

The Management of Political Parties in Indonesia (*Pengurusan Parti-Parti Politik di Indonesia*)

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ABSTRACT

Indonesian Political parties cannot yet be fully expected to be the supporters of a democratic government. The political parties, which initially act as the driving force of new ideas and concepts for people's welfare, have turned into the source of the egoistic battle for power. Instead of being a media for people's freedom to gather and organize, the political parties created political euphoria and having a corrupt image. The internal problems of political parties intertwined with the poor regulation of the party system, especially on its funding. Therefore, this study intended to provide an overview of the state of political parties while trying to provide a solution for structuring political parties in Indonesia. To achieve this goal, this study used the desktop study method to collect various relevant information and used a qualitative approach since the phenomenon of political parties was multidimensional. The results showed that the political parties re-structuring should carried out through internal institutionalization, sharpening the political platform, fixing its regeneration system, improving its political communication, and increasing the political party funding. As such, internally, the political parties need to reform their Articles of Association, and externally, the government needs to revise the regulation of political party funding. Control of the finances of political parties must be carried out thoroughly. Some solutions in this research can be considered offerings, as an effort to make political parties both organizational and governance, so that the existence of political parties is in line with the spirit of improving Indonesia's democratic system.

Keywords: political parties; democracy; political party funding; political communication; pathology

ABSTRAK

Parti-parti politik di Indonesia belum lagi boleh diharapkan untuk menyokong sistem demokratik sepenuhnya. Meskipun pada awalnya parti-parti politik Indonesia menjadi tujuh pembaharuan idea dan konsep kepada kebajikan rakyat, parti-parti itu kemudiannya bertukar menjadi sumber pertembungan kuasa yang egoistik. Berbanding berperanan sebagai medium kepada perjuangan rakyat, parti-parti politik menciptakan sensasi dan imej yang menyeleweng. Masalah dalaman parti-parti politik Indonesia bersangkutan dengan kelemahan peraturan di dalam parti, khasnya melibatkan pendanaan. Kajian ini, untuk itu, bertujuan untuk menyediakan satu refleksi terhadap keadaan parti politik di Indonesia dan menganjurkan beberapa penyelesaian untuk penstrukturan parti-parti di Indonesia. Untuk mencapai tujuan ini, artikel ini menggunakan kajian internet untuk mengutip pelbagai maklumat yang bersesuaian dan menggunakan kaedah kualitatif kerana fenomena parti politik sering bersifat multi-dimensional. Hasil kajian mendapati penstrukturan parti-parti politik di Indonesia perlu dijalankan melalui proses institusinisasi dalaman, pemerksaan platform politik, memperbaiki sistem pembaharuan, menambah baik komunikasi politik, dan meningkatkan pendanaan politik. Untuk itu, secara dalaman, parti-parti politik perlu memperbaharui peruntukkan perlembagaan parti. Secara luaran pula, kerajaan perlu menyemak kembali peraturan di dalam pendanaan parti politik.

Kata kunci: Parti politik; demokrasi; pendanaan parti politik; komunikasi politik; patologi

INTRODUCTION

The existence of political parties in Indonesia as a political infrastructure in a democratic system that adheres to the principles of Pancasila is a necessity. The political parties are expected to accelerate the manifestation of the ideals and goals of the state. They are also expected to be able to maximize their functions to a) provide political education to their members and the community, b) create a conducive climate for national unity and integrity, c) gather community aspirations, d) be the Indonesian citizens' political participation and e) be the means for political recruitment (Budiardjo, 2003).

However, in reality, the political parties in Indonesia has various obstacles. The political parties are considered unable to carry out their functions, especially in embracing and put forward the public's aspirations. Political parties are also considered as corrupt, resulting in public distrust of political parties. The public trust in political parties is the lowest compared to other political institutions. Referring to the 2018 Expert Survey from the Political Research of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), the political parties in Indonesia is the worst performing democratic institution with a total rating of 13.10%. 25.5% of experts stated that the performance of political parties is very bad, while 57.9% stated that it has a poor performance. Only 12.4% of experts stated that political party performance is good and 0.7% stated that its performance is very well (gatra.com, 2018).

