

THE DECENTRALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES THROUGH THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE LOCAL POLITICAL PARTIES

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Abstract

The implementation of regional autonomy through Acts Number 23/2014 on Regional Government formulates the authority that can be maintained by local governments. One of the authorities' is the political autonomy. The efforts to implement the political autonomy can be done through the institutionalization of local political parties. However, according to Indonesian Law, the institutionalization of local political parties is not regulated in the provisions of acts related to political parties. The legislation that regulates local political parties can be found only in Acts Number 11/2006 on Aceh Government and Acts Number 21/2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province. Therefore, this paper analyzes the theoretical, juridical and sociological reasons underpinned the idea of local political parties' institutionalization. This research is a normative legal research which uses legal matter and acts to analyse the problems. This research finds strategies that is relevant to make local political parties institutionalized. There are five reasons to deliver local political parties in Indonesia based from this research. First, the theoretical foundation describes Indonesia as a country with federalism autonomy. Second, the constitutional juridical basis consists of two principles of the Constitution, namely the principle of the autonomy of the unitary state and the principle of equality and freedom of every citizen in governing. Third, The platform of sociological based on the fact that the choice of pluralistic Indonesian society is still diverse in many elections. Fourth, the historical background in the form of historical experience that in 1955 General Election and Local Election, there were several local political parties. Fifth, the comparative study in United Kingdom as a unitary state and Malaysia as

a Federal State, which both have local political parties. The concept of local political parties that are relevant to be applied in Indonesia in the constitutional juridical perspective related to the decentralization of political parties can be built through four strategies. First, the local political party whose presence was based on pluralist paradigm which provides the idea that in a pluralistic society should be built a decentralized party system in order to sustain the plurality of society. Second, the local political party which drafted is a separate legal entity which is dichotomous from the national political parties as a legal entity. Third, local political party's participation in elections only to the General Election and Local Elections for Legislative Elections candidates, the Provincial Representatives, Regency / City. Fourth, the formation mechanism, supervision and dissolution of local political parties are designed similar to national political process for parties as applicable today.

Keywords: Decentralization, Election, Institutionalization, Local Political Parties, Regional Autonomy

I. INTRODUCTION

The Regional autonomy in Indonesia, one of them is implemented through the division of government affairs at the central government and the local government, as stipulated in Article 18 paragraph (5) The Constitution of Republic of Indonesia 1945. The implementation of the provisions of that Article is regulated in Article 10 paragraph (1) of Acts Number 23/2014 on Regional Government. The provision of governmental affairs confirms that the absolute affairs of the central government cover government affairs in the areas: foreign policy; defense; security; judicial; national monetary and fiscal; and religion.

The article that describes the distribution of authority of government affairs if interpreted according to *a contrario* can be understood that one of the autonomy of the regions is the autonomous in the political field. The implementation of political autonomy one of them can be done by institutionalizing the local political party in the entire territory in the Republic of Indonesia. This is because the existence of the current party that is only national parties with structures that

center on the Central Government and causing orientation problems of political parties at the local level that do not accommodate local interests.

This pattern makes political party leaders in the region as a sub-ordinate the same party leaders at the national level. Institutionalization can be seen from the mechanism formulation of dismissal party officials at the local level which made by the political party structure higher and center on the Central Government¹. The process of intervention by the structure of the Political Party at the Central level to reduce the desires and aspirations of local communities is through the structure of political parties in the region. The consequence of this is causing a reduction of the political autonomy as well as the mandate of the Constitution above.

The reduction of political autonomy as a result of such political structure brought to the idea of forming a political party at the local level that is not part of the political parties at the national level. However, the provisions of the law which regulating the local political parties only give possibility to Nangroe Aceh Darussalam as regulated in the provisions of Acts Number 11 /2006 concerning on the Government of Aceh and Papua, as the provisions in Article 28 paragraph (1) of Acts Number 21/2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province.

¹ It can be seen from the AD / ART Golkar Party . Article 13 paragraph (5) ART Golkar Party stated : dismissal of the Management Authority referred to paragraph (1) letter c is set as follows :

1. For the Central Board made by the Plenary Meeting of the Central Executive Council and reported to the National Executive Meeting ;
2. For the Executive Council of the Province conducted by the Central Board based on the proposals from Provincial Leadership Council ;
3. For the Executive Council of the Regency / City Executive Board based on the proposals from Provincial Executive Council of the Regency / City;
4. For the District Leadership conducted by the Executive Board of the District / Sub-District Head of State by the proposal;
5. For the Leader Village / Sub or any other designation made by the Chairman of the District based on the proposals of Leader Village / Sub or other designations;

While the reason for the dismissal or termination of the Golkar Party officials as stipulated in Article 4 ART is as follows: Members dismissed because:

