The Shift of Indonesian Political Culture from Moral Legitimacy to Capital Legitimacy

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Abstract: This research is the result of a study of the shift in culture and political practices in Indonesia from moral legitimacy to capital legitimacy. This research is based on the concept of political culture, political theory, the practice of political meaning, and the views of several political observers. The results of research on the changes and political culture in Indonesia. The embodiment of political practice is related to political actors who practice what is called *homo homini lupus* which is justified. The shift from moral legitimacy to behavioral capital legitimacy is only measured in material terms and this is not in line with the Pancasila Democratic Ethics, which in principle argues that all political processes must be based on the value of struggle for the Indonesian State and Nation. Political pragmatism as it is today will be linked to political capitalization and liberalization, all of which are based on 2 (two) determinants, namely, money and power. Money and power are everything that must be obtained to maintain power itself, regardless of whether the process is against ethics and hurts the conscience of the sovereign people.

Keywords: Political culture, moral legitimacy, capital legitimacy, Pancasila ideology, regeneration.

1. INTRODUCTION

Political culture reflects the cultural journey of a nation which has a role in the creation of a political system. The political culture of a country is reflected in the actions of seeking, maintaining, and increasing power in the practice of competition between party forces and interest groups. The political culture in a country is also a reflection of the level of political literacy that runs gradually. Thus, political culture reflects cultural behavior and values that develop in society. Political practice shows that if the political culture in a country has matured with characteristics, for example respecting differences between groups, maturing in competition, and how to gain power is ethically achieved, then the political culture will be reflected as the culmination of the dedication of political parties and political figures. for the benefit of the nation and state.

The question is, are Indonesia's Political Culture and Political Practices with the development of political liberalization in line with political ethics? This question can be seen in 3 aspects. First, from the aspect of political ethics, which tends to justify all means in the form of money political practice, which means that ethical legitimacy has shifted to money legitimacy. Second, from the aspect of competition between political forces, it also shows increased antagonism and prolonged conflict due to the inability to reconcile interests, so that ideological problems and platform problems are not used as a measure. Third, from the

aspect of regeneration of political parties and social organizations, it is not sustainable in determining the quality of cadres, even the quality of capital becomes a measure in political practice.

Political culture and political practice in the system of political liberalization and capitalization embodied in Political Legislation such as Laws regulating Parties, Elections, Pilkada, and Presidential Elections gave birth to political pragmatism which shifted from the paradigm of political party goals and functions, namely socialization politics, political recruitment, political education, and political articulation of the interests of the wider community. If traced from the history of Indonesian political development, since before independence the founding fathers always showed ethics and selfless struggle for the establishment and independence of the Republic of Indonesia so that almost all of the potential for themselves and the capital possessed by each of these figures was only allocated to the interests of the nation and state.

On the other hand, in current political practice, no orientation bases the interests of the state on party interests, individual interests over group interests, on the other hand, current political practice is always based on momentary interests which are manifested in the practice of transactions and political pragmatization. Political practice like this leaves ethical issues, ideology, regeneration, and long-term interests for state sovereignty. Political liberalization has shifted the legitimacy of power based on morality as did the founding fathers of the nation, where at present it leads to the legitimacy of capital which is manifested by the presence of capital owners in the political arena. The shift in political culture from moral legitimacy to capital

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legitimacy is very contrary to the values of the struggle for independence and social justice for all Indonesian people.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research method is qualitative. Creswell defines a qualitative method as a research method that bases on a constructivist perspective, meaning diverse meanings, meanings that are socially and historically constructed to develop a theory or pattern. The researcher collects open-ended data and develops, intending to develop the theme of the data that is passed.

2.1. Research Analysis

This research is categorized as empirical legal research. The data used are primary data or basic data obtained directly from the first source of the behavior of citizens, while the secondary data include official documents, books, and research results. The data sources in this research come from a human source and a non-human source of information.