This anti-party sentiment ultimately strained the relations between the political party and the community, and in the end, the party lost its legitimacy. Because of this, some people see the political parties as a "necessary evil". A paradox, since on the one hand, the political party is considered important and necessary, but on the other hand, it is also not well liked (Nasir, 2016, p. 39).

According to Surbakti (2010) this is due to the weak political system, the overly dominant role of party leaders over its members, the weak ideology (the political figure is more dominant as the party symbol and orientation rather than the ideology of the party), the weak autonomy regarding the party funding contributors, and the disparity between what the public see was expressed by the party management and activists. In other words, political parties in Indonesia are still not well institutionalized. As a political vehicle, political parties are also often used by individuals to gain power. It is true, that political parties are political

machines needed to participate and to gain power during the process of managing the country.

However, the ambition to gain power has reduced the importance of political parties. The political parties that were initially hoped to be the source of high-quality national leaders have turned into an "opportunist" arena for the chance to be nominated as legislative or executive members.

As such, it is not surprising that the image of political parties in the public eye is quite negative. Not to mention the rampant cases of political corruption due to the high political costs that make political parties the cauldron of corruptors.

On the other hand, political parties cannot yet be fully expected to support a democratic government, because they have not transformed to be modern institutions in accordance with the demands of democracy. This is compounded by the lack of detail on the political parties' platform as the guide to the direction of the party. Instead of being a media for people's freedom to gather and organize, political parties create political euphoria and often cause unhealthy political competition. There are a large number of political parties, and they have never far from their negative image. The party regeneration system has also almost certainly not working properly.

At the internal level, the Indonesian political parties have more officials than party members. The political parties are also considered to have no ideology, no clear vision, and no political direction. They do not specifically formulate their platforms and ideologies, it is just documents formally made to fulfill the requirements to register themselves as election participants (Mayrudin, 2017, pp. 163–185).

In the context of party leadership regeneration, the selection of party cadres is mostly based on the candidate's wealth, an indicator that political recruitment tends to be oligarchic and is faced with the high cost of democracy (Suparman & Rahman, 2017). Since the 1999 general election, not a single political party in Indonesia has been able to maintain its winning position in a row. This shows, behind the significant change of the vote acquisition, there is an inability of political parties to increase the number of voters or sympathizers (Nainggolan & Wahyu 2016: 16–17).

On the other hand, the political party donors dominate the political parties and its nominations in the elections. In this case, the benefit to be involved in a political party is greater for the entrepreneurs than the grassroots activists. Given the need for such

large financial capital to win the seat of power, only entrepreneurs and/or capital owners can compete. Often, political party lobbying is part of their business interests.

The lack of cadres who has a good quality and good stance with the grassroots community make it necessary for the political parties must form coalitions with other parties for the national and regional elections. The KOMPAS Research and Development Study found that of the approximately 802 pairs of regional head candidates who fought in the elections, 669 pairs were nominated by political parties and only 133 were nominated independently. Further, the coalitions in the regional election can be different from the coalitions in the national election. The lack of candidates nominated by a single political party shows that political parties are unable to produce cadres who are ready to be tested in regional elect.

The party also does not fight for the interests of the public. Corruptions carried out by party cadres are rampant. Even worse, party members often hindered the Corruption Eradication Commission works, with rules that they made. It is not surprising that the Indobarometer survey in 2017 states that 62.9 percent of the people feel they are not close to the party, as such the community does not believe in the House of Representatives (DPR).

Therefore, the various political parties' issues above need to be handled seriously and comprehensively. For this reason, this study focuses on the restructuring the political parties, which involves the political parties' regulation, both within political parties itself and outside of the party. The assessment of political parties' structure is a matter that must be conducted, considering there are many concerns over the condition of political parties in Indonesia.

Related to that, studies on political parties have been carried out. For example, Grossmann and Hopkins (2015). The two experts examined the ideology of two major parties in the United States. Grossmann and Hopkins find constituents who are allied with the Democratic Party often making concrete demands that represent the social interests of the people and compromise to achieve their goals partially. Unlike the Republicans, Democrats do not have strong internal movements designed to apply ideological discipline to elected officials, the Democrats give their elected officials more freedom. Democratic party representatives are focused on conducting pragmatic maneuvers that can help the United States gain profits from every policy it does.

