

The Influence of Internal Conflict on Party Institutionalization: Case Study of the Democratic Party 2010-2015

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Abstract

This study was motivated by conflicts that occurred within the Democratic Party and aimed to be able to see the development of the institutionalization of the Democratic Party both before the conflict occurred and after the conflict occurred within the Democratic Party. In this context and background, this research then be carried out. This study aimed to find answers related to how internal conflicts within the Democratic Party can affect the institutionalization of the Democratic Party. In analyzing this research, researchers used conflict theory and party institutionalization theory. This study used a descriptive qualitative research method. In data collection techniques, primary data was obtained through interviews with relevant informants, and secondary data was obtained through studies of various references from books, search of various sites containing research results, documents of political parties. The results of this study indicated that the internal conflict of the Democratic Party was influenced by the power struggle that occurs within the party. The occurrence of this conflict was also based on the dominance of a strong elite in influencing the course of the organization. Thus, the strong personification of figures in the Democratic Party has a negative impact on the institutionalization of the Democratic Party in the organizational aspects of political parties. The occurrence of this conflict was also based on the dominance of a strong elite influencing the course of the organization. Thus, the strong personification of figures in the Democratic Party has a negative impact on the institutionalization of the Democratic Party in the organizational aspects of political parties. The occurrence of this conflict was also based on the dominance of a strong elite influencing the course of the organization. Thus, the strong personification of figures in the Democratic Party has a negative impact on the institutionalization of the Democratic Party in the organizational aspects of political parties.

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Abstrak

Studi ini dilatarbelakangi oleh adanya konflik yang terjadi di internal Partai Demokrat dan bertujuan untuk dapat melihat perkembangan pelebagaan Partai Demokrat baik yang berjalan sebelum terjadinya konflik hingga pasca terjadinya konflik di internal Partai Demokrat. Dalam konteks dan latar tersebut selanjutnya penelitian ini akan dilakukan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mencari jawaban terkait dengan bagaimana konflik yang terjadi di internal Partai Demokrat dapat mempengaruhi institusionalisasi di Partai Demokrat. Dalam melakukan analisis terhadap penelitian ini, peneliti menggunakan teori konflik dan teori institusionalisasi partai. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Dalam Teknik pengumpulan data, data primer di peroleh melalui metode wawancara dengan informan yang terkait, dan data sekunder di peroleh melalui studi dari pelbagai referensi yang berasal dari buku, penelusuran terhadap pelbagai situs yang memuat hasil riset, dokumen partai politik. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terjadinya konflik internal Partai Demokrat di pengaruhi pada adanya perebutan kekuasaan yang terjadi di internal partai. Terjadinya Konflik tersebut juga didasari pada adanya dominasi elit yang kuat dalam mempengaruhi jalannya organisasi. Sehingga, kuatnya personifikasi figur di Partai Demokrat tersebut memberikan dampak negatif terhadap pelebagaan Partai Demokrat pada aspek kesisteman organisasi partai politik.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The existence of political parties is an important part in realizing people's political democracy. The presence of political parties is also very vital in connecting the people as owners of power with the government as the people's mandate in government. In this way, political parties are seen

as institutions or platforms that enable society to enter into the political system. Because, it is through political parties that the public can be directly involved in every policy determination and decision making, an effort to consolidate political interests which of course leads to ownership of the influence of the political system.

The importance of political parties is not only limited to the people's political means, political parties must also be able to run progressively and innovate in improving the quality of their institutions, so that they can become political winners among other political parties. Just as experts define political parties, including Sigmund Neumann quoted (Miriam Budiardjo, 2008:403) as follows:

"Political parties are organizations of political activists who seek to control government power and win people's support on the basis of competition against other factions that do not agree."

In this explanation, it can be interpreted that political parties are political institutions that have a structure and function to achieve goals, so that the goal of political party contestation is victory for power, progress and stability in modern politics.

The presence of political parties in Indonesia has had a long journey. In the pre-independence era, political parties were a tool in the struggle to achieve independence. Such as the birth of *Syarikat Islam* and *Boedi Oetomo*, which were non-political mass groups but developed into political parties.

