



Dynastic politics and political party recommendation patterns in the 2017 Batu City regional head election

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ABSTRACT

The strong grip of the oligarchy has resulted in the mechanism for providing recommendations support from political parties not running properly, there is a tendency to nominate candidates based on political elites instead through a democratic mechanism that considers the integrity and capabilities of the candidate. Study This research uses descriptive qualitative research. Data collection techniques using interviews, observation and documentation. The data obtained then goes through the stages of selecting data, clarifying data, and organize data. The findings of this study indicate that the pattern of recruitment for political parties (PDIP) is carried out openly, but through consideration of family existence. Besides that the presence of Edy Rumpoko provided a major advantage in influencing the support of political parties. The results of the study show that (1) the PDIP recruitment pattern for Dewanti Rumpoko is carried out in a systematic way open according to the regulations and regulations in force, but outside of that the existence of incumbent figures and popularity is always nominated, and is the main attraction of PDIP in carrying Dewanti Rumpoko in the Pilkada Batu City, (2) the promotion of Dewanti Rumpoko is still affiliated with the existence of Edy Rumpoko in behind it.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Political recommendations are interpreted as a way of electing, selecting, and appointing citizens to be ordained as potential leaders in the political system in general and government in particular (Haryanto, 1984). Through RI Government Regulation (2011) Political Party Law No. 2 of 2011 in Article 29 Paragraph (2) Chapter XI concerning Political Recruitment which reads the recruitment referred to, in paragraph (1) is carried out democratically and openly in accordance with the AD and ART and statutory regulations. This effort is inseparable from the role of political parties which are considered capable of providing the best cadres to be carried in the contest. Political parties usually raise cadres when facing elections or regional elections (Kartini, 2017).

The process of recommending support by political parties is an important start in which this includes the process of recruiting members and promoting new political elites. According to Budiardjo (2008), one of the functions of political parties in a democratic country is to carry out political recruitment. This means that political parties as a means of providing support recommendations for candidacy function to find and invite people who have the ability to participate actively in political activities as members of political parties (Surbakti, 1997).

On the one hand, there are certain advantages to this kind of political mechanism. Political parties will be the only institution that is trusted to become a medium for developing one's political career. A politician will thoroughly hone his vision and mission in a political party. Political parties will train their cadres to reach the top of the political ladder to fulfill their goals. Especially because here political parties are institutions designated by the democratic system as media for channeling people's aspirations for the state, political parties will have a bigger role in helping the people (Habbodin, 2009).

However, the function of recommending political party support for candidacy is not fully carried out by political parties in order to create a pattern of recruitment that is democratic and carried out openly as a political vehicle for people who wish to run for election. At the regional level, for example, in practice such a recruitment model is difficult to expect political parties to accommodate potential community figures, especially if they do not have sufficient social capital. The selection of regional head candidates is one of the most important stages in the simultaneous regional head elections. Decision-making within political parties determines which candidates will be carried out by political parties. The selection of candidates for regional heads who will compete in regional elections is often the part that is not observed by prospective voters who only know the final results of the recruitment and selection process of candidates carried out by internal parties (Witianti & Hendra, 2019).

In addition, power based on formal political rights owned by party chairmen is one of the factors that causes political parties at the local level to fail to present nominations through a democratic mechanism to compete in regional elections. Even not infrequently the formal political rights of party DPPs in providing letters of recommendation of support to candidates in regional elections often cut off proposals from the party structure at the lower level regarding the figure to be carried, so that both the DPC and DPD fully leave decisions in the hands of the DPP, and they are required to be ready and obedient to decisions that have been taken. Functionally, political parties have carried out their functions by carrying out regeneration to elect their best leaders, but what needs to be underlined is that the recruitment process for giving these recommendations uses pragmatic considerations, which utilizes figures that are well known to the public and the electability of the candidates they will carry. Efforts by political parties to promote their candidates through regional elections show the power of elite domination that cannot be stopped.

