

# Indonesia's Election During The Reform Era And Their Political Dynamic

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## **Abstract**

*The Indonesian election after a reform 1998 era very dynamic because of the civil liberties and the increasing number parties of become significant such sky rocketing quantities. The election 1999 become the trigger to push the political changes at the national level and PDI Perjuangan (PDI P) placement in the first position and swipe on the Golkar which was the political instrument since the New Order era long periods or more than 30 years previously. The Indonesian elections reform era journey aren't apart miss out to remove the political involvement military in order their professional performance. The political parties were tends to become the determinant of state organs although their capacities aren't full autonomous to the cultivate their resources/ Since the election 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019 were proved on the the autonomous party must to struggle in connecting to the peoples sovereignty. There are several factor that looks still influence the parties present in the political stages going to the concurrent election 2024. The factor are about the oligarch elites against cadres recruitment and regenerations in the context of , the internal conflict in the organisations, and the issues of the money politics. Realised that the several factors become fragile to the nations building party in the political landscape transition toward consolidation so that transformation of the parties become modern and autonomous with their resources and supporting from state budget formally channel to the financial party are very essential.*

**Keyword:** *political party, democratisation, political transition, election, reform era, legislatives candidate.*

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## **I. Introduction**

Since a reform era after fall of the New Order Regime Soeharto's power on May 1998, channel of aspirations and demand of liberty spread in Indonesia. Indonesia was coming to the era called reformation and the efforts to build of democratisation election and multi party affiliations growing up in the societies. These periods called as a political transitions and the relations of state and civil society become more balances contradicted with the previous periods as a state dominations. Indonesia in the early of reform era was put the symbols of the winning of civil liberties and threw away authoritarian regimes.

The general election 1999 is the first election which held in the early reform era, and after that several election in the reform era with their political and economy dynamic marked the political system. These election are 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019, and today Indonesia will be upcoming to the general election 2024. According our standard Law of Election shall be held upon the principles of being direct, general, free, secret, honest, and fair. The electoral management must to fulfilment the principles of being: a. independent; b. honest; c. fair; d. with legal certainty; e. orderly; f. open; g. proportional; h. professional; i. accountable; j. effective; and, k. efficient.

Indonesia taken the path of reformation which contained with several agenda's and not through the revolutionary to topple the authoritarian regimes which the possibility more ignite the violence and fall of more victims. These agendas are democratically election, fight against corruption, and to build military professional separates from politics, and also effort to strengthen of regional autonomy. Since an election 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019, multi party system becomes the Indonesia's political landscape. General election 2019 had special fundamental to Indonesia, because that was called concurrent election which simultaneously held organize a few domain elections, which are presidential, legislatives in the national level (house and council members), and regional house of representatives in the municipal and regency level. The previous election in reform era, always to separate the elections of presidential and the legislatives. One things after concurrent election in 2019s, in the mid of Covid 19 pandemic spread around the world, were included Southeast Asia's, Indonesia still held an elections in regional level, which called concurrent regional elections in 270 local level. These regional level elections was to simultaneously elected of governor/vice governor, mayor/vice mayor, and also regent/vice regent.

These paper will be examine of how are the election in the reform era in Indonesia were happened in the mid of transitional and coming to political consolidations?

How is the insight of concurrent election in 2024 in the near future for the Indonesian democratisation?

How are the factors affected in election process and what the factors are mean?

## II. Discussion

### B.1 Between Transition and Consolidation Democracy

Democracy modern representative, election and party are the three term conception which can't separate among others. Andrew Heywood (1999) noted that:

"...Democratic government, has, however, varied considerably over the centuries. Perhaps the most fundamental distinction between democratic systems, like those in Ancient Greece, that are based upon direct popular representative mechanism. This highlights two contrasting models of democracy: direct democracy and representative democracy. More over, the modern understanding of democracy is dominated by the form of electoral democracy that has developed in the industrialised West, often called liberal democracy."<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, its important to underline, that:

"...For, most pople, representation is intimately tried up with election, to such an extent that politicians are commonly refered to as representatives simply because they have been elected.....An election is device or filling public offices by reference to popular preferences"<sup>2</sup>