Another study of political parties was by Lupu (2014), who examines the causes of the collapse of major political parties that have participated in elections for decades. Lupu observed six election cases in Argentina and Venezuela in the 1980s and 1990s. According to the study, the party's collapse is caused by the party's elites who applied policies that were not consistent with the party's ideology. They provoked internal party conflicts and formed alliances with competitors. Finally, the party is abandoned by its constituents. According to Kolln (2017), ideological mismatch within the party is a major problem which has implications on the poor party performance. Kolln's study reveals that ideological mismatch of party members with party decisions also took place in Sweden. Two-thirds of the 10 thousand members of 7 different parties are not in line with the ideology of their party.

Aminuddin and Ramadlan (2015) concur, pragmatism often lead to a "match-all party species". Evidently, democratization in developing countries like Indonesia has a dynamic journey. On the other hand, Firdaus (2010) also analyzes the failure of political parties to carry out internal mechanisms in resolving their internal conflicts. The reason is the ineffectiveness of internal political party conflict resolution system and the disobedience of party members to abide by the party's decisions.

The various studies presented above in might describe some of the situations of the political parties. However, the studies have not represented the overall phenomenon of the Indonesian political parties. Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gap, it seeks to answer various problems of political parties as an effort to strengthen the party system in Indonesia. Nevertheless, this study does not pretend to be able to solve all the problems, but it seeks to find solutions in the Indonesian context. This study assumes that the political parties' bad behavior can be minimized if the internal institutionalization of the political parties is well formed. To achieve this, there are several matters need be conducted which are the institutionalization of the organization; sharpening the party platforms; revamping the regeneration system; improving the political communication and increasing the party funds. These five main matters will be discussed in this study.

METHOD

This study used the desktop study method (Zed 2004), collecting information relevant to the

structure of political parties. The information was obtained from books, research reports, scientific essays, regulations, and written sources both printed and electronically. The study used a qualitative approach. This approach was chosen because of the multidimensional structure of the political parties, and because there were several interconnected variables with an unknown nature of their relationship (Alwasilah 2003: 103).

The collection of facts and data was conducted by collecting news reporting regarding political parties in mainstream mass media. The data collection and facts were carried out for two months from June to July 2018. Facts and data of political parties were specifically quoted to enrich the analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

ORGANIZATION INSTITUTIONALIZATION

A hypothesis was made that the institutionalization of the party organizations is the means to heal the political parties' illness. According to Huntington (2006: 12), Institutionalization is the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability

The institutionalization of political parties refers to the four dimensions of party system institutionalization developed by Mainwaring dan Scully (1995). Firstly, stability in inter-party competition; an Inter-party competition that is not accompanied by institutionalization will increase the volatility in the election

Secondly, the existence of parties with stable roots in society; Parties have main areas of support that has not changed in every election and has a binding ideology. The root of the party in society is determined by its program and ideology that is clear and acceptable to the community and would affect the relationship between the party and its voters. A weak ideological relationship between the parties and its voters is one component that weakens the roots of the party in the society.

Thirdly, the acceptance of those parties and of elections as the legitimate means by which the public determines who governs. Fourthly, the existence of party organizations with stable rules and structures. Mainwaring and Scully also made an important remark that institutionalizing a party system is important to the process of democratic consolidation.

In the context of the Indonesian political parties, their work implies that political parties are considered institutionalized if the party organization does not depend on the interests of its leaders. The institutionalization process of the political parties will be very limited if the political parties are still subject to the personal instruments of their leaders (compare also with the analysis of Randall & Svåsand, 2002).

The Institutionalization of political parties will be determined by the party's professionalism and management, not only its activities during the election but also its day to day routine activities. The management and professionalism of the party consist of several important aspects of party life, such as the development of ideology and policies, party's rules, the authority and social background of the party members and leaders, the recruitment process and the elected official representing the party in the legislative body, and the marketing process. The professionalism of the party members in their daily functions is an important element in the implementation of the above aspects. To improve it, it must start from, first, the article of association that describes the party's internal management process. The management of political parties can be seen from its articles of association which regulates the party administration mechanism. The articles of association contain the basic rules that have been mutually agreed upon and act as a bond between the members and the party. It also contains the ideology of the party that will determine the direction of its policies. Secondly, the party institutionalization in the society. (Romli 2016).

