Mainstreaming Dynastic Political Thought on the Website Islami.co: A Viewpoint of Hans Georg Gadamer's Hermeneutic Theory

Dini Tri Hidayatus Sya'dyya[1], Abd Ala[2], Mohamad Salik[3]
Dinihidayatus01@gmail.com, [1] abdalabs@gmail.com, [2] salik_mohamad@yahoo.com, [3]
UIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya

Abstract

The phenomenon of political dynasties, namely the inheritance of power in a particular family or group, has become an important issue in Indonesia's political dynamics and attracted the attention of the media, including Islamic-based media such as Islami.co. Islami.co articles often raise the topic of political dynasties with a perspective that links Islamic values and their relevance to contemporary political practices. Hans-Georg Gadamer's hermeneutic approach, particularly the concept of fusion of horizons, is used in this research to understand how Islami.co mainstreams the discourse of dynastic politics. Gadamer's theory emphasizes a dialogue between the text and the reader that involves the incorporation of historical, social, and cultural perspectives. Through this framework, Islami.co not only provides information, but also interprets the phenomenon of dynastic politics by linking it to Islamic history, such as the leadership of Bani Umayyah and Bani Abbasiyah, which reflects the appropriateness of traditional values in a modern context. This hermeneutic approach allows Indonesian Muslim readers to understand political dynasties in a more complex framework, not just as a practice that is viewed negatively or positively. As a result, Islami.co acts as an agent of interpretation that combines the horizon of Islamic history and current political challenges, resulting in a new understanding that balances Islamic values with contemporary political dynamics in Indonesia.

Keyword: Political mainstreaming, Dynastic Politics, Hermeneutics of Hans George Gadamer.

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the issue of political dynasties has become an important highlight in Indonesia's political dynamics. Political dynasties refer to the hereditary inheritance of power within a particular family or group, which is sometimes considered contrary to the principles of democracy and meritocracy. Despite the controversy, this phenomenon still has a place in various media and public spaces. Among Islamic media, especially Islami.co, the discourse on political dynasties is often packaged with a perspective that links Islamic principles and contemporary political realities. This indicates that Islami.co is not merely reporting events, but actively engaging in an interpretive process that situates political phenomena within a broader religious–ethical framework. Islami.co as an Islamic-based media has an important role in directing the perception of the Muslim public towards various socio-political issues. The choice of this perspective is not without reason; this media seeks to offer a point of view derived from Islamic values and history, while still considering the current Indonesian socio-political context. By framing political dynasties through Islamic narratives, such as leadership traditions, succession debates, and historical precedents Islami.co creates a discursive space where readers are invited to negotiate between Islamic historical memory and present democratic challenges. Presenting the discourse of political dynasties from a religious perspective opens up a wider space for discussion, especially in understanding how Islamic leadership models interact with modern political practices.

Islami.co often highlights that Islamic history contains complex dynamics of leadership succession, including instances involving the families or descendants of previous rulers. Rather than justifying political dynasties, the media uses these references merely to show that such practices have historical roots that require contextual understanding. By briefly pointing to examples from early post–Khulafāʾ Rāshidīn leadership to the emergence of hereditary models, Islami.co frames the issue as part of a broader historical discourse without delving into excessive detail. This approach allows the media to position political dynasties as a phenomenon that is not entirely foreign to Islamic discussions, while still emphasizing their contextual nature. In doing so, Islami.co

seeks to bridge Islamic tradition with contemporary Indonesian political realities in a more focused and balanced way.

In understanding how Islami.co mainstreams the discourse of political dynasties, Hans-Georg Gadamer's hermeneutic approach can provide a relevant analytical framework. Gadamer, in his hermeneutic theory, introduced the concept of fusion of horizons, which emphasizes that a person's understanding of a text or phenomenon cannot be separated from his social, cultural and historical background. This means that the meaning given by Islami.co to the issue of political dynasties is also influenced by the collective understanding of Indonesian Muslim readers and the developing social context. Gadamer argues that every interpretation involves a dialogical process between the text (in this case, the discourse of political dynasties in the Islamic context) and its readers. This process allows for a renewal of understanding that does not only see political dynasties as positive or negative, but rather a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of Islamic politics.

Western and Islamic intellectual traditions rest on fundamentally different epistemological foundations, particularly regarding the sources of knowledge, modes of interpretation, and the locus of authoritative meaning. Western hermeneutics exemplified by Gadamer presumes that understanding emerges through the historical situatedness of the interpreter and the fusion of horizons between text and context. Islamic epistemology, by contrast, is structured around the primacy of revelation, the authority of transmitted knowledge (*naql*), and methodological frameworks such as *usul al-fiqh* and *ulum al-hadith*, which govern how meaning is derived and validated.

