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POLITICAL PARTY MANAGEMENT IN INDONESIA IN ESPOUSING GOOD GOVERNANCE WITHIN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

(A STUDY OF PDI PERJUANGAN AT LOCAL ELECTIONS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF SEMARANG, MUNICIPALITY OF SURAKARTA, AND REGENCY OF PURBALINGGA IN 2015)

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ABSTRACT

Management is one of many dimensions in the study of Public Administration. The dynamics of democracy in Indonesia has placed political party management at Local Elections, especially in its capacities of recruitment and mobilization, at a significant level in manifesting good governance at the local level. PDI Perjuangan as the biggest party in Indonesia has been able to implement political party management at Local Elections, which has resulted in the realization of good governance in the Municipalities of Semarang and of Surakarta and the Regency of Purbalingga. This paper incorporates qualitative approach and is equipped with interview, focus group discussion, and document study as data collecting methods. Validating data is exercised by source triangulation, which stems from the party's Central Board or DPP, the Provincial Boards or DPD, the Municipal Boards or DPC, the Campaign Teams, the Candidates, and Coalition Parties. This research finds that, the management of PDI Perjuangan at Local election has been exercised by planning, organizing, actuating, controlling, and innovating. Innovating is implemented in the forms of candidate recruitment, candidate screening, and candidate training in order to enhance the quality of local leaders' quality which is asserted by the Central Board. Innovation also functions as mobilization in terms of creating and exercising party organs and voters' whip team maximally within the processes of campaigning, witness placing, and voters whipping.

Keywords: Management, Political Party, Recruitment, Mobilization, Local Election.

1. INTRODUCTION

Local autonomy has allocated more and more authority and responsibility to Local Governments in order to achieve national goals at provincial and municipal levels. As a part of local governing, Local Governments are expected to exercise good governance which, as hoped, will result in the people's well-being and local development. Good governance at the local level emphasizes the function of collective governing by the government, civil society organizations, corporations, and the people (Wibawa 2006: 77). UNDP highlights nine principles of good governance, namely participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus-oriented, equitability, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, and strategic vision (in Sedarmayanti 2012: 6).

Implementing such good governance begins at the recruitment process for local candidates through Local Elections which are institutionally supported by political parties. This is for the reason that most candidates are under political parties' auspices. Following this logic, Local Elections are a political process which determines governors and mayors to engage a good local governance.

In terms of public policy, governors and mayors are executive officials who are responsible in creating public policies. They are the examples of elected official who, according to Howlett and Ramesh (1995: 52), are also actors in creating policies in adjacent with congresspersons who are also elected.

The year of 2015 marks the first simultaneous Local Elections. In the Province of Central Java, PDI Perjuangan found itself winning in 12 regions, namely the Regencies of Semarang, Grobogan, Pemalang, Purbalingga, Sukoharjo, Klaten, Boyolali, and Wonogiri, and the Municipalities of Pekalongan, Semarang, Magelang, and Surakarta.

In accordance with the functions of political parties in recruitment and mobilization, party management in nominations, campaigns, votes, counts and recapitulations becomes significant. Management, as defined by George Terry (in Saefullah 2005: 9) includes four functions, namely planning, organizing, actuating, and controlling.

One of the many dimensions in the study of Public Administration is management (Keban 2004: 10–11). Management is concerned with all activities in line with the actualization of organization goals through certain principles. Public administration has transformed into public management. The focus of the latter is to create strategies regarding external environments and the organizations' visions and missions. Such management is exercised by public organizations. In this paper, the focus is conferred upon political party management in order to execute good governance at the local level through Local Elections using recruitment and mobilization.

Recruitment and mobilization processes have become significant at Local Elections in terms of nominating, campaigning, voting, counting, and recapitulating. Through these stages, if satisfyingly executed, it determines governors and mayors who are willing to implement good governance at the local level.

The description above identifies that qualified governors and mayors are needed in order to implement good governance at the local level through Local Elections. Political parties are political organizations who are responsible for recruitment and mobilization at Local Elections. These processes will determine the quality of the governance which the elected governors and mayors will exercise. It is therefore clear that the processes of planning, organizing, actuating, and controlling are significant to implement recruitment and mobilization.

PDI Perjuangan as the biggest political party in the Province of Central Java is not always able to win Local Elections and therefore the implementation of good governance fails. In the Municipalities of Semarang and of Surakarta and the Regency of Purbalingga, PDI Perjuangan was able to win the 2015 Local Elections and, later, able to implement good governance.

