

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE GOLONGAN KARYA (GOLKAR) PARTY IN TEBO REGENCY IN THE 2024 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Nadya Sitta Cahya Safitri¹, Dimas Subekti^{2*}, Revi Jeane Putri³, Hatta Abdi Muhammad⁴
^{1,3,4} Political Science Study Program, Department of Social and Political Science, Universitas
Jambi, Jambi, Indonesia

² Government Science Study Program, Department of Social and Political Science,
Universitas Jambi, Jambi, Indonesia

*e-mail: dimassubekti05@unja.ac.id

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the institutional consolidation of the Golkar Party in the 2024 Legislative Elections in Tebo Regency. This study uses a qualitative case study approach. This study uses primary data from in-depth interviews and secondary data from documentation. The findings of this study indicate that the institutionalization of the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency is relatively strong, particularly in terms of roots in society, level of organization, and coherence. The Golkar Party has maintained close ties with the community, built a solid organizational structure, and sustained internal cohesion through regular candidate consolidation and training. This has been a key factor in the party's success in the 2024 elections. However, weaknesses remain in the autonomy dimension, as decision-making processes are still dominated by party elites and selection mechanisms remain only partially transparent. This situation highlights a gap between democratic principles and political practices on the ground. Implications: The electoral success of political parties does not depend solely on short-term campaign strategies but also on consistent, democratic institutional strength.

Keywords: political_parties, party_institutionalization, Golkar_Party, 2024_elections, Tebo_Regency

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the democratic countries in the world that holds direct elections to elect the president, regional heads, and members of the legislature (Horowitz, 2013). Elections serve as a means for the people to exercise their sovereignty by selecting their political representatives in parliament (legislative branch) and their servants in the government (executive branch) (Aspinall, 2005).

Based on Law Number 7 of 2017, Indonesian elections are conducted with the principles of direct, universal, free, confidential, honest, and fair elections

within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The 2024 elections will be held simultaneously throughout Indonesia on February 14, 2024, using five types of ballots, namely for the election of the president and vice president, members of the Regional Representative Council (DPRD), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), the Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD), and the District/Municipal People's Representative Council (DPRD). These elections are participated in by political parties (for the election of members of the DPR,

provincial DPRD, and district/city DPRD), independent candidates (for the DPD), and presidential and vice-presidential candidates proposed by political parties or coalitions of political parties. Nationally, the elections are held in 38 provinces in Indonesia (Wibawana, 2024).

One of the regions participating in the 2024 elections is Tebo Regency, Jambi Province. In the legislative elections, there are 35 candidates for the Tebo Regency Regional Representative Council (DPRD) who were elected for the 2024–2029 term. The Tebo Regency General Election Commission (KPU) has determined the results of the plenary meeting to

recapitulate the votes, with a total of 51,521 valid votes from all political parties. The vote tallies for political parties in the 2024 General Election in Tebo Regency are as follows: Golkar Party 27,283 votes, PDI-P 14,476 votes, PKB 12,567 votes, Gerindra 7,210 votes, PAN 8,512 votes, NasDem 8,439 votes, PKS 7,252 votes, Demokrat 9,695 votes, and PPP 1,590 votes. Based on these results, the Golkar Party secured the most votes and secured 8 seats in the Tebo Regency Regional People's Representative Council (Rizal, 2024).

Table 1. List of Elected Candidates for the Tebo Regency Regional Representative Council for the 2024–2029 Term

No	Electoral District I	Electoral District II	Electoral District III	Electoral District IV
1	Ernir Mawartir 3.518 votes (Golkar).	Ferrir Ariryanto 2.736 votes (Golkar).	Khalirs Mustirko 8.487 votes (Golkar).	Sabkir 2.907 votes(Golkar).
2	Darul Kutnir 3.433 votes (PKB).	Tirbranir 2.328 votes (PKB).	Dirmas Cahya Kusuma 3.676 votes (PDIrP).	Ahmad Pairsol 2.425 votes (Dermokrat).
3	H Pahrir 2.715 votes (PDIrP).	Sulman Erlfarsy 1.590 votes (PPP).	Ahmad Ankam 4.246 votes (Golkar).	Suyadir 3.499 votes (PAN).
4	Karno 4.338 votes (Gerrindra).	Irhsanuddin 2.657 votes(PDIrP)	Irmam Syafir'ir 3.469 votes (PKB)	Mursalim 1.954 votes (Nasderm).
5	Yuzerp Herrman 2.181 votes (PAN).	Syamsurir 1.653 votes (PAN)	Khairrul 1.378 votes (Gerrindra).	Airvandrir AB 2.988 votes (PDIP).
6	Husnir Fahrir 3.018 votes (Nasderm).	Fahrudin Alrojir 1.928 votes (Dermokrat).	Sunoto 2.440 votes (PDIrP).	Sahendra 3.337 votes (PKB).
7	Erdi Hartono 2.199 votes (PKS).	Sairpul Anwar 3.467 votes (Nasderm).	H Ngatirran 4.141 votes (Golkar)	Pajrir 3.012 votes (PKS).
8	Radir Hartono 2.706 votes (Golkar).	Lirga Marirsa 2.683 votes (Golkar).	Sirswanto 2.041 votes (PKS).	Aterng Jaerlanir 1.494 votes (Gerrindra).

