

Instrument Development of Political Party Institutionalization Index: A Preliminary Study

Mouliza K.D Sweinstani¹
Sarah Nuraini Siregar²
Esty Ekawati³
Firman Noor⁴
Ridho Imawan Hanafi⁵
Farhan Muntafa⁶

^{1,2,3,4,5}Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional (BRIN)
Gedung B.J. Habibie, Jl. M.H. Thamrin No. 8, Jakarta Pusat 10340, Indonesia

⁶Universitas Indonesia
Kampus UI Depok, Pondok Cina, Depok, Jawa Barat 16424, Indonesia

Correspondence Email: esty1wati@gmail.com

Submitted: 8 February 2023, Reviewed: 28 December 2023, Published: 30 June 2024

ABSTRACT

Several qualitative studies on party institutionalization done previously in Indonesia have not provided measurement instruments to assess the degree of party institutionalization comprehensively. The purpose of this study is to complement and strengthen the analysis of party institutionalization, which has been analyzed before. By using a quantitative approach with the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) technique, the authors elaborated the four dimensions of party institutionalization by Randall and Svasand into several sub-dimensions-Sub sub-dimension, variables, and indicators that are relevant to Indonesian political parties. The authors then validated the instrument constructed by the content validity method using expert judgment which is still ongoing. Therefore, as the preliminary study, the instrument provided here still needs further improvement by forming a construct that will perfect the entire CFA method and comprehensively produce the whole instrument of the political party institutionalization index.

Keywords: index, political party, party institutionalization, Indonesia political party, *political party institutionalization index*

ABSTRAK

Beberapa penelitian kualitatif mengenai pelebagaan partai yang telah dilakukan sebelumnya di Indonesia belum menyediakan instrumen pengukuran untuk menilai tingkat pelebagaan partai secara komprehensif. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk melengkapi dan memperkuat analisis pelebagaan partai yang telah dilakukan sebelumnya. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kuantitatif dengan teknik Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), penulis mengelaborasi empat dimensi pelebagaan partai menurut Randall dan Svasand ke dalam beberapa sub dimensi, variabel dan indikator yang relevan dengan partai politik di Indonesia. Penulis kemudian melakukan validasi terhadap instrumen yang dibangun dengan metode validitas isi dengan menggunakan pendapat ahli (expert judgement) yang saat ini masih berlangsung. Oleh karena itu, sebagai studi awal, instrumen yang disediakan di sini masih memerlukan penyempurnaan lebih lanjut dengan membentuk konstruk yang akan menyempurnakan keseluruhan metode CFA dan secara komprehensif menghasilkan instrumen indeks pelebagaan partai politik yang utuh.

Kata kunci: indeks, partai politik, pelebagaan partai, partai politik Indonesia, indeks pelebagaan partai politik

BACKGROUND

The concept of institutionalization of political parties is related to the important role of parties in the democratic system (Biezen & Katz, 2005; Ezrow, 2011). Parties will assist in voicing political demands to the government to encourage the formulation of policies based on public voice (Ezrow, 2011). Parties are exclusive parties that can control access to decision-making positions (Geyikci, 2015), encourage the government to be responsive to citizens, and influence political processes in the legislature (Stokes, 1999). Therefore, strengthening political parties is one of the keys to building democracy (Fionna, 2013).

Randal and Svasand (2002) assess the institutionalization of political parties as contributing to consolidating democracy. A high level of political party institutionalization will positively impact the political stability of a democratic country. Parties can minimize or channel conflict between groups on available political media and promote smooth leadership succession (Scarrow, 2005). In addition, parties can practice democratic values, encourage the creation of democratic rules and procedures, enable rational policy implementation, and strengthen party resilience to conflict (Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), 2004).

Otherwise, consolidating democracy will be hampered if parties are not yet institutionalized. It is because parties cannot represent and connect citizens' interests with the government (Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), 2004). Parties tend to be unclear in showing the relationship between programs and ideology, so the roots of parties are

weak in society (Mainwaring & Torcal, 2005). Personal leadership is also more prominent than the party program. Party identity becomes unimportant, so it is difficult for voters to distinguish one party from another, making party politicians not have a specific orientation toward their work goals (Sagarzazu, 2011).