1. No longer meets the membership requirements;
2. Become a member of another political party;
3. Breaking Budgeting Association, Bylaws, and the Decision of the Conference or National, or National Executive Meeting;
4. Perform the action or actions contrary to the decisions or policies of the Party;

Based on the reason for the presence of Acts Number 11 Year 2006² that is the privilege of Aceh through its autonomy is given based on the historical aspects of regionalism in Aceh, Aceh's struggling history, and the lives of the people of Aceh who are based on Islamic law. However, the presence of local political parties in Aceh special autonomy as a consequence is not the answer to the specialty of the people in Aceh who are known with a consistency values and Islamic law, including the matter of history and the culture in Aceh. The background of Islamic law and culture is reflected by the Aceh government by allowing the Acehnese made a Qanun³, or made the institution of *Wali Nanggroe*⁴ and *Ulama* (Religious Leader) Consultative Assembly⁵ in the structure of local government in Aceh.

According to that condition, basically the presence of local political parties in Aceh with special autonomy is the reason of zero local accommodation for the aspirations of local communities to create good local governance or the difficulty of achieving development with prosperity. If so, then the reason for the establishment of local political parties in Aceh can also be used in other areas in Indonesia.

Beside Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, local political party considered normatively can also be grown in Papua as the Acts Number 21/2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province. Article 28 of Acts Number 21/2001 are affirmed as follows:

² The presence of Acts Number 11 Year 2006 is motivated by some of the following:

- a. that the system of government of the Republic of Indonesia in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945 recognize and respect the units of local government that is special or that are regulated by the Act;
- b. that by the history of state administration in the Republic of Indonesia, Aceh is a unit of regional government that are specific or special related to one of the distinctive character of the history of the struggle of the people of Aceh who have endurance and perseverance;
- c. that endurance and perseverance are sourced from a view of life which is based on Islamic *Shariah* which born a strong Islamic culture, so that Aceh became the capital region for the struggle to seize and defend the independence of the Republic of Indonesia;
- d. That the administration and execution of development in Aceh have not been able to fully realize the people's welfare, justice and the promotion, fulfillment and protection of human rights so that the Government of Aceh should be developed and implemented based on the principles of good governance;
- e. that the earthquake and tsunami in Aceh has been growing solidarity of the entire potential of the nation of Indonesia to rebuild the communities and regions of Aceh as well as resolving conflicts in a peaceful, comprehensive, sustainable, and prestige in the form of the Unity in Republic of Indonesia

³ What is meant by Qanun can be found in Article 1 point 21 and 22 of Law No. 11 Year 2006, namely:

- a. Qanun Aceh is similar legislation provincial regulations governing the administration and the Acehnese people.
- b. Qanun districts / cities are similar legislation regulations of the district / city regulating the conduct of government and public life districts / cities in Aceh.

⁴ Article 1 point 17 of Law No. 11 of 2006 states that the institution of WaliNanggroe question is customary leadership as a unifying institution of society and the preservation of indigenous life and culture.

⁵ Article 1 point 16 of Law No. 11 of 2006 states that the Ulema Consultative Assembly referred to hereinafter abbreviated as MPU is a council whose members consist of Muslim clerics and scholars who work as partners with the Government of Aceh and parliaments.

- (1) The citizen in Papua Province may form a political party.
- (2) The procedure for the formation of political parties and participation in elections are in accordance with the legislation.
- (3) The political recruitment by political parties in the Papua Province must give priority to indigenous Papuans.
- (4) A political party shall ask for consideration from the MRP in the selection and recruitment of each political party.

In the opinion by Hestu Cipto Handoyo, the provisions in Article 28 of Acts Number 21/2001 on Special Autonomy cannot be implemented because it was blocked by the provisions of paragraph (2) of Article referred. The provision was reiterated that the participation of political parties created by indigenous people in the elections must be in accordance with the provisions of the legislation on elections. Meanwhile, the relevant provisions of the political parties to follow the requirements as stipulated in the Acts Number 8/ 2012 about National Election for DPR, DPD and DPRD (Indonesian Legislative Assembly) presupposes the existence of a national political party with the management in all provinces in Indonesia.⁶

Based on those descriptions, It can be translated philosophically, it is important to present local political parties in all regions in Indonesia. From the ontological view, the presence of local political parties can maintain the values of pluralism in Indonesia as a pluralistic country. The value of pluralism is also inherent with the view of the life of our nation, namely *Pancasila* and symbolized by “Unity in Diversity”. The pluralism includes political pluralism in the channel community. From the epistemological side, in order to realize the values of pluralism in autonomy through local political parties, the local government needs to conduct a government with the value of participatory and democratic.

The problems in this research are; (1) What are the fundamental reasons (theoretical, juridical and sociological) to deliver local political parties in

⁶ Handoyo, Hestu Cipto. *Overview Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province*, Delivered In front of the Working Team Special Autonomy Committee Republic of Indonesia, November 2012.

