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Human Capital Political Parties in The Reform Era of Indonesia



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ABSTRACT

Purpose: This research is to describe the analysis of Human Capital Management in political parties in Indonesia with a focus on the implementation of human capital in cadre governance. Comparison of the programs and strategies of political parties through the human capital approach in managing cadres is necessary to ensure the continuity of democratization and to produce future cadres of political parties for the nation that can meet the expectations of the Indonesian people. So that it can know the role and leadership of political parties in implementing regeneration governance with a human capital approach in political parties. **Method:** This study uses a mixed method approach, namely qualitative phenomenological study methods with interpretive analysis and quantitative with correspondence analysis as a support Andrew Mayo offers the concept of human capital with components: individual capability, individual motivation, organizational climate, workgroup effectiveness, and leadership. **Finding:** The results of the study show that the dynamics of the strategy of political parties in managing regeneration with a human capital approach have not been implemented consistently with regular, structured, and measurable sustainability programs. **Novelty:** The human capital approach is currently still being applied to profit institutions and has never been tested in non-profit institutions, namely political party organizations. Through Andrew Mayo's human capital approach, it can be seen the implementation of human capital in political parties.

INTRODUCTION

This study discusses the implementation of human capital in political parties after the “1998 Reformation”. The regime change from the New Order to the Reform Order gave great hope for political parties to become pillars of democracy in Indonesia. Political parties have the opportunity to improve government governance for the welfare of society. However, various studies and research show that there is a gap between demands for reform related to idealism and the pragmatism of political parties.

The gap occurred because the implementation of human capital through the management of political party cadres did not run ideally following the demands of reform. Political party platforms are not in line with practice in the field. The facts show that many politicians are involved in bribery, corruption, and other legal cases. Politicians 'jumps' become a phenomenon in every election, especially when there is a change in the regime of the party winning the election. Besides that, the phenomenon of money politics still occurs, causing high political costs. The large political costs used in the democratization process also have the potential to create a corrupt government. The magnitude of the political costs (political costs to be incurred by politicians) can be seen from the results of a study by the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) that the costs used by a person to become a regent/mayor are around IDR 20-30 billion, while a candidate for governor can reach IDR 100 billion. Political dynasties are still strong in some areas. Oligarchies are still seen intervening in political parties and power. Such conditions have an impact on the weakening of control over power. Many political parties tend to be in coalitions supporting the government and the opposition as counterweights are weakened.

According to Andrew Heywood [1], this shows that the loss of political ideology has been replaced by the emergence of pragmatism in politics. The existence of political parties in preparing their cadres to carry out legislative functions in the form of oversight, budgeting, and legislation must be of higher quality. Especially if a political party cadre serves as Mayor, Regent, or Governor, they must be able to change people's lives for the better. So that the preparation of political party cadres through the management of cadres must be professional and of high quality.

The problem that arises is the gap between the demands for reform related to idealism and the pragmatism of political parties, which can be seen from the fragility of the governance implementation of political party cadres. The written platforms and ideologies of political parties are still limited to administrative formalities. A political party is an organization that can prepare its cadres to become leaders for the future of the Indonesian Nation, this is because the Indonesian state political system requires the appointment of Regents, Mayors, Governors, through political party channels. Even though there are opportunities through independent channels, they are unable to dominate the power of candidates promoted by political parties. Often regional heads and council members are elected not as a product of political party cadre governance. The 'karbitan' cadres that emerged did not have the competence and skills to lead and be trustworthy in the tasks they carried out. They only rely on the capital of popularity and the power of money to gain constituent votes. This fact is a challenge for political parties to be able to prepare their cadres to have moral and integrity. From the results of the KPK study, it was identified that the three main problems of every political party in Indonesia are recruitment, regeneration, and funding.

This study explains how the problem of the gap between idealism and pragmatism in the implementation of human capital in political parties by taking two parties as case studies namely Partai Demokrat Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) and Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB). PDIP was chosen as a case study with the consideration of being the winning party in the election, the ideological party, the underprivileged party, the party with the most regional heads, as well as the party with the most legal cases. Meanwhile, the PBB is a case study with the consideration of small parties that did not qualify for the parliamentary, religious parties, Islamic mass-based parties, and parties with minimal cadres as regional heads. The similarities between the two parties are ideological parties that were born after the reformation. This means that the demand for idealism for the two parties will bring changes to Indonesian democracy for the better.

