

Deconstruction Of Political Parties Hegemony and Its Implications on Representative General Elections

Imam Al Ghozali Wulakada¹, I Gusti Ayu Ketut Rahmi Handayani² and Djatmiko Anom³

Abstract

Objective: This study aims to find out the Political Parties hegemony in general election and its impact on the system of General Election and Representative. Design/ methodology/ data analysis: Research methodology used in this study is juridical normative. Its main objects of the analysis are constitutional texts and democracy phenomenology data in Indonesia. All data and those materials are analyzed by deconstructive method through philosophical, statute and conceptual approach. Findings: Result of the study shows that Political Parties hegemony is created by the Indonesian Constitution. The application of representative theory in representative General Election is inappropriate, whereas the appropriate one is direct democracy theory which is eligible for the election. The elimination of Political Parties as representative in the Election and Parliament Faction causes dual interests in democracy. Originality Values: The value of this study is different to numerous studies when seen from outside have been changing representative theory into direct democracy theory in the election. Eliminating Political Parties in the election of representative members and the existence of Political Parties Factions in Parliament, even though all researchers and experts state that Political Parties have become the main requirements of democracy. Deconstruction analysis covers some sharp distinctions between this study and the previous constructive studies. Practical implications: The theoretical argumentation of this study is hard to be refuted, because General Elections as a fundamental sovereign momentum that deserves to be based on single representation, realized directly, such things do not eliminate the democracy ontology. Many parties are experiencing annoyance by this idea including politicians of Political Parties, political oligarchs and intellectuals who are logocentric to Political Parties as the core of democracy.

Keywords: Deconstruction, Single Representation, Political Parties, General Elections and Parliament

INTRODUCTION

Almost all countries around the world have faced the same situation, that is crisis of democracy which is in fact is caused by the decreased people freedom and the strengthened authority centralization within the state system which is managed by Political Parties (Ghio, 2024). The presence of Political Parties is a necessity, but the strongly binding of Political Parties in every part of power is something to be aware of which can become massive despotic and systematic. Michael Riegnier and Richard Stacey have a view that almost all constitutional democracy countries have been well established depend on the Political Parties, and most constitutions all around the world have recognized the beneficial role of Political Parties. (Parcon, 2021) It is different to authoritarian regime which usually eliminates party competition. The Political Party supporters believe that the party-political system is capable in preventing political fractionality which impacts on social division. Meanwhile, the reality which is seen is contradictory. Fractionality happens on party system in every General Elections which gives impact social divisions. (Božilović & Petković, 2022)

Questioning the relevancy of Political Parties on this era can be considered as radical leftist view, like the supporters of communism and religion politics reactionism which tends to totalitarian. Nowadays, such an accusation is not popular because in fact, some countries with Republican System have organized their General Elections and Government without Political Parties, for example Micronesia, Palau, Tuvalu, and Nebraska. On the other side, we can see the reality of substantial democracy application by a number of absolute monarchical countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Uni Emirate Arab and many more in the Arabian Peninsula, constitutional monarchy like in Jordan, Japan, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam which has proved the quality of welfare without giving political space fully to Political Parties. The above reality invalidates the claim that

¹ Faculty of Law Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia. E-mail: ghozalihw@student.uns.ac.id

² Faculty of Law Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia. E-mail: ayu_igk@staff.uns.ac.id

³ Faculty of Law Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia. E-mail: jadmikoanom@staff.uns.ac.id

omission or mere restriction to Political Parties in political system of legislative election is a form of leftist stream which orientates on totalitarianism. (Lipovetsky, 2017)

At the beginning, the enforceability pattern of democracy is classified into two parts, that is formal democracy and substantial democracy. But when there are some facts appear that most monarchical countries which apply substantial democracy have been successful in prospering the people and some republican countries instead of experiencing the opposite situation. This reality shows on global scale the strengthened substantial democracy practices in the monarchical system like Jordan Alhasyimiah, Brunei Darussalam, and Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, the attention to people's rights appears to be substantial qualitative, not formal quantitative as well as which is practiced in most democracy countries (government of people). This reality is actually seen as a threat to liberal democracy which is continuously campaigned in the West. (Aunphattanasilp, 2019)