Indonesia? (2) What are the concept or strategies for local political parties to be applied in Indonesia in the constitutional juridical perspective related to the decentralization of political parties?

The purpose of this research are to find the fundamental reason (theoretical, juridical and sociological) to deliver local political parties in Indonesia. The analyses based on the theoretical foundation about Indonesia country system, the constitutional juridical basis in Indonesia, the platform of sociological bases in Indonesia (pluralistic society), the historical background in General Election and Local Election, and the comparative study in other countries to the exixtancy of local political parties.

Besides, this research also try to find appropriate strategy for delivering local political parties in Indonesia. The strategy would be related to the sociological point of view (pluralistic society in Indonesia), the legal entity for the national political parties and local political parties, the participation of local political parties in election, and the suitable formation mechanism, supervision and dissolution of local political parties if applicable in Indonesia

II. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Development of Political Parties towards the Institutionalization of Political Parties and Decentralization

E. Schattscheider in his preposition states “*modern democracy in Unthinkable save in terms of political party*”.⁷ Political parties are essential elements of representative democracy. Through political party the circulation of elites and the political leadership of a country run. The good and bad of democracy lie in the quality of political parties. Hence, the improvement of democracy without touching the renewal of the political parties and the party system is a renewal that is not essential.⁸

In order to maintain sustain democracy and political stability through parties, the institutionalization of the party becomes an inevitable requirement.

⁷ Dalton, J.Russel and Martin P.Waterberg, *Party Without Partisan: Political Change in Advance Industrial Democracies*, New York: OxfordUP, 2000, p.3

⁸ Sigit Pamungkas, *Political Party: Theory and Practice in Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Institute for Democracy and Welfares, 2012, p62.

According to Sigit Pamungkas, the institutionalization of the party will make the party work in the corridors of the functions and minimize the unnecessary political participation of citizens as a result of modernization.⁹

The institutionalization of political parties can be seen through the development aspects of the political parties. Barendt, as quoted Muchammad Ali Safa'at states, the development of political parties in a country can be examined through several stages, namely: (1) grouping (*factionalization*); (2) polarization or segregation; (3) expansion; and (4) institutionalization. The stages are based on the development of political parties in the United States as defined by Huntington.¹⁰

The history of the first political party was marked by the presence of political party development in Western countries such as Britain and France, political activity initially centered on political groups in the parliament. This activity was originally elitist and aristocratic, defend the interests of the nobility to the demands of the king.¹¹

In this phase appears the *factionalization* (grouping) in the formation of political parties. *Factionalization* is a grouping that usually occurs between the representatives, but has not formed into an official organization. In this phase, the bond that is formed is not so strong, because the bond is dominated by motives of individual or group interests that are not supported by the carrying capacity of the voters and organizational sustainability.

The next stage is expansion. Expansion in the development of political parties meant as a way to disseminate political ties to the wider community. In this context the term "cadre" was introduced. This process contains a pre-requisite presence of an effective organization and structured. The expansion can happen in two patterns, namely: 1). The expansion comes from the internal political party. 2). The expansion coming from external party.

⁹ Sigit Pamungkas, Loc.Cit,

¹⁰ Muchammad Safa'at Ali, *the Political Parties Act: Practice setting and dissolution of political parties in the struggle of the Republic*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2011, p47.

¹¹ Miriam Budiardjo, *Fundamentals of Political Science: Revised Edition*, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Mandiri, 2010, p398.

While the final stage after going through the stages of expansion is the stages of institutionalization. The institutionalization of political party is the phase of the emergence of political party organization that is well established and modern. By Huntington, the stage is reached when the institutionalization of political parties created a competition that born a particular party system. Therefore, the institutionalization of political parties will be present depends on the reliability of internal organization of political parties to make modern and state policies related to political parties and elections.¹²

Yves Mney and Andrew Knapp, as quoted Jimly Ashiddiqie states the degree of institutionalization of political parties is correlative with the maturity of democracy in a country.¹³ The institutionalization depends on three things, namely;

1. The age of political parties (its age)
2. The organization's ability to break away from personal interests or groups in power (the depersonalization of organization)
3. The ability to present a well-established organization that distinguishes based on the ideology and the basic values of the struggle (organizational differentiation)

The process of institutionalization of political parties relying on three things above is not easy. According to Ali Safa'at citing Jimly Ashiddiqie, political parties that still maintain the *Patrone-client* system in its party's leadership, including political parties who often experience internal conflict is characterized as a party with an absent of the depersonalization of organization. That symptom occurs in some political parties in Indonesia today. Hence the institutionalization of political parties is unprecedented in our political parties.¹⁴

According to Ramlan Surbakti, there are three theories that explain the origin of political parties from the aspect of the development of the formation. First: the political party formed by the legislative (and executive) because there is a need for the MPs (defined by appointment) to hold the relationship (contact)

¹² Samuel P. Huntington, *op.cit*, p 484.