Thus this shows the presence of ownership of power that has a large influence in determining aspects of resources, these are what are often referred to as oligarchs (Nge, 2018). For Winters (2011), oligarchy is not just a ruling minority elite or a form of government, but actors who control and control large concentrations of material resources that can be used to maintain or increase their personal wealth and exclusive social position. Over time, decentralization and regional autonomy have opened up opportunities for oligarchs to develop at the local level. These oligarchs have transformed according to the characteristics of a democratic government, in order to survive and be firmly rooted in the political system in Indonesia.

In the regional election, the oligarchs maintain their political power by placing their families in important positions in the bureaucracy and within the internal political parties, so it will be easier to get recommendations from political parties and the formation of their electability. Just as an incumbent who initially has a domain then turns into relations and interactions which can then direct his strategy in attracting the masses, thus the incumbent also intends to secure a position of power by encouraging his relatives and/or family environment in carrying out his political office. In other words, the incumbent can no longer run for election in regional elections, but the replacement relay is part of him. As a ruler, the track record of the incumbent family will be easy to see, especially if it has a good track record in the eyes of the community, it will have a big influence on the nomination of the next regional head.

Therefore, in order to realize all of this, it is necessary to build an image of good performance achievements in the community, so that later people's sympathy and partiality will arise for these figures or figures. Political pragmatism through the process of recruiting political parties often only prioritizes popularity and electability, especially if the candidate has strength in the area with a strong mass base it will be easy to recruit political parties. In this way, the number of party cadres who are considered capable do not have the opportunity to participate, this is

because they are defeated by popular figures or candidates who have high electability to win in the regional elections. The success of regional heads in transferring the relay of power to their partners, children or in-laws, and brothers or sisters is a new strategy in maintaining and preserving family power in government management, both at the regional and national levels.

Even though in this case the most important filter in capturing quality candidates and cadres is from the political party itself, this study is very important because this behavior will open up opportunities in the formation of political oligarchy. Other studies that have been carried out on the recruitment of political parties such as research on preventing the occurrence of political dynasties through the pattern of recruitment of political parties in the 2020 Solo Pilkada (Nika, 2021) this research shows to prevent political dynasties through patterns of political recruitment. Next, research on political parties, political recruitment and formation political dynasties in the regional elections which shows that political recruitment in the regional elections, although it seems open, the selection process is exclusive by adding the terms of the popularity and electability of the candidates. In addition, research entitled the systemic implications of the recruitment of regional heads by political parties (Adelia, 2020) which shows the impact of the recruitment of political parties that do not implement good recruitment policies so that several implications for the recruitment of political parties emerge in regional head elections.

The focus of these studies leads to indications of undemocratic political recruitment patterns, political parties prefer other considerations than quality and capabilities such as financial value and popularity. This is because political parties want to get as many votes as possible to win. However, this study specifically highlights the nomination process for Dewanti Rumpoko in the 2017 Batu City elections and the figure of Edy Rumpoko behind him. Dewanti Rumpoko is the wife of the Mayor of Batu, the Mayor of two terms, who during her reign succeeded in popularizing Batu City through her innovative movements. Edy Rumpoko is also a cadre of PDIP. Dewanti's candidacy is interesting to study in order to explain the phenomenon of family politics in recommending support for political parties in the regional head election in Batu City in 2017, considering that Dewanti is still affiliated with family relations through marriage status with Mayor Edy Rumpoko. The aims of this research are: First, to find out the recommendation patterns of political parties in supporting the Rumpoko-Punjul Santoso Council in the 2017 Batu City Pilkada. Second, to find out the role of Edy Rumpoko in the nomination of Dewanti by political parties.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method. According to Creswell (Noor, 2011) qualitative research is a complex picture, examines words, reports in detail from the views of informants, and conducts studies in natural situations. Qualitative research is a research study that is descriptive in nature and tends to use analysis with an inductive approach. While this type of research is descriptive research, descriptive research is research that seeks to describe a symptom, event, incident that is happening now by focusing on actual problems as they were at the time the research was taking place.

