

Measuring the Electability of Gibran Rakabuming in the Vortex of Political Dynasty among Gen-Z in Surakarta

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Abstract. The purpose of this study is to analyze the electability of Gibran Rakabuming in facing the 2024 general election contestation among Gen-Z amid the issue of dynastic politics. Gibran has become a topic of conversation because of the controversy over the issue of his rise as a vice presidential candidate, which is allegedly strong with the influence of the family, namely Jokowi as president. In addition, the issue of young people is the context that Gibran always expresses to get public votes. To analyze this issue, the researchers use descriptive quantitative research methods by distributing questionnaires to 100 respondents. The criteria for these respondents are residents of Surakarta City and young people with an age range of 17-26 years. In addition, this research also uses Nvivo 12 plus tools to find out Gen-Z's views on Gibran's performance as Mayor of Surakarta. The results of this study reveal that the majority of Gen-Z disagree with the existence of dynastic politics and strongly support leaders who came from young people. Gen-Z is satisfied with the results of Gibran's performance as Mayor of Surakarta but tends to disagree with Gibran's decision to become Vice President. This study found that 50% of Gen-Z were neutral or hesitant to vote for Gibran as vice president, 30% did not vote for Gibran and 20% voted for Gibran. This hesitation is mostly because Gen-Z considers that Gibran does not have much experience in politics.

Keywords: Electability; Political Dynasty; Gen-Z; Gibran

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INTRODUCTION

Political dynasty refers to a group or family that dominates or actively participates in politics. Usually, these groups or family members successively occupy significant political positions, such as government or legislative positions. Political dynasties can be found in various countries and levels of government, such as in Indonesia, where political dynasties exist at both the local and national levels. In an ideal democratic system, people should have equal opportunities to be involved in the political process. Then, there must be equal participation space for all people to be able to participate in competing for political positions from the regional to the national level. However, the reality that occurs in society is the existence of political dynasties has an impact on preventing people from participating in the political process. In this case, political dynasties will encourage their relatives to become public officials (Harini, 2024) (Harini, 2024).

In fact, political dynasties are not new phenomena in Indonesia. Since the Old order era, starting from the family of Indonesia's first President, President Soekarno's descendants such as Megawati Soekarnoputri, Sukmawati, and Guruh Soekarno continued their careers like their father, namely as politicians (Gunanto, 2020). Then in the New Order era, precisely in the Soeharto era, political dynasties also occurred, for example when Soeharto's daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana or often called Tutut, became a member of the MPR RI Golkar faction from 1992-1998. Since Soeharto stepped down from the position of President, Soeharto's other daughter, Siti Hediati Hariyadi or often called Titiek Suharto, has now founded a new party with her family called the Partai Berkarya (Liddle et al., 2022).

Another well-known political dynasty in Indonesian society is the Chasan Sochib family from Banten province. Where, Chasan with a background as a businessman and also a local strongman or an influential local figure in Banten has succeeded in forming a strong political dynasty in Banten Province (Liddle et al., 2022). In addition, a notable political dynasty comes from the family of Syahrul Yasin Limpo who is Indonesia's 28th Minister of Agriculture. The political power of the Yasin Limpo family has dominated and maintained political power in South Sulawesi since Muhammad Yasin Limpo, who was a military elite and member of the Golkar party, served as Regent of Maros (1962-1964) and his wife Sitti Nurhayati Limpo served as members of the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD for twelve years (1987-1999) and as members of the House of Representatives (DPR) for five years (1999-2004). Syahrul Yasin Limpo served as deputy governor in 2003 and then served as governor for two consecutive periods, 2008-2013 and 2013-2018 (Meliala & Permana, 2023).

On the other side, Kenawas (2015) found that political dynasties in Indonesia in one election cycle have more than tripled between 2010 and 2018. Where in the political context, actors in a dynasty will carry out "institutional drift", namely by influencing the way institutions work in order to support the sustainability of their political dynasty (Kurniawan, 2023). This can be seen from the phenomenon of political dynasty in President Gusdur's family, characterized by many of his siblings and children entering politics. This phenomenon is still visible as family involvement. Megawati's family, which is also involved in a political dynasty, can be seen from the involvement of Puan Maharani as chairperson of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI). The family of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) also shows the same thing, with his children and relatives Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY), Eddie Baskoro, Hartanto Edhie Wibowo, Agus Hermanto, Sartono Hutomo, Dwi Astuti Wulandari, and Agung Budi entering politics in Indonesia.

