

# Continuity and Change of Political Culture: Study on Scientific Insights and Political Understanding on Politicians of Political Parties in Indonesia

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Received: May 6, 2014 Accepted: May 28, 2014 Online Published: July 24, 2014

doi:10.5539/ass.v10n16p61

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5539/ass.v10n16p61>

## Abstract

The research problem formulated as follows: (1) How does scientific insight and understanding of politician toward political? (2) In the form of what are the politicians express that understanding and insight in the practice of party politics? This study used a qualitative approach, which is to collect data through interviews (in-depth interview) to politicians of political party. Once the data collected, it will be analyzed using descriptive qualitative method. In conclusion this study will produce a thick description about political understanding of the politicians of political party and how their mission and how they apply that understanding in political practice in the field. After doing research, the results are as follows: (1) in general the party politician of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the Democratic Party (Demokrat), People's Conscience Party (Hanura), Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), Party group work (Golkar) and National Mandate Party (PAN), a political understanding on a practical level, the party associated with the movement (low politics), (2) For PDIP, a political party that is a party and it is a place to formally take power through elections. This is similar to what was said by politicians that the Democrats are the politics party. A political party is a means of struggle and the party is to fight for the people's movement. For Hanura politician, political parties are organized in the form of containers struggle to realize the ideals. Hanura similar to the above statement, Golkar politician understand that politics is a political party or be used as a means of mobilizing the masses by way of approach or method appropriate for support to fight for the ideals or desires appropriate to the mass itself. Gerindra understand political cadres are a political party as a means of fighting for the ideals of the nation embodied in the Pancasila Indonesia. Last informant is politicians of a national mandate party (PAN). Unlike the previous, PAN officials said that politics is not just a mass movement, politics party, and popular movements to another. More than that politics is the willingness to establish justice and equality, and to realize a religious democratic.

**Keywords:** scientific insight, politics, political party

## 1. Introduction

In conceptual level politics and political practice is much different. In constitutional history, political understanding is constantly changing. In the study of political science, political scientists distinguish the meaning of general and special. The word "politics" is derived from the word "politikos" which indicates a personal nature or acts. Lexically, the origin of the word means "acting or judging wisely, well judges, prudent". The word is drawn from the Latin word politics and Greek which means politicos "Relating to a citizen. The second word is also derived from the word polis which means "city".

Political sense mentioned above is more general in nature. Judging from the context of his activities, according to a simple survey of the political activists who do not represent the statement as a whole-they see the political perspective that simple. Besides, because of the educational background and knowledge of politics is not enough, as well as interests and goals plunge in politics just for a specific purpose, such as the wish to be politicians, participants, administrators, legislators, and or the other, so it is more seen as a political partisan activity.

In the above context, it is interesting to do a study of the political party politician regarding their scientific' insights and understanding on politics. So that it can be acquired academic knowledge and the academic quality of the political actors who have an impact, particularly on governance and the state in general. Based on the

reasons stated above. The research problem can be formulated as follows: (1) How does scientific insight and understanding of politician toward political? (2) In the form of what are the politicians express that understanding and insight in the practice of party politics?

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 Political

What is meant by politics? And when did the term come from? Politics in understanding the Greeks translated as "city-state" (polis). The term was first introduced by Aristotle (384-322 BC). He departed from his observations about "man is essentially a political animal". With that he wants to explain, the nature of social life and interaction is really a political one another of two or more persons will certainly involve political relations. Aristotle saw this as a natural tendency and inevitable human and only a few people who tend to distance themselves from working with others.

When humans try to determine its position in society; when they are trying to achieve personal well-being through the resources available; and when they are attempting to influence others to accept his view, then they will see him busy with political activities. In this broad sense, everyone is a politician. Even so Aristotle concludes, the only way to maximize the ability of an individual and to achieve the highest form of social life is through political interaction with others in an institutional framework, a framework that is designed to solve social conflicts and to establish a collective goal-state. Therefore everyone is a politician, although some (state officials) do more political activity when compared with others.

