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Office: Jl. Dr. H. Tarmidzi Taher, Kompleks IAIN Ambon

email: dialektika@iainambon.ac.id

ATTRITION OF DEMOCRACY OR HARMONY OF LEGACY: Local Wisdom Study of the Gibran Rakabumi Raka Political Dynasty

Andika Hendra Mustaqim

Universitas Bina Sarana Informatika

*Email Korespondensi: andika.ahq@bsi.ac.id

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Abstract

This research aims to explore local wisdom in the phenomenon of political dynasties on social media in the figure of the Mayor of Solo, Gibran Rakabuming. Using a qualitative approach and psychological narrative analysis method, this research analyzes videos on Gibran's YouTube account. This research found Gibran's political dynasty motives, such as continuing the political leadership initiated by his father, utilizing primordial cultural support and patronage, maintaining his father's legacy of leadership, and building a political career for the future. Gibran's political dynasty strategy is to use family characteristics; using Javanese and Islamic traditions as tools, and adapting to developments in time and technology. Regarding the impact of political dynasties on Gibran, this research reveals wisdom in politics, building identity, showing oneself as a quality leader; and political dynasties do not destroy democracy, and show that political dynasties provide progress in various sectors.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk mengeksplorasi tentang local wisdom pada fenomena dinasti politik di media sosial pada sosok Wali Kota Solo Gibran Rakabuming. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan metode psychological narrative analysis, penelitian ini menganalisis video pada akun YouTube milik Gibran. Penelitian ini menemukan motif dinasti politik pada Gibran seperti melanjutkan kepemimpinan politik yang sudah dirintis ayahnya, memanfaatkan dukungan budaya primordial dan patronase, menjaga legasi kepemimpinan ayahnya, dan membangun karier politik untuk masa depan. Untuk strategi dinasti politik yang diusung Gibran adalah menggunakan karakteristik keluarga; menjadikan tradisi Jawa dan Islam sebagai alat, dan adaptasi dengan perkembangan zaman dan teknologi. Mengenai dampak dinasti politik pada gibran, penelitian ini mengungkap kearifan dalam berpolitik, membangun identitas, menunjukkan diri sebagai pemimpin yang berkualitas; dan dinasti politik tidak menghancurkan demokrasi, serta menampilkan bahwa dinasti politik memberikan kemajuan dalam berbagai sektor.

Introduction

Political dynasties are a growing phenomenon in many countries, not only in Indonesia (Kenawas, 2023), but also in the Philippines (Mendoza et al., 2023) to Thailand (Chambers et al., 2022). In Indonesia, political dynasties occur in democratic institutions where there is a delegation of power to family members with vested interests, causing shifts and pressure on democracy (Kenawas, 2023). In the Philippines, political dynasties developed in local politics on the basis of local business ownership and provincial capacity (Mendoza et al., 2023). In Thailand, political dynasties live and develop at the provincial level, providing room for continued power (Chambers, 2022).

In Indonesia, political dynasties have developed at all levels of government from district, provincial to national. Savirani (2016) examines how the Djunaid family developed its dynasty in Pekalongan, Central Java. Then, Aspinall and As'ad (2016) revealed the formation of dynasties in Central Kalimantan where there were weaknesses in parties and efforts to consolidate power in power circles. Then, political dynasties are also related to gender and the electoral system (Wardani & Subekti, 2021; Prihatini, 2022).

Not only in developing countries, political dynasties are also developing in developed countries such as the United States (Hess, 2005). Just look at how the dynasty developed when Hillary Clinton tried to advance in the 2016 presidential election and George W Bush tried to follow his father's ambition to become president, so that the Kennedy family also continues to have influence in the US parliament. This shows that political dynasties also occur in politically mature countries, including in Canada when Justin Trudeau became prime minister who was the son of Pierre Trudeau who was in power from 1968 to 1984 (Young, 2016). What is different is that political dynasties in developed countries are not created instantly, but do provide opportunities to build political careers and opportunities for family members (Helms, 2020).

Political dynasties in developed and developing countries due to democracy do not necessarily eliminate the dominance of kinship in politics (Prihatini & Halimatusa'diyah, 2022). Political dynasties cannot be separated as experiences in unique colonial countries that have become a legacy due to the diversity of social and legal systems, as well as politics (Purdey & Purdey, 2018). Political dynasties are generally more related to public opinion and public perception regarding leadership, and how relationships with activists, entrepreneurs and leaders are related to forming effective government (Das et al. 2023).

