Central Java Gerindra Party Institutional Modernization

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Abstract

The Institutional Modernization of the Central Java Gerindra Party is interesting to study because the Gerindra Party is a new party that has a significant voting trend in Central Java, after PDIP. The objective of this study is to describe institutional modernization in Gerindra Party of Central Java and to analyze the obstacles to modernization within the Central Java Gerindra Party. The research method used was a qualitative method with descriptive analysis. The location of this research was the scope of the Central Java Gerindra Party DPD and the Central Java Gerindra Party wing. The research design used a descriptive research design with a qualitative approach. Data collection techniques used in-depth interviews and documentation. The informants consisted of the Chairperson of the Central Java Party DPD, Deputy Chair of the Central Java Party DPD, Secretary General of the Central Java Gerindra Party DPD, Chair of the Organization, Membership and Cadreization, Chair of the Women’s Division, Chair of the Empowerment of Sayap Organizations, Members of Sayap (Indonesia Raya Gerindra Volunteer Unit) SATRIA Gerindra Voters or supporters of Gerindra Party. Gerindra Party has experienced modernization in the areas of access to open information and financial transparency, application of a democratic ideology, gradual regeneration, and preparation for leadership rotation through the party regeneration process. The institutional modernization of Gerindra Party was still hampered by the lack of respect for female cadres and the personalization of Gerindra figures who were only focused on certain people.

Keywords: Modernization; Institutional; Political Parties.


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INTRODUCTION

Political parties often face weak transparency, for example by virtue of the rules stipulated in General Election Commissions Regulation (PKPU) No. 17/2013 concerning Guidelines for Reporting Campaign Funds for Election Contestants for Members of People's Representative Council (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), and Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) in reality contains campaign fund reports only to the extent that they meet administrative requirements (Sadikin, 2019).

The existence of oligarchy in political parties also occurs a lot in the reform era because of the existence of a political party figure who is in control of a party (Sadikin, 2019). The personalization of political parties is considered to be one of the issues that is often questioned by the public. Names such as Megawati, Prabowo, Gus Dur, Amien Rais, and Surya Paloh, are elite figures stick to political parties very strongly (Budiatri (2019: 23). The figure of general chairman or other strategic positions is not only the leader and manager of political parties, but more than it, becomes the image of political parties. It actually indicates a symptom of political personalization in political parties in Indonesia. The personalization of political parties does not only take place in one or two parties.

Institutionally, to produce quality leaders and to realize the aspirations of society as well as to fight for the public interest, political parties need to modernize (Yanto, 2005). The goal of modernization is the development of flexible and strong political parties to meet the demands of the proposed public aspirations (Harjanto, 1998). The development of a flexible political party requires significant changes, especially in the organs of the political parties themselves. The changes made by political parties often cause problems, both internal problems and external problems (Abdilah, 2008). The problems faced by these political parties can then cause a decrease in public confidence in the performance of political parties.

The phenomenon of personalization within parties that occurs in Indonesia, namely by establishing one or several well-known figures in the party, is also an interesting matter for further research on the institutional modernization of political parties where ideally there should be no personalization.

The modernization of political parties has implications for the modernization of political recruitment as a medium for getting quality leaders. Recruitment is a mean for political parties to get cadres who have the potential to be placed in public office. The recruitment function is very important in political parties. As explained by Pamungkas (2011) political commitment determines the face of a party in the public area. Who they are, where they come from, what their ideology is, how their political experience is, and what their political capacity will be the first indication of the face of party politics in the public area. The face of parties in the public area really depends on how political recruitment is carried out by political parties.

According to Huntington (1968), political party institution is a pillar in viewing political stability because it includes the issuance of a political party institution in order to mobilize parties in the public field. The instability of political parties reduces the image of democracy within the political party itself. Institutional is a procedural set to measure whether a party has modernized. This modernization is the fulcrum of political stability.

Furthermore, Sartori (2005) states that the party system in a country can change because the forming variables are not discrete. Sartori pointed out that there are four shaping variables, namely: (1) the
prevailing election system and mechanism; (2) the value of democracy at the operational level which is understood by one nation; (3) the pattern of political decision-making mechanisms known in the prevailing cultural values; (4) national ideology is strong or not. Institutional modernization in Gerindra Party needs to be examined because in Central Java this party has a significant voting trend after the winning party, namely PDIP.

