

Political Family and Intra-Party Democracy in Indonesia. (A Study on the Political Recruitment of the Golkar Party during the Reform Era in South Sulawesi)

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ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the political family involved in the local politics in South Sulawesi, particularly the political recruitment mechanism and political party institutionalization from the intra-party democracy perspective. Based on qualitative analysis, the findings of this research show that, firstly, a large number of political families in Golkar Party at South Sulawesi are a product of the oligarchy-meritocratic political recruitment. Political legacies such as activities insocial and political organizations give more advantages for the political families both in the political recruitment process and the access to power. Secondly, the weakness of Golkar Party's institutionalization is showed by the dependence of Golkar Party to the party's elite and the existence of factionalization within the party. As a result of such weakness, several party leaders resign from Golkar Party, thereby strengthening the role of political families in the political recruitment process. 50% of the 2014 electoral vote for the Golkar Party in the South Sulawesi Parliament has been largely contributed by the political families.

Key words: political family, political party, political recruitment, political party institutionalization, intra-party democracy

ABSTRAK

Makalah ini menganalisis keluarga politik dalam politik lokal di Sulawesi Selatan, khususya tentang mekanisme rekrutmen politik dan dan institusionalisasi partai

politik dalam perspektif demokrasi intra-partai. Berdasarkan analisis kualitatif, temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa banyak keluarga politik dalam Partai Golkar Sulawesi selatan karena mekanisme rekrutmen yang bersifat oligarki-meritokratik. Adanya pewarisan aktifitas social, politik dan pewarisan konstituen memberikan peluang yang lebih besar bagi keluarga politik dalam rekrutmen politik. Selain itu, institusionalisasi yang masih lemah yang tergantung kepada actor politik/elite politik di satu sisi, dan adanya faksionalisasi dalam organisasi partai yang mengakibatkan mundurnya pengurus partai berakibat pada semakin kuatnya keluarga politik. Lebih dari 50 % suara yang diperoleh oleh Anggota DPRD Sulawesi Selatan pada pemilu 2014 berasal dari keluarga politik. Kata Kunci: keluarga politik, partai politik, rekrutmen politik, institusionalisasi partai politik, demokrasi intra-partai

INTRODUCTION

Public support for the Golkar Party had declined sharply at both national and local level in the early of reform era. This decline is related to the national political condition and public distrust to the New Order administration. Actually, Golkar Party responded to this condition immediately by implementing changes, such as the change of Golkar Party's paradigm in the National Congress. In the new paradigm, The Golkar Party proclaimed itself as an open political party, independent, democratic, moderate, solid, rooted and responsive to the problems of society, as well as the problem of nation and state ([Akbar Tanjung, 2007: 98](#)).

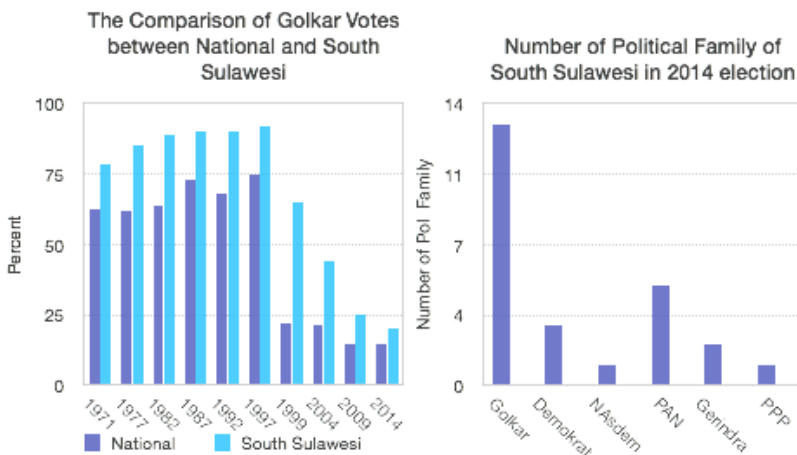
However, the new paradigm was not necessarily able to save Golkar from the decline in public support. Since the electoral process in the reform period, the Golkar Party declined continuously from 22% in the 1999 election to just 14.4% in the 2009 election. On the other hand, public support for South Sulawesi Golkar Party has been always higher in the national level because of a certain historical aspect; the two pillars of Golkar Party - the bureaucracy and military - had a strong hold of power at South Sulawesi. In fact, the governor of South Sulawesi Province usually hails from the nation's military.

In the 2014 election, the electoral vote of South Sulawesi Golkar Party is still higher than the vote of National Golkar Party. Data show that the political family of the Golkar Party is higher than the others though it is an established political party and

has a long experience in the history of Indonesia's democracy. The existence of political families at South Sulawesi is a common phenomenon which is going on at both provincial and district level.