Until now, political dynasties are still prevalent in various regions in Indonesia, and the upcoming 2024 democratic party is no exception. The 2024 election contestation is an interesting topic to discuss because for the first time there will be “big” simultaneous elections for legislative and executive elections. In addition, the dynamics of the electoral process are also classified as very volatile with the new policy regarding the vice presidential nomination requirements, where there are changes related to the rules allowing nominations for individuals who have served as regional heads even though they are not yet eligible. This issue then led to dynamic responses from the public and various pro-con opinions in the community. Gibran's candidacy as Prabowo's vice-presidential candidate is in the public spotlight because of his position as the son of the president as well as the Mayor of Surakarta, strengthening the issue of political dynasty that has been going on.

Political dynasties that occur in this family break the assumptions of people who think that political dynasties only come from political elites. With the rise of Jokowi's son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, as mayor of Solo, then his son-in-law, Bobby Nasution, as Mayor of Medan (Gunanto, 2020). In addition, the involvement of his youngest son, Kaesang Pangarep, into politics and directly became Chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) shows that political dynasties also exist in President Jokowi's family (Asmarini, 2023). Interestingly, Gibran is currently candidating for Vice President in the midst of his position as mayor of Solo. Gibran brings youthful innovation in every campaign he runs, given that his political opponents are of different generations. It is a new history in Indonesian elections to see a candidate who brings a vision of change from the youth. This phenomenon is interesting to examine the electability of Gibran among the youth, especially Gen-Z, the generation born between 1997 and 2012 in Surakarta City. Surakarta became the object of research because of Gibran's previous position as mayor of Surakarta. Thus, the researcher will analyze at the electability of Gibran during his tenure as mayor and his relationship with his candidacy as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election. Furthermore, researchers will analyze Gibran's existence and analyze Gibran's electability amid the issue of political dynasty attached to him. Then, it will measuring the electability of Gibran and found the influence for Gen-z people on their political preferences.

Previous studies have discussed about political dynasties in Indonesia such as by Aspinall & As'ad (2016), which discusses about successes and travails of political dynasties in regional Indonesia by focusing on the province of Central Kalimantan. Then Mukti & Rodiyah (2020) which discusses about the flourishing of political dynasties - especially in the regions - is inseparable from the role of political parties and regulations on the elections and able to dominate and kill

democracy in political parties. Research by Luluardi & Diniyanto (2021) found that there were four factors which influence the dynasty politic namely the rule of lawm resources, community support and access to Then, Research conducted by Kenawas (2015) discussed about why politicians engage in dynastic politics within democratic institutions and how they reject institutional changes that may limit their ability to pass on political power to family members. Research by (Fatimatuazzahra & Dewi, 2021; Fealy, 2020; Kimura & Anugrah, 2024) raised a theme about Joko Widodo's Political Dynasty. Then Arrizal & Wenerdha (2024) discusses about find out the opinions of Generation Z as TikTok social media users about the political reality of young people, which is being discussed in Rian Fahardhi's TikTok video entitled Meta Prabowo-Gibran.

Based on previous research that has been described, what distinguishes this research from previous research is that this paper analyzes the electability of Gibran Rakabuming in facing the 2024 general election contestation among Gen-Z amid the issue of dynastic politics. The descriptive quantitative research methods is used to analyze this issue, and also uses Nvivo 12 plus tools to find out Gen-Z's views on Gibran's performance as Mayor of Surakarta. Data sources were obtained from questionnaires that were distributed to 100 respondents.

METHODS

The research method used is quantitative descriptive method, which is a method that describes, examines, and explains a situation objectively by collecting data, interpreting the data. Then, draw conclusions from observable phenomena using numbers (Arikunto, 2006). Quantitative descriptive research is research that only describes the content of a variable in research, not intended to test certain hypotheses. This study uses a questionnaire which contains a list of questions which are then given to respondents to be filled in. The questionnaires used in this study are direct closed and unclosed questionnaires. Closed direct questionnaires are questionnaires that have contained alternative answers from researchers and respondents will choose the most appropriate answer based on their views. As well as direct questionnaires that are not closed, namely researchers do not provide alternative answers and respondents are free to answer questions based on their opinions (Hasan, 2006). This research then uses a Likert scale of 1 to 5 to see the preferences chosen by respondents.