After Indonesian independence, political developments were again marked by the existence of a Presidential Decree issued on 3 November 1945 by Moh. Hatta on the recommendation and granting of permits for the formation of political parties in Indonesia. This gave political parties free space to play their role as political institutions, where during this period of two years until 1947, political parties through the power they had were able to overthrow the government and experience changes in the government cabinet three times.

Political parties are one of the fundamental institutions within the framework of democracy which cannot be separated from the dynamics that occur both internally and externally to parties, where the whole influences the course of political strategy to the political role of parties in the political system. Dynamics that tend to conflict become a necessity in political parties, this cannot be excluded from every relationship between humans.

Emergence Conflict will always be preceded by differences of opinion and differences of interests. The meaning of interest can basically be interpreted as a material desire which then all ends in power.

Raphael Zariski (2017) explains that basically the goals of factions are very diverse, including maintaining patronage as well as the power of control of one faction over the party, the power to influence party strategy and policy, and proposing a new set of values. However, Novri Susan (2009) states that conflict does not always have a negative connotation, within specific limits, conflict has a positive role and function, when its emergence is balanced by good management.

Dynamics What happens internally in political parties always results in a decline in the performance of political parties so that political parties cannot carry out their roles optimally. As a progressive institution, this will of course greatly interfere with the actualization of the party's political strategies to support its electorate.

In Indonesia, the internal conflicts of political parties are often an interesting discussion and are always related to how parties are institutionalized or even the political system in Indonesia itself. This political party conflict has been going on for a long time in Indonesia. In fact, the tendency for the conflict to occur has given rise to new political institutions just like the conflict that has occurred within the *Golkar Party* since the reform era.

Internal party conflicts also occur within the *Democratic Party*. The party, which was founded in 2001, is a new political party with the best achievements in its first election. As a new party, the *Democratic Party* certainly has good and massive political power in achieving the party's political targets. This was also marked by the success of the *Democratic Party* in delivering *Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)* as President of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2004 presidential

election.

The conflict that occurred within the Democratic Party during the 2010-2015 executive period did not give birth to new parties, but had an impact on the weakening of institutionalization within the party. The institutionalization that took place in the Democratic Party in the early period of General Chair Anas Urbaningrum's leadership had many series of works aimed at increasing the electability of the party both in terms of quality and quantity in the form of winning votes that increased from before, moreover maintaining victory in the 2014 presidential election. -2019. It can be seen that during Anas Urbaningrum's leadership, institutionally the Democratic Party had a strong position institutionally, moreover politically, Anas urbaningrum was considered a potential presidential candidate in the 2014 election.

However, due to this internal conflict, the party's institutionalization plan was halted when there was a 'crawling coup' which resulted in the decline of Anas Urbaningrum from the position of chairman of the Democratic Party.

This research basically aims to examine the dynamics that occur within the party and find out how conflicts occur within the Democratic Party which then influence institutionalization. This is based on the weakening of the Democratic Party's structure due to internal dynamics. Thus, this research argues that the dynamics of political parties which lead to internal conflict have a negative impact on the institutionalization process of the Democratic Party, thereby forming personality institutional values with the strong influence of SBY within the Democratic Party during the dynamics that occur within the party.

This issue will contain a discussion regarding changes in institutional characteristics resulting from internal conflicts that occurred in the Democratic Party. Conflicts that occur within the party which are based on the struggle for power and influence in the organization make the internal Democratic Party unable to carry out its institutional strategy politically in facing elections. This is of course based on weakening institutional solidity and the cadre's dilemma in carrying out the instructions given.

As a newcomer in political contestation, the Democratic Party has a good position in the community, this is evidenced by the election of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who is a cadre of the Democratic Party, as President of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2004 presidential election. The election of SBY as president also had an impact on the election of the Democratic Party by reaching 5th place in his first election.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

The approach used in this research was a type of qualitative research that is descriptive explanatory in nature. According to Creswell (2016) qualitative research is a type of research that explores and understands the meaning in a number of individuals or groups derived from social problems. Thus this research attempted to provide a detailed description of the phenomena that occur and attempt to develop data analysis regarding the institutionalization of the Democratic Party and the positioning of agent-structures in carrying out their roles. And the choice of a qualitative approach in this research was to make it easier for researchers to examine and understand existing data.

