Factors Causing the Decline of Islam-Based Political Parties Existence on General Elections 2014

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Abstract

The dynamics of the existence of Islamic political parties on the historical stage of democracy in Indonesia have experienced unstable political dynamics. This is inseparable from the plurality of Indonesian society which does not only contain Muslims but is diverse with a diversity of other religions. This dynamic can be seen in the track record of participation of Islamic political parties in general elections in Indonesia. The vote share of Islamic political parties, which has tended to decline since the reform era, is a matter of note and homework to be completed immediately. Many factors certainly contribute to the small number of Islamic political parties' votes. Party characteristics and ideology are at stake in society's assessment of the existence of Islamic political parties.

Keywords: Islamic Political Parties, Characteristics, Strategies

Introduction

In the history of elections in Indonesia, the existence of Islamic political parties cannot be ignored. Its existence has colored the constellation and dynamics of Indonesian politics since the beginning of independence. In the 1950s, there were several Islamic political parties in Indonesia such as Masjumi, PSII, Perti, and NU. In the 1970s, PPP emerged as a result of the fusion of the four previous parties. After the reformation, the number of Islamic political parties increased. This phenomenon shows the assumption that Islam is increasingly loved by its followers as a way of life, including as a guide to the political life of the community(Rosyidin & Heryanto, 2016).

On the other hand, some facts do not confirm the truth of the assumption above, namely defeat after defeat for Islamic political parties in every election, and they even tend to experience setbacks due to the many factors that accompany them and which are left behind by Islamic voters (OSBIN, 2021). The history of political development in Indonesia has a very important position and role in the development of the democratic system adopted by Indonesia.

Political parties play a role as a strategic liaison between government processes and citizens and provide political education for the community. Many people argue that political parties are what determine democracy. This means that the higher the role and function of political parties, the higher the quality of democracy. The emergence and existence of Islamic parties in Indonesia is an inevitability of political history itself. A large number of Muslims do not necessarily have the same idea. On the contrary, it is precisely the large numbers that cause heterogeneity among Muslims (Herdiansah et al., 2019). This is caused by several factors, differences in culture, religious education, context, social politics, and the realities faced by them in each region. The existence of parties in the name of religion in Indonesia adds to the dynamics of pluralism in Indonesia.

According to some groups, the existence of parties in the name of religion creates polemics in the country, this is because the existence of parties with certain views causes political parties to fall into sectarian politics (Hamdanny & Mukhtar, 2021). The 2014 elections which were participated by 12 national political parties and added by 3 local political parties (specifically for Aceh) showed that the results of the 2014 Legislative Election which had been announced by the KPU placed ten parties that passed the parliamentary threshold, namely the NasDem Party, PKB, PKS, PDIP, Golkar Party, Gerindra Party, Democratic Party, PAN, PPP, and Hanura Party. Meanwhile, the two parties that did not qualify were PBB and PKPI (Malik, 2016).

The order of votes obtained in the 2014 elections. The question that arises of course is why the votes of Muslims, who constitute the majority, were unable to obtain significant votes in the 2014 elections. Many factors are of course the cause of the small number of votes for Islamic political parties. Party characteristics and ideology are at stake for the top five parties that get the most votes, namely, PDIP, Golkar, Gerindra, Democrat, and PKB. The following is a graph of political parties' vote acquisition in the 2014 election (Aswandi, 2014).

GRAFIK HASIL PEMILU 2014 - NASIONAL
by www.aswandi.com

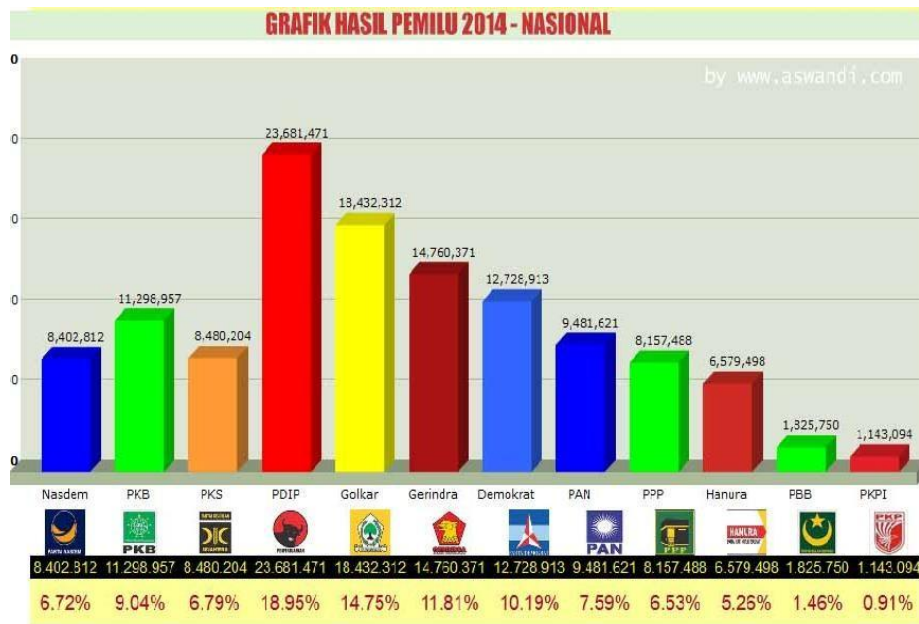|	Nasdem	PKB	PKS	PDIP	Golkar	Gerindra	Demokrat	PAN	PPP	Hanura	PBB	PKPI
	8.402.312	11.298.957	8.480.204	23.681.471	18.432.312	14.760.371	12.728.913	9.481.621	8.157.488	6.579.498	1.825.750	1.143.094
	6.72%	9.04%	6.79%	18.95%	14.75%	11.81%	10.19%	7.59%	6.53%	5.26%	1.46%	0.91%