In the 16th century until the early 20th century, "politics" is defined more narrowly than the notion that the Greeks understood. French political philosopher Jean Bodin (1530-1596) introduced the term "political science" (science politics). But because he was a lawyer, he saw the characteristics of the state led to a political science became associated with the organization of the institutions that have anything to do with the law. Montesquieu (1689-1755), argued that all of the functions of government can be put in the category of legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Based on this perspective can be understood that the experts of political science until the present, focusing on the organization and work system institutions that make laws, which carry and accommodate a conflict arising from different interests and a variety of interpretations of the law-legislation.

Is politics really scientific? Or how far "scholarship" can be achieved in understanding politics? None of the social sciences, including political science, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and economics, to achieve scientific status enjoyed by physics, chemistry, geology, physiology, astronomy or any other science disciplines. Thus, the real answer to the above question is a question of "more" or "less".

The tendency of political studies in the past. Plato (427-347 BC) is seen as the father of political philosophy, and Aristotle as the father of political science, in the West. Both are looking at the state of the perspective philosophers saw all knowledge is a unified whole. However, in contrast to Plato, Aristotle gives much more support for the generalization and preference values can be observed through the fact that the real (instead of intuitive insight of Plato). Greek political history, according to Aristotle, describes a state of the most stable, and most provide facilities for individuals to develop their rational abilities, a country which has widespread ownership of property, and substantially evenly distributed. Thus Aristotle has also pointed to the fact (actual political stability) that is relevant to the preference value (especially regarding the development of rational people).

If it is considered that the study of political science politics, it is essential to first discuss the political term. In the political science literature it turns out there are a variety of definitions of politics. In general it can be said that politics (politics) is a variety of activities within a political system (or state) relating to the process of determining the goals of the system and carry out those goals. Decision-making as to whether the objectives of the political system that involves the selection among several alternatives and arranging priorities of the goals that have been it.

To implement these objectives need to be determined policies (public policies) regarding arrangements and division (distribution) or allocation from existing sources. To implement wisdom, it is necessary to have power and authority, which will be used both to foster cooperation and to resolve conflicts that may arise in this process. In ways that can be worn persuasion (convincing) and if need be force (coercion). Without the element of coercion is only wisdom is the desire formulation (statement of intent) alone.

Politics always involves the goals of the entire community (public goals), and not one's personal goals (private goals). Anyway regarding the political activities of various groups including political parties and activities of individuals (people). The differences in definitions encountered, caused by any scholars see only one aspect or

element of politics. Elements that diperlakukannya as a central concept, which uses to see other elements. The basic concepts include; state, power, decision making, wisdom (policy, a regulation), sharing (distribution) or allocation (allocation).

### *2.2 Definition of Politics*

In some references classical and modern political terms have multiple meanings, namely: All matters and actions (tact, finesse, and so on) of the government of a country or to another country, guile or cunning, and also used as a name for a discipline of knowledge, namely political science. According to Noer (1982), is any political activity or attitude related to the mean power and influence, by changing or maintaining an arrangement of shapes society. According to Miriam Budiardjo said that politics (politics) is a variety of activities within a political system (or state) with respect to the process of determining the goals of the system and carry out those goals (Budiardjo, 1982). Soltou H. Reger (1960) said that the term (politics) is reserved for those roommates are common affairs under the direction of an authority or agency managing or controlling these affairs on behalf of, and in the name of the community. This agency or authority we call the state. Countries studied political science, state goals and institutions that will implement these objectives; the relationship between the state and its citizens as well as with other countries. Robert Dahl (1974) saying that politics is ... any persistent of human relationships that involves to a significant extent, control, influence, power or authority. According Barent J. (1965), Political science is the study of the life of the country ... which is part of the community life; political science studying these countries performs his duties.