9	Pahlerpir 2.144 votes (Dermokrat).		Derwir Ulfa Uluwiryah 3.198 votes (Dermokrat).	
10			Erfrirdartir 1.179 votes (PAN).	

In the context of the case in this study, namely the dynamics of the performance of the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency, which is consistent in every election. When compared to the previous election, Golkar Tebo Regency in the 2014 Election obtained 11 seats, and in the 2019 Election obtained 9 seats (Ramadan, 2024). Thus, despite experiencing a decline, Golkar remains consistently the winning party in Tebo Regency. Golkar's success in the 2024 Election in Tebo Regency is interesting to study, especially because this party faces challenges in the form of the departure of a number of potential cadres, such as Agus Rubiyanto (former Chairman of the Tebo DPRD for the 2014–2019 period) and Mazlan (former Chairman of the Tebo DPRD for the 2019–2024 period) who switched to running as a legislative candidate for the Jambi Provincial DPRD from the Bungo-Tebo electoral district (Jambiupdate.co, 2024). Despite these dynamics, Golkar still managed to secure 27,283 votes and secure eight seats in the Tebo Regency DPRD (Rizal, 2024).

This study examines how the Golkar Party's institutionalization was consolidated in preparation for the 2024 elections. Randall & Svåsand, (2002) define political party institutionalization as a process by which a political party develops into a stable organization with deeply embedded values, roots in society, and the ability to withstand changes in the political environment. In other words, an institutionalized party is one that is not dependent on a particular figure or short-term interests, but rather possesses legitimacy, an identity, and a recognized

structure that functions continuously within the political system.

Basedau & Stroh, (2008) explained that there are four dimensions of party institutionalization: First, Roots in society, meaning that the party reflects stable roots in society. Second, autonomy (independence in making decisions), meaning that the political party is free from external influences in making decisions and implementing the party. Third, the level of organization (organizational tools that always work for the party's considerations at all levels of management), meaning that top-level management to lower-level management work for the party's considerations to enlarge the party and secure victory in the election. Fourth, coherence (cohesion among party members) refers to the unity of party members within parliament, thereby preventing defections and maintaining adherence to established party policies.

Furthermore, previous research on party institutionalization in the regions was conducted by Djuyandi & Suparman, (2020) who examined party institutionalization in West Java and found that regional-level party autonomy was often weak due to intervention by central elites. Furthermore, cadre recruitment was more based on personal and economic ties than on meritocracy, which hampered sustainable institutionalization. In line with this, research by Firmadi & Purwaningsih, (2016) It also sheds light on the institutionalization of the Democratic Party in Lampung Province. Their findings indicated that the Democratic Party's institutionalization in Lampung Province was moderate. The stability of the

Democratic Party's vote share in Lampung Province is not solely influenced by the party's institutionalization, but also by two other, more dominant factors: the practice of patronage and clientelism in the simultaneous gubernatorial and legislative elections, and the practice of patronage and clientelism by Democratic Party legislative candidates.

Based on this, this study aims to test the findings of two previous studies using the same theory but with different cases. It is hoped that this research will contribute to the study of the dynamics of party institutionalization at the local level, which also holds significant authority. Therefore, this study aims to analyze how the institutionalization of the Golkar Party will consolidate in the 2024 Legislative Elections in Tebo Regency.

2. METODE

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). The case study is the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency in the 2024 elections. This research uses primary data from in-depth interviews and secondary data from documentation.

The informants in this study were the Chairperson and Secretary of the Golkar Party Regional Executive Board (DPD) in Tebo Regency, the Chairperson of the Election Winning Body (Bappilu), cadres nominated in the 2024 elections, elected cadres (members of the Tebo Regency DPRD), party sympathizers and candidates, and community leaders in Tebo Regency. The documentation data in this study include the party's Articles of Association (AD)/Bylaws (ART), meeting minutes, and elaboration with credible local online news sources such as jambione.com, jambiekpres.com, tribunjambi, and relevant journal articles.

