

Internal Institutionalization of Golkar Party For the Study of Simultaneous 2020 Pilkada (Elections of Regional Heads) in Bandung District

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Abstract. The research aims to analyze the internal institutionalization of Golkar in Bandung District by taking a case study of the 2020 Pilkada. The method implemented in this research is a qualitative method classified as descriptive, with data collection techniques using documents. The researcher will review those data and give meaning to them. The result of the research is Golkar, which has controlled Bandung Regency for 20 years, turned out to be defeated in the 2020 Pilkada due to the institutionalization of political parties that could not accommodate the wishes of party seniors. By looking at four political parties' institutionalizations from Huntington, Golkar is one of the political parties with a high survival level and can survive during regime shifts to other regimes in Bandung District. The political party structure is also complex enough, but the political party's dependency on the mass organization in its winning electoral strategy is still high. The birth of political party intrafaction led to the defeat of the pair of Nia-Usman in the battle for Bandung District Regent seat in 2020. In conclusion, Golkar in Bandung District only leaves two things that still exist in party institutions, which are the party chronology and organizational structure. The impact of the research is no matter how strong the party institutionalization is, if it doesn't accommodate the wishes of the party's seniors, the institutionalization will be weak, as well as if the party is very dependent on the organization's wing.

1. Introduction

Issue related to the institutionalization of a political party is a key issue that could not be spared from being discussed in examining a political party. The institutionalization of Golkar party in Bandung Regency ahead of the 2020 Pilkada appears to be weakening, with the transfer of Golkar cadres who are candidates for Regent to other political parties. [1] In fact, most of the Bandung District people did not want the Obar family to rule over anymore and expand it for 25 years. Obar Subarna, Dadang Naser's father-in-law, for ten years became the Regent of Bandung District in the 2000-2005 period and 2005-2010 period, as well as his son-in-law Dadang Naser who had become the Regent of Bandung District for two periods, 2010-2015 and 2015-2020 [19]. Therefore, the Golkar party, which is in 20 years has won the Pilkada contest, several of its senior figure and the cadre support the candidate from other parties, which is the pair of Dadang Supriatna-Sahrul Gunawan, which promote by PKB, Nasdem, and Demokrat. This pair is also supported by seven non-parliament parties: PPP, Hanura, PBB, Perindo,

Berkarya Party, PSI, and Garuda Party. Its reason is to stop the political dynasty in Bandung District. Pemuda Pancasila also expressed a similar desire in West Java, undercurrents, sympathizer, and volunteer from the Golkar in Bandung District. [2,5]

There are several studies similar to this research. Agam Priadi and Titin Purwaningsih's research (2019) on the recruitment of the Golkar party in Bangka Belitung analyzed the institutionalization of the Golkar party in Bangka Belitung District after its defeat in the 2017 Pilkada. Meanwhile, one of the factors that contributed to the defeat of the candidate promoted by Golkar itself could not be separated from the internal institutionalization within the Golkar Party itself which had not run optimally. Furthermore, they also stated that the recruitment policy for the Governor and Deputy Governor in the 2017 Pilkada itself was still covered by violations of the Golkar Party's AD/ART, and the practice of "cow trading politics" was still rampant. The research of Novi Winarti and Nazaki (2019) is very interesting, they try to explain why the faucet of democracy which has been wide open since the reformation, seems to "downgrade" the role of political parties [18]. Based on their research, they also mentioned several factors. In particular, the institutions of political parties themselves. For example, the weakness of party ideology and internal party systems leads to the party's low substantive representation. Meanwhile, M. Nurul Fajri's research tries to see the relationship between political parties and the wing organizations of political parties. He also said that the success of the institutionalization of political parties is determined by the correlation between political parties and the wing organizations of political parties. This study also found that the law on political parties still has many weaknesses [6]. In particular, creating transparency, accountability, and internal democracy of political parties. Ridha T.R's research (2016) on the political phenomenon of the Golkar Party clan at the local level shows that the high patron-client culture and high political costs force political parties to survive from election to election [16]. Furthermore, the clan political "way" chosen by Golkar in this area is a form of political pragmatism for the party to survive. Meanwhile, the results of research conducted by Khikmawanto (2021) who tracked the institutionalization of political parties, especially on the degree of systematicity using the theory of Vicky Randall and Lars Svasand in the Gerindra Party of Tangerang, showed that internally, the Gerindra Party of Tangerang faced internal institutionalization of political parties that still relied on environmental conditions. and has not been fully institutionalized. More deeply, he also said that the Gerindra party in Tangerang is still very dependent on a central figure which causes the low degree of party systems, the weakness of the party's ideological structure, as well as the autonomy of political parties towards their donors which are still in the spotlight to this day. This research looks at the institutionalization of the party from the internal side proposed by Huntington. The researcher calls internal institutionalization because by looking at the concepts of party institutionalization, all institutionalization concepts can be divided into internal and external institutions, and the scope of this research only discusses from the internal side.

