party (PAN), and Gerindra, which is the party with the largest mass base in Sleman when combined.

Sri Purnomo's victory in the 2010 Regional Head Election is closely related to what happened during his first term as deputy regent. His name became popular among the public when in 2009, he replaced Ibnu Subiyanto as Regent of Sleman, who was involved in a corruption scandal. As is known, in 2009, Ibnu Subiyanto was temporarily dismissed by the Minister of Home Affairs because he was accused of being involved in a corruption case that harmed the state's finances of IDR 12 billion for agreeing to procure elementary to high school textbooks with a direct appointment system, without auction, to PT. Balai Pustaka ([detikNews, 2009](#)). By taking advantage of this situation, Sri Purnomo increasingly stole the public's attention with his status as a substitute for the "impromptu." As a result, his name became increasingly soaring, and the Ibn corruption case filled the local mass media.

In this first period, Sri Purnomo continued his duties as Regent with several achievements, including being the district with the highest Human Development Index (HDI) among all regencies in Indonesia with a value of 79.39 points in 2012. The increase in Sleman's GDP also continues ([BPS-Statistics of Sleman Regency, 2012](#)). Besides, in 2012, Sleman was able to produce a surplus of up to 80 tons of rice during spatial and regional planning problems in the district ([Pemerintah Kabupaten Sleman, 2019](#)).

However, Sri Purnomo's leadership was also not free from problems and criticisms. Based on data from BPS Sleman, the Sleman government still needs to improve in reducing the poverty rate, which is still 13.89 percent of the total number of heads of families (KK). A total of 45,037 heads of families are still in the poor category ([BPS-Statistics of Sleman Regency, 2012](#)). With this number, social inequality in Sleman is increasing, as evidenced by the Gini Index, which is around 0.44 in 2012 ([BPS-Statistics of Sleman Regency, 2012](#)). The unemployment rate is also relatively high at around 6.47 percent.

In addition, during the first period, many productive agricultural lands have been converted. At that time, many agricultural lands were turned into settlements. Agricultural land is also the location of buildings with certain heights, even though Sleman does not yet have clear rules regarding these buildings ([Astuti & Lukito, 2020](#)). The Sleman Regency Government ignores the Spatial and Regional Planning (RTRW) regulations in carrying out development. In other words, the preparation of the City Spatial Detail Plan (RDTRK) in Sleman is not going well.

The Sleman Regency Government, Sri Purnomo, also tried to answer these criticisms. Several steps have been taken, such as tightening the supervision over the conversion of agricultural land to the function. One of Sri Purnomo's popular policies among the public and academics is the moratorium policy on granting hotel construction permits through Regent Regulation No. 63/2015 concerning the moratorium on the establishment of hotels, apartments, and condotel. Various groups positively welcomed the policy because it was considered capable of stopping the chaotic pace of development of land conversion.

3.4. Sri Purnomo in Period II: Mighty as Incumbent

Sri Purnomo was re-elected as Regent in the 2015 direct Regional Head Election. This time he is partnered with Sri Muslimatun, a Sleman Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). The victory of the Sri Purnomo-Sri Muslimatun pair was also based on 297,267 votes. With these results, Sri Purnomo-Sri Muslimatun won by around 23.42 percent of their opposing pair, Yuni Satia Rahayu, and Danang Wicaksana Sulistya, who only got 227,633 votes. Period II: Mighty as Incumbent ([Media Center Sleman, 2015](#)).

Sri Purnomo's second victory in the 2015 Regional Head Election as Sleman regent is, of course, related to him as the incumbent. As the incumbent, he has more popularity than any other candidate. Sri Purnomo uses this social capital to reclaim his victory. In addition, this victory is also closely related to several policies that he did during his leadership in the first period. It is undeniable that several policies, especially in the investment sector, increased significantly in the second period. As a result, the Sleman Regional Original Revenue (PAD) in 2019 met the target previously set by the Sleman Regional Financial and Asset Management Agency (BPKAD). Even the achievement of PAD managed to exceed the target, which reached 105% or around IDR950 billion ([BPS-Statistics of Sleman Regency, 2019](#)).