Dinamika Persentase Suara Parpol Pemilu 1999 - 2019

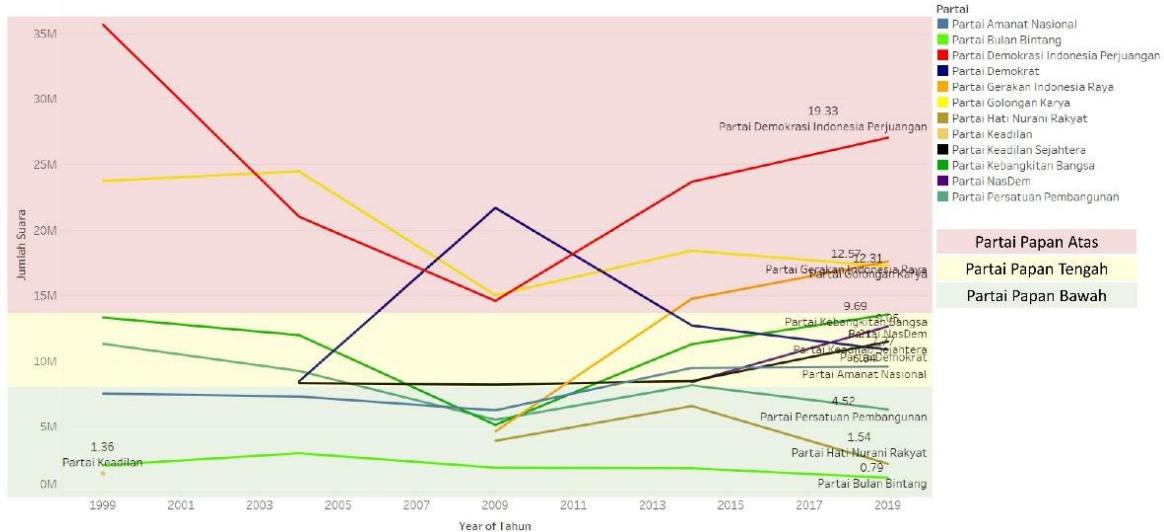


Figure 1: General election result 1999 - 2019

Source: Compiled from various sources

Theoretically, the dominant concept of human capital is discussed in profit-oriented companies. Even though the condition of political parties is very crucial and requires the concept of human capital in improving the internal politics of political parties. The concept of human capital needs to be explored more deeply in the management of political party regeneration to be able to reduce the discrepancy between the demands of idealism and political pragmatism. The concept of human capital in the management of political party cadres will form politicians who have integrity, competence, and trustworthiness. The ideal politician can support the existence of political parties that are trusted by the people and manage power well. The pattern of managing political party cadres is also directed at preparing an introduction to the political field, decision-making, integrity, party vision, and communication with cadres. To get better performance of political parties related to the quality of cadres, political parties build the quality of human resources by managing their cadres with a human capital approach.

Every political party realizes that regeneration is the main strength factor in maintaining the existence of political parties so that all political parties include elements of strengthening membership and regeneration in their organizational structure, as shown in the table below:

Party Name	Structure	Sub Structure
PDIP	Division of Membership and Organization	
	Division Ideology and Cadres	
Partai Golkar	Head Division of Cadres & Membership	Cadreization and Membership Department
Partai Gerinda	Vice Chairman of Cadreization and Strategic Information	Division of Regeneration
		Division of Cadre School
		Cadre Potential Analysis and Development Field
		Division of Network Strengthening
	Vice Chairman of HR	Division of Religious
	Vice Chairman of Organization and Membership	Division of Organization and Membership
		Division of Apparatus Development
Partai Nasdem	Chief Coordinator for Ideology, Organization, and Regeneration	Division of Organization and Membership
		Division of Regeneration and Political Education
		Division of Beginners and Millennial Voters
PKB	Deputy Chairperson for Ideology and Cadreion	
Partai Demokrat	Agency of Organization Development, Regeneration, and Membership	
	Agency of Doctrine, Education, and Training	
PKS	Regional Leadership Development Agency	
	Cadre Development Agency	