Highlighting these epistemological distinctions is crucial for this study because they define the interpretive space in which contemporary Islamic media operates. Mentioning Gadamer here is not to advance an analytical claim, but to position the theoretical lens that will guide the subsequent examination. His concept of historically conditioned understanding provides a useful framework for analyzing how Islami.co navigates the tension between inherited Islamic concepts and evolving sociopolitical realities.

In the context of this introduction, the discussion serves to map the theoretical terrain rather than to infer outcomes. It outlines the analytical orientation through which

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the study will later assess Islami.co's interpretive work on political dynasties as a discursive negotiation between distinct epistemic traditions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Dynastic Politics in Islamic Media

The History of Dynastic Politics in the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates

Muawiyah's reign marked the beginning of the Umayyad rule, as well as a change from the democratic system of Islamic government, as implemented by the Prophet Muhammad and the khulafa al-rashidin, to a hereditary monarchy system. Muawiyah achieved power through violence, diplomacy and deceit,[1] not through deliberation. Nonetheless, he continued to use the title of caliph, which is understood as a ruler appointed by God. During the Umayyad period, the title of caliph no longer required expertise in religious law (fiqh). This dynasty separated religious authority from political authority, where religious affairs were left to the ulama, while politics were held by the rulers. The center of government administration was in Damascus, while religious activity was centered in Medina.(Zuhri 44)

During the reign of the Umayyad Dynasty, there was a shift in Islamic leadership values from emphasizing deliberation and togetherness to becoming more authoritarian. This shift encouraged many Umayyad caliphs to utilize power to enrich themselves and their families. Baitul Mal, which was supposed to be the treasury of the people, was often considered the personal property of the rulers. At this time, there were two types of Baitul Mal: general and special. The General Baitul Mal was for the benefit of the people, while the Special Baitul Mal was for the sultan and his family. However, irregularities often occurred, where funds from the General Baitul Mal were used to fulfill the needs of the sultan, his family, and close relatives, including other expenses that were not related to the welfare of the Muslim community at large. As a result, Baitul Mal suffered from dysfunction during the Umayyad era.(Amalia 36)
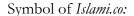
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[1] The statement that "Muʿāwiyah achieved power through violence, diplomacy, and deceit" is highly sensitive and requires strong academic grounding. Such a claim cannot rely on narrative description alone; it must be supported by primary historical sources (e.g., al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr) or reputable contemporary scholarship analyzing early Islamic political transitions. Without explicit references, the sentence risks oversimplification and may appear polemical rather than analytical. It is recommended to provide precise citations or reframe the statement in a more cautious, historically substantiated manner.

The Abbasids succeeded in gaining power after overthrowing the rule of the Umayyad Dynasty in 750 A.H. This dynasty was founded by Abdullah al-Saffah bin Muhammad bin Ali bin Abdullah bin Abbas (132-136 A.H.) and was called the Abbasid Caliphate because the founders were descendants of al-Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad. During this period, the center of Islamic government was moved from Damascus to Baghdad. For more than five centuries in power, the Abbasid Dynasty implemented various patterns of government that changed according to political, social and cultural dynamics. Based on this, Ahmad Shalabi divided the reign of the Abbasids into three main periods, namely:

The first period, the reign of the Abbasids lasted from 132 A.H. to 232 A.H., in which power was fully in the hands of the caliphs. The second period, lasting from 232 A.H. to 590 A.H., was characterized by a shift in political power from the caliphs to the Turks (232 A.H.-34 A.H.) and then to the Saljuqs (447 A.H.-590 A.H.). The third period, which lasted from 590 AH to 656 AH, saw the return of power to the caliph, but limited to Baghdad and its environs.

In the first period, the Abbasid dynasty reached a golden age. During this time, the caliphs had full power as the center of political and religious authority, while the people enjoyed great prosperity. In addition, this period laid the foundation for the development of philosophy and science in Islam. Although Abdullah Al-Saffah ruled for a short time, the true founder of the Abbasid dynasty was Abu Ja'far Al-Manshur (136-148 AH). During his reign, Al-Manshur focused on consolidating power and revamping administration. He moved the center of government from Hashimid to the newly built city of Baghdad. Al-Manshur introduced new traditions of governance, including the appointment of viziers as coordinators of departments, the establishment of a state protocol service, a secretary of state, a police force and a judiciary. He also strengthened the armed forces and increased the role of the postal service, which was given the additional task of reporting the governors' behavior to the caliph for the smooth administration of the government.(Huda 67)

Getting to Know Islami.co: An Islamic Online Media

Symbol of *Islami.co:*

Islami.co is a website that was born on August 01, 2013. This site has the role of conveying information and ideas that support the community to grow, have a spirit of tolerance and peace. This website is led by young people from Islamic boarding school graduates, islami.co is a form of Counter-hegemony over Web-Web that contains a lot of provocation, so that Islami.co can affirm Islam as a Religion that has a role as Grace, but Islami.co can bring information that is a source of Grace for Muslims and humanity in general. As the task of the Prophet Muhammad who was sent by Allah as a perfector of human morals, Islami.co is tasked with broadcasting Islamic values that have noble ethics and teachings of life together.(Redaksi)

The Islamic.co editorial office has its headquarters in an apartment in the South Jakarta area, but is currently moving to the City Light Apartment area which is located at: Jl. Ir. H. Juanda No.30, Cempaka Putih, Kec. East Ciputat, South Tangerang City, Banten Province.

The founder of Islami.co is Savic Ali who is assisted by Saeful Uyun when the website development process, while the redaction team is: Hengky Ferdiansyah, Dedik Priyanto, M. Alvin Nur Choironi, Rifqi Fairuz, Anwar Kurniawan; Video Section are: Elik Ragil and Saeful Uyun; IT Section namely: Ronny Lantip and fahmi; Management namely: Hexa Rahmawati. In the first three years of its establishment, Islami.co was a website that only displayed opinions, after 2016 islami.co presented rubrics consisting of: News,

Columns, studies, stories, worship, wisdom, analysis and future. The development of these sections is more inclined to counter narratives and alternative narratives, especially those related to religious, social and political issues.(Nafi 50)

The editor of Islami.co publishes daily articles regularly. The writing that is written refers to the spirit of counter-narrative in the form of themes that show that Islam is a tolerant and peaceful religion. The editorial team is very careful in mainstreaming the theme deliberately to balance the website managed by the Salafi group where the content contains conservative and intolerant topics. Therefore, the Islami.co website with its unique characteristics deliberately focuses more on the segmentation of readers among young, urban Muslims (urban) middle to upper socio-economic status.

The Implications of Gadamer's Hermeneutic Theory for Understanding Dynastic Politics

Western and Islamic intellectual traditions are two different discourses.(Marheni 90) So the author tries to combine the political issues read with Gadamer's theory, Gadamer begins his analysis with aesthetic experience. According to Gadamer, the text made by the author creates its own world, the interpreter in understanding the text must also have brought its own world, this condition is called horizon. The goal of interpretation is lebenswelt (lived world), which is understanding the world from various perspectives. The text created by the author belongs to history, so the meaning of a text is historical meaning. Dassein is an awareness of oneself, an understanding of oneself, so to achieve Dassein, there are things that must be fought and resisted, namely a prejudice rooted in tradition. This is where Gadamer finds the importance of prejudice in building the horizon of understanding. For Gadamer, understanding is bound to its historicity and does not attempt understanding from an empty consciousness. Historical aspects and subjective elements of the interpreter become prerequisites for understanding. Understanding the past does not mean presenting the past to us,[2] but transformational efforts as a

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[2] The explanation is conceptually correct but remains too abstract. It needs to be grounded with a concrete example from Islami.co's articles. For instance, you could illustrate how Islami.co invokes certain historical narratives such as early caliphal transitions or debates on leadership legitimacy and how the media reframes these accounts to address contemporary issues like political dynasties. Without such textual

hermeneutic ontological explanation are carried out through propositions of historicity, historical prejudice, hermeneutic dialogue, and linguistics. (Darmaji 9)

Gadamer formulated two forms of understanding, namely understanding of truth content and understanding of intention. Understanding content means understanding the meaning of propositions and the substance of text material. Understanding intention means understanding the conditions or situations behind the phenomenon or text. It is the understanding of this second aspect that Gadamer is concerned with as the consciousness of historical understanding.(Hasanah 13)

Historic understanding is obtained through the proposition of historicity, where the realization for the subject (text interpreters) in conducting analysis (text interpretation) is required to be inseparable from the study of historical experiences related to the text. Understanding the text is understanding history with the principles of space and time. History is a dynamic object that needs to be studied by the subject in determining the objectivity of the text.

The Development of Public Thought

The development of public thought on the Islami.co website shows how politics and Islam interact in the Indonesian context. Political issues in Indonesia, especially related to elections and campaigns, often involve the use of Qur'anic verses to support certain political interests. This politicization includes the use of verses intended to justify political choices, both in regional head elections and presidential elections. For example, in the Jakarta and other elections, Qur'anic verses were used to legitimize political support and undermine certain candidates, raising ethical questions about the relevance and validity of using religion in political campaigns.(Darmaji 23)

In addition to the politicization of verses, Islami.co also criticizes the role of ulama in practical politics. Although ulama ideally function as enlighteners and moral guides, a number of ulama have become entangled in transactional politics, which undermines their ethical role. Empirical evidence shows that in contemporary Indonesia, religious-leaders' involvement in politics is substantial: studies such as Religion and Politics in Indonesia:

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evidence, the argument risks sounding purely theoretical and detached from the actual discourse under analysis.

The Role of Kyai in the 2024 Election demonstrate how religious authority is mobilized for vote-getting by political parties.(Yahya and Ananda 115) Similarly, local-level research such as The Hegemony of Pesantren Ulama in the Contemporary Political Dynamics of Central Java highlights that ulama hegemony and political-party oligarchy often result in transactional relationships between religious elites and political actors. In some cases, ulama with great social influence are directly involved in supporting certain candidates, which has sparked discussions of "high politics". According to this idea, ulama should play a role in politics that supports truth and humanity, without being partisan or caught up in political practices that tend to be pragmatic.(Nurrochman)

From a broader perspective, Islami.co notes that Indonesia has made significant progress in establishing electoral democracy post-Reformasi, although challenges remain. One of the biggest challenges is the growing process of political Islamization in many Muslim-majority regions. In this situation, religion often becomes a tool of mass mobilization in elections, but the site also sees greater citizen engagement in the democratic process as a positive sign that Indonesia has managed to build a sound, albeit not yet fully consolidated, democratic foundation,(Pribadi)

Overall, Islami.co encourages people to develop critical thinking towards the use of religion in politics. avoid excessive politicization, and stress the importance of maintaining ethical and moral integrity in political life. In their view, religion should not be a tool for superficial political interests but a moral guide that supports a fair, open and prosperous democracy.(Fatwa)

Contextualizing Dynastic Politics in Modern Democracy

Contextualizing dynastic politics in modern democracies is a challenge that often arises in many countries, especially in the developing world. Basically, dynastic politics refers to the control of political power by a particular family over a long period of time, where family members occupy strategic positions in the government for generations. In the context of modern democracy, the existence of political dynasties is often seen as an anomaly because it contradicts the principles of meritocracy and equality of opportunity idealized in a democratic system. Political dynasties are often criticized for narrowing the space for political participation and perpetuating oligarchic power, even though they are

held through a democratic election process. For example, in the Philippines and India, political dynasties have become an unavoidable phenomenon despite the countries' democratic systems.(Waworuntu)

However, in some countries, political dynasties are seen as political stabilizers. In the context of countries that are still transitioning to full democracy, the existence of political dynasties can be considered as a factor that provides continuity and stability, especially when state institutions are not yet fully strong. For example, in many countries in Southeast Asia, dynastic politics is often associated with high public loyalty and trust to certain figures who have been in power for a long time. In this case, the personal influence and prominence of individuals within the dynasty can be a tool to ensure political stability amidst fluctuating political dynamics.(Panggabean 45)

However, dynastic politics poses a number of challenges in a modern democracy. One of the biggest challenges is the possibility of conflicts of interest and a decline in the quality of governance due to low political accountability. Family members involved in dynastic politics often use their position to perpetuate power and benefit certain groups affiliated with them. This can have an impact on the unequal distribution of state wealth and weaken the check and balance process in a democratic system. In addition, dynastic politics can weaken political parties as institutions that should be the main driving force in the democratic leadership selection process.(Setyowati 97)

To mitigate the negative impacts of dynastic politics, many countries have tried to enact various regulations, such as term limits and anti-nepotism rules. Some countries also try to strengthen political parties so that the regeneration process is more open and oriented towards meritocracy, rather than family relations. However, these regulations are often not strong enough to fully overcome the influence of political dynasties, especially in regions where the culture of patronage and nepotism is still strong.(Firmansyah 75) Therefore, comprehensive political reforms are needed to strike a balance between political stability and a healthy democracy.(Mulia 188) Feurbach has argued that humans tend to form entities to overcome human helplessness so that religion emerges as an expression to fulfill human needs.(Wawaysadhya and Oktafiani 85)

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Critique of the Mainstreaming of Dynastic Politics Discourse

The Role of Media in Shaping Perception

Mass media has an important role in conveying political developments at this time, for example the role of politics in the media that will be discussed is the website Islami.co in the past year. The articles that will be analyzed are:

1. Kaesang, Hubungan Jokowi-Megawati dan Dinamika Politik Indonesia: Dinasti, Ideologi, dan Aliansi Politik

PAKAR

Kaesang, Hubungan Jokowi-Megawati dan Dinamika Politik Indonesia: Dinasti, Ideologi, dan Aliansi Politik

Virdika Rizky Utama   27 September 2023

News written by Virdika Rizky Utama on September 27, 2023 with the title Kaesang, Jokowi-Megawati Relations and Indonesian Political Dynamics: Dynasties, Ideologies, and Political Alliances, the author has an opinion that Kaesang Pangarep, the youngest son of President Joko Widodo, recently joined the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), which triggered a new dynamic in Indonesian politics. The move is seen as a challenge to Jokowi's relationship with Megawati Soekarnoputri and the PDIP, given that the party has a rule that family members cannot be in different political parties. Previously, PSI approached PDIP, but due to disagreement with the party's direction, especially regarding support for Ganjar Pranowo, PSI has now switched to supporting Prabowo Subianto. With Kaesang joining, PSI hopes to increase support from young voters who are more responsive to contemporary political dynamics.(Utama) This illustrates Kaesang's role in influencing Jokowi's political strategy, which is now more involved in forging new alliances and addressing internal party tensions.

The article about Kaesang joining PSI needs to be read hermeneutically rather than descriptively. Readers typically come with a pre-understanding that political party membership is driven by ideological alignment or cadre development. Islami.co challenges this horizon by showing how Kaesang's move is part of a broader

negotiation involving Jokowi, Megawati, PDIP's internal rules, and PSI's strategic shift toward young voters.

Through Gadamer's lens, the text reveals that the meaning of Kaesang's political entry is historically situated, embedded in Indonesia's tradition of familial influence, party loyalty norms, and shifting alliances. A fusion of horizons occurs when the reader recognizes Kaesang's move not merely as a personal choice but as a symbolic and strategic act reshaping elite political relations. The interpretive encounter thus transforms the reader's understanding of political participation, revealing it as a dynamic negotiation between personal identity, family networks, and broader party politics.

2. PDIP di Persimpangan Jalan: Dinasti Politik, Kader Akar Rumput, dan Masa Depan Demokrasi

PAKAR

PDIP di Persimpangan Jalan: Dinasti Politik, Kader Akar Rumput, dan Masa Depan Demokrasi

Virdika Rizky Utama   18 Oktober 2023

The article written by Virdika Rizky Utama on October 18, 2023 with the title "PDIP at the Crossroads: Political Dynasties, Grassroots Cadres, and the Future of Democracy" raises important issues surrounding the internal dynamics of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the challenges it faces. The PDIP, led by Megawati Soekarnoputri, is often seen through the lens of dynastic politics, where family members dominate the running of the party. However, this article highlights the existence of grassroots cadres as the main force of the party, who remain loyal to the basic ideology of PDIP despite the influence of the extended family. The existence of these cadres, spread across Indonesia, is expected to maintain the continuity of the party's vision in the face of changing global and domestic political challenges. In addition, despite dynastic politics being a public concern, PDIP asserts that it prioritizes cadre regeneration based on political education from below, not solely

based on blood relations. This is important given that the future of Indonesian democracy increasingly demands the involvement of educated and competent younger generations. However, the main challenge for PDIP is how to maintain a balance between maintaining the grassroots and addressing criticism of the existence of political dynasties that could undermine public trust.

The article on PDIP's internal dynamics invites analysis of how *Islami.co* constructs the tension between dynastic authority and grassroots legitimacy. Readers bring a preconception that PDIP is dominated by Megawati's family, a narrative reinforced by public discourse. The text complicates this horizon by foregrounding the presence of committed grassroots cadres who embody PDIP's ideological continuity beyond familial lines.

Here, Gadamer's notion of historically effected consciousness becomes crucial: the meaning of PDIP's leadership cannot be separated from Indonesia's political history, party evolution, and generational shifts. The dialogue between the reader's assumptions and the text's reframing produces a fusion of horizons in which dynastic politics and cadre-based regeneration are understood not as opposites but as interwoven aspects of PDIP's identity. This hermeneutic approach reveals the article's implicit claim: the future of Indonesian democracy hinges on how parties negotiate the tension between ideology, institutional memory, and dynastic influence.

3. Gibran Sang Putra Presiden, Representasi Kaum Muda atawa Politik Dinasti?

PAKAR

Gibran Sang Putra Presiden, Representasi Kaum Muda atawa Politik Dinasti?

Virdika Rizky Utama   23 Oktober 2023

The article written by Virdika Rizky Utama on October 23, 2023 with the title Gibran the President's Son, Representation of Young People or Dynastic Politics, the author has an opinion that: Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the son of President Joko Widodo, is now in the spotlight in Indonesia's political dynamics, which raises the dilemma between dynastic politics and youth representation. As mayor of Solo, Gibran

has built an image as a fresh, young leader, but his involvement in a coalition with Prabowo Subianto brings concerns that he is merely acting as an heir to his father's power. This has led to criticism from those worried about the dominance of dynastic politics that ignores opportunities for new cadres who are not dependent on blood relations. However, Gibran must prove that his ambitions as a leader are not based solely on Jokowi's big name, but also on his abilities and policies that can address national challenges. Gibran's efforts to prove himself as an independent political figure, despite being supported by a dynastic legacy, will be a major test of his political career going forward.

The article on Gibran highlights a core hermeneutic tension: the clash between youth representation and dynastic reproduction. Readers often approach Gibran with a preconception that he is a symbol of either renewal or nepotism. Islami.co stages this interpretive conflict by presenting both narratives, Gibran as a young, modern leader and Gibran as an inheritor of Jokowi's political capital.

Gadamer's concept of prejudice (Vorurteil) helps illuminate how readers' assumptions shape their understanding. By juxtaposing Gibran's political performance with his familial ties, the article negotiates these prejudgments, inviting readers to reconsider the meaning of political legitimacy in Indonesia.

A fusion of horizons emerges when the reader recognizes that Gibran's political identity cannot be reduced to one dimension: it is a dialogical interplay between personal capability, social perception, and structural dynastic power. Through this hermeneutic encounter, Gibran is interpreted not simply as a beneficiary of privilege, but as a test case for evaluating the limits of youth politics within dynastic frameworks.

4. Membaca Definisi "Politik Dinasti" Prabowo dengan Kritis

KOLOM

Membaca Definisi "Politik Dinasti" Prabowo dengan Kritis

Sindu D Harjo   26 Oktober 2023

An article written by Sindu D Harjo on October 26, 2023 with the title Reading Prabowo's Definition of "Political Dynasty" Critically, the author has an opinion that the argument about "Political Dynasty" in the context of Prabowo Subianto can be seen from various critical sides. Prabowo often associates himself with the ideology of nationalism, but the dynastic politics that are increasingly prevalent in Indonesia pose a serious challenge to the principles of democracy. Dynastic politics, which refers to the domination of power by a single family or descendant, can exacerbate inequality in political access and narrow opportunities for a more diverse younger generation. In this regard, while Prabowo may criticize the implementation of dynastic politics elsewhere, similar practices in his own political career create a contradiction that should be evaluated further. When families or descendants are dominant in political structures, the potential for the development of a more open and inclusive political system is limited. Critiquing this dynamic does not mean dismissing the contribution of individuals in politics, but rather the importance of ensuring a diversity of voices and opportunities for all levels of society.

The article that critically reads Prabowo's definition of "political dynasty" functions as a hermeneutic critique of political self-representation. Reader's approach Prabowo with diverse preconceptions: some see him as a nationalist figure, others criticize his contradictions. The text challenges both horizons by revealing the tension between Prabowo's rhetorical commitment to nationalism and his proximity to dynastic structures.

Gadamer's emphasis on dialogue between horizons helps clarify this tension. The reader's horizon shaped by public discourse around Prabowo's leadership style interacts with the textual horizon that problematizes how Prabowo critiques dynastic politics while simultaneously benefiting from similar patterns.

Through this process, the text constructs a new, more nuanced understanding: dynastic politics is not merely a matter of family lineage but part of a broader system of elite reproduction embedded in Indonesia's political history. Thus, hermeneutically, the article does not merely critique Prabowo; it reveals the structural paradoxes of Indonesian political culture itself.

5. Politik Playing Victiim Prabowo Adalah Kunci untuk Mencuri Hati Gen Z

The news article written by Anwar Kurniawan on January 14, 2024, titled *"Prabowo's Playing Victim Politics Is Key to Winning Over Gen Z"*, presents the author's argument about Prabowo's strategy of playing the victim as an effective way to capture the hearts of Gen Z. This approach leverages empathy and relatability, traits favored by younger generations. By portraying a vulnerable or wronged persona during his campaign, Prabowo can obscure public perception of past controversies surrounding him, including issues related to human rights and military leadership. This strategy is often amplified through social media, particularly TikTok, which is dominated by visual content promoting "lighthearted" or "adorable" narratives. This method not only enhances personal appeal but also allows Gen Z to more easily accept and associate themselves with a newer, more casual, and relatable image, rather than focusing on substantive policy issues. This highlights how emotional appeal in politics can surpass substantive debate, especially in the digital era, where emotional narratives can spread rapidly and widely.[3]

The *Islami.co* article arguing that Prabowo's "playing victim" strategy appeals to Gen Z requires hermeneutic interpretation rather than descriptive summary. Readers typically enter with the pre-understanding that political persuasion is grounded in policy strength or leadership credentials. The text disrupts this horizon by showing that emotional narratives especially those disseminated through TikTok and youth-centered media often overshadow substantive issues.

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[3] "Gaya Komunikasi Prabowo: Dulu Kental Militer, Kini 'Berubah' Jadi Politisi Sipil."

Through this tension, the article negotiates a new meaning: political identity for Gen Z is increasingly shaped by affective performativity rather than ideological alignment. The resulting fusion of horizons allows readers to understand that Prabowo's strategy works not because it hides controversy, but because it resonates with the emotional economy of digital youth culture.

6. Akrobat Politik KIM Plus di Jakarta dan Wajah Bopeng Elite Politik di Negeri ini

The news article written by Mamang Haeruddin on August 21, 2024, titled *"The Political Acrobatics of KIM Plus in Jakarta and the Scarred Face of the Nation's Political Elite"*, presents the author's argument that the Indonesia Maju Coalition (KIM) Plus, formed ahead of the 2024 Jakarta Regional Election, is a display of "political acrobatics" revealing the unattractive side of Indonesia's political elites.

KIM Plus has engaged in various political maneuvers, including courting additional parties, to ensure complete dominance in strategic regional elections like Jakarta. The coalition's primary goal appears to be the creation of a single candidate to compete against an empty ballot, a tactic seen as aiming to block competitors such as Anies Baswedan, who has garnered support from PKS and Nasdem.

This strategy has drawn sharp criticism for being a pragmatic approach that prioritizes the pursuit of political power over democratic principles. The piece on KIM Plus's political maneuvers in Jakarta must be interpreted with Gadamer's emphasis on historical situatedness. Readers often assume that electoral coalitions reflect ideological compatibility. The article challenges this preconception by presenting KIM Plus's attempt to form a single uncontested candidate—revealing how Indonesian elite politics frequently operates through pragmatic negotiation rather than principled alignment.

This encounter shifts the reader's horizon: instead of viewing coalition-building as a democratic exercise, the text reframes it as a performance of power consolidation that exposes structural vulnerabilities within Indonesia's electoral system. A fusion of horizons emerges in which the reader understands elite "acrobatics" as a culturally embedded political practice shaped by competition avoidance, patronage, and the pursuit of electoral dominance.

7. Berteduh Di Bawah Pohon Beringin, Menafsir Pidato Politik Presiden Jokowi di Depan Kader Golkar

TELA'AH

Berteduh Di Bawah Pohon Beringin, Menafsir Pidato Politik Presiden Jokowi di Depan Kader Golkar

Anwar Kurniawan   22 Agustus 2024

The news article written by Anwar Kurniawan on August 22, 2024, titled *"Seeking Shade Under the Banyan Tree: Interpreting President Jokowi's Political Speech to Golkar Cadres"*, conveys the author's opinion that President Jokowi's speech to Golkar cadres delivered a nuanced message about the comfort and shelter offered by the "banyan tree," the symbol of the Golkar Party.

This speech has been widely interpreted as a strategic move by Jokowi to maintain his political connections with Golkar, especially as his presidential term nears its end. His gesture of wearing a yellow shirt and praising Golkar is seen as a signal of closeness, amidst speculation that he might be exploring a new political vehicle post-presidency.

Furthermore, the growing tension between Jokowi and PDIP, which now supports a different candidate, strengthens the belief that Golkar could be a viable option for Jokowi to sustain his influence in the political arena.(Pratama)

8. Meningkatnya Ketegangan Politik: Prabowo Mulai Menjauh dari Agenda Jokowi?

PAKAR

Meningkatnya Ketegangan Politik: Prabowo Mulai Menjauh dari Agenda Jokowi?

Virdika Rizky Utama   28 Agustus 2024

The news article written by Virdika Rizky Utama on August 28, 2024, titled *"Rising Political Tensions: Is Prabowo Distancing Himself from Jokowi's Agenda?"*, reflects the author's opinion that political tensions between Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo are escalating as Prabowo's actions increasingly diverge from Jokowi's agenda.

Although Prabowo has publicly stated that there is no significant rift between them, recent political decisions suggest their relationship is heading in different directions. For instance, Prabowo has begun asserting his independent stance on certain policies, while Jokowi continues to maintain his influence within the government and political coalition.