Through descriptive research, researchers try to describe events and events that are the center of attention without giving special treatment to these events. This research focuses on two things, namely the pattern of recruitment of political parties in the nomination of Dewanti-Punjul in the 2017 nomination for the regional head of Batu City, and whether the nomination of Dewanti-Punjul is determined by the figure of Edy Rumpoko. The informant of this research is the party that carries the Dewanti-Punjul, namely PDIP. Data collection was carried out through interviews with selected informants using purposive sampling techniques, documentation, and observation. The data obtained is processed with the stages of selecting data, clarifying data, and compiling data. We got information from the online media and some community information from chats in the discussion area, so we clarified with the chairman of the DPC PDIP Kota Batu, the secretary of the DPC PDIP Batu City as well as a number of community leaders in Batu City. It can be seen that the role of Eddy Rumpoko as mayor at that time had a very large influence and contribution.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The process of transitioning leadership is very crucial, because the overall implementation of the regional election must be connected with support and interests, including in terms of recommendations for support by political parties. A political party is an organization that is national in nature and was voluntarily formed by a group of Indonesian citizens on the basis of the same will and aspirations to fight for and defend the political interests of members, society, nation and state, and maintain the integrity of Indonesia based on Pancasila. Meanwhile, according to the general understanding, a political party is a group of people who are organized in a stable manner with the aim of seizing or maintaining control of the government for their party leaders and based on this control gives their party members benefits that are both ideological and material (Budiardjo, 2008).

According to (Sahid, 2011) there are six steps that can be taken by political parties in an effort to recruit quality political cadres to be prepared for the future. The first is the recruitment of cadres. This method is the initial stage of determining candidate cadres through selection based on criteria determined by political parties. The second is basic cadre education and training. This effort must be taken by political parties in order to produce qualified cadres in the future. Third is assignment. This is useful for training, and testing cadres with hands-on experience. Fourth is advanced cadre education. This is used by political parties after seeing the cadre in question go through the assignment process. The fifth is pioneering. This method places cadres as pioneers whose function is to manage the party and prevent divisions in the party. Sixth is engagement. Cadres are directly involved in major events outside and within the party.

This is useful for testing the ability of a cadre to express his opinion on a problem. There are several considerations explained by (Habbodin, 2009) candidates are more likely to be chosen by parties. First, parties experience a vacancy of cadres who have popularity and quality that are balanced with candidates. Second, the party failed to carry out cadres, so that most cadres could not be sold in the Pilkada. Third, cadres fail to integrate party values into themselves, so that parties cannot distinguish between the uniqueness of their cadres and candidates who do not come from their political party. As was the case in the 2017 regional elections for Batu City, Dewanti Rumpoko appeared as a candidate for regional head and the deputy regional head is number two. Dewanti's candidacy is paired with Punjul, who is from the PDIP party as well as a former DPRD member and also Deputy mayor Edy Rumoko in the previous period, this pair was carried by PDIP.

The existence of Dewanti's status as the wife of Edy Rumpoko has become a hot topic of conversation. Edy Rumpoko, or often known as Sam ER, is the mayor who was in power during the regional elections, during which he succeeded in popularizing his area on the national and international scene. Dewanti Rumpoko has made several achievements to change the face of Batu City with its various potentials as described above. Therefore, there is no doubt about Dewanti Rumpoko' popularity in the eyes of the public through the achievements of Edy Rumpoko who are considered successful in Batu City. Departing from the above, his main concern was the recruitment process carried out by the PDIP party for Dewanti, because previously Dewanti was not a cadre from any party and had no traces of PDIP politics, but during the direct regional elections