Studies about political families of the Golkar Party have always been interesting, considering that Golkar Party has declared to develop the merit system; no corruption and no nepotism in the political recruitment. Political family is usually considered based on political kinship. Political kinship is a form of political patronage, and according to O'Dwyer, patronage occurs caused by less institutionalization of political party (O'Dwyer, 2006:99). So this study will analyze O'Dwyer's thesis about political kinship which occurs when a political party has lesser public support, thereby relying on political party activities or popular leaders.

Considering that political parties are the gatekeepers of the political family, the study on the factors that influence the increase of political families is also carried out in this study. The analysis of political recruitment is composed of two variables; the external variable being the legal system, the electoral system and political party system, and the internal variable being the candidates and political party organization. This study focuses



on the political party organization. The analysis of political party organization uses the theory of [Scarrow \(2005\)](#) about internal party democracy which consists of inclusiveness, decentralization/centralization and institutionalization of political party. The objectives of this study is to find out the factors behind the increase of political family at South Sulawesi, the political party organization, and the reasons why the Golkar party recruits its candidates from the political family.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The analysis of internal party variables refer to Morgenstern and [Siavelis \(2008:12-17\)](#) which consists of inclusiveness, centralization/decentralization, party organization and party finance. However, there is no standardized criterion in analyzing political party organization. Party finance is part of a political party organization ([Webb and White, 2007](#)). The three variables of internal party are inclusiveness, decentralization/centralization and organization of the party. Further, [Scarrow \(2005\)](#) stated that the main dimension of political party organization is the internal party democracy that includes inclusiveness, decentralization/centralization and political party institutionalization.

Internal party democracy is defined as the structures of the decision-making process in the political party which provides the constituents the ability to influence decision making. Inclusiveness relates to the range of involvement of the political party's decision-making, including those involved in the decision-making, whether it refers to a leader, a group of people, party members and the public. Centralization/decentralization is associated with the party's organizational structure in decision making, whether centralized or decentralized. In this study, inclusion and decentralization/centralization is actually related to the mechanisms of political recruitment, so internal party democracy is a variable of party organization which covers the mechanism of political recruitment and political party institutionalization.

POLITICAL RECRUITMENT MECHANISM

Political recruitment process varies in every political party. This study presents different types of political recruitment. Based on its mechanism, [Almond and Powell\(1966:79\)](#) distinguish the process of political recruitment into two mechanisms; closed mechanism refers to the recruitment of certain people such as friends, those of same religion, region, ethnicity or family, and open mechanism refers to the recruitment which is up for all citizens. [Geddes \(1996:142-181\)](#) distinguishes four models of political recruitment. First is partisanship in which political recruitment is based on their loyalty to the political party. This model pays less attention to the competencies. Second is meritocratic in approach in which political recruitment is based on competence, in effect choosing businessmen, technocrats, teachers and skilled workers. Third is compartmentalization which is a form of political recruitment based on pragmatic considerations, a mixture of meritocracy and partisanship. Fourth is survival which bases political recruitment on principles of remuneration and resources, paving the tendency of patronage applicants. These four types of political recruitment by Geddes were based on the characteristics of candidates to be recruited by the party.

[Hazan \(2010:34\)](#) describes the five types of candidate selection process - selection by voters, selection by party members, selection by party delegates, selection by party elite, and selection by party leaders.

The selection process is affected by various aspects, including social, technical and cultural aspects. Although the selection by voters is the most inclusive selection process, the selected candidate is not always qualified. In the traditional society, for example, the tendency to choose a popular candidate is greater than the qualified candidate. The candidacy process is a manifestation of internal party democracy. The internal party competition could encourage the democratization within party and could balance the power between any factions and groups that

exist within a political party ([Hazan and Rahat 2010:10](#)).

However, the political recruitment process and the selection of candidates are considered confidential so there is no need to inform the public. Duverger ([Hazan and Rahat 2010: 7](#)) stated that the selection of the candidates is a secret and private action, and refers to Howard's statement saying that there exists "the *secret garden*" in the selection of candidates in UK. So, the public isn't informed about the process, the criteria and who determines the process.

Candidate selection is also influenced by the history of party building. In Indonesia, there is no political party formed by the bottom up process. Formation of the party is carried on by some elites, and then followed by the arrangement of the party organization to the lower level. Hence the political party tends to be elitist. Policy making is usually determined by the elites or key actors in the political party, although they have formal mechanisms of policy making. This elitist approach could weaken political party institutionalization.