Indonesian constitution gives a very wide range of opportunities to Political Parties that is to nominate their representative members and bring executive leader on all levels including national, regional and local/ city. Political party becomes the main element in the sub system of parliament by the existence of Political Parties faction. Political Party can also exist in the government cabinet even actively influences a number of core positions in judicative positions. Until now, Political party is still holding on to that position, because all antithesis idea to Political Party is disproven by stigmatization as a *centitem* of leftist movement. On the other side, Political Party can not avoid despotic practices which are done by Political organizations and their management. Indonesia especially has been experiencing at the beginning of 2024 where a political activist, Faisal Assegaf was mobilizing people's aspiration to impeach Joko Widodo from his position as the President of Indonesia. President Joko Widodo is considered to have committed an offense which qualifies for impeachment. However, Political Parties in the Parliament where most of them have become the part of President coalition do not perform any political action for this matter. This reality describes that Political Parties are no longer the motor of democracy, rather the supporters of Joko Widodo's totalitarian. (Bärnthaler, 2024)

A few weeks after the 2024 election vote counting, there appears to be a practice of systemic fraud in the recapitulation by the General Election Commission who has given lots of illegal vote to the candidates of president and vice president whom supported by Joko Widodo. Indonesian citizens realize these obvious frauds, but they are traumatized for going to the court to file a lawsuit, because actually several time the court has been unfair on their political case verdicts. The last week on February 2024, the people's volunteer association continuously performs demonstration in the General Election Commission building and the main building of Indonesian Parliament. They demand that Political Parties through all their members in the Parliament to take a strategic political step, that is using the right of interpellation for questioning the wrong working system of recapitulation application and the right of inquiry to investigate any violations to the Law of General Elections by the General Election Commission who has accepted the son of Joko Widodo as the candidate of vice president by relying on the decision letter of the chairman of the Election Commission. (Buch-Hansen, 2018)

A reality of 2024 General Elections in Indonesia shows clearly an organized democracy with undemocratic patterns. This imaging of phenomena is assembled by three legal intellects, including Zainal Arifin Mochtar from Gadjah Mada University, Feri Amsari from University of Andalas, and Bivitri Susanti from Sekolah Tinggi Hukum of Indonesia Jentera in documentary movie entitled Dirty Vote which was shown two days before the General Elections 2024. Previously, this movie is regarded as a joke or engineering by some of Jokowi defenders, but after the fact of counting system engineering which catapulting the votes of Joko Widodo's son arises, it further clarifies that factually there is a violation of democracy. Some discussion on democracy is derived in pragmatic reviews, even some are trying to conceptually manipulate in order to perpetuate their interests through the regulation of government. (Huss, 2023)

Currently, democracy is not merely a sub field of political science, but it has become a part of ontology of almost all fields of knowledge. Therefore, the reviews on democracy need to be raised in a broader and critical study. Critical and proportional study on democracy is positioning democracy on two equivalent poles, that is in legal field, democracy serves as a foothold of judge's decision making and state administrative policy, whereas democracy in politics serve as the principle of people's sovereignty. The application of democracy in legal field

is fundamental when positivism consideration by Jhin Austin puts sovereignty which has ontology on the rights as the main element of positivism. In line with the thing stated by Glassman in the writing of Rikki Dean that democracy is like bonfire whose light is produced from the power of multidiscipline and its ability to connect among the disciplines, either through normative theory or empirical political theory. The realization of democracy in politics sector by the Parliament who are actually Political Parties and the realization of legal democracy by executive and judicative who are actually also controlled by Political parties.(McKernan, 2011)

A common problem from all democracy countries is facing Political Parties' action which is increasingly not democratic. Political parties occupy the lowest position in public trust survey to public institutions. This decreased public trust is caused by *First*, the increased political literacy of society which is characterized by society who more aware and smarter in politics. *Second*, the behavior of political party elites is increasingly corruptive and despotic. *Third*, the parties' failure in fulfilling their promise and improving lives and increasing people's welfare. Some studies has criticized these things, but all sides give a recommendation that it should be an improvement of Political Parties performance through internal institutional awareness raising and reinforcement of political regulation. Ironically, the implementers of this improvement are also the Political Party circles who dominate the position space in the legislative and executive position.(Ilyas et al., 2022)

My presentation on final assignment completion of my doctoral study receives pessimistic view from a number of professors on the idea of radical restriction to Political Party's role in the Parliament institutional structure. Each professor sees the idea from their own different reading point of view to the unfinished reality of politics. It is said as an incomplete reality because in fact democracy is presenting pseudo things in state, campaign of kindness and its nobleness along with the rampaging of misuse and manipulation. Democracy countries actually are not comparable to their promise to realize people's welfare as well as a number of monarchical countries have done. Some of them view that the idea of Political Party restriction in democratic political system is an idea to represent Karl Marx thought on classless society.(Fukuoka & na Thalang, 2014)

