

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Problem

General elections are a means of democracy to form a state power system with people's sovereignty and representative deliberation. State power is born with general elections according to the people's will. The general election aims to uphold the principle of popular sovereignty (Waridah et al., 2003:7).

Elections show that political power comes from the people and is entrusted to the people's interests. Therefore, the people and officials are responsible for their actions (David Bentham and Kevin Boyle, 2000:58). Mahfud said that people's sovereignty implies the existence of government from, by, and for the people. It indicates that the people's government contains an understanding of legitimate government and is recognized by the people (Mahfud MD, 1999:36).

The people's government illustrates that the government in power must realize that this position is obtained through elections from the people, not from the gift of *wangsit*. Fair and free elections are competitive elections that are the main means of making government officials accountable. Elections are also an essential arena to ensure political equality between citizens, both in access to government positions and the value of votes and freedom in political rights (David Bentham and Kevin Boyle, 2000: 52).

The history of political parties in Indonesia is also evidence of the actualization of an institutionalized society, in which entities in the community unite and form political parties. Friedrich (in Budiardjo, 2009: 404) argues that a political party is a group of people who are stably organized to seize or maintain

government control for their party leaders. Therefore, based on this control, it provides party members with both ideal and material benefits. Political parties emerge and develop from the assumption by forming a forum. They can unite people who have the same thoughts so that their orientations can be consolidated together.

Each political party certainly has a different strategy to get high votes in elections. The momentum of the legislative elections is a particular concern of political parties because their victories can bring legislative candidates to office. In this case, political party consolidation has at least two dimensions, namely internal and external (Noor, 2012). The internal dimension includes structural consolidation and political (ideological) agenda consolidation, while the external dimension includes vertical consolidation and horizontal consolidation. This study chose the Prosperous Justice Party (from now on abbreviated as PKS) because it considers that PKS has strong solidity in facing the 2019 Legislative Election.

Ideologically, PKS is one of the Islamic-based political parties in Indonesia. PKS, as a national political entity, subjectively struggles based on Islamic *aqidah*, principles, and morality to achieve its goals. On the other hand, PKS believes that internally-subjectively political activity is “worship”. This activity aims for the benefit of the people and is based on a sincere intention to seek the pleasure of Allah SWT. This principle is the basis of PKS in gathering its cadres to fight for the people’s aspirations and achieve national goals.

The emergence of the *Partai Keadilan* (PK) in 1998, which changed its name to the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in 2004, is a unique and interesting event that has given color to the Political Islam movement in Indonesia.

Nurcholish Madjid supports the existence of PKS and hopes that PKS is the party of the future (M. Irfan, 2007). The Prosperous Justice Party, known as the da'wah party, brings new winds into the realm of democracy in Indonesia or even in the world. Da'wah party is defined as a party that puts forward the purpose of da'wah in politics.

PKS is a Jam'iyyah, a group of diverse people from across ethnicities, languages, and skin colors with one ideology, especially political behavior. As a political organization, the Prosperous Justice Party has special features that make it truly Islamic (da'wah). Unlike other religious organizations that separate the elements of dawah and other elements, especially politics.

In the 2019 Election, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) received 11,493,663 votes or 8.22% of the votes based on the KPU's tiered results. The data shows that the Prosperous Justice Party's vote acquisition trend rose by 1.42%. The national vote previously only got 6.79% of the vote in the 2014 election. Besides PKS's votes increased, but the Indonesian Party of Struggle (PDIP) also got 27,053,961 votes. Another party that received an increase in votes was the Greater Indonesia Party (Gerindra), with 17,565,839 votes. These votes can be shown in the following table quoted from KPU.go.id :

Table 1
2019 Political Party Votes

Political Parties	2019 election	Seat amount	2014 election	Seat amount
PDI P	27,053,961	128	23,681,471	109
GERINDRA	17,565,839	85	14,760,371	73
PKB	13,570,097	58	11,298,957	47

NASDEM	12/661.792	59	8,402,812	35
PKS	11,493,663	50	8,480,204	40

Source: kpu.go.id

The table above showed the votes of political parties gaining seats in the 2014 and 2019 Indonesian parliament elections. In the 2019 election, political parties experienced a significant increase in votes. PDI-P gained nineteen additional seats. The Greater Indonesia Movement (Gerindra) received five additional seats. Meanwhile, the National Awakening Party (PKB) won eleven additional seats. The National Democratic Party (Nasdem) got an additional 23 seats. The last to get additional seats was the Prosperous Justice Party, from 40 seats to 50 seats. With that, PKS got an additional ten seats in the DPR RI.

Picture 1
PKS Votes During Elections



Source: detik.com, 2021

The picture above showed the PKS vote acquisition during the election. PKS has participated in elections five times. It is often predicted to fail, but the party has only experienced a decline in vote acquisition in the 2014 election.

Table 2
PKS Voting
During the Election

Tahun	Suara	Persen	Kursi
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1999	1.436.565	1,36 persen	7
2004	8.325.020	7,34 persen	45
2009	8.204.946	7,88 persen	56
2014	8.480.204	6,7 persen	40
2019	11.493.663	8,21 persen	50

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ce: Processed from various media, 2021.

