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Institutionalization of Political Parties
(Study of Institutionalization of Golkar Party in South Sulawesi Province)

Gustiana A. Kambo

Abstract: This study was intended to describe the dynamics of institutional processes run by the political parties in strengthening the position and role in the democratic system. Institutional process oriented by the party dynamics in building political strength that comes from internal and external mechanisms. In addition, it is understood that the institutionalization built a consensus of shared internal consolidation of all party members.

Study of institutionalization in this research using the idea of Guerlemo O'Donnell and Vicky Randall stated that the process of structural stabilization of the political parties are use the strong patterns of behavior and culture. While the method used is the thought of Edmund Husserl emphasizes the qualitative method in which phenomenological tradition assumes the subjective meaning based on real observations of the social and political orders.

The results of this research showed that there is a transformation of public understanding, especially at the credibility on political parties. The credibility can be gained when a political party is particularly strong in the party institutionalization. In this study, the Golkar Party has showed the ability of the internal management of institutions managed optimally in strengthening the degree of systemic party and able to be a public institution that can mobilize cadres to accept the sovereignty of institutional organization that is rooted in the interests of its constituents.

Keywords: Institutionalization, Political Party, Political Power

INTRODUCTION

Democracy has become a political movement which is very popular and adored by many people. Understand democracy gives freedom to every citizen to take part in the government. Democracies want the sovereignty of the people to participate in any political process. This situation is possible for those who have a political consciousness. Democracy has become a spectrum of political system the countries in the world. Indonesia has been the country which has accelerated the pace of democratization is quite significant currents today, it has gained recognition from the countries in the world that Indonesia always get a very strategic position in global politics. The existence of political parties in democratic countries can not be separated from public life. A political party is regarded as one of the institutions that are able to accommodate the aspirations of the people and can be used as a control tool for government policies. In Indonesia, political parties have become the main pillar supporting the democratic way of life. In the sense that there must be a political party if they want a democracy it goes well. The importance of political parties in fostering democracy must be reflected in the legislation. Political parties in Indonesia is regulated in Law No. 2 of Year 2011.

In the era of reform after the opening tap of freedom to establish political parties, the political situation of the nation is very crowded by the activity of political parties. Various motives underlying the establishment of political parties, such as: (1) the party ambition on the basis of the wishes of people in power, (2) economic motives, people still dream of that political parties is a profit and enrich themselves, their families, and groups, (3) a pragmatic motive power for various reasons, such as ideology, ideas,

and a new structure, (4) transactional and (5) bargaining position. This condition causes the party is not over as the event organizer of people who thirst for power. Indonesia is still in the stage of transition towards democratic consolidation. The transition process is likely to run much longer than previously expected, due to weak components that can guarantee the implementation of a democratic system. One of the component is political parties. Lack of function and process of political party institutionalization that not maximize in Indonesia is a common problem in the era of democratic transition. This problem remains to be coupled with problems of internal consolidation of the political party, so that democracy which is expected to be increasingly difficult to achieve. Consolidations of the internal political party problems are seen from the emergence of internal conflicts that impacted directly on the strength of political parties as an institution.

The existence of political party in a country basically serves as extension of the relationship between people and government. In the category of the function, carry out the mandate of political parties to improve their performance so that it requires a process of institutionalization which is getting stronger. Basically all political parties require institutionalization to improve the performance of the organization. It is able to support the presence of a more democratic process in their activities. Settlement on political parties become essential aspects in the era of democratization. In addition to the political parties have a vital role as a driver of democratic streams, it also affects greatly the degree of function in the activity of institutional order in a country.

Institutionalization of political party is one way to observe the party, especially in developing countries. Seeing the problems faced by the party, the problematic performance of political parties based solely for the implementation of various functions inherent in this organization or about the political recruitment process in the party. In addition, problems can also be seen from the weakness of the parties to manage their organizational, for example about the weakness of the party discipline. Sometimes party is not able to impose strict sanctions on cadres that are less responsive to the policy of the party and is unable to thoroughly and completely run the optimal institutional process.

RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the previous explanation, this research will be directed at how the institutionalization process conducted by the political parties in strengthening the position and role when the public confidence progressively decline to the organization. This study conducted in Indonesia, specifically in South Sulawesi Province. On the basis of these considerations, the relevant posed two fundamental questions: (1) How do the dynamics of the institutionalization process of political parties, Golongan Karya (Golkar) Party in strengthening its position in South Sulawesi Province?; (2) What factors that affect the strength of Golkar Party in the institutionalization process?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Political Parties Institutionalization

Political scientist Huntington mentions that the institutionalization of a political party is an organization processes and procedures to get the specific value and stability. When the political parties have managed to formulate and internalize the values of organizational as

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3 Efriza, op. cit., p. 240

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well as in a certain time period are internal stability, political parties have been well institutionalized.

Serious problems faced by political parties in Indonesia is currently one of which is the lack of institutionalization within the party as a whole. The parties will only run its activities before the election. After that, the public does not know what the parties do. The inability of political parties to implement all the roles and functions within the political reality becomes prolong a bad record for a political parties itself. Party institutionalization can not be carried out properly because there are internal and external parties weaknesses. External ability of the party who has not run a political function well, plus the internal conflict that is increasingly prominent organizations that negate the role of political parties as an institution.

Ramlan Surbakti explained that there are at least three major weakness of political parties in Indonesia. First, the ideology of the party which is not operational, so it is not only difficult to identify the pattern and direction of the policy to the public which fought for but also difficult to differentiate one party with another party. Second, internally, lack of party organization managed democratically, so that the political parties more as conflict organization more than living organism as organization members. Third, externally lacked a clear pattern of accountability to the public.  

Institutionalization of political parties stated by Guelermo O’Donnel involve two important aspects i.e value infusion and behavioral routinization. First, the value of infusion is a process in which the members to shift the focus of the objectives and the specific individual interests towards the goals of the organizations of political parties. From here, the political parties will be able to develop legitimacy, acceptance in the community, and of course rooted the political party in the public (party rootedness).

Second, behavioral routinization, this happens if there are patterns of stable organization, where the rules and norms formally and informally embedded in patterns of party activity so that there will be predictability and regularity behavior and expectations of the members, political party leaders, as well as other general public. It is certainly not going to be easy, because it is always just there are piracy efforts by the political party elites and oligarchs party for their narrow political interests. Sometimes the political parties are not able to manage the routine behavior because of dysfunctional factionalism, which makes it difficult for political party to besolid political actor due to a sharp factions. Institutionalization of political parties according to Vicky Randall and Lars Svasand are: “... the process by which the party become established in terms of both integrated patterns on behaviour and of attitude and culture”.

This institutionalization process contains two aspects: internal-external and structural and cultural aspects. When these two aspects crossed each other it will involve at least four important dimensions, there are:

**a. Dimension of System in Political Parties (Systemness)**

Dimension of system is the performance of the functions of political parties, including the settlement of the conflict, conducted according to the rules, requirements, procedures, and mechanism agreed and specified in the party constitution (AD/  

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5 Efriza. loc. cit.

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Dimension of systemness in political party varies according to: (a) the origin of political parties, namely, whether formed from above, from below, or from above which respond from below; (b) who is more decisive in the party; a party leading people respected the sovereignty or execution of members by the procedures and mechanisms established by the organization as a whole; (c) who decides in decision-making: the factions within the party or the party as a whole; and (d) how the party maintaining relationships with members and sympathizers, namely whether the clientelism (exchange support with the provision of material) or according to the party constitution.

b. Dimension of Value Identity in Political Parties (Value Infusion)

The value identity related to the identity of political parties based on ideology or party platform, the social base of supporters, and the members identification related to pattern and direction of the struggle fought for the political party. The degree of value identity of political party related to (a) the party’s relationship with certain popular bases, namely whether a political party containing dimension as a social movement which is supported by certain populist groups, such as workers, farmers, among certain people, certain religious communities, certain ethnic groups, and (b) the influence of clientelism within the organization, namely whether the party’s relationship with the members tend to be instrumentalists (members are always expecting tangible, resources material form of the party) or more ideological (members recognize and expect the party to act based on the identification of the party’s ideology).

c. Dimension of Autonomy in Political Party (Decisional Autonomy)

The degree of autonomy of a political party in decision-making with regard to the party’s relationship with external actors either party with a particular source of authority (authorities, government), as well as the source of funds (employers, authorities, state or outside agencies) and the source of mass support (community organization); (a) whether the party is dependent on external actors or relationships that are mutually dependent (interdependent), and (b) whether the party’s decision is determined by external actors or relationships that form a network (linkage) which gives support to the party.