If the party does not function as filtering mechanism, and the key actors in the process may become the candidates who will mobilize supporters directly, the whole of selection process could be driven by the candidates and not by the parties. The result could weaken discipline and cohesiveness of party, leading to the decline of the party's ability to function as a stabilization of political process and to operate effectively in the parliament (Hazan and Rahat 2010: 9).

Elitism in decision-making is a common phenomenon in a bureaucratic organization. As stated by [Michels \(1984, Winters, 2011:11\)](#) oligarchy is a form of government in which political power is in the hands of minority. According to Michels, the iron law of oligarchy is inherent in every organization. The organization made the possibility of domination of the elected leader.

Michels said that the emergence of the iron law of oligarchy is caused by the lesser capacity, lack of experience and education, apathy and the feeling of inferiority of the people ([Held, 2006:](#)

156). Michels also stated that oligarchy is a product of every principle in an organization. Oligarchy develops in line with organization. Developed organization needs more professional leaders because of the complexity of the organization and the specialization of functions which is the result of a bureaucratic mechanism. The role of the leader would become stronger than before. The more established the organization, the lesser democratic and the more oligarchic it would be ([Michels, 1984:68](#)).

The theory of Michels will be used to analyze the mechanism of political recruitment of Golkar Party at South Sulawesi. Analysis of the oligarchy theory is supported by candidate selection theory of Hazan and models of political recruitment of Geddes.

POLITICAL PARTY INSTITUTIONALIZATION

There are many studies on the political party institutionalization, particularly associated with the political party system institutionalization, but there is no standardized definition about it. Political recruitment is one of the functions of political parties, so the analysis of this study rests on the institutionalization of political parties.

According to Huntington, institutionalization is the process by which the organization and procedure get standardized of value and stability ([Huntington, 2004:16](#)). In other words, the institutionalization of political parties is the strengthening of political parties either in the behavior, attitudes or culture ([Surbakti, 2009:43](#)). According to Huntington, institutionalization is associated with the party organization's ability in adapting with the environment. Adaptability is measured by the age of the party organization, the shift in frequency of leadership, and the number of functional changes in the party organization. More simply, Scarrow states that institutionalization is the compatibility between systems, processes, procedures and implementation. In the context of political recruitment, institutionalization is interpreted as the compatibility between the implementation of political recruitment with the rule of political party about systems,

processes and procedures of political recruitment.

Panbianco views the institutionalization of political parties from the degree of systemness, which includes differentiation and coherence, which he calls factionalization and the ability of the political party to control resources in the implementation of the party's functions. Panbianco also added autonomy as an element of the institutionalization of political parties. While Janda sees the institutionalization of political parties from the reification, or the public image of the political party.

Randall and Svasand ([Ramses and La bakry, 2002:143](#)) simplifies the various aspects of political party institutionalization into internal-external and structural-cultural aspects which include 1) degree of systemness, 2) degree of value identity, 3) degree of autonomy, and 4) degree of public image. The degree of systemness is the process by which political parties carry out its functions in accordance with the rules of political party (AD/ART of political party). The degree of systemness shows the implementation of political recruitment in accordance with the requirements, procedures and processes set out in the party's policy.

Value identity is a specific feature of political party that could be distinguished with the others, such as ideology and party platform, so its social base and its constituent can be patterned. Autonomy is the independence of political party in decision making from the influence of outside actors such as governments, businesses and society. The public image is public knowledge about the political parties, which is associated with an overview and assessment of the public about this political party.

Value identity and public image in the recruitment process are reflected on the candidates who are promoted by the political party. According to Mainwaring ([Buehler, 2007](#)), the relationship between the parties and candidates are key elements of institutionalization. If elections are determined by the popular candidates, it will affect the power and political party institutionalization. Mainwaring also stated that if politics is based on charismatic ability of the individual, there is no need for the

political party to be rooted in society. If the candidate is more important than the party, it means that political party has failed to gain legitimacy from the electorate (Buehler, 2007). Party identity is not based on ideology or party program, but on the political actors. So, the political party recruits a popular or charismatic actor to gain public support. Selznick distinguishes institutionalized political party and uninstitutionalized political party. In the uninstitutionalized political party, members of the political party are just trying to enlarge their own interest, while in the institutionalized political party, members are aware and commit to the survival of the political party organization (Levitsky, 1998).

Domination of personal leader is related to the weakness of the roots of the party (O'Dwyer, 2006), so popular candidates are the key to gain public support. Domination of the personal leader influences the poor through the public image of the political party. Public knowledge about the party just limited to its popular actors.