The explanation above indicates that in order to create a good dialogical relationship, political parties must have a spirit of openness to receive input from various parties, including those who are against the ideology of the party concerned. If a political party closes itself to new possibilities (closes itself to the developments in society), a less harmonious atmosphere will be created between the political party and the society (Kurniasih, 2013). He argued that the main function of political parties is to seek and maintain power in order to realize programs that are structured based on certain ideologies. The method used by a political party in a democratic political system to gain and maintain power is to participate in general elections. The obstacle that often occurs in the institutional modernization of political parties is in the field of institutional processes so that several things need to be improved in it, namely the recruitment and cadre processes (Romli, 2008).

Political modernization in the context of political development is shown by the ability of the political system to be treated as an inheritance (ingredient), which contains political arrangements which include: (1) political mobilization; (2) political integration; and (3) political representation. In this sense Huntington (in Varma, 2007) explains that political development is a structure of political procedures and organizations characterized by direction and level, which includes: (1) their adjustment, which is indicated by a long and regular chain of leadership, who have adapted themselves successfully to the new challenges to the political system; (2) its complexity, which is indicated by the existence of a large number of institutions, each of them carries accountability without hindrance from the other; (3) autonomy, which is shown by its independence from other political systems and complete control over its own clearly defined jurisdiction; and (4) coherence, which is indicated by the existence of consensus at a certain level and internal unity that applies. Modernization can run well if there is economic support in accordance with needs (Azizah, 2009).

Plural institutionalization can be classified into a modern political party (Sartori, 1976). This opinion was also reinforced by Max Weber that a person can get authority if there are 3 things, namely traditional authority which says a hereditary belief is usually carried by figures of scholars, teacher of Islam (kyai), and influential people. Traditional authority says that authority exists because of family relationships with followers who have a sense of obedience to the leader (Weber, 2006: 20). This traditional authority can be found in traditional societies that adhere to the feudal system. Then there is the traditional authority that a leader gets through because of the previous leader. Authority because it arises from within a leader who has leadership traits or is often referred to as "charisma". Rational legal authority is a social position based on the legal regulations he has a position of authority. In this system of authority the bureaucracy has a higher position than the leader of legal-rational authority. It is consistent with the argument put forward by Max Weber: From a purely technical point of view, a bureaucracy is capable of achieving the highest degree of efficiency, and in that sense formally the bureaucracy is the most
rational known tool for exercising authority over mankind. Bureaucracy is superior to any other forms of exercise of authority in terms of precision, stability, rigor in discipline, and reliability. Therefore, the bureaucracy allows a very high degree of yield calculability for the heads of the organization and for those who act with it. Finally, the bureaucracy is superior both in terms of intensive efficiency and in terms of the scope of its activities and can formally be applied to all types of administrative tasks (Oksidelfa, 2005).

Furthermore (Sartori, 2005: 60) explains that a political party can be categorized to be modern if it meets four criteria, namely: (1) the party must be open; (2) the party has a democratic ideology; (3) the party has an orderly system of regeneration; (4) the party has a good regeneration system.

The study on the institutional modernization of political parties in relation to issues of political stability is in Lili Romli’s research entitled "The Institutional Problems of Political Parties in Post-New Order Indonesia (Politika Journal Vol 6) in 2008. In this study, it is explained that political parties have deficiencies in the institutional process so that several things need to be improved in it, namely the recruitment and cadre process. The similarity of this study is to examine the problem of the modernization of political parties which includes the value of modernization of political parties such as recruitment and regeneration.

The discussion of political modernization is mentioned by (Yuningsih, 2012) in the journal Cosmogov Vol.1 No.1 April 2015 which is influenced by the improvement of infrastructure and superstructure in an organization. Empowerment is an important element in a political modernization stability. Relationships with local mass organizations and satisfaction with the voting community regarding these institutions are the keys to modernization.

Based on these studies, it can be seen that the position of the studies to be carried out is to observe the modernization of political parties on the political institutional side with the object of study for the Gerindera party, which in fact is a newly emerging party with a new structure and a significant trend of increasing votes. An understanding of institutions is explained in (Huntington, 1968), that the order within a party will be determined by how the political party determines its institutional development.

**RESEARCH METHODS**

This study used a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. Where the qualitative method is a research that produces a description of the data from the person being observed in written or oral form. This study was conducted in the province of Central Java to see the institutional modernization of Gerindra Party in the Central Java.