The data analysis technique in this study involved four stages: first, data collection and processing, which began

with data retrieval from data sources. After that, the data was processed by transcribing the entire dataset. Second, data selection by sorting data relevant to the topic and theory used in the discussion. Third, inter-variable analysis and data verification. After the data has been sorted, it will be discussed using theory and confirmed with other data to validate the research findings. Fourth, drawing conclusions. The final activity involves providing a picture of the findings to answer the research objectives.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. *Root on Society*

In their study of political party institutionalization, Basedau & Stroh, (2008) They are among the main indicators of party institutionalization. This indicator assesses the extent to which a political party has strong, sustainable, and institutionalized ties within society. Deep social roots enable a party to survive changes in the political constellation, maintain electoral support, and maintain legitimacy in the eyes of the public. In the context of this study, the Golkar Party's roots in society in Tebo Regency are analyzed through two measurement indicators: vote acquisition in each election and the party's relationship with community organizations (ormas). These two indicators reflect how Golkar is not only an electoral actor but also an integral part of the community's social structure.

The Golkar Party has a long history that has shaped its political identity in Tebo Regency. Since the New Orde era, Golkar has been known as a government party that successfully reached communities, even in villages, through development programs. The network formed during that time was not merely

structural, but also cultural, rooted in local figures, village officials, and social organizations. As explained by the Chairman of the Tebo Regency DPRD, Khalis Mustiko, S.H.:

"The Golkar Party's presence in Tebo cannot be separated from its long history of involvement in development processes and community social relations. During the New Order era, Golkar was known as a government party that reached out to the community through various village development programs. In the Tebo context, this party network has been built through institutions and personal relationships between Golkar cadres and the community, particularly through local figures who hold strategic positions within the social structure."

This aligns with Randall & Svåsand, (2002), analysis, which states that a party's social roots are one of the most crucial factors in its institutionalization, as a strong social base creates continuity of support amidst regime changes and political dynamics. Furthermore, Golkar's strength in Tebo Regency stems from its ability to maintain social networks at the hamlet level. This network is not static, but is continually renewed through cadre development, internal consolidation, and adaptation to local issues. An interview with Khalis Mustiko demonstrates the importance of social activities in strengthening the party's roots:

"The social activities carried out by the Golkar Party in Tebo are one of the main instruments in strengthening these social roots. The party regularly holds various social activities such as community service, assistance for farmer groups, integrated agricultural training, religious

activities, and support for productive community groups."

For example, Golkar's training programs on horticulture cultivation and agricultural processing not only increase community capacity but also build the party's image as an organization concerned with the welfare of the people. Furthermore, involvement in religious activities strengthens Golkar's position in society. Given that the majority of Tebo's population is Muslim, conducting large-scale religious studies, supporting religious study groups, and building places of worship are effective strategies for strengthening the party's ties with its social base. This strategy demonstrates that Golkar is not merely building political relationships but also forging deeper cultural and spiritual connections.

Furthermore, wing organizations such as Young Generation of the Golkar Party (AMPG) (Angkatan Muda Partai Golkar) and Unity of Women of the Golkar Party (KPPG) have become important instruments in expanding the party's support base. AMPG actively organizes activities for the younger generation, including sports tournaments, entrepreneurship training, and public discussions. Meanwhile, KPPG focuses on women's empowerment through household skills training, entrepreneurship, and family health education. The existence of these wing organizations demonstrates Golkar's regeneration strategy in responding to changing voter demographics. According to Mainwaring & Scully, (1995), parties that successfully regenerate their leadership and expand their social base to include young people and women tend to be more resilient to

changes in the political system. This aligns with Golkar's situation in Tebo, which relies not only on its traditional base but also strives to build the loyalty of a new generation of voters.

Moreover, local figures are crucial nodes in Golkar's power network. They serve as mediators between the party structure and the community. Former village heads, religious figures, and local businesspeople represent Golkar at the village and sub-district levels. Through their social and cultural networks, the party's agenda can be disseminated and community aspirations can be captured. The relationships they build are reciprocal: communities gain access to social assistance and resources, while the party receives stable political support. This phenomenon aligns with the concept of clientelism proposed by Kitschelt &

Wilkinson, (2007), where patron-client relationships serve as a crucial mechanism for parties to secure electoral support, particularly in rural areas.