About the parties, Alan Ware (2009) mentioned that:

"Especially in liberal democracies, parties are popularly perceived as differing from one another in respect of the views and ideologies they espouse. Parties are seen arenas in which opinions about public affairs are organized: each party in particular party system has its own ideas and approach to the relation between state and society and the role of the state. Nor is this popular view, that parties do have different ideologies, a misplaced one/ As Klaus von Beyme says.....Over the longer term only parties based on an ideology have succeeded in establishing themselves. Thus.....considering parties as organisations that have, or purport to have, an ideology."<sup>3</sup>

First phase of the collapse New Order authoritarian government become the gradually reduced of military dual function and involve in politics and while the election 1999 become a pioneer of transition. The election of 1999 is process of political civilian to take over the Soeharto's power with the peacefull transfer of power while Habibie was the first President (1998-1999) after the time before he's a Vice President when was Soeharto taken a position as President serve long periods more than 3 decades.

Political observer, Harold Crouch (Courch, 2010, : 47), noted that:

"A special Session of the MPR was convened in November 1998 adopt a decree to advance the date of the next election from 2002 to at least June 1999. To the draft new electoral laws,....proposed drastic revision of the electoral system from one based on Proportional Representation (PR) to mix system in which 420 of the 550 seats in the the DPR would be single member seats while PR would retained for only 75. The team believed that a system based largely on single member constituencies would make legislature more responsive and accountable by providing constituents with easier access to their representatives. The draft bills also opened the way for dozens of new parties to contest election by removing the New Order restriction that allowed only three....."

The effort of fair representation which were proved democracy election since reform era whether early phase or until current election in Indonesia are not easy to enforcing. Whereas the ideal of representative democracy, one man, one vote, is simple, but to meet it is not (Balinski & Young, 2001,: 1). An election 1999 were placed parties of PDI P under their leadership of Megawati a daughter of first President Soekarno's become the winner. These parties looks was rate as tend to counter a intervention and unfair treatment from the regimes of an authoritarian New Order. The distribution of seat by PPI seems abbreviation of Indonesia's Election Committee was showed that there are 5 biggest parties as the winners of the first election in the reform era (Djojosoekarto et.al, in Gisamar. et.al, 2010, 88).

- Indonesia Democratic of Struggle Party (PDI P) 33,74% = 153 seats;
- Functional Group Party (Golkar) 22,4% = 120 seats;
- A Nations awakening Party (PKB) 12,61% = 51 seats;
- United Development Party (PPP) 10,71% = 58 seats;
- The National Mandate Party (PAN) 7,12% = 34 seats

The reform era was opened an opportunities for the segment of societies and their patron elite to build a party organizations. Quantity of parties number was growing with the extra ordinary speed number quantities development di Indonesia. In the elections of 1999 as first election in reform era where noted that at least 184 political parties popping up when the liberalization wind faucet is opened to formulated political organization

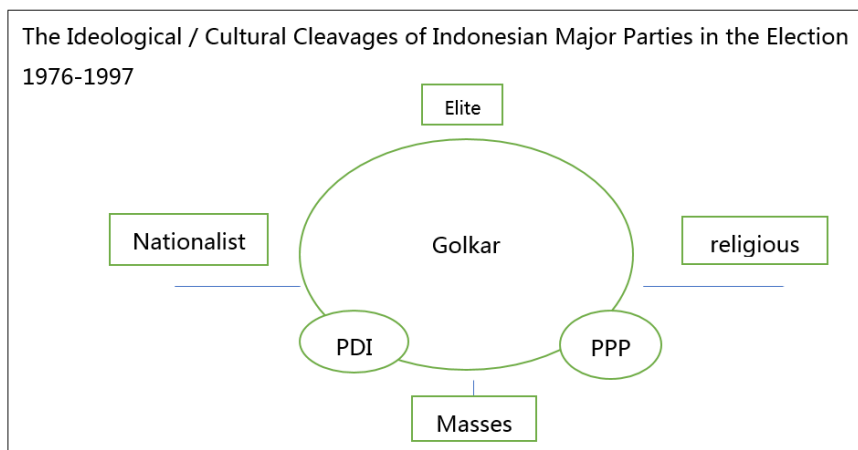
<sup>1</sup>Andrew Heywood, *Political Theory: An Introduction*, Pal Grave, New York, 1999, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2010, p. 17..

freedom. From that number to filtered by the political system of reform and were created parties institutionalized to register in Justice Department are 148 parties and then selected finally to fulfillment of the requirement only 48 parties declared valid to become as participant of the elections 1999.