In data collection techniques, primary data was obtained through interviews with relevant informants, and secondary data was obtained through studies of various references from books, searches of various sites containing research results, political party documents. According to Sugiyono (2012), 224) data collection techniques are the most strategic steps in research, because the main purpose of research is to collect data. In this study, interviews were used as a data collection process, namely to be able to dig up information about the context and background related to the Democratic Party's internal conflict and institutionalization in the Democratic Party.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Conflict and Corruption Case Anas Urbaningrum

The Democratic Party in the 2009 period had a strong slogan as the party's identity to the

public, namely SAY NO TO CORRUPTION. The tagline disseminated through advertisements in the national media aimed to build public opinion that the Democratic Party was a party that is firm and rejects corrupt practices.

Corruption was indeed an important part that must be dealt with firmly for every perpetrator so that the Democratic Party as a government party actively promotes rejection of corruptors. SBY, who is the President as well as the Democratic Party's Board of Trustees, declared a war against corruption when addressing the Communication Forum for the Founders and Decelerators of the Democratic Party (FKPD-PD). In addition, as the Board of Trustees, SBY also urged every cadre who was caught in a corruption case to leave the party as soon as possible and the party was also committed not to protect any member involved in the case.

As the winning party in 2009, of course, such a slogan is considered capable of crossing the boundaries of many layers of society in gaining a large number of votes. This campaign technique is considered effective in building a political image with the massive distribution of the campaign through national television media.

However, the Democratic Party's slogan is inversely proportional and irrelevant to what is then conveyed. Many Democratic Party cadres have been caught in corruption cases within the government. Moreover, the corruption case ensnared many Democratic Party elites who held both executive and legislative positions in the 2009-2014 period.

The corruption case that has become the subject of much debate was the case that was alleged against Anas urbaningrum over the corruption in the Wisma Hambalang Project. Anas allegedly received a prize for working on the project while still serving as the Democratic Party faction in Parliament. Examination on Anas' alleged corruption has indeed been going on since mid-2012 but the process seems to have political content.

However, the corruption that occurred among several party members and the alleged case against Anas has also been clearly seen in the court decisions and sentences imposed on several party members.

For some circles, among several political observers and Anas loyalists, the case that was alleged against Anas was very political in nature and was behind the interests of someone who took advantage of the situation. It is considered that the determination of Anas' status as a suspect until the leak of the sprindik is considered to have involved the political power of someone who wants the process of determining Anas to be carried out as soon as possible.

The conditions of the case that ensnared Anas at that time were used by some groups to overthrow Anas Urbaningrum from the chair of the Democratic Party. So this was later considered to be a crawling coup carried out against Anas Urbaningrum.

Regarding Anas' resignation as general chairman, this is the right decision for the safety of the party, as a party that rejects corrupt practices, of course this incident will degrade the Democratic Party as an institution.

2. Conflict Between Actors in the Struggle for Power

The struggle for power is always synonymous with fighting between groups that have higher interests, which tends to result in conflict. Conflict according to the KBBI explanation can be interpreted as a tension or conflict between two forces or two figures. In other words, any friction that occurs which results in enmity between groups can be considered as a conflict even if one party rejects this assumption. Besides that, conflict can also be interpreted as a relationship between two parties or better, individuals or groups who have goals or objectives with no common path (Simon Fisher, 2001).

The conflict that occurred within the Democratic Party was caused by a power struggle within the party. The power struggle is based on the interests of inter-elite who want to obtain legality and control overall every decision-making and the political strategic interests of the party in the legal management structure. This issue later became the presumption of internal conflict within the Democratic Party in the 2010-2015 period.

As an inclusive political party, the democratic party is considered capable of maintaining good institutions while maintaining structural circulation within the institution, at least from its inception in 2001 to 2010 the democratic party has held two congresses aimed at rotating leadership in the democratic party. The first congress took place in Bali in 2005 with the election of Hadi Utomo as the second general chairman.