Primary data of this study were the political elites of the Gerindra party in Central Java. The subjects of this study were the political elites of the Gerindra Party in Central Java such as the Chairman of Regional Representative Council of Gerindra Party in the Central Java, Deputy Chairman of the Central Java Gerindra Party Regional Representative Council, Secretary General of the Central Java Gerindra Party Regional Representative Council, Treasurer of the Central Java Gerindra Party Regional Representative Council, Chair of the Organization, Membership, and Cadre of the Central Java Gerindra Party Regional Representative Council, Chair of the Women’s Division of the Central Java Gerindra Party, Chair of the Empowerment Division of the Central Java Gerindra Party Regional Representative Council Sayap Organization, members of PIRA Central Java, members of Central Java Satria, as well
as voter representatives. Secondary data of this research were in the form of articles, books, AD / ART, magazines, previous research results and documents relevant to the focus of this study. This study took informants using a purposive technique. This study used several data collection techniques, namely interviews and documentation. Data analysis techniques used in qualitative study include transcripts of interview results, data reduction, analysis, data interpretation and triangulation. From the results of data analysis, conclusions can be drawn.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Gerindra Party’s Institutional Modernization

The Central Java Gerindra Party faced modernization in the field of information disclosure. The access of information within political party institutions is an important pillar of a party towards modernization. Therefore, to realize this modernization institution, the Gerindra Party in Central Java routinely provides open information. This principle is by reason of the Gerindra Party puts forward the principle of one party policy command that needs to be notified to all DPC cadres to DPC cadres up to PAC and branches.

The institutional modernization of political parties can be seen in terms of the dimensions of party coherence and party loyalty and loyalty to the party. In general, the study indicates that the condition of the Gerindra Party in Central Java is still stable. Party members who are said to be members who have defected to the party are said to be very few in number. If there are party members who bring waves of conflict, it is always resolved.

The Central Java Gerindra Party experienced institutional modernization in carrying out its functions of political articulation and aggregation through its nature of communication bottom up to be repaired on a top-down basis. Information can be obtained through society suggestions which were then analyzed to be proposed into a government policy. However, to carry out communication was not as easy as discussed. Apart from the transparency of the Gerindra Party in the delivery of information, policies, regulations and work programs to cadres. The Gerindra Party had also made efforts to carry out financial transparency from the party leadership to its cadres. Financial transparency was one of the important factors that must existed for parties that had been categorized as institutional modernization of political parties. Therefore, as a party declared a modern political party. The presence of criticism from cadres and suggestions for improvement in each DPC indicates that there is a modernization effort in the field of openness in the delivery of work programs, problems, and the party's vision and mission. This is in accordance with the theory presented by (Budiarjo, 2008) which states that political parties play a role in political communication, namely as interest aggregations and interest articulation. Political parties were instruments to accommodate the opinions of a person developing in society to be combined with the aspirations of others who were in tune. After grouping the aspirations, they were formulated into policies or interest articulations. Party cohesiveness can be seen from the solidarity of parties which had an internal tendency with the Gerindra Party of Central Java using the term "dictator" or firmness in leading the party. The Central Java Gerindra Party applied one command from the center to the regions. The power of the figure greatly influenced the power of the party in society. Party decisions were also referred to as a form of internal party decisions that were classified as very solid.

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The Central Java Gerindra Party should manage finances openly and transparently. The purpose is that every financial management must be in accordance with the rules contained in the Gerindra Party AD / ART in CHAPTER XVII Finance Article 63 (1) Party treasurers at every level were obliged to submit an accountability report for revenue and expenditure sourced from funds (State Budget / Regional Budget) to the Supreme Audit Agency periodically for 1 (one) Sali year to be audited no later than 1 month after the fiscal year ends. (2) Party treasurers at every level were obliged to submit an accountability report for all revenue and expenditure of children originating from all sources to the Party Chairperson at each level. The financial accountability of political parties in a transparent manner based on the Election Law. Transparency was an entity that used public funds. Accountability was an effort to manage and account for its financial sources, including the financial sources of election participants.

The Central Java Gerindra Party experienced institutional modernization in the field of implementing democratic ideology and acknowledged the value of pluralism regardless of Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Intergroups. Based on AD / ART CHAPTER II Article 5 Gerindra Party is based on Five Basic Principle (Pancasila) and the 1945 Constitution. Article 6 Gerindra Party, Gerindra Party is a cadre-based party. Article 8 Characteristics of the Gerindra Party are democratic, independent, never give up, have a firm stand, believe in their own strength and the strength of the people, are open and obey the law and always fight for the people’s interests Gerindra Party is a party that highly upholds the Pancasila ideology which is very democratic and never differentiates between cadres, both in terms of racial ethnicity, family background, and everything that has the essence of identity.

The Gerindra Party is classified as a party that upholds the Pancasila ideology which democratically runs party organization institutions from the central to regional levels.

