RESEARCH ARTICLE

The 2024 General Elections in Indonesia: Issues of Political Dynasties, Electoral Fraud, and The Emergence of A National Protest Movements

M. Miftahul Hidayat

Abstract: This research aims to explain the phenomenon of political dynasties, electoral fraud, and protest movements during the 2024 General Elections in Indonesia. By using a qualitative descriptive method, this research focuses on aspects related to the main factors of the emergence of political dynasties, electoral fraud, and protest movements in the 2024 election based on secondary data obtained from online news sources. Data collection process was carried out through reading the news articles using the keywords “political dynasties”, “electoral fraud”, “protest movements”, and “2024 General Elections”. Data analysis was conducted through content analysis of news texts to obtain accurate data, descriptive insights and thematically explore the data inductively. The findings in this study show that the issues of political dynasties, electoral fraud, and the national protest movements in the 2024 General Elections are a series of interconnected phenomena. In addition, this study also recommends further research on the importance of understanding public perceptions of political dynasties, the issue of electoral fraud, and protest actions against active voters in the 2024 General Elections using an empirical approach.

Keywords: Political dynasties, Electoral fraud, Protest actions, the 2024 general elections, Indonesia.

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1. Introduction

In the 2024 General Elections in Indonesia, society faces various challenges reflecting complex political dynamics. One prominent issue is political dynasties, in which high ranking officials family members gain significant positions in government. As highlighted by Baker (2023) that during 2023, Jokowi has supported his family dynasty by promoting his sons’ political careers. This phenomenon has ignited intense political discussion as it is considered contrary to the principles of meritocracy and fair democracy. In the Indonesian political context, political dynasties not only threatens the principle of equal opportunity, but also raises concerns regarding the potential for abuse of power and the strengthening of oligarchy. While voting has not has not yet taken place, allegations and issues of electoral fraud have intensified with the release of the film “Dirty Vote” featuring three constitutional law experts, namely Zainal Mochtar Arifin, Bivitri Susanti, and Feri Amsari. This shows the public unease regarding the conduct of elections that are coloured by conflicts of interest and potential fraud.

The issue of electoral fraud has become a major concern leading up to the 2024 elections. This is based on various reports of vote manipulation, voter intimidation, and use of campaign funds lacking transparency appeared across various online media sources. Consequently, this has undermined public trust in the democratic process. Supporting this observation, Siregar (2023) illustrates that Gibran Rakabuming Raka’s candidacy went through contentious process culminating in his vice presidential candidacy alongside with Prabowo Subianto, a decision by Constitutional Court considered as fraught with conflicts of interest. In addition, the attitude and behaviour of Joko Widodo as the President of the Republic of Indonesia and some of his ministers openly intervening in one of the candidates also became one of the debates (Nugraheny & Asril, 2023; Pitaloka, 2024). In response, various civil society reactions have emerged, such as the hijacking of the constitutional court and the emergence of an election fraud conspiracy that prompted the option of impeaching the President. This was followed by the emergence of a nationwide protest movement by students, professors, and civil society that occurred in various regions in Indonesia, which became an important phenomenon and showed deep unrest among the people. Online news media have played an important role in informing and framing this issue to the public, making it even more relevant for in-depth analysis.

Previous research studies have extensively responded to the state of democracy under Jokowi’s leadership. Research that discusses the 2024 elections in Indonesia focuses on aspects related to the failure of parties in cadre development and proliferation of political dynasties in Indonesia (Simandjuntak, 2021), and a study that examines the phenomenon of the political dynasty of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) in Solo City, in the context of this study shows that there is a high possibility of the re-emergence of the issue of political dynasties in the 2024 presidential election (Harini, 2024), as well as political binarism ahead of the 2024 elections in Indonesia (Simandjuntak, 2024). Furthermore, several studies have also discussed the decline of democracy, particularly leading up to Indonesia’s 2024 elections due to criminalization among political opponents during the nomination process, weak commitment to fighting corruption, declining judicial activism and the collapse of the national protest movement (Baker, 2023). These studies collectively show that the emergence of political dynasties, and the decline of democracy ahead of the 2024 elections are based on highly complex political dynamics.

In understanding the phenomena of political dynasties, electoral fraud and the emergence of a national protest movements in Indonesia, it is important to explore the role of the media in shaping political dynamics. Similarly, Susan and Jeffrey (2005, p. 4) underline the importance of examining the role of the media in elections to determine
people’s views on the political system (Banducci & Karp, 2003). Therefore, this study aims to overcome the limitations of previous research by analysing the phenomena of political dynasties, election fraud, and the emergence of a national protest movements in Indonesia through online news media.

