

An International Journal Actor Structuration of Partai Damai Sejahtera in Political Arena of South Sulawesi

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Abstract: The degradation of a party can give a damaging effect for the party itself and their constituent in this case Partai Damai Sejahtera (PDS). The actor's behavior who join the party and show some aspiration but chosen through another party is an interesting phenomenon, specifically actor's structuration dealing with another structure in their new parties. This research aims to describe the structuration process of PDS's actor's political behaviour for ideology contestation in other parties. The research uses phenomenological qualitative method. The results of this research show that the structuration on PDS's actor's political behaviour is a strategy of producing and reproducing social structure which is manifested in social practices involving the relation between actors and its structure.

Key words: Party degradation, structuration and social practice, aspiration, ideology contestation, qualitative method, effects

INTRODUCTION

The phenomena of political party's degradation are commonly found in democratisation process, especially if numbers of political party become larger. Party degradation surely gives negative impact for the party and its constituent. The degradation based on the researcher's view occurs in the following types: the first is the fusion to a general party as revealed by Partai Kristen Indonesia (PARKINDO) and Partai Katolik Partai fused into Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI) in new order era; the second is several of political parties are disallowed because failing the administration qualification set by general election's organizers such as Partai Damai Sejahtera (PDS) which has been dissolved by Indonesian's government. A similar case occurred to Partai Masyuni, Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI) and Partai Komunis Indonesia.

From the researcher, problems appeared by the degradation of PDS basically shows the lack of democratisation system without considering cultural ideology in selecting a party. PDS is a party which embraces and fights for Christian values. As the only Christian's Party in Indonesia, the degradation does not reflect value of respect to the party which represents

Christian needs. It is different from Muslim parties which is in great numbers. Thus, to respect the minority is one of the main point in democratisation principle.

By the decision from General Elections Commission known as Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) in Indonesia, degrading PDS affects internal changing inside the party. Several members insist to refuse joining general elections (pemilu) or become abstain (golput). While others, especially, the elites decide to join another party with the opportunity to become as legislative members. PDS's actors behavior who join another party, share their aspiration and finally, chosen as legislator is an interesting phenomenon. Several members who stay loyal to PDS while the others have pragmatic orientation by joining another party is a fact with basic problem. Specifically for the actors who succeed to become legislative candidates from another party. Ideology in PDS surely attaches to the actor's mind. From how they maintain the ideology in another party becomes an interesting matter to be analyzed. To adapt with another party's terms and condition, also with its ideology which automatically differs from the former internal condition in PDS is a model of political behavior which reflects actor structuration of PDS in another party. It is regarding on how far the internal ideology from PDS's actors can be maintained in another party's internal system.

Relating to the research topic of political behavior on PDS's actors who defend ideology of PDS to other parties, structuration on their political behavior in another party becomes the core of this dissertation. Giddens's perspective said that the effort from the actors is a social practice. It is an effort by an individual to create a structure which becomes as a product of repeated social act in a specific time.

A new party where PDS's actors take part surely has its former arrangement. It is the product of functionary's social construction in the party. Salman (2016) regarded that, "Arrangement is a product of social construction in which dialectic between an actor/individual with structure/collectivity occurs through space and time". PDS's actors who join other parties must follow the requiring structure although in structuration theory it is possible for them to reconstruct the existing arrangement through social act in order to give personal beneficial.

The degradation of PDS party and how their actors actualize PDS's ideology to the other parties and join contestation through other structure is a model of structuration which describes the dynamics of structure and political actor. Structure consists of rule, norm and resource which direct the social act of agents, although, they are not robots who can be forced to commit ideal matters according by the structure. The actors from PDS who also join other parties make their efforts and struggle to keep socializing their ideology. By that matter, this research formulates a problem statement regarding how the structuration process of political behavior on PDS's actors for maintaining their political ideology in other parties as the effort to describe the process itself.

Literature review

Theories of political actor's behavior: Political behavior is a concept in political study which tries to explore and describe accurately the impact of an institution and its policy to one's political view, that is the applied ideology and the extent of political participation actualized by a political actor. Surbakti (1999) defines that "political behavior is an activity involving process of political decision making. It regards dialectical connection among political and perceptive decision, attitude, orientation, belief and real actions whether in form of support or opposition".