¹³ Jimly Ashiddiqie, *Freedom of Association, Dissolution of Political Parties and Constitutional Court*, Jakarta: Constitutional Press, 2005, p52-53.

¹⁴ Muchamad Ali Safa'at, *op.cit*, p50.

with the public. Second: the political party formed during the transition of society from a feudal society to modern society. Third: In the modern era where there is modernization in various fields, the political organization that is able to integrate and promote the aspirations and interests of modern society is needed.¹⁵

Pederson distinguishes four phases of the development of political parties, namely: (1) a declaration; (2) authorization; (3) representation and; (4) relevance . The growth is also accompanied by the assumption that the phase can walk backwards and make the political party destroyed.

The Declaration is the first phase of the growth of political parties. In this phase, an entity publicly announced that his entity is a political party. The declaration became a confirmation about the status of the entity in question as well as distinct from social and business entities, or pressure groups, for example.

The second phase is the phase of development of a political party endorsement or authorization. In this phase, the organization of political parties inevitably come into contact with the organs of the state has the authority to declare whether invalid or not a political party legally.

The third phase in the development of political parties is the representation phase. This phase is measured by how much the public response to the political parties in the election. The more votes a party gained at the elections, the more correlated with the representations that it represents. The representation of political parties can also be measured by the degree to which the political parties represent the diversity of political trends, community groups, ethnic and even religious. This point of view is not merely look at the representation of voters in the election in terms of quantity, but rather look from the background of his constituents.

The Institutionalization of the Organization of Political Parties

The stability of the political system that is growing very dependent on the robustness of political parties owned. Robustness of the party reflected the vision

¹⁵ Ramlan Surbakti, *Understanding Political Science*, Jakarta: PT.Gramedia Widia sarana Indonesia, 1999, p112.

of support and its degree of institutionalization. Huntington warns, in developing countries that achieve high stability, at least one political party authoritative.¹⁶

Huntington describes four dimensions of an organization that shows the institutionalization of political parties in it, namely, first, the dimensions of adjustment and rigidity, second, the dimensions of complexity and simplicity, third, the dimensions autonomy and subordination, and the fourth dimension of unity and disunity.¹⁷

In the first dimension, the more adjustments of the political parties were able to make, the higher the level of its institutionalization. To measure the dimension to the adjustment of a political party, can be done through three approaches. First, the chronological age of political party point of view. The older age of political parties, it can be concluded the more power to endure. Second, look at the age of the generation in the party. The political party that still leaves the founders and the first generation in their political parties cannot be concluded as having a good adaptability. Third, the functions of the organization point of view. The measuring tool to see how well the adjustment power of a political party is a way to see how far the political parties can adjust to the change of function to which it aspires. Political parties can adjust from initially only represent one group to be many groups. From the opposition party into the ruling party.

The second, the dimension of complexity and simplicity. The more complex an organization of political parties, the higher the level of the institutionalization. The complexity of the political party may bring to many sub-ordinate organizations both hierarchically and functionally. The presence of sub-ordinate will be a challenge in the institutionalization of political parties.

The third dimension is autonomous and sub-ordinate. The autonomy of political party is defined as the absence of external strength interference party to political party organization. The more autonomy the organization of political parties, the higher the level of the institutionalization. The autonomy which is difficult to avoid is the autonomy that arise from the internal political

¹⁶ Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in a Changing Society*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2004 p. 484.

¹⁷ *ibid*

parties, particularly relating to the intervention of the management structure of the hierarchy which is higher to lower. In this context, intervention can be tolerated as long as it does not negate the aspirations and sovereignty of the constituent political parties on the lower structure. The intervention related on the negation of the will of the people is the reduction of the institutionalization of the political party itself. Due to that condition, the political party will not get a support from the people.

The last dimension is unity and disunity. The more integrated and bond the whole organization, the higher the level of its institutionalization. Vice versa, the higher divisions and frictions in that political parties shows that the institutionalization is still low.

Randall and Svasand in *“Party Institutionalization in New Democracies”* specifically define the institutionalization of political parties. According to him, institutionalized political party is *“the process by which the party becomes established in term of both integrated patterns on the behavior and attitudes and culture.”*¹⁸ The institutionalization of political parties is both structural stabilization process in the form of behavior, as well as cultural attitudes and culture. From that point of view, Randall and Svasand said, the institutionalizations of political parties in two areas are internal and external political, structural and cultural as well as political parties. The intersection of the two areas produces four aspects in assessing the institutionalization of political parties. The four aspects are; the aspect of systemic dimension, the aspect of identity, the aspect of autonomy policy and the aspect of reification.

The first aspect is the systemic dimension in political parties. The systemic dimension is the process performance of the functions of the party who made the order, requirements, procedures, and mechanisms agreed upon and defined by political parties, both formal and non-formal.

The second aspect is related to the identity of the political parties. The identity of the political parties based on ideology or party platform, the support

¹⁸ Efriza, *Political Explore: A Study of Political Science*, Bandung: Alfabeta Publishers, 2012, p240.

base of support and identification based on the pattern and direction of purpose of political parties.

The third aspect is the autonomy of decision. This aspect is related to the relations of political parties with actors outside the party, both with a certain authority, the source of funds(External), as well as the specific source of support. In measuring this dimension, the institutionalization of political parties can be measured by the extent to which the decision was taken, without any intervention from outside the interests of the party in order to perform its functions and the party's platform.

The last aspect is the reification of the political parties. This aspect is measured by how is the ability of the political parties to give a positive image to the public. The positive image is correlated with the leverage of the parties' concerned voice in the election. To improve electability by reification, political parties must be trusted by public as a bridge of public imagination in the implementation of the functions in politics and government. Reification makes others, both individuals and groups adjust to the presence of the political parties, because of their belief in its positive perception.

The Institutionalization of Political Parties System

Mainwaring and Schully are two scientists that are quoted in the discourse about the institutionalization of party system. They conceive that a strong democracy is when it is supported by institutionalized party system. In that context, there are four dimensions of the institutionalization of party system.¹⁹

The first institutionalization element is stability in the competition between political parties. Competition between parties influences the party system. In this case the characteristics of the inter-party competition stability refers to the stability over time the number of parties in the party system, its relative strength, and the party's relationship with the electorate. However it does not mean that stability presupposes the absence of change. It is not categorized as a stable party system if the change is wild and unpredictable.²⁰

¹⁹ Scott Mainwaring, *Presidentialism, Multiparty System, and Democracy : The Difficult Equation*, in Work Paper: 1999, p 25-39.

²⁰ *ibid*

Second, rooting the party at the grassroots. In this second element of the institutionalization, indicator that can be used to measure is related to the age of political parties. This indicator has similarities with indicators to measure the institutionalization of political party organization as mentioned earlier. The older the political parties, the higher the institutionalization of political parties had done in the context of the party rooting. In addition, other indicators that can be measured is a matter of geographical area consistency, economic and social groups of voters of the party, including the consistency of voters from one election to the next election and party preference consistency concerned.

The third element is the legitimacy of election-related parties in the determination of the right to govern. In this context the view is about the belief of society to the political actors and groups belonging in the political parties that they agree that the elections are a legitimate democratic for the rotation of power to govern. Confidence is important, to avoid the presence of political parties undermine the foundation of the democracy. Therefore, the indicator used in this case is the attitude of the people about the party and the party's knowledge on the system of democracy applies.

While the last element is the rules and a stable political party structures. It can be approached through three dimensions, namely the first; organizational independence, second; internal discipline, and third; the routines run by political parties.

Related to the institutionalization of the party system, the scholars assume that a political party interaction study related to one another, patterned and systemic is an important study in order to see the degree of its institutionalization in the country.²¹ In that study appears classification of party system based on the number of the dominant political party in the country. The classification appears motivated by the conditions and geo-political regime of a country. The classifications of political party system emerge three categories, namely, single-party system, bi-party system and th system or multi-party system.

²¹ *ibid*

Single-party system can be found in some African countries (Ghana during Nkrumah, Guinea, Mali, Ivory Coast), Eastern Europe and China. The ambiance of the party called non-competitive because the existing parties must accept the leadership of the dominant party and not allowed to compete against the party's independence. The tendency to take the pattern of single-party system due in new countries, the condition requires political leadership of the country which is often faced with the problem of how to integrate the various classes, regions and ethnic groups of different social patterns and outlook on life.²²

Based on published literature, the notion of bi-party system usually means the two parties or the existence of several parties but with the dominant role of the two parties. Nowadays, few countries have a bi-party system, except the United Kingdom, the United States and the Philippines, and by Maurice Duverger said that this system is a typical of Anglo Saxon. Nevertheless, specifically in the case of the UK, bi-party system which has been adopted by the United Kingdom has begun to erode.

In Britain today, in addition to the two existing parties, the Labor Party and the Conservative Party was also attended by other political parties such as the Liberal Democratic Party. Thus, party's influence is limited if we see from the acquisition of voice in Parliament, it becomes significant in a variety of policy-making when there is close differences of votes between two major parties. In such situations, the winning party should form a coalition with smaller parties.²³ In the United Kingdom, we can find its local political parties, for example Ireland which is granted with Special Autonomy and for other areas given the devolution of power (Devolution of power).²⁴

The multi-party system is generally formed by the development of diversity in the composition of one community. Where differences of race, religion, or ethnicity are strong, factions of society earlier are more likely to connect the limited bonds (primordial) in one place only. Multi-party system is better reflecting

²² *ibid*

²³ *ibid*

²⁴ Sigit, *Op.Cit*, p. 207.

the diversity of cultural and political rather than a bi-party pattern. Multi-party system found in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Netherlands, France, Sweden etc.