Furthermore, electoral indicators reinforce the analysis that Golkar has strong social roots. In the 2014 elections, Golkar won 11 seats in the Tebo Regency Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) (Aritonang, 2014). In the 2019 election, despite its seat loss decreasing to 9, the party remained the winner with 26.93% of the vote (Jambikita.id, 2019). In the 2024 election, Golkar again emerged victorious with 27,283 votes and 8 seats in the Tebo Regency DPRD, despite facing internal dynamics in the form of the departure of several potential cadres to the provincial level (Ramadan, 2024).

Table 2. List of Vote Acquisition by Parties in the 2024 Tebo Regency Election

No	Party Name	Number of votes	Number of seats
1.	Golkar Party	27.283	8
2.	PDIP	14.476	5
3.	PKB	12.567	4
4.	Gerindra Party	7.210	3
5.	PAN	8.512	4
6.	Nasdem Party	8.439	3
7.	PKS Party	7.252	3
8.	Demokrat Party	9.695	4
9.	PPP	1.590	1

Source: (Rizal, 2024)

The Golkar Party's electoral superiority is also reflected in the vote share of legislative candidates in each electoral district. Interviews with Golkar's Tebo Regency DPD officials revealed that its member, Khalis Mustiko, received

8,487 votes in Electoral District III, the highest number among the other legislative candidates. This confirms that Golkar's electoral success in Tebo is highly dependent on the strength of local figures who represent the party in the community.

Based on this discussion, it can be concluded that Golkar's institutionalization in Tebo, through its "roots in society" indicator, encompasses three main aspects: Long History and Political Identity – Golkar's presence since the New Orde has made it part of the collective memory of the Tebo community, thus establishing it as a dominant political actor. Involvement in Socio-Cultural and Religious Activities – Ongoing social activities have built Golkar's image as a party close to the community and responsive to their needs. Electoral Stability through a Network of Local Figures – The relatively stable vote share in the last three elections demonstrates Golkar's success in maintaining its mass base by relying on a network of local figures and party affiliates. This finding is in line with research Ufen, (2008), which shows that the strength of parties at the local level in Indonesia is greatly influenced by a combination of historical factors, patron-client relationships, and adaptation to social dynamics.

3.2. Autonomy

According to Basedau and Stroh (2008), autonomy, or independence in decision-making, refers to the extent to which a political party is able to act independently without domination or intervention from external actors in policymaking. Autonomy requires parties to play a central role in formulating government policy while demonstrating independence in internal organizational management. A well-organized party is less susceptible to external pressures or individual interests within the party. While the influence of dominant internal actors cannot be completely avoided, a mature party should be able to manage such intervention effectively.

This research examines the Golkar Party's autonomous practices in the 2024 General Election in Tebo Regency,

focusing on the legislative candidate nomination and recruitment stages. The primary objective is to assess the extent to which the selection mechanism operates independently in accordance with internal party regulations, is free from external interference, and reflects the principles of internal democracy.

An interview with Liga Marisa, Chairperson of the Golkar Party's Regional Representative Council (DPD II) in Tebo Regency, indicates that the legislative candidate recruitment process is conducted through a closed and selective mechanism:

"In the Golkar Party, the legislative candidate recruitment process is systematically regulated in the party's Articles of Association (AD/ART), and every cadre wishing to run must undergo a rigorous internal selection process. This process begins with an initial selection of potential candidates, followed by profiling and tracking to assess the candidates' background, capacity, and track record before determining who is worthy of nomination. ... Recruitment is not conducted openly. This is based on previous experience, where general registration has triggered high expectations and conflict during the screening process. Therefore, we chose a closed and selective system, with an emphasis on the popularity, electability, and character of the candidates."

Furthermore, Liga Marisa emphasized that the differences between regional and legislative elections, particularly regarding logistical needs, make financial capacity and extended family support crucial factors in selection. The campaign also focused on a family-based approach through limited meetings in villages and hamlets. This was confirmed by an interview with Ayu Lestari, a Golkar legislative candidate, who explained:

"The process of determining legislative candidates within the Golkar

Party Regency has been conducted behind closed doors. There is no open registration or transparent selection mechanism. All decisions rest entirely with the Chairperson of the Regional Representative Council (DPD II). We, as cadres, are not directly involved in the decision-making process.”

The Secretary of DPD II, Subhan Nazari, also added that the candidate order numbers are determined based on an internal survey:

“The order numbers are determined based on the results of an internal party survey. Candidates deemed to have the greatest electoral potential are placed at the top. However, if the survey is the sole benchmark, there is a risk of overlooking leadership capacity, cadre experience, and contributions to the party.”

In fact, when compared to the Golkar Party's Articles of Association (Chapter VIII, Article 11), it stipulates that legislative candidate recruitment must be carried out democratically, transparently, and in stages. The mechanisms include: Open registration for all cadres who meet the criteria. A nomination quota of up to 200% of the number of seats in each electoral district, to be subsequently selected according to seat allocation. An internal survey as an objective instrument to measure electability and popularity. A fit and proper test to assess leadership, political communication, and cadre commitment. A tiered determination meeting at the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) II, Regional Leadership Council (DPD) I, up to the Central Leadership Council (DPP), before entering the Permanent Candidate List (DCT). A minimum of 30% gender representation as stipulated by the General Elections Commission (KPU). Thus, Golkar formally emphasizes the principles of

transparency, participation, and collective oversight (Golkar.or.id, 2024).

Rahat, (2009) identified four dimensions in candidate selection: (1) inclusivity vs. exclusivity, (2) authorized actors, (3) degree of decentralization, and (4) nomination method. In relation to Golkar's practices in Tebo: Inclusivity: The process is exclusive, closed, and managed only by party elites, particularly the Chairman of the Regional Representative Council (DPD II). There is no open registration. Authorized actors: Candidacy is controlled by local elites without a collective deliberation forum. Decentralization: The process takes place at the regional level (DPD II), but authority is centralized in the Chairman of the DPD, resulting in only a superficial decentralization. Nomination method: Appointment model or direct appointment, not internal voting. This practice demonstrates the dominance of local elites and the absence of participatory mechanisms. Even the inclusion of external figures such as Ayu Lestari and Yusuf Efendi without a cadre development process indicates a more pragmatic and short-term electoral-oriented selection pattern.

Analysis of autonomy indicators reveals two important points: first, no external intervention – Golkar Tebo is relatively independent from outside influence in determining legislative candidates. Second, Internal Elite Domination – Autonomy is actually fully controlled by the Speaker of the Regional Representative Council (DPD), thus the principles of openness and transparency as stipulated in the Articles of Association (AD/ART) are not implemented. Consequently, although Golkar formally upholds the principle of internal democracy, practices in Tebo demonstrate a gap between regulations and reality on the ground. The closed selection process risks weakening party institutionalization

by reducing cadre participation, creating potential conflict, and neglecting long-term cadre development.

This finding aligns with research conducted by Djuyandi & Suparman, (2020) which examined party institutionalization in West Java and found that party autonomy at the regional level is often weakened due to intervention by central elites. Furthermore, cadre recruitment is more based on personal and economic ties than on meritocracy, which hinders sustainable institutionalization.

Therefore, in the context of the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency, indicators of autonomy in decision-making are ambiguous: the party is free from external intervention, but is dominated by internal elites. The legislative candidate selection mechanism is closed, elitist, and pragmatic, thus contradicting the principle of transparency enshrined in the AD/ART. This highlights the gap between formal institutional norms and local political practices.

3.3. Level of Organization

According to Basedau and Stroh (2008), the level of organization refers to the existence of an organizational apparatus that consistently works for the party's interests at all levels of the leadership structure, from the central government to the grassroots. This level of organizational functioning can be an important indicator in assessing the extent to which a party has undergone institutionalization. A solid party organization serves not only as an administrative framework but also as a strategic instrument that maintains internal stability, encourages cadre militancy, and ensures the party's continued functioning amidst dynamic political competition.

Huntington, (2006) also emphasizes that political institutionalization is closely related to the organization's capacity to maintain order

and legitimacy amidst changing political environments. In the context of political parties, the success of institutionalization can be seen from how the leadership structure works in an integrated manner to support the party's strategy. Cadre militancy, loyalty to the party's vision and mission, and consistent implementation of party functions are integral components of the level of organization (Randall & Svåsand, 2002).

This research analyzes the organizational level of the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency, Jambi Province. Golkar Tebo is a significant political force in the region. In the 2024 elections, the party won 27,283 votes and secured eight legislative seats. This success is inseparable from the crucial role of the party's leadership structure, which works synergistically, starting from the Central Leadership Council (DPP), the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) I of Jambi Province, the DPD II of Tebo Regency, and down to the Sub-district Leadership (PK).