This study applies a quantitative approach to obtaining primary data and a qualitative approach to collecting secondary data. The main instrument of the researchers themselves is research and observation and literature review on Indonesian political practice in the liberal era which is marked by transactions and pragmatization showing that there is a shift in political culture from moral legitimacy to capital legitimacy which is very contrary to the values of the struggle for independence and social justice for all. people of Indonesia.

2.2. Research Purposes

For researchers, moral legitimacy is what is needed in society or for a leader because it can provide concrete support, a government can run well, it is not enough just to get political legitimacy following the constitution because a leader must have good morals, both to the people as well as in his position. If a leader does not have good morals, the people will not respect or be respected. Eating in this case being a leader must be able to protect, have a sense of honesty and openness to the people.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Political Culture Thought

The government is an executive institution that plays a role in implementing policies for the

achievement of the goals of the State which have been formulated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution. The Indonesian political system provides high power and authority to the government in carrying out its functions under the Law.[1] According to Almond, the government's function in the power-sharing mechanism is the executive position or rule of application.[2]

Political thinking as part of political science has a close relationship with political culture. Discussing the political thought of an organization means discussing the basic views, ethics, morality, and idealism espoused by the organization. As quoted by Rahman Zainudin, Vernon van Dyke argues that as a theory, political thinking includes political beliefs in general and comprehensive (comprehensive), which is called the basis of opinion or ideology.[3]

The placement of political culture as a theoretical framework in writing has a similar viewpoint with current political thought and projects. Likewise, besides being under the situation and conditions of today's political patterns which are always based on the practice of political transactions, this theory can also be used to analyze Indonesian political life which is still influenced by the concept of political culture, especially Javanese culture.[4] The formation of political culture is the result of a process of attraction from one culture to another. In this connection, Dennis Kavanagh argues, the existence of political culture is always related and influences each other with other cultures, because basically, political culture is a part of the subculture of the culture of a society concerned. In its position as a subculture, political culture is influenced by culture in general.[5]

The study of political culture as a theoretical framework has been widely introduced and influenced by political experts, such as Almond and Verba (1965), Lucian W. Pye (1996), A.R. Ball (1971), Rosenbaum (1975), Miriam Budiardjo (1977), and Alfian (1985). Among them, they have the same perception that political culture is always closely related to the value

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[1]Ramlan Surbakti, Memahami Ilmu Politik (Jakarta: Grasindo, 1992), p. 167-168.
[2]Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1996), p. 132-140.
[3]Vern van Dyke, *Political Science: A Philosophical Analisys,* quoted A. Rahman Zainudin in *Jurnal Ilmu Politik ke-7* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1990), p. 4.
[4]Lebih lanjut baca Benedict R.O.G. Anderson, "Gagasan Tentang Kekuasaan dalam Kebudayaan Jawa," in Aneka pemikiran Tentang Kuasa dan Wibawa (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1991).
[5]Dennis Kavanagh, Kebudayaan Politik, terj. Lailahanoum Hasyim (Jakarta: Bina Aksara, 1982), p. 13.

system that underlies a person's political orientation and behavior.

Almond and Verba (1965) define political culture mainly by referring to attitudes and political orientation and its other parts, as well as attitudes towards our role in the system. Our discussion of political culture is exactly what we can talk about economic culture or religious culture. It is a series of orientations toward a specific set of social objects and processes.[6] The opinion of Almond and Verba focuses on civil culture, which includes cognitive orientation, affection, and evaluation of the prevailing political system. Therefore, political culture is closely related to the political system of a country.

In line with the opinion of Almond and Verba, A.R. Ball (1971) defines political culture as the attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values of society related to the political system and political issues.[7] A.R. Concept Ball is considered narrower when compared to the opinion of Almond and Verba because A.R. Ball did not discuss how a citizen influences the decision-making process. Lucian W. Pye (1966) argues that political culture is a set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments that provide order and meaning to the political process and provide basic assumptions and rules that determine behavior in the political system.[8]

Indonesian political scientists, such as Miriam Budiardjo (1977) and Alfian (1985) also pay attention to the development of a political culture approach in the development of Indonesian politics. According to Miriam Budiardjo, political culture reflects subjective factors. Political culture is the whole of political views, such as norms, patterns of orientation towards politics, and the way of life in general. Political culture prioritizes the psychological dimension of a political system, namely attitudes, belief systems, symbols that are owned by the beliefs of individuals and operate in the whole of society, and their expectations.[9]

Alfian's study focuses more on political and cultural relations. He considered political culture shapes political perceptions, then political perceptions radiate a political cognitive map. From there the political orientation, attitudes, and behavior are born, and from

there lies the close relationship between politics and culture.[10] For Rosenbaum, the boundaries of political culture are enough to represent theory formulation. But what is more important is that political culture can be used to analyze at two levels the individual and the collective.[11]

Thus, in broad outline, political culture always describes a close relationship between the value system and the basic principles of psychological movement which include patterns of thinking and patterns of individual behavior on organizations in political life. The essence or main characteristics of political culture concern the issue of values. Values are the basic principles that underlie a doctrine or an outlook on life.[12]

The political culture of a nation is closely related to the culture of the nation itself. Therefore, the interaction between community cultures will affect the maturity of political culture. According to Clude Ake, political culture maturity is a condition in which the political culture of a society is at a stage or level, a pre-condition that allows it to function properly.[13] Meanwhile, according to Almond and Verba, the proper functioning of political culture is in principle determined by the level of harmony between the culture of a nation and its political structure.[14] Thus, to develop a political culture of a nation must be in line with the culture of the nation itself. Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin concluded that the more harmonious the political structure is with the cultural aspects of the nation, the more mature the political culture will be.[15]

Based on the definitions of political culture, Miriam Budiarjo's opinion is considered more complete and per Indonesian conditions. His thinking has reached the level of identification of the elements of political culture, namely the basic attitudes, belief systems, and symbols possessed by the organization.

3.2. Political Cultural Practices

According to Almond, the elements of political culture include feelings of national identity, class

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[6]Gabrial A. Almond dan Sidney Verba, Budaya Politik: *Tingkah Laku Politik dan Demorasi di Lima Negara* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1990), h. 14.
[7]R.R Ball, *Modern Politics and Government* (London: Mac, Millan, 1971), p. 56.
[8]Lucian W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development* (Boston: Little Brown,1977), p. 49
[9]Miriam Budiarjo, Dasar-dasar Ilmu politik (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1977), p. 49.

[10]Alfian (Ed), *Persepsi Politik Tentang Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1985), p. 155.
[11]Rosenbaum, *Political Culture* (New York: Praeger Publisher Inc, 1975), p. 7-8.
[12]Albert Widjaja, *Budaya Politik dan pembangunan Ekonomi (*Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), p. 250.
[13]Claude Ake, *A Theory of Political Integration* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1967), p. 96.
[14]Almond dan Verba, *loc.cit.*
[15]Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin, "Aspek-aspek Budaya Politik Indonesia," dalam Alfian dan Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin (eds.) *Profil Budaya Politik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Grafiti, 1991), p. 24.

consciousness, achievement motivation, belief in freedom, belief in equality, political effectiveness, and trust in the government.[16] The division of several elements of political culture means that the current liberalization of Indonesian politics is not in line with the development of a nation's political culture. In this context, it is necessary to look at the elements of political culture which are very different from the ideals of building a national political culture, namely elements of national identity, elements of achievement motivation, and elements of political effectiveness.