Political decision making and its application are also confirmed by Budiardjo (2003) who also defines political behavior as "an activity involving the process and the application of political decision making, also one's participation as civil society or decision maker". There are various perspectives regarding to the concept of political behavior. First, it is considered as an act with the

philosophy of "survival for the fittest". Politics is a world where a private interest becomes as the most important element. It becomes eternal while companionship or alliance only last if there is mutual interest. Political acts based from two different political interests are ruthless and ruining each other in order to reach power as the main purpose.

However, there are other perspectives which consider that politicians prioritize to cooperate with their competitors. Alford and Hibbing (2004) state that "the theory may be summarized as follows: humans are cooperative but not altruistic; competitive but not exclusively so. We have an innate inclination to cooperate, particularly within defined group boundaries but we are also highly sensitive to selfish actions on the part of other group members. This sensitivity leads us to cease cooperating when that cooperation is not reciprocated to avoid future interaction with noncooperators and even to engage in personally costly punishment of individuals who fail to cooperate".

Political behavior is intensely defined by how political actors interact using political communication. Principles of political communication are really contributing in directing political behavior for civils. Firdaus (2017) clarifies principles of communication as follows: "As for the principles of communication: the first is about consistency. In building political communication information conveyed must be consistent with substances of party platform and also to party paradigm along with the solutions for problems dealt by constituent and public. The second is repetition. In building political communication information conveyed must be done repeatedly, so constituent and public can truly comprehend the contents of party platform and things that a party struggle for. The third is evidence. In building political communication information conveyed by a party must exist and be proven. A party should give concrete evidence for what they are working at. Most of communication researches as regarded by Halloran, do not show balance by the impact of communication in one side and the role of the communicator in designing message's content in another side. In mass communication for instance, most of the discussions emphasize on the media's effect or its influence to the public rather than what can affect media's content. This condition also occurs in dynamics of media construction and the development of contemporary politics".

Three important elements that is consistency, repetition and evidence become as an inseparable unity which if applied it can affect people's choices. A decent political communication is a communication which able to turn one's political choice. If we connect political

behavior with degraded political party, then political behavior becomes as the room of choice based on constituent's preferences to respond existing phenomena in the chosen party. Variants of political behavior in a constituent are surely found. Political choice can be in the form of moving into another party or abstaining.

Giddens's theory of structuration: Structuration theory is a concept with relevance in politics. Political dynamics in society involves dynamic relation between political actors and political structures. It reflects from the relevance of Giddens's theory's essence which deeply unravels the agents, structures and structuration process in politics. That is why the, theory has relevance with the phenomena occurred in this research as the researcher observed. Giddens's underlines the relation between agency and a structure called as duality of structure. As Ritzer (2012) implies in the following that "the essence of Giddens's structuration theory with its focus in social practices is a theory regarding a relation between agency and structure. In the same way, Richard J. Berstein states that "the exact essence of structuration is meant to explain duality and the effect of dialectical influence between agency and structure". That is why, agency and structure cannot be regarded as parts of each other; they are two sides of a coin. Taking from Giddens's term it is called as duality. Every social act includes structure and vice versa. Agency and structure are inseparable when they are connected with a man's continuing activities or practices".

According to Anthony Giddens in Nashir (2012), the essence of structuration theory is found in three main concepts of "structure", "system" and "duality of structure". Specifically, it has relation between agents (doer or actor) and structure. It also has similarity with the following statement by Ritzer (2012), "the essence of Giddens's structuration theory with its focus in social practices is a theory regarding a relation between agency and structure. In the same way, Richard J. Berstein states that "the exact essence of structuration is meant to explain duality and the effect of dialectical influence between agency and structure". That is why, agency and structure cannot be regarded as parts of each other, they are two sides of a coin. Taking from Giddens's term it is called as duality. Every social act includes structure and vice versa. Agency and structure are inseparable when they are connected with a man's continuing activities or practices (Fig. 1).

