

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

The existence of a general election (PEMILU) is one of the media or arenas of battle that exist in all democratic countries, in which actors participate in the country, especially the role of political parties. Elections are also the most important instrument in the modern political-democratic system. We can describe that the election is a race where there will be 2 final results, namely winning or losing. With the implementation of the general election, it is hoped that it can create a change of power in a way that is in accordance with existing regulations and ends peacefully. This is expected to work in the implementation of the executive election as well as in the legislative election process. The general election is a very important stage for candidates as well as political parties participating in this nomination. Candidates and supporting parties must work hard in conveying the vision and mission well to all elements of society to become voters. The public must know the leader figure well at least know the person who will be elected at the time of the general election (Kahfi Ananda Giatama, 2015).

Basically, this election is a process as well as a democratic means to channel the aspirations of the people. In addition, elections are also defined as an elite process where the people openly have the opportunity to vote and be elected. According to Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, Regional People's Representative Council, the election is a means of implementing people's sovereignty which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly and fairly in the Indonesian People's Sovereignty State. which is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, where the people have the opportunity to determine their hopes, desires, and various opportunities through the choice of people's representatives who will channel, voice and realize the aspirations of the people (Kahfi Ananda Giatama, 2015).

General elections that occur in the legislature are elections for members of the People's Representative Council (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD),

Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) which are held at the Regency/City level as well as at the Provincial level which will later get the mandate to become a representative. people. This general election has been going on for a long time and has gone through various dynamics. General elections in Indonesia have been held twice, starting in 1955, 1971, 1977, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019. In the general election process, the number of votes that will be obtained is a partial in the general election. It is very important that the results of this vote depend on how the strategy is used and implemented by each political party itself. Although there will be many other factors that can influence the attitudes and behavior of voters during the general election. The acquisition of votes during the general election is a dynamic that cannot be separated because the voter's vote is mandatory in the goals of a political party.

Political parties are one of the important pillars in democracy, which means that a democracy will not be realized without a political party because in it there are interests of the people that need to be fought for. In a democratic political system, local politics plays a very important role, especially in the process of democratic consolidation. In this important role, it is associated with its function to mobilize the people in elections, aggregating various interests, and preparing prospective leaders who will sit in a government. What is undeniable is that every political party has a different strategy in obtaining the highest vote in the election. Elections are an important momentum and become a especial concern for political parties where a victory is able to deliver legislative candidates, and their supporting parties to the DPR seats.

Political parties must be able to maintain the consistency of their electoral capacity over time. There will be ups and downs, but sometimes not all parties will be able to maintain their electoral capacity. For example, one of the political parties that experienced a decline and had a strong impact in the general election and also in gaining votes was the United Development Party (PPP). The United Development Party was a political party formed by four Islamic parties in the 1971 elections. The United Development Party is an Islamic party with a long history in political struggles and has gone through difficult times in the New Order era.

The PPP Party is a large party consisting of a combination of 3 pillars, during the New Order era this party was a means, and also a role in conveyed the aspirations or interests of the people and the nation who's majority are Muslims. The PPP party also maintains and monitors every piece of legislation so that it remains unchanged and does not conflict with Islamic principles. In addition, the PPP party also puts forward a strategy to return to nature and fight for the life of the nation with Islamic values and morality, as well as fighting for a democratic life (Fauziah, Sikap Politik Partai Persatua Pembanguna (PPP) dalam Sukses Kepemimpinan Negara pada Pemilu 2014, 2015).

In a long journey since the New Order Year, the PPP party has stood up to fight for Islamic values and laws and a democratic life. With the passage of time, the fall of the New Order government became the beginning of one of the steps for the PPP party to struggle more freely in upholding Islamic values in existing regulations in Indonesia and the importance of democratic values. Previously, the PPP party was considered and assessed as a threat and could damage the stability of a government during the New Order. With the end of the New Order government, it is one of the hopes for the people in which this nation will leave the dark period of political and protracted democracy and begin to enter a new era in which the spirit of struggle and democracy is based. To fulfill public participation in this reform era, fundamental changes must be corrected and enforced, including comprehensive changes in all political, social, economic aspects, as well as changes in the basis of relations between the people, government and the state which previously had a barrier and barriers that previously existed. Quite thick. With this, it is one of the great opportunities, especially in the political field, which begins with the emergence of many parties, including Islamic parties. Which, during the New Order era, Islamic parties were made to exist and could not move, which made the PPP party at that time stipulate the principles of Pancasila and eliminate Islamic principles at the Congress held in 1984.

Despite struggling for years to follow the existing regulations during the New Order government, the PPP party maintained the life of its party and live up to the reformation period by coming out as the party that had the most votes during the 1999 legislative elections. Big name. In its strategy and preparation for the 1999 campaign, the PPP party

emphasized its values and moderate nature, in which the PPP party supported reform. This event is a new step for the PPP party in fighting for their previously lost goals.

During the 1999 election, of the more or less 18 participating parties, only 9 Islamic parties won seats in parliament. One of the Islamic parties that get the most seats in parliament is PPP with 58 seats. In addition, the PPP party is also a party with a very significant vote during the general election. With the passage of time after the 1999 general elections, the process of the second general election after the reformation period began in 2004. The 2004 election differs from the previous election, which was the first election after the 4th amendment to the 1945 Constitution. Through this structural amendment, Indonesian politics changed in such a way that it affects the process of recruitment in the political elite (Salim, 1999).

