

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### A. Democracy

The term “democracy” comes from Ancient Greek in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The word “democracy” is derived from two words, namely *demos* meaning people and *kratos* or *cratein* which means the Government. So it can be interpreted as a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people as the Abraham Lincoln’s statement.<sup>1</sup> This is in line with the 1945 Constitution of Article 1 Paragraph (2) which stated that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and carried out according to the Constitution.

Democracy is a government by the people which is an institutional arrangement for making political decisions binding in a responsible manner for the views of the people.<sup>2</sup> So, the holder of the highest authority or the highest sovereignty is in the hands of the people in accordance with the 1945 Constitution. The people have the same power, rights, opportunities, and votes to control and regulate government policies. In other words, all citizens have the right to vote; each citizen has one and only one vote, and all votes are counted equally.<sup>3</sup>

However, the sovereignty possessed by society cannot be separated from the control of the 1945 Constitution as the constitution of Indonesia.

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<sup>1</sup> Nadlirun, 2012, *Mengenal Lebih Dekat Demokrasi di Indonesia*, Demak, Balai Pustaka, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Richards S. Katz , William Crotty, 2014, *Handbook Partai Politik: Tidak ada Demokrasi tanpa Politik, dan tidak ada Politik tanpa Partai*, Bandung, Nusamedia, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Mezey, De Paul University, 2008, *Representative Democracy: Legislators and Their Constituents*, Chicago: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher, p. 3.

It is the Constitution which limits and regulates how the sovereignty of the people is channeled, executed, and organized in state and government activities.<sup>4</sup> One example of the constitutional rules concerning how the people's sovereignty is channeled, implemented and organized is through representative democracy system.<sup>5</sup> In this representative, democracy that exercises the sovereignty of the people is the representatives of the people who exist in parliament. This is said by JJ. Rousseau as the implementation of the sovereignty of the people through the will of the law.<sup>6</sup> The people who exist in parliament is the people who are elected through the general election.

Actually, the general election is a symbol, as well as a pillar of democracy. The election is expected to produce people's representatives who are able to understand the aspirations of the people especially in the process of public policy formulation with the rotation of the power system. Election participants are political parties. Political parties propose candidates in the elections to be elected by the people. The universal election is the instrument of realizing the sovereignty of the people who intend to form a legitimate government and the means of articulating the aspirations and interests of the people.<sup>7</sup> So, in other words, the elections is used to form the representative body of the people, namely political parties

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<sup>4</sup> Jimly Assidique, 2009, *Konstitusi dan Konstitualisme Indonesia*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> Triono, 2017, "Pemilu Dan Urgenitas Pendidikan Politik Masyarakat", *Jurnal Agregasi*, Vol. 5 No. 2, p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> Sarbaini, 2015, "Demokratisasi Dan Kebebasan Memilih Warga Negara Dalam Pemilihan", *Jurnal Inovatif*, Vol. 8 No. 1, p. 108.

who occupy positions in government. Thus, the sovereignty of the people means people do not directly in the government to make policy but it is represented by the representative body who are elected by the people through the general election. In this case, although represented, the concept of people's sovereignty is still valid that is all made by the government intended and destined for the welfare of people.

Meanwhile, according to Robert Dahl, democracy is defined as competition, participation, and political and civil freedom:

1. Competition means there are effective governmental power positions between individuals and groups of organizations (political party) within a regular timeframe and so that it eliminates the use of force;
2. The level of political participation means that political participation must be inclusive in the selection of leaders and policies and it must be free, regular, and no major social groups are excluded;
3. The level of political freedom and civil liberties should guarantee the freedom of the press, freedom to form and become members of the organization to create the integrity of political participation and competition.<sup>8</sup>

According to Affan Gafar, the understanding of democracy is normative understanding and empirical understanding. Normatively, democracy is an ideal thing to be organized by a country. While empirically, the system of government provides space to the public to participate in government activities.<sup>9</sup>

The conclusion is a country can be regarded as a democratic country if each element is in its position. It is necessary for the participation of

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<sup>8</sup> Georg Sorensen, 2014, *Demokrasi dan Demokratisasi*, Yogyakarta, CCSS-Pustaka Pelajar, p. 19-20.

