



# When the Son of the Indonesia President Becomes a Party Chairman: An Analysis of Political Capital and Public Response

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## Abstract

This research is motivated by the case of President Joko Widodo's son, Kaesang Pangareb, who became chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) after becoming a cadre for two days. Therefore, this study aims to explain the political capital of Kaesang Pangareb in becoming the chairman of PSI and how the public responds to the process. This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The findings of this study explain that there are three critical political capitals owned by Kaesang Pangareb, the president's son, who became the party chairman in a short time. First, the representation of young people who perform well in building businesses. Then, there was solid political support from his father, the active president of Indonesia. This support from President Joko Widodo has enormous power as a form of privilege for Kaesang Pangareb to be elected as chairman in such a quick process. Moreover, the support from the PSI party elite also significantly contributes to consolidating cadres at the central and regional levels to support Kaesang Pangareb in becoming chairman. Then, the public response, both in the real world and in cyberspace related to this case, shows a positive perception and supports Kaesang Pangareb's political movement.

## Keywords

Political Capital; Public Response; Party Chairman; Son of the Indonesia President

## Abstrak

Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh kasus putra Presiden Joko Widodo, Kaesang Pangareb, yang menjadi ketua umum Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI) setelah menjadi kader selama dua hari. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan modal politik Kaesang Pangareb dalam menjadi ketua umum PSI dan bagaimana respon masyarakat terhadap proses tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Temuan penelitian ini menjelaskan bahwa ada tiga modal politik penting yang dimiliki oleh Kaesang Pangareb, anak presiden yang menjadi ketua umum partai

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dalam waktu singkat. Pertama, representasi anak muda yang berprestasi dalam membangun bisnis. Kemudian, ada dukungan politik yang kuat dari ayahnya, presiden Indonesia yang masih aktif. Dukungan dari Presiden Joko Widodo ini memiliki kekuatan yang sangat besar sebagai bentuk keistimewaan bagi Kaesang Pangareb untuk terpilih menjadi ketua umum dalam proses yang cepat. Selain itu, dukungan dari elit partai PSI juga memberikan kontribusi yang signifikan dalam mengkonsolidasikan kader-kader di tingkat pusat dan daerah untuk mendukung Kaesang Pangareb menjadi ketua umum. Kemudian, respon publik, baik di dunia nyata maupun di dunia maya terkait kasus ini menunjukkan persepsi yang positif dan mendukung gerakan politik Kaesang Pangareb.

## **Kata Kunci**

Modal Politik; Respon Publik; Ketua Partai; Putra Presiden Indonesia

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## **Introduction**

A political party is an organized group whose members share the same orientation, values, and ideals. The purpose of this group is to obtain power by constitutional means through general elections and maintain it if it has been received to implement the established program (Budiardjo, 2008). Political parties are a parameter of democracy that has a role as a bridge between society and the government (Rahat & Cross, 2018; Ufen, 2008). Moreover, political parties as an organization are ideally intended to activate and mobilize the people (political participation), represent specific interests, provide a way of compromise for competing opinions, and provide a means of succession to political leadership legitimately and peacefully (Poguntke et al., 2016). Then, four functions of political parties: political communication, political socialization, political recruitment, and conflict management (Budiardjo, 2008).

To carry out this function, the role of leaders in the party becomes very fundamental. This relates to how the party's orientation is running and the strength of internal consolidation (Xhardez, 2014). Leaders in political parties are essential as they are the main milestones for progressing and achieving the goals of the political organization (Pilet & Cross, 2014). Party leaders are responsible for carrying out their roles and functions so that they are strong and solid and there is good communication between administrators (Aarts et al., 2013). Therefore, ideally, the leader of a political party should be a person who has been in the process for a long time through cadre training in stages so that they have maturely known the direction of the party's struggle and have a strong influence among cadres and administrators (O'Brien, 2015).

However, President Joko Widodo's son, Kaesang Pangareb, who became the general Chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), stepped over this ideal. Only two days after receiving his membership card (KTA), Kaesang was immediately appointed Chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), replacing Giring Ganesha Djumaryo. Kaesang was appointed as Chairman of PSI during the PSI National Coffee Land at the Djakarta Theater, Central Jakarta, on Monday (25/9/2023)(Yanwardhana, 2023). Researcher at the Political Research Center of the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) Firman Noor said that PSI's move to appoint Kaesang as Chairman showed the party's inability to make a breakthrough. PSI is considered only power-oriented for its decision to make Kaesang Chairman(Yahya, 2023). Moreover, a political observer from Trunojoyo University in Madura, Surokhim Abdussalam, analogized the joining and appointment of Kaesang as PSI Chairman to "political acrobatics" because the process was so fast and there was no precise mechanism within the party in the election (Ricky, 2023).