The four dimensions of the political party institutionalization that are used to analyze this study are summarized into three dimensions: degree of systemness, value identity and public image, as well as degree of autonomy. Degree of identity value and public image are combined in a single analysis, because the value identity constructs the party's image in the community. These three dimensions are used to analyze the institutionalization of the Golkar Party of South Sulawesi and analyze its implications on the political recruitment process. Uninstitutionalization is identical with the new party, though the established party is not necessarily institutionalized.

The relation between political party institutionalization and political kinship refers to O'Dwyer's thesis which states that there is a tendency of political parties to build political patronage because of the less political party institutionalization. So, political kinship is caused by lesser political party institutionalization. O'Dwyer stated that the 'runaway state building' is driven by the patronage seeker's politician to get resources for party building

(O'Dwyer, 2006). This is because of the fact that the construction of the political party is not preceded by developing a bureaucracy. Political kinship is caused by a lesser political party institutionalization and it is performed as a resource patronage for the benefit and survival of political parties.

RESEARCHMETHODS

This research is a descriptive qualitative study about the South Sulawesi Golkar Party. The data is collected by in-depth interviews with several political actors who come from the political families and officials of political parties to obtain the data about the political recruitment process and internal party democracy. The data were also collected by documentation, especially those that related to the mechanisms of political recruitment, curriculum vitae of each candidate, and party regulations as well as the media news, journals and other relevant documents. Data analysis is done by inductive method.

The data analysis consists of three interrelated process, namely data reduction, data presentation and data verification. Since this research is qualitative in nature, qualitative data analysis is performed at any stage of the study, from the proposal, data collection, until the end of data gathering. The process of data reduction is the simplification process of the data in accordance with the goal and focus of this research. After collecting data, it is followed by summarizing the data, coding and clustering, analyzing as well as interpreting in order to verify and make conclusions.

RESULT

POLITICAL RECRUITMENT OF GOLKAR PARTY

Golkar Party is a well established party having enough cadres. Although Golkar states that the political recruitment will be carried out openly, the abundance of Golkar's cadres make the Golkar Party carry out political recruitment inclusively on internal party cadres. Golkar cadres are people who sign up as a mem-

ber of Golkar Party and are active in various activities of the Golkar Party. Golkar members are divided into two, namely the active members and inactive members. Most of the Golkar Party candidates come from active party cadres. There are several criteria into Golkar cadres such as skills (are masters and having the aptitude in problem solving), tenacity, initiative, militancy, discipline and competence of ideology, political acuity as well as in-depth knowledge about Golkar Party, leadership and professional matters ([Golkar, 2010](#)).

The candidacy process of the Golkar Party includes three stages: prospective stage, filtering stages, and determination stage. Prospective stage is the identification stage of legislative candidates of the Golkar party. Filtering stage is the selection stage of legislative candidates, and the last stage is the determination of candidates wherein the names are submitted to the Election Commission. In the filtering stage, the instrument of political recruitment of Golkar Party is PD2LT (Prestasi or achievement, Dedikasi or dedication, Disiplin or discipline, Loyalitas or loyal, and Tidak tercela or blameless). PD2LT provides the candidate's requirement which is based on achievement and the contribution of candidates to Golkar Party as well as the track record.

The first stage in the activity of the Golkar Party is the active participation in Kelompok Karya/Pokar and then active implementation of the party program. Their activities will be accumulated and are usually recorded by the party, whether active in the village or district level, the potential's cadre may be asked to active at a higher level or to be a caretaker in Golkar Party organization. That's where they obtain assignments from the party. Golkar Party has a list of track record of each cadre from this assignment (Haris Yasin Limpo 2014).

From the information provided in the PD2LT, it can be seen whether a person is qualified or not qualified to be a candidate. Aside from PD2LT, candidate selection is also accompanied by the consideration of regional representation, whether the district has been represented or underrepresented. Even based on

the provisions of the AD/ART Golkar Party, an assessment of the Golkar cadre is also seen from the leadership and their independence.

Candidates selection is conducted by a selectorate which is comprised of seven teams consisting of a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, chairman of the OKK (Cadres and Membership Organizations), OKK secretary, chairman and secretary of winning election committee (pemenangan pemilu). Theselectorate determines candidates. Arrangement of the serial number is based on the party's organizational structure; the highest position in the party organization will be placed on top of the serial number.

The main criteria of serial number are according to his structural position. For example, if you are an administrator and a regional coordinator, you are usually placed in the top of the list of those having serial numbers since it is considered that you are the most popular person who has coordinated all the party activities... Unless there is some extraordinary conditions that would make a change, such as there is a good cadre and based on our consideration he/she will be supported by new followers, we will place him/her in the top of serial number. So it is possible for some cadre to be placed in the top of the list of serial numbers if he/she has extraordinary followers ([Haris Yasin Limpo, 2014](#)).