<sup>9</sup> Koirudin, 2004, *Partai Politik dan Agenda Transisi Demokrasi*, Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar, p. 142.

citizens in obtaining political rights and freedoms, the need for political parties that play a role in balancing between their interests and the interests of the people, and the need for elections as the practice of democracy. When everything is achieved and in each position, it will achieve democratic countries.

According to Lyman Tower Sargent, the principles of democracy include:

1. The citizen involvement in political decision-making.
2. A certain degree of equality among citizens.
3. A certain degree of freedom or independence recognized by citizens;
4. A representative system.
5. A system of electoral power of the majority.<sup>10</sup>

## **B. Political Party**

The political party was born in Western Europe, especially in the United Kingdom after the industrial revolution.<sup>11</sup> It begins with widespread ideas and demands that society is an important instrument part (subject) which must be considered and included in the political process of government.<sup>12</sup> Around the 18<sup>th</sup> century, political activity was carried out for the benefit of the nobility against the demands of the King. However, over the growing era the political party serves as the connector between people and the government. In Indonesia, the political party began in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Dutch colonial era in applying political ethics as a form

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<sup>10</sup> *Op Cit*, p. 113

<sup>11</sup> Miriam Budiardjo, 2007, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, p. 422.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 159.

of social, development, freedom, and the wider community.<sup>13</sup> It encourages public awareness in shaping the movement for independence and demanding independence.<sup>14</sup> So, it began to emerge when the era of colonialism has an aim to:

1. Eliminate the oppression and extortion in Indonesia in particular and the world in general (colonialism and imperialism).
2. To educate the Indonesian nation.
3. Improve the living standards and welfare of the people of Indonesia.<sup>15</sup>

Then as the development era political parties grew after the new order in 1998 and ahead of the 1999 general election, the number of political party in Indonesia increased to 184 political parties while previously there were only have 3 parties, such as United Development Party (PPP), Golkar party, and Indonesia Democratic Struggle Party (PDIP).<sup>16</sup>

According to Carl J. Frederich, where a political party is a group of people who are organized in a stable manner with the aim of seizing or maintaining power over the government for the leadership of his party and based on this mastery, giving the members of the party the benefits of the ideal and material.<sup>17</sup> Ibn Khaldun argues that when the leadership (*ar-ri-*

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<sup>13</sup> Kacung Marijan, 2010, *Sistem Politik Indonesia: Konsolidasi Demokrasi Pasca-Orde Baru*, Jakarta, Kencana, p. 59.

<sup>14</sup> Syamsudin Haris, 2014, *Partai, Pemilu, dan Parlemen*, Jakarta, Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, p. 30.

<sup>15</sup> M. Arsyad Maf'ul, 2010, "Partai Politik Pada Masa Orde Baru dan Orde Lama", *Jurnal Supremasi* ISSN 1412-517X Vol. 5 No. 2, p. 80.

<sup>16</sup> Luky Sandra Amalia, 2013, *Partai dan Sistem Kepartaian Era Reformasi*, Jakarta, Pustaka Pelajar dan LIPI, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Deddy Iriawan Maksudi, 2011, *Sistem Politik Indonesia: Pemahaman secara Teoritik dan Empirik*, Bogor, Rajawali Press, p. 12.

*asah*) is in the hands of a group then it cannot be controlled by another group; only the owner group can control the government.<sup>18</sup>

In general, it can be said that a political party is an organized group whose members have the same orientation, values, and ideals. The aim of this group is to gain political power and seize the political position (usually) in a constitutional way.<sup>19</sup> Political parties have a very important position (status) and role in every democratic system. The Party plays a very strategic liaison role between government processes and citizens. Political parties provide the widest opportunity for the people to participate in political and governmental activities. Because through political parties, responsible government can be attained, public interest can be accommodated and arbitrary of government action can be prevented.<sup>20</sup>

The existence of political party shows that their goal is to have power in the Government. However, if a political party is only centered on the conventional function and limited to mere seizure of power, then in the context of social dynamics, it is no longer finding the high significance.<sup>21</sup>

Some people have transitioned into a smart modern society. So, it is not seen as an object of power utilization. In this case, there is a shift in the

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<sup>18</sup> A. Rahman Zainuddin, 1992, *Kekuasaan dan Negara: Pemikiran Politik Ibnu Khaldun*, Jakarta, PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, p. 118.