Figure 1. Graph of 2014 National Election Results
Source: Aswandi (2014)

Based on the 2014 election results graph above, parties based on the Muslim community (PKS, PAN, PPP, PKB, and PPB) have not been able to keep up with parties that tend to be nationalist (PDI-P, PD, Nasdem) at least from the public's assessment regarding the existence of Islamic political parties. The decline in public support for Islamic-based parties is of course the housework of these parties. Statistically, the Indonesian people who are Muslim are the dominant factor, of course, providing big capital for Islamic-based parties. Regardless of whatever causes the weakening performance of these Islamic-based parties, of course, a broad perspective is needed in looking at national and community issues in the future. The problem raised in this paper is the factors causing the decline in votes for Islamic political parties in the 2014 election (Yohanes et al, 2023).

A. Literature Review

Political parties

Three hypotheses attempt to clarify the beginnings of political parties. First, institutional theory suggests a connection between early parliaments and the development of political parties. Furthermore, according to the idea of historical circumstance, political parties arise as a means to address societal crises resulting from broader social developments. Furthermore, according to development theory, political parties are considered a result of socio-economic modernization (Ramlan, 1999). Red Hat Soltau, as cited in Miriam Budiardjo, defines a political party as a group of persons that are somewhat organised and function as a political entity by using their influence to elect officials and seek to rule and implement overall policy (Budiardjo, 2003).

According to Ramlan (1999), Carl Friedrich describes political parties as stable organised groups of individuals who aim to gain or retain power in the government for their party leaders. These parties use their influence to offer both material and ideal advantages to their members.

Another viewpoint suggests that a political party is a structured organisation whose members share the same beliefs, principles, and goals. This group seeks to acquire political influence and attain political posts (often) by legal methods in order to enact its policies (Budiardjo, 2003).

Lapalomba and Weiner contend that the attributes of a political party include being rooted in the local community, engaging in ongoing activities, striving to acquire and retain political power, and participating in general elections (Ramlan, 1999). Therefore, it can be stated that political parties fundamentally hold a prominent and significant place and role in every democratic system. Political parties are commonly known as key components of democracy since they have a significant role in connecting the government and its citizens.

Political Party Typology

The variety of forms of political parties makes it necessary to classify political parties. In general, the classification or typology of political parties is grouped in the form of principles and orientation, composition and function of members, social base, and objectives. This classification tends to describe parties in an ideal way. Even though practically the conditions are different, they are at least useful for facilitating an understanding of the classification of political parties (Ramlan, 1999).

First, based on principles and orientation, political parties can be classified into three, namely: (1) pragmatic political parties, (2) doctrinaire political parties, and (3) interest political parties. Political parties can be categorised into two types based on the composition and role of their members: mass or protection parties and cadre parties. Thirdly, parties based on social foundations can be categorised into four types: (1) political parties whose members are drawn from different social strata in society, including the upper, middle, and lower classes; (2) political parties whose members represent specific interest groups, such as farmers, workers, and entrepreneurs; (3) political parties whose members are affiliated with specific religions, such as Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Hinduism; and (4) political parties whose members belong to specific cultural groups, such as particular ethnicities, languages, and regions.

Referring to the political party typology above, in this paper the political party typology that will be studied is a party typology based on the third typology, namely political parties whose membership comes from certain religious groups. The religious group that is the basis of political parties is Islam. In practice, several parties are based on Islam and represent one religious group.

Islamic Political Party

Ramlan Surbakti established an Islamic-oriented political party as a well-structured and steady organisation of members who are united and driven by a specific ideology. They aim to gain and retain political power through general elections and other lawful methods in order to implement alternative policies that they have devised, based on the amalgamation of different societal interests (Ramlan, 1999). Islamic political parties can be defined as described by Surbakti above, along with a few additional criteria: Firstly, incorporating Islam as the party's

fundamental belief. Secondly, use symbols that are the same or strongly linked to Islam, such as "star moon," "kaaba," "Arabic sentences or writing," and so forth.