This study aims to answer two main questions: (1) How do online news media frame and report the phenomenon of political dynasties in Indonesia? (2) What are the forms and patterns of online news media reporting on the issue of election fraud in Indonesia, and what are their impacts on public trust in the electoral process? This study argues that the allegations of political dynasties and the issue of election fraud are the main factors underlying the emergence of a national protest movements that spread in online news media and shaped political anxiety in the 2024 elections. This assertion is based on the argument that the issue of election fraud can affect people’s trust in elections, tend not to accept election results, and decrease trust in state institutions (Albertson & Guiler, 2020).

2. Literature review

2.1. Political dynasties in Indonesia

Political dynasties in Indonesia is a phenomenon that has increasingly become prominent over the past few decades, particularly in the post-reform era. Edward (Aspinall, 2013) defines that political dynasties as a situation where political positions are held by members of the same family, creating a system of political power that is passed down through generations (Aspinall, 2013). This suggests that political dynasties involve using family connections to maintain and expand power. This phenomenon is evident in many parts of Indonesia, including Solo, where children, siblings and close relatives of high-ranking officials often run for and are elected to important government positions. Simandjuntak (2021) adds that dynastic politics in Solo demonstrate the existence of specific family power that can dominate local politics (Galuh Larasati et al., 2023; Simandjuntak, 2021, 2024). This certainly allows the structure formation of political binarism or power that is centred on several main families. This is in line with Schedler's (2002) view that family networks are useful for politicians to form a “menu of manipulation” (Schedler, 2002). This may include vote-buying (money politics), misuse of financial resources and state infrastructure, politicization of state institutions involving the mobilization of state apparatus.

The impacts of political dynasties are on the structure and dynamics of politics in Indonesia. Political dynasties are often criticized for contradicting the principle of meritocracy and equal opportunity, where individuals should ideally be elected based on achievement and competence rather than family relationship. Political dynasties can also influence policy-making, as family interests are often prioritized over public interests. Research by Ambardi (2009) indicates that political dynasties can reduce accountability and transparency due to officials elected from family networks tend to be more loyal to their families than to their constituents (Ambardi, 2009). The rise of political dynasties at the subnational level in consolidating democracy is primarily due to the ability of incumbent dynasty politicians to create an “unfair playing field” by exploiting their family networks and material wealth to help their family members win position. Moreover, unlike political dynasties in advanced democracies that rely on family name recognition, the preservation of political power by dynasty politicians in consolidating democracy, however, relies more on material wealth to win elections (Dal Bó et al., 2009).

2.2. Electoral fraud conspiracy

Electoral fraud has a serious threat to the integrity of the democratic process in Indonesia. Various forms of alleged electoral fraud such as vote manipulation, voter
intimidation, misuse of campaign funds, and abuse of power by incumbent officials. According to Luky Djani and Philips Vermonte (2014), the practice of electoral fraud and electoral manipulation is a common occurrence in various countries, including Indonesia. It is often carried out in a systematic and organized manner, involving various political actors and state institutions (Djani & Vermonte, 2014). In this context, electoral fraud occurs not only at the local level but also at the national level, and involves the use of information technology to manipulate voter data and election results. Online media have become the primarily platform for reporting and exposing this electoral fraud, with numerous investigative reports revealing the modus operandi and its impact on public trust (Alvarez et al., 2009; Marsaban & Said, 2023; Santoso et al., 2023). Therefore, electoral fraud not only undermines the legitimacy of election results, but also reduces voter participation due to increased distrust of the political system.

According to Bethany Albertson et al., (2020), perceptions of a manipulated system significantly influence political attitudes, although people tend to accept such claims when fraud will disadvantage their preferred candidates (Albertson & Guiler, 2020). However, the issue of election fraud is more than just partisan support. This is due to conspiracy theories regarding the election fraud that emerges in a democratic party is heavily influenced by news consumption. Studies on election fraud in Indonesia also show that the media has a dual role, both as a watchdogs and as shapers of public opinion. Online media can help uncover fraud and hold perpetrators accountable, but they can also serve as vehicles for disseminating false or biased information that influences public perception. Research by Banducci and Karp (2003) shows that intensive media coverage of electoral fraud can increase public awareness and anxiety which in turn fuels protest movements and demands for reform (Banducci & Karp, 2003). According to Baker (2021), analyzing how online news media cover and frame the issue of electoral fraud is crucial to understanding the political dynamics in Indonesia and for efforts to strengthen democracy.

2.3. National protest movements

In every election, there are winners and losers. However, the emergence of issues regarding electoral fraud and various problems in power transition often creates conflict. Several previous studies indicate that the factors contributing to creating electoral disputes are widespread electoral fraud (Alvarez et al., 2009; Daxecker, 2012; Fjelde & Höglund, 2016). Moreover, in many countries, electoral fraud is often reported as one of the major drivers of protests, both before and after elections (Fernando et al., 2024). As Schedler (2009) argues, fraudulent elections can serve as a starting point for collective action, facilitating coordination and enabling dissatisfaction with the electoral mobilisation system. This suggests a tension between the principle and practice of popular consent to an electoral regime that is apparent to the public. In a sense, the possible institutional and practical gap is arguably greatest when voter consent is blatantly, widely and openly violated, such as in elections marked by rampant intimidation and fraud. Therefore, according to Mares Isabela and Lauren Young (2016), it is reasonable that people who witness electoral fraud are more likely to express their dissatisfaction through protests and participation in collective action (Mares & Young, 2016).