An interview with H. Ngatiran, S.E., a member of the Golkar Party's Tebo Regency Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), reinforces this picture. He stated that Golkar's success in securing eight legislative seats was the result of the hard work of the entire party's organizational structure. He stated that the DPP provided strategic direction, motivation, and training to all legislative candidates. This support was furthered through coordination between the Jambi DPD I and Tebo DPD II, which tailored strategies to local needs. In electoral district 3, for example, Ngatiran ran and secured 4,141 votes. The strategy focuses on direct engagement through social and religious activities, such as attending religious study groups and sermons. This approach has proven effective in building emotional closeness with the community.

One tangible manifestation of Golkar Tebo's organizational level is its systematic candidate briefing program. Table 3 summarizes the briefing schedule facilitated by the Central Executive Board (DPP) for Golkar Tebo legislative candidates.

Table 3. Description of DPP's Briefing for Golkar Legislative Candidates in Tebo Regency

No	Date/year	Participant	Type of provision	Description
1	November 5, 2023	DPP, DPD I, DPD II, candidate	Motivation and Encouragement	The Central Executive Board (DPP) provides strategic direction to strengthen fighting spirit and loyalty
2	November 8, 2023	Same	Campaign Strategy	Socialization based on a personal approach and social activities.
3	November 14, 2023	Same	Understanding the Party's Vision and Mission	Deepening the vision, work program, and communication techniques.
4	November 19, 2023	Same	Public Communication Training	Formal speaking techniques, lectures, and answering public questions.
5	November 25, 2023	Same	Political and Leadership Education	Strengthening public communication and leadership skills.
6	Desember 6, 2023	Same	Internal Solidarity	Guidance to avoid internal conflict between legislative candidates.
7	Desember 11, 2023	Same	Campaign Simulation	Practical exercises in dealing with sensitive issues and field campaigns.
8	Desember 12, 2023	Same	Strategy Based on Electoral Districts	Mapping local issues, community needs, and contextual strategies.

Source: processed by the author based on interview, (2025)

The briefing material demonstrated how the party organization systematically prepared legislative candidates for the 2024 elections. This aligns with the view Panebianco, (1988) that a strong party organization is supported by a structured cadre development and coaching process. In addition to candidate training, the Golkar Party's structural consolidation in Tebo was evident through the Extraordinary Sub-district Conference (Muscamclub) in Tebo Ilir, which included

a fast-breaking event. The Chairman of the Golkar Party's Regional Representative Council (DPD II) in Tebo, Khalis Mustiko, emphasized the importance of the collective struggle of all cadres to win elections at all levels, including the presidential election (Jambiprima.com, 2023).

At the sub-district level, the PK plays a key role as the party's spearhead. The Chairperson of the Tebo Ilir PK, Liga Marisa, emphasized that community-based

strategies such as mutual cooperation, social assistance, and religious activities are effective in building emotional closeness with the community. Meanwhile, the Rimbo Bujang PK, through Ahmad, emphasized the use of social media as a crucial tool for reaching young voters. The Tebo Tengah PK even focused on voter security by assigning witnesses at each polling station and developing volunteers down to the neighborhood unit (RT/RW) level (Jambiprima.com, 2023).

Challenges remain, particularly in the face of fierce competition with other parties to attract young voters. The Muara Tabir PK, for example, acknowledged that the party needs to strengthen digital communications to address the needs of the new generation. This aligns with findings (Ufen, 2008) that parties in Indonesia need to adapt to increasingly pragmatic changes in voter behavior.

The results of the 2024 election in Tebo Regency demonstrated the Golkar Party's significant strength across all electoral districts. In Electoral District 1, the legislative candidate with the most votes was Eni Mawarti, with 3,518 votes, placing her in first place. She was followed by Radi Hartono, S.Pd.I., who received 2,706 votes, in second place, and Hananto Priyanbodo, with 2,165 votes, in third. Following them were Edi Kurniawan with 882 votes, Adi Robiyono with 68 votes, Dede Bukhori with 52 votes, Rahmi Azizah with 47 votes, Nurhardiyanto with 26 votes, and finally, Ayu Lestari with 16 votes. This data indicates that vote dominance in this electoral district is quite concentrated among the three main candidates, while the other candidates received relatively small votes (Ramadan, 2024).

In Electoral District 2, the vote share competition appears to be even tighter. Feri Ariyanto, S.Pd., M.Pd., secured the top spot with 2,736 votes, narrowly edging out Liga Marisa, S.IP.,

who received 2,683 votes. Nursimah, S.Pd., M.Pd., placed third with 2,479 votes, followed by Selamat Jalil with 2,237 votes. Meanwhile, the other candidates received significantly fewer votes: Edrizal with 288 votes, Ahyauddin with 161 votes, Halim with 113 votes, and Lili Dianawati, S.H. with 75 votes. These results indicate that Golkar's vote share in electoral district 2 was more evenly distributed among the top four candidates, demonstrating a strong and competitive support base within the party (Ramadan, 2024).