Building upon several concepts and studies about party institutionalization conducted above, this article discusses and offers an instrument as a preliminary study regarding the index of party institutionalization in Indonesia. The purpose of this study is to complement and strengthen the analysis of party institutionalization, which has been analyzed qualitatively. Several studies on the Institutionalization Party that have been conducted previously are still portrayed partially, including various studies conducted in Indonesia. The partial aspect of these previous studies can be seen from the narrow locus of the study or only focusing on a specific party. Thus, those studies have not provided measurement instruments to explore the achievements of party institutionalization in Indonesia. Therefore, a standardized instrument is needed based on a scientific study that can serve as a reference for various parties involved in assessing the institutionalization of political parties, especially in Indonesia. The preparation of this instrument synthesizes several concepts and dimensions regarding party institutionalization. It is expected to quantitatively measure and analyze the degree of institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia.

As a preliminary study, this instrument measures the extent to which

party institutionalization has been strengthened in Indonesia. Previous studies have examined the institutionalization of political parties on two main themes. The first is from the side of the party institutionalization process, such as the LIPI study 2008, which examines the challenges and obstacles in political party institutional reform (Romli, 2008). Subsequent studies specifically highlight political parties such as the Golkar Party (Tomsa, 2008); and Fionna (2013) regarding the institutionalization of parties at the branch level, which produces a bottom-up perspective on party activity, administration, and membership as well as factors that could strengthen the party's organizational basis; Noor (2015) analyzes explicitly the institutionalization of PKB and PKS from the side of internal fragmentation and the ability to develop cohesion (Noor, 2015).

Secondly, studies on the institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia lead to weak party institutionalization. This phenomenon can be seen from several studies, such as the role of specific figures or party leaders in determining party decisions or policies (Budiatri, 2018), factionalization, internal conflict, and party divisions (Budiatri et al., 2018; Fionna & Tomsa, 2017; Tomsa, 2010). In addition, oligarchy, political corruption, and weak party cadre loyalty increasingly make parties a place for politicians to hunt for patronage (E. Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019; Mietzner, 2015).

According to previous studies, this study attempts to develop an instrument as a preliminary study that contains measurements (indices) of political party institutionalization by synthesizing several

concepts. Huntington (1968) defines institutionalization as "the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability," which is translated into four dimensions: adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence. Levitsky (1998) emphasizes institutionalization as value infusion and institutionalization as behavioral routinization in institutionalization. Party institutionalization is also interpreted as "the way the organization solidifies" (Panebianco in (Randall & Svasand, 2002)).

The meaning of institutionalization is then elaborated by Randal and Svasand (2002) as "the process by which the party becomes established in terms of both integrated patterns of behavior and attitudes, or culture. This definition has two aspects: the party's internal development side and the party's relationship with society and other institutions as an external side. This study then develops four dimensions of party institutionalization: systemness, value infusion, decisional autonomy, and reification. This instrument also adopts how parties exist in the public mind (Kenneth Janda in (Harmel, 2016)), and parties could compete in at least three elections in a row (Rose & Mackie (Harmel, 2016)).

METHOD

In developing political party institutionalization instruments, the authors used a quantitative approach with the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) technique. This study departed from a theory that was considered relevant and then broke the theory down into dimensions and indicators that were also relevant to the context of research on political parties in

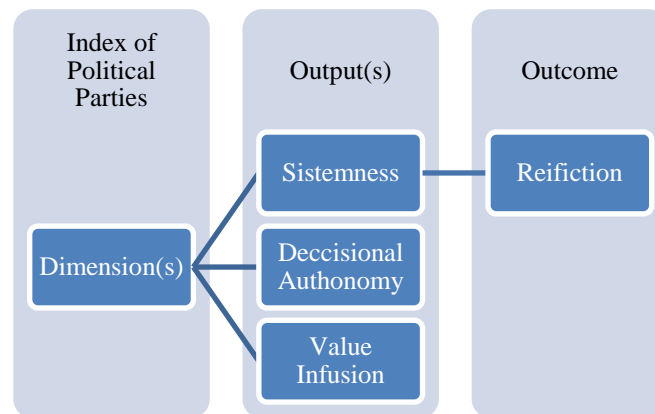
Indonesia and then tested their validity. In this context, the authors departed from Randall and Svansand's four criteria for political party institutionalization, which were then confirmed, whether they were relevant to the conditions of Indonesian political parties or not. The author then elaborated these four dimensions into several sub-dimensions to indicators. To test the validity of the compiled instruments, the authors confirmed the theory using the content validity method by asking experts to provide expert judgment on the compiled instruments. In this preliminary study, the research stage in the expert judgment process is still ongoing. In the end, the results of the content validity test will form a construct that will perfect the entire CFA method.