Political dynasties are something that developed from democracy in Indonesia with the aim of strengthening their power, although many success stories are not always straightforward (Savirani, 2016). Political dynasties have become popular in contemporary democracies in both semi-democratic and autocratic regimes (Geys & Smith, 2017).

Harini (2023) stated that political dynasties still exist and will emerge during the 2024 presidential election with the aim of creating influence to dominate political parties and end democracy. Political dynasties are often considered a problem in democracy because they are indicators of maturity and quality (Baturu & Gray, 2018). Generally, political dynasties are caused by limited regional head positions and thus provide encouragement to create intra-generational succession, or for wives to succeed their husbands (Aspinall & As'ad, 2016).

Political dynasties are also often associated with local wisdom, where both are often used as causes and as excuses to perpetuate power. In politics, local wisdom is also related to the constitution and the system of practice in carrying out political life (Miller, 2023).

With this background, this research examines the political dynasties of the Mayor of Solo, Gibran Rakabuming, who is the first son of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Gibran's position as Mayor of Solo is often associated with a form of political dynasty in Indonesia (Fatima & Dewi, 2021; Putri & Aisyah, 2022; Harini, 2023).

This research will explore Gibran's political dynasties based on a study of his social media accounts, with YouTube specifications. This research aims to reveal the motives,

strategies and impacts of political dynasties using a conceptual approach, namely local wisdom and political dynasties theory.

Literature Review

a. Political Dynasties

A political family becomes a political dynasty when it is able to expand power temporally so that there is a delegation of power to its family members both intra-generationally and inter-generationally (Aspinall & As'ad, 2016). Political dynasties is a form of direct or indirect political power transition involving family members (Thompson, 2012); distribution of power in a region (Querubin, 2011); and politicians who gain power because their families are powerful (Asako et al., 2012).

Political dynasties are candidates who come from families that have a history of involvement in politics and receive support from previously ruling families (Muraoka, 2017). Political dynasty refers to a situation where an incumbent official has a relative in government office in the past or currently (Mendoza, et al., 2016). So, political dynasty denotes a process of delegating power to relatives with the aim of perpetuating power.

Political dynasties are often referred to as the bad side of democracy. Political dynasties generally reflect injustice in the distribution of political power and represent the imperfection of democracy (Dal bo et al, 2009), provide opportunities for certain families or groups with great power (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2008), and reflect the behavior of leaders who want to show their dominance (Asako et al. 2010).

Furthermore, political dynasties in Thailand were influenced by military coups, constitutional changes, and social transformation (Chambers et al., 2022). Members of political dynasties in either regional or local governments generally have access to financial resources and local political networks; which shows a clientelistic electoral system (Wardani & Subekti, 2021). As stated by Dal Bo et al (2009), political dynasties are already present in democracy and cause inequality in the distribution of political power which reflects imperfections in democratic representation.

Kurtz (1989) has stated that politics is a family business. Political dynasties also emerge in traditional and economically weak societies (Mendoza, 2012). In perpetuating a political dynasty, incumbents will use their ability to manage state institutions, treat incumbent support, and discriminate against opposition efforts (Levitsky and Way (2010)). The main trigger for the emergence of political dynasties comes from political parties related to nominations and internal structures (Prihatini & Halimatusa'diyah, 2022).

Political dynasties are also often associated with narrative and rhetoric. Rhetoric plays an important role in politicians who carry out political dynasties with manifestos as their strategy (Muraoka, 2017). Political dynasties can also be traced from the narratives expressed by politicians, whether they attract media attention or show quality and context (Purdey, 2016). In terms of rhetoric, political dynasties are generally manifested in rhetorical commitment to democratic principles which are the norm even though they tend to nepotism and ill-deserved privilege (Das et al., 2023).

b. Local Wisdom and Political Dynasties

Local wisdom can be defined as a communication and social system that produces a kind of self-organization within a culture (Pesurnay, 2018), because humans are social creatures who are understood as an organism and are part of a living system. Local wisdom is beliefs, knowledge, views, ethics and habits that are deeply rooted and practiced until they are taught from generation to generation (Keraf, 2010).

Local wisdom is directly related to the ideological and practical spirit of building the interests of acceptance in society (Sumardjoko & Subowo, 2021). Local wisdom is also an

element that is guided and maintained so that it becomes an identity and harmony with nature, humans and ancestors (Diab et al., 2022). Local wisdom is also a form of adapting, accepting and responding to social change (Priyatna, 2013).