If we take it closer, every political reality in political phenomena involves duality of structure and political agents (acts and actors). Social act encompasses political behavior of PDS's actors in this research as the part of

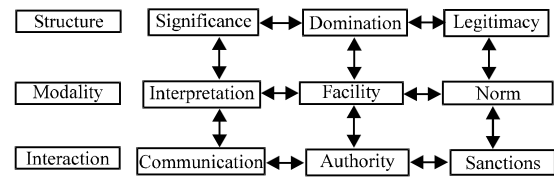


Fig. 1: Agency, structure and structuration

mutual duality process between structure and agent. Structure is described as an institution which issues decisions and political policies with supported normative foundation. While agency is associated as actor's social acts in the form of reaction regarding to its structure.

The operation of Giddens's Structuration Theory describes the research phenomena as the social practice. It is an effort by actors from Partai Damai Sejahtera (PDS) in defending its ideology to the other parties which makes them as chosen legislators. Here are the details of the social practices.

Structure on Fig. 1 is the embedded ideology of PDS in their actors and other parties structure where the actors take part. The strong embedded ideology of PDS becomes as the dominant structure which has researchery in forcing the applicable law to the all election's participants. Significance includes value system product in the form of powerful symbol which is interpreted and communicated by actors from PDS and other parties structures. PDS's ideology and other parties ideology where PDS's legislators take part have legitimacy and norm regarding to the researcheries.

If it is reviewed from interaction dimension between PDS's actors and other parties where they take part, then the value system turns to value system contestation. Technically, the structuration of PDS's actors at political arena in South Sulawesi can be described as follows:

Figure 2 describes the structuration process by every informant in this research. They are five PDS's chosen politicians as the members in DPRD (Indonesian's house of representatives) I and II through other parties. The structuration process of PDS's actors in other parties is pulling each other between new structure in other parties and the former structure in PDS. There is another structural and functional perspective in this context. Another reason why, every actor through structuration approach is given access to make effort in constructing reality. In this research, PDS's actors compete to actualize PDS's values into other parties where they take part. The main purpose is to maintain PDS's "nation building character" in its actors which choose other parties as their political actualization. The defense of ideological values by PDS's political actors who move to other parties for

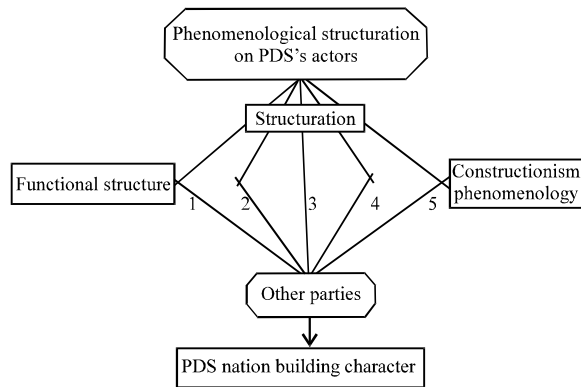


Fig. 2: Actor structuration on PDS in political arena of South Sulawesi Selatan

their political interest is truly regarded as reasonable social act. Political actor always exploit their political identity to defend and broaden their political power. The dialectical process of PDS's actors is the essence of the structuration where it happens in the time of opposing and negotiating process in another political party arena. This process by Fahmid *et al.* (2012) is called as hybridization which combines diverse interests and will be processed in the arena of power. If self-hybridization ability and the ideology do not occur, then elite polarization will do (Fahmid *et al.*, 2012).

Conceptual framework: Conceptual framework of political behavior structuration in PDS's actors who successfully become as legislators in other parties but still defend PDS's ideology describes duality of PDS's actors dynamics who contest with other partie's structure. The structuration process of PDS's actors is described in three main domains of structure, modality and interaction. Structure itself has three main elements that is significance (marking system/symbol), domination and legitimacy. Those three points are found in a structure which is showed as PDS's ideology structure on the actors and other partie's structure. While modality is facility by structure and actors which in particular are interpretation, facility and norm. Interpretation is an effort made by PDS's actors to interpret structure's symbol system including PDS's ideology structure and other partie's structure where the actors take part. As for facility, it is a resource found when committing process and norm is an embedded value system comes from the structure. In sum interaction domain between structure and actor consists of three elements that is communication, researcherity and sanctions. The actors who maintain PDS's ideology try to make a communication with the involving political party.