In addition, the national protest movements that frequently occur after elections in various countries indicate deep-seated unrest among the people. Dissatisfaction with unfair election results and controversial government policies are often the main triggers for protest movements. Online media plays an important role in disseminating information regarding protest movements, whether through direct reports, opinion articles, or the use of social media. As according to Andrianti (2015), news spread through online media often covers
issues related to politics, which shows the process of communication and dissemination in online media coverage (Andrianti, 2015).

3. Method

This study investigates the decline of democracy in the context emerging ahead of the 2024 elections in Indonesia, including political anxiety and voter enthusiasm with engagement in learning more regarding political reality. The main objective is to provide a descriptive and reflective analysis of the phenomenon of a national protest movement criticizing the government during the 2024 elections through online news media coverage. Therefore, we use online news media as a source in analyzing the continuity of pro-democracy civil society efforts to maintain a fair and honest democracy in the upcoming 2024 elections. This study is based on several main premises. First, the phenomenon of political dynasties in the 2024 elections is a very important and unexamined issue that requires comprehensive analysis. Secondly, the intensifying issue of electoral fraud in the 2024 elections in Indonesia, which has caused a significant number of academics, students and civil society to criticize and submit petitions to the government to remain in the ethical and moral corridor (neutral) of politics ahead of the 2024 elections. This indicates a problem that needs to be critically examined to reveal the reasons underlying reasons. Third, the emergence of protest movements before and after elections is a complex phenomenon that requires careful study. Thus, based on these considerations and foundations, the research will provide a descriptive, critical and reflective analysis of the phenomena that occurred during the 2024 elections in Indonesia.

This study uses descriptive qualitative research method, referring both primary and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained based on quotations from descriptions contained in an online news text. A total of 500 hundred online news articles were obtained using the keywords “political dynasty”, “election fraud”, “protest movement”, and “2024 election”. The process of collecting data and reading online news texts started from January 1st, 2024 to February 29th, 2024. In addition, the process of selecting and reading online news was carried out by focusing on titles related to the research topic. Based on the analysis of online news texts, the author obtained several classifications that are the main factors in the phenomenon of political dynasties, electoral fraud, and protest movements in the 2024 elections in Indonesia.

The data analysis was carried out in several stages, following the explanation from Sugiyono (2013). First, data collection. In this process the author collects data from online news media systematically. Second, data reduction. The collected data later classified or categorization stage based on the research themes, namely political dynasties, electoral fraud, and national protest movements. Articles irrelevant to the research topic were removed. This step ensures the research remain focused on the discussion topic. Third, data presentation. The reduced data were systematically presented to facilitate interpretation and further analysis. Fourth, verification. The validity and reliability of the findings were re-examined to ensure the accuracy. Fifth, conclusion. The researchers drew conclusions based on the data analysis, summarizing the findings and linking them back to the research objectives (Sugiyono, 2013). By following these steps, researchers can produce more structured and reliable data analysis, supporting the findings and contributing to a better understanding of the research topics.
4. Result

The 2024 general election in Indonesia represents a democratic festival that becomes a crucial momentum for the power transition held every five years. While elections are understood to be a democratic process that illustrates the opportunity for every Indonesian to become a leader. However, this study shows the opposite fact that the elections held on February 14th, 2024 have not been able to produce good elite circulation. This can be explained through various issues and information regarding allegations of political dynasties and electoral fraud that ultimately triggered protest movements in the 2024 elections.

4.1. Political dynasties in the era of Joko Widodo’s leadership

Political dynasties in Indonesia have strengthened in the lead-up to the 2024 elections. This strengthening is characterized by the advancement of Gibran Rakabuming Raka’s candidacy as vice-presidential running partner of Prabowo Subianto, following a controversial decision by the Constitutional Court. In addition, there are several individuals registered as candidates for the House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR) who have familial ties within both local and national government (see Table 1).

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<tr>
<th>Online News</th>
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<tr>
<td>BBC News Indonesia</td>
<td>The 2024 Election: Young voters, political dynasties, and potential polarization – Key points to know.</td>
<td>The potential for abuse of power, the undermining of the democratic system, and the flourishing threat of political dynasties will colour the 2024 Presidential Election (Pilpres), in response to the Constitutional Court’s decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates (B. N. Indonesia, 2023).</td>
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<td>Detik News</td>
<td>26% of East Java Youth Accept Political Dynasties in the 2024 Presidential Election, while 33% Reject It.</td>
<td>Political dynasties remains a prominent issue leading up to the 2024 General Elections. This is related to Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the eldest son of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) who finally ran as vice-presidential candidate alongside Prabowo Subianto after the constitutional challenge regarding the age requirement for presidential and vice-</td>
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presidential candidates was granted by the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, who is also Jokowi's brother-in-law (Widiyana, 2023).