It is the basis for this research on the management of PDI Perjuangan. This paper incorporates qualitative approach and is equipped with interview, focus group discussion, and document study as data collecting methods. Validating data is exercised by source triangulation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Management is a significant dimension in public administration as argued by Keban (Keban 2008: 10–11). The first one is the policy dimension which is in relation to policy-making and the strategy to achieve the goals in an efficient manner. The second one is the organization structure dimension which is concerned with structure and hierarchy, unit formation, task distribution, procedure implementation, and rules and standards to achieve its goals. The third one is the management dimension which is in the context of how the predetermined activities are developed into actions through management principles. The fourth one is the ethics dimension which guides and explains the right and the wrong. The fifth one is the environment strategy which is the surroundings and conditions around the organization. The sixth one is the accountability dimension which is in relation to the implementation of all processes of the activities.

George Terry (in Saefullah 2005: 9) argues that there are four management functions, namely planning, organizing, actuating, and controlling. Planning concerns the setting of organization goals and the imposing of strategies, policies, projects, programs, procedures, methods, systems, and budgets, among other things. Organizing includes the determining of resources needed to achieve the predetermined goals, the innovating of ways to the predetermined goals, the setting of responsibilities and accountabilities, and the delegating of authority. Controlling includes four aspects, namely (1) the setting of an operational procedure, (2) the determining of standards of procedure, (3) the measuring of actual conducts against the predetermined standards, and (4) the correcting.

In its development, there has come a concept called new public management. This is a new concept originating in the 1990s. It incorporates the concepts which are more commonly known to the private and business sectors. The slogan thereof is to control business-run government. In the core of this concept, all leaders are expected to innovate in order to achieve maximum results or to privatize government functions (Thoha 2008: 74). Public management still has a considerable impact on the success of good governance. According to Taschereau and Campos as quoted by Thoha (2003: 63), good governance is defined as a condition in which a government guarantees equality, equity, cohesion, and balance, and the existence of a balanced connection between citizens, government, civil society, and business in the private sector.

As democracy is enhanced by the direct election of governors and mayors, the implementation of good governance at the local level becomes dependent on relevant political parties. They contribute in the aspects of recruitment and mobilization at Local Elections and are determinant in the delivery of governors and mayors who are able to implement good governance. In terms of public policy, good governance is successfully actuated when and if all the actors, including but not limited to the government and civil groups, are involved in the policy-making and implementation processes (Suwitri 2008: 27).

Carl J. Friedrich (in Budiardjo 2008: 404) defines political party as a group of people who are stably organized with a set of goals to attain or retain power in government to its leaders and, through the aforementioned power, allocates it to the members of the political party in an ideal and material manner. In addition, Sigmund Neumann (in Budiardjo 2008: 404) sees political party as an organization consisting of political activists which attempt at attaining power in the government and the people's support through a competition against other political organizations. By contrast, Giovanni Sartori (in Budiardjo 2008: 404–405) argues that political party is a political organization who is party to elections and, through them, is able to put its members in elected offices.

Recruitment and mobilization as several functions of political parties have a significant role in determining the successful implementation of good governance. In the context of recruitment, Metlosa and Shale (2006) argue that political parties are responsible to provide political leaders for a country. Heads of state and government commonly are members of political parties. Cabinet ministers, staff to the ministers, and members of parliament are usually senior members of political parties. This trend highlights the political leadership function of political parties. Democracy needs democrats. If political parties are able to deliver democratic leaders, a country is more probable to build democratic government. By contrast, if political parties deliver autocratic leaders, the democracy in that country is in danger.

In line with mobilization, political parties are a political engine. It is for the reason that political parties provide material interest, which serves as a form of reward. This reward builds a patronage, in which members who are elected to office have the right to some or all services of the party. This political engine also provides many other opportunities. Political parties serve as an arena for members to wider their network which is beneficial to their respective businesses or professional careers. Even idle members are also benefitted. However, those who are active are inclined to get or hope for the advantages which political parties provide.

Engine is a characteristic of political organizations with political structures and unique social environments. Wilson argues that engine tends to mingle when traditional loyalty and respect patterns weaken in influence in line with the rapid change of composition in the population and socioeconomic organizations. This induces even further when the formal authority breaks (Wilson 1995: 97–98).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In conjunction with the functions of political parties, those functions are also as significant at Local Elections in terms of recruitment and mobilization. Mobilization is supposedly executed on the basis of the strategies for the winning of nominees. One basis for this winning strategy is marketing mix in politics.

Simultaneous Local Elections are the process of electing governors or mayors directly who serve as executive heads of the regions. At Local Elections, recruitment mobilization become very important. Recruitment is the way by which political parties nominate the candidates, independently or in coalition with other political parties, who will subsequently be verified and given consent by Provincial or Municipal Elections Commission. On the other hand, mobilization by political parties is a way by which they allocate all resources to support the candidates.

