

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE INDONESIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM AFTER THE ROLLING OF REFORMS

¹Muhammad Budiana, ²Willya Achmad

^{1,2} Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Pasundan, Bandung, Indonesia

Keywords	Abstract. Since Indonesia's independence until the reformation of the Indonesian nation, the country's political system has not been one that is purely derived from the socio-cultural values of the Indonesian nation itself, but rather one that utilizes the political culture of the Dutch colonial government. This has been the case from the time of Indonesia's independence until the nation's reformation. The existence of political parties in Indonesia is also impacted as a result of this. The purpose of this study is to investigate the roles that political parties have played in Indonesia's political system since the country's recent reforms. In this investigation, a qualitative strategy is combined with a descriptive research approach. The findings of the study indicate that after the reform in Indonesia, political parties are not able to properly function as pillars of democracy in the political system in Indonesia. Instead, political parties in Indonesia prefer to sacrifice their party ideology, which is the defining characteristic of the party, in order to simply receive the highest number of votes possible. Because of this, political parties in Indonesia exhibit the characteristics of floating parties.
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1. INTRODUCTION

Several countries in the world have experienced changes after a long journey, even some of them experienced changes in a relatively short travel time (Winarno, 2007). This is because these countries want something better than before, in accordance with the demands of the interests of various parties. Change itself is not a dangerous threat, if the considerations are addressed by taking into account the advantages and disadvantages of the political system that has been running previously (Purwoko, nd). In this context, change means creating better conditions. It is possible that change can happen worse than desired, for example in Yugoslavia and the Balkans. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought a political disaster to the Balkan countries with various political crises that hit due to the fragile capabilities of the political system, while the political pressure was so strong that it was unable to stem the strong current of pressure on the existing political system (Komara, 2015).

The ability of the political system to enter into the process of system change is a fact, that the ability to continue to survive with the existing political system is a necessity (Rinenggo, 2022). Pressure on the political system can be caused by changes that come from within the country or from abroad. As part of a broad system, Indonesia's political system will always be influenced by political systems abroad (Marijan, 2019). This is not only caused by a demand for change, but the most important thing is the ability of the political system itself to respond and maintain the life of the nation and state well. The problem usually lies in the strength of a political system to overcome various pressures and demands for inadequate change (Wahab, 2021).

To have a functioning political system, a country must have political parties and periodic elections. Because democracy depends on the power of the governed, the right to form and join political parties has grown in importance in recent years (Thoha, 2017). Political parties, however, are not just created for that purpose. Another function of political parties is to serve as a conduit for the collective will of the people they represent. To paraphrase, political parties exist as a separate type of political organization from the state, and they play a mediating role between the state government's superstructure and the social infrastructure (Pitika & Jaya, 2019).

At the outset of the New Order's collapse, there was euphoria at the growth of political parties;

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this was a result of the regime's political restrictions. The rise of political parties remains important to this day (Efriza, 2019). Political parties were initially created out of a desire to combine diverse community groups with the same vision and mission in order to consolidate their ideas and perspectives (Nirahua, 2009). Political parties are organized groups whose members share the same orientation, beliefs, and ideals, and whose goal is to fulfill these principles by winning political power and seizing political posts. (Pasaribu, 2017).

The development of political parties during the reform period has, sadly, given rise to an irony. On the one hand, the 1945 Constitution, the nation's constitution, implies the function of political parties as institutions that decide the survival of the nation and state, hence their existence is deemed to be of great importance. Because in the hands of political parties, and not other institutions, it is determined who will control this nation (AW, 2015). But on the other hand, political parties often become institutions that are suspected and even shunned by the public. Today's developments lead to a situation where a determining institution, a political party, appears to be incarnated as an institution that is increasingly distrusted by the public (Garmana, 2020). There are also many critical and even skeptical views of political parties. The most serious of them states that political parties are actually nothing more than political vehicles for a group of elites who are in power or intend to satisfy their own power.