Surbakti (2010) list down the weaknesses of the political parties in Indonesia, which are: unclear ideology, weak management, and weak accountability in relation with society. Many political parties in Indonesia have not taken root in society. Political parties are institutionalized if they have roots in society. This should be the main focus of the party since the society is the main base of a party. The party should realize its main duty as a representation of the interests of the public.

The ideology and program of the party are one of the ties between the voters and the party. Voters know which political parties have programs and ideologies that represent their interests. When the party's ideology and the program does not represent the interests of voters, the voters will tend to move to another party or commonly called floating voters. The institutionalization process of political parties

in society is an ongoing process (Haqiqi 2018: 422–433).

Through the institutionalization, a good party can protect itself from interventions that can affect the life of the party organization or its policies, not easily manipulated to be a mere tool for the interests of the party oligarchs and contributors. The party must be managed democratically. This means that political parties must always involve their members when making decisions and policies. Party sovereignty must be in the hands of members. Every member of a political party has the same right to be elected and to elect the party leader. Likewise, when discussing the draft political party policies. Each member must be involved. Thus political parties are not controlled by the oligarchs of the party and are not viewed as the image of a certain party figure.

SHARPENING THE PARTY PLATFORM

A political platform is a set of principles or policies supported by political parties, certain groups, or individual political practitioners. Political platforms are used to attract public attention in general elections, such as by expressing support for, or opposition to, a controversial topic (Ukrainian Quarterly, 2010).

In addition, it can also be used to see the similarities or differences in the principles and policies to be considered when forming a coalition. Some political platforms commonly used by political parties include religion, nationalism, supports grassroots communities, reaching prosperity and fighting poverty, etc. (Constitutional Rights Foundation 2018).

In Indonesia, the platform of political parties is still not relevant to the public. Another more fundamental problem is that there are still many political parties whose platforms are not clear. First, it is unclear if each political party has its own platform. Some political parties in Indonesia do not have a platform, or if there is one, it is only treated as an unimportant part. Second, the extent to which political parties are able to create relevant platforms that are able to answer various challenges if they win the executive or legislative elections.

This lack of clarity in the party's political platforms is the key to the inability of the government, both on the executive and legislative body in almost all levels in resolving various problems.

The unclear platform, for example in the legislative body, results in an unclear policy

direction that its elected representatives in the DPR/DPRD have to fight for (Oyan 2018).

Their role of legislation, budgeting, and supervision became a problem for them. A more complex problem can also be seen from the unclear direction of the political party policies on certain public interest issues. Issues such as affordable quality education, adequate health services, decent infrastructure, and strengthening the local assets are still very unclear. The main problem is again due to the absence of a platform in the political parties that can act as a guideline for their elected members.

Similar issues also happening for those nominated by the party to become the regional heads. The party's platform has not been seen in the policies of the elected regional head (Sulaeman, 2017). This is because almost all the political parties position themselves only as vehicles for the election. Therefore, a more permanent and urgent political contract such as establishing a common platform is almost forgotten. The vagueness of party platforms led to inconsistent legislative and executive policies.

This condition is contrary to the platform of political parties in developed countries. Referring to the research conducted by Klingemann et al. (1994) it turns out that only political parties that have a clear platform, and consistently use the platform that is able to survive and show a rising trend in each general election. In developed countries, political party platforms are very important, especially for their constituents to ensure the party's policies after the election.

The political party platform describes their policies when they win the elections, for both legislative (DPR/DPRD) and executive elections (national election and regional elections). In the countries studied by Klingemann, there is a correlation between a good political party platform and the public support for it. The party platform, through the consistent policies produced by the elected party members, creates successful development in some of these countries. Thus, the political party act as the heart of the government.

Therefore, Indonesian political parties must seriously develop their platform, both on a national and regional scale (Indiahono 2018).

The serious effort in developing the platform is the starting point to gain the power for the welfare of the people. Political party campaigns should not only be carried out in the form of distributing attributes of political parties, necessities, and

even money. The political party platform must be socialized in such a way as to the various levels of society with language that is easily understood and touches on urgent issues of the present. A clear platform is a precautionary measure to avoid having politicians who don't do anything much than just appear in meetings, not saying anything, and receiving money.