Several studies have discussed the chairman of a political party. Research from Albar & Hamsir, 2020; Ghofur & al Arif, (2017) explains that political parties in Indonesia have regulated in detail the requirements and mechanisms for leadership succession in the Articles of Association and Party Bylaws. From a legal-formal aspect, the party's bylaws are sufficient to serve as the rule of the game in leadership succession. However, the behavior of some party elites who do not want to comply with the game's laws has led to the birth of conflict. Thus, dualism in party management is unavoidable.

Meanwhile, research from Azrianti et al., (2020); Ekawati & Sweinstani, (2020); Mendrofa & Efriza, (2022); Muhammad Faturrachman SY.1, Sultan2, (2023) explains about political parties that the chairman personalizes. It is known that the factors that cause the party to be still dominated by one particular figure/individual are the charisma of the figure, patron-client culture, and economic motives. Although some previous studies have stated that the personalization of political parties under certain conditions benefits the party in maintaining party solidity, the study found that the positive impact is only a pseudo and short-term effect. The personalization of political parties cannot be understood and compromised because the phenomenon impacts the building of political parties built from a system of dependence on specific figures who can play a holistic role for the party. Furthermore, this condition threatens the internal democracy of the party, which causes the institutionalization of political parties, the death of internal party democracy, and the adverse impact on elite circulation.

Then, research by Witianti, (2019) shows that in the simultaneous regional elections in Indonesia held since 2015, there is a tendency for the influence of political party chairpersons to strengthen the nomination of regional heads. Political party decision-making is ultimately determined by the consideration of the general chairman of the political party; it is the duty of political parties to be one of the primary sources of national leadership, which is required to prepare and

produce national cadres who are professional, honest, have high integrity and broad insight and are carried out democratically.

Based on the explanation of previous studies, it can be grouped into three discussions: the succession of party leadership, the personalization of the chairman of the party, and the role of the chairman in determining regional head candidates. Thus, this research offers a new focus on the process of a president's son becoming a party chairman and the public response to the process. Therefore, this research aims to explain two things, first, to analyze what political capital Kaesang Pangareb has in becoming the general chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). Second, this research also explains how the public responds to Kaesang Pangareb's process of becoming the Chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI).

In conception, political capital is synonymous with things that are owned by candidates as part of the initial steps to get something. In some literature, discussions using political capital theory work to achieve regional head candidates, candidates in elections, or even elite strategies to win elections. There has been no comprehensive research that discusses political capital working to make someone a party chairman. Therefore, this discussion becomes interesting to focus on the theory of political capital in this context.

Political capital is a currency used to mobilize voters, achieve policy reform, or perform other political goals (Szücs & Strömberg, 2006). Meanwhile, according to Casey, (2008) political capital is utilizing all types of capital owned by a political actor or an institution to produce political actions that benefit or strengthen the position of the political actor or political institution concerned. Seven main types of capital provide political resources, namely institutional capital, human capital, social capital, economic capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and moral capital. Likewise, according to Field, (2016) political capital is the utilization of all types of capital owned by a political actor or a political institution to produce political actions that benefit or strengthen the position of the political actor or political institution concerned. Political capital refers to the power of individuals to act politically generated through participation in interactive political processes (Sørensen & Torfing, 2003).

Furthermore, political capital allows the study of local communities using social capital to achieve targeted political outcomes. Local communities carry out various political works to support political activities such as voter mobilization, direct participation in the legislative process, protests/demonstrations, lobbying, and building discourse as political capital to build democracy. Thus, there is a utilization/use of social capital to achieve specific goals through steps to convert it into political capital. This social capital is developed into political capital through political lobbying and economic freedom that facilitates political mobilization. Indicators that can measure political capital are political experience, family networks, and political support (Birner & Wittner, 2000).

Political capital is the activity of citizens to achieve power in a democracy. Political capital can also be interpreted as several candidate strengths from their activities in previous formal organizations supported by local political elites from political organizations, social organizations, and even political parties representing their interests. In addition, candidates must have a success team that can persuade registered voters and who can conduct candidate campaigns, and candidates must be able to ensure that the success team and its entire network always work optimally and in favor of them (Booth & Richard, 1998).

