



Fakultas Hukum Universitas Riau, Jalan Pattimura Nomor 9 Gobah, Kel. Cinta Raja, Kec. Sail, Pekanbaru, Riau,  
Kode Pos 28127. Telp: (+62761)-22539, Fax : (+62761)-21695  
E-mail: [melayunesialaw@lecturer.unri.ac.id](mailto:melayunesialaw@lecturer.unri.ac.id)  
Website: <https://myl.ejournal.unri.ac.id>

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## Recruitment/Kaderization Function of Political Party in Local Election with Single Candidate

Junaidi<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Faculty of Law, Riau University, and Student of Doctoral at Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Indonesia,  
Email: [junaidi.fhur@gmail.com](mailto:junaidi.fhur@gmail.com)

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### Article Info

#### Article History:

Received : 07-05-2020  
Revised : 24-06-2020  
Accepted : 24-06-2020  
Published : 29-06-2020

#### Keywords :

Political Parties  
Recruitment  
The Single Candidate

### Abstract

The presence of political parties in the reform era is central, especially in filling important positions in the country. For example, carrying presidential and vice-presidential candidates as well as regional heads and deputy regional heads. of course, before carrying out candidates, political parties must run the recruitment and regeneration functions of their members to be ready to be offered to voters as prospective leaders who have adequate capabilities and competencies. The quality of officials who occupy these positions is very dependent on the selection made by political parties. This paper discusses how the role of political parties in nominating regional heads, especially in areas that have only one pair of candidates. Where in areas with a single candidate, political parties tend to support together with one candidate pair. This study concludes that political parties have failed to carry out the recruitment and regeneration functions with two things marked. First, the minimal number of candidates carried in the elections. Second, the nominees nominated are dominated by people who are not political party cadres but those who have had successful careers such as bureaucrats and financially successful entrepreneurs.

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## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has chosen the democracy system as a way to manage its state of life as mentioned in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (1945 Constitution) that “Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and implemented according to the Basic Law”. The sound of this provision implies that the source of power possessed by the Indonesian state comes from the people. This means that Indonesia is a democratic country. Therefore, as a consequence of a democratic state, all state policies must reflect the will of the people.

To implement the principles of democracy, political parties play a role in filling the membership of the House of Representatives (DPR) and the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) through a general election which is held once every five years. Then,

since the passing of the reform era, direct presidential and vice president and regional heads and deputy regional heads were elected. Where the authority to propose pairs of candidates is owned by political parties. Article 6A paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution states; “The pair of candidates for President and Vice President is proposed by political parties or a combination of political parties participating in the general election before the general election”. Article 22E paragraph (3); “Participants in the general election to elect members of the People's Legislative Assembly and members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly are political parties”. Then Article 39 of Law No.8 Year 2015 concerning Amendment to Law Number 1 of 2015 concerning Determination of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2014 concerning Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors into Laws states that: Participants in the election are; a. Pair of candidates for governor and deputy governor, pairs of candidates for regent and vice-regent candidates, pairs of candidates for mayor and deputy mayor who are proposed by political parties or a combination of political parties; and/or b. candidate pairs of individuals who are supported by several people.

Based on some of the provisions above, it can be understood that political parties have an important role in realizing the principles of democracy in the country. Political parties are one of the pillars of a democratic system. Without political parties, democracy cannot work and work, or it can also be said that the functioning and functioning of a democratic state of life is very dependent on the existence of political parties. With a political party, people's aspirations and desires can be channeled and fought for.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, a very important function carried by political parties is the recruitment or regeneration function. Political parties here play a role as a supplier for future leaders to fill the positions mentioned above. Whether or not the officials who will sit will depend very much on the selection by political parties even though the people are allowed to vote.

E. E Schatscheider stated, “modern democracy is unthinkable save in the term of the political party”.<sup>2</sup> Political parties are the heart of representative democracy. It is through political parties that the circulation of elites and political leadership of a country runs. The good and bad of democracy lies in the quality of political parties. Therefore, improving

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<sup>1</sup> Teguh Imansyah. “Regulasi Partai Politik Dalam Mewujudkan Penguatan Peran dan Fungsi Kelembagaan Partai Politik”. *Jurnal Rechts Vinding, Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional (BPHN)* 1, no. 3, Desember (2012).

