

**Family Politics in the Recruitment Process of Legislative Candidates in the 2024 Elections: A Case Study of the Indonesian Unity Party (Perindo)**



**Politik Keluarga dalam Proses Rekrutmen Calon Legislatif pada Pemilu 2024: Studi Kasus Partai Persatuan Indonesia (Perindo)**

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**ABSTRACT**

This research aims to explain the political recruitment process of the Perindo Party in endorsing legislative candidates with the family backgrounds of its general chairman. This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The results showed that the Perindo Party normatively implemented a more innovative political recruitment process for the 2024 legislative elections by involving public participation and technology. However, in this idealized process, a phenomenon of family politics occurs. The family of the chairman of the Perindo Party did not go through the entire recruitment process because they have strong ties to the party elite who have decision-making power. The chairman's family jumped straight to the nomination stage to be nominated by the Perindo Party. The mechanism is also directly through appointment rather than e-voting as cadres and the general public must go through the title of the people's convention. Therefore, the political recruitment of the Perindo party for the 2024 legislative elections has a gap in the process for the chairman's family because it does not apply the principles of openness and fairness. This has implications for the lousy party institutionalization trend in political recruitment.

**Kata Kunci**

*Politik Keluarg;  
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**ABSTRAK**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan proses rekrutmen politik Partai Perindo dalam mengusung calon anggota legislatif yang berlatar belakang keluarga ketua umumnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa secara normatif, Partai Perindo menerapkan proses rekrutmen politik yang lebih inovatif untuk pemilu legislatif 2024 dengan melibatkan partisipasi publik dan menggunakan teknologi. Namun, dalam proses yang ideal tersebut, terdapat fenomena politik kekeluargaan yang terjadi. Keluarga ketua umum Partai Perindo tidak melewati proses rekrutmen tersebut secara keseluruhan karena memiliki ikatan yang kuat dengan elit partai yang memiliki kuasa dalam pengambilan keputusan. Faktanya, keluarga ketua umum tersebut langsung melompat pada tahap pencalonan untuk dapat diusung Partai Perindo. Mekanisme nya pun langsung melalui penunjukan daripada e-voting seperti yang harus dilalui oleh kader dan masyarakat umum dalam tajuk konvensi rakyat. Oleh karena itu, pada titik ini dapat di simpulkan bahwa rekrutmen politik partai perindo untuk pemilu legislatif 2024 terjadi kesenjangan didalam proses untuk keluarga ketua umum karena tidak menerapkan prinsip keterbukaan dan keadilan. Hal inilah berimplikasi pada tren buruk pelembagaan partai dalam sisi rekrutmen politik.

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## Introduction

Indonesia will hold simultaneous general elections in 2024. The General Elections Commission (KPU) has conducted several stages of the 2024 elections since June 14, 2022. The schedule for the Legislative Elections (Pileg) and Presidential Elections (Pilpres), along with the Regional Elections (Pilkada), has also been determined. Based on the Decree in KPU Regulation Number 3 of 2022 concerning the Stages and Schedule of the 2024 Elections, the 2024 Legislative and Presidential Elections will be held simultaneously on Wednesday, February 14, 2024 (Mahendra, 2023). At the stage of nominating legislative candidates, political parties participating in the elections have this authority. KPU Regulation Number 10 of 2023 concerning the Nomination of the House of Representatives (DPR), Provincial and Regency / City states that a legislative candidate must fulfill administrative requirements, one of which is to become a member of a political party participating in the election (Subekti & Al-hamdi, 2024). In the 2024 elections, 17 national political parties are participating, namely, the National Awakening Party, the Greater Indonesia Movement Party, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, the Golkar Party, the Nasdem Party, the Labor Party, the Indonesian People's Wave Party, the Prosperous Justice Party, the Nusantara Awakening Party, the People's Conscience Party, the Indonesian Change Guard Party, the National Mandate Party, the Moon Star Party, the Democratic Party, the Indonesian Solidarity Party, the Perindo Party, the United Development Party and the Ummat Party (Subekti & Al-hamdi, 2024).