Dewanti-Punjul was supported by PDIP, this problem arose when Dewanti's partner, namely Punjul Santoso, who was the incumbent Deputy Mayor, in the previous period accompanying Edy, was also a cadre of PDIP. However, he did not receive a Mayor's recommendation from the PDIP, so in the end Punjul only received a recommendation for support as a Dewanti representative. The phenomenon of the failure of cadres to obtain recommendations, coupled with the fact that Punjul actually had the modality as Deputy Mayor the previous year, raised the question of what was the background for PDIP actually giving recommendations to Dewanti. The reflection of the results of this study is that the existence of a big family name (Edy Rumpoko) provides instant benefits for Dewanti in the 2017 Batu City Election. which is quite large for the support that appears to Dewanti. One of them is from the party that carries it, namely PDIP, through an open mechanism and through several stages it becomes one of the ways to cover up the strategy of playing politics, instead what happens is that PDIP is more concerned with popularity and family name on the political stage. This is of course because political parties still

consider Dewanti Rumpoko ' big name to be effective as a strategy to win voters' votes. The Recruitment Process of Dewanti Rumpoko In the context of political recruitment, political parties can carry out the recruitment process through an open recruitment process or also through a closed recruitment process. If using open recruitment, the condition is that it must present a figure whose performance can be widely known by the public. In this case political parties must present qualified candidates to gain public support (Putra, 2003).

The open recruitment process is considered the most competitive where this is in line with democratic principles by observing and assessing the ability of elites. As for recruitment which is carried out in private is a practice of recruiting terms and procedures for nomination that cannot be freely known to the public. The party has a position as an elite promoter originating from within the party's own body, this method is considered very uncompetitive because it closes the possibility for members of the public to see and assess the abilities of the elite displayed. this also causes public access to be closed so that it is contrary to the principles of democracy, even in this way it will also contribute to the formation of political dynasties. which started one year before the Pilkada. The following are the results of an interview with Wito Argo, the secretary of the PDIP DPC, Batu City: "The process for selecting potential candidates is currently being prepared at the DPC board meeting. In accordance with SK 104 concerning selection of candidates for Regional Head, the screening process is from Twigs, so it takes quite a long time,"

Then enter the screening and determination stage. At this stage, political parties carry out the first two determination mechanisms, namely an analysis of the completeness of the registration requirements, the second is the electability survey and the popularity of the candidate or candidate's family in their existence in the government which is seen as always having a role in actualizing the program. Then an internal meeting of the PDIP DPC (city level administrator) was held and the results were proposed to the DPD (provincial level administrator) and DPP (administrator Central level) to obtain recommendations. After that, the letter of recommendation was issued on September 20 2017, then Dewanti - Punjul officially registered with the Batu City KPU on September 21 2017 accompanied by the supporting party ranks. The following is an interview with Wito Argo, Secretary of the PDIP DPC Party, Batu City: "... The promotion process, of course, starts with the PDIP screening and through electability surveys for regional head candidates. This is open from various doors, starting at the municipal or regional level or DPC, then at the provincial and central levels, but beyond that, the DPP meeting can also decide."

In fact, every political system has different procedures in the recruitment process, the selection of candidates is also carried out centrally (centralized) where the role of the management of the central political party (DPP) is very large. The strong role of the DPP in the candidacy for the regional elections was even formalized starting in the 2015 regional elections. Article 42 point (4) (5) (6) of the Pilkada Law No. 8 of 2015 confirms that documents proposing regional head and deputy regional head candidates to the local KPU must be accompanied by a decree (SK) from the Central Executive of a Political Party (DPP) regarding approval of the proposed (nominated) candidates.

In almost all political parties, the recommendation of the general chairperson of the party is the final word in determining whether or not a candidate nominated by that party fails, so that the candidate proposed from below is cut off in the DPP. Factors that are also important in recommending candidate support are financial capacity and the level of popularity and electability of candidates. Almost all political parties conduct surveys to measure the degree of popularity and electability of candidates. Candidates proposed from below will be trimmed in the DPP due to their popularity and low electability. This condition provides a red carpet for candidates with dynastic backgrounds who meet the financial, popularity and electability requirements (Smith, 2018).