<sup>2</sup>J. Russel Dalton dan Martin P. Waterberg. *Party Without Partisan: Political Change in Advance Industrial Democracies*. (New York: Oxford UP, 2000), 3. dalam Rifqinizamy Karsayuda, *Partai Politik Lokal Untuk Indonesia: Kajian Yuridis Ketatanegaraan Pembentukan Partai Politik Lokal di Indonesia Sebagai Negara Kesatuan*, (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2015), 101.

democracy, without touching the reforms of political parties and party systems is a non-essential renewal.<sup>3</sup>

Political parties must contribute positively and constructively to the realization of quality representative democratic practices, meaning that the actions of political parties are variables that affect the quality of democracy. If political parties carry out their roles and functions properly, the quality of democracy will be good, and vice versa. In a representative democracy system, the condition of political parties is a barometer of the quality of democratic practices in general.<sup>4</sup>

In the simultaneous regional head elections that began in 2015, then continued in 2017 and finally in 2018, there was an unusual phenomenon from before, namely the minimal number of candidate pairs in several regions. So that some regions were forced to hold regional elections with only one candidate pair. The public eye certainly leads to the performance of political parties that are seen as failing in carrying out the recruitment and regeneration functions.

In practice, the process of determining pairs of candidates always takes place in the tug-of-war, political lobbies, and negotiations between prospective candidates and the management of political parties at both the regional and central levels. The process of determining is very dependent on the central figure, such as the founder of the party, general chairman, or board of supervisors. It's hard to deny, that almost all political parties have this behavior. Therefore, this paper will discuss how the role of political parties in carrying out the recruitment and regeneration functions in local elections with a single candidate.

## **POLITICAL PARTY**

Etymologically, Maurice Duverger mentions that the word party comes from the Latin “pars”, which means “part”. With this understanding, it can be understood that because it is a part there must be other parts. Therefore, to fulfill this understanding, ideally, it is not possible in a country if there is only one party.<sup>5</sup>

Jimly Asshiddiqie said that the party also came from an English part, which means part or class. The word party refers to the group as a group of people based on certain

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<sup>3</sup>Sigit Pamungkas. *Partai Politik: Teori dan Praktik di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Institute for Democracy and Welfarism, 2012), 62.

<sup>4</sup>Teguh Imansyah, Op.Cit. 390.

<sup>5</sup>Muhadam Labolo dan Teguh Ilham. *Partai Politik dan Sistem Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia*. (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2017), 9.

similarities such as goals, ideology, religion, and even interests. The grouping takes the form of general organization, which can be distinguished according to the area of activity, such as community organizations, religious organizations, youth organizations, and political organizations. In its development, said the party is more associated with political organizations, namely community organizations engaged in politics.<sup>6</sup>

Then according to Inu Kencana Syafii, the word 'politics', etymologically derived from Arabic from the word *Siyasyah* which was then translated into tactics, or in English called politics.<sup>7</sup> According to the Complete Indonesian Dictionary,<sup>8</sup> the tactic itself means deception, tactics, slippery actions, reason, policy. Based on this understanding, according to Muhadam Labolo and Teguh Lham, politics is the chosen way to achieve a goal.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, the understanding of political parties according to Miriam Budiardjo,<sup>10</sup> in general, is an organized group whose members share the same orientation, values, and ideals. The purpose of this group is to gain political power and seize political position (usually) by constitutional means to carry out its programs.

Furthermore, according to Carl J. Friedrich:<sup>11</sup> A political party is a group of human beings, stably organized with the objectives of securing of maintaining for its leaders the control of a government, with the further objectives of giving to members of the party, through such ideal control and material benefits and advantages.

Sigmund Neumann in his book, *Modern Political Parties*,<sup>12</sup> addresses the following definition: A political party is the articulate organization of society's active political agents; those who are concerned with the control of governmental polity power, and who compete for popular support with other groups holding divergent views.

According to Soltau:<sup>13</sup> "Political parties are a group of citizens who are more or less organized, who act as a political entity and who use their power to choose to control the government and carry out their public policy" (A group of citizens more or less voting power,

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<sup>6</sup> Muchamad Ali Safa't. *Pembubaran Partai Politik: Pengaturan dan Praktik Pembubaran Partai Politik dalam Pergulatan Republik*. (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2011), 31.