The closed direct questionnaire used in this study uses a Likert scale which is divided into five alternative answer choices, namely Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. As well as direct unclosed questionnaires in this study are characterized by one last question in the questionnaire which asks the respondent's opinion regarding "how do you view Gibran during his tenure as mayor". To process the results related to these questions, the Nvivo

12 Plus application was used to process and analyze the answers and convert them into a word cloud to see the most dominant words written by the respondents. This research was carried out by distributing questionnaires / surveys to the people of Surakarta with an age range of 17-26 years, carried out from September 30, 2023 to December 1, 2023. The data obtained will be continued by conducting quantitative descriptive analysis of Gibran's electability level in Surakarta City.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on research by Fatturachman's 2024, it was found the track record of young people in achieving political positions is still doubtful because many use popularity and family support. Many people still question Gibran's ability, as the data shows his very short career. His candidacy generated a lot of controversy, but many people still like him. Substantive representation is a representation that refers to the congruence between the actions of the representative and the interests of the represented. In line with these findings, there are similarities in this study, namely that Gen-z still feels hesitant in choosing Gibran as vice president, due to his lack of experience in politics.

To prove the electability of Gibran's results, there were several questions asked to 100 respondents selected based on age and domicile. The criteria are respondents who live and settle in Surakarta with an age range of 17 to 26 years. There were 16 questions divided into three sections that were mapped in relation to dynasties, the youth and Gibran's position as Mayor and vice presidential candidate. The first section asks about Gen-Z's views on political dynasties, the second section is related to the youth's views on prospective leaders who come from the youth and the third section is related to Gibran's electability as a young person in political contestation. These three sections are then explained quantitatively descriptively by looking at the number of approval and satisfaction presentations from millennial views of Gibran.

Gen-Z's View on Political Dynasties

There were five questions asked to 100 respondents using a Likert scale to see their agreement with political dynasties that occur in Indonesia. The first question is related to their agreement with the existence of political dynasties in Indonesia. Based on the data obtained regarding respondents' views on political dynasties, 34% of respondents answered 'disagree' that there are political dynasties in Indonesia. Meanwhile, 23% answered 'neutral' regarding the existence of political dynasties in Indonesia. Then 16% answered that they strongly disagreed and 5% strongly agreed. The simple reason given by answering neutral is that not all families that come from political dynasties show bad development towards Development. The second question

is related to whether Gen-Z's agrees that the phenomenon of political dynasties that occurs today is a natural thing. The answers from Gen-Z's were 37% agree, 29% disagree, 17% neutral, 10% strongly disagree and 7% strongly agree. The diversity of answers from Gen-Z's shows that they are literate and understand the condition of politics in Indonesia in general today. The rise of political dynasties is inevitable.

For the third question regarding "do you agree with leaders who come from the families of officials", the majority of respondents as much as 41% answered neutral and 31% answered agree. From these answers, it can be interpreted that the majority of respondents are still not so sure but also do not reject regional leaders who come from the families of officials. Furthermore, for the fourth question related to politicians who take advantage of the momentum of power to include their families in the election, 39% of respondents answered disagree and 23% answered agree. Based on the results of the respondents' answers, it can be interpreted that in this case the respondents argue that they do not agree with politicians who use the momentum of their power to be able to include their family members in general elections. For the last question related to the correlation between political dynasties and corruption, 38% of respondents agreed and 32% strongly agreed.