So that in the current election era, popularity and electability are indeed an important part of being elected as a regional head. In general, the party system in the regions cannot be separated from the existence of central management, political parties always have a position to play a very strategic role, as is the case in the nomination of candidates for Regional Heads which starts from several stages and steps from selecting candidates with several levels. starting from the lower level, namely the Branch level, DPC, then DPW, but apart from that a meeting at the central level can also be decisive, meaning that candidates can directly ask for the blessing of the central

DPP to get recommendations directly, or through an electability survey conducted on the community to find out how much the public knows about the candidate endorsed by the party and aims to estimate what percentage of a political figure or candidate is elected. Thus, through the Batu City case above, it shows that the determination or determination of Dewanti's support was carried out through an open system in accordance with procedures and several stages, besides that an electability survey was also carried out on the community to find out the electability of Dewanti in society, after the survey results were obtained, the PDIP party held a meeting internal meetings and the results of the internal meeting resulted in a determination to nominate candidates, but PDIP also does not deny that the decision of the central DPP has far more to do with nominations.

That way this will also bring up an imbalance which will provide deep access bringing up names in the incumbent's circle with candidates proposed based on the popularity and electability of the incumbent's family will be confirmed as candidates This will accumulate territory and gain sympathy with the people. As well as showing that old cadres who are less popular don't get a stage, even if there is one, they will only be included as a backup. Lack of respect for old cadres has the potential to cause a collapse of the internal strength of a political party, so this will also have an impact on the level of trust of political parties, that in fact political parties are dominated by elites and the recruitment process is only based on having popularity, either personal popularity or through family environment, coupled with good government performance, in this case, can be accepted by the community, especially voters. This is one of the strengths of the incumbent family when compared to other couples. Indeed, incumbents are not always re-elected, nor are the chances of winning being passed on to their families (Smith, 2018).

The Big Name of Edy Rumpoko in the Council's support recommendation. The big name of Edy Rumpoko by political parties is still considered to be a major contributor to voting power through achievements and achievements in Batu City while serving as Mayor. During his tenure as mayor, Edy Rumoko succeeded in changing the face of Batu City with various innovations. Among them, the number of man-made tourist objects, which were previously only three, increased to more than 10 in 2014. Some of them are quite well known, namely the Batu Night Spectacular, the Batu Wildlife Museum, Jatim Park, Eco Green Park and the Angkut Museum. As a result, until 2014, the number of tourist visits to Batu City reached 3 million.

Thus this shows the implications of the nomination of Dewanti based on the shadow of her husband that the role of the incumbent (Edy Rumoko) will be more or less decisive. In line with this, in the process of promoting Ipuk Fiestiandani, who was considered to be still affiliated with the Dewanti Rumpoko figure behind him, so it cannot be denied that political parties rely on the figure and popularity of incumbents. Sutiyo, as Deputy Chairperson of the PDIP DPC Party in Batu City, stated in an interview: "...There is always a connection, yes, judging from Pak Edy's leadership for more than ten years, it is quite good and trusted by the community, and Pak Edy is a PDIP cadre and Mrs. Dewanti is also a PDIP cadre as well, so we want someone who can continue the leadership relay and programs programs that have been built and programs that have not yet been completed to be resumed, frankly Mrs. Dewanti's closeness to Mr. Edy is more intense so it will be easy to provide direction and guidance to learn and hone Mrs. Dewanti's abilities in leading Batu City.