<sup>7</sup> Inu Kencana Syafii. *Sistem Politik Indonesia*. (Bandung: Refika Aditama, 2002), 4.

<sup>8</sup> Tim Prima Pena. *Kamus Lengkap Bahasa Indonesia*. (TT: Gitamedia Press), 593, In Muhadam Labolo dan Teguh Ilham, Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Miriam Budiardjo. *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2013), 403-404.

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Democracy*, 419 In Miriam Budiardjo, Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Roger H. Soltau. *An Introduction to Politics*, (London: Longsmans, Green & Co, 1961), 199. In Angga Natalia, "Peran Partai Politik Dalam Mensukseskan Pilkada Serentak Di Indonesia Tahun 2015", *Jurnal TAPIS* 11, no. 1, Januari-Juni (2015). 54.

aim to control the government and carry out their general policies).

Joseph Schumpeter in his book *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* states that political parties are:<sup>14</sup> "...is a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for power...". Party and machine politicians are simply the response to the fact that the electoral mass is incapable of action other than in a stampede, and they constitute an attempt to regulate political competition exactly similar to the corresponding practice of a trade association.

William Crotty and Ricard S Kartz,<sup>15</sup> define political parties as an autonomous group of citizens whose purpose is to run in elections and compete in elections in the hope of gaining power over government through the power of public offices and government organizations.

La Palombara and Anderson, defining political parties are "... any political group, in possession of an official label and of a formal organization that links the center and locality, that presents at elections and is capable of placing through elections (free or non-free), candidates for public offices.

While the understanding of political parties in Article 1 number 1 of Law no. 2 of 2008, concerning Political Parties, stated that: "Political parties are organizations that are national in nature and are formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily based on the common will and ideals to fight for and defend the political interests of members, society, nation, and state, and maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila and the Law -Basic grounds of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945".

From some of the above meanings, it can generally be concluded that a political party is an official political organization formed by people who have the same interests to control the government by placing their members in the government through an electoral mechanism.

## **THE FUNCTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN GENERAL**

Many opinions expressed about the functions of political parties. For example,

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<sup>14</sup> Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, (New York: Harper, 1942), 283, In Muhadam Labolo dan Teguh Ilham, Op.Cit. 12.

<sup>15</sup> William Crotty and Ricard S Kartz, *Handbook of Politic*, (2014), 3, In Zuly Qodir, *Teori dan Praktik Politik di Indonesia*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016), 15.

Monte Palmer<sup>16</sup> said that the function of political parties in developing countries is to provide support for a stable mass base, a means of integration and mobilization, and to maintain the continuity of political life. Meanwhile, according to Roy C. Marcridis,<sup>17</sup> the function of political parties is as a representation (representation), articulating the interests and expressions of political parties for the interests they represent, conventions and aggregations; transformation from the input process into output, integration, persuasion, repression, recruitment, and the election of leaders, consideration, and formulation of public policies, and control of the government.

Meanwhile, according to Surbakti,<sup>18</sup> political parties have a function, first, the function of the articulation of interests, namely the process of inputting various needs, demands and interests through group representatives who are included in the legislative body, so that the interests, demands, and needs of the group can be represented and protected in making public policies. Second, the function of the aggregation of interests. Aggregation of interests is how demands made by different groups are combined into alternatives for public policy making. Aggregation of interests is carried out in a political system that does not allow open party competition. Third, the function of political socialization. This function is a way to introduce the political values that apply or are adopted by a country. Formation of political attitudes or in other words to form a political attitude and belief requires a long time through a process that lasts endlessly. Fourth, the function of political recruitment. Political recruitment is a process of selection or recruitment of group members to represent their groups in administrative and political positions. Fifth, the function of political communication. Political communication is one of the functions carried out by political parties with all the available structures, namely carrying out communication of information, political issues, and ideas to the public.

On the other hand, Miriam Budiardjo<sup>19</sup> distinguishes the functions of political parties in democratic countries and authoritarian countries. In democratic countries, political parties can relatively carry out their functions according to their dignity at the time of their birth, which is a vehicle for citizens to participate in the management of state life and fight for interests before the authorities. On the contrary, in an authoritarian country, the party cannot

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<sup>16</sup> Koirudin, Op.Cit. 86.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 86-103.

