

Jaringan Purnawirawan TNI Dalam Politik: Studi dengan Pendekatan Actor-Network Theory tentang Masuknya Purnawirawan TNI ke Ranah Politik dalam Pembentukan Karakteristik Relasi Sipil-Militer Pasca Reformasi TNI = Network of Retired Military (TNI) Personnels in Politics: Study with the Approach of Actor Network Theory Pertaining to Retired Military (TNI) Personnels Entering into Politics in a Frame of Civil-Military Relations after TNI Reformation

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Abstrak

Disertasi ini membahas proses masuknya Purnawirawan TNI ke dalam politik dan kinerjanya setelah berada di dalam arena politik. Penelitian ini menduga bahwa dengan berperannya Purnawirawan TNI dalam kegiatan politik akan memberikan karakteristik baru pada pola relasi sipil-militer di Indonesia. Dalam menjelaskan fenomena ini penelitian menggunakan pendekatan jaringan Actor-Network Theory (ANT). Pendekatan ANT berfokus pada relasi performatif antara aktor dengan actant baik human actant maupun non-human actant. Kedua actant ini bertindak sebagai mediators (pengambil alih tindakan aktor). Penelusuran pendekatan ANT berusaha menggali suatu peristiwa secara riil dan detail. Metode Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan penggunaan data sekunder terkait.

Hasil dan kesimpulan penelitian ini adalah, pertama, penelitian ini berfokus pada tiga aktor Purnawirawan TNI yang masuk ke ranah politik (informan kunci) dan relasinya dengan sekian banyak human actant (informan) dan non-human actant. Penelitian ini setidaknya menelusuri enam (6) non-human actant yang menjadi mediators. Keenam non-human actant tersebut adalah: Partai Politik dan Kondisi Politik secara umum; Pembentukan Karakter TNI; Purnawirawan TNI sebagai Warga Sipil; Usia Pensiun, Orientasi Kekuasaan dan Kegiatan pasca Pensiun Purnawirawan TNI; Pengalaman Dwi Fungsi ABRI; dan Organisasi Purnawirawan TNI. Sebagian non-human actant ini menggambarkan temuan “motif idealis” yang melatarbelakangi Purnawirawan TNI masuk ke ranah politik. Selain itu, penelitian juga menemukan bahwa pada sebagian kecil Purnawirawan TNI berpolitik didasarkan pada “motif pragmatis”, seperti misalnya keinginan tetap berkuasa dan tujuan ekonomi. Tentang “motif pragmatis”, penelitian mengakui belum berhasil menggalinya secara lebih dalam, masih tergolong sebagai “background plasma” sebagaimana dikatakan oleh Pendekatan ANT. Penelitian juga menyimpulkan bahwa: 1) aktor Politisi Purnawirawan TNI yang berseberangan dengan rezim penguasa membentuk pilihan partai politik selain partai berkuasa; 2) pengelompokan Politisi Purnawirawan TNI mengikuti pola-pola tertentu; dan 3) terdapat beberapa bentuk partisipasi politik Politisi Purnawirawan TNI.

Kedua, mengenai group formation relasi sipil-militer dan peran Politisi Purnawirawan TNI dalam konsolidasi demokrasi Indonesia, penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa: 1) Politisi Purnawirawan TNI tidak dapat dikatakan mewakili kepentingan militer; 2) Politisi Purnawirawan TNI mampu menjadi jembatan komunikasi (connector) dan peredam konflik (arbitrator-mediator) Politisi Sipil dengan Militer; 3) komitmen Purnawirawan TNI pada konstitusi dan politik negara berperan positif dalam konsolidasi demokrasi. Ancaman konsolidasi demokrasi muncul justru dari lemahnya infrastruktur dan

institusionalisasi demokrasi. Ketiga, mengenai sumbangsih Pendekatan ANT pada studi sosiologis relasi sipil-militer, menyimpulkan bahwa relasi sipil-militer dipandang sebagai agregasi dari relasi performatif berbagai aktor sehingga diperoleh gambaran riil & detail relasi sipil-militer. Berdasarkan cara pandang demikian, penelitian ini menyatakan bahwa karakteristik relasi sipil-militer di Indonesia is constantly made and remade, dapat terus berkembang. Pada saat penelitian ini dilakukan Politisi Purnawirawan TNI mampu menjadi jembatan komunikasi dan peredam konflik politisi sipil dengan militer. Keempat, modifikasi-kritik penelitian ini terhadap Pendekatan ANT adalah: penelitian ini memasukan non-human actant yang tidak terbatas hanya pada saat tindakan aktor diambil (critical moment), tidak sebatas kondisi “here and now”, namun juga konteks kesejarahan/pengalaman (related past time) aktor (seperti Pembentukan Karakter TNI dan Pengalaman Dwi Fungsi ABRI), sebagaimana juga menjadi masukan Boyana Peric terhadap Pendekatan ANT.

.....This dissertation examines the process of Retired Military (TNI) Personnels entering into practical politics and their performances after they are in the political arena. This research assumes that the role of Retired Military (TNI) Personnels in politics will provide new characteristics in the pattern of civil-military relations in Indonesia. This phenomenon is explained by using the approach of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) which attempts to excavate an event with realness and detailness, based on the performative relations between actors (actant), human actant as well as non-human actant. The research methodology used is qualitative approach by excavating throughly the relational process between actors in the network. Data collection techniques used are interview, observation, and related secondary data source. The result and conclusion of the research are as the following. First, there are 6 (six) non-human actants becoming mediators (change-taker of the actor's steps of Retired Military into Politics). These six non-human actants consist of Establishment of TNI Characters; Political Party and Political Condition in General; Retired Military Personnel as Civil Citizen; Dual Functions of ABRI; Pension Age, Power Orientation and Activity after Pension of Retired Military Personnel; and Organization of Retired Military Personnel. Beside those six non-human actants which describe finding factor or ideal motive causing retired military personnel entering into politics, this research discovers a few retired military personnel joining politics based on pragmatic motive or factor, as a desire for constant authority and economic purpose. About this pragmatic motive or factor, the researcher admits unsuccessfully deep excavation, still classifying as “background plasma” as stated in the ANT approach. Moreover, the result research indicates as follow: 1) Conflict between actor of retired military and authoritarian regime sets up the option of political party against the ruling party; 2) Classification of retired military personnel follows certain patterns; 3) There are various forms of political participation of retired military personnel.

Second, group formation of civil-military relations and role of retired military personnel as politician in the consolidation of Indonesian democracy can be concluded as follow: retired military personnel as politician can not be stated to represent military interest; 2) Retired military personnel as politician has the capability to bridge the communication and to act as muting agent in political conflict between civil and military; 3) Commitment of retired military personnel to constitution and nation politics has positive role in democracy's consolidation. The threat of democracy's consolidation precisely emerges from the weakness of infrastructure and democracy institutionalization. Third, contribution of ANT Approach in sociological study of civil-military relations concludes as follow: 1) Civil-military relations are regarded as the aggregation of performative relations from various real actors so that it can provide real and detail description of civil-military relations. Based on that point of view, this research states that

characteristics of civil-military relations is constantly made and remade. While conducting this research, retired military personnel as politician is able to bridge communication and to act as muting agent in political conflict between civil and military. Fourth, Review modification to ANT approach is that this research includes actant non-human not only in critical moment as restricted in here and now condition, but also the history/actor experience (the establishment of TNI characters and dual functions of ABRI) as responded from the review of Boyana Peric to the ANT approach.