The purpose of using qualitative methods in this research is to internally explore the institutionalization of the Golkar party in Bandung District. The study only uses secondary data, due to the pandemic conditions during the 2020 local elections until June 2021, Covid has not been controlled, so the researcher only focuses on documentation.

The implementation of the qualitative method in this study is that researchers observe various online media reports about candidates from Golkar in the 2020 Pilkada until the day of the Regent/Vice Regent election, then access the Bandung District KPU website to see the recapitulation of the 2020 Pilkada results. Between theories, data and facts are then analyzed and concluded.

2. Research Methods

This research uses a qualitative method, with data collection techniques by using documents, then the researcher will review those data and gives meaning to them [3]. The data resources in this research are inter alia, online media, KPU website, and supporting book and journal references. Also, the interview is done with purposive sampling and the snowball technique. Furthermore, the researcher reduces the data and then the researcher displays data. Lastly, the researcher provides conclusions regarding the research result.

Referring to [17] opinion, the background of using this research method is to prove the concept/theory of Political Party Institutionalization, and hopefully, it could anticipate the political condition problem in Bandung District related with Golkar as the winner from one general election to other general election.

Observation is also being done to reveal the causative factors and find the principles that rule the existence of one sign [4]. In this research, Golkar Political Party will be observed to unveil the causative factors that also prove the concept of weak party institutionalization either internally or externally. Besides observation, interviews can also be done with dialogue and debriefing [14]. Interviews were conducted with DPD Golkar in Bandung District, the Golkar Wing Organization in Bandung District, and community figures in Bandung District.

3. Results and Discussion

It is impossible to imagine a democratic country without the presence of a political party. A political party is one of the important actors that can determine the way of democratic consolidation of one country. Even Weber embedded the Political Party with the so-called 'children of democracy' [9]. Ironically, today's trend shows the paradoxical result and shrouds the political party in almost all parts of the world. Lately, political party membership has shown a decreasing trend, especially in the West. Reduces the formal member of the political party, which happens in several West countries caused to many factors. One of the most prominent is parliament which is considered to fail in taking the role of the people's representatives [2].

The next problem in Indonesia's political party is political party institutionalization, which is neither robust nor well-established. As well as the condition towards political linkage between political party and the people/constituent. Refers to the credential rate towards country institution survey released by Indikator Politik in December 2021, which then shows DPR (House of Representatives) and Political Parties placed in a more distended position in between the other institutions, such as Polri, TNI, and President. It is also emphasized by the decreased level of Party ID in Indonesia [7]. Allude to the result of Party ID calculation in February 2019 is 10.1 percent, this number is far below the world's average, at about 49 percent (Muhtadi, 2019:169). In addition, this trend is not something that just happened this year. In contrast, this trend has been last several past years.

Citing what has been told by Laode M. Syarif (2019) that all political parties in Indonesia have several characteristics, there are: 1. do not have accountability and transparency in the financial management; 2. the process of regeneration does not rely on the merit system; 3. the weakens of implementation and enforcement of code ethics in the political party.

Likewise, Firman Noor (2018, 17) also said that the decrease in political party institutionalization quality is one factor that makes democracy trapped in stagnancy [8]. He also states that Indonesia's parties prioritize the party's elite interest more than upholding the playing systems and rules. Furthermore, the laggards of party ideologization also caused more strong pragmatism in the political party body in Indonesia.

Broadly, political party institutionalization, this institutionalization here simply is in order political party can maximize the functions sticks on responding to the internal and external dynamics (Fajri, 2019:7).

Vicky and Lars Svasand in Kunkunrat (2021) from Tanjung (2007) state that the issue in party institutionalization is associated with adaptability [8]. The institutionalization concept has a time dimension, which means political party institutionalization needs time. On the other side, institutionalization has a durability and stability connotation, which means that with the longer the time is, the political party's ability will be examined to show its ability to adapt to the environment. This adjustment process is a more proactive concept than persistence and stability. Adaptation also reflects adjusting to pressure from inside and outside political parties.

Furthermore, Scott Mainwaring and Scully in Pablo Luna and Altman (2011) try to identify four dimensions of the party system institutionalization, which include: a. stability and regulation from party competition pattern; b. the presence of the party amid layers of society which help in creating the

stability of system institutionalization; c. relative measure for party legitimation in the middle of society; d. the presence of good party management, not only to become a political party which has function as a political vehicle for personal leadership.