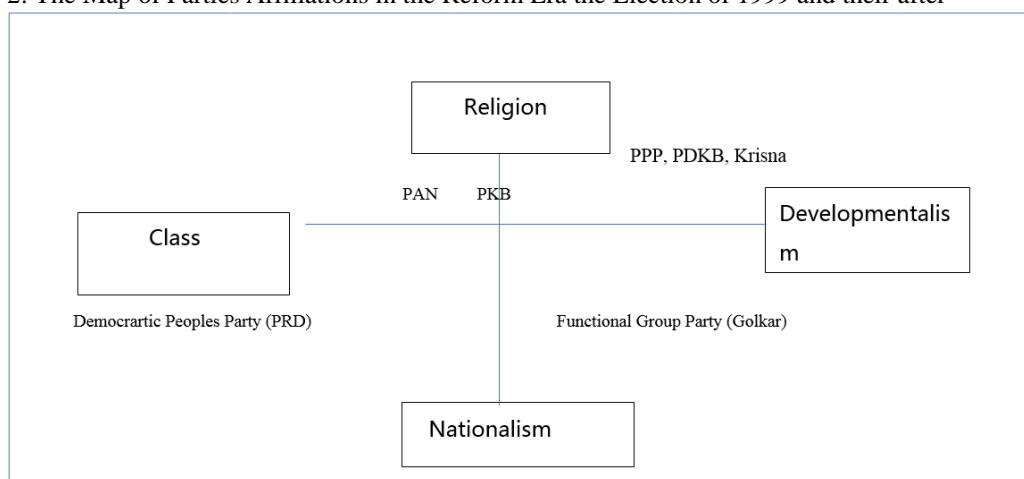
Picture 1: Geography of Sorting Primary Parties be the Election of 1999



Since the reform era though the political changes happened rapidly, Indonesia

Source: I Ketut Erawan, 2004, in Djojokusarto, 2010, : 87.

Picture 2: The Map of Parties Affiliations in the Reform Era the Election of 1999 and their after



Source: Dhakidae (1999)

Several an elections in the reform era were looks cannot separated there are two the winner elections, which called PDI Perjuangan (Indonesia's Democratic Party of Struggle) and Partai Golkar (Functional Group Party) with the plurality political party system. These were looks also seem in the result of election 2004.

**Table 1:** The biggest Party as a Result of Election 2004

Number	Party	Election 2004	
		% Vote	% Seat Parliament
1.	Golkar Party	21,58	128
2.	PDI Perjuangan	18,53	109
3.	PKB	10,57	52
4.	PPP	8,15	58
5.	Partai Demokrat (Democrat Party)	7,45	56
6.	PKS (Welfare Justice Party)	7,34	45
7.	PAN	6,44	53
8.	PBB (Crescent Star Party)	2,62	11
9.	PBR (Reform Star Party)	2,44	14
10.	PDS (Welfare Peace Party)	2,13	13

Source: Election General Commission, in Haris, : 27

These plurality party system and proportional election system which was adopted since 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019 elections are also created multi fraction, almost 10 fraction in the House of Representatives. For instance, The House of Representatives political composition as a result from 2019 election produced of 9 fraction as representation of political parties which was able to fulfilment of parliamentary treshold 4 percent according qualifications of an Election Law 2017 Number 7. These compositions of political parties in parliament and executives are the main domain of political system especially after Indonesia held the election directly by the peoples about a presidential/ vice presidential pair packages in 2004 and continuously applied in election 2009, 2014, 2019 and in the near future also in 2024. Indonesia had been a long time periods before reform era 1998 were the indirectly presidential elections which under the People's Consultatives Assembly (MPR) as the highest state organs which is considered people's sovereignty.