[Susatyo \(2014\)](#) also stated that the determination of serial number of candidates is based on the capability, integrity and activity of candidates as party workers. However, the position of the serial number is no longer relevant because the majority voting mechanism provides equal opportunities to all candidates, either at the top or at the bottom of the serial numbers.

The chairman, deputy chairman, secretary and treasurer of party organization at the provincial and district level are usually placed in the top of the serial number of the candidates. They usually have the highest scores of PD2LT, so they have more opportunity to gain power not only because they are placed on

the upper part of the serial number but also because of their popularity.

Aside from the activity in the party organization, political recruitment also pays attention to the external acceptability. External acceptability is associated with the level of public acceptance and the level of public support for the candidate. As stated by Syahrul Yasin Limpo (beritakotamakassar.com, 2014):

..to become a candidate, your selection must not only be based on your capital, but also based on your competence, especially if you want to be a candidate for the House of Representatives and the Provincial Assembly. Besides the level of acceptability in the public, you must have good campaign management.

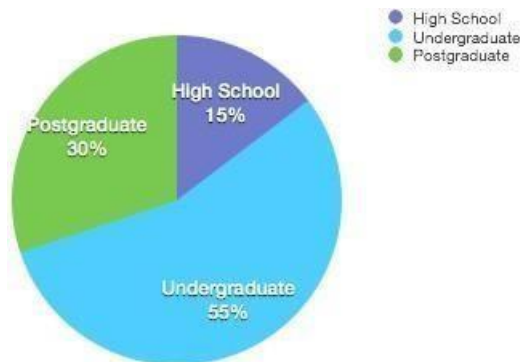
Acceptability is very important because the vote of candidates not only rely on the party machine but also on the individual's ability to gain public support, because in the majoritarian electoral system, voters prefer to choose based on the candidates themselves and no longer on the political party. This system requires the popular candidates.

In terms of political career, a provincial parliament candidate should already have experiences as a member of the district parliament. But sometimes the popularity of candidates becomes the main consideration in the candidacy process. Although the selection of candidates is carried out by the team, the Chairman of the political party has a determinant position in the decision making process. Decision making in the district level needs approval from party organization at the provincial level (DPD I), before it is submitted to the Election Commission. DPDI does not only give an approval but also can evaluate the ability of the proposed candidates. And for the regional head's candidacy, electability is the main factor in the candidacy process.

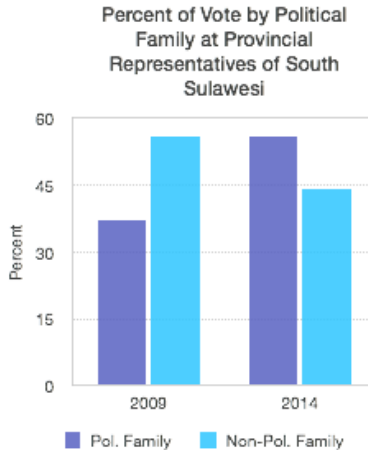
There are some notes about the political recruitment process of Golkar Party: first, all of the candidates which are elected as provincial legislators come from party cadres who have long range of experience in Golkar Party. Almost all of the candidates elected

in the Golkar party are officers of party organizations of the Golkar Party (DPD I). Based on the ART AD of Golkar Party, to become a political party official requires at least 5 years of activity as a party cadre. This indicates that all the candidates have long range of experiences in the party. This shows that the regeneration process of the Golkar party goes well, considering that the Golkar Party already has a long experience in Indonesian politics.

Second, a large number of candidates of the Golkar Party have good educational background. Only 15% of the provincial level candidates are high school graduates, 55% are undergraduates and 30% are post-graduates.



Third, the candidates who come from the political families get votes more than non-political families. In the 2009 election, 36.5% of the vote of all members of Provincial Parliament come from the political family, and it increases to 55.6 % in the 2014 election. It indicates that the public figure or the popularity of the candidate is a main factor in achieving public support. Public support to the political party is not determined by the vision and mission or ideology of the political party, but is determined by the candidates' preference and perspective themselves. In addition, the data shows that candidate who comes from a political family tend to get the highest vote in the electoral district or at least get the three largest majority vote of their electoral district.