<sup>19</sup> Abdul Kadir, 2013, "Peranan Partai Politik dalam Menanggulangi Golongan Putih (Golput) pada Pemilihan Legislatif 2009", *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Sosial Politik Universitas Medan Area*, Vol. 1 No. 1, p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> Angga Natalia, 2015, "Peran Partai Politik dalam Mensukseskan Pilkada Serentak Di Indonesia Tahun 2015", *Jurnal TAPIS*, Vol. 11 No. 1, p. 53.

<sup>21</sup> Koirudin, 2004, *Partai Politik dan Agenda Transisi Demokrasi*, Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar, p. 67.

social dynamics of conventional monarchical societies into modern societies that make significant changes to the existence of political parties.

Article 10 of Law Number 2 of 2011 on Political Party divided the goals of political party into two, namely general goals and special goals.

- 1) General goals of a political party are concerned with:
  - a. Realizing the national ideals of the Indonesian nation as intended in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia.
  - b. Maintaining and preserve the unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.
  - c. Developing the life of democracy based on Pancasila by upholding the sovereignty of the people within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and.
  - d. Achieving prosperity for all Indonesian people.
- 2) Specific goals of a political party:
  - a. Increase the political participation of members and the community in the context of organizing political and governmental activities.
  - b. Fighting for the ideals of political parties in the life of society, nation and state.
  - c. Building ethics and political culture in the life of society, nation and state.

The objectives of political parties as referred to in Paragraphs (1) and (2) shall be constitutionally constituted. Furthermore, the expected goals in establishing and developing political parties are:

1. To make self-actualization places for citizens with high awareness to participate in political participation.
2. To be a place of aggression of public interest; to be a means of achieving and maintaining political power.
3. To be a gathering place for people or groups that have the same ideology and interests.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *Op cit*, p. 58-59.

The opinion explains that in establishing and developing political parties, it is expected that political parties can become a means of implementing public awareness for politics, using their rights and obligations to participate in the general election. In the political system, political parties are part of the political infrastructure that accommodates and channel the aspirations of society, whether in the form of support, complaints or demands.

In addition to the political party objectives, the political party also has functions that are regulated in Article 11 of Law Number 2 of 2011 on Political Party, as follows:

- 1) Political parties function as a means of:
  - a. Political education for members and the wider community to become citizens of Indonesia who are aware of their rights and obligations in the life of society, nation and state.
  - b. Creation of a climate conducive to unity and the unity of the Indonesian nation for the welfare of society.
  - c. Absorbing, gathering and channeling the political aspirations of the people in formulating and defining State policies;
  - d. Political participation of Indonesian citizens.
  - e. Political recruitment in the process of charging political office through a democratic mechanism, with attention to gender equality and justice.

Furthermore, in democratic countries political parties exercise several functions, as follows:

1. Parties as a tool of political communication

In performing this function, the political party plays the role of the connector between government and society. In performing this

function, the political party is referred to as clearinghouse of ideas. Political party accepts the aspirations of society which will then be submitted or fought through parliament to the government to be made public policy.

## 2. Parties as a tool of political socialization

In political science, political socialization is called as the process through a person gaining attitudes and orientation toward political phenomena. It is part of a process that determines a person's political attitude, such as ideology, rights, and duties. In addition, political socialization is referred to as the delivery of the political culture of society, creating the image that political parties fight for public interest, educating members of political party to become human beings who are aware of their responsibilities as citizens and placing their own interests under the national interest. In the process of political socialization, a political party is to socialize political values to the community.<sup>23</sup>

## 3. Parties as a tool of political recruitment

Political recruitment is a process of selecting group members to represent their group in administrative and political positions.<sup>24</sup> It is to choose leadership selection, both internal and national leadership. In internal leadership, every party needs qualified cadres to enable the

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<sup>23</sup> Miriam Budiardjo, 2007, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, p. 405-407.