Institutional indicators measuring political parties can be measured by the independence party in making a decision, if the decision was not dictated political parties outside but decided alone with or without consultation with external actors who are partners or supporters of the party’s network. A party will have decision-making autonomy if the party independently in funding.

c. Dimension of Public Knowledge about Political Parties (Reification)

The degree of public knowledge about the political parties associated with the ability of a political party to embed an image or, brand name refers to the question whether the existence of political parties has been ingrained in the public imagination. If the existence of a particular political parties has been embedded in the public imagination, then the other party both individuals and institutions will adjust the aspirations and expectations or attitudes and their behavior to the existence of the political parties. The degree of public knowledge is a function of time and party existence.

2. The Factors Affect The Power Of Political Parties

a. Ideology

Ideology is the identity of the political parties who assist voters in determining their alignments. Indeed, how voters in voting
is a complex process and the complexity it becomes increasingly complicated when coupled by the fact that the lack of clarity regarding the identity of each political parties. This can make people become unable to distinguish one party to the other party. The trend is very likely to happen, people become apathetic, abstentions, and simplify the process of granting his voice.  

Ideology in political parties is not only a binder and unseen among its members, but it is the spirit of political parties exclusion to achieve a big goal, not a personal goal or group that moment (pragmatic). The absence of political parties ideology are now shown also by the presence of a handful of intellectuals who simply moving to the other party (jumping squirrel), which never happened in the past. If they are not satisfied with the party with ease as well come out and set up a new party. Members of political parties such as this, can not be counted on to fight for the interests of the people, because the motivation is just a personal interest/group.

b. Elite or Cadre Persona

The elite word used in the 17th century to describe the goods with perfect quality, the use of elite is then expanded to refer to the social groups are superior, for example, first class military units or high levels citizen.  

The basic concept of the theory that was born in Europe this suggests that within the ruling class, in addition to existing ruling elite there is also a counter-elite, which is able to power through mass if the ruling elite lost its ability to govern. In this case, the mass holds a kind of remote control over the ruling elite, but because they are not so indifferent to the game of power, it can not be expected that they would use their influence.

Studies on further political elite made by Mosca who developed the theory of the political elite. According to Mosca, in all societies, ranging from the most enterprising develop themselves and reach the dawn of civilization to the most advanced and powerful people always show up two classes, namely the ruling class and the ruled class. The ruling class is usually a few numbers, holds all political functions, monopoly power and enjoy the benefits he gets from power. Ruled class greater in number, regulated and controlled by the ruling class. The definition proposed by Mosca elite above is supported by Robert Michels who believes that "the iron law of oligarchy inevitable". In any organization, there is always a small group of strong, dominant were able to dictate its own interests.

c. Organization Experience

Political developments in this country much-at least influenced by how the development of the Golkar Party, therefore, fitting presumably this problem we make reflections together. Very important for our nation, both the current generation and future generations, to know clearly what exactly does this Golkar Party for the Indonesia. Because, today, it is still quite a lot of people who think that the Golkar Party could for the good of our nation and state. While some others again, has not put expectations or beliefs at all against him. Golkar Party which has participated ruled for over 30 years condemnate the funding and manage wide networks of powers. Bureaucracy in Indonesia, from central government to local governments is still much to be infiltrated by elements of the New Order, especially Golkar.

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9 Robert Michels in Jayadi Nas, ibid. p.35
d. Financial

Political parties as an organization with a broad political activity require considerable financial support. Without the support and adequate are difficult to expect political parties to be able to carry out its functions effectively. Political party financial is all the rights and obligations of political parties that can be valued in money, in the form of money or goods as well as all forms of property owned and the responsibility of political parties. According to the Law No. 2 of Year 2011 concerning political parties, political party financing can be sourced from: (1) membership dues, (2) donations lawful, and (3) financial assistance from the State Budget/Regional Budget.

RESEARCH METHODS

1. Methods

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative in order to find, describe, and analyze the research object with a correct interpretation. The use of qualitative methods can be shown on the life of society, state, history, behavior, social movements and kinship. Strauss and Corbin (1997: 13) states that the research methods are used to find and understand what is hidden behind the phenomenon is something that is sometimes difficult to be known and understood.