Although some candidates come from political families, the Golkar Party does not want to be considered as the party who does political patronage because all of the recruitment processes is done by a mechanism in accordance with the rules and regulations of the political party, and the party members are elected by the people who eventually are cadres of the Golkar Party. As stated by Chairman of Makassar of the Golkar Party:

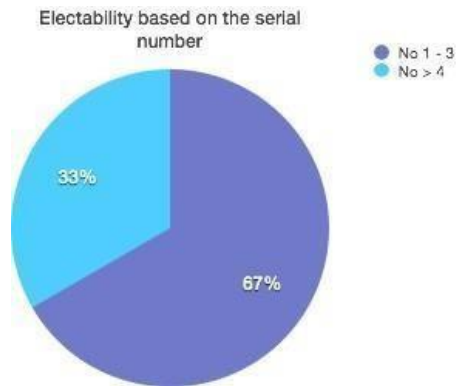
It is impossible for Golkar Party to recruit the outsider of the cadres. Firstly, he should become a member of Golkar Party. Only in the extraordinary condition will the Golkar Party recruit an outsider. If a candidate is really important for the Golkar Party and has track record that is in line with PD2LT the he is really proper to be a candidate. He should also have a good relationship with us and has a cadre education in accordance with his position and have had the functionaries training. So, to be a cadre is an absolute requirement. He must follow the process. He will become a candidate if he is really suited for this position (Haris Yasin Limpo, 2014).

The large number of elected candidates who come from political families in the Golkar Party are affected by the process of political socialization and political legacy. It is reasonable if a

politician inherited his political activity in a social and political organization to his family ([Purwaningsih, 2015](#)). So, a political family in the Golkar Partai started from the activity in the Golkar Party wings organization and then registered in the Golkar Party organization.

A politician having a political legacy is usual in Golkar Party. A former regent or a former chairman of Golkar Party usually transmits his constituents to his children except if they don't want to be politicians. But sometimes they lose their constituents if they don't find them suitable to be politicians. Golkar Party is so dynamic. If you do not want to be involved in the activity of Golkar Party, you would be eliminated and the Golkar Party do not want to forbid their children to actively participate in the party organization because they also have constituents. So, the important point is their capacity, no matter who their family is. If he is able to perform dynamics or has a good interaction with friends and stewards, surely he would be saved ([Haris Yasin Limpo, 2014](#)).

Political legacy is not only in the activity in social-political organization, but also in the electoral district. A politician usually has similar electoral district with his family ([Purwaningsih, 2015](#)).



Fourth, the serial number of candidates indicates that the candidate which is in the top of the list of serial number has

more chances of being elected. In one side, it shows that the recruitment process is really based on PD2LT and electability, and the other side shows that the top of the serial number gives more benefit for the candidate to be elected. But the candidates from the political families get more votes even if their position is in the lower part of the serial number.

GOLKAR PARTY INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

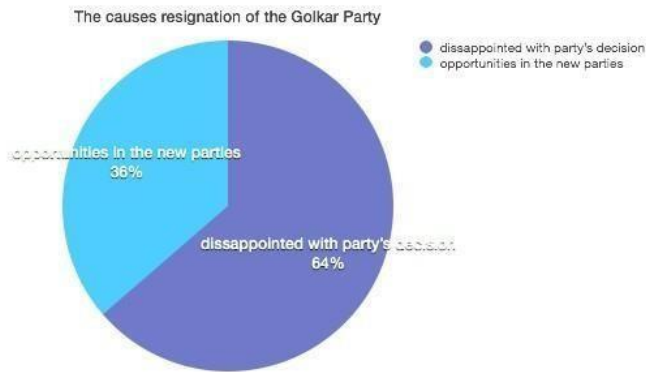
The analysis of the political party institutionalization includes the degree of systemness, value identity and public image, and autonomy of decision. These three aspects are analyzed in the context of political recruitment, the degree of systemness of political recruitment, identity and public image, and autonomy of decision making in political recruitment process.

Degree of systemness in political recruitment. Mechanisms and procedures in political recruitment are arranged by the AD/ART and party's decision. Recruitment of legislative candidates are carried out in accordance with party policy procedures, through prospecting, filtering and determining the candidates. However, the decision-making process is not only based on the PD2LT, but also based on the acceptability and electability. Moreover, in the majoritarian electoral system, it is difficult to create synergies between the candidates and the political party. The determination of the candidates and the manner of putting them in the serial number are based on the rule of the Golkar party, in which the candidates with the higher level of electability and PD2LT will placed on the upper of the serial number. All candidates in the Provincial Parliament and almost all the candidates of Makassar City Council are the cadres of the party. It shows that the Golkar Party cadre system is running properly.