Meanwhile, local wisdom is also a form of original knowledge in society that has local values and culture (Sibarini, 2012), and is generally not written in the form of proverbs or words of wisdom (Wahyudi, 2014). Local wisdom can be an alternative knowledge for making gradual changes with the support of ideas and feelings by activating collectivity and diversity (Primayanti & Puspita, 2022).

Wisdom supports the role of political parties and political leadership in carrying out government processes (Isaac-Henry, 2003). Wisdom in politics is also related to compromise between party leaders and their members where there is a conflict between ideological cohesion and voting unity (Mershon, 2020).

In politics, as stated by Miller (2023), local wisdom is also called folk wisdom which emphasizes not only the checks and balances system, but also how there are economic forces and racial actors who benefit from anti-democratic and elitist attitudes. In the politics of proportional representation, Mershon (2020) said that local wisdom is linked to conventional wisdom which is related to personal reputation which has many consequences. This shows wisdom regarding interactions between candidates and voters up to party ranks. Later, it will also be related to the perception faced by the politician.

Method

This research uses a constructivist paradigm, with a qualitative approach. This is because the research is a social study based on text on social media. The research method applied is psychological narrative analysis (Schafer, 2019).

The psychological narrative analysis process is based on words representing thoughts (Schafer, 2019, p. 3). Schafer (2019) stated that understanding a person's thoughts can be heard from the written and spoken words because they reflect the behavioral characteristics of the person speaking or writing. He developed a word clues approach to analyze those chosen by a person that determine personality traits and provide thought processes (Schafer, 2019),

Apart from choosing words in the analysis process, psychological narrative analysis also uses an emotional approach. Schafer (2019) stated that the placement of emotional responses in statements indicates veracity and truthfulness. This response refers to things related to biology that are represented by the emotions that are represented (Schafer, 2019).

This research was carried out from January to December 2023 or for one year. The main data in the research are videos on Gibran Rakabuming's YouTube account or known as Gibran Rakabuming on the @GibranTV account. During the research process using a psychological narrative analysis approach, researchers also observed various videos on YouTube content. Using thematic analysis, the number of videos specifically selected was eight.

Results

The research results section is the result of research conducted by researchers on videos on Gibran's YouTube account using a psychological narrative analysis approach. The analysis that produced research findings focused more on the use of word clues so that it was able to reveal Gibran's personality and thoughts which were linked to the motives, strategies and impacts of political dynasties. Meanwhile, local wisdom is also a study to look more deeply at how Javanese traditions and culture play an important role in Gibran's leadership.

a. Motive

Motives in political leadership are the main and first foundation that often becomes the main foothold in political dynasties. This also cannot be separated from what Gibran shows in the video on his YouTube account. Motives for determining policy steps and leadership actions for Gibran.

The video entitled [GIBRANTV] 16 Priority Development Points in Solo City which was broadcast on February 6 2023 shows Gibran's priority development policies. Just like his father, Jokowi, Gibran also emphasizes infrastructure development which is his mainstay with 16 priority development points in the city of Solo.



Figure 1. Screenshot of Gibran Rakabuming's video (2023, February 6).

The keywords the video uses are "development", "Solo", "Java", "project", and "breakthrough". The video, which only displays images and background music, relies on running text, highlighting how infrastructure development is a mainstay. This shows how Gibran wants to continue and strengthen the legacy of his father who once led Solo with development priorities. What is different is that Gibran built many new icons so that they became a new identity for the city of Solo.

The same thing was shown in the video entitled FROM 94 CITIES, SOLO IS INCLUDING THE MOST TOLERANT CITY IN INDONESIA which was uploaded on April 8 2023. The keywords used in the video are "city", "tolerant", "freedom of diversity", "diversity", and "Solo". It also shows how human mental development prioritizes tolerance which has been identified with the leadership of Gibran's father, Jokowi. The video also shows how Gibran is an accomplished mayor because he leads Solo, which is the most tolerant city.

b. Strategy

The political dynasties played by Gibran used a strategy with a religious approach. He made a special approach to Nahdatul Ulama (NU). This was shown by two videos he uploaded on 2 and 3 February 2023. One of them was the opening video of Porseni NU with the title [GIBRANTV] PORSENI NU LEVEL NATIONAL 2023 [Video] which was broadcast on 2 February 2023. This shows that Gibran wants to strengthen the closeness of his identity with the people NU.