According to an Articles 19 and an Article 22 C at The Constitutions of Republic of Indonesia Years 1945, the legislatives election in the national level divide in the two categories, that's are: (1) The members of The House of Peoples Representatives are elected through general elections; (2) The members of the Regional Representatives Council are elected from every province through general election. In the Indonesian elections and the compositions of parliament is important to note that the members of The Peoples House of Representatives and members of the Regional Representatives Council both also joint sitting in The Peoples Consultatives Assembly. These according an Article 2 Sentence (1) The Constitutions 1945 Republic of Indonesia.

**Table 2:** The Result of Legislatives Election The House Peoples of Representatives 2019 (parties which their representatives in Parliaments House)

Party	Vote Acquisitions	Percent
PDI P	23, 68 million	18,95
Golkar	18,43 millions	14,75
Gerindra	14,76 millions	11,81
Demokrat	12,73 millions	10,19
PKB	11,29 millions	9,04
PAN	9,48 millions	7,59
PKS	8,48 millions	6,79
Nasdem	8,4 millions	6,72
PPP	8,16 millions	6,53

Source: KPU, 2019

There are 10 primary political parties with PDI P and Golkar always become the top positions between first and second position changeable as the winner an election of reform. Indonesia's election in a reform since 1999 than 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019 also proved that can held smoothly, free, and peacefully without significant destructive clash in the communities level. Indonesia's an archipelagic state<sup>4</sup> with the 17.000 island where spread locations to each other become challenges for democratisation. For instance, the election 2004 as second election in reform era, held was each one to elected members of parliament in national, province, and municipal/regency level in April 5<sup>th</sup> 2004. These was continued with to elect of president/vice president pair packages with first round in July 5<sup>th</sup> and second round in September 20<sup>th</sup> 2004. All the election domain process at that time could held smoothly, free and peacefully.

## **B.2. Approaching to the election 2024**

Base on the Constitutional Court decision Number 14/PUU/2013 about concurrent election must see an effort to find an alternatives regarding political format and electoral perspectives after reform era. At least base on these decision that the nations expect to build of the effectivities of governance, including the empowerment toward presidential system, to rearrange parties system more simple, and at the same time also to save the state budget allocation on the election needs. These expectation were started to the main approaching after the election 2019 result to gain the governance positions as whole especially at the executive president-vice president pair and their cabinets, legislatives composition whether at national and local level, and of course the impact and including to judicial process there after. The expectation are now challenge more detail incoming concurrent election 2024.

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<sup>4</sup>Article 17 UN Convention contained of an archipelagic state that the archipelagic state group had adopted in L.49: archipelagic state means a state constituted wholly by one or more archipelagos and may include other island. It also contained the same definition of archipelago as "group of island, including part of islands, interconnecting water and other natural features which are so closely interrelated that such islands, waters and other natural features form an intrinsic geographic, economic, and political entity, or which historically have been regarded as such (Elson & Butcher, ; 2017,:305-306).

As we know that in the near future Indonesia's voter will cast their ballot on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 2024 and these concurrent combination to the legislative and presidential election at the same time. Base on the verification and administrative selection by General Election Commission be found that 18 national political parties and also 6 local parties. The local parties a the special regions in Province of Aceh<sup>5</sup>. The stages of the election had been start since the mid of June 2022 through a planning of draft of budget, draft of rule of the game and scheme of election programme, registration and verification political parties and a candidates participate an elections on July-December 2022, and handling update a voter data while also to arrange voter list. According the General Election Commission announcement that totally number of national voters are 203.056.748 peoples. These stages will be still going on until on the near future in 2024 where the voter cast their voting rights on February 14<sup>th</sup> and the election commission to determine a decision of the final result of election on April.

Approaching to the Election 2024 as the six democratic momentum in the reform era in Indonesia also be marked by the government regulation lieu of law to revise of the election law because of regional expansion of Papua's provinces, the elections of local commission as well as the supervision bodies formation and their constituent areas rearrangement. There were 18 political parties in the national level and 6 local parties in the special regions in the Province of Aceh which will be the participant of the competitions of election of 2024. There are many preparation to the parties and their candidates face the election such as to open communicate in order a possibility of coalitions and to build each one of another for their supporter loyalties affiliation in the grass root.