### *2.3 Party System*

Party system and political parties are two different concepts. The system shows the format of the existence of inter-party politics in a particular political system. Referred to as specific, because of the different political systems in each country or even in a different country from the aspects of its history. The political system is known up to now be the Liberal Democracy, Military Dictatorship, Communist and authoritarian Contemporary.

Liberal democracy is a political system that does exemption of citizens to organize, establish political parties, express opinions, and the like. In a liberal democracy, political parties can develop naturally, joined between the parties with the other party voluntarily and are free to do opposition to government policy. Liberal democracy is now adopted in countries such as Indonesia, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, Philippines, and others.

Communist is a closed political system, in which freedom of association, including the setting up of political parties do not exist. In the communist political system, usually there is only one party that is legally established and ruled, namely the Communist Party. Party synonymous with government. Other parties abolished and if any already established, will be dissolved. Countries that still adhered to the communist political system are Vietnam, Cuba, and North Korea. In these countries, the Communist Party is the only party in power and should stand.

Contemporary is authoritarian political system in which the personality of the government (the president and his supporters) is very large. In authoritarian Contemporary, there is usually one dominant party and party some "extras". The government controls the existence of political parties and intervenes if there is a problem in the internal structure of the party. Indonesia during the New Order characterize this, where Golkar became the dominant party, while the PPP and PDIP as the party of "supernumerary". Other countries that impose this system are Singapore and Malaysia.

Military dictatorship is a government controlled by a military faction. Military dictatorships arise when the military judge usually civilian politicians are not able to resolve the problems that have been protracted. Military (one faction) then staged a coup and ruled directly without regard to political parties that exist. The government appears to resemble "war emergency", making it impossible political parties can move freely. Myanmar and Pakistan under General Musharraf is an example of the military dictatorship.

Party system is "a continuous pattern of competition and are stable, which always appear in every electoral process in each country". Party system depends on the type of political system in the country. In addition, it also depends on the plurality of ethnic, religious, economic, and political streams. The greater the degree of divergence of interests that exist in the country, the greater the number of political parties. In addition, the political systems that have been mentioned also influence the existing party system. Party system has not become established political art. That is, the classification procedure of the party system has not been agreed by the researchers of political science. However, the easiest and most research is done according to the number of parties competing in the political system. Peter Mair load in the following table.

Table 1. Party system

Researcher	Criteria Classification	Party System
Maurice Duverger (1954)	The number of party	1. Two-party system 2. Multiparty system
Robert Dahl (1966)	Competitive opposition	1. Pure opposition 2. Competitive cooperation 3. Competitive coalition 4. Pure coalition
Lionel Blondel (1963)	Number of parties: Relative size of the party	1. Two-party system 2. Two-party system and a half party system 3. Multiparty with one dominant party
Stanley Rokkan (1968)	Number of parties: Sometimes one party majority: minority party's power distribution	1. system 1 vs 1 + 1 British German 2. System 1 vs. 3-4 Scandinavia 3. Multiparty system 1 vs. 1 vs. 1 + 2-3
Giovani Sartori (1976)	Number of parties Distance of ideology	1. Two-party system 2. Moderate pluralism 3. Polarized pluralism 4. Ruling party systems

From the table above, it appeared several ways to classify the party system. Maurice Duverger do it according to the number of parties, according to Robert Dahl opositif scale competition, Blondel perform according to the size and number of relatively large party, Rokkan, according to the number of parties, sometimes the majority party, and the distribution power of minority parties, and Giovani Sartori according the number of parties and ideological distance between the parties.

Mair itself tends to refer to the classification Giovani Sartori as the closest to be used. The reason is, first, Sartori is the most comprehensive classification and can be applied to empirical cases (real). Second, it can be applied in countries with different number and the party system. For example, the United States uses a system of two parties, one of India's ruling parties (Congress), which is one of Malaysia's ruling parties (UMNO), Japan, the ruling party (Liberal Democrats). Third, the classification still considers the patterns of competition and interaction between the parties and fits with the notion of the party system itself. Fourth, he attributed the behavior of voters with the election results.