<sup>19</sup> Miriam Budiardjo, Op.Cit. 405.

show its dignity, but rather carries out the will of the ruler.

So, according to Miriam Budiardjo,<sup>20</sup> in a democratic country, there are four functions of political parties, namely: First, as a means of political communication. As a means of political communication, parties play a very important role in the effort to articulate interests (political interests) that are or sometimes are hidden in society. These various interests are best absorbed by political parties into ideas, visions, and policies of the political parties concerned. After that, ideas and policies or policy aspirations are advocated so that they can be expected to influence or even become official state policy material. Second, as a means of political socialization. Related to this political socialization, the party also plays a very important role in the framework of political education. The party is the intermediate structure that must play a role in grounding the ideals of state in the collective awareness of the citizens of the community.

Third, as a means of political recruitment. The party formed was intended to be a legitimate vehicle for selecting cadres of state leaders at certain levels and positions. Some of the cadres are elected directly by the people, some are chosen through indirect means, such as by the House of Representatives, or through other indirect means. Fourth, as a means of regulating conflict (conflicts management). Values (values) and interests (interests) that grow in people's lives are very diverse, complicated, and tend to compete with each other and collide with each other. If there are many political parties, the diverse interests can be channeled through the polarization of political parties that offer ideologies, programs, and alternative policies that differ from one another. In other words, as the party's conflict management (conflict management), it acts as a means of aggregating interests that channel different types of interests through the channel of political institutions. Therefore, in the Yves Meny and Andrew Knapp categories, the function of conflict management can be related to the integration function of political parties. The party aggregates and integrates these various interests by channeling them as well as possible to influence state political policies.<sup>21</sup>

There are some differences related to the functions of political parties according to the experts that have been described above, but according to the focus of the study in this paper, from several functions of political parties, the author will only discuss two functions, namely the recruitment function and regeneration function.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Dinamika Partai Politik Dan Demokrasi*, Makalah, accessed via <http://jilmy.com>, last accessed 12 Februari 2019.

## 1. Recruitment Function

One function of political parties is as a means of political recruitment. Without political recruitment, political parties do not have reliable members or figures in various political activities.<sup>22</sup> The recruitment function is considered to have a relationship with how a political party encompasses a person or group of people as a political cadre, also related to how a person, both from "in-group" and "out-group" becomes party leader or national leader (president or vice president).

Rush & Althof defines political recruitment as:<sup>23</sup> "The process by which individuals guarantee or register themselves to occupy a position. Furthermore, Rush & Althof recruitment or recruitment is a two-way process and can be formal or informal. It is said to be a two-way process, because individuals may be able to get a chance, or maybe approached by others and get certain positions. In the same way, recruitment can be formal if individuals are openly recruited through procedural and institutional methods of selection. Then called informal, when individuals are recruited private (alone) or "under the hand" without passing through or very little through institutional means".

Meanwhile, Ramlan Surbakti stated that political recruitment is:<sup>24</sup> Selection and selection or appointment of a person or group of people to carry out several roles in the political system in general and government in particular. Recruitment is a continuation of the function of seeking and maintaining strength and also looking for and inviting talented people to actively participate in political activities as party members.

According to Miriam Budiardjo,<sup>25</sup> the function of political parties as a means of political recruitment is closely related to the issue of leadership selection, both internal party leadership and broader national leadership. For its internal interests, every party needs qualified cadres, because only with such cadres can it be a party that has a greater opportunity to develop itself. By having good cadres, the party will not be difficult to determine its leader and has the opportunity to nominate candidates to enter the national leadership exchange.

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<sup>22</sup> Rafael Raga Maram, *Pengantar Sosiologi Politik*, (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta), 89, In Muhammad Ansar Anto, "Pola Kaderisasi Sebagai Media Rekrutmen Partai Politik Di Kota Makassar", *Skripsi*, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial, Universitas Negeri Makassar, (2015), 39.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 114-115.

<sup>24</sup> Komarudin Sahid, *Op.Cit.*, 129.

<sup>25</sup> Miriam Budiardjo, *Op.Cit.* 408.



According to Gabriel Almond,<sup>26</sup> the recruitment process is an opportunity for the people to select political activities and government positions through appearances in communication media, become members of organizations, run for certain positions, education and training. While Jack C. Plano<sup>27</sup> interpreted that the recruitment process as the selection of people to fill roles in social systems. Whereas political recruitment refers to filling in formal and legal positions, as well as informal roles. For formal positions, such as filling the positions of president and parliamentarians, while the informal ones are the recruitment of activists and propaganda.

Recruitment is defined as the process in which individuals or groups of individuals are involved in active political roles. Understanding such recruitment is relatively general. Specifically, in the political context, political recruitment often refers to candidate selection (candidacy), legislative, and executive recruitment.<sup>28</sup> In the general sense of recruitment includes how the party recruits members.<sup>29</sup> While in the context of political recruitment, it is generally related to the electoral system and the prevailing political system, specifically for filling positions as legislative and executive members.<sup>30</sup>

Therefore, in outline the recruitment function carried out by political parties can be divided into three forms, namely:<sup>31</sup> First, Recruitment of members and volunteers. One of the absolute requirements that must be fulfilled by a political party to be recognized by the state as a political party is to have a certain minimum membership. Therefore, membership recruitment is the main requirement that must be met. All political parties have nothing to limit their membership. Recruitment is done openly. Second, Recruitment of management and staff. The recruitment of party officials and staff has more stringent criteria and selection processes than the recruitment of members. The criteria and selection process for party administrators is carried out through a conference or large party meeting which involves the old management and / or party members. The recruitment of management is needed for its

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<sup>26</sup> Almond. *Studi Perbandingan Sistem Politik*. In Mochtar Mas'ud and Colin Mac Andrews (Eds.). *Perbandingan Sistem Politik*. (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1978), 29. In Muhadam Labolo and Teguh Ilham, Op.Cit. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Jack C.Plano, dkk. *Kamus Analisis Politik* (terjemahan). (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1985), 211.

<sup>28</sup> Sigit Pamungkas, *Partai Politik: Teori dan Praktik di Indonesia*, (Yogyakarta: Institute for Democracy and Welfarism, 2011), 91. In Syamsuddin Haris dkk. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Reuven Y. Hazan, "Candidate Selection," in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies 2, New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*, (London: Sage Publications, 2009), 109.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 21.

internal interests, where each party needs qualified cadres. This is reasonable because only with such cadres can he become a party that has a greater opportunity to develop himself.<sup>32</sup> By having good party cadres, political parties will not be difficult to determine their leaders and have the opportunity to nominate candidates to enter the national leadership exchange.

Third, Recruitment of candidates for public officials. The recruitment of candidates for public officials by political parties opens up equal opportunities to enter, compete (compete) and may occupy political and governmental positions for every citizen. After that, there will be certain requirements that must be met by individuals who want to be recruited as candidates. This requirement is applied by political parties with objective, rational considerations, by applicable regulations. Of course, not all positions can be filled by the role of political parties as a means of political recruitment. Professional positions in the field of civil servants, and others that are not political (potential appointment), may not involve the role of political parties. Parties may only be involved in filling political positions and therefore require the appointment of officials through political procedures as well (political appointments).<sup>33</sup>

Some theories state that candidate selection is the key and decisive stage. Because the recruitment process will produce people who will be the people's representatives and who will govern. These results depend on the recruitment process used, usually including three stages, namely the certification, nomination, and selection stages.<sup>34</sup> The certification stage is the initial stage or definition, which includes determining the desired criteria, internal party rules, electoral rules, and social norms. While the nomination stage relates to the availability (party cadres) who fulfill the requirements and positions to be filled. The next stage relates to the selection process, which generally relates to how to vote, who is involved to vote, and how to determine who will win.

Regarding the grounds or reasons for political recruitment, Barbara Geddes<sup>35</sup> classifies the recruitment system into four models. First, Partisanship, which is political recruitment from political parties that are judged based on loyalty to the party and trying to collect partisans. This model pays little attention to competencies. Second, meritocratic, namely political recruitment from among those who have high competencies such as

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Jimly Asshiddiqie, Op.Cit.

<sup>34</sup> Sigit Pamungkas, Op.Cit, 92, In Syamsuddin Haris dkk, Op.Cit.

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Geddes. *Politician's Dilema: Building State Capacity in Latin America*. (California: University California Press, 1996), 78-79. In Muhadam Labolo dan Teguh Ilham, Ibid. 19.

technocrats, entrepreneurs, teachers, expert workers, and others. Third, compartmentalization, namely political recruitment based on the meritocratic appointment of information for positions considered important for pragmatic success, while at the same time making it possible to use other appointments for short-term support and the development of loyal followers. Fourth, survival, namely political recruitment based on the principle of reciprocation and applicant resources and tend to be patronage.

According to Lili Romli,<sup>36</sup> in general, the process of political recruitment can be done in several ways or characteristics, namely first, an open political recruitment system. This system implies that all citizens who meet the conditions specified and have talent, without exception have the same opportunity to occupy political positions and government positions. Second, the political recruitment system is closed. This system only provides opportunities for certain people such as close friends, business people, or individuals who have the same religious, regional, ethnic, and even family members of the authorities.

## 2. Regeneration Fungsi

Cadre formation in any organization is the pulse of an organization. Cadre formation is the process of preparing human resources (HR) so that later they become leaders who can build the role and function of the organization better. In cadre training, there are two important issues. First, how the efforts made by the organization to increase the ability of both skills and knowledge. Secondly, is the ability to provide a cadre stock or organizational HR, and is especially focused on young people.<sup>37</sup>

In general, regeneration is related to how political parties will "foster" their cadres, by encouraging the birth of cadres who have abilities, both political, organizational, and leadership abilities. Cadre formation is related to how political party organizations prepare human resources who will work for the party, will lead the party, and will be a source of political recruitment in filling political positions.<sup>38</sup>

The application of good and sustainable cadre formation patterns in the recruitment of political parties will certainly have an impact on the quality of the cadres produced by the political parties. The format of the party cadre system must be arranged as well as possible.

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<sup>36</sup> Lili Romli. *Demokrasi dalam Bayang-Bayang Kekawatatan Jawara: Studi Kasus Pencalonan Caleg di Provinsi Banten 2004*. (Jakarta: LIPI, 2005), 19.

<sup>37</sup> Koirudin. *Partai Politik dan Agenda Transisi Demokrasi*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015), 113-114

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

Ideally, this cadre system must be able to prepare and project political party cadres as future leaders. Cadre preparation to fill party structure positions, executive positions in government, and legislative positions in the representative council must be arranged by the orientation of his political career so that no more politicians who hold concurrent positions in the government as well as administrators of the party structure and involve a large number of family members in political offices.<sup>39</sup>

With a good and sustainable cadre formation pattern, cadres of political parties will be ready to be nominated in general elections both DPR/DPRD members and regional/head of state elections. Although it cannot be denied that each party has its way of doing its regeneration patterns. Based on ideology, for example, religious-based parties will certainly have different patterns from nationalist parties. Likewise the long-established party, of course, the cadre pattern is far more mature than the new party.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, according to Syamsuddin Haris,<sup>41</sup> the regeneration of political parties can be carried out well only if the process applies the following principles: First, be open. This open principle implies that the regeneration process must be followed by all members of political parties, meaning that political party members have the same opportunity to receive training and other activities in the regeneration process. Cadre formation needs to be accompanied by a guarantee that all cadres who have become members of political parties, as well as members of party wings who have the potential and/or other assessments determined by democratic political parties, can participate in all stages of regeneration activities. In this regard, it is also necessary to establish a healthy and transparent competition system within the body of political party organizations. Cadres must be familiarized with a fair and transparent competition system. With a competition system that is free from collusion and nepotism, leadership regeneration will be able to produce qualified prospective leaders.

Second, non-discriminatory. Providing equal access to the regeneration process also means that the regeneration mechanism also opens the same space for all members to participate in and/or get political promotions and careers through the regeneration process without differentiating their skin color, class, religion, gender, or ethnicity. The principle of non-discrimination in regeneration at the same time can reduce the political party oligarchy associated with candidacy in the contestation of legislative elections, regional heads, and

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Syamsuddin Haris dkk, Op.Cit, 52.

presidents/vice presidents as well as the election of party cadres in other public positions. Third, tiered. Classification of political party regeneration is based on a gradual, multilevel, or pyramidal coating. This can be arranged for example by conducting cadre formation at the basic, intermediate, advanced, or other names. The rationalization of this hierarchical model selection can be done because of the reasons for the selection as a result of phasing the regeneration material (pyramid material) and the selection as a result of career phasing in the organization (career is pyramidal).<sup>42</sup>