Currently democracy has achieved its peak of trust, but at the same time Political Parties are on the edge of destruction because of the low public trust to them. Whether like or not, people should accept the presence of Political Parties because of the legal insistence which is actually is made by politicians through the Parliamentary institution. Therefore, the phenomena which should be questioned in the study of socio-political philosophy, also spreads on legal study regarding to this changing trend. Democracy is also experiencing internal problem when despotism practices are actually driven by the power with the claim of democracy country, like something happened in Indonesia in the 2019 General Election and continues in 2024 General Elections happened on pre-execution and counting moment. Everything that happens is a phenomenon which is read as a text in deconstruction philosophy study.(Prihatini, 2020)

The above phenomenon is applicable as data in philosophy study in order to bear some critics to Political Party existence which is actually supported by most academics and intellectuals who may lost alternatives because of their partisanship, concerns or even political fears. This study tries to propose some approaches in order to answer some questions on Political Party existence in the Representative Election. Statute approach in order to find any awkwardness within the text constitution and laws. Conceptual approach finds out some awkwardness in the concept of General Elections organization. Comparative approach finds out General Elections practices in a number of republic countries without Political Parties and a fact of non-democratic countries whose Parliament successes without going through General Elections mechanism. Therefore, these various approaches are not able to stand on its own in giving argumentation. The main approach in this study in philosophy approach in order to photograph any suspicions on the existence of democracy in General Elections, Political Parties, and Parliament.(Rumayya et al., 2020)

This study is trying to dismantle the democratic order which has rooted all around the world, precisely by using deconstruction philosophy in order to make critical analysis to the hegemony of Political Parties. Deconstruction is one option of philosophy of interpretation which is born from Jecy Derrida's thought. Deconstruction philosophy of interpretation serves as the main analysis knife for the above phenomenon, which is supported also by theoretical test of direct democracy and representative democracy critically. Proposing deconstruction in this study is regarded to be more strategic in facing theoretical order on General

Elections and Political Parties which is super formal, that is a doctrine which states that there will be not any democracy without Political Party and also there will be not any General Elections without Political Party. Deconstruction is present with four basic concepts, including conventional, unconventional, *Ontologische Differenz*, and metaphysics of presence. (Lewis, 2022)

The phenomenon of the decreased public trust especially in Indonesia and generally in almost countries to Political Party is signaling that absolutism view on Political Party in democracy deserves to be doubted. The phenomenon of Political Party hegemony is actually facilitated by constitution and law access. Therefore, problem statement of this study is how is the theoretical steps of hegemony restriction of Political Party in representatives General Elections and its existence in the Parliament and what is its implication to the system of General Election and Parliament. (Toha et al., 2021)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of Political Party Hegemony Practices

The term hegemony is from post-classical Latin term *hegemonia* (1513 or earlier) from Greek term *ἡγεμονία* *hègemonia*, which means “authority, power, political supremacy”, which relates to *ἡγεμόνα* *hègemon* “leader”. Hegemony is domination of an individual/ or group to other individuals/ groups. Frequently the term of hegemony is related to a domination of culture, politics and economy in certain regional and geopolitical scope. Domination contains the nature of excessive controlling and influencing by a community or group. (Sunarso et al., 2022)

Hegemony itself is extremely complicated related to power, ideology, and struggle. Post structuralist approach to hegemony is related on how power operates historically in various parts and in certain moment. Power is not hierarchy in nature, but discursive, and these discourses can be ideologic, especially when they are used in maintaining hegemony. (Kusdarini et al., 2022)

The reality which is mentioned above describes that the whole hierarchical hegemony is actually needed with an intent of: [1] Ideal intent, that is making Political Party as an institution for political education, representing people’s voice in General election, aggregating people’s interest in the government. [2] Pragmatical intent, that is utilizing all those potencies of hegemony to be driving force for the achievement of formal hegemony in each level. The ideal intent can be implemented by all non-governmental organizations but only Political party that has legal capacity to achieve formal structural hegemony. This kind of disparity should be also stated as the form and way which are not appropriate to ideal democracy. This dominative chance tends to make Political party doing any violations against ideal democracy or using democracy to violate the democracy. (Firdaus et al., 2024)

Although the practice of party hegemony is carried out systematically because getting an access from the constitution and law, but this access can be considered as the form of despotic. The paradigm of deconstruction is straightening out the actual role of Political party. In the previous review, it belongs to the ideal intent because party in its role is not paid with state’s funds. The opposite is pragmatic intent where political party is paid with state’s funds such as state’s compensation money per vote in the result of General Election and salary and various allowances which are given to the members of Political party faction in the Parliament. (Al Izzati et al., 2024)

