

Weberian Conflict Theory for Political Dynasty: A Study of Presidential Leadership in the 2024 Indonesian General Elections

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Abstract

As Head of State, the President is vital in maintaining state sovereignty. However, in the 2024 general election in Indonesia, the President reaped negative sentiments identified as the term "*Political Dynasty*," which could potentially damage the democratic system. This research aims to identify and analyze the President's political leadership strategy in the 2024 election by implementing Weberian conflict theory. Actualize the qualitative description approach with the type of literature study. The data collected will be understood, recorded, and analyzed using Weberian conflict theory. Then, conclusions can be drawn with inductive patterns. The study results stated that charismatic leaders in this regard are not just fixated on traditional principles of authority, as Weber argues. However, charismatic leaders are also on formal legal authority (President). The President, in this case, carries out a political strategy to form a political dynasty by using the existence of his charismatic leadership. By maintaining legitimacy rather than democratic principles, this strategy will continue to create conflicts with negative implications for charismatic leaders.

1. Introduction

President is identified as the term head of state and head of government of a country that uses presidential principles in its system of government. In a Presidential state, the President is a legal or legally valid symbol. The Vice President will support the President as the head of government and Ministers in a government cabinet to carry out their duties and functions in charge of the executive branch. In general, the President and Vice President will serve for one president or about five years. After that, the President and Vice President will be re-elected through general elections or elections. In addition, the President and Vice President are only allowed to serve a maximum of two terms or ten years in the system of government. Reviewed historically, The President and Vice President, also called the Indonesian Presidential Institute, have a long history along with the history of the Indonesian nation. It is claimed that it is identical to the background at the time of the Proclamation of August 17, 1945, when Indonesia did not have a government system. Until then, on August 18, 1948, Indonesia only had a Constitution that was oriented as a foundation to run the wheels of government, namely the 1945 Constitution (Supriyadi, 2018).

Fundamentally, the President can be interpreted as one of the highest government institutions in executive power under the auspices of the 1945 Constitution. When depicted based on the "*Trias Politica*" branch of power, it is the same as MPR, DPR, MA, MK, and KY. This is synonymous with the designation "People's Sovereignty" relevant to their power functions. The Implementation and Limitations of the principle of "People's

Sovereignty" have been explicitly specified in the Constitution. Thus, all violations of the "People's Sovereignty" principle must be held accountable by the 1945 Constitution (Asshiddiqie, 2014). The political system creates a form of relations that needs to be done to bring victory to each politician (Hess, 2018). Politicians are required always to guarantee constitutional rights in a democratic system of government (Regilme, 2021). To be able to ensure the form of public participation (Goyanes et al., 2021). Related to applying this principle, the President has a vital role in maintaining a country's prosperity. However, in the 2024 general election in Indonesia, the President reaped negative sentiments identified as the term "Political Dynasty," which could potentially damage the democratic system. Elections are a formal legal procedural mechanism for people to represent a form of democracy. This is done by electing their representatives who intend to enter the government system oriented to maintain and implement the principle of popular sovereignty. General elections are essential for continuing democratic principles in democratic countries (Arniti, 2020).

Based on some literature, the democratic system can limit executive power through the legislature. However, the idea of democracy is still a matter of debate until now, and it has not created a consensus. Historically, the democratic system in England refers to the Glorious Revolution, which states that the capacity of a government lies in the function of a political party (Tunçer & Weller, 2022). The government system in a democratic country needs broad public participation, which makes the form a government system that contains elements of transparency and efficiency (Helbing et al., 2023). Dynastic politics can be interpreted as a form of political power exercised by the ruler aimed at his relatives or cronies, which correlates with the family. Political dynasties are carried out with a mechanism to regenerate power over the interests of relatives or cronies to maintain previous power. According to KBBI (Big Dictionary Indonesian), the dynasty is a descendant or king who leads and is entirely motivated by family, so this is contrary to the system in the Republic of Indonesia (Syanur et al., 2023).