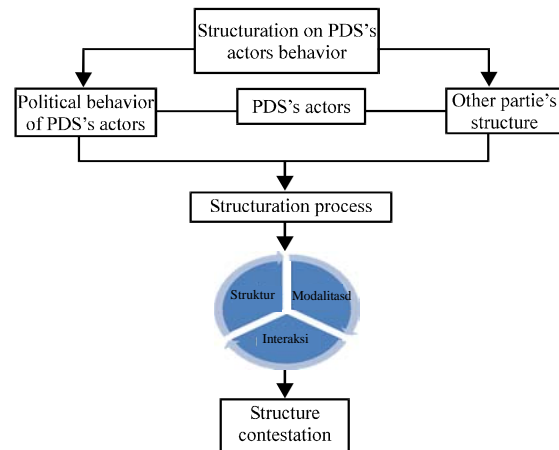


Fig. 3: Conceptual framework; struktur: structure/ modalitas: modality/interaksi: interaction

Political behavior of PDS's actor are achieved by arranging contestation with non-PDS party structure (Fig. 3). It is a part of long and recurring process which reflects the ability of agency involving actor's ability based on free willing to make effort in holding contestation with other partie's structure. It is caused by the possibility in the structure to hold contestation. It is also expected that the facility and resource can help PDS's actors to hold the contestation well. Later, it socializes the ideological idea of PDS.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research uses phenomenological qualitative method. Phenomenology method basically is a research method which is based on individual or group cases in order to comprehend social reality. Heglof and Sacks in Engkus (2009) state that "in conducting phenomenological research, the researcher has to record the social condition, therefore it can be possible to demonstrate methods showed by the informants". At this time, the researcher makes an interpretation regarding the meaning of their mind and act based on the condition's structure. The analysis on the informants is a technique which oftenly used to describe how men think about themselves through their speech. Moreover, it can discover how they regard about things based on the information they have.

The research is located in South Sulawesi and the source of data research are obtained from PDS's legislators who join the other parties. The data research seeks the legislator's political behavior in a contestation frame through structuration process. Technique used in finding samples as the data source is purposive sampling with the following categories (Table 1).

Table 3: Informant categories

Informant categories	Description
Chosen legislator-chosen legislator	Chosen as legislator in PDS and chosen again when moving to another party. The informants are Ys and Tn
Unchosen legislator-chosen legislator	Not chosen as legislator in PDS but chosen when moving to another party. The informants are Tr and Hr
Chosen legislator-unchosen legislator	Chosen as legislator in PDS but not chosen when moving to another party. The informants are Mr and Nl
Legislator's candidate (unchosen) legislator's candidate (unchosen)	Only chosen as candidate in PDS and not chosen when moving to another party
Legislator's candidate (unchosen)-non-candidate legislator (unchosen)	Chosen as candidate in PDS but not chosen as candidate when moving to another party
Legislator's candidate (unchosen)-legislator's candidate (unchosen)	Not chosen as candidate in PDS but chosen as candidate when moving to another party and failed
Non-candidate legislator (unchosen)-non-candidate legislator (unchosen)	Not chosen as candidate in PDS and in other parties as well

The data research was collected through observation in-depth interview and documentation. While the data analysis uses phenomenological data analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Giddens differentiates structure from social system. Giddens in Sihotang (2016) states that “social system is social practices which consist of relations among actors or group of actors who are created over time and places. Thereafter, a social system is formed by various practices as conditioned. While structure only has virtual existence as repetitive moment when production and reproduction of social system occur. Structuration refers to conditions which are built in structure’s continuity then becomes as a social system. In structuration theory by Giddens, agent or actor has three awareness: the first is unconscious motives/cognition. This refers to potential act rather than act mode by the agent. It is only connected in unusual conditions which diverges from the routines, the second is discursive consciousness about matters that can be spoken out or verbally expressed by actor regarding social conditions, specifically conditions made through himself. The discursive awareness involves ability in giving reasons behind an act that should be committed or repeated; the third is practical consciousness consists of things understood (believed) by the actor regarding social conditions, specifically conditions made through himself. It connects with the knowledge stock implicitly used by agent in taking action or comprehending other actions with incapability to interpret the rationalization discursively. Knowledge ability in practical consciousness can be defined as unquestionable daily