Table: Political party composition

Source: several sources of political parties documents

Responding to the need for governance of political party cadre formation in facing the gap between idealism and pragmatism demands, an orderly, structured, and measurable human capital design is needed for the sustainability of political parties. The implementation of cadre governance with a human capital approach makes political parties competitive with quality and competent cadre products. Therefore, this study focuses on designing human capital that can be applied and can contribute to improving the governance of political party cadres. On the other hand, the concept of human capital is more dominantly applied in business and management companies. The scope of discussion of human capital design in this study includes; individual capability, individual motivation, the organizational climate, workgroup effectiveness, and leadership.

MATERIALS

Political parties

There are many definitions of political parties made by political experts. Two opinions were taken from Budiardjo [2], namely: "among other things according to Carl J. Friedrich, a political party is a group of people who are organized stably to seize or maintain control of the government for their party leaders and based on this control, giving their party members benefits that are ideal and material. Meanwhile, according to Sigmund Neumann, political parties are organizations of political activists who seek to control government power and win people's support through competition with a group or other groups that have different views.

In a vast and complex modern society, many different opinions and aspirations develop. The opinions or aspirations of a person or a group will disappear without a trace if they are not accommodated and combined with the opinions and aspirations of other similar people. The existence of political parties, according to Budiardjo, functions to a) formulation of public interests (interest articulation), b). Aggregation and articulation are one of the communication functions of political parties, c) Fighting for or conveying people's aspirations through parliament to the government to make it into public policy, d) As a liaison in the form of discussing and disseminating government plans and policies. This political party carries out the function of two-way dialogue communication, from top to bottom and from bottom to top, and e)

Educating its members to become human beings who are aware of their responsibilities as citizens and place their interests below national interests.

Political parties are organizations of like-minded people who strive to achieve political power and public office to implement their policies [3]. Roberts Michels in 1911 in the book "Political Parties" argued that political parties have always been and will always be run by minority groups. The basic principles of political parties are political parties as coalitions, political parties as organizations, and political parties as policymakers. Of these three basic principles, political parties are divided into movement political parties and pressure group political parties.[4]

Roy C, Macridis writes that political parties in a country are classified based on the number of political parties: one party, two parties, or multi-party, then based on their characteristics: competitive, aggregative, ideological, pluralist, monopolistic, issue-oriented or follower-oriented or support sources international organization.[5]

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, a political party in the modern sense can be defined as a group that proposes candidates for public office to be elected by the people so they can control or influence government actions. Meanwhile, according to Mark N. Nagopian, a political party is an organization formed to influence the shape and character of public policy within the framework of certain ideological principles and interests through the practice of direct power or people's participation in elections.

The Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties says: "Political parties are organizations that are national and were voluntarily formed by a group of Indonesian citizens based on the common will and aspirations to fight for and defend the political interests of members, society, nation, and state, as well as maintaining the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Every political party has the right to carry out political education to recruit, prepare and promote for political needs."

Human Capital

Human Capital has a dynamic, implicit, non-rigid, and contextual definition. Characteristics of human capital that are very important for performance are the flexibility and creativity of

individuals and their response to various contexts of situations. Mayo in Angel Baron and Armstrong said that the essential difference between Human Capital Management (HCM) and Human Resource Management (HR) is that HCM treats humans as assets, humans are added value, not additional expenses while HR management treats humans as significant costs so that must be managed properly. Ulrich formulates Human Capital = Competency x Commitment.

Theoretically, the dominant concept of human capital is discussed in profit-oriented companies. There is very little that the concept of human capital discusses matters other than non-profit organizations, let alone those dealing with the governance of cadre formation in political parties. Even in future projections, the condition of political parties is very crucial and requires the implementation of the concept of human capital in improving the internal structure of political parties. The concept of human capital needs to be explored more deeply in the management of political party regeneration to be able to reduce the discrepancy between the demands of idealism and political pragmatism. The concept of human capital in the management of political party cadres will form politicians who have integrity, competence, and trustworthiness. The ideal politician can support the existence of political parties that are trusted by the people and manage power well. The pattern of managing political party cadres is also directed at preparing an introduction to the political field, decision-making, integrity, party vision, and communication with cadres. To get better performance of political parties related to the quality of cadres, political parties build the quality of human resources by managing their cadres with a human capital approach.