Moreover, political capital in the form of candidate strength can be seen from first, the activities/experience of candidate pairs such as political organizations, social community organizations, being members of political parties (political capacity, political knowledge, political positions, and strategic positions of candidate pairs in political institutions). Second, the support of local political elites as motivators and providers of mass bases. Third, the existence of a success team that works optimally and in favor of the candidate pair (Béni-Gbaffou & Katsaura, 2014; Booth & Richard, 1998; Dubos, 2017; Lin, 2017; Liu & Stolle, 2017).

Furthermore, there are two types of political capital in elections. First, capital or money is used to finance the campaign. Politicians and political parties with sizeable financial capital will have considerable power to build integrated campaign programs. Second is social capital, where politicians and political parties prioritize the accumulation of credibility, popularity, and networks in the community. This social capital is built through dynamic interactions with the community (Akey & Lewellen, 2016). Political and social capital are indispensable power sources for rulers or political leaders. The combination of political capital and social capital benefits political leaders because it expands the network of power in governance. The more a political leader has political and social capital, the more solid and resilient power becomes. Political and social capital must be read in an interrelated series (Haboddin, 2017).

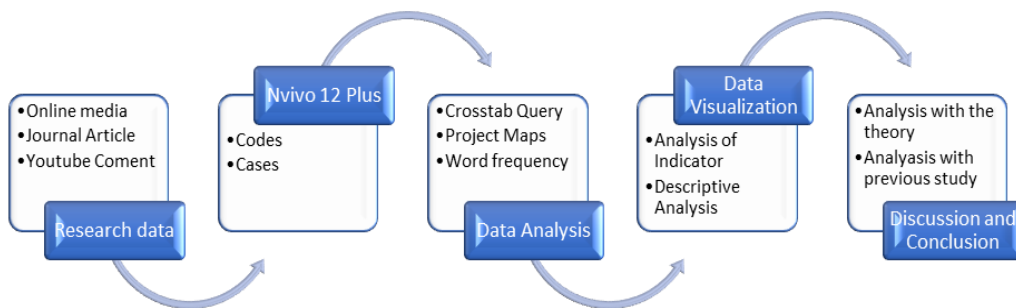
## Method

This research uses qualitative methods Creswell & Creswell, (2017) with a case study approach (Flyvbjerg, 2011). The case study of this research is the appointment of Kaesang Pangareb to become the general chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). The data collection technique in this research is a literature study. Therefore, the data sources of this research come from credible online media such as Kompas.com, liputan6, tempo.co, CNN Indonesia, detiknews.com, okezone.com, CNBC Indonesia, and journal articles are relevant to the research topic, as well as comments on TVONE's YouTube account totaling 2000 comments reporting the case of Kaesang Pangareb becoming PSI chairman. Furthermore, this research uses descriptive data analysis techniques. The stages in analyzing this research data are collection and processing, data selection, analysis

and verification between variables, and interpretation and conclusion drawing (Al-Hamdi et al., 2020).

Moreover, this study used Nvivo 12 plus software to analyze and visualize data (Edlund & McDougall, 2018). The features used in Nvivo 12 plus in this study are crosstab query, word frequency, and project maps. The Crosstab Query feature was used to analyze the dominance of Kaesang Pangareb's political capital to become chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). Then, project maps are used to display the relationship patterns in the political capital run by Kaesang Pangareb in this case. Meanwhile, word frequency is used to see how the response narrative from the community towards Kaesang Pangareb's appointment. Figure 1 displays the flow conducted in this research.

Figure 1. Stage of This Research



Then, this study uses the theory of Booth & Richard, (1998) on political capital as a citizen activity to achieve power in a democracy. The indicators used as benchmarks for political capital are Organizational Activities / Experience, Political Elite support, and Success Team. The reason for using this theory is because it is relevant to the research objectives that will be achieved, namely wanting to analyze what Kaesang Pangareb has, even though he has only been a cadre for three days, he can immediately become the chairman of the Party. Then, this is also elaborated with the second research objective in this study that wants to explain how the public responds to these unusual political events.