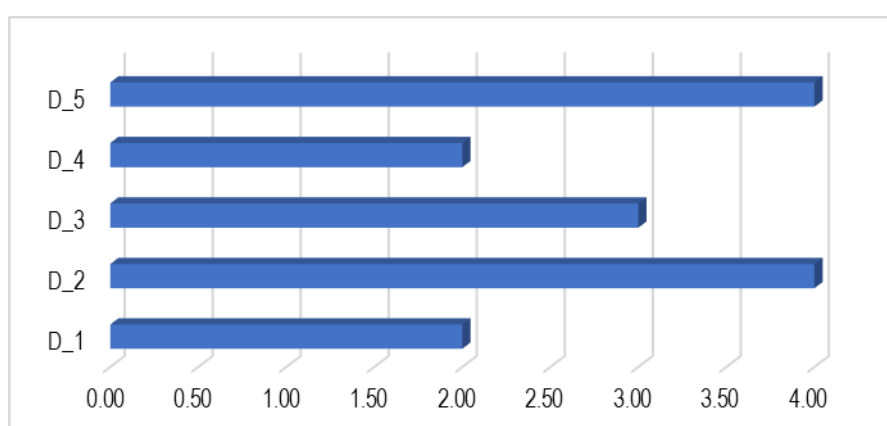


Figure 1.
Gen-Z's Approval Preference for Dynastic Politics

Source: Processed from Primary Data

The symbol of the question where D_1 shows the question regarding the first related to dynastic politics and so on until the fifth question (D_5). Based on the most answers to the question asking about Gen-Z's approval of dynastic politics, they chose to disagree with the existence of dynastic politics in Indonesia. In the second question (D_2) related to the reasonableness of dynastic politics, the majority of Gen-Z chose to agree with the phenomenon. In the third question (D_3) regarding Gen-Z's approval of leaders who come from the families of

officials, the majority chose neutral. Then in the fourth question regarding Gen-Z's approval of politicians who take advantage of their position and encourage other family members to get involved in politics, the majority of Gen-Z's chose to disagree. Then the fifth question related to the existence of political dynasties that encourage Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (KKN), the majority answered in the affirmative.

Based on these answers, it is clear that Gen-Z's does not agree with the dynastic politics that occur even though they are aware that its existence in Indonesia to date is a natural thing. However, Gen-Z's is also indirectly still uncertain in determining their choice of leaders who come from official families. This indicates that there are other factors that Gen-Z's sees in the criteria of leaders apart from family background. Gen-Z's also agrees that the more dynastic politics that occur in Indonesia, the more the practice of KKN in Indonesia.

Gen-Z's View on Young Leaders

In the second part of the questions related to Gen-Z's approval of leaders who come from the youth. There were five questions asked about this, first related to Gen-Z's surprise at leaders from the youth, and it was found that 41% agreed, 15% strongly agreed, 38% chose neutral, 6% chose disagree and only 1% chose strongly disagree. These results generally show that Gen-Z's agrees with leaders who come from the youth. Then the second question related to Gen-Z's agreement regarding the youth who become vice presidents can bring good changes to the country where 41% chose to agree, 15% chose strongly agree, 38% chose neutral, then 4% chose to disagree and 2% chose strongly disagree. The majority of their answers agree that if the youth become vice president, it will be able to bring good changes to the country.

The third question analyzed Gen-Z's agreement that the youth have integrity in leading, 51% of them chose to agree, 16% chose to strongly agree, 28% chose neutral, 4% chose to disagree and only 1% chose to strongly disagree. In general, Gen-Z's believes that the youth have integrity in leading. Then the fourth question related to the connectedness of young candidates and its influence on their candidate preferences. From this question it was found that 41% chose to agree, 18% strongly agreed, 27% neutral, 13% disagreed, and there was only 1% who strongly disagreed. In general, Gen-Z's agrees that the presence of young candidates can influence them in choosing leaders. Then the fifth question regarding Gen-Z's agreement that the youth should take power. The answers were quite diverse where 40% chose to agree, 12% strongly agreed, 37% were neutral and the rest disagreed. In general, Gen-Z's agrees if the youth take over the power of government.