The practice of nominating in the context of Pilkada Kota Batu has left a fundamental polemic. It is quite acknowledged that Dewanti has benefited in the form of popularity from her husband, this capital is also the initial capital for being elected, where popularity is an indicator of political party evaluation in determining the candidate to be run. However, in terms of the recruitment process there was a tug of war and public debate, because the PDIP actually gave a recommendation to Dewanti rather than Punjul as the previous PDIP cadre with a track record as deputy mayor and former DPRD member is not a guarantee of getting a recommendation. This shows that at a concentration, recommendations for regional head candidates are determined by privilege through the popularity of candidates and the popularity of incumbents so that the public will view the track record of leadership in various organizations and in the government agencies they lead, in addition to the figure of a former mayor. considered still the maximum to attract the masses. Thus, there is a symbiosis of mutualism between candidates and political parties, in which

parties gain the advantage of getting seats from political families, and on the other hand candidates from political families get opportunities as vehicles for power. In addition, political parties tend to focus on the electability aspect in determining candidates based on family names which are considered to be quite decisive in obtaining public support.

This is in line with (Harjanto, 2011) that in order to win political offices, apart from relying on famous figures or political parties who have big money, it is also increasingly driven to support candidates put forward by incumbents (incumbents) who still have a lot of political resources and formal authorities or those who are no longer able to compete due to term limits. Of course this is related to kinship ties with the incumbents, this is what makes political parties often get public criticism regarding recruitment.

4. CONCLUSION

One of the classic functions of political parties is related to the party's role in nominating candidates for government-level positions, thus the function of political parties in promotion is very important because political parties are required to provide candidates who have the capability. The implementation of political party recruitment often prioritizes potential figures owned by candidates such as the candidate's big name, as well as the big name of the candidate's family who plays a big role in the area. Figures with this potential do not have to come from those who have a background as internal cadres of the political parties themselves, but also from parties external to them. Therefore, it is not surprising that political parties will easily fall in favor of anyone nominated by incumbents even if the candidate is a wife, child, mother or other relative.

The influence of these incumbents is great, even when for example they have great influence in the area. Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the process of recommending the support of the PDIP party in the support of Dewanti Rumpoko in the Pilkada of Batu City was carried out openly with several mechanisms of requesting proposals starting from the DPC, DPW to DPP. But apart from that process, the nomination of prospective candidates can also be determined, such as by internal party meetings or direct determination by the DPP. Besides that, the electability survey was also carried out with the community to find out how much the public knew about Ipuk, this is because electability is closely related to popularity, so a popular person has high electability. Dewanti's popularity is also supported by the figure of Edy Rumpoko and as the mayor's wife who served two terms, it seems that this has given Dewanti the opportunity to be known by the public.

So in this case the process of appointing Dewanti is considered to be still affiliated with the figure of Edy Rumpoko behind him, the big name of Edy Rumpoko by political parties is an indicator of the evaluation of Dewanti's nomination as a candidate for regional head. In the process, recommendations for political support are carried out by political parties, candidates from these families are nominated rather than prioritizing old cadres. In addition, the name Edy Rumpoko by political parties is also considered capable of contributing to the large number of votes in Batu City, this is because the figure of Dewanti Rumpoko is very well known by the people of Batu City and the electability created is also very good.

In this study it shows that political parties in nominating candidates often prioritize someone who is already popular in certain circles which is then linked to the position held. The popularity of a figure is often related to what he has done while in office. Given the function of a political party which is so important along with its existence and performance, it is an absolute measure of how democracy develops in a country. Through the above phenomena it will certainly be very dangerous for the democratic climate in the future because kinship politics has provided many conveniences for the quality of electoral democracy, especially in the process of candidacy and political recruitment. This research has the advantage of looking at the other side of the recommendation pattern of support for political parties that prioritizes family name and family popularity.

This is considered sufficient to gain support, as well as continue the political power of the family. Referring to the conclusions above, the following suggestions are proposed: recommendations for support for political parties are expected to be able to enlarge regional head candidates who have the capacity and capability to lead who do not rely only on the big name of

the family behind them. Looking at the party's recruitment model, many take the instant route in pursuit of victory, where big name popularity is an important factor. And popularity is usually owned by the incumbent candidate so that the family can back up this big name, so dynastic politics is one of the usual ways to win. In order for future leaders to be more competent, we also need to complement how the incumbent character moderates the closest person or family in increasing leadership competence.

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