## Discussion

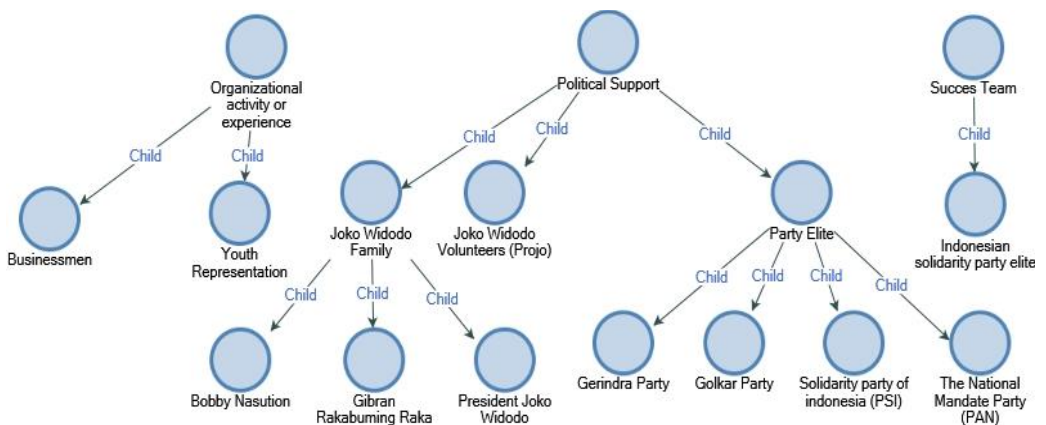
### ***The President's son Political Capital to Become Party Chairman.***

Indicators used to measure political capital for someone in a democratic country fighting for political office are organizational activities/experience, political elite support, and success team. John A. Booth and Patricia Bayer Richard (1998) point out that public participation in more formal groups/organizations and higher political levels, supported by communal organizations such as community

organizations that can relate to power and have the ability to persuade registered voters to vote or work for campaigns in an election can achieve power or democracy. Political capital as a citizen activity to achieve power and democracy. Political capital can also be interpreted as a number of candidate strengths from their activities in previous formal organizations supported by local political elites from political organizations, social organizations and even political parties that are considered to represent their interests. In addition, candidates must have a success team that has the ability to persuade registered voters and who have the ability to conduct candidate campaigns and candidates must be able to ensure that the success team and its entire network always work optimally and in favor of them.

In the Kaesang Pangareb case context, the process of becoming PSI chairman has received pros and cons among the public. This is because Kaesang Pangareb's process was considered too fast and instantaneous to get a very strategic position in the party. The growing assumption that Kaesang Pangareb's election as PSI chairman is inseparable from his status as the son of President Joko Widodo. Therefore, it is essential to see and analyze the political capital owned by Kaesang Pangareb in achieving the position of chairman in a relatively short time. Figure 2 shows the pattern of Kaesang Pangareb's political capital in becoming PSI chairman.

Figure 2. Political Capital Patterns of the President's Son



Source: Processed By The Author Through Nvivo 12 Plus, 2023.

Regarding organizational activities or experience, Kaesang Pangareb is not very involved in politics. When viewed more deeply, Kaesang Pangareb is known by the public not only as the president's son but also for his activities in building businesses. Some of the companies of Kaesang Pangareb that are owned and run are Sang Pisang; this processed banana business is the most significant business owned by Kaesang, which is now spread across 25 cities with more than 73 outlets

and has 1,500 employees. Second, Hompimpa Gamers is an entertainment business that sells various board game products under the Hompimpa Games brand, which carries a message of tolerance and emphasizes the archipelago's culture. Third, Sang Javas is a clothing line brand with tadpoles in its t-shirt designs. Even when it was first launched, this brand managed to attract the attention of netizens at that time. Fourth, Ternakopi, Kaesang pioneered a processed coffee beverage business named Ternakopi. This business is run together with his first brother, Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Fifth, Madhang, Kaesang also launched the Madhang application to connect mothers who are good at cooking with buyers. This application has also succeeded in helping many housewives to become financially independent (Sorongan, 2022).

Sixth, Siap Mas, still in the culinary field, Kaesang also formed the Siap Mas brand. This business presents drinks and snack products such as chips named Ngedrink and Kemripik in various minimarkets. Seventh, Mangkok Ku, Kaesang also opened a restaurant business with Chef Arnold Poernomo and his brother, Gibran, under Mangkok Ku. Now that his brother is involved in politics, the company on Jalan Tanjung Duren Raya, West Jakarta, is handed over to Kaesang Pangarep. Eighth is Chili Pari. Another Gibran business handed over to Kaesang Pangarep is Chili Pari, a catering business. This business was established in December 2010 (Sorongan, 2022).

Ninth, Markobar sells various martabak. In addition to food, Gibran's business, which was handed over to Kaesang Pangarep, also includes a company repairing Apple products under the name Icolor with the concept of picking up the ball. Gibran also has an e-commerce business selling raincoats branded as Tugas Negara Bos. These raincoats are sold online in several online shopping applications. Tenth, Goola is a startup that sells drinks originally owned by Gibran and handed over to Kaesang Pangarep by offering traditional Indonesian beverage products such as Es Doger that are packaged more modern. Eleventh, Saham Rakyat is a stock community platform founded with Youtuber Kevin Hendrawan in August 2020. Twelfth, Panca Mitra Multiperdana Tbk (PMMP) Through GK Hebat, Kaesang controls 8% of PMMP shares in the shrimp-based frozen food processing industry. Thirteenth, Catfish Farm, Kaesang, has a catfish farming business established in 2019. Catfish farming is one of Kaesang's businesses that generates a lot of rupiah coffers (Sorongan, 2022).