The table above showed PKS's vote acquisition and the number of seats in the Indonesian House of Representatives during the general election from 1999 to 2019. The PKS' vote declining peaked when the PKS party president for the 2010-2015 period, Lutfi Hasan Ishak (LHI), was arrested by the KPK on January 29, 2013. PKS is slowly making various efforts to minimize the effects of the LHI problem, so it does not spread to the party's image (Sabrina Asril, 2015).

Although this topic was rolled out in 2019, it should be noted that there has been no comprehensive study on the solidity of PKS to be able to survive in the 2019 Legislative Election after being hit by negative issues. Therefore, this study aims to examine PKS's efforts in maintaining party solidity, especially in facing the 2019 Legislative Election. With that, this research is entitled Solidity of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Facing the 2019 Legislative Election.

B. Formulation of the problem

Based on the background of the problems described above, it can be understood that the problem formulation of this research focuses on the PKS's decrease in the number of seats during the 2014 parliamentary election after facing several problems and how this party turned around the votes significantly

during the 2019 election. For this reason, this research primary will be guided by this question: “How is the solidity of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) facing the 2019 Legislative Election?”

C. Research purposes

The purpose of this study was to determine the solidity of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in facing the 2019 Legislative Election.

D. Benefits of research

The benefits of this research are as follows:

1. Practical Benefits

a. It is hoped that it can add to the repertoire of knowledge and thoughts on effective consolidation to win the election, especially for legislative candidates to get seats.

b. This research is expected to help readers understand the solidity of political parties and can be used as a reference for similar studies.

2. Theoretical Benefits

This research is expected to add literature in government science, especially for research on the solidity of political parties.

E. Literature review

In this section, the author will describe several studies as a literature review related to this research. This literature review aims to find interesting sides from the research and to overview the differences between previous research and the

author's research. There are 23 (twenty three) studies related to party solidity that can support this research.

The first research by Nadirsah Hawari (2020) focuses on examining PKS Tulang Bawang's Strategic Steps in the 2019 Election. The results found that PKS played two main strategies in the election; first, airstrikes in the form of a social media approach by uploading content that could attract the sympathy of millennials. The second is ground attacks such as social work, da'wah, political advocacy. It is not uncommon for PKS cadres to go against the mainstream to save the political ideals of their da'wah party.

The second research by Khoiruddin Muchtar and Aliyudin (2019). This study aims to obtain an overview of the Prosperous Justice Party's media relations in building the party's image. This study determines strategies in maintaining positive relations with the media and social media in shaping opinions for West Java governor candidates in 2018. The Prosperous Justice Party is carried out by building togetherness and consolidation and fostering cadres in a family manner and equality. PKS internal communication began to be addressed and conditioned, especially in disseminating information within PKS internal. PKS external communication is carried out by building a positive party image and building coalitions with other parties,

The third research by Ratnia Solihah (2018) focuses on the opportunities and challenges of the 2019 simultaneous elections from a political perspective. The research results found that in realizing the 2019 general election between the legislative and presidential elections, several things become opportunities and challenges from a political perspective, both for political parties, government,

voters, and election organizers. For this reason, efforts are needed to design simultaneous elections from a political perspective, It needs some reforms from the representation system, electoral system, and party system to create an effective government.

The fourth study by Fahmi Azhari Siregar (2020) on PKS image management in the 2019 Election. This research shows that PKS' communicative performance in the 2019 Election is in Ritual Performance. Every party's decision-making is collective. The Political Public Relations approach has not been maximized in terms of the political marketing approach; it needs separate management to improve the image of PKS. This research discovered that PKS is weak in management, and PKS's communicative performance in the 2019 election is quite good even though persuasion performance is less effective. Moreover, the eight PKS public relations approaches in the 2019 election were quite good. Meanwhile, the Political Persuasion approach is less effective by PKS.

The fifth research by Dwiyana Ismawati (2020) focuses on the Political Jihad of the Prosperous Justice Party, the Perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis of Teun Adrianus Van Dijk. This study concluded that in terms of text, the Political Jihad of the Prosperous Justice Party, has a clear background that the struggle in government is aimed at the ummah and the nation, based on Islamic teachings. Sentence forms emphasize the active voice more than the passive. Therefore, the use of the word is obvious; some expressions are still doubtful and seem to be hidden. Regarding social cognition, the board of directors stated that this political jihad followed their goals based on Islam *rahmatan lil alamin*. However, the identity of the cadres was still hidden.

Furthermore, in terms of social context, many statements suggest that PKS is an accomplice of the Muslim Brotherhood and wants a caliphate system for state goals. However, all of that can be covered up with various actions and statements about the party principles and objectives according to the Pancasila ideology. However, this context still creates a public perception of the PKS Political Jihad, which is still unclear.

The sixth research was conducted by R. Siti Zuhro (2019), focusing on Democracy and the 2019 Presidential Election. This paper discussed the challenges of democratic consolidation in the 2019 presidential election (pilpres). Indonesia's democratic development, as reflected in the presidential election, is still experiencing many problems. The deepening of democracy has not been realized properly because the strengthening factors of the democracy pillars for democratic consolidation have not been effective. The 2019 presidential election has not produced a succession of good leadership and has not built public trust. This phenomenon can be seen from the emergence of social unrest after announcing the recapitulation of the presidential election by the General Elections Commission (KPU). One of the candidates of the presidential election rejected the election results.

The seventh study by Dyah Mely Anawati and Ridho Al-Hamdi (2020) discussed Party Solidity and Vote Gain Stability: Consolidation of the Prosperous Justice Party in the 2014 Legislative General Election. The findings of this study showed that PKS can still maintain its organizational solidity even though many surveys predict its defeat. This can be proven by persistence in four main

indicators: procedural leadership, well-managed conflict resolution mechanisms, a regeneration system, and a strong commitment to sharing values and ideologies.

The eighth research by Muhammad Ridho Nasution (2020) on the Policies of the Prosperous Justice Party in the 2015–2020 Regional Head Elections in Labuhanbatu Regency. It was found that the Prosperous Justice Party's policy in the 2015-2020 Pilkada in Labuhanbatu Regency was not maximized. This can be seen from the many requirements in terms of characteristics that candidates for regent and deputy regent must meet. However, the requirements regarding the policy are in accordance with the teachings in Islam. The determination of policies by the founders of the PKS has been determined and attached to the articles of association of the by-laws of the Prosperous Justice Party. This determination is still under the *maslahah mursalah* argument. *Maslahah mursalah* here is a proposition about the benefit of society.

The ninth study by Gayatri (2020) on Political Party Institutionalization Through Integrity Pact Policy PKS Cadres Loyalty Pledge Banyumas 2018. The results are: First, it is known that the integrity pact is one of the institutionalization processes chosen by the PKS DPP to strengthen cadre loyalty. The integrity pact issued by PKS became a polemic by ending in the resignation of some PKS cadres in Banyumas Regency, including joining the Gelora Party. In contrast, the camp that agreed with the integrity pact, still persists in PKS. The integrity pact policy is also part of the proof of the commitment of PKS cadres to face the 2019 elections.

The Tenth Research by Sibghatullah Arrasyid and Zainal Abidin (2020) focused on the Development of the Prosperous Justice Party in 1998-2017. The

findings of this study can be stated as follows, the background of the establishment of the Prosperous Justice Party in Aceh was initially formed in 1998; the basis of the movement used by the Prosperous Justice Party in Aceh is based on Islam and the principles of Pancasila; and the cadre system of the Prosperous Justice Party in Aceh begins with an understanding of monotheism and begins with the formation of *Halaqah*. This research concludes that the development of the Prosperous Justice Party in Aceh began in 1998, with the chairman of the first regional committee, Nasir Djamil, the foundation of the Prosperous Justice Party movement in Aceh.

The eleventh research by Defbry Margiansyah (2019) on Populism in Contemporary Indonesia: The Transformation of Populism Competition and Its Consequences in the Dynamics of Political Contest Ahead of the 2019 Election. This study analyzes the transformation of populist competition in two different elections and the consequences for electoral politics, including the elaboration of patterns of the working pattern of populism in the process of political contestation and the factors behind the return of populist politics in Indonesia. By using the eclectic concept of populism and the elite adjustment thesis, this paper shows how populist politics is only instrumented as a vehicle for elite interests and supporting oligarchs by exploiting various aspects ranging from primordial identity, clientelist relations.

The twelfth research by Syaja'nul' Aisyah (2016) on Social Representation in the discourse of the PKS President's political speech in the consolidation of PKS Cadres in 2013 (Analysis of Anis Mata's Political Speech Discourse). The study results found that Anis Mata used five types of processes in the theory of

the Transitivity system with the five main participants above in the speech clauses of his speech to represent social facts related to PKS and his efforts to win the 2014 General Election. The five processes are material, mental processes, behavioral processes, verbal processes, and relational-attribute processes. The writer found eight motives of Anis Mata in doing the social representation. Anis Mata used social representation in his political speech to address PKS's internal problems and her efforts to win PKS in the 2014 election.

The thirteenth study by Nabil Lintang Pamungkas (2020) focused on Political Relations and Religious Issues: PKS Political Dynamics and Islamic Defense Actions in the 2019 Simultaneous Election. This study aims to analyze the potential for PKS to use religious issues as a political instrument to gain and strengthen support in elections. This study uses the library method in which several kinds of literature and scientific sources are relevant to the focus of the study. The political relations formed through religious issues between the PKS and the Action to Defend Islam from 2016 to 2019 are dynamic. The results of the study interpret PKS's political attitude towards the Defending Islam Action as (1) political support that reflects the practice of Indonesian democracy, (2) PKS calls on Muslims to actively participate in every plan of the Defending Islam Action, by obeying and following the fatwas of Islamic figures presented in the action forum, and (3) PKS calls for not electing leaders who have criminalized Ulama. Thus, the study shows that PKS has an electoral interest behind political relations to Defend Islam by utilizing religious issues.

The fourteenth research by Yosi Junian Ogara (2020) with the title The Effect of the Prosperous Justice Party's Halaqah on the Integrity of DPRD

Members (Study of North Lampung DPD Office). This study was conducted to explain how the influence of *halaqah* and the methods used by the North Lampung Prosperous Justice Party's *halaqah* on the integrity of the party cadres themselves. The implementation of *halaqah* is carried out to shape the character of a pious Muslim personality that refers to the Qur'an and Sunnah, correct worship in accordance with Islamic teachings, strong and independent morals. With that, it can be useful for many people, not only for themselves.

The fifteenth research by Nur Wahid (2013) focuses on the PKS Way of Da'wah in the Muhammadiyah Body (The Case in Yogyakarta in Hannah Arendt's Political Perspective). As a political party and an embodiment of the Tarbiyah movement with the affiliation of the Muslim Brotherhood, PKS carries out its da'wah agenda by pushing into Muhammadiyah's assets. The case that occurred in Yogyakarta shows how infiltrative PKS politics and propaganda through Tarbiyah cadres were able to slowly change the direction of Muhammadiyah cadres to join the ranks. The PKS missionary path within the Muhammadiyah body is so close to the political nuances of establishing an Islamic-based state, as conceptualized. Hannah Arendt's analysis of political thought shows that related politics are still within the framework of mutual control, and da'wah runs within the framework of the interests of power. As a political man who is a man of action, every human being should dare to appear in the public sphere with his freedom.

The sixteenth research by Luthfi Rijalul Fikri (2019) focuses on Da'wah and Politics Relations, Analysis of the Reorientation of the Political Paradigm of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Today, the realm of democracy, between da'wah

and politics, has become a component that supports each other. First, politics without da'wah (religion) will be empty, and da'wah without politics will be weak. This is because da'wah's object is more concerned with what is a superstructure policy. After all, it is more constitutionally legal. For this reason, it is deemed necessary to use *wasilah* preaching through politics in order to achieve effective and efficient da'wah goals. Second, as a party based on Islam, and fighting for establishing Islamic law in Indonesia in particular and the world in general.

While the PKS political paradigm in recruiting members, sympathizers, and cadres seems pragmatic. However, PKS uses any method as long as it is seen lawful with Islamic values. Third, the strategy used is *tadarruj* (stages), starting from the individual, family, community, and state. It seems that now PKS has reached this stage. In this thesis, the author uses the theory of deconfessionalization, which was developed by Van Nieuwenhuijze (1960). Deconfessionalization is a theory that seeks to respond to the current phenomenon of Islamic politics. Hence, this theory becomes a grand theory. In essence, deconfessionalization concludes that Islamic political parties are changing their format from formal legalistic to substantive, starting from the individual, family, and society as well as the state.

The seventeenth research by Erna Trianggorowati (2020) focuses on the Prosperous Justice Party's Campaign Strategy in the 2019 Legislative Election. The result is that the PKS campaign strategy in the 2019 legislative election is based on the marketing mix theory (4P), which consists of four variables: product, price, placement, and promotion. In the product variable, PKS sells four priority

programs, including: the application of a lifetime SIM, the abolition of motor vehicle taxes, the abolition of income tax under 8 million, as well as protection of Ulama, Religious Leaders, and also religious symbols. For the price variable, the campaign costs incurred by PKS are Rp. 150 billion. On the placement variable, the candidates carry out socialization to the community with various activities and the variable of PKS promotion through event publications and social media.

The eighteenth study by Zaiyatul Akmar (2019) with a research focus on the Internal Conflict of the Prosperous Justice Party in 2016: A Case Study of Fahri Hamzah's Conflict with the PKS DPP Leader. The result of this study is that the conflict between Fahri Hamzah and the PKS leadership was about the existence of factions in PKS and the struggle for political office power in the party. With that, in this case, PKS failed to manage internal conflicts and mediate conflicting parties to reach a consensus. It was a legal approach to suing Fahri Hamzah. Still, Fahri Hamzah later won at the South Jakarta District Court, DKI Jakarta Court, and the Supreme Court, showing us serious PKS internal consolidation problems.

The nineteenth study by Ach. Basyir (2014) regarding the Dilemma Political Ideology of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) between the Tarbiyah Movement and Pragmatism. The result is that political actors who have an Islamic ideological background, such as PKS are more likely to raise populist issues for practical political purposes than their ideological values. The party was originally religious (Islamic) based and a doctrinal party, has now reversed its direction, getting closer, and more open to parties with secular or nationalist ideologies. This was done in the interests of pragmatism and an effort to get a table of power.

The twentieth research by Mohammad Bustanol Husein (2020) focuses on Kyai as Participants in the 2018 Pamekasan Pilkada. The results, first, show the reasons for the involvement of kyai as Pamekasan Pilkada participants are based on the awareness factor of them as having a prophetic role to be obliged to intervene in completing people's business. Second, the involvement of the kyai is also influenced by political conditions (analysis of opportunities and benefits) which makes him carefully calculate his political calculations.

According to the Relevant Legislation, the twenty-first research by Alan Adityanta (2020) regarding the Analysis of the Internal Conflict Resolution Mechanism of Political Parties in View from the Principles of Democracy. The mechanism for resolving internal disputes of political parties as happened in Indonesia has not been effective in realizing good party institutionalization and in accordance with democratic principles. Political parties as a forum in carrying out the function of conflict resolution cannot carry out conflict management related to conflict resolution within their internal parties. Political parties are considered to have failed in carrying out internal mechanisms in resolving conflicts within their internal parties such as management dualism, dismissal of members without valid reasons, violations of the party's Articles of Association and by laws, and the implementation of regional head elections in the regions. This failure can be caused by several factors such as the ineffectiveness of the Political Party Court and the disobedience of Party members to its decisions, Intervention from the Executive regarding the resolution of internal party conflicts, settlements through the judiciary that are drawn into political problems. The stipulations in Law Number 2 of 2011 in conjunction with Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning

Political Parties do not provide an effective position for the Party Court in resolving internal party conflicts. There are still weaknesses in this arrangement regarding the division of jurisdiction between internal party institutions and court institutions in resolving internal political party conflicts. so that,

The twenty-second research by Agus Riyanto (2020) on Why the Islamic Party Has Never Won?: Path Dependence Repetition The defeat of the Indonesian Islamic Party in the 1955 to 2019 Legislative Election. This study offers two main findings. First, the defeat of Indonesian Islamic parties along the political trajectory from the 1955 to 2019 elections is the result of a causal mechanism related to the agent's political decisions in critical junctures, which have a significant effect on the path of development of Islamic parties and lead to the outcomes of defeat. Second, the defeat of the Indonesian Islamic party indicates a path dependence repetition involving three path dependence processes triggered by three critical junctures in the form of political decisions of party agents.

The twenty-third study by Turtiantoro (2013) concerning the Analysis of the Failure of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Struggling for Seats in the Batang Regency DPRD. Based on the results of the research carried out, it was concluded that the Prosperous Justice Party lacked support from the Batang Regency community because of the gap between cadres and the community, besides that the Prosperous Justice Party cadres were not evenly distributed so that there were people who did not know about the Prosperous Justice Party. the issue of terrorism circulating in the community, besides that there is also a political money factor in the opposing camp so that activities/socialization carried out by the

prosperous justice party such as cheap markets, free medical treatment, this does not hit the hearts of the people during the general election.

Table 3
Summary of Previous Research Results

No	Grouping Type	Author and Year	Results
1	PKS Strategy in Facing the Election	Nadirsah Hawari (2020) Trianggorowati (2020)	The air attack is a social media approach by uploading content. Ground attacks such as social work, da'wah, political advocacy. PKS has also successfully sold four priority programs.
2	PKS Communication and Image	Aliyudin (2019) Siregar (2020)	Building togetherness and consolidation as well as fostering cadres in a family manner and equality.
3	PKS History	Zainal Abidin (2020) Ismawati (2020) Wahid (2013) Fikri (2019)	The basis of the movement used by the Prosperous Justice Party in Aceh is based on Islam and the principles of Pancasila; and the cadre system of the Prosperous Justice Party begins with an understanding of monotheism and begins with the formation of Halaqah
4	PKS Policy	Gayatri (2020) Nasution (2020)	The integrity pact is one of the institutional processes chosen by the PKS DPP to strengthen cadre loyalty. There are still many requirements in terms of characteristics that candidates for regent and deputy regent must meet
5	2019 election	Siti Zuhro (2019) Solihah (2018) Margiansyah (2019) Ultimate (2019) Agus Riyanto (2019)	The 2019 presidential election has not produced a succession of good leadership and has not built public trust. It should be able to reform the representative system, the electoral system, the party system. The 2019 elections do not provide greater prospects for political transformation and substantial deepening of democracy in the future
6	PKS Solidity	Al-Hamdi (2020) 'Aisha (2016) Ogara (2020)	Four main indicators of solidity are met: procedural leadership, well-managed

No	Grouping Type	Author and Year	Results
			conflict resolution mechanisms, a regeneration system, and a strong commitment to shared values and ideologies. Anis Mata uses social representation in her political speeches to address the issue of PKS solidity.
7	Conflict Resolution Mechanism	Zaiyatul Akmar (2019) Alan Adityanta. (2020)	The conflict between the PKS leadership was about the existence of factions in PKS and the struggle for political office power in the party. Political parties are considered to have failed in carrying out internal mechanisms in conflict resolution
8	Ideology	Ah. Basyir (2014) Turtiantoro (2013)	Political parties that have an Islamic ideological background such as PKS are more likely to raise populist issues for practical political purposes than their ideological values
9	Charismatic Characters	Mohammad Bustanol Husein (2020)	The involvement of kyai as participants in the Pamekasan Pilkada is based on their awareness as those who have a prophetic role to be obliged to intervene in resolving the people's affairs.

Source: Processed by the Author, 2021

Based on the above study, several previous researchers have explained that PKS Strategy in Facing Elections, PKS Communication and Image, PKS History, PKS Policy, 2019 Election, PKS Solidity, conflict resolution mechanisms, ideology, and charismatic figures. In previous research, no one has discussed the solidity of PKS nationally in facing the 2019 General Election; therefore, the author focuses more on this research on PKS Solidity in facing the 2019 Election.

F. Theoretical Framework

From this research topic, there are at least three types of theoretical frameworks that will be used. The first is the theory of solidity of political parties, the second is the theory of Islamic political parties, and the third is about general elections. Specifically, the three theoretical frameworks will be described below.

1. Political Party Solidity Theory

The study of institutionalization or known as the institutionalization of political parties, is closely related to the political studies developed by Duverger, Sartoti opens a new approach to the study of political parties that emphasizes internal issues, while Huntington is a political expert who offers several aspects to examine the institutionalization of parties which are first seen from the aspect of regulation and procedure (rules of the game), obtaining value (or becoming a value), and achieving stability (or running consistently) (Noor: 2015:13).

Huntington (1968) offers several important points to see or measure the existence of institutionalized political parties, namely, the ability to adapt, complexity, autonomy, and coherence. Adaptation is how far the party's ability to survive in a political system in the context of power relations, (complexity) he assumes that there is a relationship between a number of subunits and the ability of political parties to maintain the loyalty of their members. This situation indirectly contributes to the creation of internal stability. in political parties. Autonomy places more emphasis on aspects of the level of difference with other groups, this means that institutionalized political parties must have the ability to maintain independence, both organizationally and procedurally,

The term solidity in the context of political science has developed several meanings. A number of academics put forward the view of how to maintain party solidity, party coherence, and reduce tension in the institutions of political parties to be very important because within the body of political parties there are subsystems, in the context of maintaining party solidity, as stated by Parson as “integration” the purpose of this view. is to maintain solidity among units for an interest in order to function effectively. (Noor:2015:25)

Meanwhile, according to (Mahendra) in general, two factors explain why the party is cohesive, first is the internal factor that lies within the party itself, secondly, external factors such as the socio-cultural situation and the political system in which the party exists. It is shown that parties that make ideology are not for pragmatic matters, then of course they tend to be able to maintain internal solidity, and to maintain solidity, parties must tighten their party functions in terms of the recruitment process, which must be more tightened with limited membership acceptance. , it will be more solid than an open party.

Alan Ware explained that a political party could maintain institutional integrity or internal solidity if the party were a cadre party compared to a mass party, in the sense that the cadre party gave birth to cadres who were more militant and solid among party cadres, in addition, Ozbudun (1997) suggested different things and more inclined to say that mass parties are more effective in supporting and maintaining the solidity of party cadres because in this view mass parties are more independent and independent when the party is under any circumstances thereby reducing internal party patron-clients.

Brass (1965) argues that in order to maintain party solidity, leadership is a very strategic element, if there is a misunderstanding between groups, the leadership position has the ability to mediate problems that occur to resolve conflicts appropriately so that cadre loyalty is maintained, while according to Prasad (1969) ideology actually plays a very strategic role in order to maintain solidity, when problems occur internally, but the party leadership is more determined, in the sense that the party leadership plays a more important role and maintains party solidity than ideology, from various leadership studies as an element that determines in terms of building party solidity (Myron Weiner:1957) also believes that the leadership position plays a very important role in party solidity, especially to maintain compromise between factions with different views, in addition "Weiner" also sees that there are other factors that play an important role in maintaining party solidity, so what is needed is an attitude of tolerance towards nursing of other factions and the existence of a consensus or shared idealism.

Ozbudunn and Were's study which gave contradictory results from the relationship between cadre parties and solidity made this situation a reality. In addition, the position of the leader is still being debated, for some people, the leader is believed to be a variable or supporting element for the creation of solidity, but for others, This variable actually has the potential to endanger the solidity of political parties, especially related to personal ambitions and conflicts of interest between elites. Huntington (1965) then divides or offers several criteria to measure the existence of institutionalization, the ability of political

parties to be institutionalized, so that what must be done by internal parties is the ability to adapt, autonomous complexity, and coherence (Noor, 2015:31).

From the theoretical studies that several experts have described, the authors in this study tend to examine the solidity of internal party factors. This is supported by the theory expressed by Noor (2015: 44), in which there are four elements of institutionalization related to the solidity of political parties. The discussion of these four elements will be explained as follows:

a) Procedural Leadership in the Decision Making Process

Procedural leadership in this case requires consistent policy implementation. Once the policy is agreed upon and established, there is no reason for the party and its leaders not to implement it. According to Panebianco quoted from Noor (2015: 44), Charismatic figures can be used as a unifying symbol, which 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 mechanisms related to efforts to stop 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 can prevent potential conflicts and find solutions to stop conflicts.

Political parties should have rules to solve internal conflicts and form a kind of body that functions to deal with internal conflict problems. This is important because political parties have the responsibility to ensure party functions, including the management of internal solidarity. Competent and respected figures²¹ 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 Cadre

This section covers issues such as organizing fair political 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 party members must uphold.

Cadre must also have parameters that are clear and easily understood by all cadres. Clear rules of the game will avoid unilateral and exclusive understanding and 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 the recruitment of positions and the 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 can build shared values that have been instilled in party members, and over time can develop them in society and circles that adhere to the same values. In the internal context of the party, the existence of this commitment is marked by the sincerity to implement shared values and make them a guide in determining political steps.

Apart from these four elements, the party needs to be highly committed and willing to maintain the party's shared values, ideology, and leaders. Mandan (in Noor, 2015: 15) said this with the term "ideological apparatus," which needs to be formed and developed by each party.

2. Islamic Political Party

Some of the background and conditions for establishing an Islamic party are: First, many Muslims in Indonesia must have a political platform to channel their aspirations and political orientation. It is believed that there are still many Muslims who view politics as part of worship, and they only want to channel it to Islamic political parties. Second, there must be a collective awareness of Muslims that effective da'wah is through structural or political channels, without leaving the cultural path. Suppose Muslims already hold the key or have power. In that case, it is easy to carry out da'wah *amar makruf nahi munkar* through official

state laws, government regulations, regional regulations (Perda), and other forms of regulations that are binding on the community.

Third, there must be a change in the collective reasoning of Muslims, which initially viewed politics as a worldly affair to become a hereafter as well, so that in every election, choosing a place of worship is a place of worship. Fourth, the form of an Islamic political party must remain open, because Islam is *Rahmatan lil'alamien*, but it must be able to offer programs that are directly enjoyed by the community. Fifth, Islamic political parties must include their ideology of Islam, with a new appearance and meaning. Sixth, party leaders must meet the criteria as Islamic leaders, namely internal criteria, *sidiq*, *amanah*, *tabligh*, and *fathanah*. In the language of hadith, a leader must be *dhabid* (intelligent) and *ghairu syadz* (not morally flawed) (Shobron, 2013)

a. Typology of Islamic Political Parties

The typology of political parties is the classification of various political parties based on certain criteria, such as principles and orientation, composition and function of members, social basis, and goals (Surbakti, 1992). The transformative character of Islam also wants the transformation of society, both revolutionary and evolutionary (Samsuddin, 2001).

In relation to the grouping of Islamic political parties into three parts as described above, the author sees Islam as a political party that can be categorized into several parts. Among them, Islam as a symbol, Islam as the foundation of the organization, and Islam as a mass base. In other words, Islam is present as a religion, but in applying its values, it uses a medium that all groups may accept. Because Indonesia is not an Islamic country but

is a country with a majority inhabited by Muslim communities. For this reason, the author tries to break down each Islamic party into several categories so that it is hoped that the grouping of Islamic political parties into three parts, namely formalistic, substantive, and fundamentalism.

In his study of Islamic political parties, Yusril Ihza Mahendra divided Islamic political parties into modernism and fundamentalism. According to Yusril, the modernist group sees in *muamalah* (society) matters, the doctrine only provides general provisions that are universal. For modernists, society continues to change and develop from time to time. Meanwhile, fundamentalism views that the consensus of the Prophet's companions is an agreement that binds generations of Muslims until the end of time, meaning that it cannot be changed by the next generation (Mahendra, 1999).

This classification tends to be ideal because, in reality, it is not entirely so. Din Syamsuddin grouped Islamic political thought in Indonesia during the New Order into three typologies, namely: First, Formalistic which tends to maintain preconception forms of Islamic politics, for example, the importance of formal Islamic political parties using Islamic names, symbols, and expressions and Islamic idioms. and the foundation of the organization is constitutionally Islamic. According to him, this group is calling for the return of the Jakarta charter. Second, substantive which emphasizes the importance of substantial meaning and rejects forms of formalistic thought. They emphasize the demands for the manifestation of Islamic values in political activities, not institutions.

Third, Fundamentalism which tends to bring back the foundations of Islam into the current political reality. According to him, this third mainstream is different from the other two mainstreams. It considers both of them to have failed to show Islam as an answer in responding to the Indonesian political system. Fundamentalist groups in Indonesia are also influenced by the development of fundamentalism in the Islamic world. This group is often described as a splinter group with reactionary political attitudes, opposing the authorities and offering alternative solutions. Because this group emphasizes the transformative character of Islam, they also want the transformation of society, both revolutionary and evolutionary (Samsuddin, 2001).

b. Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia

Islam in Indonesia cannot be separated from political life. Islam has been actively involved and contributed since the era of independence until now. Since Indonesia's independence until now, the contribution of Islam in the political stage cannot be ignored. The development of Islamic parties in Indonesia is based on several reasons: the social reality that Islam develops in a country with a strong religious base. In addition, Islam also provides a vision and ideology that allows it to be transformed in political and national life. Islam is compatible with democratic values. Islam supports human rights, equality and egalitarianism, and others (Zoelva, 2008).

In the 1955 elections, the Islamic party won a sizeable seat in parliament and played a role in forming the government. Likewise, in the New Order era, PPP as a party representing the aspirations of Muslims was

able to achieve second place. In the reform era, Islamic parties still play an important role. In the April 9, 2014 election, based on the official results of the KPU's official count, the votes acquired by Islamic political parties and based on Islamic masses were quite significant. PKB won the largest vote, which was 9.04 percent. PAN has followed by 7.59 percent, PKS with 6.79 percent, PPP with 6.53 percent of votes, and PBB with 1.46 percent. This at least shows that Islamic or Muslim-based parties still gain voters' trust (Romlim 2006).

3. General elections

The holding of free general elections in Indonesia is the embodiment of the requirements for a representative democracy under the rule of law as formulated by the International Commission of Jurist in Bangkok in 1965. Furthermore, the definition of government based on democracy is formulated: a government in which citizens exercise their rights. the same but through representatives elected by them and accountable to them through a process of free elections.

According to Prof. Dr. Ismail Sunny (1980), free elections are a must and a vital institution for democracy. Free elections mean that the people will have the opportunity to participate in political and government activities within a certain period by delivering the people's political aspirations through elections to place their representatives in government. A representative of power determined by the people is a form of people's sovereignty conveyed through a representative system with the implementation of a democratic system that shows the

relationship between the teachings of people's sovereignty and the democratic system in an integrated system series.

General elections in countries are based on a constitutional provision or other regulations that clearly state the principle of people's sovereignty as the basis for state administration practice, classified as a democratic country. In Indonesia, the placement of people's sovereignty is in the context of "the highest state power," which is stated in the General Elucidation of the 1945 Constitution regarding the state government system.

Firstly, the objectives of holding general elections in Indonesia are to enable a peaceful and orderly change of government, secondly, to allow state institutions to function in accordance with the intent of the 1945 Constitution, and thirdly to implement the human rights of citizens. The general election provides an opportunity for eligible participants who will fill certain positions in the government periodically through the election administration system, then after the election is held, the function of representation in state institutions can be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the 1945 Constitution to be further integrated with other state institutions to run government system effectively and efficiently,

The 1997 general election was held on May 29, 1997, to elect DPR and DPRD levels I and II members. The Karya Group won this election. This election is the last election during the New Order era. After the wave of reforms, Indonesia has a multi-party system and continues to this day (Pribadi, 2007)

The President and the Vice President are elected once every five years through elections held in a free and fair manner (Direct, General, Free,

Confidential and Honest and Fair) which are held by a national election commission that is permanent and independent.

G. Conceptual Definition

The conceptual definition is a thought from the author who tries to explain the boundaries of a concept briefly and clearly. The conceptual definitions contained in the research are as follows:

1. Solidity is the strength for an organization/company/political 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 to seizing and maintaining power by constitutional means to realize programs or policies according to the values of Islamic teachings.
3. General Election is the participation of the people in political and government activities through the delivery of political aspirations to place their representatives in government

H. Operational definition

The operational definition is a fundamental part of a research, because this section will guide in measuring a variable 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:

1. Procedural Leadership

a. Management structure

Related to the decision-making mechanism to comply with the procedure

b. Charismatic character

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

2. Conflict Resolution Mechanism

There are two levels of conflict resolution, namely:

a. Conflict prevention

Regarding the party's capacity to prevent potential conflict

b. Conflict cessation

Regarding the capacity to find comprehensive solutions to stop conflict

3. Systematic Cadre

a. Cadreization Mechanism

Regarding the development of the quality of cadres

b. Political Recruitment

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

4. Commitment to Shared Values or Ideology

a. Party Platform

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

b. cadre 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

1. Types of research

This type of research is a qualitative research that is literature (library research). According to Nazir (2003: 27), a literature study is a technique of collecting data by conducting a review study of books, literature, notes, and reports that have to do with the problem being solved. 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 has been found.

Qualitative research intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the research subject, for example, behavior, perception, motivation, action, and others holistically and descriptively, arranged in the form of words and language in a particular natural context. and by utilizing natural methods ah (Moleong, 2013: 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 (case study). 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 that is then processed and analyzed to obtain a solution or answer events that occurred. The case study of this research is the Prosperous Justice Party in the context of solidity in the 2019 Legislative Election.

2. Data source

Library research is research whose data sources come from library data. The data is collected by searching, selecting, sorting, presenting, and analyzing literature data related to the research topic. The source of data in this study is secondary data, namely data from the Central KPU website, election survey institutions, journals, and scientific books in accordance with this research.

3. Data collection technique

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 collecting data and information from various reliable sources, especially from electronic media relevant to the research topic. Specifically, this research will focus on news related to PKS from reputable and credible media and a little extra from other media.

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 technique

In analyzing the data, this study uses descriptive analysis where the data obtained are classified, described in words or sentences separated according to 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 the descriptive analysis technique, which explains the phenomenon briefly by going through three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions (Moleong, 2013: 208).

- a. Data reduction: The process of selecting, focusing on simplifying, 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. Data presentation: 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 paper, 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. In addition, this research also utilizes big data, which is recorded digitally in an abundance and easy to obtain. Big data has broken the old tradition of social science research because it provides solutions for social research, especially to capture realities such as communication network patterns, information dissemination, or even predicting social or political movements based on online behavior (Rumata, 2016: 156). The use of big data refers to collecting, organizing, and analyzing a collection of big data to obtain patterns of information relevant to the research topic.

J. Systematic Discussion

To obtain a systematic and consistent discussion and be able to show a complete picture in this thesis research, the authors arrange the systematics as follows:

Chapter I, 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 Prosperous Justice Party.

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

Chapter IV is Closing, explaining the conclusions drawn based on the results of research that have been carried out and suggestions for further development.