REVAMPING THE REGENERATION SYSTEM

The regeneration system can break the chain of party oligarchy. The poor regeneration in political parties is also indicated by the inability of the party to gain votes during the regional election, something called Party Identification (ID). The 2017 DKI Regional Election is an example of the weak party ID, the number of votes for the two candidates in the second round was not directly proportional to the vote acquisition of their party in the last election. In fact, this party ID is a psychological component that will contribute to the stability of the party system in Indonesia, the continuity or stability of political parties could happen if voters identify themselves with the party. When only a few have party IDs, the continuity of support for the party will be weak.

The regeneration system is generally divided into three levels. It is used to identify the training materials and the expected outcomes at each level, related to the cadres' role within and outside of the party, and the mandates given to them based on the vision, mission and needs of the political parties.

1. First Level

The first level usually focusses in the internal aspects of the ideology, vision, and mission of political parties. It aims to build the party culture and to consolidate. At this level the regeneration process is also used to equip party members on simple managerial and party governance skills, such as holding meetings, program planning, program implementation, campaigns, raising and other matters related to party governance.

Training also conducted on leadership issues, winning strategies for the elections, media communication and also simple public speaking (compare with Pane, 2014).

This level is intended for members of political parties or party wings projected to become the party administrators at the district/city level and/or DPRD members at the district/city level, or the head of district/city.

2. Middle Level

This level is designed to produce the provincial-level party administrators and/or provincial-level DPRD members, or the heads of the province. In this level, the cadres are equipped with the election-related skill set such as political communication skills, leadership, interpersonal communication related to mass mobilization, political representation, problem-solving skills, policy-making skills, and campaign strategies.

The expected outcome of this training is that the participant is able to master the political party management at the provincial level; the contemporary dynamics and issues at the provincial level; problem solving skills related to policies at the provincial level; provincial policy-making process; relations between political parties and the government at the provincial level; political party funding and regional government funding at the provincial level; leadership problems; election issues at the provincial level and the winning strategies; relations with the mass media; and lobbying skills.

3. Highest Level

This level is designed for the candidates of the political party management, legislative members at the national level, as well as presidential and vice-presidential candidates. In this level, aside from the party values (Yulianto, 2016) and election-related knowledge (regulation issues and election strategies), the candidates are also exposed to the overarching political management skill, such as understanding of the current national and international issues, the party policies at the national level, the international strategy, the economic system, the law and government system, international relations etc.

IMPROVING COMMUNICATION

Communication between the political parties in Indonesia with its constituents is mainly conducted during political events, such as regional head elections or legislative elections. There is no further communication after the election. Therefore, a mechanism for the constituents to demand the fulfillment of promises made by the political party during the election is needed.

Although sometimes there is an effort to communicate through the elected members in

the central or regional parliament, the message is not communicated properly and not understood by the constituents.

Good communication with the community should be established to gain the constituent's trust and to rebuild its image as a place of authority. Communication in the form of openness and transparency from the political party members can minimize public distrust of political parties. It will increase community participation, as well as trust and level of satisfaction. According to Habermas, critics will only progress with the 'communicative rationality' foundation which is understood as 'the communicative action'. He stressed that the community is essentially communicative and what determines a social change is not merely the forces of production or technology but rather the 'learning process' in the practical-ethical dimension (Ansori 2009).

In Habermas's view, in communicating, the participants communicate in a satisfactory manner and can understand their intentions, achieving what is called 'validity claims' that are considered rational and accepted without intervention. It claims for truth, rightness, and truthfulness.

The Indonesian political parties may be accepted by the society as organizations with a legitimate authority and gain the society's trust by improving the intensity of communication between the political parties and the community, without any boundaries including gender. The role of women in the communication of political parties needs to be put forward.

According to Hasim (2018) who observed the role of female politicians in Aceh, communication by women's party cadres proved to be effective. According to him, the women's control of the parties in Aceh is no different from the control held by men in the party. Female cadres are the most important figures to attract votes from women (Saidon, Daud, & Samsudin 2017).