Based on this data, Kaesang Pangarep's business octopus is vast and runs in various sectors. This is what makes Kaesang Pangarep considered a successful young person. The narrative that developed in the public was that the business was created and run by Kaesang Pangarep and was carried out independently, without any interference from his father, President Joko Widodo. This makes many people appreciate Kaesang Pangarep's performance in the business world.

It is also reinforced by the inherent identity of Kaesang Pangarep, namely the representation of young people or millennials. This is the bargaining power of Kaesang Pangarep in becoming the general chairman of PSI. Secretary General of



the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) Raja Juli Antoni revealed the reason why President Joko Widodo's (Jokowi) youngest son, Kaesang Pangarep, could immediately become PSI Chairman, even though he had just become a cadre, namely because he was a representative of young people who were successful in the business world and had communication and a humble attitude (Dirgantara, 2023a). Likewise, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), Grace Natalie, stated that Kaesang Pangarep represents young people in the current political situation. During his maiden speech, Grace said this, looking at Kaesang Pangarep's communication style as PSI Chairman. According to her, an address does not have to be delivered thunderously as it is known so far; it can be relaxed but has substance. Grace also attributes Kaesang to be a representation of young people, which can be relevant to the issues that exist in today's changing times (Vasudewa, 2023).

Moreover, PSI has been working more on the pool of young people, so a strong figure is needed to prepare for the 2024 battle. As stated by the PSI Central Leadership Council Furqan AMC Chairman, Kaesang's presence is expected to positively impact PSI, especially in the upcoming 2024 elections, by bringing voters from among young people (Salsabila, 2023). Data from the General Elections Commission (KPU) has released the permanent voter list (DPT) for the 2024 elections, where many voters come from millennials and Gen Z. In total, millennials and Gen Z voters are above 50 percent in the 2024 elections. Reporting from Kompas TV, the millennial generation is the generation that contributed the most DPT in the 2024 election, amounting to 33.6 percent or 68.8 million voters. The KPU conveyed this in an open plenary National Level DPT Recapitulation meeting for the 2024 Election at the KPU Office, Jakarta, Sunday (2/7/2023). "Gen X 28.07 percent, please add the year of birth, then Gen Z 22.85 percent, Millennial 33.6 percent," said KPU RI member Betty Epsilon Idroos. Meanwhile, Gen X became the second generation that contributed the most DPT at 28.7 percent or 57.4 million. Then followed by Gen Z with 22.85 percent or around 46.8 million voters. After that, followed by baby boomers, about 28.1 million or 13.73 percent, and finally, there are pre-boomers with 3.5 million DPT or 1.74 percent (Vasudewa, 2023).

Then, look at the Political Elite Support that Kaesang Pangarep has as his capital to become PSI chairman. Figure 2 shows that there are three components in this political support: first, his family who have political positions, namely his father, Joko Widodo (President of Indonesia), his brother Gibran Rajabuming Raka (Mayor of Solo and 2024 Vice Presidential Candidate) and his brother-in-law Bobby Nasution (Mayor of Medan). Second, party elites from the Indonesian Solidarity Party, Golkar Party, National Mandate Party, and Gerindra Party. The elite of these parties apparently had a hand in the appointment of Kaesang Pangarep as PSI chairman. The strong political network with the elites that Kaesang has is one of his political capitals that makes his political walk to become chairman smooth. Then, this also made PSI cadres influenced by this with the thought that it would

be able to position the party in the ranks of Indonesia's party elite. Third, President Joko Widodo's volunteer organization Projo.

Before joining, Kaesang claimed to have asked for the blessing of his father, Jokowi, and his brother, Gibran, regarding his decision to anchor to PSI. This is also confirmed by what Jokowi revealed: Kaesang had asked him for a blessing before becoming PSI Chairman (Detiknews.com, 2023). President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) admitted that he blessed his youngest son, Kaesang Pangarep, who became Chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). Despite his blessing, Jokowi welcomed that he did not message Kaesang regarding his position. Jokowi was also reluctant to comment much on Kaesang's political steps because, for him, Kaesang was an adult and had his own family. Jokowi said that Kaesang, now married, must be responsible and independent with his own choices. He also believes that Kaesang has calculated all the risks by becoming the general chairman of a political party (Ramadhan, 2023). Meanwhile, a political observer from the Citra Institute, Efriza, believes that President Jokowi approved Kaesang Pangarep joining the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) because he did not want his youngest son to become the party's central figure. Jokowi is believed not to want his son to become a "party official" like himself (Saubani, 2023).