In the 2004, general election by proposing the general chairman, Hamzah Haz, as a candidate for the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2004-2009 period. However, the desired results are not in accordance with the existing reality, it can be said that the results are quite sad. Where because of the results of the recapitulation of the presidential and vice presidential elections on July 5, 2004, which was announced by the General Elections Commission (KPU) on July 26, 2004, Hamzah Haz, who was paired with Jend. (Purn) Agum Gumelar only got 3.09% of the votes or around 3,569,861, which previously the PPP party managed to get a fairly large vote of 8.15 or 9,248,764. After the 2004 elections, the PPP party took part in the re-election which was held in 2009. However, it is very unfortunate that in this election the PPP party also experienced a decrease in the number of votes, and there were also many changes, namely the requirement to be able to participate in the previous election of 3% of the vote or a minimum of 3% of the vote. This is called the Electoral Threshold (ET). Second, there is a requirement for parties to be included in the function calculation of 2.5% or what is called the Parliamentary Threshold (PT). If the parties do not meet the 2.5% vote, then they cannot fulfill and place their representatives in the DPR (Fauziah, Sikap Politik Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) dalam Suksesi Kepemimpinan Negara pada Pemilu 2014, 2015).

At the time of the 2009 election, the combination of Islamic parties also experienced a decline, where the electability rate for the coalition of Islamic parties was only 28.62%, which is quite far when compared to the combined Nationalist party of

71.38%. In the 2009 elections, it was quite difficult for Islamic parties as they were on the edge of a cliff. When viewed from the 6 parties with Islamic ideology that participated in the election (PPP, PKS, PBB, PKNU, PBR, and PMB) only 2 parties were able to pass the 2.5% parliamentary threshold rule, namely PPP and PKS. In the reform process, it provides an opportunity for party cadres to sit in the government, even though it has not been maximized as expected. This issue is because PPP's vote acquisition in each election always decreases, for example in the 2009 election. For PPP, this event is the eighth election that has been followed since PPP was formed. In the 2009 election, PPP only got 5.33% of the votes or about 5.5 million votes, if viewed from the side of the seats, PPP only got 38 seats and a total of 550 seats were contested at the time of the election.

From the previous election in 2004, PPP experienced a decline of 3%, which is less than in the previous election. In the 2004 general election, PPP gained 8.15% with the acquisition of 58 seats in the DPR. A process that has decreased and can be said to be significant in reducing the number of votes obtained. However, the decline in the number of votes did not occur in the 2014 election, because at the time of the 2014 election, PPP got 6.53% of the votes, of which PPP got at least 39 seats. Even though there is only 1 seat difference, this is a good achievement. Mostly, PPP is a party that is still quite taken into account in the 2014 elections, especially in the political arena in Indonesia. Although the results of the achievements are not significant, it leads to a decline, but the achievements of PPP in the 2014 elections deserve appreciation (Fauziah, Sikap Politik Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) dalam Suksesi Kepemimpinan Negara pada Pemilu 2014, 2015).

Perolehan Suara dan Kursi DPR Menurut Partai Politik Hasil Pemilu Legislatif 2014

No. Urut Perolehan Suara	No. Urut Partai	Partai Politik	Perolehan Suara	
			Jumlah	Persentase (%)
1	4	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	23 673 018	18,96
2	5	Partai Golongan Karya	18 424 715	14,75
3	6	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya	14 750 043	11,81
4	7	Partai Demokrat	12 724 509	10,19
5	2	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	11 292 151	9,04
6	8	Partai Amanat Nasional	9 459 415	7,57
7	3	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	8 455 614	6,77

Perolehan Suara dan Kursi DPR Menurut Partai Politik Hasil Pemilu Legislatif 2009

No. Urut Perolehan Suara	No. Urut Partai	Partai Politik	Perolehan Suara	
			Jumlah	Persentase (%)
1	31	Partai Demokrat	21 655 295	20,81
2	23	Partai Golongan Karya	15 031 497	14,45
3	28	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	14 576 388	14,01
4	8	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	8 204 946	7,89
5	9	Partai Amanat Nasional	6 273 462	6,03
6	24	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	5 544 332	5,33

Perolehan Suara dan Kursi DPR Menurut Partai Politik Hasil Pemilu Legislatif 2004

No. Urut Perolehan Suara	No. Urut Partai	Partai Politik	Perolehan Suara	
			Jumlah	Persentase (%)
1	20	Partai Golongan Karya	24 480 757	21,57
2	18	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	21 026 629	18,53
3	15	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	11 989 564	10,56
4	5	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	9 248 764	8,15

Perolehan Suara dan Kursi DPR Menurut Partai Politik Hasil Pemilu Legislatif 1999

No. Urut Perolehan Suara	No. Urut Partai	Partai Politik	Perolehan Suara	
			Jumlah	Persentase (%)
1	11	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	35 621 436	33,75
2	33	Partai Golongan Karya	23 675 511	22,43
3	35	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	13 321 837	12,62
4	9	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	11 313 037	10,72

Source : bps.go.id (Statistik, 2020)

This is because previously several survey institutions had predicted the position of Islamic parties which were predicted to close the books and disappear in the 2014 election. It can be said that many political observers are also pessimistic about PPP in showing its existence again as before. What makes observers or survey bodies give and show pessimism to PPP is the fact that there has been a decline in the number of votes. In

addition, PPP is also considered not to pass the Parliamentary Threshold (PT) which will not participate in the election. However, in fact, in the 2014 election, PPP received 6.53% of the votes, this is different from the results of the survey or the assessment of several experts and political observers. In general, the votes of Islamic political parties have experienced a decline. An example is the PPP which rose in the 2014 general election compared to the 2009 election. However, this has also led to a debate about the position of the leadership chair. Until there was a difference of opinion which caused PPP to not hold the seat in the DPR. There are several factors that caused PPP to be unable to occupy the DPR seats. Among these factors, the first is the emergence of the Democratic Party, which brings more votes than PPP. Second, there is an ongoing internal PPP conflict, namely the general chairman who is caught in a corruption case. Third, PPP has the right to be the chair of the DPR leadership to the Democratic Party because it is a safe position when PPP is not solid.