Then at the second congress in 2010, the candidate for chairman was followed by three candidates for chairman, namely Andi Mallarangeng who was supported by SBY, Anas Urbaningrum and Marzuki Alie who was the chairman of the DPR. And Anas Urbaningrum was elected as general chairman of the Democratic Party for the 2010-2015 period

The Second Congress of the Democratic Party seemed to be full of political interests among party elites, as a candidate for general chairman, Anas Urbaningrum was once asked to withdraw from his candidacy as general chairman of the Democratic Party.

The involvement of elites in the second congress of the Democratic Party made it clear that the nomination of general chairman in the Democratic Party was very strongly influenced by the interests of other party elites at that time. Anas urbaningrum then attempted to restore a conducive atmosphere within the Democratic Party after the congress by asking SBY for permission to make Edhi Baskoro Yudhoyono the secretary general of the Democratic Party.

Anas' presence in the nomination for chairman of the Democratic Party seemed very undesirable to the Democratic Party elite at that time. In fact, in the second round of elections, Andi Mallarangeng, who lost in the first round, gave his support to Marzuki Alie, but Anas' political strength was quite strong and managed to win the election for general chairman of the Democratic Party for the 2010-2015 period.

The election of Anas Urbaningrum as General Chair of the Democratic Party as a result of the Second Congress in Bandung shows that Anas' existence is part of the democratic implementation of the general chairman election within the Democratic Party. However, the election of Anas is proof that SBY has no control over the Second Congress. Anas Urbaningrum, who is not from the SBY camp, is considered to be able to weaken SBY's dominance in the Democratic Party. Apart from that, Anas' presence is seen as disrupting the implementation of the party's principles, where in Anas' political attitude while he was general chairman, there was a tendency for Anas to run the Democratic Party institution based on his personal interests.

The success of the Second Congress in Bandung, which gave birth to a general chairman in a democratic manner, resulted in disharmony between the fighting factions. Namely between the SBY faction and the Anas Urbaningrum faction.

This intra-party disharmony was marked by a conflict that culminated in 2013. This conflict was triggered by allegations of corrupt practices involving several members of the Democratic Party, including Anas Urbaningrum himself. In early 2013, Anas Urbaningrum was involved in the Hambalang project scandal, namely the construction project of the Hambalang Athlete House in Bogor, West Java, which allegedly involved corrupt practices by receiving award money from Anas. There are groups that take advantage of this situation to overthrow the leadership of Anas from the Democratic Party.

The faction that supports Anas Urbaningrum is trying to protect Anas and prevent the possibility of changing leadership within the party. However, there is a faction with strong SBY support that is trying to take over the leadership of the party and replace Anas Urbaningrum as General Chair.

Meanwhile, regarding the issue of conflict in the process of his resignation, Anas urbaningrum was rejected by several cadres of the Democratic Party who were also active in the 2010-2015 period in the Democratic Party.

The existence of elite influence in the internal problems of the Democratic Party occurs when there is an agenda issue planned by some of the Democratic Party elites. This was based on a meeting between the Party Advisory Council and elements from the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) which was held in Cikeas. The suspicion of this activity as an internal

consolidation to remove general chairman Anas urbaningrum was due to Anas' absence at the meeting. Basically if the meeting is a party meeting, of course Anas as general chairman is no longer limited to being an invitee but is the invitee in the activity.

This conflict reached its peak in March 2013, when an extraordinary congress of the Democratic Party was held in Bali. At this congress, there was fierce debate between the two factions and support was divided among party members. The commotion at the Congress subsided and finally decided Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), President of Indonesia at that time and one of the founders of the Democratic Party, as General Chair of the Democratic Party. This decision effectively made SBY the replacement general chairman for Anas until 2015. If it is related to the context of the party's growth, what was conveyed by Afan Gaffar is that the atmosphere reflects the orientation of the political elite (Nurhasim, 2013) where researchers assess that there is coercion of will by individuals in the party democrats over the mechanism of the election process and the appointment of SBY as general chairman of the democratic party.