Multi-party system, especially when coupled with a parliamentary system of government, have a tendency to focus on the power of the legislature so that the role of the executive branch is often weak and hesitant. This is because there is no one party that is strong enough to form a government alone, so it was forced to form a coalition with other parties. In these circumstances the coalition parties should always held a consultation and compromise with the other parties and the possibility that at any time the support of the other coalition parties irrevocably.

The description of the party system above once again shows a pattern of a regime factor in the formation of the party system in a country. The more democratic a regime, The more open competition will be create. In an open competition, there are large numbers of political parties. Conversely, the more authoritarian a regime, the harder the political parties to be born. Political parties in the context of such regime is just a tool of the authoritarian regime.

In addition, the party system was also motivated by the heterogeneous-homogeneity of society in a country. The more heterogeneous society, the more diverse the political parties will be. Conversely, the more homogeneous society in a country, the more modest the number of political parties will be. Both factors form the political party system and they influence each other.

The Institutionalization Concept of Local Political Parties

The critical point of the institutionalization of political parties is the creation of a strong organization of political party, which can absorb and articulate the aspirations and desires that exist in society. Thus, the institutionalization of political parties built strived to achieve that goal.

In the context of Indonesia, the institutionalization of political party encountered some resistance, among others, the First is rooting dimension. Only a few political parties have strong roots throughout Indonesia. Most of the political parties are not getting enough support from one elections to other elections in all regions in Indonesia. Nevertheless, there are some political

parties that consistently maintain the carrying capacity of the one election to other elections on one or a few areas only. Some regions are even only support one specific political party. UN victory phenomenon in some regions, PBR in South Kalimantan, PDS in North Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara, are the phenomenon that happened in Indonesia as a unitary state of diversity. Such parties cannot be said as having no roots, although they carry enough capacity nationwide. So as an indicator to determine the dimensions of the rooting of political parties in Indonesia can only be viewed from two perspectives, namely: the national vote for political parties from one election to other election and votes in every region. The point of view above indicate that is not proportional for political parties solely on the basis of the national vote because Indonesia is heterogeneous country.

The second dimension is the autonomy of political parties, especially on decision-making. Some earlier scholars interpret that the autonomy of political parties is a form of independence of the political parties, without intervention of external groups or parties in decision-making. The real autonomy in political parties should present also the flexibility for the structure of political parties in the rank of the lower to take a decision in accordance with the conditions of the region and the growing aspirations of the people in the region. Intervention by higher party structures to the underlying structures can also be interpreted as the destruction of the autonomy of political parties. If the destruction happened, political party can be transformed into authoritarian even in the system of representative democracy. In some cases, intervention by policy-making structures of the party at the central level to the regions happens in the body of political parties in Indonesia. This situation makes the political parties do not have the dimensions of autonomy in making policy. This condition forces a slow grow for that political parties in some regions because they always have to follow what the higher (national level) member said.

The third dimension is about the coherence of a political party, that is how the political parties have a resistance of disputes over internal party politics. In this dimension relates to the fragility of the internal friction that occurs in

political parties. The resistance to internal party conflicts occurs because not all the views and interests of factions in the party concerned are accommodated. The case happens in political parties in Indonesia show that fact, as happened in the PDI-P, the National Awakening Party and some other political parties. This situation happened because the members in that political parties at the end have their own interests. It destroy the unity in the body of that political parties. Especially, if the tendency comes from different background or different regions of the member which make them want to do some actions in the names of their regions. At the end, it violates the vision and mission of that political parties in the first place.

Table 1

The Resistances of Institutionalization of Political Parties in Indonesia

The Institutionalization Dimension	Indicators	Resistances
The roots power of political parties in society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The relativity age of the party towards independence, • The relativity age of the party towards the beginning of a multi-party system, • The changes in electoral support in the election for the last two or three elections • and the party's relationship with civil society organizations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are some political parties that consistently maintain the carrying capacity of the one election to other elections on one or a few areas only. UN victory phenomenon in some regions, PBR in South Kalimantan, PDS in North Sulawesi and NTT, are the phenomenon that happened in Indonesia as a unitary state of diversity, So as an indicator to determine the dimensions of the rooting of political parties in Indonesia can only be viewed from two perspectives, namely: the national vote for political parties from one election to other election and votes in every region.