2. METHOD

As a means of describing, the author uses a qualitative approach. Using this method, the author makes an effort to examine, explain, and provide meaning for real-world objects (Sugiyono, 2011). Meanwhile, Hermawan (2019) defines qualitative research as fieldwork done in the actual world to learn about and make sense of events, with the end goal of figuring out what happened, why it happened, and how it happened. The term "descriptive approach" refers to a strategy for problem-solving in which the existing state of the subject or target of inquiry (individuals, organizations, communities, etc.) is described using objective evidence (Nawawi, 2015). According to Nazir (2013), the descriptive method is a tool for evaluating the current state of a community, an item, a set of conditions, an ideational framework, or a chain of events. The ultimate goal of this descriptive inquiry is to construct a comprehensive and accurate picture of the characteristics, attributes, and interrelationships of the events under scrutiny. Approaches to data collection that are informed by an examination of the relevant literature. These may include, but are not limited to, the use of books, journals, and other published works. The author believes that by performing a literature review, they will be able to gather information about the study methodologies that will be used, so avoiding duplication of effort. If researchers conduct a literature review, they can draw from all relevant sources and ideas, as stated by Nazir (2013).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political Party Concept

In its most basic form, a political party is an organized group whose members share a same worldview and set of core beliefs. This organization's goal is to carry out their goals through acquiring political power and assuming political positions, typically through the use of constitutionally permissible tactics. According to Carl J. Friedrich (2017), a political party is "a group of people who are stably organized with the aim of seizing or maintaining control of the government for their party leaders and, based on this control, to provide party members with benefits that are both ideal and material." [Citation needed] According to RH Soltau (1992), a political party is defined as a group of citizens that are more or less organized, who act as a political unit, and who, by using their power to vote, aim to control the government and carry out their general policies. In the meantime, RH Soltau (1992) stated that a political party is a group of citizens that acts as a political unit.

Rusadi Kantaprawira (1999) defines political parties more clearly and in detail. "Political parties are human organizations in which there is a division of tasks and officers to achieve a goal, have an ideology, have a political program as a means of implementing or a more pragmatic way of achieving goals according to the stages of the near-term to the long-term and has the characteristics of a desire to power.

Experts in the field of politics have come to a consensus on what a political party is, and they all

agree that it is an organized body of citizens working toward a common purpose. This demonstrates the significance of political parties as a method for people to create an organization in channeling their goals, a goal that is ultimately achieved by the political party's very purpose.

In order to have a say in how their government is run, citizens can join political parties. Currently, political parties are commonplace in our society. Political parties are an essential aspect of our political system but cannot operate alone. He comes from a line of long-lived ancestors, although his birth isn't ancient. To some extent, political parties can be seen as very recent developments in human history, much younger than state institutions. Moreover, in the contemporary state, new political parties have emerged. Political parties are vital to the functioning of a modern democratic political system. Ideally, political parties should serve to energize and strengthen the populace, to represent particular interests, to facilitate the peaceful resolution of divergent points of view, and to guarantee the orderly transition of power. ⁸ Furthermore, Jimly Asshiddiqie (2022) explains that the function of political parties is also very important in state activities, which are usually formulated as follows: first, a means of communication and absorption of political aspirations; second, means of socialization or political education; third, means of political recruitment; and fourth, a means of regulating or reducing conflict in society.

Then how do we understand what is called a political party organization? According to Jimly Asshiddiqie, that organizations called political parties always: first, have political ideals that are formulated in the Party Constitution which is usually called the Articles of Association and are spelled out in the form of activity programs; secondly, according to the provisions of the Act (UU), political parties are required to be legally incorporated; third, having an unlimited mass of members with a periodic management structure; fourth, having an organizational structure that is hierarchical from top to bottom, starting from the national level or from the special provincial level to the lowest level; fifth, the goal of fighting for aspirations to influence the policies of people who are expected to be able to carry out and succeed members of political parties as aspired; and sixth, especially by participating in general elections or carrying candidates and general elections that have won the votes of the electorate.

Political System

According to Anggara (2013), the mechanism of a set of functions or roles in the political structure in relation to one another that demonstrates a persistent process constitutes the political system. The political system is described as the mechanism of the political system. While Sukarna, the political system, is the mechanism for controlling the state, it is also known as the governing structure. According to David Easton's theory from 1957, the political system may be viewed as an interaction that is abstracted from all other forms of social behavior. This allows for values to be assigned to society in an authoritative manner. According to Robert Dahl (2008), the political system is a set pattern of relations between humans and involves something broad and substantial about authority and norms. The political system also involves humans. The political system of Indonesia is defined as a collection or whole of various activities that take place within the Indonesian state and are related to the public interest. These activities include the process of determining goals, efforts to realize goals, decision making, selection and preparation of priority scales, and the making of decisions. The political system consists of input, process, output, and reciprocity. The input in a political system is the aspirations of the people or the will of the people. Community aspirations can be grouped into three types, namely:

1. Claims

That is the desire of the people whose fulfillment must be fought for by means and using political means.