In this second period, several achievements were made under his leadership, such as winning second place for the Best Smart Governance group in the 2018 Indonesia Smart Nation Award (ISNA) from City Asia. The award was handed over directly by the Minister of Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia to the Head of the Communications and Information Office of Sleman Regency ([Pemerintah Kabupaten Sleman, 2019](#)). In addition, in the second period of his leadership, Sleman was one of six districts with community-based total sanitation ([Pemerintah Kabupaten Sleman, 2019](#)).

However, the problem of spatial planning is still unfinished work. Sleman Regency, an area of Yogyakarta City, causes more and more people to live in Sleman Regency. With the increasing population in Sleman Regency, land conversion is becoming more and more irregular. This uncontrolled land conversion has an impact on increasing environmental damage in Sleman. The Department of Agriculture, Food, and Fisheries [DP3] Sleman estimate that rice fields are reduced by around 50 hectares every year ([Setiawan, 2021](#)). This condition occurs because many rice fields have been converted into buildings. Of that amount, the most agricultural land conversion is in the Sleman area. Many agricultural lands have been turned into places of business, housing, and settlements. This problem still cannot be anticipated, so that more serious ecosystem damage, one of which is regarding the decreasing absorption area, is increasingly prevalent in Sleman.

3.5. Kustini Sri Purnomo's Era: The Relay of Sri Purnomo's Leadership

Kustini Sri Purnomo nominates Sleman Regent by cooperating with Danang Maharsa as his candidate for deputy regent. Danang Maharsa is a Sleman DPRD from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) faction. This pair is supported by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), the National Mandate Party (PAN), and the Democratic Party. In her candidacy, Kustini stepped up very optimistically as the incumbent's wife to win the 2020 Sleman Regional Head Election, held simultaneously on December 9. He said he was optimistic about winning because he felt supported by the big parties that have 15 seats in parliament.

In the 2020 Sleman elections, there are three pairs of candidates for Regent and deputy regent. The first pair of candidates is Danang Wicaksana-Agus Choliq, promoted by three political parties, namely Gerindra, The National Awakening Party (PKB), and The United Development Party (PPP). Danang Wicaksana is a Gerindra cadre, while Agus Choliq is the Chair of the Branch Leadership Council of The National Awakening Party (PKB) Sleman. The second candidate pair is Sri Muslimatun-Amin Purnama, supported by Golkar, the National Democratic Party, and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Sri Muslimatun himself was the incumbent Deputy Regent of

Sleman at that time. While in the last serial number, the third number is inhabited by the Kustini-Danang candidate pair. So overall, the 2020 Sleman Regional Head Election was attended by three pairs of candidates.

Based on the results of the vote recapitulation of the Sleman Regional General Election Commission, the Kustini-Danang pair were far ahead of the other two candidate pairs, Danang Wicaksana-Agus Choliq and Sri Muslimatun-Amin Purnama. Kustini-Danang bagged a total of 217,921 votes. The other two couples, Danang Wicaksana-Agus Choliq, only received 171,083 votes, and Sri Muslimatun-Amin Purnama received 177,588 votes (KPU Kabupaten Sleman, 2021).

Kustini-Danang's victory in the 2020 Sleman Regional Head Election certainly implies many meanings. Some think that this phenomenon shows that the quality of democracy in Sleman has been tarnished by local strongmen, who then build a political regime. Some suspect that this shows the saturation of the people in the political process so that they do not care who will be their leader. However, some think that the community sees Sleman progressing under Sri Purnomo so that they are trusted to continue the leadership relay in the area through his wife.