Two-party system by Sartori is a party system that is characterized by limited format and ideological distance is not too far away. For example occurred in the UK, where despite many parties standing, but only two parties that exist in every election, the Labour Party and the Conservative Party. This also happens in the U.S., where Republicans and Democrats are present in every election, to then hold the reins of government. Moderate Pluralism is a party system that is characterized by limited pluralism and ideological distance between the parties which is not too far away. It happened in Denmark. Pluralism is a polarized party system characterized by pluralism and magnitude of extreme ideological distance between the parties. It happened in Italy during the 1970s and Chile before the coup in 1973.

Ruling party is a party system that is characterized by one party always won seats in Parliament. As mentioned, this happens in Malaysia, India, and Japan. Parties running in the election still a lot, but the winners are the dominant party.

#### 2.4 Political Party

A political party is an organization that operates in the political system. Political parties have a long history in terms of the promotion of political ideas from the community level to the state level. Before further discussion, it would need to be given a definition of the political parties used in this study. A classic definition of the political parties put forward by Edmund Burke in 1839 in his "Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents." Burke stated that "the party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint Endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle upon the they are all agreed". Political party is an organization consisting of people who are united, for promoting national interests together, based on the principles and the things that they agree. Burke's definition appears to be still "abstract" and therefore not all empirically party promoting the national

interest. It appears for instance in the writings of Robert Michels of The Iron Law of oligarchy.

Robert Michels stated that the political party, as a political entity, as a mechanism, does not automatically identify him with the interests of its members is also social class they represent. Party deliberately set up as a tool for securing purposes. Also be part of the goal itself, has a purpose and interest in its own right. In a party, the interests of voters who have shaped party often forgotten and therefore hindered by bureaucratic interests that run leaders.

Another definition of the political parties put forward by Joseph Schumpeter in 1942 in his book *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. According to him, the political party is "... is a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for power .... Politicians and party machines are simply the response to the fact that the electoral mass is incapable of action other than in a stampede, and they constitute an attempt to regulate political competition exactly similar to the corresponding practice of a trade association." Political Party is a group whose members act primarily in terms of the struggle for power ... Party and its politicians is a simple example for a response to the inability of the masses to act apart from the untidiness of his organization, and they actually tried to regulate political competition like the same practice carried out by the association trade.

Schumpeter's definition is quite cynical; stating that political parties could play a role because of the voters (citizens) itself is not well organized to meet its interests in the country. Schumpeter also considered the political party is the same as a trader, in which commodities are bought and sold is a political issue that is paid to the voting by the voters. Joseph and Jeffrey Anderson Lapalombara also give their definition of a political party. According Lapalombara and Anderson, a political party is "... any political group, in possession of an official label and of a formal organization that links the center and locality, that presents at elections, and is capable of Placing through elections (free or non-free), candidates for public office (any political group, which has a label and an official organization that connects the center of power with the locality, which is present at the general election, and the candidate has the ability to put public officials through elections (either free or not free).

Lapalombara and Anderson's definition limits the political party as an official organization, recognized by the government, and follow the general election. A political party is a liaison between the center of power to localities (citizens scattered in various regions, religions, ideologies, and the like). Political parties serve to put people (candidates) for a public office.

Of these definitions are quite varied, can be drawn a conclusion that a political party is a political organization that is authorized, which aims to meet the interests of their constituents in a way control the government and put their members through the mechanism of the General Election. This definition is of course too simple but will be used in this paper.