2. Support

That is every action, attitude, and thought of citizens that encourage the achievement of the goals, interests and actions of the government in the political system. Examples of support as input to the political system are voting in elections, paying taxes, defending the country, obeying laws and regulations, and others.

3. Apathy

Citizens' indifference towards political life can also be an input for the political system. The

ignorance of the citizens shows that there are problems that must be solved by the political system in question, so that it arouses the attention of policy makers to respond and follow up on them in the form of certain public policies. The process in the political system includes a series of decision-making actions by both the legislative, executive and judicial institutions in order to fulfill or reject the aspirations of the community . (part or all) of the community's aspirations.

Various activities in the political process are carried out by political institutions in accordance with their respective functions. These institutions as a whole form **the political structure**. The political structure is the whole part or component (in the form of institutions) in a political system that carries out certain functions or tasks. The duties or obligations of political institutions are called **functions**. The whole set of functions is called **a process**. Because these functions are functions in the political field, the series of processes that occur from a series of functions are called **political processes**. Thus, **the political system** is a unity between political structures and functions. The political structure is like a machine with its various components and the function of each component.

Political Parties in Indonesia's Post-Reformation Political System

When people with similar goals and ideals decided to band together, they founded political parties. From this, we can deduce that a political party is an organized group whose members share the same orientation, values, and ideals, and who work toward the realization of these ideals in the form of a program that will be implemented in a constitutional way to gain political power and seize political position.

As the preceding interpretation shows, the ideological factor cannot be discounted, as political parties require an ideology that serves not only as a unifying identity, but also as its own character that can explain the necessity of a party's existence and the nature of the differences between parties. The party's fight is for more than just its philosophy. Manifestos and platforms of political parties, which are naturally distinct from one another, demonstrate the existence of this ideology in many democratic regimes. The variety of party work programs makes it simpler for the public to select those that best suit their needs, and these programs ultimately shape the party's fundamental stance when it comes to directing state policy (Jurdi, 2020).

As we have seen, the concept of political parties as a mechanism for citizens to establish an organization to achieve their goals, which are subsequently achieved through political functions, is crucial. There are five main roles that political parties play. Functions include: interest expression and consolidation; interest education; interest renewal; interest recruiting; and interest conflict resolution. There is a connection between these duties, and it significantly affects the hopes and enthusiasm of the party's supporters (Efriza, 2019).

Seeing the reality, in the elections that have taken place that new parties will continue to arrive and can enter the electoral arena, this cannot be separated from the uninstitutionalized process of resolving internal conflicts within the party. In many cases, the new parties were not founded by the new political elites, but by the old political elites, political parties that experienced divisions which later gave birth to new parties, including the Golkar Party. For example, the presence of the MKGR Party, PKPI, PKPB, Gerindra Party, Hanura Party, Nasdem Party and the Berkarya Party (entering the 2019 Election), for example, is a product of the internal conflict of the Golkar Party.

Likewise with the internal conflict in the PDI-P, which gave birth to political parties such as the Indonesian Fatherland Party (PITA), the National Fortress of the People's Party (PNBK), and the Reform Democratic Party (PDP). Meanwhile, among Islamic mass-based parties, PPP, PKB and PAN also experienced divisions. Within the PPP, for example, the Reform Star Party (PBR) was born. PKB also experienced divisions with the emergence of, among others: the National Ulama Awakening Party (PKNU). Likewise with PAN which led to the emergence of the National Sun Party (PMB).

Until now entering the 2019 election, call it the Berkarya Party, which is a fusion of two Beringin Karya parties and the Republican National Party, its presence cannot be separated from the figure of Tommy Suharto, who once ran for Golkar General Chair through the 2009 National Conference (Munas) and failed. Then, there is also the Garuda Party, which is a split from the Hanura Party and the Gerindra Party. And what is even more phenomenal is the birth of the Indonesian Unity Party

(Perindo) as well as the product of the split within the Nasdem Party and the Hanura Party. This shows that when they are disappointed and eliminated in the arena of conflict, especially in the struggle for party leadership, they try to form new parties.