Following the description above, the concept of new public management is meaningful to the processes of planning, organizing, actuating, controlling, and innovating.　　These processes are also important to political parties, especially in terms of recruitment and mobilization at Local Elections, to win them on behalf

of the nominated candidates. Following their win, they will determine the course of action for good governance. At this stage, the role of political party management for the implementation of good governance is extremely crucial.

Research finds that planning precedes recruitment. Planning is the initial stage in the recruitment process for future candidates. PDI Perjuangan has imposed a formal set of procedures which are applied throughout Indonesia. The planning stage is subject to Rule of PDI Perjuangan No. 04/2015 on the Recruitment and Selection of Candidates for Local Offices which consists of screening, filtering, and designating.

Recruitment organizing for local candidates by PDI Perjuangan in the Municipalities of Semarang and Surakarta and the Regency of Purbalingga is subject to Article 26 of the Charter of PDI Perjuangan and consists of

   a.   a Central Board or DPP at the national level;
   b.   Provincial Boards or DPD at the provincial level;
   c.   Municipal Boards or DPC at the municipal level;
   d.   Foreign Boards or DPLN abroad;
   e.   District Boards or DPAC at the district level;
   f.   Chapters of the Foreign Boards or PPLN at the provincial level abroad;
   g.   Sub-District Boards at the sub-district level; and
   h.   Village Boards at the village level.

Of the eight levels of command mentioned above, the recruitment process for local candidates at the municipal level is the responsibility of DPAC, DPC, DPD, and DPP. Actuating is one function of management which aims to implement the matters already planned by the organization. The recruitment process for the local candidates begins at the municipal level by the Screening Team of the DPC. The Team is responsible for a wide array of matters, including announcement, registration, form issuance and collection, and document verification.

The screening results are subsequently transferred to the DPD in the Province of Central Java to undergo the second part of the screening process. This second process consists of psychological and ideological tests which are run by the DPD of the Province of Central Java. The final part of the selection process happens in the DPP. At this stage, the DPP examines the track records of the candidates. From the results of the complete parts of the selection process, the DPP convenes to determine which candidates to nominate. The nomination is the sole right of the Chairman of the Party which subsequently translates into a recommendation letter, signed by the Chairman and the Secretary-General of the DPP of PDI Perjuangan.

It is considered important to monitor the recruitment process so that it runs without hindrance and in line with the predetermined mechanism. For Local Elections at the municipal level, the monitoring process is the responsibility of the DPC and the DPD. In terms of recruitment, PDI Perjuangan has done numerous innovations in relation to the terms and conditions of candidates which consist of internal and external aspects. Other innovations include the increase of quality and capability of the candidates based on the principles of good governance. One of the attempts made by the DPP at increasing the quality and capability

of the candidates is to confer obligation upon them to undergo a training program held and run by the DPP. This program is recommended for the candidates who have yet to join.

The aim of mobilization management during campaigning period is to win the Local Elections and to secure the image of the party. For this reason, such management is important. Apart from the recruitment process, the DPC is more influential in the mobilization function than the DPP is. In the Municipalities of Semarang and of Surakarta and the Regency of Purbalingga, a key strategy to win includes, chiefly, the party induces rigorous mobilization which includes other organizations and teams outside the party structure. The second plan is to mobilize volunteers outside the party structure and within the coalition parties.

After the issuance of candidate recommendations by the DPP, the DPC and the nominated candidates are to form Campaign Teams which aim to win the Local Elections. The structure thereof varies and is subject to the environments of the regions. As the main party who nominates its members, the mobilization maneuver by PDI Perjuangan becomes determinant. Furthermore, if the Campaign Teams involve other parties, PDI Perjuangan is expected to determine the rhythm of the mobilization. Other parties are likely to follow PDI Perjuangan's lead if the Campaign Teams are headed by members of the party.

In the Municipalities of Semarang and of Surakarta and the Regency of Purbalingga, the whole party organs at all level will consolidate following the recommendations of candidates as issued by the DPP. The mobilization function becomes more apparent in the model of attracting voters through party organs which are formed within Voters Whip Team or Guralih and all organization wings. Guralih is, at a glance, the amalgamation of all DPPs from all regions throughout the country. Guralih is a team of members of PDI Perjuangan to persuade and ensure the voters to vote for candidates of PDI Perjuangan.