The 2024 General Elections will be marked by political dynasties. Joint research between Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) and Tempo found that approximately 150 individuals on the provisional list of candidates for members of the regional representative at the provincial, district, and city levels have familial relationships (Tempo, 2023).

Kompas

Dynamics Leading to the 2024 Presidential Election: the Phenomenon of Political Dynasties in Political Parties to Jokowi’s History in 2014.

The phenomenon of parties leaning towards political dynasties represents power held by a few of individuals, while the emergence of non-party elites highlights the parties’ struggle with cadre development and leadership regeneration (Zuhad, 2021).

CNN Indonesia

The Variety of Public Survey on the Issue of Political Dynasties.

The survey institutions conducted research to record the public’s response regarding the issue of political dynasties in the 2024 General Election. Based on the results of a survey conducted by Charta Politika on 26th-31st October, 2023, 59.3% expressed disagreement with the practice of political dynasties (C. Indonesia, 2023).

Source: Online news.

Table 1 shows that there are allegations of political dynasties in the 2024 General Elections. The table includes three trends that emerge in the context of these allegations: First, based on the decision of the Constitutional Court regarding the nomination requirements and age limits for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Second, political dynasties came into the spotlight when Gibran Rakabuming Raka successfully ran as Prabowo Subianto’s vice president. Third, kinship relations have begun to strengthen in the government system, both at the local and national levels.

The age when a person is constitutionally does not qualify to run for vice-president is another matter that has attracted significant attention. Given the candidacy of 36-year-old Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the Constitutional Court controversially ruled on October 16th to remove the age limit for candidates and replace it with the requirement that they must have been elected and have served in local government. In addition, Gibran’s uncle, Anwar Usman, the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, had agreed to the lawsuit regarding the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. As a result, Gibran was declared as Prabowo Subianto’s vice presidential candidate by the Advanced Indonesia Coalition (Koalisi Indonesia Maju/KIM). However, based on the decision of the Constitutional Court’s decision, Anwar Usman was found to have violated serious ethical codes (Victorio Mantalean & Farisa, 2023).

In several contexts, the question arises as to why Jokowi dared to make the decision to establish a political dynasty? Nevertheless, Jokowi’s image as a reformist in his first term and as an ethical politician could damage his reputation in the history of leadership in Indonesia. This is undeniable, considering in his second term, Jokowi often took actions that were far from his initial ideas and aspirations when he ran in 2014 and his second term in 2019 (Saputra, 2023). Leading up to the 2024 General Election, his efforts to build a political
dynasty became even more apparent after he paved the way for his son to become Prabowo Subianto’s vice-president. This is in line with Greg’s statement that during the last year of Jokowi’s leadership in his second term, he has shown his tendency towards dynasty (Fealy, 2020). In other words, the political dynasty he is currently building has become a boomerang for Jokowi, affecting state institutions, ministers, and civil society. In a recent survey, 61% of voters in Indonesia expressed disapproval of political dynasties, and 58% desired legislation to prevent family members of incumbent from running for public office (Times, 2020).

The president’s priorities for the next government have been evident as his efforts to establish his family dynasty succeed. Gibran Rakabuming Raka and Kaesang Pangarep. Jokowi’s son, Gibran, had previously succeeded in occupying his father’s old seat as Mayor of Surakarta, faced no competitors from PDIP Party in his candidacy. In addition, Kaesang Pangarep became the chairman of Indonesian Solidarity Party (Partai Solidaritas Indonesia/PSI) which was elected shortly after joining the party. According to Baker (2023), Kaesang’s takeover of PSI was ultimately an opportunity for Jokowi to advance his interests in the political system. Therefore, the issue of the important role played by Jokowi in ensuring Gibran’s vice-presidential candidacy alongside Prabowo Subiato is clearly evident, with the support of the president’s blessing, and pushing his son Kaesang to become PSI chairman not coming as a surprise. This perspective is as in reports by Bisnis.com media which states that:

“Gibran’s declaration cannot be separated from the actions of his father, President Jokowi. There were rumors that Jokowi played a role in the effort to unite Prabowo with Gibran. Moreover, the momentum of the declaration also occurred after Jokowi returned from his visit from China and Saudi Arabia” (Suwiknyo & Wahyudi, 2023).