Approaching upcoming to the election 2024 be wary alert to the possibility of hate speech and the political of identity manipulation. Indonesia was start gradually enter of digital era election which created many platform of organizer maintenance. The platform among others about party and candidate nominations, voters check list, and campaign public reports. These platform must to protect to the possibility of cyber attack and other misconduct from any fraud actions. Meanwhile, the elimination efforts against hate speech in the black campaign arena will to observe and diminishing by the literacy of people improvement and social capacity empowerment.

Each parties can become election participant after to fulfilment several qualification, as such as follows (article 173 of Election Law number 7 years 2017):

- (1) posses a status of legal entities appropriate with political party Act;
- (2) own of management structures in every province level regional around the national levels;
- (3) own a management structure in 75 percent at the total number in the municipal for regency regional at the province level areas concern;
- (4) own a management structure in 50 percent at the total number at sub district in the municipal or regent level areas concern;
- (5) enclose 30 percent woman gender representations at parties the political management structure in their centre of parties concern;
- (6) own a their party members at least 1.000 peoples or 1/1000 (one per thousands) from (1000) population numbers at the management party organizations are proven by their members party sign card;
- (7) own a permanent office for their party management at the centre or national level organization, province, municipal/ regency local level which valid exist until least stages of election;
- (8) submit of the names, symbols, and picture mark their parties to the Commission of General Elections;
- (9) submit their party of election campaign fund account to the Commission of General Election.

Parties in the election 2019 which were had been pass the verification with the requirements as mentioned above no reverified by the commission of election and directly set as a Political Parties of Election Participants for the election of 2024. In these process parties verification has own the political and administrative dynamic because of not all parties and the individual candidate were able to collect their support and own membership number according the minimum requirement. That's way a few parties must to eliminated as the selection by the organiser as to fulfilment requirement according regulation and not impossible that the parties was not satisfied with the decision and try to propose of their disputed to the election supervision track or even to take the penal court order.

### **B.3. Political Institutionalized and Democracy Transformations**

Not easy to establish a party as a democratic instrument toward nations and state foundations and continuities need to the involvement of every social political component to respond and anticipated on that. As democratic instrument, Indonesian parties need transformation which underpin their organization institution rather than patron their elite of individual political actor. The transformation of the parties also need to strengthening of their resources among others related with the personal interaction which expected to be able compatible the open participatory democratic base on parties membership and not base on elite oligarchic.

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<sup>5</sup>Indonesia has totally own 38 province region, since 2022, after the formation a new 4 province in their Papua territory.

The election of 2024 data's also show that the young generation are still facing of a narrow political space. That's because their contribution and involve in politics still limited numbers. Where as from 204,8 million voters in List Permanent Voter in General Election 2024, reach be found 56 percent are younger generation voter. From that percentage details are millennial generation (ages between 25-39 years old) reach on 68,8 million (33,6 percent) and generation of called "Z" are reach on 46,8 million voters (22,9 percent).<sup>6</sup> These phenomena needs to responds to the parties, because the younger generation and the voter generally absorb an update of information majority by using of social media. Without the right respond from the party toward the current news and information public phenomena will not beneficial for their stronghold position. The fact has been show that *TikTok* is social media platform become the new electoral battleground in the 2024 general elections as Indonesian politician scramble to get the votes of members of Generation Z, many of whom will be the first time voters and big fans of China widely popular video hosting services.<sup>7</sup>

The oligarchic elite parties become a hurdle to democracy of internal recruitment and a cadres process in some parties. That's why parties tend to establish their who will be candidate's party legislative and was seem less breakthrough to respond political aspirations about of their cadres regeneration process For instance, note that about 90,5 percent are an incumbent legislator (507 from all 560 seat allocation for national legislatives candidate of abbreviation stand for DPR RI's institutions ) in the 2014 election. There were mean only 53 the incumbent members didn't renominate again.