habits or routines”. It is clear that, the tendency to adapt with a new party is the way dealt by all informants in this research. The adaptation process is an effort to absorb structural element and avoid contradiction. Each of them conducts this except informant NL who is not chosen as legislative member because of personal conflict with the structure in the new party. Structuration is dialectic between structure and agent which by Giddens called as duality not dualism. Giddens in Sihotang (2016) confirms that, “the formation of social structure is not only understood as divider and controller for the actor but also possible as the media to interact. It is formed through their actions which at the same time created in the structure”. Equally, Sihotang (2016) states that, “Giddens placed the actors and structure through space and time which contributed to each other in the progressing social dynamics. That is why he said that production and reproduction of social practices in society is also the spread of member’s skill, not only a series of mechanical process”.

For Giddens, social world is formed and produces through and within men activities. Based on it, he started to introduce a concept about agency, that is an individual as a social actor which possibly makes them reflect social structures through the involving social practices. An adaptation process possibly occurs in a structure which gives possibility to the actors to interact each other. The process is none other that informant’s effort to interact within party’s social system. Giddens in Sihotang (2016) also declares that, “social system is social practices which consist of relations among actors or group of actors which are created over time and places. Thereafter, a social system is formed by various practices as conditioned. While structure only has virtual existence as repetitive moment when production and reproduction of social system occur”. So, in Giddens perspective, the adaptation process of the informants is the social practices by them. These practices are formed as relation or connection between the actors and new party’s structure which is repeatedly produced over time and places.

Structure where the informants involved consists of the rules and facility structure or resources by the new party. It is continually produced and reproduced which also has duality relation with the agency and creates various social practices by the informants. It is practiced repeatedly in specific times. The structuration occurs as duality product of informat (agent) and structure (rules about facility and resource in a party) which is produced and reproduced repeatedly in pattern over specific times. The acceptance of the informants as legislative members is the duality product of agent and structure.

Giddens's scheme consists of three structures such as significance, domination and legitimacy. The first structure is significance which can be described as rule product in the form of embedded symbol which is interpreted and communicated to PDS, specifically with decision made by KPU regarding to PDS degradation in Pemilu 2014. The output in symbolic scheme consists of rules which position PDS as a party with no right to join Pemilu 2014 raise protests from PDS itself. As a disqualified party, PDS declares their objection in symbolic scheme of a rule to bring them to Indonesia's Constitutional Court. Another scheme appeared from the significance process is a decision after the suit rejected. The decision is to set the candidates free who choose parties which shares the same platform as PDS.

In the same way, legitimacy is surely an embedded element to PDS as the structure. While domination is a product of legitimated structure to create rules and decision which must be obeyed by the party's members and functionaries. Legitimacy is obtained by a process with approval from the social actors which creates intra-subjective decision into structure. Legitimacy as a legal element possessed by structure in this research can be found in PDS and other chosen parties by the informants such as NasDem, Hanura and Gerindra.

Pursuing this further, domination can be recognized as a part of individual's structure. But different from structural functionalism which constrains the actors, the structure in structuration theory means that it is not a whole constraint. The researcher considers that constraint is not merely applied without space to accommodate party which is different from the structure. In other words, the structure still gives chance to the actors for reacting on structure's decision. This research focuses on strengthening PDS as the dominant party to its functionaries and members. It can be seen from the decisions made by PDS to oppose and order their members to show their aspiration in parties which share the same platform as PDS. Every informant shows the same social act as the agreement to the party's decision. So, for the party's domination which in particular NasDem, Hanura and Gerindra to the informants, the adaptation process by the informants is their efforts to follow those party's significance in which legitimacy embedded to force them obey the decision made.