Although this has begun to become evident in mid-2020, when 33-year-old Gibran Rakabuming Raka in Surakarta and Bobby ran for Mayor of Medan in the regional head election (Pilkada). Both Gibran Rakabuming Raka and Bobby were previously successful entrepreneurs. Gibran, who owns a medium-scale catering company and owns a chain of pancake (martabak) stores, and Bobby, who worked as a marketing director in a real estate company. Therefore, no one expected that both of them would run for state officials. On the other hand, the reality that shows the inconsistency of Jokowi’s statement regarding his son who is not interested in politics, and instead focusing on their established bussiness (Firmansyah, 2018). This was surprising to Jokowi’s reformist-minded supporters. Although Gibran and Bobby were perceived to be running on their own initiative, the palace stated that both had the right as citizens. However, President Jokowi’s influence during the struggle for recommendations from DPP PDIP between Purnomo and Gibran Rakabuming Raka in the 2020 Solo City mayoral election (Pilwakot) cannot be denied, leading Purnomo to withdraw from Solo mayoral election. This indicates the political pressure from the centre (Fealy, 2020; Retaduari, 2020).

4.2. The emergence of electoral fraud

Political dynasties represent a power that held by several individuals or groups. Hence, it is not surprising that issues of electoral fraud become an important concern leading up to the General Elections. This is due to the emergence of political dynasties affects public trust in the democratic process. Abuse of power, vote manipulation, money politics and various kinds of violations are considered to be sources of fraud in the 2024 General Elections. This can be observed in Table 2.
Tabel 2. Online news articles on 2024 electoral fraud

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<tr>
<td>Kompas</td>
<td>Drone Emprit reports that electoral fraud issues still widely discussed post-election.</td>
<td>Since the voting day on February 14th until a week after, on February 23rd, the trend of conversations and news regarding electoral fraud issues still high. These fraud issues are divided into two categories, those occuring before and after the election day (Nugraheny &amp; Movanita, 2024).</td>
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<td>Sindonews</td>
<td>5 Alleged Forms of Fraud in the 2024 General Election.</td>
<td>There are several forms of fraud that are suspected to occur in the 2024 general elections, ranging from pre-marked ballots, missing ballots, bringing pre-marked ballots to polling stations, criminal violations in Aceh, and widespread of money politics (R. Darmawan, 2024).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kompas</td>
<td>Kontras Discovers 310 Alleged Electoral Fraud, Involving the Officials.</td>
<td>In general, we found a total of 310 incidents of alleged electoral fraud, including violations of neutrality, vote manipulation, use of state facilities by candidates, money politics and other forms of fraud (Wiryono &amp; Ihsanuddin, 2024).</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC News Indonesia</td>
<td>Alleged of electoral fraud in the 2024 general elections called 'more severe' - What types of violations occur on voting day.</td>
<td>The monitoring by DEEP (Democracy and Electoral Empowerment Partnership) Indonesia in seven provinces found numerous logistical issues with ballot papers, including pre-marked, swapped and missing ballots. There were also reports of unsealed ballot boxes, late voting starts and polling stations that were not accessible to people with disabilities (B. N. Indonesia, 2024b).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tempo</td>
<td>Various Modes of Electoral Fraud.</td>
<td>Other electoral violations included the neutrality of state officials, law enforcement, and village governments. The coalition found instances that there was a mode of politicians to support certain candidates. For example, village heads were mobilized to support a particular presidential candidate. This mobilization of village heads was carried out by a number of associations of village heads who were members of Desa Bersatu (Tempo, 2024).</td>
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Source: Online news.

Table 2 presents various information related to the 2024 electoral fraud. From this table, there are two important points that arise in the context of 2024 electoral fraud, including; First, the issue of electoral fraud before and after the 2024 general election is characterized by violations related to the neutrality of state officials, law enforcement, and village governments. Second, the issue of electoral fraud after voting is characterized by various findings that indicate fraud, such as vote manipulation, missing, swapped, and pre-marked ballots, as well as the widespread of money politics. Despite the combining presidential and legislative elections on one day has become the world’s largest democratic party and has the financial and logistical advantages of combining elections, however, observers argue that simultaneous elections dampen regional policy debates. They also face difficulties in exposing electoral fraud and adversely affect the process of presidentialization process in Indonesian elections.

Despite this context, during the campaign process, various issues attracted public attention. This is mainly related to President Jokowi’s attitude in welcoming the political contestation followed by his son. Jokowi made controversial statements during the election.
process, such as allowing state officials and civil servants (ASN) to take sides with one of the candidates (Intan, 2024). This was revealed during his joint appearances with Defence Minister, Prabowo Subianto, who is also presidential candidate 02. Jokowi’s statement in this case certainly created a lot of debate among academics. Bivitri Susanti, for example, criticized Jokowi’s statement regarding the permissibility of the president and ministers siding with one of the candidates (Ahsan, 2024b). However, the context of the position attached to Jokowi and his ministers cannot detach themselves from state facilities unless they are out of office or on leave.