Figure 2. Screenshot of Gibran Rakabuming's video (2023, February 2).

In the video, the keywords played in the video are "NU", "Solo" and "berkah". These three keywords are how Gibran wants to associate himself with NU. Gibran also wants to show himself as part of NU. This cannot be separated from the fact that Gibran's background was not from an Islamic boarding school, so there was an effort to construct how political dynasties also received support from NU.

In the three minute video, Gibran only appears for about three seconds at the beginning of the video. However, most of the videos show the success of Porseni NU's implementation. He is not the typical narcissistic leader who emphasizes himself in the video. However, he only appeared briefly, prioritizing conveying the message to the public.

Furthermore, the video entitled [GIBRANTV] HEALTHY ROAD TO THE 1ST CENTURY OF NU which was uploaded on February 3 2023 shows how he became part of NU. In the two minute 57 second video, Gibran does not appear at all. The video actually focuses more on showing Gibran's father, Jokowi. It shows how he is trying to show the success of the show as opposed to showing himself in the video.

The keywords in the video are "NU", "Nahdhiyin", "1 century of NU", "NKRI", and "Solo". The five keywords show how Gibran's efforts to construct an identity that his government and leadership support NU. The impression that emerges is that NU supports Gibran's leadership. This cannot be separated from the fact that NU is the largest religious organization in Indonesia.

Furthermore, the strategy to strengthen Gibran's political dynasties is to use local wisdom by utilizing various Javanese traditional moments shown in his various videos. Gibran appeared in a video entitled the 19th Carnival of the Great Leaves of Dalem Jumenengan. On this occasion, Gibran appeared on the Garuda Putra train with KGPH Purbaya. He also greeted enthusiastic residents.



Figure 3. Screenshot of Gibran Rakabuming's video (2023, March 17).

The keywords in the video are "custom", "tradition", "keraton", and "Java". This shows how close Gibran is to this Javanese entity. It's not just about closeness, but Gibran constructs

an identity that he is a Javanese who still has Javanese roots and maintains traditions. This became his policy as support for preserving Javanese culture.

Gibran's policy in supporting the preservation of Javanese traditions, especially dance, is to hold the Solo Menari Festival 2023 which is shown in the video entitled [GIBRANTV] SOLO MENARI - Dancing The Public Space on May 10 2023. The festival consists of various activities such as the Bedhayan Naradipta Mass Dance, the Ramayana Ballet Pasar Gede, Kauman Menari, Modern Dance Performance, Folk Dance Show, and Urban Street Dance Performance. As the video description on the YouTube account states, "traditional markets, asphalt terraces, city halls, batik villages, and modern shopping centers are enlivened by the movements of dancers."

The keywords in the video are "Dance", "Dancing", "Solo", "People", and "City". It also shows how Gibran pays attention to traditional Javanese dance traditions to modern ones. He was able to wrap art in attractive policies and festivals with the aim of showing that Solo was ready to emerge as a world-recognized city.

c. Impact

The impact of political dynasties becomes feedback that leadership will produce results that can be felt. In this research, we found a claim from one party where the leader showed that his performance created many benefits for the community he led.

This was also shown by Gibran in a video entitled [GIBRANTV] IMAGING EVENT FOR SHARING SHOES which was uploaded on June 4 2023. The title of the video shows honesty where what Gibran does is a form of imaging. This honesty shows Gibran's strengths. The video shows how Gibran is trying to build an image close to the public, especially young people.



Figure 4. Screenshot of Gibran Rakabuming's video (2023, June 4).

In this case, the keywords used are "local products", "absorbing labor", "development", and "Solo". This shows how the leadership of local dynasties also has a real impact on society by showing support for local communities and local products. During this moment, Gibran also gave a quiz in interaction with community members with shoe prizes.

Then, the impact of political dynasties shown by Gibran was how he created direct Solo-Pontianak flights to support tourism in these two cities. This is shown in the video entitled [GIBRANTV] Solo Pontianak Tourism - Here We Go!! Part 1 which was uploaded on October 22 2023. In the video, Gibran does not appear but shows the story of a tourist visiting Pontianak.

The keywords used in the video are "Solo", "Pontianak", "Chinese", and "Tourism". This shows how leadership based on political dynasties also has a real impact on development not only for the people of Solo, but also aspects of connectivity that are more national in nature.