3. Elimination of Anas Loyalists from the Democratic Party

Every conflict that occurs in the struggle for interests certainly has an impact on the group which ultimately experiences defeat. Apart from not getting the power they want, the group that loses will also experience indirect degradation internally. In the case of the conflict that occurred within the Democratic Party between the Anas Urbaningrum faction and the faction led by SBY, it resulted in many Anas loyalists being eliminated from the Democratic Party, both in the party's internal structure to the party's external structure, namely the Democratic Party faction in parliament.

The elimination of Anas loyalists from the Democratic Party is of course related to political problems resulting from the conflict. Under SBY's leadership as general chairman as a result of the KLB, SBY then immediately rotated management within the Democratic Party. This rotation then developed into the structure of members of the Democratic Party faction in parliament.

In the preparation of the new management led by SBY, many Anas loyalists were not included in the Democratic Party structure including the names Mirwan Amir, I Gede Pasek and Irfan Gani, the three names of the main figures in the Anas faction were not included in the structure of the Democratic Party DPP. Of the names included in the Anas faction, only Saan Mustopa was included in the party structure under SBY's leadership.

This rotation occurred among 12 members of the Democratic Party faction who were part of the DPR Budget Body. Where all of these members are Anas loyalists in the election for general chairman of the Democratic Party at the Second Congress in Bandung. In addition to the rotation that took place at the DPR Banggar, rotation was also carried out for Saan Mustopa who is the secretary of the Democratic Party faction and Gede Pasek Suardika who holds the position of Chair of Commission III of the DPR. Both of them were replaced from the positions they held by members of other Democratic Party factions. The rotation of the Democratic Party is seen as a step for the Democratic Party to be able to eliminate all Anas loyalists in Parliament, according to Firman Noor, quoted from lipi.go.id.

4. Internal Failure of the Democratic Party

Political party institutionalization is a process of strengthening political parties which aims to make political party institutions ideal as they should be. The institutionalization process must of course be accompanied by the fulfillment of aspects that are indicators of an ideal political party institution. In this section, the occurrence of conflict within the party has a negative influence and hinders the process of institutionalizing the ideal political party. In this discussion, two aspects or dimensions are used to see the failure of Democratic Party institutionalization as a result of the conflict.

a. Organizational Aspects

In looking at the institutionalization of political parties through the systemic aspect (systemness), it is related to the implementation of the functions of the political party which are carried out, all of which have been mutually agreed upon and also stipulated in the political party's AD/ART. This includes dealing with conflict resolution carried out according to agreed rules, requirements and procedures and other mechanisms.

The process of institutionalization in the Democratic Party has taken place when Anas was elected at the 2nd Congress of the Democratic Party in Bandung as General Chair of the Democratic Party. The procession certainly signals that the Democratic Party is truly an inclusive party and is open to every cadre to become a leader in that party. The election of Anas also opened up space for a positive public assessment by seeing the Democratic Party as a party that is also institutionally democratic. This was judged by the presence of Anas urbaningrum who was not part of the democratic party elite or even the founder of the party who was able to become general chairman of the Democratic Party.

Anas urbaningrum's advancement as general chairman certainly cannot be separated from the party's political mission and big agenda which must be carried out well. Moreover, the Democratic Party must also be able to prepare a party political plan to face the general and presidential elections in 2014.

In the Systemness dimension of Randall and Svasand's institutionalization theory, the election of Anas is certainly an important part of the Democratic Party institutionalization agenda. This is based on the implementation of the provisions that apply to the party, as stated in the Articles of Association regarding the principles and identity of the party, namely as an open party and Pancasila. This then breaks the view of the Democratic Party which is seen as a party of personal and authoritarian power.

This perception of a personal party occurred because of SBY's dominance in the early period of the Democratic Party's founding until the end of Hadi Utomo's period as general chairman. In that period, SBY seemed dominant in every party agenda and dynamics, both on internal issues such as conflict resolution and nominating a general chairman to other Democratic Party political strategic agendas.