### *2.5 Functions of Political Parties*

The function of a political party in any democracy is quite important. Primarily, this is associated with the function of representative interests that they bring elements of society: political parties translate these interests into public policy. Various authors have investigated the function of political parties. One of them was David McKay. In his study of political parties in the United States, he also concluded that political parties have a function: (1) Aggregation of interest-this is a function of the position of the party as a means to promote and defend the interests of social groups that exist. (2) Reconciling groups in society-this is a function of the position of the political parties to help reconcile the various competing interests and conflicts of society, by providing a uniform platform settlement and agreed. (3) Staffing-functioning government is a political party position to ask the people who will be a public official, either new or replace old ones. (4) Coordinate government agencies-this function is the position coordinate the various political parties are mutually different government agencies to keep attention to the political interests of the public. (5) Promote political stability-function is a function of political parties to promote political stability, for example by managing the issues that brought the group to the extreme non-party in parliament to look for a meeting point.

Other expert, such as Janos Simon divide into six functions of political parties, namely: (1) The function of political socialization; (2) the function of political mobilization; (3) the function of political representation; (4) the function of political participation; (5) the legitimacy of the political system functions, and (6) the function of the activity in the political system.

### *2.6 Function of Political Socialization, Mobilization, Participation, Legitimacy, Representation, and Activity in the Political System*

Significant start when someone has been able to assess the decisions and actions. The person then search for "figure" is supposed to represent the norms and values espoused. One of the agencies that provide these values is

a political party. Therefore, political parties serve as agents to fill the norms and values that exist in the individual. This role is greater in countries with multi-party system. Mobilization functions are functions of political parties to bring citizens into public life. The purpose of this mobilization are: Reducing social tension displayed by groups who mobilized; Elaborating programs to reduce the tension, and as a result these groups shift their support to political parties, and; Building a group structure that will be the support base of the party concerned. Participation function is a function of political parties to bring citizens to be active in political activities. Types of political participation offered to citizens is a political party campaign activities, raise money for the party, choose leaders, demonstrations, and political debate. Legitimacy function refers to the policies of political parties to support and believe in the existence of government policies and political system. As is known, have mass political party voters. If the parties choose to support something, its likely voters will do the same. Representation function is a classical function of political parties. Political parties that participated elections and won a number of votes will put their representatives in parliament. Members of the party who entered into the parliament to bring the function representation of the citizens who voted for the party. This function is based on the premise, political parties outlining the program and prepares its members to run the program. If the party bagged vote, then the members will get into parliament. The concerned party members then move (politically) to run the party programs. Government activity (especially parliament) to run as a result of the political parties.

### *2.7 Type of Political Party*

Types of political party experts pretty much, and it is quite confusing. However, the classification of various types of political parties that caused a number of viewpoints. For example, there are linking with the historical, social relationships, the end of the war ideology, and so on.

In this study purposely will include a number of political scientists' views on the classification of political parties. One who did was Richard S. Katz. Katz political parties divide types into four types, namely: (1) Party elite-based party of this type locally, with a number of core elite who became the party's power base. Support for this elite party sourced on client relationships (men) from the elites who sits on the party. Typically, the elite who sit in leadership of the party have the economic status and positions are respected. The party is also based on faction leaders and the political elite, which is usually formed in the parliament. (2) Party mass-based party of this kind of individuals large amounts, but often eliminated from state policy. The party supporters often mobilize the masses for the benefit of the party. Typically, a mass-based party of a certain social class, such as "small people", but also can be based on religion. Loyalty to the party over the party based on social identity rather than ideology or policy. (3) Catch-All Party on the surface of this type is almost similar to the mass party. However, in contrast to the mass party that bases itself on a certain social class, Catch-All Party began to think that he represents the interests of the nation as a whole. This type of party winning the election oriented so flexible to changing issues in every campaign. Catch-All Party also often referred to as the Party Electoral-Professional or Rational-Efficient Party. (4) Cartel Party-the party of this type arise from the reduced number of voters or party members. This deficiency results in their voices at parliamentary level. To overcome this, the party leaders in coalition with each other to gain enough strength to survive. Of the Cartel Party, ideology, election promises, voters base already almost has no meaning anymore. (5) Integrative Party-Party types derived from a particular social group that tries to mobilize political and party activities. They bring a specific interest group. They also tried to build sympathy of every voter, and make them a member of the party. They are a major source of financial contributions from members and sympathizers support. They do propaganda with which members voluntarily participate in social assistance.