Andrew Mayo[6] offers the concept of human capital with components: individual capability (Knowledge/skill/experience/network, ability to achieve results, the growth potential, bringing into work from other parts of their life), individual motivation (Aspiration, ambition and drive, work motivation, productivity), the organization climate (The culture of organizational freedom to innovate, openness, flexibility, respect for individual), workgroup effectiveness (Supportiveness, mutual respect, sharing in common goals and values) and leadership (The clarity of vision of top management, building communication, behaving consistently)". This concept is the basis for theorizing the concept of human capital in the management system of political party cadres.

METHODS

This study uses a mixed methods method. Strictly speaking, this research approach combines both qualitative research and quantitative research. Research is an activation process that aims to find out something carefully, and critically by finding facts using certain steps. The desire to know something carefully arises because of a problem that requires the right answer. Various reasons cause the emergence of research.

Craswell [7] categorizes the approach into five types namely, Narrative Research, Phenomenology, Grounded Theory, Ethnography, and Case Study. While Denzin includes one more type of biographical approach. Research Methods are scientific ways to obtain data with specific purposes and uses. Research is defined as a process of collecting, processing, analyzing, and concluding data that is supported by conceptual studies and theoretical frameworks to solve problems for a specific purpose. According to Nana S. Sukmadinata, scientific search or research is an activity to find knowledge using systematically organized methods. Methods or research design are the steps to be taken in the research process. According to Sarosa that design or research design is a plan that is prepared by researchers to answer the formulation of the problem. The research design is a guide for researchers in carrying out the research process.

Research on the governance of cadre formation in political parties in the reform era in Indonesia through the implementation of human capital uses a mix of quantitative methods using correspondence analysis and qualitative research methods with an interpretive phenomenological approach. Andrew Mayo's theory of human capital is a reference in analyzing the governance of political party regeneration. The results of the research are more comprehensive and have differences from previous studies in examining the implementation of human capital in political parties.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The gap between the demands of idealism and pragmatism of political parties today cannot be separated from the historical construction of Indonesia's past. The birth of Indonesian political parties has a close connection with the ethical political policies of the Dutch colonial government. It is characterized by the public expression of freedom of opinion and the formation of political parties. At that time, people formed political parties to fight for independence.[8]

After independence, Indonesia's political history was divided into 4 (four) periods of power, namely Constitutional Democracy (1949-1958), Guided Democracy (1959-1965), Pancasila Democracy (New Order) (1966-1998), and Reform Order (1998-Present).). At the beginning of independence, political parties were formed to give freedom to the people to express the widest possible state life.

As many as 30 political parties were involved in the implementation of the first general election. The 1955 election was the first national election. Previously, Indonesia had held local elections, namely in Minahasa and Yogyakarta in 1951. From all the elections held in Indonesia, the 1955 election clearly showed the ideological nuances of democratic political parties. Each political party sells big political ideas and minimal fraud in its implementation. The figures that emerge are political party cadres who have the quality and competence. Even so, there were ideological clashes between parties which led to elite conflict and acts of violence among sympathizers.

The multi-party system continued until the beginning of the New Order came to power. Ten political parties became contestants in the 1971 general election. The New Order regime reduced the number of parties to three contestants participating in the 1977 election. The three contestants were Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI) dan Golongan Karya (Golkar).[9] It was during the New Order era that political parties were only limited to complementing democracy and the legitimacy of power. Golkar has a central role in government and power compared to the other two contestants.

The collapse of the New Order regime provided an opportunity for political parties to reappear as quality political parties and elections. Political parties have played a very important role since the 1998 reform with the issuance of Law No. 02 of 1999 concerning Political Parties. The product of the policy on political parties after the reformation was in the form of significant changes to the representation system, the establishment of political parties and the mechanism for electing the president/regions. The reform order in 1998 was a turning point for democracy. Amendments to the 1945 Constitution which were considered 'sacred' by the New Order, can now be amended through the MPR. The 1945 Constitution was amended four times. This shows that there is a change in paradigm and state order in the political system in Indonesia. Likewise, reforms occurred in state legal institutions with the birth of the Constitutional Court and the Judicial Commission.