The next order of business is witnesses. Witnesses are an important part in the Campaign Team. Mobilization process in terms of these witnesses prepares them before the actual witnessing process. In executing the mobilization function at Local Elections, the DPD and the DPP have a role though less than that in the recruitment function. The first role commences at the instruction to all members to contribute to the success of the candidates. Accompanying the instruction is a formal recommendation letter issued to the DPP. However, the role of the DPP and the DPD is not equal in all regions. It depends on the political dynamics in the respective regions.

Controlling is the responsibility of both the DPP and the DPD. This function is not applicable to all areas at the 2015 Local Elections due to the lack of human resources. In that period, the DPP formed a Monitoring Team consisting of 98 members who were allocated to 94 regions which were deemed crucial.

Table 3.1: Mobilization Management by PDI Perjuangan at Local Elections in the Municipalities of Semarang and of Surakarta and the Regency of Purbalingga in 2015

Management	Region		
	Municipality of Semarang	**Municipality of Surakarta**	**Regency of Purbalingga**
Planning for Recruitment	Subject to Rule of PDI Perjuangan No. 04/2015 on the Recruitment and	Subject to Rule of PDI Perjuangan No. 04/2015 on	Subject to Rule of PDI Perjuangan No. 04/2015 on the

	Selection of Candidates for Local Offices	the Recruitment and Selection of Candidates for Local Offices	Recruitment and Selection of Candidates for Local Offices
Recruitment Organizing	Screening Team DPC DPC DPD DPP	Screening Team DPC DPC DPD DPP	Screening Team DPC DPC DPD DPP
Recruitment Actuating	The DPC exercises open screening process The DPD exercises first screening The DPP exercises second screening and issues recommendations	The DPC exercises open screening process The DPD exercises first screening The DPP exercises second screening and issues recommendations	The DPC exercises open screening process The DPD exercises first screening The DPP exercises second screening and issues recommendations
Recruitment Controlling	Internal controlling by the DPC over screening team, controlling by the DPD controlling by the DPP	Internal controlling by the DPC over screening team, controlling by the DPD controlling by the DPP	Internal controlling by the DPC over screening team, controlling by the DPD controlling by the DPP
Recruitment Innovating	Terms and conditions of candidates Training for candidates by the DPP	Terms and conditions of candidates Training for candidates by the DPP	Terms and conditions of candidates Training for candidates by the DPP

4. CONCLUSION

PDI Perjuangan in the Municipalities of Semarang and of Surakarta and the Regency of Purbalingga was able to execute good management functions at 2015 Local Elections in which the elected candidates were able to deliver good governance accompanied with accolades in terms of the improvement of human development index.

In terms of management function, PDI Perjuangan executes:

4.1 *Planning*

The function of planning is under the full control of the DPP with imposed regulations throughout Indonesia on the recruitment and selection of candidates for local offices. The prerequisite for recruitment includes 25 percent share of total votes cast for members of Local Parliaments of the same party or 20 percent share of total seats gained. Other alternative prerequisites include the current seating governors or mayors being from the same party of the candidate or a strong traditional base.

4.2 *Organizing*

Organizing begins by forming Screening Teams in the DPC which are then submitted to the DPD and, ultimately, to the DPP.

4.3 *Actuating*

Actuating starts at the screening process by the DPC, the first screening process by the DPD, and the second screening process and the issuing of recommendations by the DPP. In the recruitment function, the role of the DPP is central and strategic.

4.4 *Controlling*

Controlling is executed in a tiered manner by the DPP and the DPD. Control of the screening process is the responsibility of the DPC.

4.5 *Innovating*

In terms of recruitment management, PDI Perjuangan has innovated within its capacity of candidacy requirements, screening methods, and candidate training in order to improve the quality of the candidates. These are the responsibility of the DPP.

In terms of mobilization function, PDI Perjuangan executes:

4.6 *Planning*

Mobilization is exercised by PDI Perjuangan at an early stage of planning in which the role of the DPC is significant. The DPC creates Campaign Teams and sets strategies to whip the voters through the party organs and creates voters whip team.

4.7 *Organizing*

The DPC creates Campaign Teams for nominated candidates. The structure thereof is subject to the environments and the needs of the respective regions. In this area, the DPC has a more significant role than the DPD and the DPP do.

4.8 Actuating

Actuating involves party organs and volunteers in the processes of campaigning, witness allocating, and voters whipping.

4.9 Controlling

Controlling is done internally by Campaign Teams. By contrast, in terms of party organs, controlling is exercised by the DPC, the DPD, and the DPP in a tiered manner. The roles of the DPP and the DPD vary by region subject to the political environments.

4.10 Innovating

PDI Perjuangan has innovated in terms of mobilization function by forming and running party organs and whip teams to the maximum extent in the campaigning process, witness allocation, and voters whipping.

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