Bodgan and Taylor (1993: 31) says that the qualitative research method allows researchers to create and develop the essential concepts, which are not found in other methods. In addition qualitative research is in accordance with the types of information, i.e. to understand the meaning that underlies the behavior of participants, background and description of complex interactions, to understand the circumstances which are limited in number, with a focus on in-depth and detailed, describing the phenomenon in order to build a theory that requires a focused the interaction and processes they use.

By using this approach it will be able to observe the internal dynamics of the party in the institutional process. Implementation of this research will be strongly emphasized in Verstehen which provides interpretive meaning to the understanding of informants who are directly related to their interests as members of party and the possibility of their involvement in the process of institutionalization.

2. Research Time and Location

This study is planned to run for two years, where the object of study chosen is Golkar, which was designing the process of party institutionalization. Determination of the party is based on the consideration that the party has a major influence on the political system in Indonesia and become a power base in the South Sulawesi. First year of this research focused in South Sulawesi Province, by looking at the process of Golkar Party institutionalization and the mechanism to strengthening its position as a major and dominant party in South Sulawesi. In the second year will be planned in districts/cities level, i.e. Toraja and Makassar as a comparison of the Golkar Party strength in different mass base both in terms of ethnicity and religion.

3. Data Types and Sources

In this study the researchers used data according to the object of research and provides an overview of the research object. Source of data used are:

1. Primary Data

S. Nasution stated primary data is data that can be obtained directly from the field or place of study, while according Loftland that the primary data source in qualitative research is
that words and actions. Words, perceptions, and the ideas are the source of data obtained from the field through the interview process. Researchers used this data to obtain direct information on related themes. To get the data and information, the authors conducted in-depth interviews (direct communication) with key informants.

2. Data Sekunder
Secondary data is the data obtained from the study of literature by reading books and literature, as well as written information and various other sources which consist of magazines, newsletters, publications of various organizations, the results of the study, the results of the research (survey) with regard to the problems examined. In addition, there are websites that are accessed to obtain more accurate data. Secondary data is intended as supporting data to complement and reinforce the depth of this study.

4. Data Collection Technique
1. Interviews
2. Observation
3. Literature Study and Documentation

5. Data Analysis Technique
The process of data analysis performed at the same time with the process of data collection takes place. In analyzing qualitative research, there are several steps that have been made, including:
1. Data Reduction
Data reduction is choosing subject matter in accordance with the focus of research. Data reduction is a form to classifying, directing, reinforcing, making focus, discard unnecessary and organize the data that has been reduced to a final conclusion and provide a sharper view of the observations.
2. Data Categorization
At this stage, the depth knowledge of data is needed. Based on the theoretical framework and guidelines for interviews, researchers compiled an initial framework. The analysis as a reference and guide to coding.

3. Making Conclusions
The conclusion is the end of the research process. This conclusion is a descriptive qualitative, which is the crystallization and conceptualization of the findings in the field. In this study, the writing used is the percentage of the data obtained, namely the writing of data research based on in-depth interviews with the subject and related parties (significant other) with research.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION
Political parties have a very important meaning and has become a common phenomenon in the democratic political life. Axiom applicable, there is no political system that runs without political parties, except the authoritarian political system or traditional power system, where rulers in running power relies heavily on the army or police. But in modern political life requires the implementation of a democratic and representative democracy system, the existence of political parties is a must because the primary function of political parties are competing to win the election, aggregating various interests of the community, providing alternative policies and prepares future leaders who will sit in the government. The objective of establishing a political party therefore is to obtain political office, political power and control of the process of policy formulation. Political parties at this position provide a link between the people and policy makers. Therefore, usually have more than one purpose or interest in the society on some level they are trying aggregating the various goals and interests.

In a democratic political system, political parties have an important role, especially in the framework of the process of democratic consolidation. The fundamental political
change in Indonesia in the reform era that reflects the passage of a less democratic balance between the elite power and the public. Political changes, the establishment of new institutions are not easily agreed upon by the political forces that exist. Whereas in a democratic political system, political parties are required as fast response to various changes. Failure to adjust to the constituents and the will of the people will lead to endangerment survival of the political parties. Survival ability of political parties in institutionalization of political parties at internal level within the territorial context related to the fulfillment of interest mainly to gain power so is not easy. This study reveals how political parties survive and adapt to the political conditions to be recognized again, especially on the party’s ability to compete in the general election, which is focused on the local elections, namely the Governor local election.