In electoral district 3, the dominance of vote acquisition was particularly pronounced among several candidates. Khalis Mustiko, S.H. managed to secure the highest number of votes with 8,487 votes, a significant margin compared to the other legislative candidates. In second place was Ahmad Ankam, S.H., M.M. with 4,246 votes, followed by H. Ngatiran, S.E. with 4,141 votes, and Sukidi with 3,956 votes. The vote share of these four candidates was significant compared to other candidates with much smaller numbers, such as Dita Novitasari with 169 votes, Mardi Martha, A.Md. with 133 votes, Aulia Choirunnisa with 41 votes, Budi Handayani with 24 votes, Noviyanto with 15 votes, and Puji Rahayu with only 6 votes. This indicates that in this electoral district, votes were concentrated among the four main candidates, especially Khalis Mustiko, who received the most votes (Ramadan, 2024).

Meanwhile, in Electoral District 4, the vote count also showed tight competition for the top spot. Sabki came in first with 2,907 votes, narrowly ahead of Bambang Suegiarto, S.P., who received 2,900 votes. Hustia Vanesha came in third with 718 votes, followed by Mus Mulyadi with 98 votes, Mariatun with 63 votes, Syamsinur with 13 votes, and Ridhwan with 12 votes. These results show that the two main candidates, Sabki and Bambang Suegiarto, dominated the vote count in the

electoral district, while the other candidates received relatively small numbers (Ramadan, 2024).

Based on empirical data and interviews, it can be concluded that the Golkar Party's organizational level indicators in Tebo Regency are functioning effectively. First, hierarchical coordination between the Central Executive Board (DPP), Regional Representative Council (DPD I), Regional Representative Council (DPD II), and the Golkar Party (PK) is systematic. Second, candidate training demonstrates the party's consistent strategy. Third, consolidation at the sub-district level demonstrates how the Golkar Party serves as a liaison between the party and the community. Theoretically, this condition reflects the institutionalization of parties as defined by Huntington (1968) and Randall & Svåsand (2002), namely political organizations that possess order, legitimacy, and adaptive capacity. Golkar Tebo not only relies on symbolic power but also implements measurable strategies through a solid organizational structure.

The Golkar Party's success in Tebo Regency in the 2024 Election demonstrates that the level of organization is a crucial factor in winning political contests. The party's organizational structure works harmoniously from the center to the grassroots, with the active roles of the Central Executive Board (DPP), Regional Representative Council (DPD I), Regional Representative Council (DPD II), and the Prosperous Justice Party (PK). Internal consolidation, candidate training, community-based strategies, and the use of social media have contributed to increased public support. With a total of 27,283 votes and eight seats in the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), Golkar Tebo has demonstrated that structured organizational strength can be a competitive advantage in local political competition. However, the challenge ahead is how the party can maintain the militancy

of its cadres while attracting young, pragmatic voters.

3.4. Coherences

Coherence among political party members refers to the level of unity among cadres in implementing the political agenda, including loyalty to party policies and the absence of defections. In the context of the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency, this coherence can be observed through the internal consolidation carried out in the lead-up to the 2024 elections. The Golkar Party performed quite well, securing a total of 27,283 votes and eight legislative seats in the Tebo Regency Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). This result reflects a systematic and structured consolidation process supported by the solidarity of cadres and volunteers.

An interview with H. Ngatiran, S.E., a DPRD member from the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency, explained that in the lead-up to the 2024 elections, the Golkar Tebo Regional Representative Council (DPD II) held four consolidation meetings. This consolidation included the formation of a strong volunteer team, with each legislative candidate required to have their own volunteer network. Ngatiran stated:

"In preparation for the 2024 Election, the Tebo Regency Regional Representative Council (DPD II) held four comprehensive consolidation sessions. This consolidation included the formation of a solid volunteer team, with each legislative candidate having their own volunteer network. The main objective of this strategy was to strengthen the community support base through a structured approach. The initial step in consolidation began with recruiting volunteers who were highly committed to winning the Golkar Party. Afterward, the cadres and volunteers underwent intensive training that included improving political

communication skills, understanding local political dynamics, and mastering campaign strategies in the field."