Democracy requires the existence of political parties, therefore modern democracy cannot exist without political parties. Political parties play an important role in a democratic government system in encouraging citizens to actively participate in politics and elections to public office. This statement reinforces that political parties must have a good cadre governance design to prepare political party cadres to manage power. It is not the 'karbitan' cadres who often appear in every election contestation, because political parties do not have popular and qualified cadres to compete with.

Conceptual problem

The conceptual problem that arises in political parties is the regeneration system of political parties that is unable to build cadre capacity in the absence of capacity standardization in the cadre recruitment process. Starting to shift the quality of cadre capacity from competence and integrity capacity to financial capacity is the main cause of internal problems in political parties. The personal motivation of cadres is still unstable and always changing when political party cadres have occupied legislative and regional head positions.

Organizationally, the organizational climate of political parties is periodic, only before elections, programs, and work systems not carried out continuously and continuously. Political parties do not have integrated teamwork, political work in political parties depends on the interests of a cadre as a member of the legislature or regional head. The conceptual problem at the leadership level is that the leadership role in the lower regions is not able to translate the vision, mission, and policy direction of the top leadership in a systematic, effective, and applicable manner. In contrast, top-level leadership is unable to strategically absorb all aspirations and communications from lower-level leadership.

Identify factual issues

The problem of regeneration of political parties can be identified as a factual problem, namely the unavailability of a qualified and competitive cadre stock, causing political parties to open recruitment to the public. Open recruitment of cadres for candidates for legislative members and candidates for regional heads without any stringent selection and criteria, so that the orientation of open recruitment of cadres is only oriented towards increasing popularity and electability. The capacity of political cadres as candidates for the legislative member and regional head candidates

is measured by how much their economic ability contributes to the operational financing of political parties, giving rise to the phenomenon of political "mahar - dowry amid" a regeneration crisis. It is not surprising then that the public is also familiar with the terms political dowry, political fees, money politics, and even political alms. The phenomenon of nominating non-cadre figures is closely related to financial issues without regard to the understanding and ideology of political parties.

The control of the political party structure is weakened towards cadres who have strategic positions on regional heads and the legislature. This ultimately led to communication barriers between party structures and cadres who became legislative officials and regional heads. The vision and mission of legislative officials and regional heads are no longer aligned with the vision and mission of the political party structure. This often raises the phenomenon of cadres 'hopping fleas' when there are political sanctions against cadres who are deemed no longer in line with the policy lines of political parties. Cadres who occupy legislative positions and regional heads prefer to change political parties which are considered to have a great chance in the general election. Organizationally, the work orientation of political parties is dominant in winning elections alone, political education programs that have a long impact on educating the public are not running as they should. The work of political parties is only visible in the moments leading up to the general election.

The existence of open election contestation not only increases cadre competition between political parties but also within political parties. Each candidate for the legislature and regional head candidates competing in the general election does not focus on the victory of the political party that carries it.. Internal conflicts of political party cadres arise when each cadre has the same program and political machine. The internal friction of political party cadres becomes a phenomenon in itself when the distribution of resources and support from political party structures to cadres as candidates for legislative members and candidates for the regions is unequal.

Recruitment of cadres is open for leadership levels of political parties of all levels not based on competence but based on considerations of seniority, financial strength, and power, giving rise to weak and not visionary leadership qualities in the eyes of the political party structure and cadres at lower levels. Huge political costs encourage leaders of any level in political parties to have

personal agendas that are not aligned with the structure of the political parties that carry them. The leadership style of political party cadres who are elitist does not accommodate suggestions and input from cadres at lower levels.

Construction of human capital elements of political parties

The construction of the implementation of political party human capital in the governance of regeneration begins with a tiered recruitment pattern. Gaps in recruitment will make it easier to map the capacity of political party cadres. Cadre mapping is important to measure the maturity and quality of cadres, so there are no things that are instantaneous and vague. The division of cadre level clusters: beginner cadres, intermediate cadres, and main cadres is the basis for the party structure to make policies to determine the best cadres to become candidates for legislative members and candidates for regional heads. The level of electability for legislative members and candidates for regional heads are supporting indicators for the election of a cadre. Building a network for a politician with political parties and the community is the basis for supporting the development of his potential.

Measuring the capacity of political party competence and educational level of cadres is the main consideration for political parties in determining the standardization of political party cadres. Measuring the capacity of political party cadres by assigning structures in the field, undergoing a certain level of political education and the status cadre of cadres are the strengths of political parties in the process of cadre management.

Political education as a dialogic process between the giver and receiver of messages. Through this process, community members recognize and learn the values, norms, and political symbols of their country from various parties in the political system, such as schools, government, and political parties. (Surbakti)

Consistency of self-motivated political party cadres to always bring up political ideas is needed in building attitudes and loyalty as well as the big goals of political parties. Pragmatism and thinking for personal gain will be eroded by the consistency of these cadres. The influence of a cadre's self-motivation by itself becomes the foundation for building party motivation. Bringing up statesmanship based on constituent interests and defending the country is one of the important

points to always maintain the dignity of political parties and at the same time think about people's welfare.

The development of mass-based political party work programs makes the existence of political parties felt by the mass of their supporters. The role of cadres of political parties in the regions to always contribute to the performance of local governments is an indicator of the health of democracy at the regional level. The role of political parties at the central level has always encouraged and contributed to national development. Programs that are oriented towards people's welfare should have become a priority for political parties.

Productive collaboration between cadres is formed because there is cooperation in supporting programs and ideas with the principle of tolerance as asih such as ing ngarso sung tulodo, ing madya Bangun karsa, tut wuri handayani (philosophy of leadership in traditional Javanese culture). Building productive programs for political parties by accommodating the aspirations of constituents as well as becoming political education for the community. Political education is teaching people to understand and live up to the values embodied in an ideal political system.

Leaders clearly understand the vision and mission of political parties. Build cadre loyalty to higher leadership and have commitment and consistency in carrying out the vision and mission of political parties. Cadres of leaders should be role models for political parties and actions for political parties and become members of political parties. According to Veithzal and Mulyadi[10], formal internal regeneration efforts can be pursued in several ways as follows: a). Giving the opportunity to occupy the position of co-leader, to appoint or formally provide an opportunity for a young leader candidate to assume a leadership position. b) Leadership training inside or outside the organization, providing opportunities for members of the organization to take part in a program to prepare prospective leaders. c) Giving learning assignments to prepare qualified prospective leaders in an organization, it is necessary to carry out cadre activities by providing learning assignments at educational institutions of a higher level, for potential members, it is expected that a cadre will increase their knowledge, insight, and skills in leading. d) Assignment as the top leader of a unit, regeneration can be done by assigning a member to be the top leader in one of the branches or its representative in the region.

Human capital implementation strategy

Clusterization of political party schools for each cadre level (elementary, secondary, primary) is needed to provide a gradual understanding of political education. Standardization of the system of regeneration of political parties. Development of character education with cadre integrity. Political parties have programs to carry out ongoing training for cadres so that they become a benchmark for viewing cadre motivation. The development of the organizational culture of political parties by implementing a system of punishment and rewards is one of the methods to increase the productivity of cadres.

Intensive and regular excavation of field data by blusukan to the mass base in the framework of fostering and aspirational netting makes cadres have accurate data according to the needs of the community. The strategic steps of political parties in preparing work plans and policies by forming a team of party expert staff accompanying regional heads and factions in the legislature as data and research centers. Strengthening national development planning through political manifestos is the national contribution of political parties to the nation's democratic process.

Running party programs with the principles of effectiveness, a barometer of the maturity of political parties in society. Building mass communication by explaining to the constituent base of each cadre is a strategy to accelerate the process of socialization and internalization of sustainable political party programs.

The continuity of the existence of political party leadership occurs when there is a breakthrough program for strengthening party schools and political practice. Political parties play a role in increasing pioneering and providing leadership opportunities for the younger generation through a balanced composition of the political party management structure of 50% of the senior generation and 50% of the younger generation of successors.