In this case, political dynasties show power passed down from generation to generation to family members or cronies of the ruler. Thus, family members can replace political functions and roles. This indicates static political dominance within the family. Thus, it signifies an imbalance in the division of political power according to the system of government of a country (Fitri, 2019). "Political Dynasties" are carried out with the concept of the President's political leadership strategy. Leadership is a relationship between individuals. Where the leader can influence others to cooperate to achieve a predetermined goal. This is related to identifying ways to determine political policies towards a good direction, handling crisis problems, and the scale of public priorities. However, factually, national leaders (presidents) lose their function and authority in solving societal crisis problems. These leaders, in the sense of the president, tend to prioritize personal interests over public interests. National leaders have a strategic role in creating policies that can solve complex community problems. In a sense, the opposite is true. that is, by carrying out leadership traits that are far from the view of wise national leadership (Wahyudi, 2018). Thus, an investigation is needed to identify a political leadership strategy carried out by the President in the 2024 elections.

Research conducted by Hakiki & Riza, (2022) entitled "Contextualization of the Principle of Power as a Mandate in the Accountability of the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia" states that the principle of power is a people's mandate that has the substance to govern all people towards the benefit of the people honestly and fairly. Second, research conducted by Lande et al., (2022) with the title "Factors Influencing Decision Making: Leadership Style, Personality, and Strategy" states that personality can affect the concept of decision-making carried out by a leader. Third, research conducted by Setiawan & Fauzi, (2019) The study, titled "Ethics of Political Leadership in the Administration of Indonesian Government," states that morals and norms are the basis or foundation for carrying out the duties and functions of state administrators. So, politics is related to power and an effort to create a prosperous society. Thus, this study aims to identify and analyze the President's leadership strategy in the 2024 election by implementing Weberian Conflict Theory.

2. Research Methodology

In general, this study implements a qualitative descriptive approach with a type of literature study. The data collected will be classified into two types, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data consists of research or journal results, as well as books. Secondary data consists of literature relevant to the research topic. Then, the data will be understood, recorded, maintained, and analyzed by actualizing the Weberian Conflict Theory. Based on Weber's view, value judgment in research is an activity that assesses the character or condition of society, and it is implemented based on the influence of the reviewer. The subject of the study cannot be eliminated without correlation with value considerations (Weber, 1949). This is motivated by the contribution of a consistently prescriptive matter, which is the cause of value-free investigation, especially in social science research such as politics. Thus, this concept is adapted to the thesis "*Wertfreiheit*", namely by Max Weber (Ciaffa, 1998). Two aspects can contribute to the idea of value-free. First, two factors contribute to the founding of this value-free concept. First, the rejection of the internalization of the value consideration principle in scientific research occurs in researchers of the "German Association for Social Policy". So, this approach will

minimize subjective judgments without the essence of intellect. Second, the value principle in a society eliminates any consideration by researchers. Then, the data that has been analyzed is drawn using inductive patterns, namely conclusions from general to specific premises. Using literature studies, this research is expected to create space to form updated knowledge.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Political Strategy in the Weberian Theory Conflict Process

An essential element that needs to be done in this analysis is that Weber is not only oriented to reduce the concept of stratification, which focuses on economic or class aspects. However, Weber interprets it as a multidimensional concept. So, society, in general, is stratified based on economy or class, status, and power or party. First, in "economy or class," according to Weber, is a group of people with the same conditions. Three aspects need to be met in economic or class identification. That is, having a causal instrument related to life opportunities, this instrument is reflected by economic interests, represented based on the labour market. Second, "status" is a community, a component in human life that determines degree, dignity, and lifestyle. Third, "power or party" is a political order oriented to achieve domination of power (Goodman, 2014). The existence of this stratification can lead to a conflict. Conflict is a condition without consensus on interests, goals, values, or ideology. Conflict is synonymous with clashes or competition by opposing two or more forces related to ideas and interests. Social conflict is intended in the struggle for a value claim to status or power carried out by paralyzing or eliminating opponents (Turner, 1998).