**Table 3:**  
Legislator Candidates in each Parties at the 2014 Indonesia's Election

Political parties	Seat allocation DPR RI (national parliament) 2009-2014 period/s	Incumbent candi atdate for MP's at the 2014 Elections	Percent of Candidate MP's at the 2014 Elections
Justice Prosperous Party (PKS)	57	57	100
People's conscience party (Hanura)	17	16	94,1
The Nation Awakening Party (PKB)	28	26	92,8
Great Indonesia Movement party (Gerindra)	26	24	92,3
National Mandate Party (PAN)	46	42	91,3
Democrat Party (PD)	148	133	89,8
United Development Party (PPP)	38	33	86,8
The Struggle of Indonesian Democracy Party (PDI P)	94	84	89,3
Functional Group Party (Golkar)	106	92	86,7
Amount	560	507	90,5

Source: Formappi, April 2023 (:65)

The issues of a regeneration of who will be the candidate of legislatives, especially in a national level or House of Representatives also comes up in the public discourse such a condition after the election of 2014. From the above table was showed that all the parties tend own the same internal policy, that are placement of their each incumbent candidates as a focus underpin of vote acquisitions did at the elections of 2014 with their diverse sectoral partisan political reasons. The transformation of parties are become a political base to obey the rule of game of the election. The generation gap between the parliament composition and the voter generation looks more better because several parties to propose their legislative candidates after the election 2014, these more clearly looks in 2019 election with young parliament who own popularities and even among them own enough intellectual capacity. With the official start of the campaign season less than four months away, presidential hopefuls have begun drawing up plans and holding dialogues with young voter in hopes of making themselves more appealing to the age group, which is widely tipped to be the key in winning next year election. According to General Elections Commission (KPU), 106 milion voters, or around 52 percent of the 204 million eligible voters, are considered young people, or those younger than 40 years old. A closer look at the voter roll shows that a third of all registered voters are miliennials, while a further 22 percent belong to Generation Z, or those born in the late 1990s and onward.<sup>8</sup>

Upcoming to the election 2024, unofficial campaigning is well underway, as policy makers refuse to close the loopholes that allow prospective candidates to campaign outside of the designated period. The campaign season will officially begin in late November 2023 but billboards featuring three prominent aspirants for the

<sup>6</sup>“Kaum Muda Hadapi Ruang Sempit Politik”, *Kompas*, July 18, 2023, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>“Election contenders turn to TikTok to garner votes”, *The Jakarta Post* July 18, 2023, p.2

<sup>8</sup>“Presidential hopefuls lure young voters”, *The Jakarta Post* August 7, 2023, p. 1.

country's to office. A few prominent political figures have appeared in several rural parts of the country, such as Central Java, East Java, and Sumatera, in the past few months 2023.<sup>9</sup>

Parties will be able to reduce of internal conflict through the political institutions and democracy transformation. That ironically where parties demand to be able to become conflict management function precisely in the empirically levels parties itself had ever been and several certain cases still hit by their internal conflict (Putri Budiatri,: 2018, 90-91). That's the reason why the strengthening capabilities of the parties autonomous to manage and solve the problem of internal organisations are the strategic point to contribute the substance of democracy elections. Parties are not still on all well performances to endorse and propose their legislative candidates at some cases upcoming the concurrent election 2024.

The current internal conflict as well as articulate Democrat Party because of sue measures match of the legality of their management organisation but finally rejected by the law the law channel. As we know the supreme court handed yet another defeat to Moeldoko (who his also a chief presidential staf in the ruller regime's) by rejecting motion for a case review of the court;s previous decision that refused to acknowledge his claimf for the Democrats party top post. The court maintained that the dispute for the top post was "an internal party matter".<sup>10</sup> Actually, in the long history since independence August 1945, the parties organisations that were not away from internal conflict and factionalism. In the majorities parties whether an establish or a new comer colored by the internal conflict and also still happening in several parties in the reform era after 1998. Some times the internal conflict push to the movement of their elites to build new parties as the secession of the main parties. The data's below show the short stories of the internal conflict parties (non describing of current Democrat case between Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and Moeldoko in 2023).