Of the 17 political parties participating in the election, a rare phenomenon occurs in the Perindo party at the political recruitment stage to carry legislative candidates in the 2024 election. Perindo Party is a political party chaired by Hary Tanoesoedibjo, a prominent businessman in Indonesia. This political party already has experience participating in the 2019 elections but still needs to pass the parliamentary threshold (CNNIndonesia, 2019). An exciting event was that the Perindo Party endorsed the family of its chairman, from his wife to his children, to become legislative candidates for 2024. Perindo Party nominated Hary Tanoesudibjo in Banten III constituency, his wife Liliana T Tanoesiedibjo in DKI Jakarta II constituency, and his five children Angela H T in East Java I constituency, Valencia H T in DKI Jakarta III constituency, Jessica H T in NTT II constituency, Clarissa H T in West Java I constituency and Warren H T in Central Java I constituency (Saubani, 2023a).

This phenomenon shows that familial, political sentiment has a significant role in the political recruitment process within the Perindo Party. This is very ironic when political parties are required to produce legislators who can represent the community well in Parliament later. However, in reality, the recruitment process does not go through a transparent process and is

characterized by family politics. In simple terms, kinship politics is interpreted as similar to the behavior of nepotism. Why is that? Because family politics practices the distribution of power among blood family members. This meaning illustrates that in kinship politics, power is distributed among family members, be it wives, children, siblings, and in-laws (Haboddin, 2015). So, in the context of this case, Hary Tanoesoedibjo, who has the position of chairman, has the authority to decide to carry his wife and children. This is the fundamental problem of political party recruitment, especially for the 2024 legislative elections. At this point, the importance of this research is carried out in more depth as a form of investigation of how political parties, in this case, Perindo, carry out political recruitment for legislative elections with its general chairman, who has a conflict of interest with his family. Whereas the new Perindo party should have the spirit to contribute generously to political practices in Indonesia, in reality, bad practices related to family politics are unavoidable.

Furthermore, several previous studies discuss kinship politics in elections. Research Haboddin, (2018) explains how family politics works in simultaneous regional elections in Indonesia. His research findings show that family politics has thickened in recent years in the context of regional head elections. Their presence in the local political scene is more due to having networks, connections, and capital - all of which are political capital used in contesting for political office. The presence of several extended families in local elections is not a violation of formal law. Still, in terms of democracy, it is undoubtedly unhealthy because it does not provide space for other figures to emerge besides their families.

Then, research from Anggariani, (2013) explains the relationship between politics and kinship. His findings clarify that the interaction of community members in the form of social groups gives birth to feelings of fate, companionship, mutual assistance, and sincere help, creating solid kinship ties. However, human nature, which always wants to be in power and instill its influence, desires to build political structures in small segments of the State community. Political relations and kinship do not prevent the emergence of competition in the form of opposition and coalitions based on family relationships and group interests. Meanwhile, research by Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, (2018) explains the modalities owned by the Yasin Limpo political family in the 2015 Gowa Regency elections. This research shows that the most influential capital is the inheritance of resources owned by one of the senior family members of the family who served as the previous regent for two periods.

Based on the explanation of previous studies, it can be classified into two main discussions: how kinship politics works and the modalities of political families in regional head elections and political and kinship relationships. Therefore, the novelty offered in this study

focuses on kinship politics that occurs in party political recruitment to elect legislative candidates. Therefore, this research aims to explain the political recruitment process of the Perindo Party in endorsing legislative candidates with the family backgrounds of its general chairman.

Kinship politics involves political liberalization and decentralized political practices (Feinstein, 2010). Family politics is interpreted as similar to nepotism behavior because it practices the distribution of power among blood family members. This meaning illustrates that in family politics, power is distributed among family members such as wives, husbands, children, siblings, and in-laws (Haboddin, 2015). Kinship politics is also similar to dynastic politics in the traditional political sense. Kinship politics is an effort by the ruler to place families and relatives in strategic positions to build a political empire in the government, both at the national and local levels (Wilson & Inkster, 2018). This effort is made so that those who are members of kinship politics can 'look after each other' and remain in power, as well as control the government by the wishes of the family (Agustino, 2010).

Kinship politics operates within the political and government institutions sphere by including family members and relatives. Families and relatives who serve as political rulers are expected to "look after each other" to stay in power for a long time (Querubin, 2016). Furthermore, placing family or relatives in strategic positions will make it easier for the ruler to control everything the ruler needs. Family politics applies to rural communities of kinship ties and can also occur in urban communities (Cruz et al., 2017).