This illustrates that President Joko Widodo's support in approving Kaesang Pangarep's political steps is very significant in driving his election as chairman. Moreover, PSI is one of the parties that supported and endorsed President Joko Widodo in the 2019 elections and is part of the government. Thus, the blessing of President Joko Widodo became a reinforcement for PSI cadres to choose Kaesang Pangarep to become chairman because they thought that this represented Joko Widodo, who had been the political figure they supported. This is in line with what was conveyed by PSI Secretary General Raja Juli Antoni that President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) is already part of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) and also alludes that Jokowi is not part of another red party. Raja said that Kaesang Pangarep must continue to be socialized as Jokowi's best son. Raja and President Joko Widodo asked for Kaesang's billboards to be massively circulated. This aims to boost the party's votes in the 2024 elections (Rifaldi, 2023).

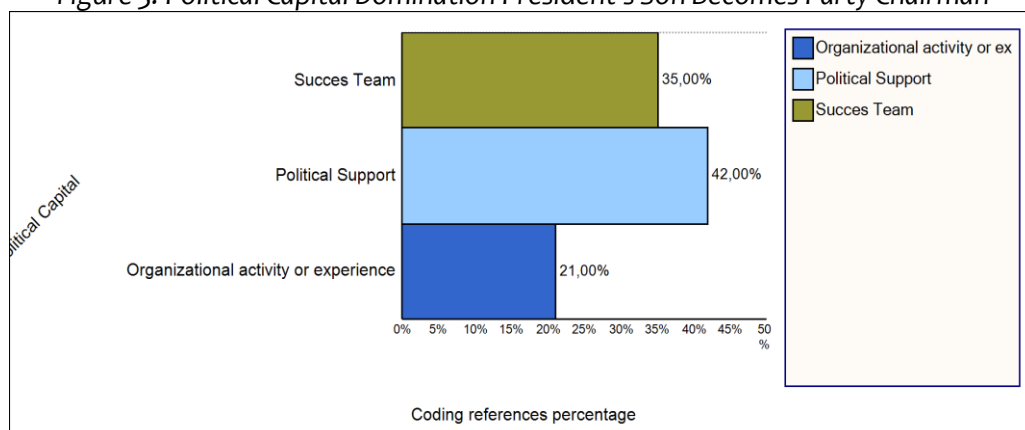
Then, seen in terms of the success team that designed and supported Kaesang Pangarep to become Chairperson were several PSI party elites such as Giring Ganesha (Former chairman), Grace Nathalie (Deputy Board of Trustees), Raja Juli Antoni (Secretary of the Party's Central Leadership Council) and so on. Conceptually, a success team is a group of people who have the ability to persuade registered voters and who have the ability to conduct a candidate campaign in favor of the candidate. In this contexts, some of these people are mobilizing support in internal cadres to agree to raise Kaesang Pangarep. This is also done at the regional management level; the party elite consolidates voices and perceptions to approve Kaesang Pangarep as chairman.

Kaesang Pangarep's statement confirms this analysis that he joined PSI because of his shared views about the younger generation participating in politics.

He said he had communicated for a long time with PSI officials (Muarabagja, 2023). Likewise, Grace Nathalie's statement that Kaesang's appointment as PSI Chairman was a proposal from cadres and regional administrators from 38 provinces to PSI General Chairman Giring Ganesha (Dirgantara, 2023b). The movement of the party elite who became Kaesang Pangareb's success team to become chairman was effective and able to carry out its work well, so cadres and administrators at the national and regional levels agreed to this. However, in a political party with diverse interests, there should be a significant risk of friction that causes political fragmentation. However, the Kaesang Pangareb process became very controversial among the public, especially academics and political activists. According to Cecep Hidayat, a political observer from the University of Indonesia, Kaesang's foray into politics attempts to perpetuate Jokowi's 'political dynasty' through PSI. Although currently still a cadre of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Jokowi is preparing for the continuation of his power by cooperating with PSI. This party has supported Jokowi since the 2019 elections by joining Kaesang (Bbcnews.com, 2023).

This illustrates the theory presented by Booth & Richard, (1998) which explains that political capital is vital if a successful team works optimally and favors the candidate. Likewise, the theory from Casey, (2008) explains that political capital is the utilization of all types of capital owned by a political actor or a political institution to produce political actions that benefit or strengthen the position of the political actor or political institution concerned.