Table 1 Political Strategy in the Weberian Theory Conflict Process

Proposition	Process
Withdrawal of legitimacy from political authority	In this phase, the subordinates will always be involved in a conflict with the superordinates. Moreover, when that happens, subordinates will withdraw from political authority. This is motivated by the high distance relationship between power, prosperity, and prestige. In this regard, the superordinates who are economic elites will become social and political elites. Thus, only those who can achieve prosperity and prestige. Obstacles will only be felt by the subordinates. Therefore, these people will oppose social conflict and feel it is an alternative.
Dramatic discontinuity in the distribution of rewards	This phase gives rise to the existence of GAP in a social hierarchy. That is the existence of interests that greatly benefit a few people. However, together, it gives a bit of an advantage to others. Thus, few people can hold and engage in power structures, and others do not get it. When this condition occurs, there will be turmoil that will cause further tensions.
Low Social mobility figures	In this phase, no subordinate potential exists to increase access to socio-political relations, which will degrade subordinate enthusiasm.
Galvanized	The conditions above will cause charismatic leaders to overtake subordinate anger by generating tensions. Thus, according to Weber, a society needs a charismatic leader who can mobilize the anger of the subordinates.

Source: Turner, (1998).

According to Weber, when the strategy is successful and optimal, charismatic leaders will face a problematic consolidation condition of something obtained at will. Weber's view differed from Marx's emphasis on economic-based problems that contained the principle of injustice due to domination, ownership of scarce resources, and exploitation of labour. One of Weber's products was a charismatic leader who would establish

formal legal regulations, procedures, and structures to organize his followers as an implication of his success in mobilizing the subordinates (Wahyudi, 2021).

3.2 Charismatic Leadership as a Political Strategy and Causes of Conflict

Charismatic leadership is a charisma theory proposed by Max Weber, a German sociologist in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Silfia, 2013). Weber's concept of leadership shows a framework concept that can support leaders to achieve goals (Suprayitno, A., & Wahyudi, 2020). Weber's emphasis on leadership requires the emphasis on charismatic authority oriented toward influencing others. In this case, charisma is vital as a foundation for goals and overcoming problems in achieving the leader's vision and mission. Charisma can be interpreted as a leader's character that makes him more prominent because of his ability to influence others. In the concept of leadership, charisma refers to the personal attractiveness of the leader who can make others have the desire to follow and support his goals (Sawir, 2020). So, leaders with charismatic types with charisma can make themselves the center of attention and are able to influence others easily. One of the factors in the creation of charismatic leaders is a condition where a leader can inspire others to follow the vision and mission of the leader. This type of leader is also able to create emotional bonds with his followers and shape followers to be explicitly connected to their goals (Firdaus *et al.*, 2023). Implicitly, Weber criticized Marx's theory of conflict. Based on Weber's assumption, the conflict theory contained in Marx's view is not general and is applicable. Thus, it should be more empirically specific. According to Weber, the revolutionary conflict Marx said was unpredictable but would also come in a revolutionary situation. In this regard, Weber also evolved conflict theory by actualizing convergence modes. Thus, conflict is considered a condition for the emergence of charismatic leaders who can mobilize the "Subordinate" lower class (Turner, 1998). In this case, the President of Indonesia elected in 2014 and 2019 has a leadership style, "Servant Leadership," which is leadership that is synonymous with prioritizing the needs, importance, and aspirations of the community he leads. Therefore, the orientation is to serve holistically, *blusukan*, spiritual morals, and blend in with society. This is what can make him achieve high legitimacy with his charismatic leadership (Syugiarto & Mangngasing, 2021). The following is an analysis of the political leadership strategy of charismatic leaders by the President of Indonesia in 2014 and 2019 using Weberian Conflict Theory;

Table 2. Analysis of The President's Political Leadership Strategy for "Political Dynasty" from Weberian Conflict Theory