The implementation of local elections is one step forward in realizing democracy at the local level. This is one very significant change in the local political context. If the new order era local elections set and interventions by central, now that such processes do not occur again with the implementation of the local elections because people can participate directly in determining who is eligible to become a leader in the region.

In Law No. 32/2004 on regional administration emphasized that the elections for governors, mayors and regents elected directly by the people concerned. This authority is clearly stipulated in article 24 of Law No. 32/2004 which regulates the procedures for local elections, has provided opportunities that are open to the figures or the elite who have the political and administrative competence to be able to run for leader of the regional head. In addition, will also be a competition of political parties in getting the support and trust of the society and provide opportunities to the society is very wide to participate in selecting directly. With this system is expected to realize a democratic election, because the people who elected later is really an option from the people.

Competition of elite and political parties in the election is a phenomenon that attracted much public attention. With the democratic system that gives freedom to every member of society to organize and take part in the election as a system of governance makes local elections as the democracy party that is essential in a democracy era. The success of a political party in an electoral competition can not be separated from the power possessed by the political parties themselves. The strength of a political party can be seen from the internal and external factors in a political party. Internal factors are influenced by three factors: (1) party ideology, (2) party cadres and (3) party financing, while internal factors related to all the factors that are beyond the party itself as a coalition.

1. The Process of Political Parties Institutionalization

Results of this study describes the institutionalization of political parties in preparing a map of political powers towards Governor elections in 2013 and explain the factors that become a political powers from the Golkar Party toward Governor election. The institutionalization built by Golkar party is:

a. Dimension of System

Dimension of system in the institutionalization of the party led to the execution of the functions of political parties, including: conflict resolution, according to the rules, requirements, procedures, and mechanisms agreed upon and set forth in the Party Constitution (AD/ART). The approach of new institutionalism, political parties
rather be seen as an organization rule, where a political party to perform its functions, also in resolving problems in the body of the organization should receive an adjustment of the rules that have been agreed. In this research to identify systemic a party can be determined by using several indicators, i.e. implementation of Party Constitution, Internal Evaluation, Decision-making and recruitment of candidates of political parties that will be carried.

b. Dimension of Value Infusion

Values identity regard to the identity of political parties based on ideology and party platforms, related to the social base of supporters, and the identification of cadres to the pattern and direction of the struggle fought by political parties. In this dimension describes the value, which become the spirit of the organization in formulating any action. Consistency each element of the party against the value of the struggle (platform, ideology), indicating a well institutionalized political parties organizations. Every political party in Indonesia have different platforms, but not rare party ideology that tends equally between one to another parties. DPP II Golkar Party in North Toraja, South Sulawesi as an integral part of Indonesia’s Golkar Party exists to implement all the objectives and the efforts that have been planned based on the identification of the party ideology, it is stated in the AD/ART and guidelines of the party.

c. Dimension of Autonomy

Dimension of autonomy of political party in decision-making regard to the party’s relationship with actors from outside the party either with sources of authority (power, authority and government), as well as the source of funds (economic, rulers, entrepreneur or state) or source of support comes from specific civil society specific.

The institutionalization process of political parties linked to the dimension of autonomy of political party. In general strongly influenced by the values and properties contained by the rules of the party. According to Guerlomo O'Donnell, this is because the rules are present in political parties, indirectly capable to provide protection and protection against the sovereignty of the diverse interests of party elites or specific groups that would lead to the neglect of the interests of members and party institutions. In the decision, the Golkar party usually prioritize deliberation. Common interests or party interests take precedence over individual interests.

d. Dimension of Public Image

Golkar Party has long active in this country and not strangein the public. Golkar triumph in the New Order is still remembered in the minds of society. Golkar’s success both at central and local levels will be the party’s image in the eyes of the public. Golkar Party’s name is already well known in almost all corners of North Toraja.

Golkar strength basically have a good image in public, in this case both Golkar has been embedded in the minds of society so as not to suffer anymore in the dissemination to the public. The Party’s image is reflected from cadres who sat in the legislative and the executive. In the governor election, Golkar candidate who carries while serving as governor of the time (the incumbent). Image and popularity of candidates that carried very influential in getting support from the community.

In brief, the above description can be seen from the following table: