Political Culture of the Golkar Party in North Sumatra Post Reformation

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Abstract: The Golkar Party is one of the largest parties in the history of politics in Indonesia. His contribution in the direction of national development since the New Order Era to the Reformation Era has also colored development from the national to regional levels. In general, the existence of the Golkar Party as an institution cannot be separated from political culture. The image as a ruling party and a party that is close to the people characterizes the Golkar Party with the tagline "Golkar's voice is the voice of the people ". In North Sumatra Province, the votes and seats for the Golkar Party have never been out of the top 3 (three). This means that elements of the Golkar Party's political culture related to the beliefs, values, and attitudes of the Golkar Party always get the sympathy of the people of North Sumatra. The purpose of this study was to analyze how the political culture of the post-Reform Golkar party. The research method is qualitative with descriptive analysis. The results of this study explain the norms and image building of the Golkar Party, the Patronage Relations of the Golkar Party, and the Pattern of Cadreization of the Golkar Party in North Sumatra.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Golkar Party is one of the largest parties in the history of politics in Indonesia. His contribution in the direction of national development since the New Order Era to the Reformation Era has colored development in Indonesia. Both in the crisis period after President Soekarno's Old Order Era, the Reformation Era 1997-1998 until the general election in Indonesia was carried out directly, both presidential elections and regional head elections from 2004 until now. Moreover, during the 7 (seven) elections during the New Order Period (1967-1997), Golkar won the legislative elections 7 (seven) times and during the 5 (five) elections during the Reformation period (1998-2019), once Golkar won the general election. legislative and never leave the top 3 (three) positions nationally. This means that without a political culture, it is impossible for the Golkar Party to remain in the top order of the general election in Indonesia.

Political culture in general is an integral part of symbols, myths, beliefs and values that are embedded in a society. The elements contained in political culture are more symbolic in nature combined with elements of the beliefs of a community group. Lehmann (1972) states that political culture is very important in understanding the institutions and legitimacy of a government (Lehman, 1972).

While Wilson (2011) says that political culture is a manifestation of the psychological and mental aspects of politics which include personality traits and social systems (Wilson, 2011). This means that in general political culture is the beliefs, values, and attitudes of the people towards the government or political leaders (Obeidi, 2001). However, each element of society has a different political culture between the general public and their elites who tend to divide sharply between the elite group and the mass group.

Research related to political culture in Indonesia has always been a very interesting study, especially when it is linked to the dynamics of public political

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participation. Where the political process in the cultural framework is influenced by the development of the existing order in society. Especially related to education and political understanding, it greatly influenced the development of political culture in Indonesia, which had different characteristics during the Old Order, New Order, and Reformation eras (Sumartono, 2018).

Contextually the development of political culture in Indonesia is manifested by the birth of political parties. Political parties within the framework of power always try to win the sympathy of the people through the general election mechanism with the aim of placing their cadres in a government that does not conflict with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Gaffar, 1999).

The existence of Golkar as an institution is a necessity. The initial conception was certainly related to the democratization agenda requiring political means or channels with the needs of the community (Mainwaring, 1998). The Golkar Party is a tool that has a variety of functions, platforms (party programs) and rationale that are used as considerations to assess democracy in a government. In its development, Golkar built a significant and representative political culture to participate in determining policies (policy) through a strong organizational system supported by its wing organizations that joined the Golkar Secretariat, such as the All-Indonesian Employee Organization Center (SOKSI), the Republican Employee Movement. Indonesia (GAKARI), the Development Potential of Work (BPPK), the Mutual Cooperation Savings Cooperative (KASGORO), and the Mutual Cooperation Family Consultation (MKGR) (Tandjung, 2007).

This means that the political culture built by Golkar since its establishment, was initiated and developed against the background of the situation, conditions, socialization and political education of the cadres themselves. Especially for party elites who have the authority and power in making policies so that the political culture of Golkar changes from time to time.

There are two tendencies in discussing the political culture of the Golkar Party in two eras, namely the New Order and the Reformation era. The first departs from a behavioral study perspective that focuses on the relativity of political culture in the Golkar party to explain the differences in institutional implementation centered on President Suharto's patron. Second, a sociological view that emphasizes the modernization process of the Golkar Party which influences the formation of political culture. The political culture of the Golkar Party in the view of

changing political culture emphasizes organizational political change through shifting social and cultural values from the conventional to the modern party. Specifically, the political culture of the Golkar Party is directed at changing political culture following the times in the digital era, where information technology and communication media are a means of shifting attitudes, behavior, and values related to the post-reform Gokkar Party political pattern.

One of the areas that has become the power base of the Golkar Party in Indonesia today is North Sumatra Province. As the region with the 4th largest number of voters in Indonesia after West Java, East Java, and Central Java. The province of North Sumatra has played a major role in the survival of the post-Reformation Golkar Party. This is confirmed by several regions in North Sumatra, namely the City/Regency controlled by the Golkar Party both in the executive and legislative branches. In addition, the position of the Golkar Party in the North Sumatra local parliament after the reform from 1999-2019 was very significant in determining the political dynamics in North Sumatra. In North Sumatra, the power of the Golkar Party undoubtedly had a significant impact on general socio-political change.

The Golkar Party builds an image that the organization's political culture relies on strength in its bases, especially in plantation areas in North Sumatra which includes AsahanRegency, Simalungun Regency, Labuhanbatu Regency, South Labuhanbatu Regency, TanjungBalai City, PematangSiantar City, Deli Serdang Regency and other districts. Serdang Bedagai. The political culture of the Golkar Party in the Reformation era in North Sumatra understood the social response to the understanding of the people in North Sumatra.In this position, the Golkar Party of North Sumatra plays a role in bringing about change in increasing public political awareness and increasing the Golkar Party as a political force in North Sumatra. Apart from the structural reforms of the North Sumatran Golkar Party after the victory of the EdyRahmayadi-Musa Rajeckshah pair after the 2018 North Sumatra elections.

The Golkar Party tries to answer the challenge with a politically moderate political culture. So that stability becomes very important by placing cadres who sit in executive positions as administrators in North Sumatra. This is important considering that in the past decade the internal Golkar Party at the national level has experienced strong dynamics related to internal conflicts. This directly affects the political dynamics in the regions, including in North Sumatra Province.

The efforts of the North Sumatran Golkar Party in making adjustments to political facts by revitalizing basic values and changing paradigms in accordance with changing times are part of the party's political culture. Political Culture is not only about democratization, political participation, transparency, and social justice but also changes in the political structure at the local level in North Sumatra. The Golkar Party always tries to maintain its existence in every election, be it legislative elections or executive elections at the local level.

The proof was in the Simultaneous Pilkada on December 9, 2020, from 23 Cities/Regencies that held the Pilkada in North Sumatra. The Golkar Party has won 16 City/Regency elections in North Sumatra, namely the Medan City Election, Binjai Regional Election, Pematang Siantar Pilkada, Tanjung Balai Pilkada, Gunung Sitoli Pilkada, Serdang Bedagai Regency Pilkada, Simalungun Pilkada, Asahan Pilkada, Labuhan Batu Utara Pilkada, Labuhan Pilkada Batu, Samosir Regency Pilkada, Mandailing Natal (Madina) Pilkada, Humbang Hasundutan (Humbahas) Pilkada, South Tapanuli Pilkada, Pakpak Bharat Pilkada and Nias Pilkada (RMOL/30 December 2021) Post-Reformation Golkar Party's strategy in local politics in North Sumatra is part which is not constant in terms of party organization, external environment and its relation to power. The best cadres of the Golkra party in the regions are always required to take positions among the leadership. Based on the description of the background, the research entitled "Political Culture of the Golkar Party in North Sumatra Post-Reformation" is important to be carried out in order to understand and explain the political culture of the Golkar Party in North Sumatra.

2 RESEARCH METHODS

The writing of this article uses descriptive analysis with qualitative research methods. Researchers can focus on phenomena that occur on problems or phenomena that are actual at the time the research is carried out, then describe the facts about the problem being investigated as they are accompanied by rational and accurate interpretations. This method will help researchers to understand the Political Culture of the Golkar Party in North Sumatra after the Reformation. Research data collection is also carried out through a review process of journals as primary data related to the Political Culture of the Golkar Party in North Sumatra Post-Reformation. Then the secondary data of this research was obtained by the author from books and documents or reports related to the research focus. The author then analyzes the phenomenon of the case inductively about how the Golkar Party in North Sumatra builds, maintains and socializes its post-reform political culture.

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Norms and Image Development of the Golkar Party

Norms in political culture are the embodiment of values, good/bad measures that are used as directors, guidelines, and drivers of community action into common life. The form of values and norms embodied ethically in politics about the size of good or bad that regulates how a person should carry out a political activity. It is called the form of norms in political culture, because between norms and values are closely related, even as a unit, especially the value of goodness in matters of power and its aim is to prosper the community. The norm then becomes an active embodiment of an institution in achieving its goals.

As a political party that adheres to norms, the Golkar Party views norms as a value, or a quality that every politician should have. The political boundaries in the electoral context state that the norms implemented by the Golkar Party are capabilities that can bring prosperity to the community. Every political activity is said to contain value, if the act can realize what is desired together to achieve a common goal, then the political elite in people's lives will automatically do good, which is what it should be (Parmono, 1989).

The norm of kindness is something that the people want, which is then captured by the Golkar Party, something that every Golkar Party politician strives for and becomes the goal of. The Golkar Party's tagline, namely "Golkar's voice is the voice of the people ". becomes the actualization of values carried out in order to achieve the goal, namely the formation of the image of the Golkar party that sided with the interests of the community. Although there are different views on a political decision and policy, but the goal for the benefit of society is something that must be achieved (Nimmo, 2000). The goal of the Golkar Party is the general welfare which should not conflict with the interests of the constituents.

Through the basis of norms, Golkar then builds its political image which is formed from experiences in power during the New Order period and how to rise from the slump in its image in the 1998 reformation

period. Moreover, the process of forming the image of the Golkar Party is formed from information received either directly or through the political media regarding how the views of the Golkar Party are formed. the public against the Golkar Party. The formation of the image of the Golkar Party also includes how organizational norms are reported through the mass media which work to convey the general and actual political message of the Golkar Party. It also forms the perception that is built through norms manifested as a cognitive consequence of the political communication of the Golkar Party itself. This is of course related to how the values in the communication of the Golkar Party do not directly lead to certain opinions or behaviors, but tend to influence the way the public organizes the image of the Golkar Party as a political party that fights for society.It is the image of the Golkar Party that ultimately influences the opinion or behavior of the public on how post-reform Golkar has formed a new political culture as the party of ideas. The conception of the Gokkar Party as an arena of sharp, lively and creative idea competition, is not just an arena for power struggles but also to build political culture as an image construction (Cangara, 2009) greater ideals through ideas and ideas with organizational building through norms and values.

Post-reform, the Golkar Party views that what will become strength and power is not only positions, but Golkar views that bright ideas will also get a place on an equal footing with the rulers. Golkar itself as a coalition party does not have the main power in the parliament and government, but with the advantages of its ideas, Golkar is more coloring in every trial in both parliament and government.

Golkar leaders want this battle of ideas to become a tradition in Golkar's activities in party organizations. If this tradition is associated with the spirit of the new paradigm, it will be met with aspects of strength and democratization. Brilliant ideas and thoughts are Golkar's potential strengths, while debate interactions are a democratic way to find the truth. As an effort to encourage Golkar Party cadres to develop ideas, Golkar often invites experts who have expertise in certain fields that are not owned by Golkar cadres, thus Golkar has a challenge to continuously come up with new ideas.

This means that Golkar's ideals of building the tradition of The Party of Idea formed by value awareness will be realized when the ranks of the board and cadres are controlled regularly from the central board to regional administrators. Through norms and values in the construction of the Golkar Party as an idea party with political values, norms and

culture carried out in various party activities which are organizationally facilitated by Golkar, so that cadres can grow, be empowered and have awareness in politics, this is one way what Golkar does to gain and maintain party power, so that it can regain the trust of the masses so that it is imaged as a party that is close to the people.

3.2 Golkar Party Patronage Relations

Political culture in Indonesia cannot be separated from a culture of patronage (Reeve, 1985). This is rooted in the long history of the archipelago consisting of kingdoms spread across various regions in Indonesia. Empirical findings from various existing literatures are patterned on the concept of patronage according to Edward Aspinall (2014) explaining the term patronage concept as an inseparable part of political life and power relations. Including those related to the Golkar Party, which since its establishment during the Old Order, triumphed during the New Order and continues to exist during the reformation period to this day.

In the local context, patronage within the Golkar Party shows a tendency related to economic demands and to accommodate people's aspirations in the form of concrete actions and smooth the steps of Golkar Party politicians in North Sumatra to gain votes in the presidential election, legislative general election and head election. region, whether it is the Governor/Deputy Governor to the Regent/Deputy Regent and the Mayor/Deputy Mayor.

Patronage within the Golkar party is clearly taken into account in electoral politics in North Sumatra, where in much of the literature so far it largely depends on what situation is the most effective patronage, what form of patronage dominates, and how patronage can work effectively in North Sumatra. The phenomenon of patronage in the arena of power struggles is quite symptomatic and has become a strategy for mobilizing voters for the Golkar Party which does not only apply to large-scale elections, but also begins to enter elections at the grassroots. This portrait can be seen by the appearance of figures in every election event since the 1998 Reformation period until now in North Sumatra.

Names such as Samsul Arifin (Former Governor of North Sumatra), Ali Umri (Former Mayor of Binjai/Candidate for Governor of North Sumatra 2008), Ngogesa Sitepu (Regent of Langkat), ChairumanHarahap (Candidate for Governor of North Sumatra 2013), Leo Nababan, Meutya Hafid (Members of the DPR RI) to Musa Rajeckshah showed how the Golkar Party in North Sumatra

emphasized character. In addition to the names above, there are many other Golkar Party figures in North Sumatra who have big names and have patronage influence in gaining votes and placing the Golkar Party in North Sumatra into an elite party.

The phenomenon of the patronage of the Golkar party referring to figures is certainly related to social capital and economic capital (Pandiangan, 1996) which ultimately have an impact on the Golkar Party's vote acquisition in the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of North Sumatra.

Table 1: The seats of the Golkar Party in the North Sumatra DPRD 1999-2019.

No	Election/Year	Position	Seats	Total number of seats
1	1999 Election	2	10	85
2	2004 Election	1	19	85
3	2009 Election	3	12	100
4	2014 Election	1	17	100
5	2019 Election	2	15	100

Source: Election Commission

The table above shows that the Golkar Party has never left the 3rd position (the top thirty due to the strong role of political patrons who are strong network and economically. The patronage illustrates the existence of a personified relationship based on conditional loyalty and mutual benefit transactions between Golkar Party cadres) with its constituents.

Where this transaction is not seen as only related to economic problems but is related to If patronage describes more transactional practices that are material but more social in nature, then the pattern of relations between the community and political elites, voters or supporters becomes an absolute relationship. This then builds a political culture in the Golkar Party, apart from building a political idea as a novelty, it also maintains patronage because it is electorally profitable (Triasa, 2012).