Proposition	Strategy
Sense of Prestige and External Societies	In this phase, the ability based on political authority to dominate society depends on the leader's legitimacy. The more the leader can exercise a sense of prestige and successfully create relationships with outside communities (Opposition), the higher the legitimacy. In this case, The president seeks to create a multiparty coalition by forming fat coalitions within the government. This is done to weaken the presidential system or the existence of opposition. However, what they campaigned for in forming a large coalition was an orientation to building the country. Thus, this will gain the legitimacy of the community. based on the survey results from Indopol (2022), the public satisfaction level in the President-elect's administration in 2014 and 2019 reached 72.93%. Furthermore, based on the survey results from Saiful Munjani Research and Consulting and the Indonesian Political Incubator it show that public satisfaction with the President has decreased but is still above 50% (Cabui, 2022). Reporting from Kompas, survey data conducted by LSI regarding the President's performance in April 2023 shows a figure of 82%. With this percentage, the highest positive assessment of the President from the public is achieved (Dirgantara & Asril, 2023).

Sense of Dependence

In this phase, when the productive sector in the survival of society depends on political authority, society will focus more on political authority. When the ruler successfully creates the condition, the legitimacy of power will be higher. In this case, the most likely strategy by the ruler is to politicize. The entire mechanism of budget discussion often occurs in dynamics in the executive and legislature. It cannot be separated from the political interests of the ruler (Aziz, 2016). The government allocates a budget of IDR 7.52 billion for Social Assistance (Bansos) or BLT (Direct Cash Transfer) funds intended for 18.8 million families in November-December, approaching the 2024 political year. The social protection budget allocation in 2024 is IDR 496.8 T. This allocation is more than the allocation of COVID-19 funds in 2021, which only reached IDR 468.2 T and IDR 460.6 T in 2022 (Singgih, 2024). Budget: This allocation of funds has the potential to be politicized by the authorities for political purposes in the 2024 general elections. This happens because the budget changes do not contain elements of governance that contain public transparency. Each country has a very high responsibility to improve the community's welfare. One way to do this is by determining the allocation of funds to government programs. However, the problem is that budget allocation as an election approach has always been a public issue. In this case, determining budget allocations, especially social assistance, cannot be separated from political elements. This is a strategy intended to choose one particular passion. Such politics cannot be separated from the political actors of the ruler to maintain their power. So, the narrative developed by the incumbent shows the partiality of small communities through the provided social assistance programs. Thus, its image and legitimacy will increase (Rahmanto *et al.*, 2021).

A Sense of Threat from External Forces

Given that the legitimacy of power is very high, in this phase, when power can form and generate a sense of threat from the external (opposition), then the existence of the legitimacy of power will increase. In the 2024 general election, many (Opposition) governments consider this election to have been designed in a TSM (Structured, Systematic, and Massive) manner, which contains fraud starting from the APDESI (Village Apparatus) movement is obliged to choose one of the pylons according to the will of the ruler. So according to (the Opposition), it cannot be justified in the general election. Furthermore, (the Opposition) identifies the leadership of the current regime with the leadership of the New Order period, which leads to the nature of authoritarianism (Mantalean & Setuningsih). Thus, the President must eliminate his political prestige by prioritizing public interests over personal ones. Because it can threaten elections and democracy. In addition, there is also (Opposition) who considers the President to be "Cawe-Cawe" in the 2024 election, so the discourse on interpellation rights or questionnaire rights needs to be carried out to identify cases of 2024 election fraud. However, this effort (Opposition) does not reduce public trust in the president; the opposite is true. Therefore, it can further increase the legitimacy of power.