The proximity of the Central Java Gerindra Party to the underbow can also result in party solidarity with the underbows. The leadership of the Central Java Gerindra Party can be a solution for every common problem and need internally and externally for the Central Java Gerindra Party. Recognition and appreciation for solidarity are the pillars of the implementation of the modernization of political parties. All cadres of political parties have the right and obligation to run the organization with a sense of togetherness, a sense of unity of interest and sympathy. In accordance with (Sartori, 2005) that political parties experienced modernization because they experienced pluralism, where pluralism is one of the modern institutions.

In line with Durkheim Durkheim’s thought in (Johnson, 1994) there is solidarity because of brotherhood between individuals or groups because of shared beliefs and shared emotional bonds. Based on Durkheim, there are two types of solidarity, namely mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity was the harmonious life of traditional society. Organic solidarity, a reflection of modern society, can be resolved properly. The next component used for internal institutional analysis of the Central Java Gerindra Party was an
organizational level. In relation to the organizational level, there were several things that need to be used as a reference, namely the strength of political party members, regular congresses, adequate party resources, and party activity in society. The strength of members can be seen from the quality and quantity in the Gerindra Party in Central Java, which had very solid relations and had solid party leadership figures. There were famous figures who had special powers in this party. The predecessor cadres were always involved in the running of the Central Java Gerindra Party organization. Loyalty cadres had a very active spirit in every activity and in internal party meetings.

The Gerindra Party was undergoing modernization in the field of mature cadres. With regard to the quality of party members, the Central Java Gerindra Party followed the procedures and regulations of the Central Gerindra Party. Therefore the regions only ensure that every party member participated in the training at Hambalang centrally. However improving the quality of parties is a structural obligation from the center to the regions.

Institutional modernization in the field of regeneration, Article 15 Paragraph 2 of the Gerindra Party AD / ART states that (1) the formation of Gerindra Party was carried out through gradual cadre selection in cadre education and training. (2) The strata of the cadre training were (a) activating cadres, (b) prime cadres, (c) young cadres, (d) intermediate cadres, (d) main cadres, (e) manggala cadres. (3) Gerindra Party cadres were prepared to become (a) candidates for party management, (b) candidates for Members of the People's Representative Council (DPR) and Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), (c) candidates for Regional Head and / or Deputy Regional Head, (d) prospective candidates for President and / or Deputy President. (3) Further regulation on Gerindra Party Cadres as referred to in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4 which were regulated in party regulations.

The Gerindra Party provided the widest possible door for anyone who wanted to become a cadre of the Gerindra Party. The whole society did not see Ethnicity, Religion, Race, And Intergroups issues and any boundaries. The relationship and network of the Central Java Gerindra Party Regional Representative Council with local mass organizations can be measured from the institutional process or roots in society by the closeness of the party to the society organizations that support it. The Central Java Gerindra Party also had a strong open relationship with the local underbow network. The researchers considered that the existence of a strong relationship between a party and an underbow was a good intention in modernizing a party institution as an organization to share solutions or accommodate the aspirations of the community down to the lowest level.

The cadre carried out by the Gerindra Party was in line with the political recruitment process as the selection or appointment of a person or group of people to carry out a number of roles in political systems in general and government in particular (Surbakti, 1992). Based on this function, its function is even greater when the political party is a single party such as in an authoritarian political system, or a majority party in a people's deliberative body so that they have the authority to form a government in a democratic political system. The recruitment function is a function of seeking and maintaining power.

Regeneration of political party institutions is related to the recruitment process of cadres and members. A party, whether it is declared as a party that is modern or not, can be seen by its institutional way of the regeneration process. With regard to institutional regeneration, the Central Java Gerindra
Party is very open to all cadres who wish to become part of Gerindra Party. Whether it is part of the Central Board (DPP), Regional Representative Council (DPD), Branch Leadership Council (DPC), Branch Leadership (PAC), and branches, it is very open to all elements of society in Indonesia.

GMD (Gerindra Masa Depan) was a clear example that the Central Java Gerindra Party paid great attention to aspects of leadership regeneration in the future. The existence of GMD filled by the younger generation indicates that there was value planted for the continuance of Gerindra party for future life.

The multilevel selection indicates that there are actually specific criteria to become a cadre of the Gerindra Party. These criteria were anticipated by the training in Hambalang. The training was one way to make cadres well equipped to become soldiers, statesmen, and politicians who are ready and have good insight. Among these cadres, of course there were cadres who are party administrators.

In connection with the regeneration of party institutions, of course, it was not only the determination of seats for the political elite, but also the determination of the organs of the council. For Gerindra Party to determine the organs of the council, there had been modernization efforts because it was chosen based on ability and loyalty to the party.