In this way, Anas, who is not part of the SBY faction in the Democratic Party, certainly breaks the stigma of personalization that occurs in the Democratic Party. Apart from that, Anas' position as general chairman is an important part of institutionalizing the Democratic Party into an ideal party systemically.

Structurally, to resolve the view that assesses the disharmony of the relationship between the chairmen of the Board of Trustees, namely SBY and Anas as general chairman, Anas has sought permission from SBY to make his youngest son Edhi Baskoro Yudhoyono the general secretary of the Democratic Party. The efforts made by Anas were quite intelligent and polite even though SBY and Ibas were the ones who supported Andi Mallarangeng as General Chair at the congress.

Institutionalization efforts on the Value Infusion dimension carried out within the party are also running well, marked by the solid strength of the party from the central to the regional levels. This solidarity can be seen from the spirit of optimism of the DPD and DPC of the Democratic Party towards the leadership of Anas Urbaningrum. However, institutionalization efforts in the Democratic Party then stopped after the corruption case that befell Anas Urbaningrum. This case is considered to be part of an effort to coup Anas from the position of general chairman of the Democratic Party.

Anas' resignation from the chair of the general chairman of the Democratic Party certainly gave rise to a situation of loss of party leadership and left the party institutionally without a clear direction. This is because the function of the structure which is the party's political machine does not work well in planning the party's political agenda. Apart from that, Anas' resignation from the chair of general chairman also had an impact on many Democratic Party cadres who also resigned from the party. This was later revealed to be

a form of cadre loyalty to Anas' leadership which was deemed to have occurred in a stalled coup against Anas' leadership by elites in the Democratic Party.

Many cadres have resigned, and the division of cadres into factions has had a major influence on the failure of institutionalization of political parties. In addition to the struggle for different interests, the conflict that is engineered by the elite will certainly give the public a bad interpretation of the party, especially the interpretation of members of the political institution where the hopes for the political future of their nation gather.

The failure of Democratic Party institutionalization also occurred due to massive internal structural changes after the 2013 KLB, both structurally from party institutions to the composition of DPR members in the Democratic Party faction in parliament. A total of 22 members of the DPR Banggar from the Democratic Party were reshuffled on a large scale by the SBY camp. The 22 people who were withdrawn from the DPR Banggar were recorded as members of the Democratic Party, most of whom were Anas Urbaningrum loyalists. Even at the Second Congress of the Democratic Party, they were a team supporting the nomination of Anas Urbaningrum as a candidate for general chairman of the Democratic Party. The failure of this institutionalization lies in part in the failure to implement the Religious Nationalist ideology which previously became the main basis for the Democratic Party in managing its party by prioritizing the spirit of diversity. Structural changes within the party for reasons of group separation are certainly not justified if referring to the party ideology as stated in the AD/ART.

b. Value Identity Aspect

The failure of the institutionalization of democratic parties in the value identity dimension can be seen from the loss of Democratic Party loyalist power which has resulted in a weakening of public support for democratic parties.

In addition to loyalists who come from society in general, many loyalists who come from internal parties who are incorporated into the institutional structure of democratic parties, both from the central and regional levels, have resigned and moved to other parties. These setbacks are related to the application of party values that are no longer in line with party provisions and mechanisms contained in the party's AD/ART after the occurrence of internal party conflicts.

Apart from the lack of application of values in accordance with the party platform, the lack of understanding by every party member and loyalist regarding the identity of party values has given rise to the assumption that party loyalty is only formed in material transactions by prioritizing individual and group interests above the personal interests of political parties.

c. Aspects of autonomy

The aspect of decisional autonomy or policy autonomy is an aspect to see how the degree of autonomy of political parties is in every decision-making and refers to the relationship of political parties with every ecosystem that exists outside the party.

Through this aspect of policy autonomy, the failure of institutionalization can be seen from how decision making can occur based on authority centered on one main figure outside the management structure. In the 2013-2015 management period after the extraordinary congress, SBY as general chairman of the Democratic Party had strong authority in making strategic political decisions for the party. SBY's authority in the Democratic Party became even more absolute when SBY held 4 concurrent positions within the Democratic Party internally.