Sense of Legitimacy

When the legitimacy of power is higher, society will justify every action the ruler takes, whether right or wrong. However, in this phase, where the ruler cannot maintain legitimacy, conflict will be created. Thus, the power of legitimacy and conflict is increasing. As mentioned from the beginning, the actions of the rulers in the 2024 elections increasingly show political dynasties. This phenomenon was seen during the administration of the President-elect in 2014 and 2019. The first is the involvement of the President's son-in-law as Mayor, the President's son as Mayor and Vice President in the 2024 election, and the President's son who is the Chairman of one of the political parties in Indonesia. Where every relative or crony of the President serves as the highest power. One of the phenomena in this political dynasty is also found in the case of relatives of the President who served in the branch of power, namely the Constitutional Court (MK), by changing norms as a consequence of "judicial review" to pass verification of the candidacy of the President's son as a Vice-Presidential Candidate (Vice-President) in the 2024 election. The involvement of relatives or cronies in political power creates a form of representation of injustice and social equality. This can undermine democratic values, transparency, and accountability in a state government system (Aulia *et al.*, 2023). It can also harm the values of integrity in political mechanisms to the point of causing ethical dilemmas (Syaur *et al.*, 2023). Society criticizes dynastic politics because these actions have long-term consequences for political leadership. Thus, the struggle for political power will be regenerated from generation to generation rather than being carried out on democratic principles (Hidayat *et al.*, 2019). With this, the ruler will allocate the strategic government position to his relatives or cronies (Muliawaty, 2023). So it tends to eliminate quality and capability technocratically and focuses more on the personal relations of the ruler (Pratama *et al.*, 2023). In Weber's view, action on such a strategy would be a point of emergence of increasing conflict. Moreover, the potential for forced action from the ruler to control acts of defiance carried out by subordinates.

Source: Author, 2024.

Legitimacy is always needed and used by the superordinate to dominate and achieve power. Basically, in legitimacy, there is a period of apathy, "Period of Apathy," and a period of forcing a "Period of Coercive Force" on a population oriented as an attempt to control potential acts of defiance committed by the lower class (subordinate). Therefore, many mechanisms are capable of undermining the legitimacy of power. Moreover, under the influence of charismatic leaders, conflicts of question can strengthen political legitimacy. According to Weber, the authority of political power is always exercised by enemies internally and externally to increase the legitimacy of power with an orientation to dominate. Thus, the problem in political legitimacy is the dangerous condition of "Precarious" It is based on identifying the capabilities of political authority in knowing the needs of a system between (defending or attacking) the enemy. Thus, when there is no form of threat, legitimacy will further collapse (Wahyudi, 2021).

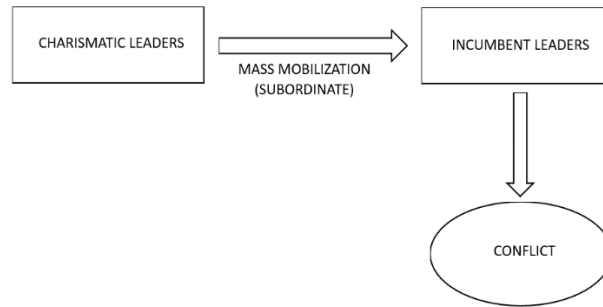


Fig. 1 Political Strategy in the Weberian Theory Conflict Process

Based on the picture above referring to Weber's conflict theory, especially related to the process of a conflict, the relationship between subordinate and superordinate has a very high potential for conflict. This conflict will make subordinates eliminate themselves from all political activities carried out by the superordinate. Subordinates are at the lower level of society, while superordinates are the political elites. Here, the strategy of charismatic leaders who do not yet have a position at the superordinate level must use political strategies by forming a conflict. This can be done by creating a conflict between subordinates and superordinates. A charismatic leader can mobilize the masses (subordinate society). This conflict occurs because only superordinates can reach a high-class level of political activity so that only this group can feel prosperity. Thus, this condition must be exploited by charismatic leaders to gain legitimacy to mobilize subordinate people to oppose the superordinate power structure to achieve power.