Kustini Sri Purnomo, in her nomination process, cannot be denied automatically inheriting Sri Purnomo's power. As an incumbent's wife, her husband's political opportunities are wide open provided by her husband. Social and political capital as the initial capital for a candidate for Regent has been pocketed automatically. It is because Sri Purnomo's dominance in the sphere of political and social life in Sleman is very strong. In the 2020 Regional Head Election in Sleman, Kustini Sri Purnomo and Danang Maharsa came out as winners with relative ease with various accompanying capital.

With Kustini-Danang's victory, the political kinship process is taking place in Sleman. Kustini Sri Purnomo's victory cannot be separated from Sri Purnomo's role as a leader in Sleman for two terms as Regent and one term as Deputy Regent. Sri Purnomo in the 2020 Sleman Regional Head Election can be said to have played nicely behind the scenes as a puppeteer or director. A strong and solidly consolidated network made Kustini's win quite easy. In an interview, the head of the Kustini-Danang winning team, Raudi Akmal, stated that Sri Purnomo's role in combining the voices of Muhammadiyah sympathizers who tended to be Islamic and PDI-P, which was more nationalist, significantly boosted the pair's vote acquisition.

3.6. The Politics of Kinship of the Sri Purnomo Regime: Local Strongmen and Prosperity of Patron-Client Relations

Kustini's victory could not be separated from the intervention of Sri Purnomo as the incumbent as well as the local elite. The closeness between Kustini and the incumbent (as husband and wife) opened a broader network to several other local elites to penetrate their influence and hegemony to the grassroots and try to get more votes in the Regional Head Election. These local elites include, among others, technocrats (civil servants and council members), religious figures, especially those from Muhammadiyah, nationalists, especially from the cadres of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) and the National Mandate Party (PAN), intellectuals, and several elite community leaders who have had close ties with Sri Purnomo and Kustini since 2005. Of course, penetration has not been instantaneous. It has occurred since 2005 and is getting stronger. Sri Purnomo has a large social capital and is well known at the root level grass through various organizations and institutions that they chair, such as the youth chairman of the Muhammadiyah mosque in Sleman, the leader of the cooperative, to the chairman of the Regency Narcotics Agency (BNK).

In economic sociology, this victory can also be seen from patron-client relations (Scott, 1972), which will usually be strengthened into a political network. The relationship is also an excellent opportunity to close the circulation of power outside their circle and make power only revolves in one family environment.

Local strongmen are the incarnations of local elites who have significant resources, thus making them superior figures (Solissa, 2016). The local strongmen, in this case, came from a local elite transformation, where Sri Purnomo started as a member of a social and religious organization (Muhammadiyah) turned into an elite at the government level by becoming a Deputy Regent in 2005. The process of Sri Purnomo's presence as a local strongman shows a condition where the state (in this case, the local government) is in a weak state. From this situation, Sri Purnomo emerged as a local elite who had superior power.

Sri Purnomo is a person who meets the criteria of local strongmen. He is a strong figure from a political background or social capital. Before being elected as deputy regent and Regent of Sleman for the first time, Sri Purno was a person who liked to organize. One of them is that he is active in the Regional Leadership (PD) of Muhammadiyah Sleman and became its leader in the 2005-2010 era. It was through Muhammadiyah that later brought into the world of politics by becoming one of the central figures who took part in initiating the birth of the Sleman National Mandate Party (PAN).

In addition to the socio-religious field, Sri Purnomo also initiated the formation of the Sharia Economic Community (MES). MES aims to accommodate Islamic or Islamic economic activities and be the parent of various Islamic banking institutions such as Islamic Banks and Sharia Rural Banks. In addition, it is also the parent of Islamic insurance institutions (Pemerintah Kabupaten Sleman, n.d.). As the initiator, of course, Sri Purnomo is also active in being a high-ranking official in the Sharia Economic Community (MES). It is recorded that he served as a supervisor in two Sharia Rural Banks Syariah, namely: Mitra Amal Mulia and Sharia Rural Banks Formes. In addition to Islamic economics, Sri Purnomo also spread his wings as Chairman of the Sleman Regency Narcotics Agency (BNK) to become the Sleman nursing home association coach.

From Sri Purnomo's journey above, his instrument of control over the local government was obtained through two sources. The first is the formal resources obtained from his position as a government official. The second is the informal resources obtained through his network in society that was formed long before entering the world of government. By consolidating the two existing resources, Sri Purnomo can maintain the hegemony of his power to date, as evidenced by the successful relay of political power to his wife.

Sri Purnomo transformed into local strongmen who ultimately put himself in the position of a patron. Patrons emerged as individuals who had advantages in wealth, status, and influence (Armunanto, 2017). On the other hand, the client is present as a member of the community who does not have the resources of a patron. In patron-client relationships, inequality is different from the concept of imbalance because the exchange of goods and services provided is not always the same as what is received (Wiguna & Khoirunurrofik, 2021). Therefore, the relationship in this context can be interpreted as a relationship based on an exchange of interests.

As explained above, Sri Purnomo has a Muhammadiyah mass base, one of the largest mass bases in Sleman. In addition, as the leader of various social and economic institutions, both formal and informal, he came out as a respected figure by other local elites. In maintaining his hegemony, Sri Purnomo certainly did not forget to embrace these elites to become political machines to a wider level. Based on the power map owned by Sri Purnomo, it is dominated by the role of the power network that occludes starting from the layers of community leaders, religious leaders, businessmen, bureaucrats, culturalists, Muhammadiyah cadres, PAN, and several PDIP figures.

The votes that Sri Purnomo got, of course, are the influence of the support of various elite groups, each of which has its potential. Sri Purnomo combined and mobilized the mass base of Muhammadiyah and PDIP sympathizers, which had quite different backgrounds.

Furthermore, by becoming a local strongman, Sri Purnomo built a strong network in Sleman. Then with his position as a patron, Sri Purnomo was able to gain support from various local elites ranging from Muhammadiyah Islamic figures and political elites from the PDIP and PAN who became his "clients." It was the support of these local elites who then gained significant votes as long as he participated in the regional head election. Thus, the key to his victory in the regional head election, if summarized, is that he can garner support from various political forces in society in the form of mass or vote power, capital power, and power with technocratic instruments.

4. Conclusion

As explained above, Sri Purnomo has a Muhammadiyah mass base, one of the largest mass bases in Sleman. In addition, as the leader of various social and economic institutions, both formal and informal, he came out as a respected figure by other local elites. In maintaining his hegemony, Sri Purnomo certainly did not forget to embrace these elites to become political machines to a broader level. Based on the power map owned by Sri Purnomo, it is dominated by the role of the power network that occludes starting from the layers of community leaders, religious leaders, businessmen, bureaucrats, culturalists, Muhammadiyah cadres, PAN, and several PDIP figures.

The votes that Sri Purnomo got, of course, are the influence of the support of various elite groups, each of which has its potential. Sri Purnomo combined and mobilized the mass base of Muhammadiyah and PDIP sympathizers, which had quite different backgrounds.

Furthermore, by becoming a local strongman, Sri Purnomo built a strong network in Sleman. Then with his position as a patron, Sri Purnomo was able to gain support from various local elites ranging from Muhammadiyah Islamic figures and political elites from the PDIP and PAN who became his "clients." It was the support of these local elites who then gained significant votes as long as he participated in the regional head election. Thus, the key to his victory in the regional head election, if summarized, is that he can garner support from various political forces in society in the form of mass or vote power, capital power, and power with technocratic instruments.

Acknowledgments

Praise and gratitude the researchers pray to God Almighty when all His grace and gifts have given health and opportunities to researchers so that the journal entitled "THE ORIGIN OF KINSHIP POLITICS IN 2020 REGIONAL ELECTIONS IN SLEMAN REGENCY" can be well prepared. On this occasion, the researcher also expresses his gratitude to Managers of the Jurnal Bina Praja, reviewers, informants in Sleman Regency, and those who helped researchers write this article.

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