<sup>24</sup> Koirudin, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

political party to develop themselves. In addition, this function is to multiply its members by capturing and training prospective leaders.

#### 4. Parties as a tool for regulating conflict

The world of politics has definitely never been separated from the conflict. The political party needs to help understanding and reassuring for the supporters. So it can not endanger political stability.

Thus it can be seen that political parties have several functions as a means of political education, political communication, political socialization, and recruitment so that political parties greatly affect the system for the achievement of a democratic state and citizens of Indonesia will have awareness in political life. However, in this part, the research focuses more on the role of the political party in improving political education which is the duty of a political party.

Having the role of the political party in political education, it is believed that the members of the political party and the community will be a human conscious responsibility as citizens and putting personal interests under the interest of the group. Through political education, it will be able to create a society that is smart and aware of politics. Because the political parties become a forum for the struggle for society to realize a more democratic political life by channeling the aspirations of society and its interests, they must really carry out its functions properly. So, the public opinion related to political parties that are nothing more than political vehicles for a group of ruling elites or just fulfilling their own lust for

power by fooling people and forcing the enforcement of certain public policies can be denied.

### **C. Political Education**

Political education is called as political forming. It is called forming because it forms a political personality that realizes its status or political position in the community.<sup>25</sup> As political education develops the awareness of the citizen in understanding politics of any problems, it can influence the participation in the government decisions. The political education is systematic educational efforts and intensive to increase political awareness and religious awareness.<sup>26</sup>

According to R. Mayer, political education is an effort in shaping human beings into responsible participants.<sup>27</sup> In other words, political education is a learning process in order to encourage people to be critical, able to determine the right attitude, and able to train the power in action.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, Gabriel Almond argues that political education is the process of forming attitudes and patterns of political behavior and is a means for a generation to pass on benchmarks and political beliefs to the next generation.<sup>29</sup> When this is revealed in a democratic state, it would be more valuable if the people have real power to be active as citizens.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Kartini Kartono, 1996, *Pendidikan Politik: Sebagai Bagian dari Pendidikan orang Dewasa*, Bandung, Mandar Maju, p. 63.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 62.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 64.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 65-66.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29.

<sup>30</sup> David Held, 2004, *Demokrasi & Tatanan Global*, Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar, p. 197.

However, political education is not a mobilization project and not a practical politics oriented to the struggle for power but as a process of learning together to understand the process of life of the state, including the position of the people as citizens. The people must be able to understand what to do and not to do as a citizen and the basic rights of citizens which must be guaranteed by the state. Political education is useful for the people as citizens to understand clearly what should and should not be done by the Government as organizers of power. The people have rights as the citizens including the right to vote and to be elected, the guarantee of the right to be elected explicitly in the 1945 Constitution starting with Article 27 Paragraphs (1) and (2); Article 28, Article 28D Paragraph (3); and Article 28E Paragraph (3).<sup>31</sup> In addition to referring to the Constitution, other provisions are also regulated through legislation under the Constitution. In the provisions stipulated in Article 23 Paragraph (1) and Article 43 Paragraph (1) of Law Number 39 of 1999 on Human Rights<sup>32</sup>, it indicates a form of violation of the law against the guarantee of voting rights attached to Indonesian citizens. The two provisions of the preceding Article clearly indicate the existence of an

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<sup>31</sup> Article 27 Paragraph (1); All citizens shall have equal positions in law and government and shall uphold such law and government with no exception.

Article 27 Paragraph (2); Every citizen has the right to work and a decent living for humanity.

Article 28; Freedom of association and assembly, issuing thoughts with oral and written and so forth is established by law.

Article 28D Paragraph (3); Every citizen is entitled to equal opportunity in government.