The ideal intent has a purpose that any illegal group of interest can enter the state territorial to take over the state’s resources through political party. This kind of reality is similar to something happened in 300 BC by the demagogues in Athena Kingdom. The concept of majority vote in General election may have been affiliated systematically buy oligarchic power, thus the produced ontology of power tends to be elite oligarchy. The reality of 2019 General election has shown the practice of political oligarchism is applicable in General election which then gives some impacts on the course of power post-election. (Paul Atagamen Aidonojie, 2024)

The consequence of the existence of hegemony is the restriction of public access to political preferences. The form of Political party hegemony is characterized by Political party as the selecting participant. At the same time, this process of selection also restricts the public access to the candidate. In otherwise, the candidate is

ensured beside accommodating the public interest, he should be also considering the elite's interest in Political party and the network of forming forces. By General election, political parties are competing to increase the number of seat and vote in the Parliament. An interview in Canada shows that majority parties in the Parliament actually give positive output to an efficient governance. In this writing, we have explained a testing on two interrelated hypotheses related to political parties' competition in between selection periods to the government efficiency. The first is that in a plurality parliamentary system like in Canada, the greater number of seats of the ruling majority party in legislative board (controlling party representative instability), the more ineffective the rival parties able to monitor the negligent incumbent, and therefore the greater will be the government spending.(Yuspin, 2024)

Dervin analysis (1994) in Ruijer's writing can become an attention related to access limitation as the result of Political party hegemony. Dervin stated there are five fundamental things: (1) access to "good information" is very important for the fluency work of democracy; (2) when information is allowed to flow freely and then free market is opened, the best information appears naturally; (3) a good value of information will make every rational person looks for it; (4) good information should be available for all citizens in democracy; (5) when citizen have less resources then less access, a correction is happened by increasing the service and availability, which means that equity is what they dream of. We apply this assumption in order to open the data and argue that data availability does not necessarily direct to utilize deliberative democracy, but the scope is widely opened because data activity is extremely important.(Ali, 2024)

The electoral law in Indonesia has given an authority to Political party to select the candidates, then the General Election Commission verifies the candidate's administrative document. The General Election Commission does not do selection. This authority of Political party is full of mistakes because of the commitment to dual the interest. One of the most dangerous is when the selected candidates are they who have high electability potential because of the campaign support funds, then after being selected, they are targeted to contribute the state's resources to the Political party. This form of scheme is the forerunner of corruption. Political party hegemony is planned from the beginning until to ends which aims to create a super capacity inside the power. Therefore, General election is an event of tripping each other up at all cost which tends to damage the healthy formal democracy.(Projects & Transportation, 2024)

Democracy in theoretical review is confronted to a combination between theory of social democracy and political democracy. [1] Social democracy which takes into account exceptional mechanism in arranging, regulating, and disciplining social and political relationship in modern democratic society; and this mechanism resistance is reshaped by democratic politics, [2] Political democracy which creates firmness on political agency. Methodologically, this theory works with an explicit assumption that political agency can influence all domain of human life, either by keeping social, economic, and political domain separately from each other (although actually interrelated) and far from the center of political decision-making, or by balance them. The theory of power contract which is carried by the doctrine of Political party history is the bonding between social basis on the rights of low class people and politics by high class people.(Wibowo & Nur, 2024)

The selection of corruptive politicians has become the most crucial global problem, but our knowledge related to the factors that determining the voter's tolerance to corruption is still very limited. Khumer Jha's writing has explored individual characteristic and macroeconomic factor which influence an individual's possibility to: (1) elect political party of his choice although the party is involved in a corruption scandal, and (2) does not elect although there are some established and uncorrupted parties. Khumer identifies some individual characteristic, including the level of education and income, gender, employment status, political tendency, and the trust to local media, and macroeconomic factors, such as income per capita, corruption in national level, and political rights, which significantly influence individual's quality of life. Corruption can be individual and be able to weaken democracy because it inhibits political participation. Although education encourages political participation, it does not reduce society's tolerance to corruption which is done by political party of their choice. Corruption can increase income and gender disparity by decreasing political participation of weak communities and women.(Wulandari, 2024)