**Table 4:** Factionalism and Internal Conflict Party in the Reform Era

Party	Factionalism	Year	Background	Tendencies
PDI P	Megawati, Eros Jarot, Dimiyati Hartono, Roy BB Janis	2005	Competitions of internal among others about leader position	Non ideology
Golkar	Akbar Tanjung, Edi Sudrajat	1998	Position scramble of the party leader and management	Non ideology, but also influence by sociologist background political activist
	Akbar Tanjung, Prabowo Subianto, Wiranto, Surya Paloh. Aburizal Bakrie	2004	Competition on the convention presidential election in the Golkar bodies and their spill over residu to build the new party	Non ideology
	Akbar Tanjung- Jusuf Kalla	2004	Differences of presidential support in election and the scramble of to post chairman in the party congress	No ideology
	Aburizal Bakrie- Surya Paloh	2009	Differences of presidential support in election and the scramble of to post chairman in the party congress	Non ideology
	Aburizal Bakrie- Agung Laksono	2014	Differences of presidential support in election and the scramble of to post chairman in the party congress	Non ideology
Demokrat	Andi Mallarangeng-Marzuki Alie-Anas Urbainingrum	2010	The chairman political scramble on the position of general chairman party	Non ideology
Nasdem Party	Surya Paloh-Saiful Haq- Harry Tanoesudibjo	2013	The competition toward the chairman post at the party congress	Non ideology
Hanura	Wiranto-Harry Tanoesudibjo	2014	Differences of the supporting presidential candidate in the national election	Non ideology
PPP	Hamzah Haz-Zaenuddin MZ, Jaffar Badjeber	2001-2002	Differences to determine of the schedule time party congress	Non ideology
	Suryadarma Ali-Djan Faridz -Romahurmuzy	2014	Diffeences about presidential candidate in the election and competition to party chairman occupation	Non ideology

<sup>9</sup>“Rule Gaps heat up unofficial campaigns,” *The Jakarta Post*, July 3, 2023, p.1.

<sup>10</sup>“Dems survive leadership challenge after court rejects Moeldoko petition”, *The Jakarta Post*, August 12<sup>th</sup>, 2023, p. 1.

PKB	Abdurrahman Wahid, Muhaimin Iskandar, Alwi Shihab, Syaifulloh Yusuf	2004-2007	The dismissal decision on Alwi and Syaifulloh by the party management	Non ideology
	Abdurrahman Wahid- Muhaimin Iskandar	2008-2011	The political scramble connecting to the position of management on the party	Non ideology
PAN	Moderate group, social democrat, minorities non moslem and Islamic ideologies	1998-2000	Differences on the ideological background among the affiliation group	Ideology
	Sutrisno Bachir- Imam Addaruqutni	2006	The disappointed among the cadres internal group with their variety background in respond to legislative candidates	Non ideology
PKS	Mentioning on popular terminologies on the internal between prosperity and justice	2004	The different vision of weltanschauung and connecting on the party resources	Ideology
	Moderate and conservaties categorisation groups	2008-2010	Different on the insight of the party conception about the openness	Ideology

Source: Hanafi, in Budiatri (ed.), 2018, p.140-142.

The internal conflict tends to conform of the not only ideological problem of the parties themselves but rather to reflect of the characteristic of the pragmatic way of the thinking mind set. These also The characteristic of the parties are need political transformation including faces of the election, such 2024 election momentum. The election commission (KPU's) still was found the double name of candidate in certain parties and in the few of constituency area or in more than ones political representation whether at the national or regional levels. These case can detect or found by the election commission by the application of legislative nominations. The reform of the parties and support their become credible of political institutions are necessary condition to build the Indonesian democratic elections. The party themselves form such their task force to assist the pre candidate of their cadre who will be running in the legislative election consider to fulfilment of administrative process requirement. At that time of candidacy of legislator whether in the national level House or in the local representatives level really need to technically assist by the administrative documents.