Article 28E Paragraph (3); Everyone has the right to freedom of association, assembly and expression.

<sup>32</sup> Article 43 Paragraph (1); Every citizen shall have the right to be elected and to vote in an election based on equality of rights through a direct, public, free, secret, fair and just ballot in accordance with the provisions of legislation

inherent juridical guarantee for every Indonesian citizen to exercise their right to vote.

It can be concluded that the existence of political education is capable of forming an individual to know and understand the values that are contained in the political system. With political education, every individual has a broad perspective of being a responsible citizen to increase political awareness and increase political participation.

Political education is needed not only for voters who lack an understanding of the political issue but also for voters who already have an understanding of the political issues. This is due to an apathetic society on political activities that make them frustrated and disappointed with politics. As the result, there will be the low participation of the public in an election or they choose to abstain from voting in the election.

Abstaining is the people who deliberately and with a clear intent and purpose refuse to vote in the election. Eep Saefulloh Fatah classifies the abstaining into four categories. First, technical abstaining is those who for certain technical causes (such as family death, oversleeping, etc.) are unable to attend the polls or those who mistakenly vote so that their votes are declared invalid. Secondly, political-technical abstaining is such as those who are not registered as voters by their own mistake or others (statistical agencies and election organizers). Third is political abstaining, namely those who feel they have no choice of candidates available or do not believe that elections will bring change and improvement. Fourth,

ideological abstaining, those who do not believe in the mechanism of democracy (liberal) and do not want to be involved in either for reasons of religious fundamentalism or other political-ideological reasons.<sup>33</sup>

Therefore, the political education is a process of awareness transformation.<sup>34</sup> The awareness in question is the awareness in politics. According to Peter, political awareness is the range of knowledge, orientation, and values that shape the political insights of individuals. Al-Khumaisi defined that political awareness as something that belongs to the individual including political insight on various issues, institutions, and political leadership both regionally and internationally.<sup>35</sup>

Politics is an aspect of national life that on one hand related to power in the administration of government and on the other hand related to the distribution of people's aspirations as a form of people's sovereignty. In political endurance to achieve the power of government, it also needs adequate political education so that it can achieve political resilience, both for domestic politics and foreign policy.

Political education has an important and strategic meaning in order to encourage party members and citizens to have adequate political knowledge and awareness of the importance of an ideal political system. If political education in a state is not adequate, then the public awareness of

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<sup>33</sup> Bismar Arianto, 2011, "Analisis Penyebab Masyarakat Tidak Memilih Dalam Pemilu", *Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Ilmu Pemerintahan*, Vol .1 No. 1, p. 54.

<sup>34</sup> Timur Mahardika, 2001, *Pendidikan Politik Pemberdayaan Desa Panduan Praktis*, Minggiran, Laper Pustaka Utama, p. 73.

<sup>35</sup> Idrus Affandi, Karim Suryadi, 2017, "Teori dan Praktik dalam Pendidikan Politik", p.4-5, <http://repository.ut.ac.id/4009/1/PKNI4423-M1.pdf> download on October 31<sup>th</sup>, 2017 at 6.20 am.

nationality, as well as unity, is also low. This would threaten the political stability and the ruler cannot do anything without criticism from the community.

So, the political understanding of the public is needed because, in fact, the condition of the people today is still underdeveloped and suffered political ignorant. Therefore to stimulate an active political participation from the people, it needs a political education. Political education gives some benefit as follows:

1. Making people politically aware/aware of politics;
2. Encouraging people more to be creative in social participation in the era of development;
3. Humanizing the society which is more comfortable and prosperous.<sup>36</sup>

The problem above gives a hint of the importance of political education that is implanted to all Indonesian citizens in order to have political awareness. Through political education, it is expected that democratic citizens, obedience to the law, unity, and respect for the value of humanity can be cultivated.

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<sup>36</sup> Ellya Rosana, 2012, *Partai Politik dan Pembangunan Politik*, Jurnal TAPIs, Vol 8 No. 1, p. 137.