Using the selection model will create several implications concerning the internal life of the party. First, it is done because there is a need to complete other capacity supplies. In essence, the cadre material is assumed in the pyramid scheme. Phasing the material in the pyramid scheme will be useful to be able to ensure that each party cadre will have the same level of capacity because through the same regeneration process (standardization). Second, the generation of regeneration as a result of the need to pursue an organization's career in positions at the local or regional level. For example, this can be seen from the specific cadre level requirements that must be followed by candidates for party leaders, secretaries-general, and so on at every level.<sup>43</sup>

However, the classification based on the regeneration material will automatically affect the political career path that will be achieved by politicians. For example, a person who has received a first-level cadre training, his political career will stop as a political party administrator or a legislative member or regional head at the district/city level. In the end, this cadre formation is needed.

The quality of the recruitment process of political parties certainly affects the quality of the cadres produced which will later be chosen both in filling the central position within the political party itself and in the general election. This is closely related to the implementation of the regeneration process in the recruitment process of political parties. The quality of the cadres of political parties will also contribute to the advancement of the people's welfare, in general, later because political parties everywhere have the same duties and functions as forming state policies. Seeing its duties and functions, political parties become very strategic in a democratic country. Political parties are required to be able to manage so many human

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

resources that they have capabilities based on party ideology.<sup>44</sup>

### **THE FUNCTION OF RECRUITMENT AND REGENERATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE SINGLE CANDIDATE IN THE LOCAL ELECTION.**

Since the implementation of simultaneous local elections in 2015, there have been new problems in several regions, namely the lack of candidate pairs who register with the local regional KPU. Even in several areas threatened with the delayed election due to less than two pairs of candidates. Three regions have a single candidate pair, namely Kabupaten Blitar (East Java), Kabupaten Tasikmalaya (West Java), and Kabupaten Timor Tengah Utara (East Nusa Tenggara (NTT)). In addition to the three regions, four regions were previously also potential candidates, namely in Kabupaten Pacitan (East Java), Kota Surabaya (East Java), Kota Mataram (West Nusa Tenggara), Kota Samarinda (East Kalimantan). However, after an extension was made, some of the regions finally met the conditions of at least two pairs of candidates.

The lack of candidate pairs also occurred at the same time in 2017, there were 9 regions which only had one candidate pair of regional heads. Likewise, the simultaneous local elections in 2018, there are 16 regions where the number of candidate pairs is only one pair (single candidate). Somewhat different from the simultaneous local elections in 2015, the simultaneous local elections in 2017 and in 2018 political parties rollicking in favor of a single candidate as if there were no other candidates worthy of being promoted.

Political parties seem to lack cadres to be nominated as candidates for regional head/deputy regional head. In many regions that hold local elections, candidate pairs promoted by political parties tend to recruit people who are not members/cadres. Most of the regional head candidates are entrepreneurs / private backgrounds or Aparatur Sipil Negara (ASN)/ bureaucrats.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

Table 1:  
Candidates for Regional Head / Deputy Regional Head based on work background  
in 2018 Simultaneous Local Elections

OCCUPATION/PROFESSION	CANDIDATE						TOTAL
	Governor	Deputy Governor	Regent	Deputy Regent	Mayor	Deputy Mayor	
BUMN/BUMD Employee	0	2	1	3	1	3	10
Regent (Bupati)	11	10	67	0	0	0	88
DPD Member	0	3	3	0	0	0	6
DPR Member	6	2	11	1	3	1	24
DPRD Regent/Mayor Member	0	0	33	86	8	21	148
Member of Provincial DPRD	0	5	20	12	2	6	45
Governor	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Head of Village	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
Chairman/Member of the KPU, KPU Prov/KIP Aceh, KPU/KIP Kab/Kota, Bawaslu, Bawaslu Prov, Panwas Kab/Kota	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Acting Governor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Acting Regent	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Acting Mayor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Village Officials	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PNS	3	6	59	55	18	12	153
Member of the Indonesian National Police	1	2	4	0	0	1	8
Private/Other	17	18	144	186	61	84	510
Member of Indonesian National Army (TNI)	1	1	0	3	1	0	6
Deputy Regent	0	0	32	24	1	0	57
Deputy Governor	4	5	0	0	0	0	9
Deputy Mayor	0	1	0	0	16	8	25
Mayor	8	2	0	0	25	0	35
<b>TOIAL</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>374</b>	<b>374</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>1136</b>

Source: Website KPU

Based on the above table, the author's group candidates for regional heads and deputy regional heads who are party cadres are candidates who have the work background of members of the DPR/DPRD Provincial/Regency/City DPRD, Governor/Deputy Governor, Regent/Deputy Regent. Mayor/Deputy Mayor. Candidates who have work backgrounds other than those mentioned above, the researchers classify non-political party cadres.