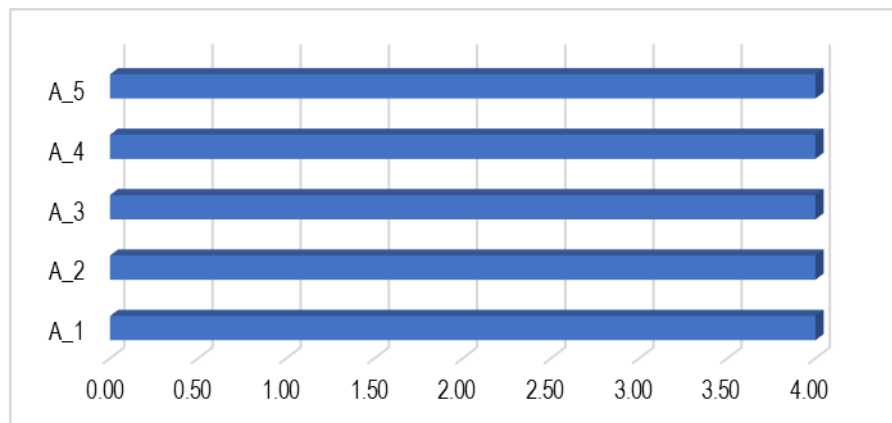


Figure 2. Gen-Z's Approval Preference for Young Leaders

Source: Processed from Primary Data

The majority of Gen-Z's chose the answer to agree from the five questions asked regarding their approval of the youth becoming leaders. Seen in the graph data above which shows that the majority agree with the youth in politics. This shows that Gen-Z's as part of the youth agrees with the role of leaders from the youth to run the government. As the youth, Gen-Z's has high confidence that the youth are also capable of leading and taking a role in politics and government.

Gibran's Electability as a Young Man in the Vortex of Dynastic Politics

In this section there are three questions asked about Gen-Z's approval of Gibran's leadership as Mayor of Surakarta, then there is one question about satisfaction and one question related to whether Gen-Z's will choose Gibran as Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia. The first question related to Gibran's status as the son of the president and former mayor of Surakarta being a supporting factor that led to Gibran's election as mayor from the data found as many as 42% of respondents answered agree, 25% strongly agree, 22% neutral, and 11% disagree. From the data found, no one chose the strongly disagree option. This means that there is an influence related to Gibran's status as the President's son and Gibran's election as Mayor of Surakarta. This then indicates that Jokowi's role as president and former Mayor of Surakarta according to Gen-Z's influenced his election as Mayor of Surakarta.

The second question was about Gibran's performance and asked about Gen-Z's surprise at the big changes made by Gibran during his tenure as Mayor of Surakarta. 35% chose agree, 28% chose strongly agree, 22% chose neutral, 14% chose disagree and 1% chose strongly disagree. Based on the survey results, it is found that in general Gen-Z's views that Gibran's performance during his tenure as Mayor has been able to bring significant changes to Surakarta City. The third question asked about Gen-Z's approval of Gibran leaving a good track record during his time as

Mayor of Surakarta. 40% agreed, 23% strongly agreed, 29% were neutral, 7% disagreed and only 1% strongly disagreed. The data shows that during his tenure as Mayor, Gibran managed to leave a good track record for Gen-Z's.

The fourth question asked about Gen-Z's satisfaction with Gibran's leadership. The results showed 40% satisfied, 20% very satisfied, 30% neutral, 8% dissatisfied and 2% very dissatisfied. In the fifth question, there was an interesting finding regarding Gen-Z's approval of Gibran's decision to become Vice President for the 2024-2029 period. The survey results showed 37% were still undecided or neutral, 21% chose to disagree, 23% chose to agree, 11% chose to strongly agree and 8% chose to strongly disagree. The survey shows that Gen-Z's does not agree with Gibran's decision to run for Vice President, as seen from the general results which show that there are still doubts among Gen-Z.

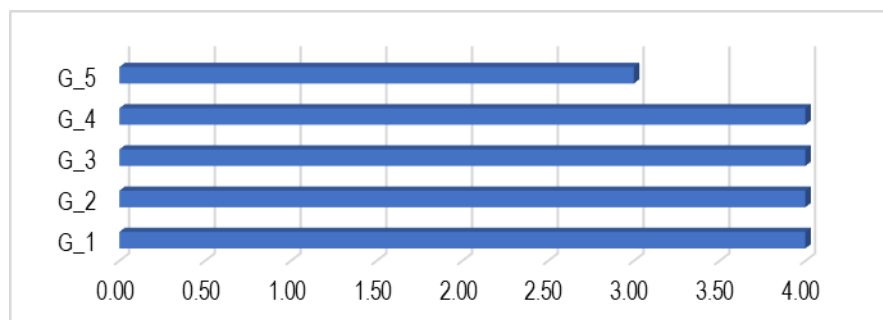


Figure 3. Gibran's Electability as a Young Man in the Vortex of Dynastic Politics According to Gen-Z