Then, Political recruitment is not only about nominating elected representatives at local, regional, national, and sub-national levels but also about appointments to public office. Political parties play an essential role in selecting legislative candidates. Each country must determine several requirements for those deemed capable of obtaining the position of legislator (Hazan, 2014). Then, there are three levels in the candidate recruitment process: certification, nomination, and election. The first is the certification process, which is about who is eligible to be elected as a legislative candidate. The formal requirements that candidates must meet are established by electoral law. These include age, citizenship, track record, residence, morality, incompatibility, popularity, financial savings, political experience, and the requirement to collect signatures of support (Crotty & Katz, 2005).

Second is the nomination process, which decides which candidates will be nominated as legislative members. To measure the level of democracy within the party can be seen from several things, such as The degree of centralization, i.e., how far the nomination is determined by the national party leadership or handed down to local regions. The extent of taking part, i.e.,

whether only a few select candidates or many people are involved in the process. The scope of decision-making, i.e., whether there is a choice of one, several, or a variety of opinions vying for the nomination. Third, the election process is about who is elected due to the nomination process. The type of candidate selected by the party can influence the quality of legislators and the makeup of the government. For example, to control the legislature, policy-making, and investigations into election results, if the party decides to select professional lawyers, local activists, celebrities, or experienced party officials, the party may need to choose a skilled lawyer or a local activist (Crotty & Katz, 2005).

Political recruitment also focuses on essential matters such as candidate selection (Verge & Claveria, 2016). Candidate selection is the method used by political parties in selecting candidates who will sit in various sectors of power in the process of election results (Siavelis & Morgenstern, 2020). Candidate selection is the official primary process owned by a party to decide on a person officially elected to hold an office marked by the voters' votes in the electoral communication as a recommendation and endorsed candidate or from a list of candidates. The selection process is limited to political parties only to determine the candidates who will be nominated in the election (Lundell, 2004).

In the candidate selection process, there are four essential things to consider. First, Who are the actors participating in the selection process (candidacy)? Candidacy describes who can be nominated or designated as a party candidate. This process is qualified on two levels: inclusiveness and exclusiveness. In inclusiveness, everyone can run as a candidate in the party, not only limited to party members or party administrators but open to all citizens. Meanwhile, in exclusivity, several conditions limit and close the right of a person or party cadre member to participate in the candidate selection, so this recruitment pattern is completed and undemocratic. Second, who is the selectorate? This process is related to a party institution formed to select candidates. The institution refers to how many people determine the selection process—consisting of certain internal party members or involving citizens. When citizens are involved in the candidate selection process, the pattern can be classified as an inclusive selection model. In contrast, exclusive selection is when party leaders or elites determine candidates. This relates to how much the party leadership's role determines a person's outcome in the nomination process, whether chosen by the central administration or partly distributed to local regional leaders (Rahat, 2009).

Third, Where is the selection process conducted (degree of decentralization)? This process explains the issue of where the scope of decision-making is related to the case of the degree of decentralization and centralization. When candidates are selected exclusively by

selectors at the central (national) level, this method is called the degree of centralization. Conversely, the decentralized method is called the decentralized method when party selectors carry out candidate selection at the local level and take place autonomously. Fourth, How are candidates nominated by the party (voting or appointment)? In this case, there are two nomination models. First is the voting system model, which is a nomination based on votes where all candidates are selected through an election procedure without a single selector being able to change the list. Second is the appointment system model, where candidates are appointed without an election procedure, and candidates are selected without needing any other approval except by the party or party leader (Rahat, 2009).

## **Method**

This research uses a qualitative method Creswell & Creswell, (2017) with a case study approach (Flyvbjerg, 2011). The case study of this research is the Perindo Party in the political recruitment process of legislative candidates from among the family of its general chairman for the 2024 elections. Then, this research uses literature study data collection techniques. Therefore, the data source of this research comes from credible online news such as Kompas.com, liputan6.com, detiknews.com, tempo.co, CNN Indonesia, and so on, as well as relevant journal articles. The data analysis technique in this research is descriptive. The stages of data analysis are collection and processing, data selection, analysis and verification between variables, and interpretation and conclusion drawing (Al-Hamdi et al., 2020).