The role of women in a certain extent also has the implications on the community's view of the party's transparency level, and it can be used to increase the level of public trust without suspicion and distrust. In the long term, the community views regarding political parties as institutions that only care for themselves can be reduced.

The political parties should pay more attention to the welfare of the people and the nation, not just the welfare of their own groups or colleagues. It needs to intensify its communication (not only during the elections) and maintain the transparency

as an authoritative institution in the eyes of the public. On the other hand, the public is also required to not only criticize but also to provide a constructive solution.

For this reason, political parties need a strategy to be able to communicate with its constituents, to hold a positive campaign; having a personal (especially for young constituents), social and cultural approach; maintain the community loyalty through party programs; and raise issues that are relevant to the community (Ibrahim & Nor 2019); acquiring competent legislative candidates; mapping of territory, personnel, and budget; form campaign team, witnesses, workgroups and coordinators; prepare the issues and campaign props; prepare the campaign concept; prepare the work programs and community visits. Other political communication strategies that can be pursued are visits to other communities and parties, socialization and; distribution of campaign props; lobbying to the community leaders; customizing treatment according to community characteristics, and coordinate with the party's campaign team.

PARTY FUNDING

It is a common knowledge that political costs in Indonesia are quite significant. With a large number of political voters and a vast geographical location, the political parties required a large sum of money to finance their political activities. Political parties have very limited sources of funding and may not do business to obtain it.

The lack of political party funds is one of the reasons why some party cadres are trapped in corruption practices. The difficulty of political parties to finance their own party's activities is the cause of a large amount of corruption money flowing into party accounts. A number of cases handled by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) are the proof of this situation.

Therefore, to minimize corruption cases, the state has a moral obligation to ensure and encourage political parties to have integrity and become the pillars of democracy. For this reason, the funding of political parties by the state is absolutely necessary. A strong democratic political system requires political parties that are not only functional and democratic internally and externally, but also institutionalized and competitive.

For this reason, the state must increase the financial assistance for party funding at the central,

provincial and district/city levels. KPK proposes 50% of state funding as the ideal portion, with a proportional increase in 10 years, taking into account the compliance of political parties in carrying out all the related terms and conditions. The financial assistance must also be regulated whereby 25% for administrative cost (fixed cost) and 75% (priority) for political education, recruitment, regeneration, and reforms of political parties' governance (variable cost). The KPK study also emphasized that to increase the effectiveness of the political parties and affirm their presence in the community and their members, the "matching cost" principle should be applied, in which 50% of the state assistance (after deducting the fixed costs) was given directly and the other 50% (maximum) is given as an incentive for based on the ability of political parties to collect funds from their membership fees.

The government has issued Government Regulation on the Increase of Funding for Political Parties. In the new regulation, the increase in political party funds was given for political education of the party members and the public. Political party funding is provided for the operational costs of the political party secretariat.

In countries where democracy works, such as the United States and Germany, political parties are fully funded by the state to prevent it to fall prey to ways that harm the people. For this reason, Indonesia must move in the same direction, because if it is left as it is today, Indonesian democracy will remain a transactional democracy.

The state financing should be limited to political parties that pass the parliamentary threshold. The number of political parties in the DPR should also be limited to five. For this reason, the number of political parties must be reduced using a high parliamentary threshold. The sanctions should also be tougher. For example, if a political party was proven to commit corruption, then KPU must disqualify it, and it should not be allowed to take part in the next election.

The more rational increase in funding needs to be followed by several requirements that must be carried out by the political parties. For example, accountability supported by a proper reporting mechanism. There are also obligations for standard costs, openness and several rules that need to be revised. In addition, there are some actions to be taken by the party for their internal reform. For example, strengthening the code of ethics, tightening sanctions, and improve its the regeneration system.

PROPOSED IMPROVEMENT FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDONESIA

Almost no political party in Indonesia can be a role model for a particular ideology or policy benefitting the Indonesian society. Transactional politics are rampant in Indonesia politics. The institutionalization of political parties, the lack of party platforms, the weak recruitment process, the selection for the legislative body which is prone to transactional politics, poor political communication, and inadequacy of political party funding become serious problems for the existence of the political parties in Indonesia. The political parties tend to only act as a demonstrative vehicle during general elections. These transactional characters create high political costs and massive corruption practices. The party is seen to be merely a political mobilizer. Regeneration and political education tend to be ignored. Therefore, the restructuring of political parties needs to be conducted as soon as possible. Of the five matters that were stated in the previous sub-section, there are two ways to restructure the political parties.