The Institutionalization Dimension	Indicators	Resistances
The Autonomy of political parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total turnover of party leadership, • a shift in the number of electoral support after a change of leadership of the party, • autonomy in decision-making • and the appreciation of the people on the party being imaged from various researches. 	<p>The real autonomy in political parties should present also the flexibility for the structure of political parties in the rank of the lower to take a decision in accordance with the conditions of the region and the growing aspirations of the people in the region. Intervention by higher party structures to the underlying structures can also be interpreted as the destruction of the autonomy of political parties. If the destruction happened, political party can be transformed into authoritarian even in the system of representative democracy</p>
The Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The strength of the organization members quantitatively and qualitatively, • the mechanism of regular changes in leadership and mechanical, • the presence of an organization that is spread in many areas and not only present at the time of elections and campaigns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The influence of the political party figure leader is more dominant than the influence of the party as an organization • The harmony of the party organization, in line with the number of votes from one election to other election.

The Institutionalization Dimension	Indicators	Resistances
Coherence	Conflict happens in the internal body of the political parties	The resistance to internal party conflicts occurs because not all the views and interests of factions in the party concerned are accommodated. The case happens in political parties in Indonesia showthat fact, as happened in the PDI-P, the National Awakening Party and some other political parties.

Source: Adapted by the author

P. Johnson Tan, an Indonesian, also has done the analysis related to the institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia, especially after direct legislative elections, Presidential and General Election in person in 2005. Tan gave four dimensions of evaluation institutionalization of political parties, namely; first; the stability of internal competition of political parties in elections, second; the root power of political parties, third; Legitimacy of Political Parties and Elections in the Public's perpective and the last related to the structure and organization of political parties.²⁵

Based on this, the institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia is not the same as the institutionalization of political parties centerly, because it is a fact that the rooting of political parties in Indonesia could only be seen in the specific area significantly. Consistency support of political parties from several elections that took place in certain areas illustrate that the political party has strong roots in the local community. Thus, political stength would be reduced as such, if the parameters used solely from the strength of support for political parties at the national level.

²⁵ Paige Johnson Tan, *Indonesia Seven Years after Soeharto : Party System Institutionalization in a New Democracy*, in *Contemporary Southeast Asia Journal* : April 2006, p. 97 – 108

The institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia is not the same as the simplification of the number of political parties. The institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia aimed to build strong roots of party and the party's ability to articulate the voice of the people who elected significantly. Simplification of political parties is not impossible brings to the restriction of the aspirations of the pluralistic Indonesian society. As the trend of multi-party systems in other countries as mentioned above, the multi-party in Indonesia is a need for various religion, ethnic, culture and socio-political background of Indonesian society.

Huntington pre-position receives support from the research conducted by Tan. In his opinion, the concentration of votes in 1955 elections, in 1999 and 2004 had a significant deployment. If in the 1955 election, 80% of the total votes are concentrated in four political parties winner of the election, in the 1999 election, 80% of the total votes in five political parties Election winner. In 2004, 80% of the total votes are distributed to the seven political parties as illustrated in the following table:

Table 2
The Acquisition Concentration of Election Vote in 1955 elections, in 1999 and 2004 by Number of Political Parties

Number of Political Parties	Percentage of the distribution of vote		
	National Election in 1955	National Election in 1999	National Election in 2004
4 winning political parties	78	79.5	58.8
5 winning political parties	80.9	86.5	66.3
6 winning political parties	83.6	88.5	73.6
7 winning political parties	85.6	89.9	80

Sources : Paige Johnson Tan, *Indonesia Seven Years after Soeharto : Party System Institutionalization in a New Democracy*, in *Contemporary Southeast Asia Journal* :April 2006, page 94.

The result from above research shows that the distribution of the aspirations of the people in national Election has increased and distributed in a number of political parties. Although the number of political parties that has followed the contestants experienced anomaly, even showed a declining number, but the number of majority voters has increased diversly and distributed to many parties. This shows that the trend of Indonesian society requires political parties as multi-party aspirations. Based on this, it is necessary to develop its own indicators to measure the degree of institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia as follows:

Table 3
The Dimensions of Institutionalization of Political Parties
System and Political Parties for Indonesia

The institutionalization Dimension	Indicators for Indonesia
Legitimacy of Political Parties in the mechanism of the Electoral	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Acquisition of the party's vote of from 2-3 elections at the national and regional level of Election.• Age of the Party since reform and regional autonomy rolling• Correlation between acquisition support candidates for President and Vice President of the party that carried by a vote of the party at the national level legislative elections• Correlation between acquisition spousal support candidates for regional head and deputy regional head who carried the party by a vote of the party at the local level legislative elections

The institutionalization Dimension	Indicators for Indonesia
Autonomy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The independence of the party's policy-making from external parties • Autonomy party policy in accordance to the level of the region in the nomination of candidates, and the candidates for regional head • Autonomy of political parties on various issues related to the regional authority that is autonomous
Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The existence of the organization of political parties at national and regional levels • The influence of the figure of party leader in the national and regional levels against the existence of political parties.
Coherence and Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The management of diversity in the party and the internal conflict resolution mechanism, including how to solve he internal friction in the party at both the national and local level.