Indonesia is faced with a threat of representative democracy by the oligarchy elite of political party. General election of 2024 leaves some dark practices of democracy, that is money politics which is done transparently by the candidates and the President candidate pair. By the instruction of President, state finance is realized in the form of goods for social aids which in the name of the President candidate pair which are actually his own son and colleague. All instruments of power structure are directed to strengthen President Joko Widodo's interests, even the General Election Commission is strongly suspected of manipulating the counting system to increase the electability score of Prabowo and Gibran pair. Through an opened system, it will enable society to monitor the process of election, knowing the variety of cheating, publicizing the cheating, but they are reluctant to report to the judiciary because of their pessimism to law which is caused by the Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, the Constitutional Court Decision Number 5/MKMK/L/11/2023, the Decision of DKPP Number 5/MKMK/L/11/2023 which states that the Decision Number 90 has violated legal and judicial ethics. Because of this, the legislative institution in Indonesia has created a general trauma to citizens in looking for justice in democracy. (Irawan, 2024)

Hegemony of political party in Indonesia is a serious problem, in which its existence is legitimated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The criticism of deconstruction is leading to the constitution. Indonesia belongs to the biggest democracy countries in Asia. Indonesian Constitution give a wide space to political parties. However, it does not mean that the constitution can not be criticized with a comparison idea in order that there are some opened accesses for deconstruction approach into the existence of political party. This study uses deconstruction approach of Jecy Derrida to put forward such criticism with a simple framework, that is the presence of political parties the main characteristic of democracy. Then what if democracy is limited on its role and presence in General election of the Representative Council and its existence in the Parliament like the faction of political party. Deconstruction is a philosophy of interpretation, similar to semiotics and hermeneutics. The term of deconstruction for Derrida's qualification was first promoted by Heidegger which meant deconstruction to Metaphysics of presence which was adopted by Hegel, Husserl and the whole metaphysics tradition. (Sevilla et al., 2024)

Analysis of Political Party Deconstruction Concept

Deconstruction is philosophy of presence, similar to semiotics and hermeneutics. The term of deconstruction for the Derrida's qualification firstly is adopted by Heidegger which means destruction to the metaphysics of presence which is adopted by Hegel, Husserl and the whole metaphysics tradition. The interpretation of deconstruction is giving the opposite explanation of a definition, fact, reality and the existing circumstances. Deconstruction is not a speculative pattern of interpretation, but it is a process of systematic and argumentative reasoning based on a sharp an in-depth analysis to the existed presence. Deconstruction is done in three approaches, that is formal approach which focuses on hierarchical criticism, material approach which focuses on meaning criticism, and mixed approach which does meaning criticism and at the same time gives impact to hierarchical criticism and vice versa. Deconstruction concept has also four approaches, including conventional – non-conventional, *ontologische differenz*, metaphysics of presence, and oppositionality. (I. G. Ayu et al., 2024)

Concept of *Conventional – non Conventional*. Conventional is the most essential and the first thing, whereas nonconventional is applicable as a companion or its presence is used as an alternative upon the absence of conventional one. Derrida's conventional – nonconventional is different to participative political theory of Almond and Mochtar Mas'oeed on two models of participation, that is conventional and nonconventional. Conventional political participation is a form of normal political participation through a common procedure. Whereas nonconventional political participation is in the form of political participation which is done with some ways outside reasonable procedure. (Rismawati & Jaelani, 2023)

Common survey on a number of Political party activists, academics and democracy figures still assumes that nonconvention form as having higher value than conventional options. Hungtinton strengthens this review by arguing that dialectic of space brings a changing reality so that something which is considered as nonconventional at a specific time and in other space it can be understood as a conventional, so that it deserves to be accepted. In a study of critical law, political party as the participant of general election is conventional, and general election without political party is unconventional. The analysis of conventionality concept without

political party or at least political party only limited as mediatory without involved further as the main element in the Parliament.(Firmandayu & Elfaki, 2023)

Concept *Ontologische Differenz*: *Ontologische Differenz* is developed by Martin Heidegger as the continuation of Derrida's basic thought on deconstruction. This term has not appeared explicitly in his main work "*Being and Time*" which was published at the same year, but the idea related to this term has been explained implicitly there. The concept of *Ontologische Differenz* is abstracted in the object of political party as well as other variable such as General election and democracy. Referring to the concept of ontology of difference, then people serve as the ontology upon the form of Political party. As an ontology, people have independent existence who can be in political party or in other form other than political party.(Taufiqurrohman et al., 2024)

By using *Ontologische Differenz* principle, political party hegemony in general election and its membership in the Parliament is one of thinking mistakes because adopting single ontology or does not differenz in nature. *Ontologische Differenz* of Derrida which is developed by Heidegger is actually aligned to the provision adopted by in the Constitution of Indonesia, that is the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 28 E Number (3) that every person shall have the right to the freedom to associate in political association, there are not any limitations which are explicitly confirmed in the constitution except the regulation on the necessity of political party as the participant of General DPR-DPRD election in Article 22E Number (6). People as an ontology do not have independent existence to determine the presence in the form of union bodies.(F. Ayu et al., 2024)