Furthermore, it possesses a primary support network inside specific Islamic communities. In addition, Islamic parties are also known for having party leaders who are mostly individuals with a strong Islamic background (santri) and whose decision-making tends to prioritise the interests of Islamic elements (Zainal, 2003). Another opinion is that the definition of an Islamic party is divided into three. First, parties that adhere to Islamic principles (and of course their mass base is Islam) such as PKS, PPP, PBB, PBR, PMB, PKNU, and PPNUI. Second, parties that do not adhere to Islamic principles but are based on Islamic masses such as PKB and PAN. Third, a definition that does not separate the two.

This means that what is called an Islamic party includes both those that are based on Islam and those that are not based on Islam but are based on Islamic masses. Apart from according to experts, according to the public, referring to the results of the Indo Barometer national survey in December 2007, it was stated that in the Indonesian political constellation, the most prominent political party polarization is between the Islamic party and the Nationalist party (Hamdanny & Mukhtar, 2021).

Research Method

This research is a type of literature study research, with a descriptive approach, begin by conducting a thorough literature review to understand existing theories, studies, and debates related to the decline of Islam-based political parties. This will provide a foundation for research and help identify gaps in the existing knowledge. Analyze the collected data using appropriate statistical or qualitative analysis methods, depending on the nature of the data. Interpret the findings in the context of research questions.

Result/Findings

Factors Causing the Decrease in Islamic Party Votes

The emergence and existence of Islamic parties in Indonesia is an inevitability of political history itself. A large number of Muslims do not necessarily have the same idea. On the contrary, it is precisely the large numbers that cause heterogeneity among Muslims. This is caused by several factors, differences in culture, religious education, context, social politics, and the realities faced by them in each region. The polarization among political Islam that is occurring needs attention from political Islam circles, namely political party elites, to be able to build an effective political force to produce strategic political policies. The strategic policies in question are policies that enable changes in societal conditions at both the national and local levels.

To realize this agenda, of course, a common understanding is needed in looking at the current political conditions, considering that the existence of Islamic-based parties has attracted a lot of criticism. Various conflicts within Islamic-based parties such as PPP are obstacles to

building significant political power. The increasingly eroding public support for Islamic-based parties is certainly a motivation for Islamic-based parties to improve, including carrying out political cooperation between these parties.

Factors include: (1) the people do not understand that voting for an Islamic party is a syar'i obligation of their religion (2) Islamic parties do not give a syar'i appearance in their struggle movements (3) There is an understanding that states that elections are an infidel system and therefore haram to participate (4) Non-Islamic parties appear Islamic, especially in terms of their rituals and social charity (5) There is synergy and a 'snow-balling effect' between the ideology of the people and secular power, which is a homework problem for Islamic political parties. The existence of political parties is not only about gaining votes in general elections. More than that, political parties have a very strategic function and role.

To realize the ideal conditions for political parties, of course, requires effective organizational management, in this case, a division that is concentrated on studying various issues, papers, evaluations, projections, and innovations so that political parties can produce quality political products. Of course, it will have a positive impact on the existence of the political party. The existence of characteristics of underground Islamic political parties is an interesting note that the Islamic ummah has so far not been able to unite in a wider political struggle. The tough challenge after the 2014 election faced by Islamic political parties is how to increase real work with characteristics of Islamic values as an agenda in fighting for the benefit of the ummah.

Apart from that, gaining trust from the public to continue to lead the country. The competition phenomenon that emerged in the 2009 election and continued in the 2014 election is increasingly visible, so the study of political parties, which are one of the players in it, is still interesting to study and debate. Other factors that have caused the vote share of Islamic mass-based political parties to continue to decline since the 1999 elections are: First, Islamic parties do not optimize their differentiating value in the voter market. The current trend is that Islamic mass-based political parties are considered to have failed to function among constituents (Islam et al, 2023).

Second, Islamic parties failed to manage public expectations. The sectoral ego displayed by Islamic mass-based political parties makes them reluctant to initiate mutual political communication between Islamic political parties. Communication across political parties is needed to build real power. Fourth, the increasingly strong phenomenon of "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No," it can be said that the majority of Muslims in Indonesia do not want a party with an Islamic flavor to become the majority. The fifth factor, the political funding of Nationalist parties is stronger than the political funding of Islamic parties. Sixth, the emergence of anarchism in the name of Islam by certain groups is considered to have an impact on the emergence of "collective anxiety" in society in general.