PPP's position in the chair of the DPR leadership cannot be said to be final, because it is related to the existence of internal party conflicts. In addition, there are several commissions that are still trying to negotiate to get the chair of the DPR leadership, so this issue makes PPP optimistic about getting the right to lead the chair in the DPR, except for the commissions that have been officially decided and appointed to take the leadership seats. Elections are held to fulfill the mandate of the people and are an important part of developing democracy in Indonesia. In a democracy refusing to participate in elections is the same as rejecting development and being anti-democratic. With the passage of time After going through the journey of the Reformation Era, in every election administration there began to appear white groups (Golput) where they did not vote and did not use their voting rights to elect their future leader. This is the meaning of rejection of the implementation of elections. However, the emergence of the white group did not significantly affect the implementation of the three general elections during the reform period. In fact, during the Reformation period, the level of community participation tended to be against Islamic parties.

However, what is very unfortunate is when PPP is preparing all aspects and also preparations for the Legislative Election in 2014. The United Development Party experienced a disaster where the General Chair of PPP, Suryadharma Ali, was named a

suspect in the corruption crime of organizing Hajj in 2012-2013. This issue makes PPP members worried because in 2014, a Legislative Election will be held. This also caused the PPP party to begin to split. So that PPP tries to focus on consolidating to the lower levels to deal with the problems that are being experienced by PPP. Even though in the end, with all their might, the members and cadres worked hard in the 2014 Legislative Elections, PPP was able to get through it all and get an increase in the number of votes even though it was being hit by the problem of corruption in which their General Chair was the suspect (nasional tempo, 2014).

With the passage of the 2014 legislative elections, PPP will face the next election, namely the Legislative Elections in 2019. With the fairly good results in the 2014 legislative elections and the increase in vote acquisition, PPP is surprised by new cases. No one can imagine where PPP got into a big problem where the big name of the PPP party as the oldest Islamic party was tarnished again and at stake with the case that befell the general chairman of PPP, namely Romahurmuziy, who stumbled on a corruption case, namely bribery in the sale and purchase of positions in the Ministry of Religion. .

This issue is a big problem that must be accepted and faced by PPP, because their general chairman who knowingly violates existing regulations and does not reflect the Islamic party he leads. At that time the general chairman of the PPP received a 2-year prison sentence at the 2020 trial. Before the verdict. This has reduced the solidity and electability of Islamic parties, especially PPP, because apart from the case of the general chairman who was caught in the bribery crime, there was political marketing. Which is where the existence of this conflict causes weakness and no optimization in communication with the public and also the Muslim community, besides that PPP is not able to adapt to change and innovate in preparing campaign programs, besides that its political choices are not in accordance with the aspirations of the voters. This has caused a decrease in the vote acquisition for PPP during the 2019 election, which only got 4.52% and only got 19 seats which can be said to be far from the results of the previous election (BBC news Indonesia, 2019) .

B. Problem Formulation

In the context of the above issues, the number of votes for Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), one of the oldest Islamic political parties in Indonesia, has declined since the 1999-2019 legislative elections. This issue gives something that can be studied for its institutional solidity. Therefore, it can be concluded that the formulation of the problem in this study is how solid is the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) in facing the Legislative election in 2019?

C. Research Objective

The purpose of this study is to understand the robustness of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) in the 2019 legislative elections.

D. Research Benefit

The benefits of this research are as follows:

1. Practical Benefits

- a) It is hoped that it will add to the repertoire of knowledge and ideas for effective consolidation in an effort to win elections, especially for legislative candidates in an effort to gain seats.
- b) This research is expected to help readers in understanding solidity of political parties and can be used as a reference for research –analogous research.

2. Theoretical Benefits

This research is expected to be an additional knowledge in the field of government, especially for research on solidity political parties.

E. Literature Review

In this section, the author will describe several studies which will be used as a literature review related to the research taken. This research was conducted with the aim of finding interesting sides or other things to be studied for the research carried out. So that

it can provide an overview of the differences with previous research with research that will be carried out by the author. There are 12 (twelve) related to party solidity that will support this research.

The first study was conducted by (Fauziah, 2015). The focus of this research is to find out the political attitude of the United Development Party (PPP) in the succession of leadership in the general election, and also the attitude of PPP in conflicts that occur within the party. The results also show that in the 2014 election PPP's vote gain increased compared to 2009's vote, in the 2014 election all PPP members officially supported the red and white coalition led by Prabowo at that time.

The second study was conducted by (Tolkah, 2018). In this study, the focus is on political battles and how to deal with the 2019 elections. Where this fight is based on religion and nationalism, this research also shows how the existence of Islamic political parties in preparing their political parties to be able to stand up to provide aspirations for the Islamic system which since the reform era has provided various aspirations for the Indonesian democratic system.

The third research is research conducted by (Taufik, 2014). The results of this study concluded that the national vote that was proclaimed or targeted by PPP was 12%. However, in the process of obtaining votes, PPP did not get the results that had been targeted. However, when compared to the previous election, the vote acquisition in 2014 was much better. In addition, increasing the electability of PPP in the 2014 elections is the role of the party's organizational machine that runs well, the recall of cadres who have left PPP. However, the increase in the number of votes was not in line with the target, this was due to the fact that there were many parties based on Islam, the crisis of reducing the figure within the PPP party which could be used as a symbol of attractiveness to the masses, and also limited funds, thus limiting the activities or activities to be carried out. By the party, besides the decline in solidity and cohesiveness within the body of the unified development party.

The fourth study was conducted by (Habibah, 2020). This study focuses on the results of how the PPP strategy in dealing with every election moment. The one where PPP got into trouble was the general chairman of PPP, Suryadharma Ali and also Romahurmiziy, who were suspects in a corruption case. This fact became a barrier and also

damaged the image of PPP as the oldest Islamic party and also as an Islam-based party. This research also explains that the dialogue that is built with the public and Muslim communities is not optimal, the lack of innovation in campaigning, and the political choices are not in accordance with the aspirations of the voters.

The fifth research is research conducted by (Rizkyansyah, 2019). The results of this research and writing aim to examine and understand the forms of factionalization and internal conflicts that occur in PPP in the public's perception of its existence as a political party. The results of the research show that PPP's internal conflict is caused by the difference in the views of the political party elites in determining the coalition to carry the presidential candidate (candidate). This is like what happened during the 2014 election, where Suryadharma Ali had a different opinion with Romahurmuziy which led to the existence of two different camps or leadership dualism. Apart from that, another factor is the different backgrounds of cadres in political parties. Therefore, conflict management is absolutely necessary in a political party (party).

The sixth research is research conducted by (Romli, 2006). The result of the research and writing about the The historical development of Islamic parties in Indonesia. Which started in 1945 until now. On the growth of Islamic parties and relations with the state. Which is where attention is directed to the development of Islamic parties during the New Order era. By providing an understanding of the relationship between Islam and politics, which is expected to improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia in the future.

The seventh research is research conducted by (Noor, 2015). The result of the research and writing about background of the split and solidity of Islamic parties in Indonesia. Which makes PKB and PKS as objects of research. The discussion in this book explains how important it is to strengthen the internal condition of a party. Which in this book explains that the main cause that disrupts or encourages the unity of a party is the individual factor. It also examines the factual problems that led to the division and strength of Islamic parties in the first decades of the Reformation (1998-2008).

The Eighth research is research conducted by (Mikail, 2015) The parties that survived after the Reformation period at that time reflected how strong the ideological basis of each party and organization at that time was. For example, the PNI received strong support from followers of the Nationalist ideology, Masjumi received strong support from

followers of modern Islam, and Nahdhatul Ulama received strong support from followers of traditional Islam.

The ninth research is research conducted by (Malik, 2016). The result of the research and writing about an increase in electoral support that occurred in PPP and also PKB in the 2014 legislative elections in the Jakarta electoral district. Which is where many think that there will be a decline in the number of votes like in 2004 and 2009. But in fact, during the 2014 legislative elections, there was an increase in the number of votes. Where in this journal explains what factors caused an increase in the number of votes during the 2014 legislative elections.

The tenth research is research conducted by (Anawati, 2020). The result of the research and writing about efforts to maintain institutions through consolidation in order to maintain stability in the acquisition of votes in the 2014 Legislative Election. At which time the PKS party was doubted to survive due to the case that befell the PKS president, however this is evidenced by PKS still being able to maintain well through four main indicators, namely procedural leadership, the existence of a good mechanism in a conflict, a good regeneration system, and also a fairly strong commitment to values and also the ideology that exists within the PKS party itself.

The eleventh research is research conducted by (Djuyandi Yusa, 2020). The result of the research and writing about examines what internal conflicts occurred within the PPP party after the emergence of the Suryadharma Asli case. Which triggers the source of the conflict that occurs due to the struggle for votes and also the struggle for power, which will be the position in the next cabinet. things that can be done in reducing or anticipating internal conflicts that occur are trying to reconcile the conflicting individuals or parties, the second can be done through legal channels so that there is firm action against one another, and the third is by looking for a new leader go through the congress process.

The twelfth research is research conducted by (Nurdin M. Amin, 2019) The result of the research and writing about Studying Islamic parties after the New Order reform, in which democracy adheres to a multi-party system. Many new parties have sprung up where Islamic parties have started to emerge which were previously under the auspices of the PPP. With the passage of time, it is undeniable that the competition between Islamic parties is getting bigger and more difficult. One of them happened in PPP, after the case involving

the PPP Chair, problems began to emerge which resulted in a decrease in the number of votes. This is a very important issue and party cadres must improve the electability of PPP. The Islamic Party also realizes that it has its own challenges, which are perceived as wanting to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia that wants to replace the Pancasila ideology.

Table Summary of Previous Research Results

NO	TYPE OF DESIGN	RESULT
1.	Political attitudes and internal party dynamics	(Fauziah, Sikap Politik Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) dalam Suksesi Kepemimpinan Negara pada Pemilu 2014, 2015) and (Rizkyansyah A. G., 2019) (Nurdin M. Amin, 2019) Stated that internal conflicts triggered the results of the vote and also cases that ensnared party elites were the main factors that could affect the internal strategy of political parties.
2.	Parties Ideology	(Tolkah, 2018) (Romli, 2006) (Mikail, 2015) from previous research, it was revealed that members of the PPP party did not share the same ideology, some of which were based on religion and nationalism, and also how the Islamic party growth of Islamic parties and relations with the state.
3.	Parties Solidity	(Fauziah, Sikap Politik Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) dalam Suksesi Kepemimpinan Negara pada Pemilu 2014, 2015) (Anawati, 2020) (Noor, 2015) (Malik,

		2016) (Djuyandi Yusa, 2020) (Taufik, 2014) argue that the solidity of the coalition at the time of the election could affect the increase.
4.	Political Communication in Elections and Parties	(Habibah, 2020) (Djuyandi Yusa, 2020) argued that the communication that was built with the public and the Muslim community was not optimal, reducing innovation in formulating campaign strategies
5.	Political Power in Elections	(Habibah, 2020) From several research results, it is revealed that the importance of bureaucratic strength, cadre loyalty, figures within the party affect the results of winning elections

(Source: Edited by the Author 2022)

Based on some of the above studies, it can be concluded that each study discusses party ideology and behavior, political power and communication, intra-party dynamics, party ideology, party unity. In addition, there have been studies on factors affecting PPP soundness, but no comprehensive study of PPP soundness in the face of elections. Therefore, this study explores how the PPP is in the face of the 2019 legislative elections.

F. Theoretical Framework

From the subject of this study, at least two types of theoretical frameworks will be used. The first is about solidity, the second is about Islamic political parties. Specifically, the two theoretical frameworks will be explained below:

1. Solidity: Concepts and Indicators

Building an organization can be done by using components that support each other. The dose or size of each component must also be balanced. It is the same with building a house, if it is not balanced, then there is no unification in it, so that the building cannot stand or does not last long. The description above can be interpreted that a good

organization in which there is an organizational structure that supports and strengthens each other. This issue is called solidity.

In modern society like today, the term solidity is not only used in the scope of organizations, institutions, or companies. In the world of politics, solidity has a very important role for political actors. To win the election, it is necessary to choose members who are professional and experienced, have integrity, loyalty, commitment, and solidity as members of a successful team (Herry, 2005: 16).

Solidity is the ability to maintain existence and wholeness. Solidity can be interpreted the same as unity, harmony, cohesion, and homogeneity. The presence of solidity within a political party is like a system that will be linked to the party's ability or capacity to unite and maintain all subsystems within a political party and which will ensure that all elements can work well together to achieve goals. Therefore, efforts to maintain the solidity of the party and other party elements are important (Noor, 2015: 25).

Singh's view (in Noor, 2015: 25) regarding the background of the creation of party solidity, in general there are two factors that explain how a party is cohesive, namely internal factors that come from within the party itself and external factors such as the socio-cultural situation and system. The politics of the place where the party exists. Starting from internal factors, Singh argues that parties that make ideology, not things that are pragmatic as a binding factor, then the party tends to be able to maintain internal solidity. Here it can be interpreted that parties that are based on ideology with high discipline have a higher chance of becoming a solid party than parties that are pragmatically oriented.

In addition, Singh also believes that a party that has a strict recruitment policy and with limited members will be more solid than an open party. He also sees that parties with centralized power tend to be more able to maintain their solidity than decentralized parties. Toward on the external front, Singh sees the presidential system as a factor that could weaken party unity. According to him, this is not entirely true because the phenomenon of low party solidity can also be found in countries with a parliamentary system. This shows that the political system tends to play as a complementary element in party solidity. Singh also considered that a divided society has the potential to hinder

the development of solidity, especially for parties that seek to stand above all groups and become their representatives. The study of party ideology confirms the correlation between ideology and solidity.

As Duverger's study of political parties (in Noor, 2015: 27) assesses that left-wing ideology is better able to discipline party members so as to create a more consolidated party. He believes that the more extreme the ideology of a political party, the better the party will be able to avoid division. In addition, several academics such as Ware and Brass as quoted from Noor's book (2015: 28) also have other views in building party solidity. Ware believes that political parties such as "cadres parties" are easier to maintain solidity than "mass parties" because cadre parties can better guarantee militancy and solidity between cadres.

While Brass sees that a fundamental element in creating party solidity is the leader, this can be seen from his ability to unite groups based on understanding problems, resolving conflicts, and recognizing every art of manipulation, including providing material rewards to maintain the loyalty of his followers. Meanwhile, studies of social democratic parties in Western Europe have shown several conditions for the emergence of party solidity, such as organizational style or organizational structure, party ideology, charismatic figures, unifying values, and party external conditions such as the political system, national problems, and political parties. The existence of competing parties (Noor, 2015: 29).

In the context of contemporary politics, it is also interesting to note the study by Subhan Akbar in analyzing the capacity of the Justice Party (PK), the predecessor of PKS written in Noor's book (2015: 29), that party solidity is the result of three things, namely the success of building a unifying ideology, leadership that prioritizes deliberation, and a good regeneration system. According to Noor (2015: 44), there are four elements of institutionalization related to the solidity of political parties. Although these elements are separate, they are interactive, in which all four support and influence one another. The discussion of these four elements will be explained as follows:

- a. Procedural Leadership in the Decision Making Process

In this context, procedural leadership requires consistent policy implementation. Once the policy is agreed and established, there is no reason

for the party and its leaders not to implement it. Charismatic figures can be used as a unifying symbol that according to Panebianco quoted from Noor (2015: 44) can have a valuable impact on the party at certain moments. The existence of procedural leadership on the other hand will also maintain a sense of togetherness, because this ensures the consistent implementation of the rules of the game, provides equal treatment to all cadres, and provides broad opportunities for cadres to be involved in the decision-making process. This will help the party to avoid mistrust and division.

b. Conflict Resolution Mechanism

Namely, that is, mechanisms related to efforts to deter and manage conflict. This mechanism is believed to be able to help develop decisions that are win-win solutions, which of course can satisfy each conflicting group because the results are considered fair. There are two levels of conflict resolution, namely conflict prevention and conflict cessation. Institutionalized political parties have the capacity to prevent potential conflicts and find solutions to stop conflicts. Political parties should have rules to resolve internal conflicts and form a kind of body that functions to deal with internal conflict issues. This is important because political parties as a system have the responsibility to ensure the implementation of party functions, including the management of internal solidity. Competent and respected figures must be part of this body, which is equipped with independent rights to formulate policies and is free from intervention (Noor, 2015: 46).

c. Systematic Regeneration

This section covers issues such as organizing fair recruitment, systematic evaluation of cadre performance, targeted training for ordinary and elite members, and certainty of career paths. This activity must be followed by briefings that provide basic information for members to hold, such as the ideology and mission of political parties, the role of cadres as party members and as part of society, management of political parties and the introduction of the rules of the game, and shared values that must be upheld by party members. Cadre must also have parameters that are clear and easily understood by all

cadres. Clear rules of the game will not only avoid unilateral and exclusive understanding, but can prevent the elite or anyone else's efforts to manipulate these activities for personal gain. The results of the regeneration process must also become a standard or benchmark for recruitment of positions and selection of party leadership. The recruitment includes the recruitment of legislative candidates and the selection of candidates for executive positions. This is actually part of an effort to maintain party coherence and build internal discipline for all members (Noor, 2015: 49).

d. Commitment to Shared Values or Ideology

An institutionalized political party is a party that is able to build shared values that have been instilled in party members, and over time are able to develop them in society and among those who adhere to the same values. In the internal context of the party, the existence of this commitment is indicated by the sincerity to implement shared values and make them a guide in determining political steps. According to Mandan (in Noor, 2015: 51), in order for these shared values to have a comprehensive impact on the party and its members, a party must build and develop an “ideological apparatus”, in which this apparatus consists of committed party members, and willingness to uphold these shared values. The shared values in question are a shared belief that can come from party platforms, ideologies, figures, long-term interests, or a struggle to unite society and provide identity.

2. Islamic Political Parties

2.1. Definition of Islamic Political Parties

Political parties emerge and develop from the assumption that by forming a forum they can unite people who have the same thoughts and ideals so that their orientations can be consolidated together. That way, they can have a strong influence in making and implementing decisions (Budiardjo, 2008: 403). According to Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Amendments to Law Number 2

of 2008 concerning Political Parties, political parties are organizations that are national in nature and are formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of common will and ideals to fight for and defend the political interests of their members, society, nation, and state, as well as maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Many classical and contemporary scholars define political parties into several functions. Neumann in his book entitled "Modern Political", (Budiardjo, 2008: 404) Argues that political parties are organizations of political activists who seek to control the power of the government and win popular support through competition with a group or other groups who have different views. Still, in Budiardjo's book, Friedrich argues that a political party is a group of people who are stably organized with the aim of seizing or maintaining control of the government for their party leaders and based on this control, giving their party members materially ideal benefits. From the several definitions above, it can be concluded that a political party is an organized group of people who have the same orientation and ideals, where they unite because of ideological similarities. The aim of this group is to seize and maintain power by constitutional means in an effort to realize the programs or policies that they have drawn up according to their ideology. Before linking political parties with Islam, it must be understood first that Islam in this context is a religious doctrine that must be implemented in society to regulate human behavior and activities as explained in the Qur'an. Thus, Islamic political parties can be interpreted as public organizations that fight for Islamic values in different contexts through mastery of government institutional structures at both the legislative and executive levels (Al-Hamdi, 2013: 9). Therefore, the programs offered cannot be separated from the values when they will hold legislative or executive positions that are based on Islam.

2.2. Functions of Political Parties

There are fundamentally different views about political parties in countries that are still authoritarian and countries that already uphold democracy. In a democratic country, parties can become a forum for people to channel their aspirations and fight for people's rights in accordance with the dignity and goals of the party. alone. Whereas in an authoritarian state, the party becomes a tool of the ruler to satisfy his will so that the party does not function according to its dignity. The functions of political parties in democracies are explained below, quoted from Budiardjo's book (2008: 405)

a. As a Means of Political Communication

Along with the increasingly complex problems of society, there are increasingly diverse aspirations. The distribution process is divided into several stages, 2 (two) of which are the communication function of political parties. The first process is the aggregation or merging of interests. This is where the aspirations of the community (both individuals and groups) will be accommodated and combined with the aspirations of others who feel the same so that these aspirations can be processed. The next stage is the articulation or formulation of interests.

This stage will process and formulate the wishes after the wishes are merged. In carrying out this function, political parties are considered as intermediaries of ideas and opinions. Therefore, society perceives political parties as “speakers”, and the ruler or government acts as a listening device. This political communication function is considered successful if the aspirations and opinions of the people are conveyed through parliament to the government and made into public policies (Budiardjo, 2008: 406).

b. As a means of political socialization

An easy-to-understand definition of political socialization was conveyed by the political sociologist Rush (1992) quoted by Budiardjo (2008: 407). He revealed that political socialization is a process where people can learn and

recognize their political system, and this process will determine how people react and perceive political phenomena around them. The socialization process developed through various lines, one of which was political parties. The party becomes an intermediary that functions to socialize political values for various groups, from one generation to another. The implementation is carried out in various ways, such as lectures, cadre training, upgrading, mass media, and so on. Here, the party can play its function as a means of political socialization.

c. As a Means of Political Recruitment

Quoted from Budiardjo (2008: 408), this political recruitment function is related to 2 (two) leadership selection issues, namely the internal leadership of the party and the broader leadership. All parties need qualified cadres for their own interests. Qualified cadres will find it easier to develop themselves and survive in a dynamic politics. Thus, it will be easier for parties to determine their own leaders and have the opportunity to nominate candidates in the national leadership market.

Apart from the above, political parties also have the opportunity to increase their membership by expanding their network. Thus, party branches were established in the regions or regions to attract as many members/cadres as possible. The sustainability and continuity of the party is determined by political recruitment, because this is where there will be a way to recruit and train potential leaders. Political recruitment can be done in various ways, namely through direct persuasion to the public, personal networks, and so on.

d. As a Means of Conflict Management

In a modern and heterogeneous society as it is today, where heterogeneous society is a collection of diverse or varied societies, this has the potential for conflict in society which cannot be avoided. Every ethnic, religious, socio-economic difference, in it has the potential for an extraordinary conflict if it develops in society. The role of political parties is needed to help the

government overcome this, or at least in such a way as to minimize the negative consequences that can divide the nation.

As Liphart (1968) argues in Budiardjo (2008: 409), the differences and divisions that develop at the community level can be overcome by cooperation among political elites. In short, political parties play a role as a liaison between society and the government both organizationally and psychologically. In the end, the success or failure of political parties can be measured by the implementation of these functions.

2.3.The Purpose and Functions of the Islamic Party

The purpose of an Islamic political party is certainly inseparable from the existence of a state institution as a medium for Islamic parties to realize the great ideals of Islam. The goal can be formulated in one verse of the Qur'an which reads *Baldatun thayyibatun warabbun ghafur*, which means the realization of a country consisting of a just, prosperous, and prosperous society that is blessed by Allah SWT (Al-Hamdi, 2013: 10). . From these objectives, Al-Hamdi (2013) formulated three main objectives of Islamic political parties, namely:

- a. A just society, in which no citizen feels intimidated and gets their rights as citizens in a country, such as the right to life, the right to speak, the right to security, and so on.
- b. A prosperous and prosperous society, because with these two things a happy life can be achieved. Prosperity indicates a person's life is sufficient in terms of material, and prosperous indicates a person is happy in terms of material and also psychologically.
- c. A safe and comfortable society, by making its citizens feel safe from various forms of crime and non-crime, and comfortable because they feel happy by living in a certain environment and there are no disturbances in it.

2.4. Islamic Party Clarification

According to Geertz's findings (in Al-Hamdi, 2013: 14), Muslims are divided into three groups, namely Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi. Geertz's findings in each of course represent different cultures. Abangan is a Muslim group that adopts traditional values and animist culture and dynamism in their religious life. Formally, they are Muslim, but in practice they are more dominated by traditional local rituals and traditions.

Then, the santri group, where this group focuses more on ritual worship and makes the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah as the basis for the practice of their religious life. This group is divided into two sub-categories according to their educational history and place of residence, namely traditional with a pesantren background and the majority living in rural areas, and modern with a school education background and the majority living in urban areas.

The last one is the priyayi group, which is a group that comes from an aristocratic family whose religious life is heavily colored by the ethical values of Javanese nobility. Meanwhile, Permata (2010: 18-21) as quoted by Al-Hamdi (2013: 15) groups Islamic parties in Indonesia into three categories according to the socio-cultural basis of Indonesian Muslims, namely the Traditionalist Islamic Party, the Modernist Islamic Party, and the Islamist Party. The explanation is as follows:

1. Traditionalist Islamic Party

The term "traditionalist" refers to people who still believe in and carry out the customs that have become the legacy of their predecessors. In this context, it can be understood that this party is a strong Islamic party, especially in rural communities. The party's social base refers to the largest traditionalist Islamic organization, namely NU. Political parties included in this category are PKB, PPP, PNU, and PPNU. According to Al-Hamdi (2013: 17), the characteristics of traditionalist Islamic parties are as follows:

- a. Having a common “traditional Islamic” identity between the elite and the support base,
 - b. The main base of support comes from rural and remote areas (though in urban areas it still exists)
 - c. Although there are those who use Pancasila as their basis, essentially every movement and its doctrine is based on Islamic teachings
 - d. Culturally, this party tends to be close to NU both organizationally and individually.
2. Modernist Islamic Party

The term "modernism" refers to a modern, rational, and usually urban society. In this context, modernist Islamic parties are political parties with developed Muslim communities and are usually located in urban areas. As people who think rationally and pragmatically, they are not easy to be directed to one particular choice. Political parties included in this category are Masyumi, PAN, PBB, PSII, PMB, and PUI. The characteristics of modernist Islamic parties according to Al-Hamdi (2013: 19) are:

- a. Voter base is educated Muslim group (at least college educated)
- b. The principle of the Pancasila party (tends to be nationalist) and does not use Islamic symbols or attributes in its actions
- c. Geographically, the main voter base is in urban and sub-urban areas. urban areas, but it is possible that many are also in rural and remote areas.
- d. Culturally, parties that fall into this category are close to Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Al-Irsyad.
- e. Issues raised to the public are social issues such as education, health, poverty, human rights, pluralism, and so on.

Specifically, modernist Islamic parties are classified into two more groups. The first is the Neo-Modernist Islamic Party, which tends to be anti-Islamic state. This group can also be called the Islamic Reform Party, which belongs to this category is PAN. The second is the Accommodationist Islamic Party, in which the party's ideology is often not the main consideration in decision making. This party tends to have a mindset that is more profit-oriented, does not want to be in conflict with the government, and is oriented only to the

interests of "power" without fighting for its constituent base. This party model can be imitated in all Islamic parties.

3. Islamic Parties

What is meant by an Islamist party is a party that adopts Islam, especially the teachings contained in the Qur'an and Sunnah as their ideology. This group believes that democracy and current conditions are only tools and media to achieve the idea of an Islamic state and tend to be interested in things that are symbolic and anti-Western. Therefore, the Islamic parties that belong to this group believe that the principal of their party is Islam. Al-Hamdi (2013: 20) describes five characteristics of the Islamist Party, namely:

- a. Has a constituent base of militant and ideological Islamic groups
- b. The principle of the party in this group is Islam and tends to always teach what is textual in the Qur'an and As-Sunnah.
- c. Some of their elite educational backgrounds are from the Middle East and others are former campus da'wah activists when they were students
- d. Both the elite and its supporters are groups of young people and geographically live in urban areas
- e. Parties belonging to this group tend to be closer to the Tarbiyah Movement, Hizb ut-Tahir, NU, the Mujahideen Council, and a number of other radical Islamic organizations.

G. Conceptual Definition

Conceptual definition is a thought from the author who tries to explain the boundaries of a concept briefly and clearly. The concepts included in the study are defined as follows:

1. Solidity is the strength of an organization/company/party to maintain and maintain its integrity.

2. An Islamic political party is an organized group of people who have the same orientation and ideals, where they unite with the aim of seizing and maintaining power by constitutional means in an effort to realize programs or policies according to the values of Islamic teachings.

H. Operational Definition

Operational definitions are an essential part of research, as this section will provide guidance on measuring variables in conducting research. Here will be determined variable indicators and how to measure these indicators. The operational definitions used in this study are four elements of institutionalization that are closely related to the solidity of political parties by Noor (2015) whose explanation is as follows:

a. Procedural Leadership

1. Management structure:

Toward the decision-making mechanism to comply with the procedure

2. Charismatic figures:

As a unifying symbol and can have a valuable impact on the party at certain moments,

b. Conflict Resolution Mechanism There are two levels of conflict resolution, namely:

1. Conflict prevention

Regarding the party's capacity to prevent potential conflicts

2. Cessation of conflict

Regarding the ability to find comprehensive solutions to deter conflict

c. Systematic Regeneration

1. Regeneration Mechanism

Regarding the development of the quality of regeneration

2. Political Recruitment

In relation to the recruitment of candidates for legislators within and outside the party

d. Commitment to Shared Values or Ideology

1. Party Platform

The institutionalization of ideology can be seen from the party platform which covers the vision, mission and party programs

2. Regeneration commitment

Related to the attitude/behavior of cadres not to deviate from the party's ideology and not to violate shared values.

I. Research Methods and Approach

1. Research Type

This type of research is a qualitative research that is literature (library research). According to Nazir (2003: 27), literature study is a technique of collecting data by conducting a review study of books, literatures, notes, and reports that have to do with the problem being solved. In addition, this study also uses secondary data collected and taken from the official website, news, and also official social media. Literature study is an important step where after determining the research topic, the next step is the search for theory by collecting information and data related to the research topic. Then, the next step is to conduct a study and analysis of the theory that we have found.

Qualitative research is research that intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the research subject, for example behavior, perception, motivation, action, and others in a holistic and descriptive manner which is arranged in the form of words and language in a special natural context, and using natural methods (Moleong, 2010: 207). Qualitative was chosen because it felt very appropriate to be applied in this study because it provided the opportunity for researchers to analyze and focus on the topic to be studied in depth, systematically, and thoroughly. This research uses a case study approach. Creswell (in Sugiyono, 2010) suggests that the case study is a type of approach that aims to investigate and understand an event or problem by collecting various kinds of relevant information which is then processed and analyzed to obtain a solution or answer to the events that occurred. The case study of this research is the PPP in the context of solidity in the 2019 Legislative Election.

2. Data source library

Research is the study of data sources from library data. The data is collected by searching, selecting, sorting, presenting and analyzing literature data related to the research topic. The primary data in this study is online news from reputable and credible media and the United Pembina Party (PPP) website, while the secondary data in this study are data from the Central

KPU website, election survey institutions, journals, and scientific books that according to this research.

3. Data Collection

Techniques Data collection techniques are closely related to the research problem to be solved. Because this research is library research, the technique used in collecting data is to collect data and information from various reliable sources, especially from electronic media that are relevant to the research topic. More technically, this research will use several keywords to search data on the internet through electronic media that have been mentioned above. Then, all the collected data is put into one folder and then sorted again to find the relevant data. After ensuring that the data obtained are relevant to the research topic, then the data is classified based on the indicators that have been set.

4. Data Analysis

Techniques In analyzing the data, this study uses a descriptive analysis where the data obtained are classified, described in the form of words or sentences that are separated by categories to obtain conclusions. The data collected in the form of words, pictures, and numbers. Thus, this research report will contain data excerpts to provide an overview of the presentation of the report. The data analysis technique used is descriptive analysis technique, which explains the phenomenon briefly through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions (Moleong, 2010). : 208) :

- a. Data reduction: The process of selecting, focusing on simplification, abstracting, and transforming raw data or raw data that emerges from written records in the field. The data that has been collected is selected and sorted to find relevant data, so that there is some unused data. This will make it easier for the author to classify the data.
- b. Presentation of data: compilation of complex information into a systematic form, so that it becomes more selective and simple and provides the possibility of drawing data conclusions and taking action. Data is presented based on classification, so that each data can support each indicator. Data is presented in the form of writing, tables, and

- pictures. In addition, in the writing of this scientific work there are direct and indirect quotations.
- c. Conclusion: This is the final stage in the data analysis process. In this section, the researcher expresses the conclusions from the data that has been obtained from the literature study.

J. Systematic Discussion

To obtain a systematic and consistent discussion and can show a complete picture in the research of this thesis, the author organizes the system as follow :

Chapter I, which is the Introduction, describes the background, problem formulation, research objectives, research benefits, literature review, theoretical framework, conceptual definitions, operational definitions, research methods, and systematic discussion.

Chapter II is an overview, which briefly describes the profile and basic information about the object of research, namely the United Development Party (PPP).

Chapter III is the Results and Discussion which will describe the results of the entire series of research activities on the solidity of the United Development Party (PPP) in facing the 2019 Legislative Election, then the results are analyzed and described.

Chapter IV is Conclusion explaining the conclusions drawn from the results of research that has been carried out and suggestions for further development.