Candidate Background	Elections of 2018	Percentage
Political Party Member	437	38,47
Non Party	699	61,53
Total	1136	100

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the candidates nominated by political parties number 437 (38.47%). If explored in more detail, the number still has the potential to decrease because the candidates whose background is the regional head or deputy regional head come from many bureaucrats and businessmen who are not cadres of genuine parties.

Political parties are the institutions most responsible for the minimal number of regional head candidates. As explained above, political parties play an important role in placing their best cadres to fill public positions such as president, members of DPR / DPRD, including the positions of the regional head and deputy regional head.

The Indonesia Institute found indications of the failure of political parties in carrying out the functions of political recruitment in a democratic, transparent, and meritocratic basis. The filling of management in the party is often done in ways that are thick with cartels. Not only has cartels undermined political party institutions in Indonesia, but the 'pragmatism' virus has also undermined the behavior of party elites, cadres, and party constituents, the oligarchism virus has plagued the model of leadership and decision-making within the party, and the factional virus weakened the attachment of party organizations. With such institutional conditions, ideological ties within the party cannot be expected. Because of that, the symptoms of politicians often jump a fence.

A similar statement was also expressed by Syamsuddin Haris, that the recruitment and regeneration process within political parties has so far tended to apply "traditional" patterns and styles. The party developed is characterized by catch-all parties which do not yet have a clear and specific social basis, and are still dependent on individual figures. Political parties also face challenges in the regeneration process. Most political parties do not have a



clear cadre system, so the source of political recruitment tends to be oligarchic.<sup>45</sup> The results of a study conducted by P2P in collaboration with IMD showed that the recruitment pattern still followed the line determined by primordial factors such as religion, regional relations, regional similarity, and factors of loyalty and closeness to party leadership.<sup>46</sup>

The minimal number of regional head candidates that occur in several regions in Indonesia suggests that the organization of political parties is still not properly and properly organized. Political parties tend to be managed traditionally and personally. Recruitment is dominated by strong party people, families, dynasties, for example, related to the relationship of children, son-in-law, uncle, and wife. The filling of strategic positions in political parties is also inseparable from rich people (business people). Not surprisingly, the process of political candidacy is thick with political transactions, political dowry, and ignores the factors of integrity and political capacity of candidates. To some degree, the process of candidacy is confined by party oligarchies that are increasingly centralized and not decentralized. Political parties in Indonesia also show the lack of a vision of nationalism, the environment, human rights, health, poverty, and several other socio-cultural, political, and economic issues.

## CONCLUSION

Political parties have not optimally carried out the recruitment and regeneration functions optimally. This can be seen in the implementation of the elections which have a minimal number of candidate pairs so that several regions hold elections with only one candidate pair supported by many political parties. Second, the pairs of candidates promoted by political parties are on average not the pure cadres of the political parties that carry them. But people who have been established from various backgrounds such as businessmen, bureaucrats, and others. Therefore, to improve the system and mechanism of the local elections so that they can produce leaders with integrity, first, political parties must have an adequate system of membership selection and recruitment and develop a strong cadre and political leadership system. Second, the requirements for individual lines must be evaluated, especially those related to the support requirements which must be collected with a grace period so narrow that it is difficult for other candidates too.

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<sup>45</sup> Syamsudin Haris, dkk. *Panduan Rekrutmen & Kaderisasi Partai Politik di Indonesia*. (Jakarta: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) dan Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK), 2016), 4.

<sup>46</sup> Syamsuddin Haris, (ed.), *Pemilu Langsung di Tengah Oligarki Partai: Proses Nominasi dan Seleksi Legislatif Pemilu 2004*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2005), xvii.

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