RESULT & DISCUSSION

Based on various concepts and the spirit of perfecting previous qualitative studies on the institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia, it becomes necessary to present a set of criteria for measuring the degree of institutionalization of political parties. The aim is to be able to provide an objective, measurable, and comprehensive assessment of how a political party is institutionalized. By providing measurements that look at the internal and external perspectives of political parties, this study succeeded in constructing an index instrument which is an elaboration of the four criteria put forward by Randall and Svasand; systemness, decisional autonomy, value infusion, and reification.

What was stated by Randall and Svasand about the four criteria in the institutionalization of political parties has

been analyzed by the authors as the most relevant concept to the conditions of political parties in Indonesia. However, in their operationalization, the authors do not ignore several other aspects put forward by several other scholars, such as complexity by Huntington, solidity by Panebianco, existence by Janda, and other aspects as stated by other scholars who have studied the institutionalization of political parties. Therefore, to elaborate on the four criteria by Randall and Svasand, the authors improvised the four dimensions by redefining them contextually with the conditions in Indonesia and breaking them down into sub-dimensions, sub-sub-dimensions, and variables/indicators which were constructed from the results of the authors' study from various relevant literature, the results of discussions with experts, and the authors' observations of the condition of political parties in Indonesia. To contextualize it to Indonesia's condition, we define the reification dimension by Randall dan Svasand as we categorize it as the "outcome" of a political party's activities rather than the outputs likewise the three other dimensions. One reason why we categorize the dimension of reification as an outcome rather than an output is that this dimension is related to the public response or acceptance of a political party. While the other three dimensions are still at the level of output, focusing on the internal scope of the party. They also do not directly concern the public response to what happens within the internal dynamics of the political party. Therefore, the sole dimension that represents the "impact" of the internal dynamics of the party in this case is the dimension of reification.



The following is an explanation of the constructed political party institutionalization index instrument (the complete instrument is in the appendix section):

Systemness

According to Panebianco (1988), systemness can be interpreted as the ability of political parties to create a situation of interdependence among party elements. In a political party, the level of systemness will be higher if the party can reduce the potential for a person or group of people to carry out political maneuvers within the party on behalf of their exclusive interests (Panebianco, 1988). To develop what Panebianco meant about systemness, Randall and Svasand (2002) explained that systemness refers to the increasing scope, density, and regularity of the interactions that constitute the party as a structure. Regularity here refers to a level of routine and the development of prevalent conventions that guide the activities and behavior of all party cadres and members (Randall & Svasand, 2002).

Based on the two concepts of systemness above, systemness here refers to

the consistency of political parties in carrying out their party activities by existing procedural rules (party statute/other relevant party rules). In other words, this dimension emphasizes the adherence aspect of political parties to the procedures that apply legally in a political party. This dimension focuses on three sub-dimensions, namely consistency of recruitment against party rules, consistency of internal conflict resolution against party rules, and consistency of policymaking against party rules.

Related to the first sub-dimension, this is essential because one of the functions of the party is to regenerate party cadres through the mechanism of political recruitment. Thus, the recruitment process must be regulated consistently according to party regulations, and practice must also be consistent according to the party rules. There are three sub-sub-dimensions, namely recruitment of party members, recruitment of internal party officials, and recruitment of public officials. Each of these sub-sub-dimensions is then translated into three indicators/variables, namely the existence of rules regarding recruitment in the three sub-sub-dimensions above, conformity between the mechanisms and existing rules, and the

absence of objections to the recruitment process in the three sub-sub dimensions.

The second sub-dimension is about the consistency of internal conflict resolution against party rules. This sub-dimension also departs from one of the functions of political parties, especially about parties as conflict regulators. Internal party conflict is common. However, how the party manages the conflict and resolves it institutionally is an essential focus for assessing whether the conflict resolution agency/unit within a party can function properly. Especially in Indonesia, the Party Court has been legally empowered by law to become a legitimate party body to resolve internal party conflicts. Therefore, a party that is well institutionalized is a party that can resolve conflicts institutionally through the party court by the applicable party rules. There are three indicators/variables in this sub-dimensional, namely (1) the existence of rules regarding internal party conflict resolution, (2) Conformity between technical guidelines (juknis)/mechanisms for resolving party internal conflicts with AD/ART, and (3) Absence of complaints/objections related to conflict resolution that has been carried out.