Correspondence Analysis

The following data measures the level of pragmatism and idealism of political parties in society randomly and openly.

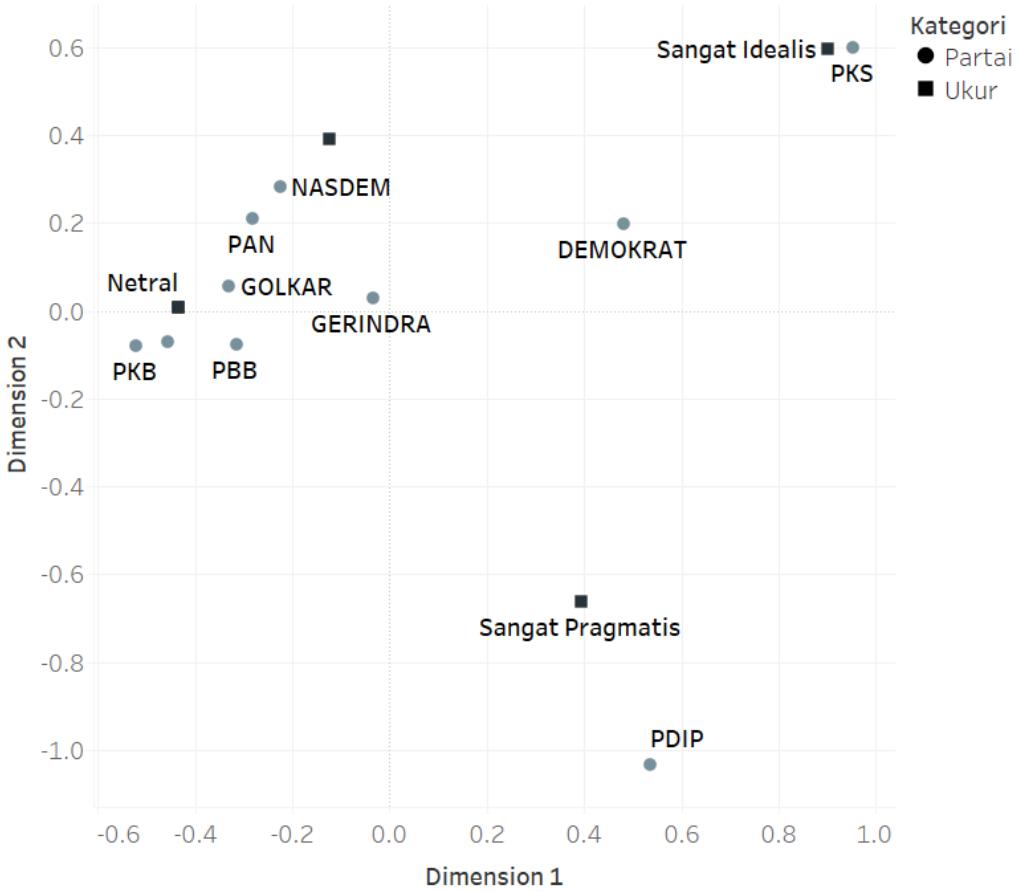


Figure 2: Level of pragmatism and idealism of political parties

Source: Processed from the results of the analytical correspondent researchers

From the data obtained, it is stated that PDIP is the most pragmatic party in compiling activity programs in the community. The Prosperous Justice Party is the most idealistic. Other political parties dominate the middle ground between pragmatists and idealists.

The following data measures the openness of the process of regeneration and cadre-based political parties in society randomly and openly.