Analysis of Political Party Deconstruction to General Election and Parliament

Michael Riegner and Richard Stacey's writing entitled "Democracy without Political Parties; constitutional option" have been divided into three sub chapters of discussion, that is Political party role in democracy, risks of political party, and non-political party governance system. Deconstruction uncovers the existence of general election political party and Parliament. Political party which is previously seen as the main requirement in democracy, currently it can be confronted to optionality. Idea which has been explained previously is built from the rational democracy theory foothold, although in many things it is retrieved and considered that it is weak, a formal democracy without political party.(Sukewati et al., 2024)

Formalism democracy is characterized by the entering of political party in general election then occupying the core power. Every part of the structure is filled by politicians from political party, then it can be seen four roles of political party in the Parliamentary democracy.

The ideal preference from the output of democracy based on the current situation is the omission of political party but referring to Indonesian Constitution Article 28E (2) then the position of political party ideally refers to point (d) is applicable option because the actual position of political party is political union in the space of independence of people to elect. This study does not radically suggest the omission of political party in democracy in Indonesia because political party is returned to its primary function as the political union for the citizens. Begin from this Article, political party in general election is also optional in nature, not single union because the major premise of sovereignty is "the freedom of association" or the freedom to select the existence (presence) of the group of union. There is not any freedom in the unity, in contrary the guarantee of freedom is the existence of alternative options.(Arum & Sharma, 2024)

The idea of political party optionality in general election further impacts on the Parliament membership, but the concern to the problem of democracy will appear. Principally, both the poles of thought similarly contain some risks, that is the concept of total role of political party invites oligarchic hegemony whereas limitation enables the occurrence of democratization obstacles. Political party hegemony is a threat whereas political party oppositionality is a vulnerability. Thus, the problems will always exist, that is threat and vulnerability. Indonesian political and state administration system take the threat, that is placing political party as the only subject of general election democracy and Parliament. (Baranyanan et al., 2024)

The existence of political party in General election as the participant has final goals to put the members of political party in the Parliament and the main legislative leader. The member of faction in Parliament formally is represented political party, but materially represented the people. meanwhile, something which can be clearly

read in politics is the formal responsibility. Parliament arrangement in Indonesia does not ensure material liability assurance from the members of parliament's performance. The system of law does not eliminate the rights of Parliament members in the next election because of the low performance in the previous election. However, something happened during this time in the political tradition of general election is that the candidate who has much money can participate as a candidate through political party because money can finance the electability of political party.

Faction is seen as an extension of political party because the member of a faction is also the member of political party. Therefore, the members of a faction can not act autonomously as the people representative except it is controlled by political party. The existence of a faction in Parliament is seen to accommodate the members of representative in order to be more powerful and to participate in order to give or implement his jobs, especially in the mechanism of check and balance to the government organization in this republic. The reason comes down to hierarchical way of thinking and horizontal structure. These two ways of thinking become the correction target of deconstruction. Thinking hierarchical contains two general definitions: [1] a system in which every people and good are placed and at the same time arranged in accordance to each interest, [2] people on the highest grade or level of organization is controlling on leveling stage.

The existence of political party is stated through the constitution, therefore it gives an authority which is regulated in the law of political party, general elections and MD3 as well as has been written in the beginning of this part. The description in the constitution and law places political party in the Parliament and General election, and also it places General Election and Parliament in the political party. This juridical fact causes new statement that General Election and Parliament are political party and in otherwise it can also be affirmed that the core of political party is General Election for Parliament.(Sugeng et al., 2024)

The term of political party authority which is written on the picture above is sourced from its special existence in the constitution and law. The analysis of political party capacity in horizontal structure is political party's position which is aligned with general election institution and Parliament, then two perspectives are born as follows: *First*, positive horizontal structure is the episode of non-public authority in episode [1] representative authority at the second episode and [2] public authority at the third episode. *Second*, non-public authority at the first episode, representative authority at the second episode and non-public authority at the third episode.(Setiawan et al., 2024)

The above picture is a form of text in deconstructive reading to the relation reality between political party institution, general election institution and parliament institution. Deconstruction criticizes political party which is in the Parliament by putting aside the central chamber as representative. Deconstruction criticizes negative horizontal structural hierarchy because it appears the existence of conceptual manipulation to the principle of representative. Moving on this criticism, deconstruction offers two options of positive horizontal structure as follows: [1] authority omission of political party in DPR-DPRD election which is changed by a structured direct participation by the state as has already happened, that is *from non-public to the non-public*. [2] Keep placing political party authority as the participant of DPR-DPRD and representative election to public but by regulating the existing public capacity indicator as initiated by, that is general and opened testing to all members who are proposed by the party.(Azizah, 2024)