The third sub-dimension, namely the consistency of policymaking against party rules, relates to how parties formulate internal party policies by existing procedures. This sub-dimensional see that the unilateral decision-making by party elites which often manifests as internal party policies is a bad precedent for the institutionalization of political parties. Therefore, this subdimension considers that decision-making in political parties must be by the applicable party rules. There are three

indicators/variables to measure this subdimension, namely (1) the existence of rules related to the mechanism of decision-making within the party, (2) conformity between the technical guidelines for making party policies and AD/ART, and (3) the absence of complaints regarding policy making that has been because it is against party rules.

Value Infusion Dimension

The term “value infusion” refers to an aspect related to the existence of a value serving as an identity and binding all party members. In this regard, issues such as ideology, beliefs, or shared values are the key when discussing institutionalization issues, which foster togetherness and strengthen commitment to the ideals of the party among cadres. According to Randal & Savasand (2002: 13), value infusion eventually plays an important role in the party's success in creating its own distinctive culture or value system, thereby leading to party cohesion.

Levitsky asserts that value infusion is related to cultivating a commitment to togetherness generating the interests and existence of the party above all else. For Levitsky, an institutionalized party is expected to maintain its existence through a process of transformation or infusion of values creating similarities between the ideals and interests of the party and its cadres and supporters (Levitsky, 1998). Similarly, McGuire (1997) points out that "value infusion helps an organization survive long enough to become taken for granted; as such, both value infusion and taken-for-granted-ness enhance an organization's

capacity to shape and constrain behavior over an extended period" (McGuire, 1997).

As a manifestation of the existence of value infusion, the party becomes institutionalized, which Selznick (1957: 22) defines as "the 'receptacle' of group idealism" (Selznick, 1957). The party becomes so valuable in the eyes of cadres and is not merely an expandable tool. Instead, the party is considered "the organization that one should not do without" (Basedau & Stroh, 2008: 8). Hence, such value infusion ultimately fosters the party identity and the spirit of togetherness among cadres (McGuire, 1997: 8). In this stage, party provides a means of fulfilling personal idealistic satisfaction (Selznick, 1957: 17). Accordingly, within an institutionalized party, each member of the party is compelled by party ideals, attempting to behave politically by the beliefs of party.

Three subdimensions should be implemented to measure the presence of the value infusion dimension. The more a party achieves a high score in these three subdimensions, it is perceived that the party is institutionalized. The first subdimension is whether the values exist, exhibited in the party's ideology, vision/mission, and platform as a guide for all members to behave. For this subdimension, there are two variables, (1) the existence of shared values, mentioned in official documents such as the party's manifesto, the preamble of the party's statutes, and platform, and (2) the presence of such values in the party's statutes.

The second subdimension is whether these values are disseminated to all party members. In other words, there is an institution, mechanism, and activities that

contain the value infusion process for all party cadres. The more these matters are carried out routinely and consistently, the more the party is institutionalized. To measure this subdimension there are 3 variables namely, (1) the existence of institutions that take care of the value infusion process, (2) the implementation of a curriculum or model for value infusion, and (3) the presence of activities related to value infusion.

The third subdimension is whether there is an effort to cultivate these values in the internal party's life. It means the shared values are consciously, systematically, and consistently exercised by all cadres in terms of individual and collective matters; or practiced when addressing the policies. The more institutionalized a party is, the more shared values are grasped in party life. The variables of this subdimension are (1) shared values as the consideration guidelines for the code of conduct or in the policy-making process and (2) shared values as consideration elements in determining the careers of cadres.

Decisional Autonomy

According to Huntington (1968), one of the criteria for the institutionalization of political parties is autonomy (Huntington, 1968). An institutionalized party is a party that can maintain its autonomy, in various affairs from the influence of other organizations. Meanwhile, Basedau and Stroh (2008) view autonomy as the party's ability to be free from all interventions of interests, both from individuals from within the party and groups from outside the party. Randall and Svasand (2002) also measure the institutionalization of political parties

through decisional autonomy which emphasizes the degree of party autonomy in making decisions. In this case, autonomy means the ability of political parties to be free from all external interventions that may be carried out when making decisions.