Randall and Svasand (2002: 12-13) divide political party institutionalization becomes two dimensions which are internal and external factors [15]. First, the internal factor refers to the development and management of its political party. In contrast, the external factor will relate to the relationship between the political party and the society affiliated with the related political party, including other organizations.

Further, Randall and Svasand, as cited by Nanang; et al. (2020: 53), formulate four dimensions that can be made as a benchmark in analyzing the political party institutionalization process, which include [15]: the systemic dimension, value identity dimension, autonomy dimension, and public image dimension.

As what has been said by Huntington [11], institutionalization is a process where an organization with a procedure to get the default and stability value. Also, this research will be discussing political party institutionalization, which further will be analyzed using a theory that was proposed by Samuel Huntington [11], which has four dimensions: a. the dimensions of adjustment and rigidity; b. the dimensions of complexity and simplicity; c. the dimensions of autonomy-subordination; d. the dimensions of unity and disunity.

Furthermore, below, the writer will elaborate on how Golkar Party's institutionalization in Bandung District approaches the simultaneous Pilkada 2020.

1. Adjustment and rigidity, the more adaptable the party, the higher its institutionalization level. On the other hand, the stiffer it is, the lower the institutionalization. The party's ability to adapt can be seen from age with three ways calculations:
 - a. Chronological calculations, the older the party's existence, the higher the level of institutionalization. If viewed from this aspect, Golkar is quite old, considering that Golkar was born in 1971, which can be an asset for the party so that it can have a strong party institutionalization.
 - b. The age of the generation, as long as the figures of the first generation still exist and the old procedures are still maintained, the institutionalization will be higher, this statement is still doubtful and invites debate. So, there is another alternative explanation, the more frequent the succession of power in flexible ways, the higher the institutional level [12]. Although the first-generation figures are gone, there are still many senior figures. However, the Golkar in Bandung District has not listened to the opinions anymore of its senior figures, who do not want leadership succession to be in the Obar family circle. Later, this also resulted in the birth of intra-faction within the Golkar in Bandung District.
 - c. In terms of function, the higher the ability of an organization to adapt to various changes that occur in its environment, the higher the institutionalization of the party. Golkar in Bandung District cannot adapt to the environmental conditions, which is the community that community figures can mobilize. The role of senior figures in Golkar, Bandung District is still huge, when they do not want the Obar family to move forward, the society has the same view. From outside Golkar, the people seem to want changes, even though senior figures want it.
2. Complexity and simplicity, the more complex the organizational structure and varied party organizational subunits, the higher the institutionalization. The existence of various types of organizational subunits, both hierarchically and functionally, will indicate the level of institutionalization of the party [13]. The organizational structure of Golkar's DPD is complex because it has 24 administrators in charge of areas such as Election Winning, Law and Human Rights, Health and Environment, and others. However, this view contrasts with Firman Noor (2018:17), who considers that the complexity of the party structure needs to be simplified to avoid hampering the channel of cadre aspirations [8].
3. Autonomy-subordination, regarding the extent to which the political parties and the procedures do not depend on social groups and other methods of behavior. Autonomous organizational behavior is

defined as having independence and being free from the influence of other social groups. The existence of autonomy allows the party to have particularity in its journey.

The autonomy and subordination of the autonomy of political parties are one of the keys to a political party because political parties are organized groups that contain members who have the same orientation, values, and ideals (Budiardjo, 2019: 404). However, the political parties' autonomy here must be linked to autonomy from the bondage of the power of money so that political parties here do not seem to be held hostage by these "donors" (Hardiman, 2017). However, as the function of political parties as a medium of socialization and political recruitment (Budiardjo, 2019:408), political parties must have a strong political linkage with civil society both have an aggregative function in developing issues. It aims to build a solid and substantive democracy (Lay in Pratikno, 2015: ix).

Meanwhile, the problem that often arises in Indonesia is that the relationship between political parties and their constituents seems to be disconnected. This is because only about 15% of Indonesians feel they are intimate with a political party (Muhtadi, 2020). This finding emphasizes how weak the relationship between political parties and the people is.

Furthermore, discussing the Political Linkage between a political party and a mass organization. In particular, mass organizations which are party wings are powerful and seem to show a reciprocal relationship with one another [17]. Even the relationship between them can also be seen as an indicator that strengthens the practice of money politics with a core voter logic approach (Muhtadi, 2020). This statement is related to several assumptions; First, the existence of a political party wing organization is needed to gain people's political participation and also the need for electoral victory, and second, the existence of a political party wing organization cannot be separated from the diverse social conditions of society (Fajri, 2019:1)

As Mosche Maor (2005:69) stated, in an effort to maintain the institutionalization of his party, a political party must be examined and get support from various sectors. One that is no less important is having a party wing organization or an extra-parliamentary party organization. In fact, Duverger in Fajri (2019:5) also states a similar opinion, which is that in the process of institutionalizing political parties, this extra-parliamentary intervention will also happen.