Source: Processed from Primary Data

Based on the survey results of Gen-Z's, it shows that they agree that Gibran's position as Deputy Mayor is closely related to dynastic politics because of Gibran's position as the president's son who was elected mayor. This can be seen in the first question (G_1) in the bar graph above the majority chose the answer agree. Then, Gen-Z's also agreed that Gibran had a good impact on development in Surakarta City and left a good track record. Seen in the answers to the second (G_2) and third (G_3) questions, the majority of Gen-Z's chose to agree. This has an impact on Gen-Z's satisfaction with Gibran's leadership as Mayor of Surakarta. However, Gibran's decision to run for Vice President is still doubted by Gen-Z's and tends to disagree, seen in the fifth question (G_5) the majority chose neutral.

This shows that Gen-Z's does not fully agree if Gibran becomes Vice President. This was then emphasized in the next question about whether they would vote for Gibran as Vice President in the 2024 election and 50% of them answered neutral, 30% did not want to vote for Gibran and 20% chose Gibran. This indicates that the majority of Gen-Z's are not willing to vote for Gibran as Vice President.

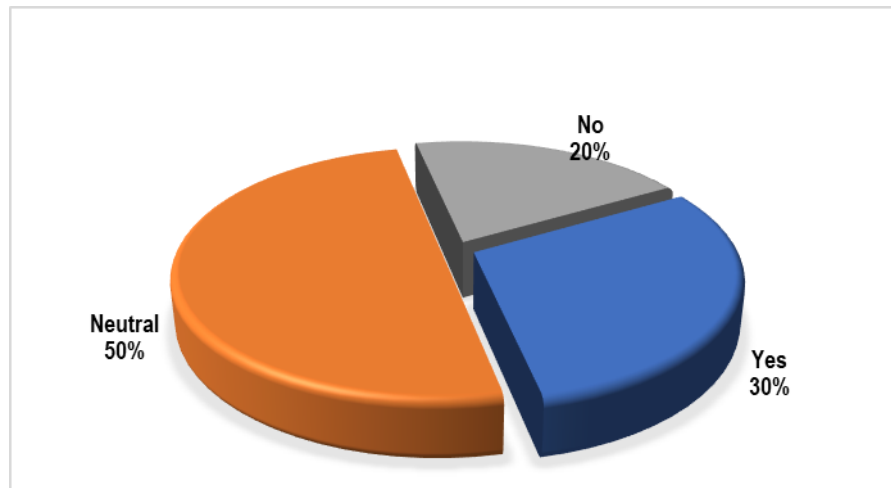
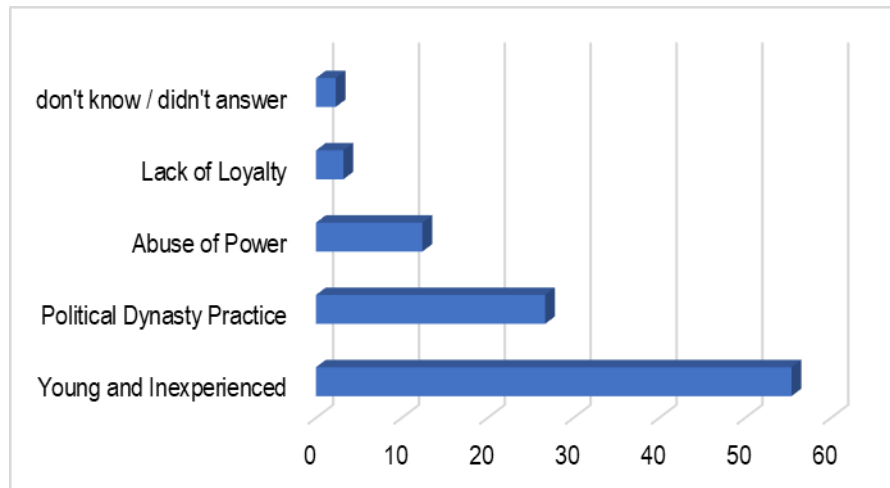