Three sub-dimensions should be implemented to measure decisional autonomy. The first sub-dimension is autonomy in policy making. An institutionalized party is a party that can freely or autonomously determine its policy direction. The party is free to determine the agenda and program of the party as well as how to determine the strategy to achieve the goals. This sub-dimension is further divided into two sub-subdimensions, namely party has autonomy in formulating the party agenda and in developing party policies. The two sub-subdimensions are derived into variables/indicators, including (1) there is intervention by certain party figures in making party agendas, (2) there is intervention by mass organizations in making party agendas, (3) there is intervention by certain party figures in developing policies, and (4) there is intervention by businessmen in developing policies.

The second sub-dimension is autonomy in managing the organization. In this case, the party does not have a dependence on outsiders to carry out the party's managerial duties, including in conflict resolution. Within this sub-dimension, four sub-subdimensions describe the autonomy of political parties in managing the organization, including first, the party has autonomy in determining party leadership. Related to these two variables are used as measurements, namely (1) the

existence of government intervention in making decisions and (2) the intervention of mass organizations in making decisions. Second, the party has autonomy in financial management, which is derived into two variables, namely the (1) intervention of businessmen in managing party finances and (2) the intervention of mass organizations in managing party finances. The third sub-subdimension is that the party has autonomy in determining the party's management structure. In this case, two variables are measured, namely (1) the intervention of certain party leaders in determining the management structure and (2) the intervention of businessmen in determining the management structure. The last sub-subdimension is that the party has autonomy in resolving conflicts. The measure is (1) the existence of government intervention in making decisions and (2) the intervention of mass organizations in making decisions.

The third sub-dimension is autonomy in recruiting public officials. An institutionalized party is a party that can avoid outside intervention in terms of recruitment to fill public officials. This sub-dimensional is divided into two sub-subdimensions, namely first, the party has autonomy in determining candidates for national office, and second, the party has autonomy in determining candidates for local office. The first sub-subdimensions are derived from two variables, including (1) the intervention of businessmen in determining candidates for national office and (2) the intervention of certain party figures. The second sub-subdimension is derived from the variables of (1) the existence of businessmen's intervention in determining

candidates for local officials and (2) the intervention of certain party figures.

Reification

The reification dimension is a dimension that looks at how far the existence of a party can be established in the public imagination. How parties are installed in the public imagination and as a factor shaping the behavior of political actors (Randall & Svasand, 2002). This dimension is the attitude dimension of the party's external relations, how the party gains recognition and legitimacy, and external support. Namely, some supporters are stable and can be identified in the community (Randall, 2006). Reification is also related to the history and symbolic values of the party and how the party has access to effective means of communication. In addition, reification looks at the party's age, namely the party's ability to survive or adapt from time to time (Randall & Svasand, 2002).

Reification requires an intense relationship between the party and the public. The extent to which the public knows about party policies' ideology, vision, and character (Noor, 2012). This relationship leads to forming the desired image according to the party's ideals. The suitability of the image built in society can be an assessment of the success of party reification (Noor, 2012). According to Noor, reification is also related to the issue of the extent of community identification with parties. The wider the community who identifies with the party can show the extent to which the party has taken root in society.

From this understanding, the image dimension or public knowledge in this

instrument refers to how the existence of parties can be recorded in society through party symbols or other party identities so that they can gain legitimacy and parties can compete in elections. In this instrument, the reification dimension consists of three sub-dimensions. Each sub-dimensional consists of several variables or indicators. The first sub-dimensional is related to the party symbol. How party symbols exist in the imagination and memory of the public. This sub-dimensional consists of three variables, namely, (1) public perception of the image of the party symbol. This is related to how the public perceives the image of the party symbol. (2) Variable public perception of the color of the party symbol. This variable is related to how the public perceives the colour of the party's symbol and (3) the variable of public perception of party figures. This variable is related to how the public perceives party figures, such as party founders, specific party figures, or party leaders. The second sub-dimensional is the party's political identity. There are three variables in this sub-dimensionality. (1) Variable public perception of party ideology. This variable is related to how the public perceives the party's ideology. (2) Public perception of the direction of the party's struggle. This variable relates to how the party's struggle is captured or assessed by the public. (3) Public perception of party constituents. This variable is related to how the public perceives the party's constituents.