CONCLUSION

The decreased trust to political party is a natural cycle in the trend of state trend in the world. This trend should be seen prevalent because there is no single system which guarantee lasting justice, except the justice itself. Democracy refraction in general election is happened because of the presence of political party which carries out dual interests, that is the interest of the party members exclusively then it is generalized become state's common interests. Political party hegemony is clearly visible as the supporter of legislative member candidate and executive position at national, regional and areal level. An absolute authority in this power of agency actually when it is analyzed with deconstruction philosophy approach finds that political party has a potential to create the ravages of democracy because putting aside people's interest by prioritizing the transactional elites' interests for the state's resources. The extremely strong existence of political party is influenced by the support of

representative theory which has not been interpreted inappropriately by the intellectuals. During this time, the criticism of representative theory is the dual representative which extinguish people's rights and interests because between the giver and the receiver of sovereignty is restricted by political bodies which also have some interests. Currently, dual representative put the sovereignty relation between individual voter and the Parliament institution as the receiver of sovereignty, not individual as the receiver. This writing gives birth to alternative representative theory that is single representative, where either direct individual election or individual is elected to become the representative, then they become the representatives who unite in the representative institution.

REFERENCES

- Al Izzati, R., Dartanto, T., Suryadarma, D., & Suryahadi, A. (2024). Direct elections and trust in state and political institutions: Evidence from Indonesia's election reform. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 85, 102572. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2024.102572>
- Ali, M. (2024). Legitimacy of Social Justice in the Terrorism Regulations: Insight from Several Countries. *Bestuur*, 12(1), 23–48.
- Arum, R., & Sharma, R. (2024). Establishing Consumer Trust Through Data Protection Law as a Competitive Advantage in Indonesia and India. *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System*, 4(2), 354–390. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v4i2.200>
- Aunphattanasilp, C. (2019). Civil society coalitions, power relations, and socio-political ideas: Discourse creation and redesigning energy policies and actor networks in Thailand. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 58, 101271. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2019.101271>
- Ayu, F., Putri, J., & Rustamovich, J. (2024). The Impact of Land Reform Policies on the Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in Local Communities. *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System*, 4(2), 510–537. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v4i2.197>
- Ayu, I. G., Rachmi, K., & Ehsonov, J. R. (2024). Governing Illegal Settlements : Housing Policy in Singapore and Australia. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Regulatory Issues*, 2(2), 86–107. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jsderi.v2i2.44>
- Azizah, M. (2024). Does the Government ' s Regulations in Land Ownership Empower the Protection of Human Rights ? *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System*, 4(2), 391–421. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v4i2.222>
- Baranyanan, S. D., Firmandayu, N., & Danendra, R. (2024). The Compliance of Regional Autonomy with State Administrative Court Decisions. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Regulatory Issues*, 2(1), 35–52. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jsderi.v2i1.25>
- Bärnthaler, R. (2024). Problematising degrowth strategising: On the role of compromise, material interests, and coercion. *Ecological Economics*, 223, 108255. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2024.108255>
- Božilović, J., & Petković, J. (2022). An ideological perspective on street names: Socialist political symbols in the post-socialist City of Niš. *Cities*, 124, 103586. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2022.103586>
- Buch-Hansen, H. (2018). The Prerequisites for a Degrowth Paradigm Shift: Insights from Critical Political Economy. *Ecological Economics*, 146, 157–163. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2017.10.021>
- Firdaus, A. A., Yudhana, A., Riadi, I., & Mahsun. (2024). Indonesian presidential election sentiment: Dataset of response public before 2024. *Data in Brief*, 52, 109993. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dib.2023.109993>
- Firmandayu, N., & Elfaki, K. E. (2023). The Electronic Government Policy-Based Green Constitution Towards Good Governance. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Regulatory Issues*, 1(2), 108–121. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jsderi.v1i2.11>
- Fukuoka, Y., & na Thalang, C. (2014). The legislative and presidential elections in Indonesia in 2014. *Electoral Studies*, 36, 230–235. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2014.09.007>
- Ghio, A. (2024). Democratizing academic research with Artificial Intelligence: The misleading case of language. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 98, 102687. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpa.2023.102687>
- Huss, M. (2023). Jaffa's contested heritage trails: Using city walking tours to study, affirm, and protest the politics of space and memory. *Political Geography*, 107, 102998. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2023.102998>
- Ilyas, M., Soemarmo, D. S., Usman, Y., Fitria, D. Y., Adi, N. P., Putra, M. I., & Mansyur, M. (2022). 703 The health profile of Indonesian election voting officers in 2019: study at Java Island. *Safety and Health at Work*, 13, S334. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/S2093-7911\(22\)00081-6](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/S2093-7911(22)00081-6)
- Irawan, A. B. (2024). Legal Protection in Land Acquisition for Public Interest : A Dilemma Between State Regulation and Social Welfare. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Regulatory Issues*, 2(2), 124–144.
- Kusdarini, E., Priyanto, A., Hartini, S., & Suripno, S. (2022). Roles of justice courts: settlement of general election administrative disputes in Indonesia. *Heliyon*, 8(12), e11932. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e11932>
- Lewis, B. D. (2022). The impact of democratic elections on taxation: Quasi-experimental evidence from subnational Indonesia. *Economics Letters*, 211, 110270. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2022.110270>