Prabowo's engagement with parties supporting him further underscores that, while the coalition remains intact, his approach may become more prominent in the future. Observers note that these growing tensions could impact policy direction and the political stability of Indonesia.

The *Islami.co* article interpreting Jokowi's symbolic use of Golkar's "banyan tree" metaphor invites a Gadamerian reading of language as world-disclosure. Readers often approach political speeches with the expectation that symbolic gestures are merely rhetorical ornamentation. The text challenges this horizon by showing that Jokowi's yellow shirt, metaphors, and praise for Golkar signal potential realignments in his political loyalties amidst tension with PDIP.

Here, the horizon of the text (symbolic communication as political strategy) meets the horizon of the reader (symbolic language as decorative). Their fusion produces a deeper understanding: symbolic gestures in Indonesian political culture function as coded signals for alliance building, ideological repositioning, and post-presidential strategy.

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The hermeneutic encounter reveals that political meaning is not spoken outright, but emerges through culturally embedded symbols and performative rhetoric.

Limitations of the Horizon Funcion in Political Discourse

The presence of political dynasties in Indonesia, particularly involving figures such as Gibran Rakabuming Raka, has raised concerns about their impact on democratic values. While individuals like Gibran benefit from the political capital of their family—most notably the influence of President Joko Widodo—critics argue that this dynamic undermines the principle of meritocracy in politics. However, viewed through Gadamer's hermeneutic framework, public concerns about dynastic politics should not be understood merely as reactions to contemporary events, but as expressions of *historically effected consciousness*. The public's suspicion toward concentrated political privilege is shaped by accumulated experiences with elite domination throughout Indonesia's political history. Thus, the tension between dynastic consolidation and democratic ideals becomes a site of hermeneutic negotiation, where readers' preconceptions about fairness, representation, and legitimacy encounter new political phenomena. In this fusion of horizons, the issue of political dynasties is reinterpreted not only as a structural political problem but also as a challenge to the evolving collective understanding of democracy in Indonesia. This phenomenon highlights how political dynasties can obscure democratic processes, with voters often choosing candidates based on familial ties rather than individual capabilities or proposed policies.(Utama)

Furthermore, the involvement of younger generations from political families, such as Gibran and Kaesang, in national politics increasingly reveals potential risks to the future of Indonesia's democracy. When political alliances focus on placing young family members in positions of power, it may become a strategy to perpetuate political legacies rather than recognizing leadership through experience or competence. For instance, Prabowo's alliance with Gibran appears to be a tactical move to gain access to Jokowi's political network and influence. While this could be seen as a progressive step in involving young leaders in politics, it risks undermining the democratic process by making leadership reliant on family privilege rather than merit. Moreover, the greatest challenge lies in balancing the appeal of youthful leadership with the political experience necessary to

navigate the complexities of Indonesia's political landscape. This dynamic raises concerns about whether such figures can genuinely contribute to democracy or if their presence merely serves to entrench existing power structures.

At the heart of this issue lies the complex relationship between political dynasties and Indonesia's evolving democratic structure. The tension between Jokowi and Megawati within the PDIP highlights internal fractures that shape public concerns about the concentration of political power. However, the way this phenomenon is understood by readers cannot be separated from their *horizon of experience*, including long-standing skepticism toward elite domination and disappointment with past political transitions. From a Gadamerian perspective, these preconceptions form the interpretive lens through which audiences evaluate the current rise of political families.

Islami.co's narrative plays an active role in this hermeneutic process. By framing the Jokowi–Megawati conflict as part of a broader pattern of dynastic consolidation, the media not only reports political tensions but also guides readers in negotiating their own horizon with the horizon of the text. Through its critical tone toward the use of familial networks in securing political influence, Islami.co invites readers to question whether such practices align with the ethical foundations of democracy. In this fusion of horizons, the issue of political dynasties is reconstructed as a threat to fair and inclusive governance, reinforcing public fears that political legitimacy may increasingly be shaped by blood ties rather than collective democratic will.

CONCLUSION

The discussion demonstrates that the rise of political dynasties in Indonesia—exemplified through the narratives surrounding Jokowi, Gibran, and PDIP—cannot be separated from the way readers interpret these events through their own historical and socio-political horizons. Using Gadamer's hermeneutic framework, the Islami.co articles show how public understanding is shaped by a fusion of horizons between past experiences of power, expectations of democratic integrity, and contemporary media narratives. Ultimately, the phenomenon of dynastic politics reveals deeper anxieties about the future of Indonesia's democracy, raising concerns about legitimacy, representation, and the erosion of meritocratic values.

Dini Tri Hidayatus Sya'dyya, dkk.

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