The third sub-dimensional adaptation. This sub-dimensional is related to the party's ability to adapt to the times. The adaptation sub-dimensional consists of two variables. (1) The party variable participates in elections regularly, in this

case, three consecutive elections. (2) the party has a stable number of voters. This variable is related to whether the number of party voters has a stable range of variation.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the analysis of the institutionalization of political parties can be completed through a quantitative approach through index instruments to become the basis for measuring the degree of institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia. As a pre-preliminary study, this instrument is the result of modifying the main concept of political party institutionalization from Randal & Svasand. The authors complement it with other qualitative studies to suit the conditions of political parties in Indonesia. Based on the modification and elaboration results, we define three

dimensions that can be measured in the institutionalization of political parties in Indonesia, namely internal, external, and value infusion.

On the internal dimension, this instrument will measure it by looking at the dynamics within the party where the main reference is party rules. Then on, the external dimension will be measured through the interaction of the party with parties outside the party, including community assessments. In the value infusion dimension, the instrument will measure or test how the values of political parties are embedded in their members. However, these three dimensions are still in the content validity process, which has been ongoing until now. In other words, this instrument is still being developed by researchers so that it will produce an instrument construct.

REFERENCES

- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Pemilu, Klientelisme, dan Negara di Indonesia*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor.
- Basedau, M., & Stroh, A. (2008). *Measuring Party Institutionalization in Developing Countries: A New Research Instrument Applied to 28 African Political Parties* (69).
- Biezen, I. v., & Katz, R. S. (2005). *Democracy and Political Parties*.
- Budiatri, A. P. (Ed.). (2018). *Personalisasi Partai Politik di Indonesia Era Reformasi*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor.
- Budiatri, A. P., Haris, S., Romli, L., Nuryanti, S., Nurhasim, M., Darmawan, D., & Hanafi, R. I. (2018). *Faksi dan Konflik Internal Partai Politik di Indonesia Era Reformasi* (A. P. Budiatri, Ed.). Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Ezrow, N. M. (2011). *The Importance of Parties and Party System Institutionalization in New Democracies*.
- Fionna, U. (2013). *The Institutionalisation of Political Parties in Post-authoritarian Indonesia: From the Grassroots Up*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Fionna, U., & Tomsa, D. (2017). *Parties and Factions in Indonesia: The Effects of Historical Legacies and Institutional Engineering* (01).
- Geyikci, Y. S. (2015). Party Institutionalization and Democratic Consolidation: Turkey and Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective. *Party Politics*, 21(4), 527–538.
- Harmel, R. et all. (2016). *Party Institutionalization and De-institutionalization: Concepts and Indicators*.

Vol.10, No.1, 2024
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v10i1.45201
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

- Huntington, S. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Yale University Press.
- Levitsky, S. (1998). Institutionalization and Peronism: The Concept, the Case, and the Case for Unpacking the Concept. *Party Politics*, 4(1), 77–92.
- Mainwaring, S., & Torcal, M. (2005). *Party System Institutionalization And Party System Theory After The Third Wave Of Democratization* (319).
- McGuire, J. W. (1997). *Peronism without Peron. Unions, Parties and Democracy in Argentina*. Stanford University Press.
- Mietzner, M. (2015). Dysfunction by Design: Political Finance and Corruption in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 47(4), 587–610.
- Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD). (2004). *Institutional Development Handbook: A Framework for Democratic Party-Building*. The Hague: NIMD.
- Noor, F. (2012). *Pelebagaian Partai Politik: Perspektif, Pengertian, dan Operasionalisasi Konsep*. Universitas Indonesia.
- Noor, F. (2015). *Perpecahan dan Soliditas Partai Islam di Indonesia: Kasus PKB dan PKS di Dekade Awal Reformasi*. LIPI Press.
- Panebianco, A. (1988). *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge University Press.
- Randall, V. (2006). *Party Institutionalization and its Implications for Democracy*. IPSA Congress at Fukuoka.
- Randall, V., & Svasand, L. (2002). Party Institutionalization in New Democracies. *Party Politics*, 8(1), 5–29.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068802008001001>
- Romli, L. (2008). *Pelebagaian Partai Politik Pasca Orde Baru*. LIPI Press.
- Sagarzazu, I. (2011). *Weak Party Institutionalization And The Dynamics Of Political Dialogue*.
- Scarrow, S. (2005). *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspective: Implementing Intra-Party Democracy*. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.
- Selznick, P. (1957). *Leadership in Administration. A Sociological Interpretation*. Row, Peterson and Company.
- Stokes, S. C. (1999). Political Parties and Democracy. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 2, 243–267.
- Tomsa, D. (2008). *Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia Golkar in the post-Suharto Era*. Routledge.
- Tomsa, D. (2010). The Indonesia Party System after the 2009 Elections: Toward Stability? In E. and M. M. Aspinall (Ed.), *Problem of Democratisation in Indonesia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Appendix