Figure 3. Political Capital Domination President's Son Becomes Party Chairman



Source: Processed By The Author Through Nvivo 12 Plus, 2023.

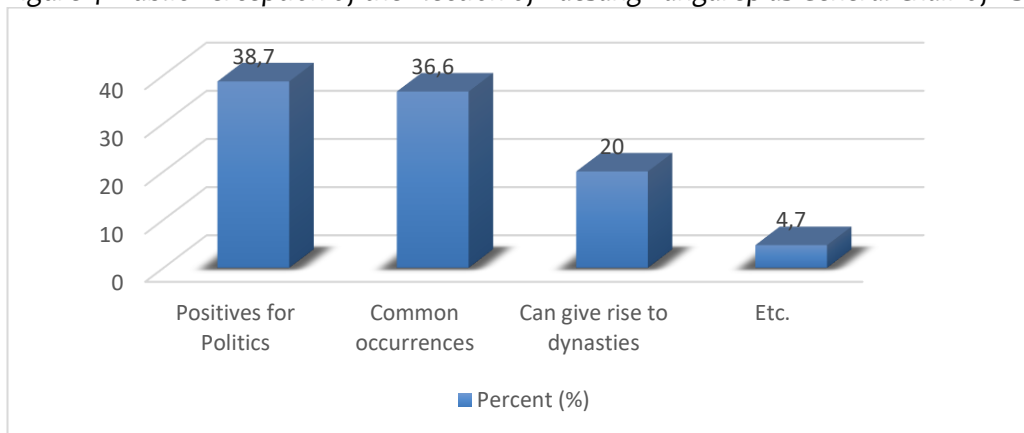
Figure 3 displays data on the most dominating indicators or those that greatly influence Kaesang Pangareb to become PSI chairman. The data explains that the political support indicator is the most dominant, with 42.00%, followed by the success team, with 35.00%, and finally, organizational activity/experience, which is only 21.00%. This means that the support of the political elite is a vital foundation or

capital that Kaesang Pangareb has in becoming PSI Chairman. Moreover, with his status as the son of President Joko Widodo, who also openly approves of his son's political steps, most PSI cadres who are supporters of Joko Widodo will unanimously agree with Kaesang. Moreover, political support from the party elite and volunteers impacted Kaesang's election. Furthermore, Kaesang's capital was also quite strong because he was assisted by PSI elites who wanted him to become chairman. These PSI elites are indeed people who have influence and strategic positions in the party so that they have broad and easy access to consolidate the internal party.

### **Public Response to the President's Son Becoming Party Chairman**

The pros and cons behind the political maneuvers of Kaesang Pangarep, who has now joined the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). Kaesang Pangarep's political career immediately rose to the next level at PSI. It is known that the youngest son of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) was directly appointed General Chair of PSI two days after joining. Kaesang was immediately appointed General Chair of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), replacing Giring Ganesha Djumaryo. However, Kaesang's appointment drew criticism from several parties. In running its organization, PSI is considered oriented only towards power (Piring, 2023). Political observer Ray Rangkuti criticized the decision regarding the General Chair of PSI. The appointment of Kaesang, who only joined PSI for two days and then became General Chair, raises questions regarding the party's cadre formation. Ray Rangkuti regretted that PSI cadres who had previously joined did not get the opportunity to become Chairman (Sibt, 2023). At the community level, the Kaesang Pangareb case also received a response from the community. Figure 4 displays public perception data regarding Kaesang Pangareb's appointment as PSI's general chairman.

Figure 4. Public Perception of the Election of Kaesang Pangarep as General Chair of PSI



Source: Katadata Insight Center (KIC), 2023.

Katadata Insight Center (KIC) surveyed and collected public perceptions on this issue. The survey results showed that 38.7% of respondents thought that Kaesang's position at PSI would positively impact politics in Indonesia because it represented politically literate young people. Then, 36.6% of respondents considered Kaesang's position as PSI General Chair a common thing in politics. There were also 20% of respondents who felt that Kaesang's existence as a high-ranking political party official was harmful because it gave rise to a political dynasty. The remaining 4.7% of respondents stated other opinions regarding Kaesang's position at PSI. The KIC survey also found that most respondents, or 62.2%, admitted that the election of Kaesang as PSI General Chair did not determine their political direction. So they will not vote for that party (Muhamad, 2023).