Apart from being general chairman, SBY also held positions as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Chairman of the Honorary Council and also Chairman of the High Council, although later SBY finally relinquished two of the four positions held by SBY.

With 4 positions held by SBY, of course he has coercive power over every decision taken

by SBY even though this is not in line with the wishes and aspirations that develop internally and externally in the party. This large authority certainly has a strong pressure which has an impact on weakening factions within the party from participating in decision making.

Thus, through this aspect of policy autonomy, the authors analyze that the obedience of every member of the Democratic Party does not only depend on party decisions, but also because SBY holds several positions at once in the Democratic Party. SBY's charisma has an impact that can be positive or even negative. In the positive aspect, the party has internal solidity and is directed with command policies. However, in a negative aspect, the Democratic Party failed in carrying out institutionalization with SBY's personal dominance in the Democratic Party.

d. Aspects of Public Image

In the aspect of reification or public knowledge, institutionalization failure occurred when public knowledge of the Democratic Party was only focused on the personal figure of SBY in the Democratic Party. SBY's persona in the Democratic Party is very attached and embedded in the public imagination of the Democratic Party. This problem arises as a result of the Democratic Party's long journey as a political party that has never been separated from SBY's charisma which is continuously exploited in every political agenda of the Democratic Party.

In the public's understanding of every party's actions, the public always considers that the actions taken by the Democratic Party in every strategic political agenda of the Democratic Party are always linked to SBY's involvement in making these decisions.

In addition, public knowledge of the Democratic Party also led to a negative assessment as a result of corruption cases that befell several members of the Democratic Party. In the 2010-2015 period, after the corruption cases of Democratic Party members emerged, through survey results, the public with their knowledge judged that members from the Democratic Party were the ones who committed a lot of corruption.

5. External Failure of the Party

As a political party, elections are an important point in maintaining the party's institutional existence. Legislative elections by winning the most votes and succeeding in becoming one of the parties that entered parliament

The failure of the Democratic Party in the 2014 election also started from the positioning of the Democratic Party among the voting public. The democratic party is considered to have failed in building its image to the public as a result of the many reports that discredit the democratic party institutionally, apart from that the personification that is focused on SBY as a central figure also occurs in shackles. So the central figures of the Democratic Party are unable to support the overall problem of the party's declining political image.

The political failure of the Democratic Party in the context of the impact of conflict on institutionalization is a manifestation of the non-institutionalization of the party in the systemic aspects and aspects of value identity. In the systemic aspect, the conflict that occurred internally with the resignation of Anas Urbaningrum from the chairman of the Democratic Party had an impact on changing the overall structure of the party, both at the central and regional levels. Thus giving effect to the weakening of the party's institutional structure in the early post-conflict period and making institutional effectiveness in the implementation of party programs not running optimally.

The weakening of the institutional structure is very possible due to structural confusion in carrying out party political programs. This is due to the lack of individual understanding of the new structure towards changes in communication patterns and changes in strategy making other structures awkward in implementing them. In addition, structural changes that occur internally can certainly slow down the running of the institution.

The conflict that occurred between these factions also had an impact on breaking up the solidity of Democratic Party members as a whole at every layer of the party structure. Many party members from the Anas faction were eliminated from the political structure both within the party's internal and parliamentary structures. This problem then became the reason for the weakening of the solidity of internal party members which also led to the weakening of party institutions, thus the implementation of the party's political strategy in facing elections did not go well.

Apart from that, in the value identity aspect, issues that developed in society showed that the instillation of party values in every loyalist who supported the party was divided into loyalists between the conflicting factions at that time. So that every loyalist who sees and knows about the conflict has their own perception in assessing how and what the causes are of the problems that develop within the party. So that in this aspect of value identity, the party platform and ideology are no longer the basis for every loyalist in providing support for the democratic party.