In addition to cadre regeneration, the process of modernizing the institutionalization of the level of organization component determined the regularity of organizing internal party congresses. The congress was a meeting of the Central Java Gerindra Party which was in the AD / ART, namely decision-making was carried out by deliberation and consensus and if it was not possible then based on the majority of votes. At least half the number of participants who had a vote would attend the deliberation on the election for the chosen candidate for leadership.

The basic rules of the Central Java Gerindra Party had always been guided by the AD / ART of the Gerindra Party. National Conference and Congress were conducted in accordance with the AD / ART. All kinds of deliberation must also be guided by a basic party rule. It is what proves what Maurice Duverger states that basically all talented people have the same opportunity to occupy elite positions, but they lose because they are blocked by the ruling political elite that forms the oligarchy of power (Haris, 2005).

**Central Java Gerindra Party Institutional Barriers**

Regarding regeneration, women’s representation in political parties is one of the most important things. This regulation is formulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 which contains a policy that requires political parties to include at least 30% women’s representation in their establishment and in management at the level. This figure is obtained based on research by the United Nations (UN) which states that a minimum amount of 30 percent allows a change to occur and has an impact on the quality of decisions taken in public institutions. Then, in Law no. 10/2008 states that political parties can only participate after fulfilling the requirements to include at least 30% women’s representation in the management of central political parties. Another regulation is to implement a zipper system which stipulates that every 3 prospective candidates there is at least one woman. In fact, the representation of female cadres is only interpreted as a means of passing the election. But improving the quality of party women cannot guarantee or ensure.

Party members consist of two definitions, namely cadres and ordinary members (Pamungkas, 2011). Cadres are people who are considered to have the
ability, loyalty and high dedication to political parties, namely intended to change structural positions, develop, and / or fight for interests of politics from political parties. Meanwhile, regular members are people who have joined a political party and are not yet in a political party structure, aimed at becoming a cadre in a political party in the future.

Party personalization is closely related to aspects of leadership patterns which form the basis of analysis of the institutional modernization of a party. Leadership is fundamental to the spirit of an organization. A good institutional modernization process is closely related to the regularity of regenerating political parties. Referring to the statutes of the party, regeneration was indeed carried out with a formal mechanism, namely cadre schools and added with support from GMD (Gerindra Masa Depan). However, it cannot be denied that the party leadership pattern was still based on the personalization of the big figures who founded the party. Especially with the principle of Gerindra Party which indeed has one command so that the central figure becomes an important personalization. Therefore if there are party members in the regions, they will make a movement for the advancement of the party. Of course, it must have the blessing of the party leaders at the central level. If in Gerindra Party Regional Representative Council, Central Java, it was very closely related to the personalization agreement of the Regional Representative Council Central Java leadership elite to kill the elite party leaders at the district / city level in line with the center.

It is recognized that the personal role is one that is very important for determining the role and position of elite political parties. The modernization process to reduce personalization within Gerindra Party did exist, but not completely. The principle of the Gerindra Party was indeed one command from the Central Board (DPP), Regional Representative Council (DPD), Branch Leadership Council (DPC), Branch Leadership (PAC), and branches. The existence of such a principle made the determination of political party elites indeed to be chosen by the center. Even though the election has experienced modernization by involving proposals in the regions, for example the election of party elites at the Branch Leadership Council (DPC) level, the DPC would propose 8 names, then for the Regional Representative Council (DPD) it would also propose 8 names. But from all these names, who has the right to sit as party leader was determined by the center with a top-down system.

Traditional authority states that authority exists because of family relationships with followers who have a sense of obedience to the leader (Weber, 2006: 32). This traditional authority can be found in traditional societies or societies that adhere to the feudal system. It is what proves what Maurice Duverger states that basically all talented people have the same opportunity to occupy elite positions, but they lose because they are blocked by the ruling political elite that forms the oligarchy of power (Haris, 2005: 180). The figure side of one of the figures determined the choice within Gerindra Party, it was an obstacle to the modernization of his political party.

CONCLUSION

Gerindra Party had experienced modernization in the field of open access to information and financial transparency. Gerindra Party had faced modernization in the regeneration process by forming the GMD (Gerindra Masa Depan) which contained young people as the successor to Gerindra Party. Gerindra Party got obstacles in implementing the modernization of party institutions because female cadres had not yet been
confirmed to have good potential to become party elites. Another obstacle was the personalization of Gerindra Party which was still very close. Gerindra Party recognized that the personalization of senior figures or previous leaders had a contribution in the party.

BIBLIOGRAPHY