3.3 Golkar Party Cadreization Pattern in North Sumatra

The Golkar Party is a well-established party organizationally and bureaucratically. The wide network and the large number of Party cadres bearing the banyan symbol fill legislative and executive positions, making the regeneration pattern very good. This means that a system has been built that is organizationally entrenched in how the Golkar Party in North Sumatra grows and is ready to fight in the general election.

So that one aspect that makes the Golkar Party in North Sumatra become well institutionalized. The impact is that the North Sumatran Golkar Party has become a very stable party, to be present in every general election in North Sumatra after the reform and always getting more than 12% of the vote. Although, among them, many of the North Sumatran Golkar Party cadres moved to either the Hanura Party, Gerindra Party or the National Democratic Party. The North Sumatran Golkar party's vote gain has never dropped drastically.

This means that the competencies possessed by each cadre of the North Sumatran Golkar Party are formed and fostered with the main focus so that each cadre has a commitment to ideology, the ideals of the organization's struggle, is responsible for developing and fortifying the organization. Technically, the North Sumatran Golkar Party cadres are prepared for the process of leadership, independence and popularity. However, in the regeneration process of the North Sumatran Golkar Party cadres, they must sort out how a cadre should behave so that each cadre is competent in wading through electoral battles. Real and proven competent cadres must bring about significant changes in the party and party mass so that they gain the trust of the public as the party's long history has historical value regarding cadres (Chew, 2004).

In the North Sumatran Golkar Party, it has become a political culture that party cadres are grouped into several groups. This grouping of cadres was carried out to facilitate the process of gathering people's aspirations in the North Sumatra region, which consists of two large areas, namely the West Coast of North Sumatra and the East Coast of North Sumatra. So that the North Sumatran Golkar Party cadres are grouped into five, namely: Party Mobilizing Cadres, Functional Cadres, Urban Territorial Cadres, Government Mobilizing Cadres, and Raising Raders.

Of course, each group of cadres has its own task in order to win the Golkar Party in North Sumatra. In general, the tasks of cadres in North Sumatra are aimed at achieving the goals of the Golkar Party to win as many seats as possible in the Provincial DPRD or Regency/City DPRD and be elected as regional head in regency cities in North Sumatra. In its journey, the cadre culture of the Golkar Party continues to undergo modification, adjustment and development according to the social context it faces. Moreover, the wing organization of the Golkar Party also participated in contributing votes in loyal elections.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The existence of the Golkar Party in North Sumatra as a political party that continues to exist after the Reformation cannot be separated from how they maintain and renew their political culture. The Golkar Party's conception of political culture related to political means or channels becomes a necessity in order to keep constituents loyal. In its development, Golkar has built a significant and representative political culture to participate in determining policies (policy) through a strong organizational system. The norm of kindness becomes a political culture to form a positive image in the eyes of the public. Because this is something that the people want, which is then arrested by the Golkar Party, it is something that every Golkar Party politician strives for and becomes the goal of. The Golkar Party's tagline, namely "Voice of the People, SuaraGolkar" becomes the actualization of values carried out in order to achieve the goal, namely the formation of the image of the Golkar party that sided with the interests of the community.

In addition, in the local context, patronage within the Gokkar Party shows a tendency related to economic demands and to accommodate people's aspirations in the form of concrete actions and smooth out the steps of Golkar Party politicians in North Sumatra to gain votes in the presidential election, legislative general election. as well as the election of regional heads, be it Governor/Deputy Governor to Regent/Deputy Regent and Mayor/Deputy Mayor. The positive impact of this political culture is that the North Sumatran Golkar Party has become a very stable party, to be present in every general election in North Sumatra after the reform and always getting more than 12% of the vote. Although many of the North Sumatran Golkar Party cadres have moved parties, it means that the competencies possessed by each North Sumatran Golkar Party cadre are formed and fostered with the main focus so that each cadre has a commitment to ideology, the ideals of the organization's struggle, is responsible for developing and fortifying the organization.

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