This statement demonstrates that the consolidation strategy went beyond simply forming a campaign team; it also involved capacity building through training. These activities played a crucial role in improving the competency of cadres and volunteers, enabling them to face political competition with thorough preparation. Furthermore, the activity report identified two main training categories: training for legislative candidate cadres and specific training for volunteers. The training program for legislative candidate cadres was designed to comprehensively improve political capacity. The materials covered political communication skills, understanding election regulations, and field strategies. Cadres are trained in public speaking, participating in political debates, and developing their personal branding as credible political figures. They are also equipped with skills in analyzing voter turnout, mobilizing support, and interacting with community leaders. This in-depth, long-term program uses case studies, expert discussions, and debate simulations.

Meanwhile, volunteer training focused more on basic campaign skills. Volunteers were taught persuasive communication techniques, door-to-door campaign strategies, and how to convey political messages simply and effectively. They also gained a basic understanding of the election system, voting mechanisms, and relevant local political issues. The training was short, lasting only one to two days, and involved workshops, live simulations, and role-plays. Evaluation was conducted through campaign simulations, where volunteers were tested on their ability to convey political messages in front of trainers and fellow participants. These two training programs

demonstrated that the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency is striving to build a political machine that is not only solid but also skilled at reaching voters.

The Chairperson of the Tebo Regency General Elections Commission (KPU), Atiul Fuadiyah, S.H.I., M.H., assessed that the Golkar Party's consolidation measures were a common strategy for political parties in the lead-up to elections. He believed that this strategy demonstrated Golkar's commitment to preparing its cadres and campaign teams for effective performance. He stated:

"The Golkar Party's consolidation strategy has the potential to increase public political participation. With a trained volunteer team, voters more easily understand the vision, mission, and programs of legislative candidates. The training provided also improves the skills of cadres and campaign teams, enabling them to better understand the political process as a whole."

Furthermore, Sukarmin, a community leader and head of the neighborhood association (RT), emphasized that Golkar has taken systematic steps to prepare for the 2024 elections. He stated that cadre consolidation not only strengthens the party's internal cohesion but also increases public trust. He stated that a solid campaign team and trained volunteers facilitate political communication with the public, while simultaneously improving the party's image. The training covers not only campaign aspects but also the provision of props such as posters, flyers, and merchandise. Furthermore, the campaign team's door-to-door strategy is considered effective because it allows direct interaction between candidates and voters.

From this discussion, it can be concluded that the Golkar Party's consolidation in Tebo Regency has three main aspects: volunteer recruitment, cadre

and volunteer training, and performance evaluation. This strategy builds internal party coherence, reflected in the unity of its cadres and loyalty to its winning strategy. The presence of trained volunteers enabled the party to effectively reach its voter base, while training legislative candidate cadres strengthened local political leadership capacity. Evaluations conducted through campaign simulations and regional mapping also ensured the party's readiness to face field dynamics. This consolidation also served a dual purpose: strengthening the internal structure while building public trust in the Golkar Party. Theoretically, the steps taken by the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency align with the concept of party institutionalization, which emphasizes cadre development, internal cohesion, and a clear organizational structure (Croissant & Völkel, 2010; Kalua, 2011; Park, 2009). By conducting repeated consolidations, Golkar demonstrated a relatively high level of coherence among its cadres.

The internal coherence of the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency was built up ahead of the 2024 elections through planned consolidation, cadre and volunteer training, and a continuous evaluation system. Support from external stakeholders, both the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the public, strengthened the legitimacy of this initiative. Ultimately, this strategy proved effective, securing 27,283 votes and eight legislative seats, positioning the Golkar Party as a dominant force in Tebo Regency. Through this consolidation strategy, Golkar not only strengthened the party's internal solidarity but also built a positive image in the public's eyes. This demonstrates that party coherence is a crucial factor in determining a political party's success in electoral competition.

4. CONCLUSION

This research shows that the institutionalization of the Golkar Party in Tebo Regency is relatively strong, particularly in terms of its roots in society, organizational level, and coherence. Golkar Party has maintained close ties with the community, built a solid organizational structure, and sustained internal cohesion through routine consolidation and candidate briefings. These are key factors in the party's success in the 2024 Election. However, weaknesses remain in the autonomy dimension, as decision-making is still dominated by party elites, and the selection mechanism remains only partially transparent. This situation indicates a gap between democratic principles and political practice on the ground.

The implication is that the electoral success of political parties depends not only on short-term campaign strategies but also on the strength of consistent and democratic institutionalization. A limitation of this research is its focus on Tebo Regency, which limits generalizability to other regions. Future research should compare institutionalization patterns across regions and delve deeper into the role of party elites at the local level.

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