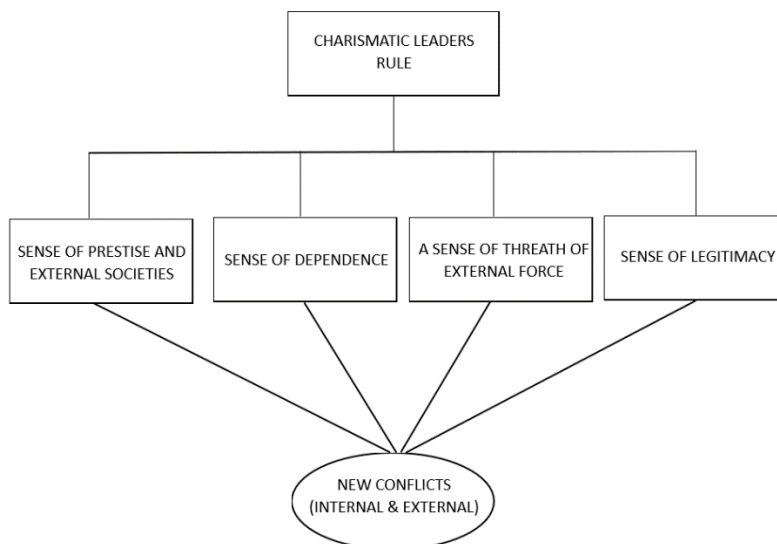


Fig. 2 The President's Political Leadership Strategy for "Political Dynasty" from Weberian Conflict Theory

The picture above is a continuation of the position of power held by charismatic leaders. After the strategy implemented is optimal and able to gain power, the relationship between charismatic and subordinate leaders will experience a problem, namely the weakening of the legitimacy and power of charismatic leaders. Charismatic leaders will again carry out a political strategy to dominate subordinate society. First, it is done by cooperating with all outside communities opposing the government system. Second, it uses political elements to shape policies that create community dependence. Third, to create a deliberate confrontation between the government and the opposition. This strategy is generally oriented to strengthen the legitimacy of charismatic leaders. Conflicts will continue when this legitimacy is higher, but some policies are not felt to favor subordinates or internal or external groups.

4. Conclusion

Based on the results and discussion above, it can be concluded that in the analysis of the President's strategy through Weberian Conflict Theory, which contains a Sense of Prestige and External Societies, a Sense of Dependence, A Sense of threat from External Forces, and Sense of Legitimacy it can be found that types of leaders such as the President elected of Indonesia in 2014 and 2019 can create high legitimacy from the community. With his legitimacy, the President can dominate society and create a side of dependence on his

political authority. The President can use this dependence to implement political strategies by providing surplus social assistance to increase its legitimacy. With such high legitimacy, external parties (Opposition) who criticize the President's political authority to undermine his legitimacy will do the opposite. This effort does not reduce the level of public trust in the President. It can increase the legitimacy of power. Society will give full trust to the ruler in addition to principles (wrong or right). However, when the authority of the President is felt to be unfavorable to subordinates, conflicts will arise. Thus, the charismatic leadership of the Indonesian President in 2014 and 2019 seeks to maintain legitimacy rather than implement democratic principles in the 2024 elections.

Actions on this kind of strategy will be the point of emergence of increasing conflict. Thus, social conflicts that are oriented as an effort to undermine opponents to achieve political power can be realized through charismatic leaders. However, charismatic leaders in this regard are not just fixated on traditional principles of authority, as Weber argues. However, charismatic leaders are also on formal legal authority (President). In this case, the President carries out a political strategy to form a political dynasty by using his charismatic leadership to maintain power; this strategy will continue to create conflicts that have negative implications for charismatic leaders. The cycle of conflict in this strategy will continue to occur continuously. Charismatic leaders should be able to mobilize society not at the will of self-interest but instead by emphasizing the public interest. Thus, the actions taken need to be oriented by values, as Weber said in his social action theory. This can be done by referring to the order of the state system that adheres to democracy and obeys the applicable or legal rules. Thus, his political actions still refer to and do not violate the norms imposed. In the last stage, the researcher recommends that other researchers continue this research, especially focusing on how charismatic leaders create emotional relationships with subordinates.

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Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of the paper

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