First, we can see the elements of national identity at this time from political party figures and national figures in making policies and practices of the state administration. The result of the observation is that there is a process of decreasing feelings of national identity which is manifested by the increasing number of very liberal laws in Indonesia that have eroded national ownership in the economic sector based on mineral and / or natural resources in Indonesia. The feeling of national identity among adolescents also does not show that there is a sense of belonging and sense of responsibility for young people which is manifested in a very cosmopolitan lifestyle that has even eliminated the element of identity as the nation's children. There is no other way to increase the feeling of national identity except by building awareness that the ideology of a nation is an integral part of development in general development. Building ideology and national identity, for example by strengthening Pancasila as the basis and behavior of everyday life and realized by appreciating differences as an application of the practice of the principles and values of Bhineka Tunggal Ika.

Second, another element that shows the weakening of the goal and spirit of developing the country is the weakening of the element of achievement motivation. The spirit to build among adolescents and the younger generation is generally expected to have strong competitiveness in each individual. Conditions like this will give birth to a decrease in the spirit of competition between nations so that this will lead to a weakening factor of state sovereignty so that Indonesia does not become mainstreaming in influencing relations between countries. Motivation in achieving achievement must be built into the starting point of

today's young people by fostering a cultural spirit to compete, culture to be the best to show that Indonesia is a large country and respected in the context of relations between countries in the world.

Third, the element of a political culture that needs to be considered is the effectiveness of politics. Political practices that are always based on political transactions are often misinterpreted by a political recruitment process based on the term NPWP, *"number piro wani piro"*. This practice is a manifestation of the absence of political effectiveness itself. Political effectiveness should be established through a reciprocal relationship between those represented and represented, between representations of party ideology and party struggles, and between individuals or political figures who must answer whether their interests are stronger than those of the state.

Political effectiveness must be returned to the spirit of building the nation so that everything that is done both in making state policies to development practices is always based on the struggle aimed at the prosperity of the country and built on the principle of social justice for all Indonesian people. Almond's thought reflects that building politics in Indonesia is not enough with the formality of democracy which is manifested only by a political process, then produces political instruments such as elections, and finally gives birth to leadership in the Legislative, Judiciary, and Executive, but more than that building a political culture such as 3 (three) the above elements must be based on the principle of the maturity of a nation's political culture which is reflected in political practice based on state political values which are manifested in building the nation and state. The formality of democracy is not the essence of democracy itself, but rather it reduces the meaning of democracy which is based on the fact that all political processes must be based on, from, for the sake of, and for the people as a sovereign community in a democratic country.

3.3. Shifting Political Culture

According to Walter A. Rosenbaum, detailing the elements of political culture into seven levels, namely political identification, political trust, regime orientation, roles of the game, political efficacy, political competency, and input-input orientation.[17] The shift in a political culture which becomes an element of political

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[16]Gabriel Almond, "Sosialisasi, Kebudayaan, dan Partisipasi Politik," in Mohtar Mas'oed dan Colin MacAndrews (eds.), *Perbandingan Sistem Politik* (Yogyakarta: Gajah mada University Press, 1986), p.40

[17]Rosenbaum, *op.cit.* p.10

culture means that the process of political culture is created from the process of political culture to the input-output orientation. Political culture thus must become a commitment from all parties, starting from the intention when someone takes the political profession to be able to give birth to a statesman spirit who does not rely solely on the goal of only obtaining public positions in the life of society and the nation. Political culture must be reflected not only in the institutions that implement people's sovereignty (legislative, judiciary, executive, and auditory) but also by all religious institutions and interest groups. If all institutions in the sense of the infrastructure and political superstructure have given birth to a mature political culture, it will be able to give birth to a mature political behavior of the state.

Measuring the political culture that can be said to be mature and mature in a country, there are 4 (four) things that need to be observed. First, political trust, which is an order in people's lives when there is political trust between the people and the government, between local governments and the central government between community organizations, and ultimately between political parties. The shift in political culture in Indonesia today is the weakening of political trust between fellow components of the nation's children. The settlement of differences between communities in a political process and a non-political process is always born with violence as an instrument to solve problems. A mature and mature political culture requires maturity differently. It is even directed to respect the differences themselves which are part of the synergy in a pluralistic Indonesia.