Figure 4. Gen-Z's Decision To Vote For Gibran As Vice President

Source: Processed from Primary Data

Similar findings were also conducted by Charta Politika on October 26-31, 2023 on "Electoral Map After the Constitutional Court Decision and Registration of Presidential Candidates-Vice Presidential Candidates", especially highlighting questions related to 'the reasons for respondents who consider Gibran Rakabuming Raka inappropriate to be a vice president (Annur, 2023)'. The results of this survey show that 55.4% of a total of 2400 17-year-old Gen-Z's respondents consider that Gibran is not suitable to be a vice president because he is still young and inexperienced, this can be seen that Gibran rose to become a vice president at the age of 36 and Gibran's track record in politics is considered new and not experienced enough. The argument was expressed because Gibran only entered politics in 2021 by serving as Mayor of Solo. In the second year Gibran served as Mayor of Solo, he then advanced to become Prabowo Subianto's Vice Presidential Candidate, where Gibran's advancement as a Vice President is considered inappropriate because he does not have enough experience in politics.



Source: Processed from Primary Data

Then, there are 26.7% of respondents who think that Gibran is not suitable to be a vice president because he is considered part of a political dynasty. This can be seen from the end of Jokowi's tenure as President of the Republic of Indonesia, several of his family members entered politics, namely his eldest son, Gibran, as Mayor of Solo and his son-in-law, Bobby Nasution, as Mayor of Medan and his youngest son, Kaesang Pangarep, who just rose to become Chairman of the PSI Party. With the rise of Gibran as vice president, it is considered to further perpetuate Jokowi's political dynasty that has been formed. Then, as many as 12.4% of respondents thought that the rise of Gibran as vice president was a form of abuse of power by President Jokowi.



Figure 6. Nvivo Word Cloud Interview Results of 100 Gen-Z Respondents
Source: Processed from Primary Data

This can be seen from October 2023, the Constitutional Court issued a decision in article 169 letter q of the General Election Law which states that a person can become a vice president if he is at least 40 years old or has held / is holding an office elected through general elections such as regional head. And 3.2% of respondents think that Gibran still does not have loyalty to

political parties. This is because Gibran, who served as Mayor of Solo after being nominated by the PDI-P party, has a relatively new political career. However, with the rise of Gibran as vice president, he is considered disloyal to the party by accompanying Prabowo in the 2024 presidential election (Annur, 2023).

However, this research also conducted a survey with an unclosed direct questionnaire related to Gen-Z's views on Gibran during his tenure as Mayor of Surakarta. The results of the analysis found quite diverse there are those who say good, less, enough and various other answers. But in general, during Gibran's tenure as Mayor of Surakarta, Gen-Z's saw significant changes that occurred in Surakarta City. Especially in terms of tourism, where Gen-Z's assessed that there were good changes in the sector. However, there are also some who think that the performance of Gibran is still bad and needs a lot of improvement in Surakarta City itself. This response is quite diverse and indicates that Gen-Z's in general has known the extent of Gibran's performance and follows the leadership patterns and programs carried out by Gibran. This then becomes an indication that Gibran's electability is already quite good among Gen-Z's, especially in Surakarta City.

CONCLUSION

Gibran's presence is an interesting phenomenon in the world of politics in Indonesia because there are many controversial issues that have been arising. In general, various survey results show that his electability has increased, but in the results of this study it was found that Gen-Z's did not fully agree regarding Gibran's move to become a vice president in the Indonesia 2024 presidential election. The youth issue brought by Gibran does not guarantee his electability as Vice President. The electability obtained by Gibran is inseparable from dynastic politics which is also embedded in his family's political track record. In general, Gen-Z's are aware and disagree with the phenomenon of political dynasty, but not denying the occurrence of dynastic politics in Indonesia. Gen-Z's is also highly supportive of the youth to become a leader. However, the correlation between Gen-Z's support for young leaders cannot be said to be completely in line with Gibran's position due to various reasons such as inexperience, the existence of political dynasty practices and loyalty issues, which are the reasons why Gen-Z's is still neutral and tends not to vote for Gibran as Vice President for the 2024-2029 period. Based on this, the results of this study will have implications for other researchers who will examine more related to the phenomenon of political dynasties in Indonesia. This research can be a new phenomenon but still requires more in-depth research to strengthen the data and findings that have been obtained.

To enhance the results of the analysis, comprehensive research is still needed and could take the wider context of the research locus than this study. Hopefully, this research can trigger various similar studies as well as become a database in further exploring related to dynasty politics, Gen-Z and general elections in Indonesia.

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