Instrument of Political Party Institutionalism Index

Dimensi	Subdimensi	Sub-subdimensi	Variabel/Indikator
Derajat Kesisteman (Systemness)	Konsistensi rekrutmen terhadap aturan partai	Rekrutmen Anggota	Adanya aturan terkait dengan rekrutmen anggota partai Kesesuaian antara petunjuk teknis (juknis)/mekanisme rekrutmen anggota partai dengan aturan yang ada Tidak adanya aduan/keberatan atas implementasi proses rekrutmen anggota partai
		Rekrutmen Pejabat Internal Partai	Adanya aturan terkait dengan rekrutmen pejabat internal partai Kesesuaian antara petunjuk teknis (juknis)/mekanisme rekrutmen pejabat internal partai dengan aturan yang ada Tidak adanya aduan/keberatan atas implementasi proses rekrutmen pejabat internal partai
		Rekrutmen Pejabat Publik	Adanya aturan terkait dengan rekrutmen pejabat publik Kesesuaian antara petunjuk teknis (juknis)/mekanisme rekrutmen pejabat publik dengan aturan yang ada Tidak adanya aduan/keberatan atas implementasi proses rekrutmen pejabat publik
	Konsistensi penyelesaian konflik internal terhadap aturan partai		Adanya aturan terkait penyelesaian konflik internal partai Kesesuaian antara petunjuk teknis (juknis)/mekanisme penyelesaian konflik internal partai dengan AD/ART Tidak adanya aduan/keberatan terkait penyelesaian konflik yang telah dilakukan
			Adanya aturan terkait mekanisme pengambilan kebijakan dalam partai Kesesuaian antara juknis pengambilan kebijakan partai dengan AD/ART Tidak adanya aduan terkait pengambilan kebijakan yang telah dilakukan karena bertentangan dengan aturan partai
	Konsistensi pembuatan kebijakan terhadap aturan partai		Adanya aturan terkait mekanisme pengambilan kebijakan dalam partai Kesesuaian antara juknis pengambilan kebijakan partai dengan AD/ART Tidak adanya aduan terkait pengambilan kebijakan yang telah dilakukan karena bertentangan dengan aturan partai
Infusi Nilai (value infusion)	Keberadaan nilai-nilai/prinsip yang diyakini bersama (collective values)		Adanya nilai bersama yang tertuang dalam Piagam Pendirian/Manifesto/Mukadimah Adanya nilai bersama yang tertuang dalam AD/ART
			Adanya badan atau lembaga pelaksana internalisasi sesuai aturan Diterapkannya kurikulum/modul internalisasi Adanya kegiatan sebagai penjabaran/pelaksanaan internalisasi
	Proses internalisasi/sosialisasi collective values		Inklusi nilai dalam pertimbangan/konsideran/acuan program/kebijakan partai Inklusi nilai dalam penentuan jenjang karir kader
Kemandirian (Decisional Autonomy)	Kemandirian dalam pembuatan agenda dan kebijakan	Partai mandiri dalam membuat agenda partai	Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam membuat agenda partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam membuat agenda partai
		Partai mandiri dalam membangun kebijakan partai	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam membangun kebijakan partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam membangun kebijakan partai
		Partai mandiri dalam penentuan kepemimpinan partai	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam menentukan kepemimpinan partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam menentukan kepemimpinan partai
	Kemandirian dalam pengelolaan organisasi	Partai Mandiri dalam kebijakan pengelolaan finansial	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam penentuan kebijakan pengelolaan finansial partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam penentuan kebijakan pengelolaan finansial partai
		Partai mandiri dalam penentuan struktur kepengurusan partai	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam penentuan struktur pengurus
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam penentuan struktur pengurus
		Partai mandiri dalam penyelesaian konflik	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam penyelesaian konflik
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam penyelesaian konflik
	Kemandirian dalam merekrut pejabat publik	Partai mandiri dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat nasional	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat nasional
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat nasional
Partai mandiri dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat lokal		Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat lokal	
		Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat lokal	