Therefore, Jokowi’s previous statements have created issues of fraud that spread in online media. One such instance includes evidence suggesting the use of state facilities with the emergence of the National Declaration of the United Villages (Deklarasi Nasional Desa Bersatu), which introduced Gibran Rakabuming Raka as vice-presidential candidate (Nugroho, 2023). Although the reason for the activity was mentioned as an effort to build communication and convey the aspirations of the village towards all presidential and vice-presidential candidates, it was proven to have violated Law Number 6/2014 concerning Villages. This was determined by the Coordinator of the Dispute Resolution Division of DKI Jakarta Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), who decided to commit an election violation (Taufan, 2024). In this context, it can be observed that both the president, ministers or other state officials who use state facilities during elections have their own advantages for one of the candidates. This was experienced by Prabowo-Gibran candidate who continued to receive support from various state officials who had the power to mobilize masses of supporters. One example is the support of three East Java governors, namely the 1998-2008 Governor Imam Utomo, the 2009-2019 Governor Soekarwo, and the 2019-to-present Governor Khofifah Indar Parawansa. Despite two of them having retired, but what attracts attention is drawn to Governor Khofifah Indar Parawansa, who is still in office (Aminudin, 2024).

The massive support among state officials, particularly for Prabowo-Gibran candidate pair 02, could potentially raise suspicions of electoral fraud. State facilities used in this case, such as Social Assistance, leading up to the 2024 general elections, created new issues in political discourse in Indonesia. This includes the electoral mobilization, non-electoral mobilization, and state apparatus mobilization that political elites attempt to carry out (Victoria Mantalean & Rastika, 2023; Nababan, 2024; Wardah, 2024). First, the electoral mobilization that can be witnessed in recent times is the attempt to use the Constitutional Court for political purposes. The Constitutional Court’s decision to lower the minimum age from 40 to 35 years old was criticized by many observers, and made it possible for Joko Widodo’s son, Gibran, aged 36, to become Prabowo Subianto’s vice-president candidate. Furthermore, this decision also caused Jokowi’s brother-in-law, Anwar Usman, losing his position as chief justice for serious serious ethical violations (Victoria Mantalean & Farisa, 2023).

In this context, the emergence of the anatomy of electoral fraud is not just a mere political concern among voters without reason. On February 11th, 2024, the release of the film “Dirty Vote” successfully in summarising these concerns in a documentary film that presents three constitutional law experts in the quiet period before the vote. Broadly speaking, there are several main concerns that the “Dirty Vote” film seeks to convey. First, the alleged fraud committed by President Jokowi during the campaign period, for example, this is related to the appointment of 23 PJ Governors throughout 2022-2023, and 82 PJ Mayors/Regents by Jokowi (A. P. Darmawan & Nugroho, 2024). In other words, such appointments are considered to be a practice known as “political favors”. Second, the sharp increase in Bansos (Social Assistance) disbursed during the election, when compared to
the pandemic social assistance disbursement, is very different. This is considered a sign of the political game that has become an Indonesian disease, namely “money politics,” which aims to increase Jokowi’s electability, which appears to clearly support Prabowo-Gibran (Rachman, 2024). The prominent closeness between Jokowi and Prabowo is inevitably a signal for the people to participate in providing support for the Prabowo-Gibran candidate. However, the Coordinator of the President’s Special Staff, Ari Dwipayana, argued that the increased amount or provision of social assistance was an effort to help the community due to the El-Nino phenomenon which adversely affected crop yields, causing difficulties in staple foods such as rice (C. Indonesia, 2024b). Regardless of the fraud allegations during the election, anxiety was heightened in the run-up to the vote due to the lack of legal certainty that could prevent such misconduct.

On February 14th, voting day was conducted and the results of the Quick Count became the first alternative to ensure each voter won the candidate they had chosen. However, during the quick count process, various distributions and documentation of fraud began to reappear (B. N. Indonesia, 2024b). Various reports from electoral fraud monitors and non-governmental organizations at each polling station such as used ballot papers, elderly voters who were directed to vote for the Prabowo-Gibran candidate, and other indicators of electoral fraud emerged (Wiryono & Parabowo, 2024). Therefore, in response to this, PDI-Perjuangan party, which is the party supporting Ganjar-Mahfud candidate through its representative, Hasto, revealed that the 2024 presidential election fraud had exceeded the limit and his party would not silence the fraud and mentioned the material evidence and legal facts in their possession (Ahsan, 2024a). In other words, both during the nomination process and after the voting has taken place, there is ongoing political anxiety and tension during the 2024 general election. The 2024 general elections, both domestically and internationally, as previously explained, have created anomalies of electoral fraud. Thus, triggering the emergence of protest movements in various regions in Indonesia.

4.3. The emergence of national protest movements

During the 2024 general election process, debates on the political ethics of Gibran Rakabuming Raka’s inclusion in the presidential and vice-presidential elections have continued to occur among civil society. This certainly encourages political education indirectly on the political anxiety faced by the community today, particularly related to allegations of political dynasties and electoral fraud. Therefore, these conditions triggered the emergence of protest movements carried out by various groups, such as academics, students, and civil society in various regions in Indonesia. The movement was aimed at Prabowo-Gibran candidate, which was considered to be the main factor in the emergence of the protest movements (see Table 3).

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tempo</td>
<td>Two Masses Hold an Action at the KPU Office: Rejecting Fraudulent Elections and Supporting the Independent Commission.</td>
<td>They justified their action was carried out due to they were concerned regarding the phenomenon of politicization of wild movements and misleading maneuvers aimed at harming the 2024 general election process. They believe that such movements unacceptable (Hasan, 2024).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOA Indonesia</td>
<td>Students Demand Jokowi Remain Neutral Ahead of Elections.</td>
<td>Jokowi faced numerous allegations of ethical violations and election interference, particularly after the Constitutional Court changed eligibility...</td>
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</table>
rules in October, allowing Gibran to run (V. Indonesia, 2024d).

The protesters are demanding KPU to improve KPU’s Information System (Sirekap). They are also urging KPU not to engage in fraud (Muliawati, 2024).

Hundreds of Indonesian students and activists staged a demonstration against what they perceived as President Joko Widodo’s abuse of power to influence voters in this week’s election, urging them to favor Prabowo Subianto (V. Indonesia, 2024c).

Series of statements and clarifications by Jokowi had raised public questions regarding his campaign involvement in favour of one of the presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs. As a result, several campuses, academics and students issued statements regarding Jokowi’s leadership. In their statements, they also expressed concerns regarding the implementation of democracy (Momola, 2024).

Numerous universities have voiced criticism and concern regarding President Joko Widodo’s administration in the context of the 2024 democratic contest. This movement began with the distribution of Bulaksumur petition declared by a number of professors, students, and alumni of Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta. The wave of petitions from campus academics circles represents a profound disappointment over erosion of ethics (Andryanto, 2024b). Moreover, President Jokowi’s clear support and partiality for a particular candidate pair illustrates inconsistency as a statesman in maintaining the neutrality of the 2024 general elections. For the academic community, the movement of students and intellectuals is an effort to save democracy from a corrupt election process (Marzuqi, 2024). These campus movements to safeguard democracy are expected to spread throughout Indonesia. Despite the flood of criticism and statements from various campuses in Indonesia against the government, the neutrality of the police is again being questioned. The pressure on campuses and professors to make videos of appreciation for Jokowi’s performance is one piece of evidence that shows an attempt to cover up the current political reality. However, the reason for the police-ordered video requests on some campuses is claimed to be aimed at creating security among the public ahead of the election (B. N. Indonesia, 2024a; Saptohutomo, 2024). In this context, some accused to campus movements criticizing President Jokowi of partisan politics, or even label academics as “buzzers.” (C. Indonesia, 2024a; Wiryono & Prabowo, 2024) On the other hand, the
magnitude of the campus criticism of Jokowi’s administration, the President stated that he
would not participate the campaign, only emphasizing that there are laws permitting campaign
activities (Nugrahenny & Ihsanuddin, 2024).

The civil society’s disappointment with President Jokowi’s conduct during his
second term has created substantial criticism beginning in 2019 from all regions in Indonesia
marked by the movement of “Reformasi dikorupsi,” (Hantoro, 2019), and continuing through
the 2024 electoral contest at the end of his presidency. Protest movements initiated by
activists such as “Gejayan Memanggil” movement led by Yogyakarta students (Andryanto,
2024a), and the “campus movement” by the students from Trisakti University (Agne, 2024).
These protest movements fundamentally oppose Jokowi regime’s power, which is perceived
to be continued by Prabowo-Gibran candidacy. This is a signal that underlies the general
political unrest, namely the political dynasty established by Jokowi and the agenda of
rejecting fraudulent elections and the discussion surrounding the potential impeachment of
Jokowi (Kamil & Meiiliana, 2024).

5. Discussion

The research findings indicate that the alleged political dynasty established by the
Jokowi regime is a key factor underlying the emergence of political anxiety and
uneaseregarding the future of democracy in Indonesia. In this context, Jokowi’s action and
behaviour in welcoming the electoral contestation clearly demonstrated his alignment with
one of the candidates, which encouraged a lot of criticism of his leadership style. This align
with the concept of political anxiety as described by George E. Maraus and Michael
Mackuen, which is relevant to understanding the phenomenon observed in the 2024 general
elections in Indonesia. This is mainly related to the election campaign, which is a political
learning process for the community (Marcus & Mackuen, 1993). In this sense, anxiety and
restlessness that arise among the public inevitably occur due to signs and suspicions of
political dynasties and issues of electoral fraud. Thus, the phenomenon of political anxiety
in elections encourages an attitude known as political enthusiasm. This refers to the
proactive attitude and behaviour of civil society seeking out and investigating current
developed political information. This phenomenon can be understood through the
emergence of various issues regarding electoral fraud that have encouraged national
protest movements in various regions in Indonesia.