4. CONCLUSION

In this section the writer summarizes several conclusions which are the result of an analysis related to the object of research regarding the influence of internal conflict on party institutionalization. Overall, every conflict can have an impact on the object being debated. The conflicts that occurred within the Democratic Party had a negative impact on the development of the organization. The impact that arises from the conflict is of course the weakening of the party's institutional structure, this happens because the conflict that occurs was political friction between internal factions which as a whole certainly has dominant political power in the Democratic Party. The faction that loses in this political battle will of course be relegated from the Democratic Party either directly or indirectly. Directly, the faction or loyalist who loses in the conflict certainly does not have a strategic place within the party, this happens because it was hampered by the individual being able to enter internally with other factions or loyalists. So that the defeated faction members or loyalists only become political symbols in the Democratic Party. If it happens indirectly, namely an effort to remove every loyalist individual who loses from every political position they hold, this is like what happened with the replacement of 12 members of the DPR Banggar from the Democratic Party faction in the DPR. All of these members were removed from Banggar positions because they were seen as loyalists to Anas Urbaningrum at the Second Congress in 2010. In addition, a shift also occurred to Saan Mustopa who is the secretary of the Democratic Party faction and also Gede Pasek who is chairman of Commission III in the DPR. Both were replaced by other Democratic Party members apart from Anas Urbaningrum loyalists.

The internal conflict that occurred in the Democratic Party also had an impact on the failure of institutionalization of the party. Apart from weakening the party structure, the Democratic Party showed personality party characteristics. This can be seen from the individual personification of SBY in the Democratic Party itself. At the time of the conflict until after the conflict occurred, the Democratic Party was dominated by the figure of SBY, both in policy and in systemic aspects, giving SBY the dominant freedom in the Democratic Party.

Referring to Randal and Svasand's party institutionalization theory, there are several aspects that are indicators of party institutionalization, including system aspects, value identity and reification. The process of institutionalizing the Democratic Party after the conflict, the author uses all aspects of Randall and Svasand's theory of party institutionalization.

The results of this study using the dimensions of Randal and Svasand's theory found that, in a systemic or institutional aspect, democratic parties still look weak and do not show the existence of an ideal party institution. Basically, the internal agenda of the Democratic Party in the context of maintaining the circulation of party leadership is already running and appropriate based on the party's system and mechanism. However, the problem with party institutionalization when conflict occurs is that there are party provisions that are not implemented by other structures outside the leadership influence of the party chairman. This then shows that there is a tendency

for figures or individuals to want to take over party power by taking advantage of the circumstances and conditions that occur within the party and the general chairman.

In addition, when referring to the value identity aspect, the occurrence of internal party conflicts has an impact on shifting perceptions of the party and other strong individuals within it. The change in perception changed from having a shared view of ideology and also the goals of the party to a pragmatic direction, that is, to control the party's resources. So that there is ambiguity in interpreting party ideology and struggles and eliminating party identity and platforms in building party political continuity.

In the aspect of reification or public knowledge which is related to how political parties relate to each of their constituents. At its inception, the Democratic Party had a good position in society. As a new political party, the Democratic Party is seen as representing the new political hopes of society for the development of the nation and state, this hope is reflected through SBY's symbolism in the Democratic Party. However, after the occurrence of internal conflict which led to the weakening of party institutions, it had a negative impact on the political continuity of democratic parties in the face of elections. The Democratic Party lost its program and political platform because there was no strengthening of these two aspects, which made people confused about their political direction in the Democratic Party. So that in the political agenda of the Democratic Party in 2014, the Democratic Party appears to only rely on the figures of each regional legislative candidate in gaining votes. This then also shows the weakening of SBY's political popularity.

In looking at the personals of the Democratic Party, the typological approach of the party from Gunther and Diamond is the basis used to see the impact that occurs from SBY's domination of the Democratic Party. SBY's dominance in the Democratic Party shows that the Democratic Party is a personality party, where the Democratic Party relies on individual figures or strong patronage to charismatic leaders. In addition, the interactions that are built in democratic parties between leaders and members only work by prioritizing the capacity of loyalty without any commitment to program acceleration, ideology or organizational mechanisms. The three of them then disappeared from the value identity which became an aspect of party institutionalization.

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