Furthermore, this research also uses Nvivo 12 plus software to help analyze the data. The features used in Nvivo 12 plus are crosstab query and project maps. The crosstab query feature is used to analyze and visualize data about the most decisive recruitment process in the Perindo party in carrying the family of its chairman to become a legislative candidate. Meanwhile, project maps in this study are used to map the problems in each political recruitment process carried out by the Perindo party. This research uses Rahat, (2009) theory about four essential elements in the candidate recruitment process in political parties: candidacy, selectorate, degree of decentralization, and nomination.

## **Result and Discussion**

### ***Candidacy***

Candidacy describes who can be nominated or designated as a party candidate. This process is qualified on two levels: inclusiveness and exclusiveness. In inclusiveness, everyone can run as a candidate in the party, not only limited to party members or party administrators

but open to all citizens. In exclusivity, several conditions limit and close the right of a person or party cadre member to participate in the candidate selection, so this recruitment pattern is completed and undemocratic (Rahat, 2009). In the Perindo party case context, the recruitment process was inclusive by opening an online selection titled "People's Convention."

People's Convention is an online networking program for Indonesian citizens who are interested in registering as Candidates for Legislative Members at all levels of elections (Regional House of Representatives of the Regency/City, Province, and House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia) through Perindo Party with due observance of statutory provisions (Krisiandi, 2022). Co-Chair of the Executive Committee of the People's Convention of the Perindo Party, Angela Tanoesodibjo, said that the People's Convention is an instrument to form a digital democracy ecosystem. Hopefully, the Convention can strengthen public political participation in nominating legislative members. Then, according to the Daily Chairman of the People's Convention Executive Committee, Arief Budiman, with the People's Convention, the Perindo Party hopes to be able to select legislative candidates with high political integrity, dignity towards their supporters and voters and have a strong relationship with the Perindo Party to fight for public welfare by the ideals and political lines of the party (Krisiandi, 2022).

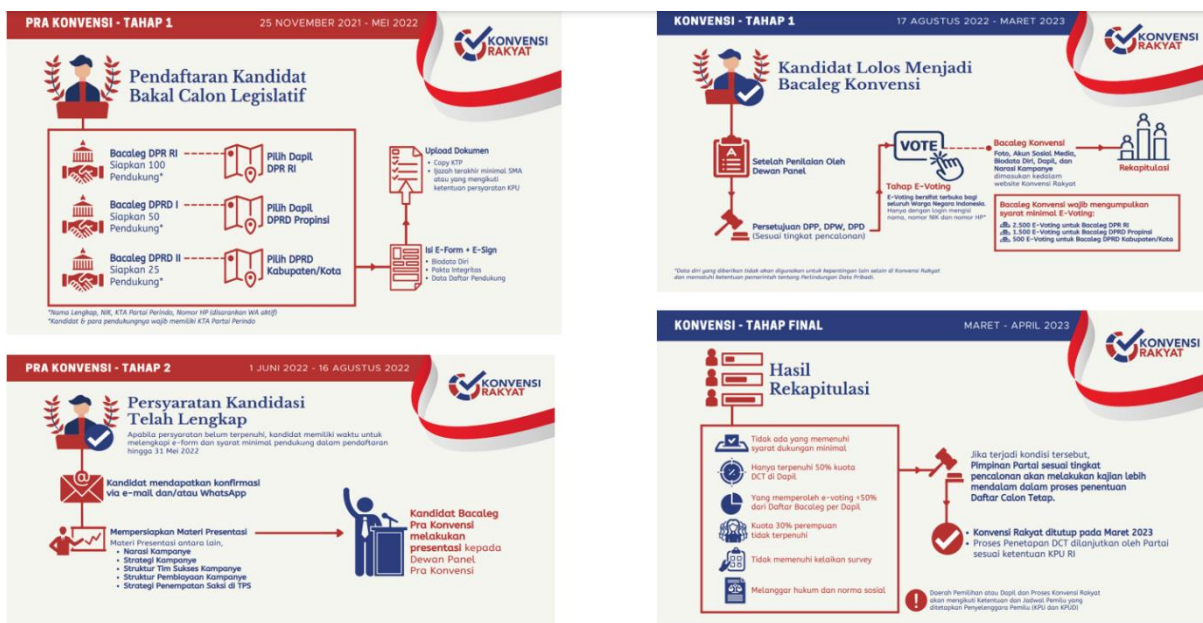


Figure 1. Mechanism of the People's Convention

Source: *konvensirakyat.com*, (2023)