The formation and maintenance of constituents does not seem to be part of the party's work agenda. Likewise, in carrying out party functions, it seems that some will only look excited when the election arrives. Caring for constituents based on long-term programs is not a priority. Because the short-term political needs in the form of gaining votes are more urgent, so that the parties prefer to take instant steps, not to mention their indifference to make a good pattern of internal party recruitment, even the behavior of the parties themselves who prefer to take shortcuts by doing member recruitment which is transactional and closed. 21 As a result of the behavior of politicians and political parties in a series of legislative elections (pileg), presidential elections (pilpres), and regional head elections (pilkada) – it confirms the development of the character of the “floating party”, the embodiment of political parties grows with legs weak or even legless in society.

The dissolving of this party ideology, on the one hand, can indeed reduce the intensity and sharp polarization between the parties, and this can be considered good in the context of creating national stability, so that they can cooperate between one political party and another, working hand in hand to support each other. promote justice and social welfare. However, problems that arise related to cooperation between parties or party coalitions tend to be pragmatic, trapped in the context of gaining power or positions. Party ideology and party platforms do not become the basis of struggle and foundation in building coalitions. This is what then appears what is called party cartelization or cartel party.

The absence of party ideology is because political parties tend to cover various groups. This tendency by Otto Kirchheimer is referred to as a catch all party, namely a party that gathers as much support as possible from various community groups. As a result, we cannot differentiate between one party and another (Krouwel, 2003). In fact, the party ideology should be the identity and characteristic of each party. Even if there is a political party that claims to have an ideology, this ideology is often used as camouflage, only as legitimacy for the interests of the elite to gain power. This is what Yasraf Amir Piliang (2003) said as Party Nomadism, which is politics with two legs, politics minus ethics, and so on. Thus, the journey (politics) of the actions of political parties (or politicians) is always between two points or two territories, it is always in the in-between area, never fixed at a point or territory. The only consistency is the consistency to always be in the area between it, always moving, and moving, not being at a fixed point (sendentarity).

In other words, the party's ideology is distorted. This can be seen from the unclear relationship between the party's ideology and the main philosophical system of society and the state, the lack of solid ideology as the basis for the party's program, and the weak role of ideology as a general guideline in determining the party's struggle strategy. When the power of the party no longer lies in its ideology and program, there is fragility in the body of Indonesian political parties, so that the power of party leadership figures, party patrons or even the power of money dominates. The absence of this party ideology also causes parties to be considered the same in the eyes of the voters, there is no difference. To prove this, we can see that during elections, the differences between parties are so blurred that the public/voters cannot differentiate between political parties. Finally, the public chooses parties not on the basis of ideology or program, but because of figures and transactional politics (money politics).

The public's perception of political parties has taken a hit, and it will hurt in a democracy where popular will matters. Democracy's reputation will also suffer if public opinion continues to plummet. Although public trust is eroding, it is not in the concept of democracy itself; rather, it is eroding in political players. Of course, political players or politicians and the political parties they represent are inseparable. Lack of party ideology, the rise of personal/clientalistic leadership, internal party conflicts, and new findings—in particular, political pragmatism—all contributed to the demise of political parties during the reform era, demonstrating that political party institutions remain weak in the post-reform era.

The phenomena described above should inspire political elites in this archipelago to be wiser in building political parties that are more efficient and effective and ultimately able to function and play a stronger role in the Indonesian democratic political system.

4. CONCLUSION

In the post-reform era of the Indonesian political system, political parties have become prominent entities. Political parties are viewed as strategic vehicles for the future development of democracy in Indonesia. All parties agree that democracy will be enhanced if political parties are professional and accountable, notwithstanding varying views to the advent of modern political parties. This is a difficult task that requires the collaboration of all segments of a nation where competent, democratic, and accountable political parties are a need. During the reform era, the functions and roles of political parties were expanded. This is evident in their functions and roles in nominating candidates for national and municipal legislators, presidents and vice presidents, governors, regents, and mayors, and conducting "feasibility tests" for candidates for other public offices. Nonetheless, after the reformation, the current development of political parties is less responsive to constituents because parties in Indonesia are gradually and drastically reducing their ideological content in order to gain as many voters as possible; thus, political parties tend to be irresponsible and indifferent to their constituents. This also verifies other views that the institutionalization of political parties in post-reform Indonesia is still insufficient. Therefore, major efforts must be made to increase public awareness, particularly among party officials in the current reform phase, who must develop themselves and carry out party reforms from inside. Politicians and party elites should not even give the appearance of attempting to preserve the structural difficulties of the parties and "enjoying" the unhealthy state for the sole purpose of maintaining personal and/or group control.

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