Discussion

In the discussion section, the researcher presents a discussion about research findings on political dynasties in videos on Gibran's YouTube account. The main focus of the discussion is to find findings about the motives, strategies and impacts of political dynasties by presenting novelty by comparing with the results of previous research, both in Indonesia and abroad. This discussion presents a dialectical touch to encourage the emergence of theoretical and practical studies.

a. Motive

Motive is the first step when a leader wants to continue political dynasties. Motives determine a leader's steps in working and acting. This can be manifested in various policies and narratives conveyed.

The first important thing is that there is a wide opportunity for leaders to continue the political leadership and government pioneered by previous family members. Wide and wide open opportunities are also supported by the absence of regulations prohibiting political dynasties in Indonesia. This was an opportunity for Gibran. Moreover, political dynasties have a lot of motivation because of the opportunities in the government structure, giving rise to political and economic competition, thus triggering accountability problems (Mendoza, et al., 2023).

The absence of a cadre of qualified politicians with the access to be willing and able to compete in political contestation also creates an opportunity for Gibran. The parties that are often blamed are political parties that do not prepare their cadres. Political dynasties are caused by political parties' recruitment of regent or mayor candidates in regions that do not pay attention to quality and weak regulations (Rannie et al., 2023). Political dynasties arise due to political opportunities due to the weakness of the state and party and due to the failure to consolidate cross generations under the pretext of forming new political formations. (Aspinall & As'ad, 2016). The causes of political dynasties are the weakness of political parties (Chhibber, 2013), the inability to play the role of the state (Chandra, 2016), the dynastic principle in organizations (Luce, 2004).

Second, the primordial and patronizing culture is still strong in Javanese culture and has become local wisdom which supports that leadership can be continued by family members or their descendants. Political dynasties are said to be part of primordial culture in Indonesia where it is seen that families will prioritize their children regarding traditions, culture and beliefs because it is difficult to accept new people (Mukti & Rodiyah, 2020). The cause of the emergence of political dynasties comes from political patronage and corruption, plus there is no indication to overcome this (Tadem & Tadem, 2016).

The third motive in Gibran's political dynasty was to maintain the leadership legacy of his father, Jokowi. This is the most common and common motif in various cases of political dynasties. The significance of legacy in Gibran's political dynasty is the effort to create a more structured and neat approach to perpetuating family politics. Political dynasties are often associated with efforts to maintain stability and commitment to the same government standards and values as before (Purdey & Purdey, 2018).

The fourth motive, building a political career for the future. It is hoped that pursuing a career in government from mayoral level will be a stepping stone. This was because Gibran tried to follow in his father's steps. Even though there were no official comments, Gibran's political behavior could not be deceived. Moreover, political dynasty is a contradictory phenomenon that comes from liabilities and dividends, but can be a strength for successors even though it is one that lacks legitimacy and is embarrassing (Das et al., 2023).

b. Strategy

Through various narratives and discourses that Gibran conveys in various videos on his YouTube account, he tries to show the various strategies that are implemented. This strategy is related to efforts to construct positive political dynasties on social media so that they can strengthen their leadership.

The main and first thing in Gibran's strategy is to carry family characteristics. What Gibran did was a strategy to emphasize that he was still part of the Jokowi family. He still wants to continue his father's leadership characteristics, even though he has a different approach and method by prioritizing the present. The most obvious strategy of political dynasties, as stated by Dal Bo et al (2009), is self-perpetuation, namely the impact of power treatment to increase political power in the future by bringing family characteristics.

What are the characteristics of the Jokowi family played by Gibran? He emphasized the importance of young people in his leadership. Various policies and appearances on social media are often associated with young people. Apart from that, Gibran also always paid full attention to Javanese culture and traditions. This is proven by his policy in assisting the renovation of the Mangkunegaraan Temple in Solo. Gibran also implemented siding with the small people and moderation in religion.

What Gibran did confirmed previous research conducted by Aspinall & As'ad (2016) that the defensive strategy was aimed at protecting the mistakes made by his predecessor. However, in Gibran's context where his father is still in power as president of the Republic of Indonesia, this shows that he is strengthening his father's leadership in Solo.

However, what is different is that Gibran approaches family characteristics in a more creative and innovative way. Even though he doesn't say much and tends to be stiff in his narrative, Gibran emphasizes visualization and imagination in his rhetorical play on social media. These characteristics actually reinforce that leadership tends to move and work more, not at the level of words and language.