In line with Kenawas (2015) one of the clear factors in the spread of dynasties in
Indonesia is due to the shift in political succession mode from a centralized one, which has
led to the emergence of political families. Additionally, the central government’s involvement
in local politics indicates efforts to build networks and accumulate wealth that can be
leveraged to support political candidates who are their family members (Kenawas, 2015).
This creates political inequality, particularly in electoral competitions. In addition, it is
inevitable that political dynasties in Indonesia is also possible due to central government
weakness in confronting both national and local oligarchies. According to Jeffrey Winter in
his book entitled “Oligarchy” asserts that “Indonesia after the fall of Suharto regime
represents a complex yet stable blend of oligarchy and democracy, with power and wealth
permeating a political structure that is tolerant and responsive to popular participation”
(Winters, 2013). Thus, political dynasties reflects the alignment of national and local
oligarchic interests, which potentially extending national oligarchic interests across various
regions.

In general, political dynasties and President Jokowi’s conduct in the run-up to
democratic event, in this case the general elections, have created significant concerns
among voters or civil society regarding the future of democracy in Indonesia. This has
resulted in a lack of trust in the electoral process, which can essentially be understood through post-voting suspicions of electoral fraud. Observers had long predicted signs of electoral fraud, highlighted by the documentary film “Dirty Vote”, which presented data related to the corrupt electoral process. On the other hand, the allegations of electoral fraud have encouraged the efforts of pro-democracy communities to be involved in guarding the election results through various media. This is allign with the view of George Marcus that individual anxiety and concern in politics will create motivation from various groups to seek political information (enthusiasm) (Marcus & Mackuen, 1993). Consequently, the emergence of national protest movements, both on social media through hashtag and demonstrations and petitions from students and professors on various campuses, reflects the anxiety and concern over an unfair electoral process and encourage enthusiasm to continue monitoring and protecting democracy from corrupt elections.

In political studies, particularly research focusing on election and the analysis online news media, has seen significant advancements, such as in a recent study conducted by Michael Bossetta and Rasmus Schmøkel which discusses the relationship between campaign structure and audience engagement on social media (Bossetta & Schmøkel, 2023). This alligns with the views of Marcus, who highlighted the renewed focus on emotions in political studies, emphasizing their impact on information processing and mobilization among the public (Marcus et al., 2000). However, studies that address the issues of political dynasties, electoral fraud, and the emergence of protest movements in the electoral process through online news media analysis have not been comprehensively researched, particularly regarding the representation of enthusiasm and participation of civil society in the democratic party through the national protest movements in online news media. Therefore, the findings in this study can contribute to improving the limitations of previous studies.

Based on the previous discussion regarding the issues of political dynasties, electoral fraud, and protest movements in the 2024 general elections in Indonesia, it is evident that these phenomena are interconnected in the 2024 elections. The alleged political dynasties being constructed by Jokowi represents a threat to democracy, and creates political anxiety among the public. This is particularly significant in democratic contestations such as elections, where political dynasties are a primary factor underlying the emergence of suspicions and issues regarding electoral fraud due to concentrated power among a few individuals or groups. Therefore, political dynasties, as well as the issue of electoral fraud, encourage protests among civil society, as a form of concern for democracy in Indonesia. This assertion highlights the importance of civil society in monitoring, preventing and protecting democracy from corrupt electoral processes.

6. Conclusion

Based on this research, political dynasties pose a threat to democracy, particularly during power transitions, such as in the 2024 general elections in Indonesia. Chaos in the electoral process due to suspicion of the government and state institutions is one important aspect that drives the emergence of issues regarding election fraud and various forms that violate the electoral process such as abuse of power, money politics, vote manipulation, and others. The findings highlight the need for better political awareness regarding a fair and honest electoral process to produce qualified and competent leaders.

This study has limitations and weaknesses due to in presenting the data, it only traces online news sources that report on political dynasties, election fraud, and protest movements in the 2024 general elections in Indonesia. Therefore, this study did not empirically investigate these issues. Despite the limitations and weaknesses in this study, it
is hoped that this study can serve a starting point for further research, particularly related to public perceptions of political dynasties, election fraud and protests over election results by conducting interviews with active voters in the 2024 general elections. That way, a better understanding of the 2024 general elections characterized by political dynasties, electoral fraud, and the national protest movements in the 2024 general elections, can be obtained.

**Author Contribution Statement**

Contributions of the authors in this article: M. Miftahul Hidayat contribute as concepts, interpreters, collecting data and critically revising the article. Author agree to take responsibility for all aspects of this work.

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We have no conflict of interest to declare

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