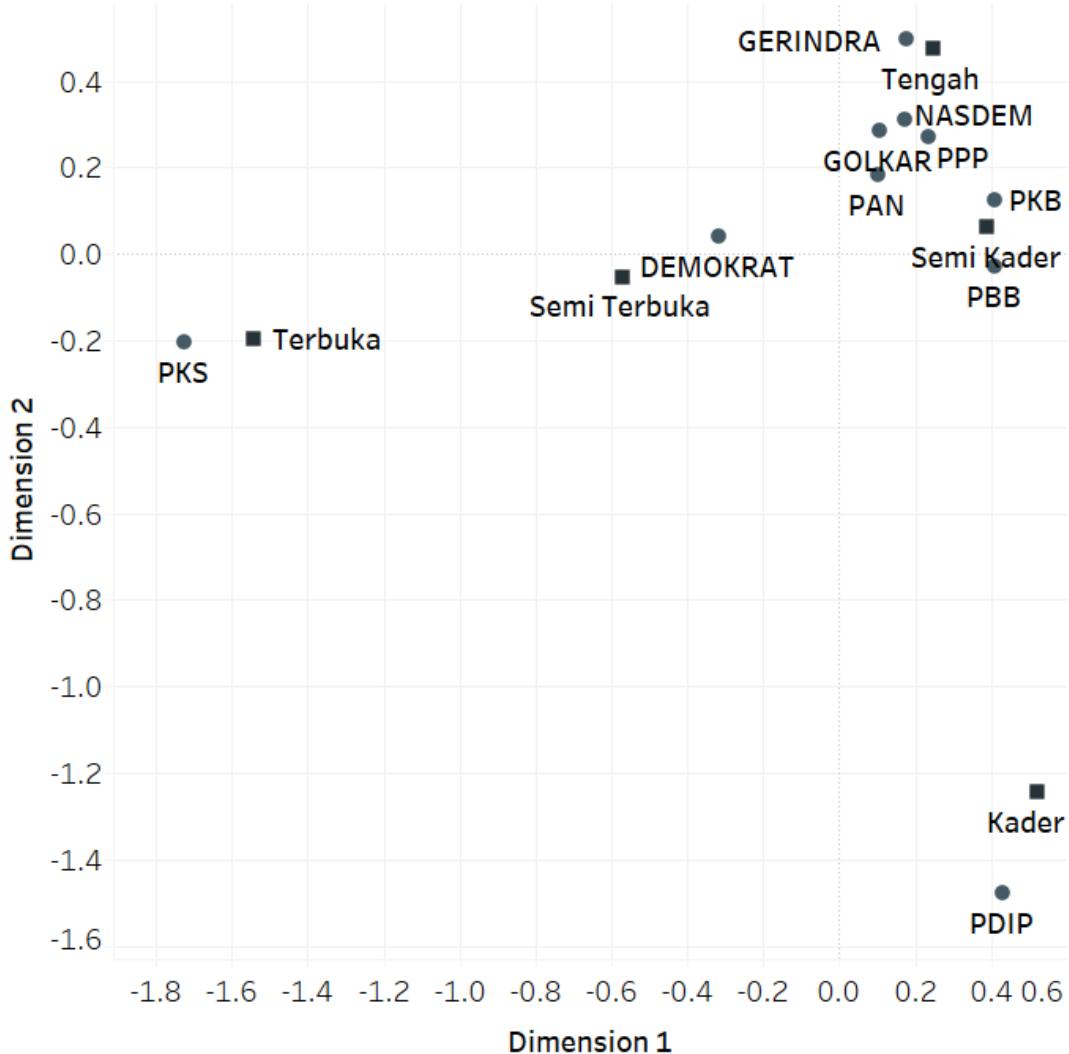


Figure 3: level of pragmatists and idealists political party

Source: Processed from the results of the analytical correspondent researchers

Measuring political parties enter into the category of open political parties or cadre political parties in society openly. PKS is the most open party compared to other political parties, while PDIP is a cadre party compared to other parties.

CONCLUSION

The conceptual problem that arises in political parties is the regeneration system of political parties that is unable to build cadre capacity in the absence of capacity standardization in the cadre recruitment process. The problem of regeneration of political parties can be identified as a

factual problem, namely the unavailability of qualified and competitive cadres, causing political parties to open recruitment to the public. The construction of the implementation of political party human capital in the governance of regeneration begins with a tiered recruitment pattern. Gaps in recruitment will make it easier to map the capacity of political party cadres. Clusterization of political party schools for each cadre level (elementary, secondary, primary) is needed to provide a gradual understanding of political education.

Using the human capital concept design according to Andrew Mayo in this study includes; individual capability, individual motivation, the organizational climate, workgroup effectiveness, and leadership. The results of the research show that the dynamics of political party strategies in managing regeneration with a human capital approach have not been implemented consistently with regular, structured and measurable sustainability programs.

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