What Gibran is doing is a form of a strong personalization process while still using local wisdom to differentiate himself from his father, Jokowi and other leaders. Wisdom can also be shown by various themes raised by politicians by highlighting personalization so as to produce differences between politicians (Mershon, 2020).

This is none other than because of what Gibran did to construct a value in leadership. This value will become a clear and measurable parameter to generate appreciation from the community. Local wisdom can negotiate values so that they meet the expectations of a community (Bahri et al., 2021).

Second, the strategy implemented by Gibran in political dynasties was an effort to make moderate Javanese and Islamic traditions his identity. These two things are very prominent in Gibran's figure in various videos on YouTube. These two entities are also not new, because it has become commonplace that local leaders will use these two things to strengthen their leadership.

As stated by Aspinall & As'ad (2016), regions and religions are constructed to encourage people to affiliate with identity and build loyalty. The characteristic inherent in political dynasties is that candidates generally have short political career experience, carry dynasty status and campaign with a special style (Muraoka, 2017), they also often have an approach that prefers certain targets and approaches specific people.

Third, Gibran implemented a strategy that was very adaptive to developments in time and technology. He understands how his leadership can adapt using various instruments. The strategies used in political dynasties tend to be adaptable as a response to opportunities and threats created by other factors in the political system, such as decentralization policies and public opinion (Savirani, 2016).

In terms of decentralization, Gibran strengthened policies based on regional autonomy to show that Solo could exist and carry out massive infrastructure development. Various initiatives such as festivals and organizing sports competitions are also Gibran's mainstay. For public opinion, Gibran wants to show himself as a young leader who is building a leadership career in Indonesia's future. Not only as an heir leader, but a leader who tries to construct independent leadership.

It seems in previous research that the narrative strategies developed in political dynasties such as continuity and obligation; loyalty and patriotism; adaptability, resilience and change (Purdey, 2016, p, 376). Furthermore, Helms (2020) explains that the tenacity and adaptability of dynastic regimes should not be ignored.

c. Impact

Political dynasties cannot be separated from the various impacts they have on various elements in society through the discourse or narratives displayed. Even though what is conveyed on social media may not represent the entirety of what is happening in society, it can be a mirror that provides guidance on the impact of political dynasties.

This research divides the two impacts shown in various videos shown by Gibran. The two impacts are that they can be seen as positive and negative impacts. These two impacts arise inseparably because there are pros and cons in society regarding political dynasties. This is related to the perception created by political dynasties.

The main and first impact shown by Gibran, which was closely associated with political dynasties, was the emergence of wisdom in politics. This was none other than because Gibran made an effort to show very strong Javanese politics where it was identified with very strong wisdom. In this research, it was concluded that Gibran brought local Javanese wisdom into political dynasties which became his bargaining power.

Local wisdom in Javanese politics does not conflict with political dynasties. This cannot be separated from Javanese wisdom where leaders emerge from the blood of leaders. Then, leaders also emerged from families that had a leadership breed. This is played out in various narratives expressed by Gibran, although without mentioning this. However, this is heavily implied in various visuals which have a psychological impact on people who see the various videos they show.

Wisdom in politics also has an impact on the representation of candidates with their voters (Mershon, 2020). This is obtained because there are preferences obtained from information about the politician. Gibran displayed this wisdom, creating closeness to the Solo people he led. The homogeneity of society with a Javanese majority means that Gibran is the right preference for building the right emotions. Local wisdom is also influenced by government pressure due to power relations (Miller, 2023).

The second visible impact is how Gibran built an identity that political dynasties became his identity. He is not ashamed of it and tends to be proud. Although there is no statement about it. However, what Gibran showed showed a sense of pride that political dynasties were not a matter of personal politics, but popular politics because he was elected by the people.

Gibran's pattern of building identity is also very close to local wisdom. How he was able to attach himself as a Solonese and a Javanese person was an advantage. He does not emphasize his nobility or blue blood descent from the Solo Kasunan breed. However, he always shows that he is indeed part of democracy.

The identity that Gibran constructed made him a different leader of Solo from before. He also wants to strengthen himself as a true Javanese leader by constructing local wisdom in his various policies. Local wisdom also creates identity in a community (Pornpimon et al.,

2014) thereby building solidarity (Brennan, 2019), and becomes a filter for external pressure and influence (Nuraedah & Nuraedah, 2020).