Phase I (Pre-Convention): First, the registration process for legislative candidates for the district/city, provincial and national levels. The requirements that candidates must meet are to be supported by the community, as many as 100 people for legislative candidates at the national level, 50 at the provincial level, and 25 at the regional / city level. Second, a presentation from the Convention Candidates in June 2022 - August 2022 to the Pre-Convention Panelist Team on their candidate plan: campaign narrative and strategy, success team structure & financing, witness management plan at polling stations. Phase II (Convention through E-Voting): Convention candidates who pass the assessment of the Panel Team must obtain a minimum support from the public of 2,500 for House of Representatives candidates, 1,500 for Provincial House of Representatives candidates, and 500 for Regional House of Representatives of the district/city candidates. Final Stage of the Convention (March - April 2023): Recapitulation of E-Voting results, Closing of the Convention, and submission of the People's Convention results to the Perindo Party according to the management level to continue the official registration process to the general election organizers (konvensirakyat.com, 2022).

The Candidacy stage is an important milestone for every political party (Tolley, 2019). Political recruitment is one of the functions for political parties to run; every party needs qualified cadres because only with such cadres can it become a party that has a more significant opportunity to develop itself (Budiardjo, 2003). Ideal political candidateization has not yet been fully realized. The recruitment and regeneration process so far tends to depend on individual figures. Political parties also face challenges in the regeneration process (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016). Most political parties do not have a transparent regeneration system, and the source of political recruitment tends to be oligarchic (Bjarnegård & Zetterberg, 2017), (Verge & Astudillo, 2019). Recruitment patterns still follow a line determined by primordial factors such as religion, regional relations, regional similarities, and factors of loyalty and closeness to top party leaders and even family ties (Onyenwe et al., 2020). The image of politicians jumping fences, starting from the families of influential people in the party, cadres of artists or comedians, rich people, and businessmen, whose political abilities are often doubted, is one of the many problematic intersections in the process of political recruitment and candidacy carried out by political parties (Wardani, S. B. E. & Subekti, 2021).

In the context of the case of the candidacy stage of the Perindo party, according to the Chairman of the National Board of the People's Convention, TGB Zainul Majdi, the People's Convention held by the Perindo Party is an extraordinary endeavor. This People's Convention is a gathering place for good ideas and presents politics that embraces all elements of the nation. Plus, life is now in the digital era, which enters every aspect of life. In TGB's eyes, the People's



Convention is rare in politics. Usually, he said, the political world is noisy by simply sharing power and even loud by bringing down fellow children of the nation. The People's Convention is expected to return politics to its nature. The essence of politics is to discuss good things about the people and the country by helping and supporting each other in goodness (Ramadhan, 2021).

From the internal side of political parties, the candidacy process is characterized by various dilemmas. This is related to differences in the meaning of intra-party democracy, where one party supports the concept and the other party disagrees. Political parties face at least two dilemmas in implementing a participatory and transparent candidacy process. The first is high participation and strong leadership. A democratic candidacy process is indicated by the involvement of as many people as possible in the candidacy process (Hadi, 2021). The pattern of the candidacy process is divided into three stages; the first stage is self-selection (ambition resources), namely the extent to which prospective legislative members wish to bind themselves to the political system and gain recognition of their existence in public office so that they are eligible. Second is party selection, namely being able to penetrate the selection team (gatekeepers) so that they can become candidates. Third, selection, namely the support base owned by the candidate, is also an essential consideration in this candidacy stage. Likewise, the people's convention process carried out by the Perindo Party includes these three stages in conducting candidacy to get legislative candidates to be promoted (Matland & Studlar, 2004).

Perindo's move is a form of inclusive candidate recruitment instrument emphasizing the digital democracy ecosystem (e-democracy). The Perindo People's Convention initiative is a breakthrough within the framework of techno-politics, a combination of technology and politics (Kellner, 2021). Perindo's party e-democracy-based movement reflects party institutions' participation, transparency, and accountability. An actual example of e-democracy in practice is the victory of the Movimento 5 Stelle or Five Star Movement (M5S) Party in the 2018 Italian Parliamentary Elections. Its strategy lies in cross-breeding internet technology and flagship programs (Pirro, 2018).

The political recruitment system can be classified into four forms, namely: first, partisanship (taken from political party administrators or party elites); second, meritocratic (taken with consideration of quality and competence from the wider community); third, compartmentalization (a combination of party administrators and competence); and fourth, survival (based on the mass support a person has) (Geddes, 2023). The Perindo Party practices Geddes' third and fourth recruitment methods. As an open party and a newcomer, the Perindo

Party needs the people's full support and broad sympathy. So, one way to attract sympathy is to open the recruitment of legislative candidates as widely as possible and with competency tests for all applicants, both internal (management) and external (community). However, what is important to note is that open recruitment applies to the interested community but excludes people with ties to the party elite. The case of the chairman's family who became legislative candidates carried by Perindo is clear evidence that these people did not carry out the process carried out by other cadres or the community regarding the selection of candidates. This is ironic for political parties internally because they have revolutionary mechanisms in political recruitment but defects in very thick family relationships that still exist in them.

### ***Selector of legislative candidate and Degree of decentralization***

This process concerns a party institution set up to select candidates (Kirkland & Coppock, 2018). The institution relates to how many people determine the selection process (Mac Giollabhui, 2020, Sieberer, 2020). In more detail, this relates to how much the party leadership determines the outcome of a person in the nomination process, whether it is determined by the central administration or partly distributed to local regional leaders (Rahat, 2009). The Perindo Party has three levels of party institutions that become selectors of legislative candidates. At the first level in the district/city, the voters are the party's Branch Leadership Council administrators. Then, at the second level in the provincial scope, the selector is the party's regional leadership council. The third level is the national coverage, and the selector is the party's central leadership board. Thus, the context of the case of the family of the chairman of the Perindo party being nominated as a candidate for legislative members shows a centralization of the chairman's policy in conducting political recruitment. However, in reality, the party leader's authority has a clear role without considering the abilities of the people recruited. The Perindo Party leadership has the right to appoint cadres who will be placed as candidates directly in selecting candidates, regardless of any considerations in determining the candidates. What is clear is that the party leadership has the right to decide which candidates will be given the mandate (Aristya et al., 2021).

Businessman and Chairman of the Perindo Party, Hary Tanoesoedibjo, is listed in the temporary candidate list released by the General Elections Commission (KPU). He is running in the Banten III constituency. Meanwhile, his wife, Liliana Tanoesoedibjo, runs in the Jakarta II constituency with serial number 1. Hary Tanoe's first daughter, Angela Herliani Tanoesoedibjo, runs for the East Java I constituency with serial number 1. Hary Tanoe's second daughter, Valencia Herliani Tanoesoedibjo, is trying her luck toward a central parliamentary

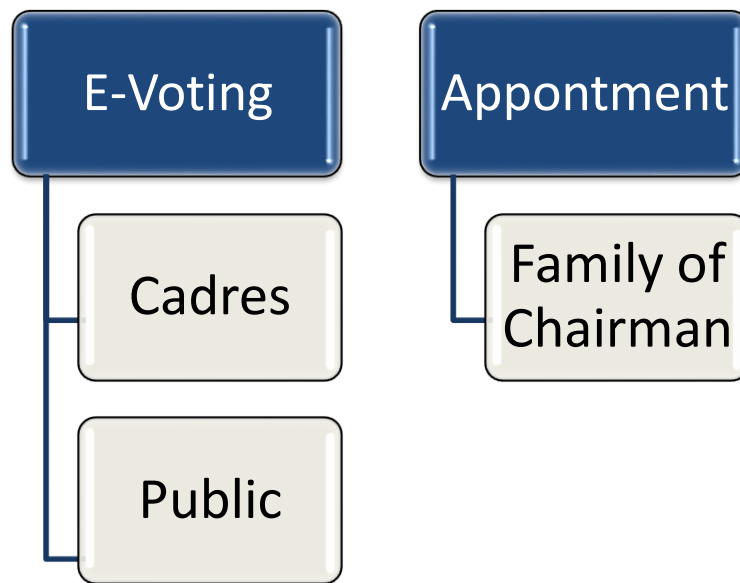
seat from the DKI Jakarta III constituency, which also occupies serial number 1. His third daughter, Jessica Herliani Tanoesoedibjo, is also listed as a House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia candidate from the East Nusa Tenggara II constituency and is again number 1 in Perindo's temporary candidate list. Tanoe's fourth daughter, Clarisa Herliani Tanoesoedibjo, has decided to run for the West Java I constituency. Clarisa is number 2 in Perindo's temporary candidate list, unlike her three older siblings and parents. Likewise, Hary Tanoe's youngest son, Warren Haryputra Tanoesoedibjo, also ran as a House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia candidate from the Central Java I constituency with serial number 2 in the Perindo the temporary candidate list (Aprilia, 2023).

Former Secretary of the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) Muhammad Said Didu highlighted the family's action. Said Didu said Hary Tanoe's family committed real nepotism in one of the political parties. He questioned the fate of Indonesia if the government was in the hands of one family (Amirullah, 2023). The fact that Hary Tanoe's (HT) family is compactly running for the legislature attracted the attention of Netizens X, a platform formerly called Twitter. They are busy discussing the matter of HT building a political dynasty. Netray Media Monitoring then monitored netizen responses to the HT family competing to become people's representatives in different electoral districts. Using the keywords Hary Tanoe & running for the legislature, Hary Tanoe & family, and Hary Tanoe from August 22 to 28, 2,363 tweets from 1,410 accounts were found. Based on Netray's monitoring, not all netizens doubt the ability of the HT family. Not a few also provide support, such as from the @AnakLolina2 account, which praises the 57-year-old businessman for wanting to engage in politics to help build the nation. Meanwhile, netizen comments that tend to be critical of the political choices of the Hary Tanoesudibjo family can be seen from the comments of historian J.J. Rizal. Through his account @JJRizal, he said that this phenomenon is common in Indonesian politics. It is not only the HT family that brings their family into politics. For him, this shows the emergence of political decline in Indonesia (Wardani, D. A., 2023).

### ***Nomination***

How are candidates nominated by the party (voting or appointment)? In this case, there are two nomination models. First, the voting system model, which is nomination by vote, is where all candidates are selected through an election procedure without a single selector being able to change the list. Second is the appointment system model, where candidates are appointed without an election procedure, and candidates are selected without needing any other approval except by the party or party leader (Rahat, 2009). In the context of the Perindo Party,

these two methods were applied in selecting legislative candidates for the 2024 elections. The e-voting model is carried out during the people's convention organized by the Perindo Party for cadres and the general public interested in becoming legislative candidates. However, in the case of the family of Chairman Hary Tanoe, being able to become legislative candidates by getting a small serial number in each electoral district they occupy is an appointment process see Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Nomination in Perindo Party to become a legislative candidate for the 2024 elections

Figure 2 shows that the chairman's family has privileges or easy steps in following the flow to be promoted in the 2024 elections. This is evidenced by the absence of a history explaining that the chairman's family followed the e-voting flow set by the Perindo party for legislative candidates. Thus, transparency in the process is problematic and questionable. This nomination process is an injustice between cadres and the general public, with the family of the chairman of the Perindo Party participating in recruiting legislative candidates for 2024. At the same time, everyone should get the same treatment by party rules so that the principles of transparency and discipline against self-made rules become valuable.

According to Perindo Party Deputy Chairman Ferry Kurnia Rizkiansyah, there is nothing wrong with his party's move to endorse Hary as a family. No rule prohibits a family from running as House of Representative legislative candidates. The important thing is that all family members meet the qualifications and follow the provisions of candidate registration. Ferry also claims that Hary Tanoe and all his family members meet the qualifications to become House of Representative candidates from the Perindo Party. Therefore, the general

chairperson's family members should be promoted and supported as candidates for people's representative (Saubani, 2023b).

The political observer from Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Kuskridho 'Dodi' Ambardi, said this event could be part of individual rights. This cannot be separated from the many other politicians at the national and regional levels who do the same thing. "Functioning political parties, people's representative council, and regional people's representative council, and regional head positions as a family stage,". Furthermore, this is also a reflection of the fact that the pattern of political recruitment in Indonesia is divided into two: toll roads and village roads. "The highway route through the family is almost without selection, and the village road is complicated through a long selection process," (Pratiwi, 2023).

Then, the Indonesian Parliamentary Care Society Forum (Formappi) strongly criticized it. Formappi researcher Lucius Karus said that the nomination of Hary Tanoe and his family as candidates was a clear manifestation of kinship politics. This phenomenon is said to damage democracy from many sides. Lucius explained that kinship politics within the Perindo Party damaged the party's regeneration process. Potential cadres who have participated in the regeneration stage, maybe even the nomination stage, are certainly hindered from becoming candidates because they have to succumb to the family of their chairman. Even if they can become candidates, the cadres still have to give up a small serial number if they are registered in the same electoral district as the party boss's family. Apart from damaging party regeneration, he said, kinship politics will also open up opportunities for corrupt practices if they are elected council members. This is because the party elite is younger to control council members who are their families when they want to carry out congregational corrupt practices. According to him, kinship politics or dynastic politics occurs because election regulations do not prohibit it. The course is increasingly fertile due to a "party oligarchy," a.k .a. a handful of people with full power to determine party policy (Saubani, 2023b).

Meanwhile, University of Indonesia political observer Cecep Hidayat said there would be dynastic politics if one family were later elected as a board member. "Where one extended family enters the parliament, it will hamper the democratic process that occurs in the parliament," Cecep told Kompas.com on Sunday (27/8/2023). So, according to him, it allows public policy to be poorly represented. "Because then Hary Tanoe as the general chairman, there is a greater possibility that his family can become legislative members by utilizing existing resources," he said. He hopes the public will scrutinize the candidates chosen in the 2024 elections. "Look at their background, achievements, and vision," he said (Pratiwi, 2023).

More than that, this is by the theory conveyed by Romli, (2005), which states that there are patterns when political parties conduct political recruitment of their political elite candidates. One of the patterns is mediate survival, a recruitment process carried out by the authority of party leaders without paying attention to the abilities of the recruited people. Such is the case experienced by the Perindo Party in the political recruitment process for the family of its chairman.

## **Conclusion**

This study's conclusion shows that the Perindo party normatively applies a more innovative political recruitment process for the 2024 legislative elections. This is demonstrated by opening candidate selection openly by utilizing technology. Then, the part of the party that becomes the selector and the degree of decision-making is adjusted to the management at its level, namely the Branch Leadership Council at the district/city level, the Regional Leadership Council for provincial legislative candidates, and the Central Leadership Council for national legislative candidates. Likewise, the nomination of candidates using e-voting is done by the People's Convention organized.

However, in this ideal process, there is an unavoidable phenomenon of kinship politics. The family of the chairman of the Perindo Party did not participate in the selection process because they have strong ties to the party elite who have decision-making power. Moreover, the person who makes decisions at the national level is absolutely in the hands of the chairman, so his family members who participate as legislative candidates are subject to conflicts of interest. So, at the nomination stage, the chairman's family is determined more by appointment rather than e-voting, as is done by cadres and other people in the people's convention process. The four essential components in the political recruitment process have two very different faces on the Perindo Party side. On the other hand, it has a revolutionary idea with the people's convention. However, on the other hand, kinship politics as a form of non-ethical phenomenon is still carried out in reality. Therefore, in this case, there is injustice and inequality in the political recruitment process to nominate legislative members in 2024 within the Perindo Party. The strong kinship politics in this recruitment process shows that the Perindo Party tends to be a new party that has the same problems as previous parties, namely political dynasties, or tends to be a family party.

Therefore, the political recruitment of the Perindo Party for the 2024 legislative elections has gaps in the process because it does not apply the principles of openness and fairness. This has implications for the lousy party institutionalization trend in political recruitment. Furthermore, this research can explain comprehensively the recruitment process of

the family of the chairperson of the Perindo Party to become legislative candidates in 2014. However, this research has limitations in that it only explores the recruitment process within the party. Therefore, recommendations for future research can take the point of view of the political motives of the family of the chairperson of the Perindo party to become legislative candidates in 2024.

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