### **3. Research Method**

This study is using the social definition paradigm (Weber), a qualitative approach. Type of research is a case study. A case study is an inquiry that investigated the phenomenon in the context of real life, when, the boundaries between phenomenon and context do not appear explicitly; and in which, multiple sources of evidence used (Yin, 1987). In the qualitative research, the most important is data collected through in-depth interviews that the data in the form of speech or words of informants selected. In this study informants were selected purposively (purposive sampling) by using multiple criteria according to the needs of research data. After the whole process of this research, the authors take the conclusions are in accordance with the research question that is desired by the researcher as a result of summary all materials or resources needed. The informants of this research are politicians of political parties that were previously selected.

## 4. Research Finding

### 4.1 Conditions of Parties

In practice, the selection of the object of research conducted by purposive sampling, selecting the party politicians in the election and the party is still relatively attractive and has a clear constituency. Based on the predefined search then there are the party, namely ; Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the Democratic Party (Demokrat), People's Conscience Party (HANURA), Party group work (Golkar), Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), and the National Mandate Party (PAN). Here is a glimpse of the respective parties as follows:

Vision of Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) are (1) To realize the ideals of the independence proclamation of August 17, 1945 as set forth in the Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945. (2) Building a Pancasila society in the Republic of Indonesia is a democratic, fair and prospers. PDIP mission is (1) To compile and build the political power of the people, (2) Fight for the people's interest in the economic, social, cultural and democratic manner, and (3) Fighting gain political power in a constitutional manner in order to create a government that protects the entire Indonesian nation, promote the general welfare, the intellectual life of the nation and participate in the establishment of world order.

### 4.2 Democratic Party (Demokrat)

Democratic Party is a political party in Indonesia. The party was founded on 9 September 2001 and ratified on August 27, 2003. Establishment party is closely related with the intention to bring Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs under President Megawati became president. Because of this, the Democratic Party strongly associated with the figure of Yudhoyono.

### 4.3 People's Conscience Party (HANURA)

People's Conscience Party, or Hanura, is a political party in Indonesia. Hanura pioneered by Wiranto with national leaders held a meeting in Jakarta on November 13 of 2006.

#### 4.3.1 Vision of HANURA

Indonesia at this time was no longer independent. Many foreign pressure and intervention that have been detrimental to the life of rampant across the nation. We must take back, to rebuild our independence in the administration of the country. A word that is very often spoken but very difficult to realize. All HANURA Party cadres are also future leaders, should always be embedded in his mind the phrase the welfare of the people of Indonesia and at the same time capable of trying to present it.

Mission of HANURA Party is (1) creating a government that is clean and dignified through the organization of democratic, transparent, accountable, always based on Pancasila, the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 and the Republic of Indonesia. (2) Childbirth leaders fearing, honest, brave, resolute, and capable, in carrying out tasks which always puts conscience. (3) Enforcing the rights and obligations of human rights and the rule of law with justice consistently in order to bring certainty in the life of the nation. (4) Developing human resources healthy and well-educated are based on good character and morals as well as provide greater opportunities for women and youth to play an active role in nation building. (5) Building a national economy that is equitable and environmentally sound as well as business opportunities and jobs as possible to increase the incomes and welfare of the people. (6) Combating corruption in total in order to realize Indonesia advanced, independent, and dignified. (7) Developing autonomous region to further spur development throughout the country within the framework of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

### 4.4 Party Group Work (Golkar)

Struggle vision of Golkar Party is line with the ideals of the founders of the country (the founding fathers) we state that our aim is to protect the whole country of Indonesia, the intellectual life of the nation, realizing social justice for all Indonesian people and help create world peace, the Golkar Party as carrier proclamation asserts vision accompany the nation's struggle to achieve its goals. Golkar Party Indonesian struggle for the realization of new advanced, modern, united, peaceful, just and prosperous society that faithful and devoted, well moral, upholding human rights, patriotism, democratic, and fair in order that independent civil society, open, egalitarian, legal and environmental conscious, master of science and technology, has the work ethic and the spirit of workmanship, and high discipline.

With this vision of the Golkar Party are to meet the democratic national political life through the implementation of political reform agenda that is directed to conduct a series of planned corrections, institutionalized and sustainable to all areas of life. On true reform is an attempt to restructure the system of our state in all fields so

that we can bounce back within a more open and democratic. Golkar Party efforts to create democratic political life, which is based on the sovereignty of the people, are ideals since his birth.

Openness is an essential human value which is the breath of the reform movement. On the basis of the openness view, we need to create a social system that is open or transparent political structures and political processes that can effectively truly reflect the people's sovereignty. For those reasons, opportunities for people to participate actively in the political processes of the absolute opened widely. Freedom of association assembly and expression increasingly assured and protected by law.

The main joint civil society is the rule of law. Therefore, Indonesia is a country of law, the rule of law must be placed as a key pillar in order to realize a democratic political system and law. Golkar Party considers that legal reform is not limited to the improvement of infrastructure, material and legal apparatus, but also the legal culture.

In the economic field, vision of Golkar Party is the people or the people's economy on the basis of the belief that this is the only economic system that ensures people's increasingly prosperous. Economic development in the old paradigm that emphasizes too the growth proved to be the backbone conglomeration brings state and Indonesia fell into a severe economic crisis. Conglomeration of false turns and is very vulnerable to global economic shocks. In this context, the paradigm of democratic economy actually has a very strong potential for strengthening our economic fundamentals.

With this populist economic vision, the small and medium enterprises, and cooperatives will be developed and strengthened as the main pillar of the national economy. Golkar Party wants future medium enterprises, small and cooperative to spearhead empowerment in the true sense. Without people empowerment efforts, then the purpose of creating a civil society will be far from our achievements. For it is in line with the vision and direction of creating the people's welfare, attention to efforts to strengthen medium-sized enterprises, and cooperatives become the most preferred priority.

In the field of socio-cultural, Golkar Party aspired strengthening national culture that could produce a powerful nation, the nation that faithful and devoted to God Almighty, Master of Science and technology or skills, have a high work ethic, have a social discipline resilient and has a strong ethics. For towards the creation of such a powerful nation, it is necessary to develop an atmosphere and climate science support for cultural development, work culture (work ethic), culture of discipline, ethical and cultural and religious life in the community.

Golkar Party saw harmony as the basis for national integration. To that end, the social and cultural life and bridged equitable socio-economic inequalities between individuals, between groups, between urban and rural areas, between Java-outside Java, and inter-regional center, the agenda should be overlooked. Similarly, the development of religious life and religious harmony concern Golkar Party.

With this vision of Golkar Party also wanted to develop a pattern of social relations more harmonious and guided by the spirit of human equality. The views are discriminatory and unfair to a particular group must be removed from all of our communities, and replaced with the view that pervaded by the spirit of brotherhood, unity and brotherhood among the citizens.

Mission of Golkar party. In order to actualize the vision of the doctrine and Golkar Party hereby confirms the mission of the struggle, namely: enforce, practice, and maintain the Pancasila as the state and nation in order to strengthen the ideology of the Republic of Indonesia and realize the Proclamation through the implementation of national development in all fields to realize a democratic society, the rule of law, people's welfare, and human rights. In order to bring the noble mission of Golkar Party carrying out the functions as a modern political party, namely:

*First*, reinforcing the commitment to absorb, integrate articulate, and promote the aspirations and interests of the people so that it becomes a public policy nature. *Second*, recruit qualified cadres through the achievement system (merit system) to be elected by the people occupying positions of political or public offices. With a position or political office is that the volunteers can control or influence the course of government to be devoted entirely to the interests and welfare of the people. *Third*, improve education and communication processes are dialogical and participatory politics, which is open to a variety of thoughts, aspirations and criticism from the public.