Third is Gibran's attempt to fight the public perception that he is a quality leader. Gibran wants to show that political dynasties are also capable of producing quality young leaders. This is demonstrated by various policies that show that he is a quality leader. He presented various policies that favored creative young people, the poor, and even raised Solo's culture and traditions to the national stage. The image that leaders have no quality attached to political dynasties is also trying to be dispelled by sharing messages conveyed through sharing videos on their YouTube accounts.

These findings are certainly different from various previous studies. Kenawas (2023) stated that the main cause of the growth of political dynasties in Indonesia is related to gradual changes in institutions following the democratic transition in 1998. The real impact of political dynasties is that they produce leaders with low quality and incompetence which can cause injustice to other people who want to advance in politics (Rannie et al., 2023).

This cannot be separated from the fact that the research took samples from narratives conveyed from one side, namely from Gibran's side. Thus, what Gibran did was an effort to create an effective and well-organized counternarrative to counter various negative perceptions. This is very normal for a young politician who is trying to fight the negative stigma about politics and dynasties.

Fourth, Gibran tried hard to show that political dynasties did not destroy democracy. Gibran presented himself with the message that political dynasties do not have a bad impact on democracy. The reason is, Gibran always boasted that he was part of democracy because he was elected directly by the people. The presence of political dynasties is also not a mistake, but rather a form of support for public approval of their leadership.

What Gibran did was also a counternarrative to the perception that political dynasties were a bad product of democracy. Political dynasties have bad consequences in Indonesian democracy because they will support the culture of money politics and political dowry (Mukti & Rodiyah, 2020). The impact of political dynasties in Indonesia is the failure of political authorities to establish diverse generations in the future (Aspinall & As'ad, 2016).

Fifth, Gibran showed that political dynasties do not set back a region, but instead provide progress in various sectors. This is demonstrated by the various policies it produces. He showed the various achievements he had achieved in leading Solo. Although there is a view that these various achievements are also due to interference from the central government because Gibran's father is the President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo. However, Gibran always showed himself that what he did was his policy and the result of his leadership.

In fact, Gibran strengthened Joko Widodo's leadership legacy by continuing his leadership in Solo. Efforts to build his father's legacy to continue development, both infrastructure and non-infrastructure. Gibran pointed out that political dynasties were an effort to strengthen the legacy of Solo's leadership.

Although Gibran took a different approach to his father in his leadership in Solo. However, in general, a leadership model based on infrastructure and a local wisdom approach is something that shows the legacy of Gibran's leadership from his father.

This counternarrative is different from many studies which show that political dynasties have many bad impacts. The real impact of political dynasties is in the socio-economic sector where poverty is an important question, as in the study by Mendoza et al. (2016) that political dynasties have had a real impact in Luzon Province, Philippines. Meanwhile, Tadem & Tadem (2016) mention three real impacts of dynastic politics related to (1) socio-economic and political foundations, (2) inability to enforce the law, and (4) weak efforts to fight political dynasties.

These negative impacts are not visible in the various narratives conveyed by Gibran because he is a leader who tries to maintain a positive image in the eyes of the public with the various social media content he displays. What Gibran did was also an effective form of counter-narrative strategy to stem various negative public perceptions regarding him.

Conclusion

This research reveals the motives of political dynasties in Gibran, namely taking advantage of the opportunity to continue the political leadership and government pioneered by previous family members; There is a primordial culture and patronage that is still strong in Javanese culture and has become local wisdom that supports that leadership can be continued by family members or descendants, and maintains the leadership legacy of his father, Jokowi, as well as building a political career for the future.

Then, the political dynasties strategy promoted by Gibran was to use family characteristics; efforts to make moderate Javanese and Islamic traditions its identity, and adapt to developments in time and technology.

Regarding the impact of political dynasties on Gibran, this research reveals his wisdom in politics, building an identity that political dynasties became his identity, fighting the public perception that he was a quality leader; and shows that political dynasties do not destroy democracy, and shows that political dynasties do not set back a region, but actually provide progress in various sectors.

This research has many limitations because it only assesses videos on Gibran's account. Apart from that, this research also relies more on the concepts of local wisdom and political dynasties theory. In the future, political dynasties research should assess people's views both on social media and public voices through interviews. Exploration of sociological and communication theories can also be applied in the study of political dynasties on social media.

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