Another factor is that many Islamic figures are accommodated by nationalist parties both in the party structure and in the recruitment of members of parliament. Indonesian society, which is predominantly Muslim, is now more realistic in making its choices. Many then became bored with the anarchist attitudes and actions of certain groups that use the name and promote

Islamic symbols, which the survey said was a collective anxiety. Thus, as stated by several political experts, the central political forces in Indonesia are still controlled by nationalist-based political parties and Islamic-based political parties are in a peripheral position (Oktavriana, 2022).

A homework assignment for Islamic figures who are active in Islamic mass-based political parties is to change the image of politics so that it can make people more comfortable and less anxious. Islamic political parties should be able to respond to the implementation of democratic freedom in the steps and movements of the political life of Islamic mass organizations. This is what is meant by improving the program's strategic needs.

Strategy to Increase the Vote Electability of Islamic Political Parties

It is not an easy matter for an Islamic political party to return to the best position as happened in the 1955 election. The rapid shift in the political map in each election means that Islamic political parties must be able to be adaptive and innovative to these changes. In the author's opinion, Islamic political parties need three strategic steps so they can repeat Masyumi's success. First, there is a need to formulate effective ways to communicate the ideas and programs of Islamic political parties to the wider community. In the future, Islamic political parties must carry out more rooted populist programs but remain based on their segmentation (lower, middle, and upper classes).

Islamic political parties' concern for fundamental issues such as health, economy, education, and social welfare must be the focus in winning the hearts of the Indonesian people. The program must be implemented in stages and continuously, not only carried out before the election. Second, Islamic political parties must start thinking about how to maintain their traditional base and increase their capacity to be able to gain votes from new voters and floating masses. So far, as a result of being too busy with internal conflicts, the floating masses have increased in number. They are generally too tired of the behavior of political party elites who are busy conflicting with the interests of their group, not for the welfare of the people (Elyta & Sahide, 2021).

Internal conflicts also confuse novice voters, because they fail to receive good political education and role models from political elites. Third, it is necessary to form a common perception and align the collective agenda of the movement. In seeking this equality, all Islamic political parties can meet at one point of interest. For example, to overcome poverty, Islamic political parties can meet to equalize perceptions so that constitutional products such as the Hajj and Umrah Law, the Zakat Law, the Dhuafa Law, and the BPJS Law can be decided and implemented optimally so that they side with Muslims at a practical level (Elyta et al, 2023).

However, in the future, Muslims hope that Islamic political parties can be more consistent with Islamic values and make the Islamic struggle agenda more effective in parliament. and government. In the internal party sphere, when conflict occurs, efforts are made to resolve it through intensive and consolidative dialogue by prioritizing conscience and Islamic brotherhood. Various dissatisfactions that arise in a change of leadership or party policy should be addressed wisely, and prioritize a mentality of being ready to win and lose.

When this mentality is constructed, the feeling of being "defeated and eliminated" will never exist. The development of this mentality is also an example of how to manage party conflicts healthily and maturely. In achieving these three strategic steps, the fundamental problem that must be resolved is to reduce the tension of political friction within the internal bodies of Islamic political parties. If internal conflicts can be resolved, then internal consolidation aimed at organizing, mobilizing, formulating, and voicing the interests of Muslims will run better. Once again, the key now boils down to the extent to which Islamic political parties can manage conflict so that they can win the trust of their voting public.

Conclusion

The decline in public support for Islamic-based parties is of course the housework of these parties. Statistically, the Indonesian people who are Muslim are the dominant factor which of course becomes a big capital for Islamic-based parties. Several factors have caused the decline in votes for Islamic parties: (1) the people do not understand that voting for an Islamic party is a sharia obligation for their religion. (2) The Islamic Party does not give a star's appearance in its struggle. (3) There is an understanding that states that elections are an infidel system so it is haram to participate. (4) Non-Islamic parties have the impression that they appear Islamic, especially in terms of ritual and charity and the 'snowball effect' between the ideology of the people and secular power. (6) Islamic parties do not optimize their differentiating value in the voter market. The current trend is that Islamic mass-based political parties are considered to have failed to function among constituents. (7) Islamic parties fail to manage public expectations. (8) The increasingly strong phenomenon of "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No". (9) The political funding of Nationalist parties is stronger than the political funding of Islamic parties. (10) The emergence of anarchism in the name of Islam by certain groups which is considered to have an impact on the emergence of "collective anxiety "society in general. Islamic political parties need three strategic steps. First, there is a need to formulate effective ways of communicating the ideas and programs of Islamic political parties to the wider community. Second, Islamic political parties must start thinking about how to maintain their traditional base and increase their capacity to be able to gain votes from first-time voters and the floating masses. Third, it is necessary to form a common perception and equalize the agenda of the movement collectively. In seeking this equality, all Islamic political parties can meet at one point of interest.

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