Second, political competency, which is a recruitment pattern for the use of power, which should be carried out by competent figures and individuals. Political pragmatism that is manifested by the existence of political transactions in the process of gaining power either through elections or power by using non-election instruments such as positions in government indicates that recruitment is not carried out openly and is carried out solely by political transactions. Determining the serial number of the legislative candidates, determining the pair for the regional government either the Governor, the Regent, and the determination of the Presidential Candidate are always accompanied by political transactions or political dowries. Political recruitment that is not based on good political competence will give birth to party ideology and political regeneration. The state and political parties that do not regenerate are the same as destroying the growth of national cadres who are the seeds for the birth of statesmen. Maintaining political recruitment based on political transactions will give birth to a process of permissiveness to mistakes in managing the country which will ultimately lead to political practices based on corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN).

Third, the orientation regime is how a person is oriented to a government regime. Practical politics which is also called real politics always bases on 3 (three) things how the struggle of power is, how to increase power, and how the status quo of power is. The real political practice like this is if it is adopted by political actors, it will practice what is called *homo homini lupus* which means justifying any means. Excessive power orientation will turn off the eyes of a leader because it is not based on a mature political culture. An excessive orientation regime will also give birth to all behaviors that are only measured in material terms and this is not in line with the Pancasila Democratic Ethics, which in principle argues that all political processes must be based on the value of struggle for the State and Indonesian Nation. Political pragmatism as it is today will be intertwined with political capitalization and liberalization, all of which are based on 2 (two) determinants, namely, money and power. Money and power are everything that must be obtained to maintain power itself, no matter whether the process is contrary to ethics and hurts the conscience of the sovereign people.

Fourth, the input-output orientation, which is an outcome in the political system, must produce a reciprocal authority that runs concurrently with the responsible authority, namely that power must be accountable to who gives power, namely the people. The practice of making policies by leaving the process of political education through campaigns will give birth to a generation that does not get the real political meaning. Elections that are only based on mass mobilization which are only held every 5 (five) years in the form of forcing the people to vote at polling stations without prior political education will give birth to political transactions and demoralization among the grassroots, even though the input-output orientation requires the existence of the process of political education from beginning to end which is proven in political campaigns and policymaking up to the implementation.

The four things above have stunned political thinkers in the form that there has been a shift to political transactions as a form of capital legitimacy, taking over from ethics and political culture based on moral legitimacy as desired in the nation's

establishment discussed in BPUPKI and as a Committee Preparation for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) before the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. Moral legitimacy has been taken by force by the owners of capital in political parties and the government. The problem is whether such practices are maintained or restored in line with the understanding that democracy is a very appropriate instrument for building a nation's political culture.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

4.1. Conclusion

Political practice in Indonesia has shifted from a paradigm based on ethics and values to a political practice that is always based on transactionalism and pragmatics both in the process of seeking, maintaining, and increasing power. Determining the serial number of the legislative candidates, determining the pair for the regional government either the Governor, the Regent, and the determination of the Presidential Candidate are always accompanied by political transactions or political dowries. Practical politics, namely justifying any means of becoming politics which is common in Indonesia, is an important factor as well as a cause of shifting political culture in Indonesia. This politics has damaged the democratic order in Indonesia, which has been built since 1998.

4.2. Recommendations

1. In terms of ideology, Pancasila must serve as the ideology of all political parties which can become a joint political force to build the country. Political platforms may be different but the spirit to fight for the Pancasila Political Culture must be the ultimate goal for all political parties.

2. In terms of instrumentation and regulation of amendments to the Law on Political Parties and Elections, the entire political process must be based on ideology, regeneration, and dedication to the interests of the state.

3. In terms of building a healthy condition, it means that political behavior must be part of building politics itself, meaning that politics is not just seizing power but politics is the dedication of every citizen to the state.

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