Modality is the next social process in the mapping of Giddens's structuration theory. Modality dimension is a concrete modal or facility by informant as the agent in the duality with its structure. Townshend (2007) clarifies Giddens's theory that, "his primary focus was on how state policy could realise the values of self-realisation and solidarity (or 'social integration' or 'social inclusion')". It

also means that actors have their own freedom to realise his personal interest but in the same time to strengthen social integration as well.

Modality analysis focuses on the applied agent in the structure as its medium. Agent is a concept which by Giddens to represent actor in an event. By terminology, it is defined as an individual or a social actor. They are responsible for conducting social act. Ritzer (2012) and Nashir (2012) describe specifically the definition of an agent in structuration theory as follows: "the activities are not conducted by the social actors but continually recreated through the facility for expressing themselves as the actors. Within their activities, agents produce several conditions regarding to the activities". The informants express their political ambition by using facility in the structure (that is political party). They create a condition in the new party to make them accepted and chosen as a legislator.

The informants as the social actors or agents are figures with freedom to create differences in their new party. As the new recruits, it is clear that they are dealt with various challenges. One of them is the origin members of the new party who react for the agent's intervention to their party. The intervention is about party's decision to put the informants to the list with the possibility as the chosen legislator in Legislative Election 2014.

The informant's behavior is described theoretically by Ritzer (2012) and Nashir (2012) as follows: "An agent by Giddens has capability to create social differences in its world. To strengthen, an agent cannot be existed without power, so he is no longer an agent if losing capacity to create differences. Giddens admits clearly that there are several barriers for the actors but it does not mean they lose choices and not create differences. For Giddens, logically the power becomes as precedence over subjectivity because an act involves power or ability to change a situation. So, Giddens's structuration theory sets power to the actors and act which contrasts to the theories that obey the orientation while prioritizing actor's intention (phenomenology) or external structure (structural functionalism)".

Informants are the agents with their freedom to change structure but still maintain the system in social structure with great integration. Nugroho *et al.* (2015) describe the effect of an agent/actor in social reality as follows, "For Giddens, an agent or an actor is a concrete individual; a man in 'non-stop flows'. The main point of this perspective is they with reflecting ability are able to transform social structure into various acts beyond the existing limits by the structure. Through their knowledge ability, social practices are not coincidentally

produced but with the compability to their reflection on the occuring condition. The way Giddens comprehend them is different from the former social theories. For Giddens, the agents are the active actors, likewise to the structure”.

The last dimension in structuration becomes as interaction domain between the structure and the actors which consists of three elements such as communication, researcherity and sanctions. Social system is none other than a product of interactive relation. Giddens realizes that social system is concrete while structure is laid inside the individual. Social system contains social relations between the actors to other actors and the actors to the structure. The joining of the informants to the social system of the new party changes its former social relation. The sources of the informants enable the changing of the new party’s structure. The enabling structure creates possibility for the informants to make social change such as eliminating the former members of the new party by their presence. Every informant in this research has internal conflict with different intensity. NL as one of the informants who is strict to the new party’s structural challenge which makes him eliminated from the list. Based on Giddens’s structuration theory it is believed that the informants have their own ability to create differences in social world in this case for the new party. Giddens has different view from other sociologists who also believe to the dialectic between structure and agent. The informant’s ability in changing social world is not merely for political position to make them easier in reaching legislative position but also to spread their mission values in PDS to the new party. The political behavior of the informants basically inspired by pragmatic interest without obeying former mission in PDS.

CONCLUSION

The structuration of political behavior on PDS’s actors is an effort to produce and reproduce social structure. It is brought to reality as reflected in social practices which involving relation between the actors and the structure. The structure in Giddens’s view creates a social system which is in and through the individual while social system is from the outside of the individual. The structuration process is the relation between the informant and the structure in the new party which is manifested in social practices over specific times and repeatedly conducted. It is a process by the informant to

change social system structure in the new party. Absolutely, the social act from the informants in the structuration scheme by Giddens always stand with their political interest.

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