In the multi-party system during the reform period, the Golkar Party must compete with other parties both of old and new political parties. South Sulawesi Golkar Party has to be hegemonic; however, eventually it has eroded its public support. The new

paradigm of the Golkar Party as an open, independent, democratic, moderate, solid, rooted and responsive party, is actually not internalized and is still unable to prevent the political pragmatism.

Referring to the history of South Sulawesi Golkar Party in the New Order era, the power of Golkar Party is strengthened by two pillars, the bureaucracy and the military, and is also supported by the strong patron-client and aristocratic elitism. The destruction of the two pillars makes the Golkar party rest on the culture of patronage and elitism. Multi-party system provides political opportunities from new political parties to provide avenue for some elites join new political parties.



In the 12 cases of elite resignation, 64% (7 cases) were caused by dissatisfaction to the political party's policy, especially in the local head elections, and 36% (4 cases) were due to their chances of being part on a new political party.

The elite resignation of Golkar Party could be related to the opportunities in the multi-party system and also to the internal problems of the Golkar party.

Because of the struggle in competition in the Golkar Party during the candidacy process, there is a for need longer time for a cadre to be a candidate. The new political parties give more

chances to be a candidate, so many of them become a candidate in the new political party. Should there be a case that they want to go back to Golkar party, they must be deemed appropriate by the PD2LT. If they are no longer appropriate with PD2LT, they will be eliminated ([Haris Yasin Limpo, 2014](#)).

Although the elite resignation of Golkar party to other political parties is a consequence of the multi-party system and the proportional representation system, it only shows the low adaptability mechanism of the Golkar party. There are two causes of elite resignation, one is the inability of the Golkar Party to accommodate their interest, and the other is the inability in resolving internal conflicts. It shows a weak tie between cadres and political parties.

In its new paradigm, the Golkar Party declared a solid political party, which always uses all its resources synergically. Therefore, Golkar always consolidates the organization both vertically and horizontally. Actually, achieving solidity and synergy between actors is difficult, and this is reflected in the conflict between actors and factions within Party. Dissatisfaction to the party's policy led to the 'insurrection' of Golkar elites, both in the party official and also in the process of political recruitment. Conflict in local head election is one of the triggers of conflict between elites and it shows that the rules of this political party do not function well. Conflict within the party shows less solidity of the Golkar party organization. The elites' resignation from the Golkar Party is usually a result of the local head election, especially in the process of nominating the Regional Head candidate. Survey is a tool to determine the candidate but is implemented inconsistently. Weak organizational mechanisms in decision-making of Golkar Party have resulted to the Golkar party's defeat in the elections.

Value identity and public image. The inconsistency in enforcing the rules resulted to the domination of some actors. Sometimes, a popular cadre of Golkar Party is able to gain power in Local Head election without being supported by the Golkar party. This

condition will strengthen the popular actor, and as referred by Hazan, it will weaken the functions of political parties. Public support to political party tends to decrease and political party would not be able to defend its internal integration.

The resignation of Golkar officials and their transfer to other political parties is certainly destructive for the Golkar party, particularly on the public support aspect. The tendency of decreasing public support showed that the Golkar Party was not quite rooted in society and there is no strong relationship between the political party and the constituents as well as the cadres. Patron-client culture and elitism in South Sulawesi have made the Golkar Party rely on the actors or popular figures. Because of the constituent's orientation is to the actors, their resignation and transfer to other political parties, considering that they are bringing their constituents in the process, led to the decrease of votes of the Golkar Party. The majoritarian electoral mechanism strengthened constituent orientation to actors rather than political parties.

Besides their resignation, a factor that can not be ignored is the collaboration of the elite family of the Golkar Party with another political party. Although Golkar declared itself as a party based on the program, it is not reflected in the party's campaign. The campaign of Golkar Party is similar with the other political party, such as free education and free health services.

Degree of autonomy. In political recruitment, the decision makers rely in the expertise of a team consisting of a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, chairman and secretary of OKK, and chairman and secretary in winning the election. Decision making in the candidacy during legislative election is less problematic than the executive election. There are enough cadres and also enough candidates that will get promoted in the legislative election, but only one candidate will be promoted in the local head election. So it is hard to accommodate different interests in the local head election. Therefore, the competition in the local head candidacy reflects competition among elite or even among political fami-

lies. So, the word of the decision makers is the determining point in the political party because the political party organization tends to be elitist and oligarchic.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATION

There are a few notes in the political recruitment process of the South Sulawesi Golkar Party. First, the Golkar party has a system of standardization in the process of political recruitment, which consists of internal acceptability (PD2LT) and external electability. However, its implementation is influenced by some interests and by the need of public support. Second, Golkar Party requires that all candidates are party cadres because it shows the maturity of Golkar Party. Although it is a closed political recruitment requirement, it does not mean it is partisan because according to theory of Geddes, political recruitment is sometimes pragmatic.

Third, political recruitment in the Golkar party is exclusive and oligarchic in which the policy is more determined by the elite. The consequence of this is that the political recruitment gives more opportunities to those people surrounding the elite party. Fourth, candidates who come from a political family has a greater electability and has more electoral vote compared with non-political family candidates because they usually get their political legacy in the social and political organizations and are also involved in the management of political parties. Moreover, this is also where they get their constituents and electoral district heritages ([Purwaningsih, 2015](#)).

Thus, in actuality, the Golkar Party tries to carry out its political recruitment based on the merit system, but the oligarchical structure in the management of the Golkar party gives more benefit for the family of the elite. Aside from referring to the typology of political recruitment by Geddes, political recruitment in the Golkar Party is also influenced by the structure of oligarchic organization, as what has been stated in the thesis of Robert Mitchel. Therefore, based on this research, the rise of political

families in the Golkar Party is a result of a meritocratic-oligarchy political recruitment in which on the one hand seeks to adopt a merit system, but on the other hand is affected by the oligarchic structure of the political party.

Analysis of the institutionalization of political parties in this research includes degree of systemness, value identity, autonomy of decision making and public image. Based on this analysis, the findings of this research are: first, in the degree of systemness, the Golkar party already has a good instrument such as mechanisms and procedures in the political recruitment as well as rules of the game in the party organization. Golkar Party is also provided with adequate resources. But there are several inconsistencies in the implementation of the rule especially in the instrument of political recruitment implementation. Not all of the candidates who are promoted in the local head election are determined by a convention and also not all of these are determined by the survey. The other factor is that there is no form of punishment for a cadre who has violated the rules. This only shows the political pragmatism of actors and the political pragmatism of the party organization. The rules of the game of the Golkar Party are sometimes defeated by political pragmatism.

Second, it is difficult to distinguish the identity of Golkar party and the other political party in the multi-party system. There is no significant difference between Golkar Party's constituents from the other political parties because of the pragmatism of actors, voters, and also the dependence of the political party to the actors. South Sulawesi is the home base of the Golkar party's support because the percentage of electoral votes of South Sulawesi Golkar Party is always higher than in other regions in Indonesia. However, it is difficult to map out the Golkar party's support which is caused by the political migration of the Golkar party's elite to another political party thereby resulting to swing voters.

Third, autonomy in decision-making. There is no external intervention in the Golkar Party's decision making, but due to

the high level of competition in the internal party, the decisions tend to be elitist and oligarchic. The Golkar Party declared itself as a democratic party, transparent and objective in decision making, but the determination of candidates still appears to be akin to that of “the secret garden”.

Fourth, the public image. Because of the patron-client relationship and aristocratic elitism culture, the public image of the Golkar party in South Sulawesi is identical with its political actors. Public support to Golkar Party relies on the political actors.

The four aspects abovementioned show that the Golkar party’s institutionalization is still weak. The weakness in institutionalization will strengthen the power of other political actors and give more chances to political families to maximize their power.

The weakness of institutionalization also encourages for the strengthening of the role of political families in the Golkar Party. Factionalization within the Golkar Party is not based on the background of the organization, but based on the political kinship that exists in the Golkar party in South Sulawesi.

CONCLUSION

Golkar Party carries out political recruitment based on merit system, electability, and loyalty to political parties as well as to the PD2LT. The large number of political families in the Golkar party is a result of political legacy such as involvement in social and political organization, engagements with the constituents as well as with the electoral district. The type of political recruitment in Golkar Party is oligarchic-meritoratic which is a combination of both - meritocratic as stated by Geddes and oligarchic referred by Michels. Meritocratic-oligarchic’s political recruitment provide greater opportunities for the political families to be involved and be active in the Golkar party.

The institutionalization of the Golkar party is still weak and is characterized by the reliance of the political party to the political party’s elite. Recruitment mechanism with the majoritarian rules provides a greater opportunity to the party’s elite and their

families to obtain public support. The public image of the political party depends on the political actors. The weakness of the party's institutionalization is also marked by the weakness of the Golkar Party's ability to accommodate different interest and manage internal conflict as well as to prevent cadres from resigning and joining other political parties. In the 2014 election, the political family of the Golkar Party has a large contribution in the electoral vote; half of the votes came from the candidates' families.

Referring to the thesis of [O'Dwyer](#), the existence of a political family in the Golkar political party is not only caused by the weakness of public support, but is also influenced by various factors such as historical experience, the strength of political patronage, and the culture of aristocratic elitism.

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