#### *4.5 Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)*

Vision of Gerindra Party in the nation and having state. Vision of Gerindra is becoming a political party that is capable of creating the people's welfare, social justice, and political order state that bases itself on the values of nationalism and religiosity within the Unitary State of the Republic Indonesia. Mission of Gerindra Party has five principals, namely: (1) Maintaining and upholding the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia based on



Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, (2) Encourage national development that focuses on the development of people's economy, sustainable economic growth and equitable distribution of development outcomes for the whole citizens of the nation by reducing dependence on foreign parties; (3) Establish a social and political order of society that is conducive to realizing the sovereignty of the people and the welfare of the people; (4) Enforcing the rule of law by promoting the presumption of innocence and equality before the law; (5) Taking the power of government in the constitution through legislative elections and presidential elections to create a layer of strong national leadership.

#### 4.6 National Mandate Party (PAN)

As the leading political parties in creating a civil society that is fair and prosperous, clean and good governance in the country and a sovereign democratic Indonesia, and blessed by God Almighty, God Almighty. Mission of PAN; (1) Delivering a quality cadres and militants. (2) Realize that close PAN as a party and defend the people. (3) Realize PAN as a modern party based management system and superior and noble culture of the nation. (4) Achieve a new Indonesian democratic, prosperous, progressive, independent and dignified. (5) Indonesian realizing good governance and clean, which protect all the people of Indonesia and the entire country of Indonesia and promote the general welfare, as well as the life of the nation. (6) Realize Indonesian state united, sovereign, and dignified, participate in the establishment of a world order based on freedom, abiding peace and social justice, as well as respected in the international area.

### 5. Emic Data Analysis

After doing research, using the emic analysis of data relating to the understanding of politics for political party politicians can be inferred from what is understood by the board regarding the political; indicate situational understanding that occurs on the board and his cadres. In general, they understand that politics is a pragmatic political party. So it is very visible once the change from idealism to pragmatism. This reality can be seen in summary in the following table.

Table 2. Mapping insight and understanding of the party by the governing party in Malang

Party Politicians	Scientific insight and understanding of the politics of politicians
PDI	Politics is a party and the party is the container to formally take power through elections.
Democrat	Politics is a party. A political party is a means of struggle and the party is to fight for the people's movement.
Hanura	Political parties are organized in the form of struggle container to realize the ideals.
Golkar	Political party which is used as a means of mass mobilization or approach to the manner or method appropriate to seek support for the fight for the ideals or desires appropriate to the mass itself.
Gerindra	Politics is a political party as a means of fighting for the ideals of the nation embodied in the Pancasila Indonesia.
PAN	Politics is not just a mass movement, a political party, and the movements of other people. More than that politics is the willingness to establish justice and equality, democracy and religious manifestation.

### 6. Conclusion

From the analysis of the data has been presented above, this study can be summarized as follows: (1) In general, the politicians of the party, PDI, Democrat, Hanura, Gerindra, Golkar and PAN, a political understanding on a practical level, that is associated with the movement of party (low politics). (2) For the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), a political party that is a party and it was a container to formally take power through elections. This is similar to what was said by politicians that the Democratic Party is a political party. A political party is a means of struggle and the party is to fight for the people's movement. For Hanura politicians, political party is organized in the form of containers struggle to realize the ideals. The same to Hanura party politician statement above, Golkar's politician understand a political party which is used as a means of mass mobilization or approach to the manner or method appropriate to seek support for the fight for the ideals or desires appropriate to the mass itself. Politician of Gerindra understand politics is a political party as a means of fighting for the ideals of the nation embodied in the Pancasila. Last informant is politicians of a national mandate party (PAN). In contrast to previous, PAN politician said that politics is not just a mass movement, a political party, and the

movements of other people. More than that politics is the willingness to establish justice and equality, democracy and embody religious morals.

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