1. Revision on the Article of Association
Overall reforms are needed, not only internal and external but also structural and cultural. Improvements in the form of party institutionalization, sharpening the party platforms; revamping the regeneration system and political communication improvement can be conducted by revising the articles of associations. It must regulate everything to the smallest thing in the party management, including election mechanisms and regulations intended to maintain the autonomy of a decision. In addition, professionalism in management is also needed, regarding recruitment, placement of cadres and nomination of candidates, commitment in ideology and improvement of programs which should represent the interests of the people, as well as continuous communication to maintain relations between parties and their constituents (compare with Hassan, Paidi, & Huda 2017). Improvement of the cadre's competence in the dissemination and delivery of party vision and mission is also expected to strengthen the party roots in the community.
2. Revision in the regulation on the funding of political parties

The regulation of the political party funding needs to be clearly defined in the amendment of the prevailing regulation on political party funding. The Indonesian government has issued a Government Regulation on Increase of Funding for Political Parties. The regulation increases the state funding for the political party to Rp 1,000 per vote. This increase of funding is a momentum for a comprehensive reform in the political parties to be the modern parties with clean and good governance, especially on the transparency of sources of political party funds, from its members and other legitimate sources.

Government Regulation No 1 of 2018 is the Second amendment of Government Regulation No 5 of 2009 on Financial Aids for Political Parties. However, the funding is still far from sufficient. The KPK - LIPI study stated that ideally, the funding should be Rp. 10,000 per vote, to be allocated for the rather costly operational costs of the party. For example, during a regional election, the party needs a lot of money to pay for meal allowances of their witnesses at the polling stations. The funds should also be allocated for political education, as this is part of the functions of the political parties. Thus, increasing the quality of democracy in Indonesia in the future.

The issue of political party funding needs to be dealt through a revision of Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties. The parts to be revised are the sources of funding for the political party, the funding allocation, the accountability reports, and the sanctions. Article 39 of the Political Party Law, for example, needs to be revised so that the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK) can conduct a performance audit of political parties. The audit as a first step to encourage political parties to be more accountable in implementing their functions. The BPK also has the authority to appoint a public accountant to conduct an audit of the consolidated financial statements conducted by the Central Leadership Board of the Political Parties.

On sanctions, it is necessary to have clear stages of sanctions, starting from administrative sanctions to criminal sanctions, and if necessary, a sanction to exclude the party from participating in for a general election.

Another issue, the oversight of political funds that currently spread across several institutions has led to a weak control of the

funding of political parties. The BPK must oversee the overall political party funding

CONCLUSION

Organizing political parties in multiparty presidential systems in Indonesian context is not easy. The large number of political parties in Indonesia also makes the presidential government system in Indonesia not yet showing optimal reinforcement. The legitimacy of the elected president who should be the political capital for the president is often paralyzed when faced with the political process at the party elite level in the parliament. Efforts to build political coalitions cannot be avoided. However, the coalition that has been built so far tends to be pragmatic and more as a transactional politic than political development. Admittedly, it is not easy to implement a presidential government system because it must be faced with an extreme multi-party system. On the other hand, the oligarchic political culture has taken root in political parties, making party reform difficult.

This research does not pretend to be able to solve various political party problems that have occurred so far, such as in terms of institutionalization, platforms, regeneration systems, communication systems, and political party funding. But it provides a moderate solution that is considered to be in accordance with the Indonesian context. Improvements in the framework of party institutionalization, platform sharpening, regeneration of the regeneration system and improvement of political communication can be done by reforming the Articles of Association and bylaws (AD/ART).

In addition, revisions to political party funding must be carried out. So even with the control of the finances of political parties must be carried out thoroughly. Some solutions in this research can be considered offerings, as an effort to make political parties both organizational and governance. So that the existence of political parties is in line with the spirit of improving Indonesia's democratic system.

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