The next arising problem is institutionalization that has not been carried out properly, either directly or indirectly, which will foster the intervention of actors outside the political party to influence other various kinds of party policies that can potentially disrupt party autonomy [8].

Reflecting on some of the expert definitions above, it can be concluded that the wing organization of a political party is not something that is distinctly different from the political party itself. In various sectors, political parties seem to depend on the organization's wing of the party. It is especially concerning strategy and winning electoral efforts.

In the logic of the money, a political approach using the core voter approach and the party wing organization is a huge ballpark for the legislative candidates. This is because they can be said to be party loyalist voters who will be very unlikely to vote for another party that is not affiliated with the organization they belong to. However, they will still be the target of the practice of money politics here due to the implementation of an open proportional electoral system, which will increase the potential for competition between legislative candidates who come from the same party.

By using a simple logic that departs from the assumption that the electoral victory of a political party will significantly depend on the support of its party wing organization, the logical consequence is: when the political party wing organization reverses its direction in providing support for other candidates, then it is almost sure that the candidate from those political party also lost a significant amount of vote support in its electoral contest.

In fact, that is what happened to the DPD Golkar in Bandung District. Various wing organizations of the Golkar Party, ranging from the Young Generation of the Golkar Party (AMPG), the Women's Group of the Golkar Party (KPPG), the Women's Work Association (HWK), Al-Hidayah, and the Young Generation of Indonesian Reforms (AMPI) who supported the Nia-Usman candidate in the Pilkada last 2020 [20]. In this reading, it is seen that there is a dependence of either the candidate pair or political party on the party wing organization. This was also strengthened by the condition where,

when the Pemuda Pancasila of West Java turned back to support the DS-Syahrul pair, the Nia-Usman pair were also rewarded for their defeat [21].

4. Unity and disunity, the more integrated and intact a party, the higher its institutionalization level will be. Therefore, it needs a consensus to build organizational unity. Political parties must be supported by some agreements regarding the boundaries of group functions and establishing procedures for resolving various disputes that arise.

Parties that are not well institutionalized internally can strengthen the possibility of the emergence of intra-party factions (Rowdotusya'adah, 2018). In a sense, for parties whose institutionalization is not yet excellent and well-established, then the possibility of internal conflict occurring will be greater. Moreover, the cult of figures in a party makes political parties can also make the party experience institutional stagnation [10]. For example, Megawati Sukarno Putri in PDIP, Prabowo Subianto in Gerindra. Rather than the system, here, the figure is still become the main reference in political parties. Thus, even the game rules are secondary and become an obstacle to the political parties' institutionalization. Allegedly, the support launched to Nia-Usman here is a conflict of interest considering that her husband is a former regent of Bandung District, who is also the chairman of the DPD Golkar in Bandung District, which is Dadang Nasser.

Later, this internal party faction made Nia-Usman face his failure to win the past 2020 Pilkada. Moreover, most of the seniors and elders of Golkar in Bandung District prefer to support the Dadang-Shahrur pair in the 2020 Pilkada.

4. Conclusion

1. From Adjustment and Rigidity, Golkar in Bandung District only leaves the party chronology. There is no need to doubt it in the political arena in Indonesia. Golkar is one of the parties with a high level of survival and can survive during the one regime shifts to other regimes in Indonesia.
2. From Complexity and Simplicity, Golkar still has a fairly complex party structure. The reason is that there are pretty many subdivisions in charge of various kinds of affairs. Such as Bappilu, Law and Human Rights, Health and Environment, etc.
3. From Autonomy-Subordination, in the past Regional Election in Bandung District 2019, it was alleged that one factor that caused the Nia-Usman pair defeat which was the Pemuda Pancasila, who turned their backs on the Dadang-Shahrur pair. This reading can be viewed from the perspective of the dependence of political parties on mass organizations in their winning electoral strategies.
4. From Unity and Dis-unity, In the aftermath of the emergence of party intrafaction within Golkar in Bandung District among the elders of Golkar Kabupaten Bandung vs "Breed" Obar family at that time to deliver Golkar in Bandung District on leadership dualism. Even to the point of making Dadang switch days to PKB [22]. Allegedly, the birth of this party intrafaction then made the Nia-Usman pair defeated in the Regent seat competition in Bandung District.

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