Meanwhile, 37.8% of respondents admitted that Kaesang's presence would influence them to choose PSI. The survey conducted by KIC involved 1,178 respondents spread throughout Indonesia, with a proportion of 53.8% female respondents and 46.2% male respondents. More than half of the respondents were on the island of Java (77%), followed by Sumatra (11.6%) and Sulawesi (4.2%). Meanwhile, the proportion of respondents from Kalimantan, Bali-Nusa, and Maluku-Papua was 0.9-6.6%. The majority of respondents came from the age group between 25-34 years (55.3%), followed by the 35-44 year group (24.7%) and the 45-54 year group (7.9%). Data was collected online on 10-11 October 2023, and respondents were asked to complete the form independently (Muhamad, 2023).

This data shows that the perception among the public is very different from that of academics and political activists. The majority of the crowd gave a positive impression of Kaesang Pangareb's entry into the world of politics by becoming the party's general chairman. Interestingly, the issue that has developed quite massively on social media about political dynasties and the instant political maneuvers carried out by Kaesang Pangareb apparently does not affect the public's positive perception. Indonesian people still see Kaesang Pangareb's status as a successful young person who entered politics rather than the issue of the president's son or this instant process.

Figure 5. Narrative of Public Responses Regarding Kaesang Pangareb Becoming PSI General Chairman on YouTube



Source: Processed By The Author Through Nvivo 12 Plus, 2023.

The data in Figure 5 shows narratives from the public on YouTube who reported on the Kaesang Pangareb case when he was the general chairman of PSI. Overall, two extensive positive and negative records are spread on social media. The narrative with a positive tone can be seen in Figure 5. Words appear such as "young people (anak muda)", "generation (generasi)", "nation (bangsa)", "brave (berani)", "spirit (semangat)", "leader (pemimpin)" and so on. Meanwhile, reports convey words such as "weak cadre formation (lemahnya kaderisasi)" and "party (partai)" in a negative fashion. However, in intensity, the narrative of the public response on YouTube is more significant and has a dominant positive tone. The reasonable answer is that the public considers the emergence of Kaesang Pangareb on the political stage as part of young people who dare to emerge to become leaders. Interestingly, this public response is inversely proportional to what was conveyed by academics, political observers, and activists who said that the Kaesang Pangareb political movement was not appropriate to carry out because it took a shortcut without a long process.

Therefore, it can be analyzed in depth that today's Indonesian society has yet to be massively educated regarding political ethics. So, people only consider cases like this to be expected and normal. Even though academically, this case violates political ethics by maneuvering abnormally. However, things like this do not reach the level of society, which only sees them in real terms in the field, without being accompanied by theory and academic knowledge, which is obtained at educational levels.

## Conclusion

This research concludes that there are three crucial political capital possessed by Kaesang Pangareb: the president's son, who became general chairman of the party for a short time, Firstly, from previous organizational activities or experiences in the form of business success and coupled with the representation of young people who perform well. Then, from solid political support from various parties, both political party elites and volunteers, including his father, who is, in fact, the active president of Indonesia. This support from President Joko Widodo has enormous power as a form of privilege for Kaesang Pangareb to be elected as general chairman with this fast process. More than that, support from the PSI party elite also played a significant role in this process. This is because the PSI party elite has access to consolidate the power of cadres at the central and regional levels to support Kaesang Pangareb as the full general chairman.

Then, the public's response in the real world and the virtual world of YouTube shows a positive perception. Interestingly, public perception regarding this case is more dominant in the statement that it will positively impact Indonesian politics because it represents young people. More than that, the public also considers cases like this to be commonplace in politics. Likewise, the narrative spread on

social media, especially YouTube, is that netizens think this to be positive because Kaesang Pangareb is considered a young person who dares to become a political party leader. Furthermore, this research has limitations: the data was taken from only one social media, YouTube, which reported this case. Therefore, recommendations for further research are to obtain data from other YouTube accounts or other social media such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram to obtain more comprehensive data.

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## **Authors Contribution**

Dimas Subekti: *Writing-Original Draft, Data Analysis, Review, Editing and Submission.*

Dinda Syufradian Putra: *Theoretical Framework and Data Analysis.*

Ian Pasaribu: *Methodology and Data Analysis.*

## **Authenticity Statement**

We declare that this article is the author's original work, free from plagiarism, and all references are listed in the article. The article has not been published and is not being submitted to another journal.

## **Biography**

Dimas Subekti is a lecturer at the Department of Government Science, Universitas Jambi. His research focuses on the topic of digital politics within the scope of political parties, elections, and democracy. His latest work is publishing an article in *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Civic and Political Studies* indexed by Scopus Q4 with the title "A Bibliometric Analysis of Social Media as a Platform for Politicians".

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