- Lipovetsky, M. (2017). Soviet “Political Unconscious” in Dmitrii A. Prigov’s Poetry of the 1970s–1980s. *Russian Literature*, 87–89, 225–260. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ruslit.2017.04.009>
- McKernan, J. F. (2011). Deconstruction and the responsibilities of the accounting academic. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 22(7), 698–713. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpa.2011.01.012>
- Parcon, I. C. R. (2021). Understanding Duterteism: Populism and Democratic Politics in the Philippines. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 49(3), 131–137. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajss.2021.03.001>
- Paul Atagamen Aidonojie. (2024). Nigeria’s Adoption of Robotic Lawyers: Legal and Socio-Economic Challenges. *Bestuur*, 12(1), 69–81. <https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.v12i1.89747>
- Prihatini, E. S. (2020). Women and social media during legislative elections in Indonesia. *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 83(May), 102417. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2020.102417>
- Projects, C., & Transportation, A. (2024). The Regulation Impact of Foreign Ownership on the Cooperation Projects Air Transportation. *Bestuur*, 12(1), 1–22.
- Rismawati, E., & Jaelani, A. K. (2023). The Regulation of Foreign Workers as Technology and Knowledge Transfer. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Regulatory Issues (JSDERI)*, 1(2), 64–74. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jsderi.v1i2.8>
- Rumayya, Rammohan, A., Purwono, R., & Harymawan, I. (2020). The local economy and re-election of incumbent district leaders in Indonesia. *Heliyon*, 6(5), e04098. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e04098>
- Setiawan, H., Ayu, I. G., Rachmi, K., & Hamzah, M. G. (2024). Digitalization of Legal Transformation on Judicial Review in the Constitutional Court. *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System*, 4(2), 263–298. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v4i2.263>
- Sevilla, J., Nugroho, A., & Turymsheyeva, A. (2024). The Effectiveness of Accelerating Stunting Reduction Policy. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Regulatory Issues*, 2(2), 108–123.
- Sugeng, B., Suwadi, P., & Saiful, M. (2024). The Effectiveness of Recovering Losses on State Assets Policy in Dismissing Handling of Corruption. *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System*, 4(2), 299–330. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v4i2.259>
- Sukewati, K., Putra, L., Naresta, W., & Karimovich, A. (2024). Industrialization of Election Infringement in Simultaneous Elections: Lessons from Sweden. *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System*, 4(2), 477–509. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v4i2.170>
- Sunarso, S., Setiawan, B., & Anjani, N. P. P. S. (2022). The political satire of Mojok.co in the 2019 Indonesian election. *Heliyon*, 8(7), e10018. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e10018>
- Taufiqurrohman, A. H. A., Edi, D., & Victoria, O. (2024). The Regulation on Sexual Harassment in ASEAN Workers : Evidence from Several Countries. *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System*, 4(2), 538–568. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v4i2.198>
- Toha, R. J., Gueorguiev, D. D., & Sinpeng, A. (2021). The normalization of intolerance: The 2019 presidential election in Indonesia. *Electoral Studies*, 74, 102391. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2021.102391>
- Wibowo, D. E., & Nur, M. (2024). Green Village Tourism in Indonesia: Regulation, Development and Challenges. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Regulatory Issues*, 2(2), 158–184. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53955/jsderi.v2i2.36>
- Wulandari, D. A. (2024). Income Tax Regulations for Child Content Creators on TikTok Platform : The Inefficacy of Indonesian Legal Frameworks. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Regulatory Issues*, 2(2), 145–157.
- Yuspin, W. (2024). The Regulations of the Supervisory Officer Personal Data Protection-Based Accountability Principle. *Bestuur*, 12(1), 49–68.