Besides preparation of the election, the concurrent election 2024 also has a burden to manage all the aspect about a regional election of the head and vice head of local government partner packages. The total number of regional election plan will be held in 548 local area, which are covers in 37 provinces, 415 regent as well as 98 municipals. The voting day of concurrent of regional election will be held on November 2024. These concurrent local election as part as the national election in 2024 need to careful to manage among the political actor, parties and the election organisation themself. These complicated election with the fragile of the possibility political turmoil in every areas and the mature of competitor candidate, parties, and their supporter, are very determinant factor to Indonesia democratic consolidation.

Parties after reform and incoming the concurrent election 2024 also still faces the challenges of presumption of money politics. These because of are not only the transparency and accountability of political donations but also the political attitude in the communities level. The centrality of vote buying to election campaign are not only prominent in national legislative elections, but in local election as well (Muhtadi, 2018: 9). The election and the movement of party organisation needs to absorb the high cost atmosphere. For instance, the burden of candidacy to achieve the person as the chairman of the parties are need political cost doesn't small categories. The interaction of wide range political sphere put the effort to eradicate of money politics that need the all stake holders whether in the election organization conformation step measure to be taken or the civil society level to synergy among other of their commitment and contributions. One of important institution with their credibility and capacities to detect the possibilities of money politics is The Centre of the Transaction Report and Financial Analysis (PPATK). These institution is the vital major for the election organiser to observe all the transaction whether in the campaign periods and after that last day quite time before peoples going to the polling stations. The PPATK's experience were in the concurrent general election 1999 for instance, become an input to eradicate money politics in election because of their dection against all activities when the exchange small amount money abnormal increasingly where had been to achieve amount more than 100 billion Rupiah.<sup>11</sup> The phenomena money politics strongly assume that happen in the quite time periods injury time before the voting ballot session which identify by the strong large demands to exchange money on the faction nominal about Rp 50,000 and Rp 100.000,-.

<sup>11</sup>“Transaksi Keuangan Justru Meningkatkan di Masa Tenang”, *Kompas*, 9 August 2023, page 2.



The vulnerability the parties and the practices of money politics must see not single factors of structural but also rather to consider the cultural effect in the system organisation movement. Its because of patrimonial culture still determined to the political interaction among actors which influence until certain degree to parties behavior. These behavior also comes up in the party measures to conduct their manuever in the mid sharp competitiveness of election after the reform era. The interaction between the structural oligarchic elite in to political parties organisation as daily as internal political process and the culture of patrimonial patron client in the communities level become the other sub factor from the political donation in the election to build the substantive democracy. The take down measure against a money politics really need public supervision to that all stages when coming and also since in the beginning until finally the end of campaign periods through the political parties in connection with each their political donation of campaign account number.

Consider that the election is not only routine procedural but more important the implementation substantive democracy the handling efforts to eradicate money politics. The fund raising of an election campaign whether in an early stages of election collection of political donation, the report of acceptance of campaign donation in the middle of stages election process, and the final report of campaign donations are the obligations for the parties must fulfil to obey. The obedience of the parties as the participant of the elections becoming the strategic factor about the public report all the the acceptance a political donations and their expenditure in order to build the substantive democracy through the election. The openness and accountability of the usage every campaign donation clearly need also to supervise by the election watchdog credible institution and becoming to be a part measure for good governance building post election result officials to agreed.

### **III. Conclusion**

Indonesian election of reform era post 1998 become the fundamental factors to pass the transition pathway going on political system consolidation process. Several election in the reform era push to freedom of association dan political expression for the public including the big bang political parties growing around national and local levels. Political partes become the vital instrument to accelerate democracy process for civil liberties. The main problems toward the political agendas of democracy toward nation and state formation are the internal political party an average still own a metaphore handicape of structural constraint because of an elitist oligarch.

Toward the democratisation climate of every local, regions, and national level are need to transformation of political parties to much more political mass of grass root sovereignties base. Parties must to receive a budget allocation from the government according their votes and seat acquisition in election while at the same time the parties has autonomy for their internal management organisation without state intervention. Other variable on the acceleration to the democracy modern parties instruments that the acceleration toward money politics mitigation by the laws channel in every at the election moment without discriminations whoever the actors.

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