Source: Adapted by the author

The first dimension to see the institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia is the dimensions of the legitimacy of political parties in the electoral mechanisms. The indicator used to implement the electoral mechanism for national and local level, is the vote of political parties at the national level legislative elections (to elect members of the House of Representatives) and the local level legislative elections (to elect the members of the Provincial Council, District / City). Another indicator used is the correlation of acquisition

support candidates for President and Vice President in the area that brought the party by a vote of the party in legislative elections at national level, just like the correlation of the acquisition support for candidates of head of region and deputy head of region who carried by the party through voting at the local level legislative elections. Based on the indicators above, we can see whether there is consistency of support for political parties in two levels, national and local electoral mechanisms, or there is a division of support. For example there is a significant voice/support at the national level, while lower at the local level, or vice versa. There is also a possibility of maximum voice/support at the national level, but in certain areas the voice/support is minimal, or vice versa. From those conditions, there will be a reflection in the level of legitimacy and the distribution of political parties. It will be judged from 2 to 3 elections who had been run. With this measurement, the chronological age of political parties is calculated from the age when it was reformed and regional autonomy can also be known.

The second dimension is the autonomy of political parties. Indicators used to measure the autonomy of political parties in Indonesia is, first: The independence of the party's policy-making from external parties, Second; The Autonomy party policy is in accordance with the level of the region in the nomination of candidates and prospective of the head region, third; the autonomy of political parties on various issues related to the regional authority that is autonomous. The consequence of the presence of regional autonomy policy in Indonesia as defined in Article 18 of the Constitution of Republic of Indonesia 1945, is the presence of political parties should be linear with the regional authority related to the autonomy. The framework generates a number of regulations governing the autonomy of political parties at the local level, such as in the case of the nomination of the head region and deputy head region as stipulated in Acts Number 32 /2004 on Regional Government. Article 59 paragraph (5) letter a of Acts Number 32/2004 confirms the nominative pair of head region and deputy head region of the political party or coalition of political parties marked with the nomination forms by political party officials at regional level that is signed by the chairman and secretary of the political parties in that region.

The third dimension is the dimension of political party organization. Indicators used to measure this dimension are; first, the existence of the political parties at national and regional levels. Second, the influence of party leaders in that party both in national and regional levels against the existence of political parties. As a unitary state with pluralistic society, there is a possibility of condition when political parties at the national level are not linear with a presence at the local level. The carrying capacity of political parties in elections is one of the factors that affect it. Most likely in certain areas the political party organization that runs is settled, but in other areas and nationally experienced otherwise.

The last dimension is the dimension of coherency and diversity. In this dimension, the indicator used is the management of diversity in the party and the internal conflict resolution mechanisms, including the system to prevent the internal friction in the party at both the national and local level.

III. CONCLUSION

There are five reasons to deliver local political parties in Indonesia based from this research. First, the theoretical foundation describes Indonesia as a country with federalism autonomy. The idea is the same as used by many countries to manage the plurality in their countries through a decentralized policy, including the party system. That is why the existence of local political parties would be necessary.

Second, the constitutional juridical basis consists of two principles of the Constitution, namely the principle of the autonomy of the unitary state and the principle of equality and freedom of every citizen in governing. Both of these principles cannot be implemented in the party system in Indonesia because the party system in Indonesia still uses a national patterned as today. The national patterned here means that political parties should be nationally acknowledge. There is no place for local political parties, except in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam and Papua.

Third, The platform of sociological based on the fact that the choice of pluralistic Indonesian society is still diverse in many elections. It is found that some political parties get significant votes in some areas consistently in the last election, despite the lack of a national vote.

Fourth, the historical background in the form of historical experience that in 1955 General Election and Local Election, there are several local political parties. One of the local political parties, namely PPD in West Kalimantan even won elections in 1955 and 1958 in that province and dissipates its cadres as Governor of West Kalimantan and some head of region there. It shows that local political parties have succeeded to win citizens vote in previous election.

Fifth, the comparative study in United Kingdom as a unitary state and Malaysia as a Federal State. In both countries, local political parties are exist and provide wide authority for their area through devolution and autonomy. So, it does not matter what the country system is. What matter is the acceptance of the society in that region. Whether they want the local political parties or not.

The concept of local political parties that are relevant to be applied in Indonesia in the constitutional juridical perspective related to the decentralization of political parties can be built through four strategies. First, the local political party whose presence was based on pluralist paradigm which provides the idea that in a pluralistic society should be built a decentralized party system in order to sustain the plurality of society.

Second, the local political party which drafted is a separate legal entity which is dichotomous from the national political parties as a legal entity. It is based in the province with branches in regencies / cities in that Province.

Third, local political party's participation in elections only to the General Election and Local Elections for Legislative Elections candidates, the Provincial Representatives, Regency / City.

Fourth, the formation mechanism, supervision and dissolution of local political parties are designed similar to national political process for parties as applicable today.

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