Dimensi	Subdimensi	Sub-subdimensi	Variabel/Indikator
Derajat Kesisteman (Systemness)	Konsistensi rekrutmen terhadap aturan partai	Rekrutmen Anggota	Adanya aturan terkait dengan rekrutmen anggota partai
			Kesesuaian antara petunjuk teknis (juknis)/mekanisme rekrutmen anggota partai dengan aturan yang ada
			Tidak adanya aduan/keberatan atas implementasi proses rekrutmen anggota partai
		Rekrutmen Pejabat Internal Partai	Adanya aturan terkait dengan rekrutmen pejabat internal partai
			Kesesuaian antara petunjuk teknis (juknis)/mekanisme rekrutmen pejabat internal partai dengan aturan yang ada
			Tidak adanya aduan/keberatan atas implementasi proses rekrutmen pejabat internal partai
	Konsistensi penyelesaian konflik internal terhadap aturan partai	Rekrutmen Pejabat Publik	Adanya aturan terkait dengan rekrutmen pejabat publik
			Kesesuaian antara petunjuk teknis (juknis)/mekanisme rekrutmen pejabat publik dengan aturan yang ada
			Tidak adanya aduan/keberatan atas implementasi proses rekrutmen pejabat publik
			Adanya aturan terkait penyelesaian konflik internal partai
			Kesesuaian antara petunjuk teknis (juknis)/mekanisme penyelesaian konflik internal partai dengan AD/ART
			Tidak adanya aduan/keberatan terkait penyelesaian konflik yang telah dilakukan
Infusi Nilai (value infusion)	Keberadaan nilai-nilai/prinsip yang diyakini bersama (collective values)		Adanya nilai bersama yang tertuang dalam Piagam Pendirian/Manifesto/Mukadimah
			Adanya nilai bersama yang tertuang dalam AD/ART
	Proses internalisasi/sosialisasi collective values		Adanya badan atau lembaga pelaksana internalisasi sesuai aturan
			Diterapkannya kurikulum/modul internalisasi
	Pelaksanaan/pembudayaan collective values dalam kehidupan partai		Adanya kegiatan sebagai penjabaran/pelaksanaan internalisasi
			Inklusi nilai dalam pertimbangan/konsideran/acuan program/kebijakan partai
Kemandirian (Decisional Autonomy)	Kemandirian dalam pembuatan agenda dan kebijakan	Partai mandiri dalam membuat agenda partai	Inklusi nilai dalam penentuan jenjang karir kader
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam membuat agenda partai
		Partai mandiri dalam membangun kebijakan partai	Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam membuat agenda partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam membangun kebijakan partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam membangun kebijakan partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam membangun kebijakan partai
	Kemandirian dalam pengelolaan organisasi	Partai mandiri dalam penentuan kepemimpinan partai	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam menentukan kepemimpinan partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam menentukan kepemimpinan partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam menentukan kepemimpinan partai
		Partai Mandiri dalam kebijakan pengelolaan finansial	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam penentuan kebijakan pengelolaan finansial partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam penentuan kebijakan pengelolaan finansial partai
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam penentuan kebijakan pengelolaan finansial partai
	Kemandirian dalam merekrut pejabat publik	Partai mandiri dalam penentuan struktur kepengurusan partai	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam penentuan struktur pengurus
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam penentuan struktur pengurus
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam penentuan struktur pengurus
		Partai mandiri dalam penyelesaian konflik	Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam penyelesaian konflik
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam penyelesaian konflik
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam penyelesaian konflik
Citra/Pemahaman Publik tentang partai (Reification)	Simbol		Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat nasional
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat nasional
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat nasional
	Identitas Politik		Tidak adanya intervensi pemerintah dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat lokal
			Tidak adanya intervensi ormas dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat lokal
			Tidak adanya intervensi pengusaha dalam menentukan kandidat pejabat lokal
	Adaptasi		Persepsi publik terhadap citra lambang partai
			Persepsi publik terhadap tentang warna lambang partai
			Persepsi publik terhadap tokoh partai