A Study on the Electability of Islamic Parties in the 2024 Presidential Election

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Abstract. The study of Islamic Parties is often connected to the framework of political Islam and sectarian politics. These two theories have dominated studies of Islamic political parties from the beginning of independence until now. Phenomenon and problems: Obtaining votes in the election of Islamic parties and the failure to form an Islamic political party axis is one of the problems. The number of votes which is not significant and is considered to be always decreasing underlies the assessment of the effectiveness of Islamic political parties. This research aims to analyze more deeply how Islamic parties position themselves in elections, considering that in 2024 Indonesia will hold presidential elections and examine the bargaining power of Islamic politics in the coalition of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. So that later it will be known why Islamic political parties are not building a joint coalition in the upcoming 2024 presidential election. This research method is qualitative with a phenomenological approach. Data sources will be obtained from secondary data, namely relevant research results, mass media, and social media. The analysis technique is triangulation. The research results show that four Islamic-leaning parties (PKS, PPP, PAN, PKB) are separated into three coalitions. This shows the implications of the Size of Party Power and Policy Seeking theory. Basically, consensus aims to realize policies that are in line with the party's interests, however, in practice it is only used as an opportunity to increase the party's strength but takes advantage of the same ideological background and character of the community/masses so that efforts to form an Islamic axis always fail to materialize. The same party ideological background is not utilized by political parties to bargain in internal coordination in making important decisions.

Keywords: Coalition, Islamic Party, Election.

1   Introduction

Political party electability is a study of the level of electability of political parties to the public. A political party is said to have electability if the party has voting power by its expertise and popularity. To be able to win the general election, each political party tries to increase the electability of its party. One way to show the electability of a political party is to show its capability to carry out partnerships or cooperation with other

parties that have the same ideology and goals. This article will examine the electability of Islamic parties in Indonesia, and the phenomenon of the electability of Islamic parties decreasing in every election. Elections are an arena for political parties to compete with other political parties to obtain legitimate power by applicable laws. At the theoretical level, political parties compete with ideologies which are then manifested in party policies, and then party programs emerge.

In political competition, political parties will collaborate with parties that have similar goals, or what is known as a coalition [1–3]. Collation is often used as a forum or instrument to show the capabilities of a party. Coalitions are political activities that often occur in countries with multiparty systems, including Indonesia. Political party coalition competition is a necessity for countries with multiparty systems because election results often show voting configurations that are unable to meet the majority vote to be able to form their government [4]. Carrying out government development based on certain motives or goals can be done through coalitions.

The phenomenon of Islamic party coalitions can be seen in every election. In 1999, Islamic parties succeeded in building a coalition known as the Central Axis and nominated Kyai Abdurrahman Wahid as Presidential Candidate. Meanwhile, in the 2014 presidential election, the Islamic Party coalition was not established. The coalition of Islamic parties in the 2014 presidential election was just a discourse at the beginning because, in the end, each Islamic political party preferred to carry out political communication/coalition exploration individually with other political parties. As for the 2014 Presidential Election, the configuration of the legislative election results experienced changes as a result of the emergence of the phenomenon of quite strong figures, namely Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, which brought changes in the behavior of Islamic Party-political coalitions such as PKB, PKS, PAN, and PPP.

Based on the results of the vote in the 2014 legislative election, Islamic parties received quite significant votes. This is what then gave rise to discourse to unite Islamic parties in a coalition or Central Axis Volume II. This effort was followed up with a meeting between elite Islamic parties. However, in the end, each political party has different political behavior in determining its coalition partners. The problem of this research is based on the phenomenon of the electability of Islamic political parties, in this case, the political parties in the spotlight are PKS, PPP, PAN, and PKB which are increasingly decreasing with every election. This is indicated by the number of votes in the election which tends not to experience a significant increase. Based on the latest election data in 2019 by the General Election Commission, the results of the Islamic party vote can be seen in the data graph below (Fig. 1).

Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) and the General Election Commission (KPU), the vote tally of the five political parties fluctuated. In 1999, PKB became the party with the largest number of votes among the five Islamic parties, namely 13.32 million of the total national valid votes. This is quite a large number, considering that this year was the first time Gus Dur's party competed. During its journey to the 2019 election, PKB often received the highest acquisition among these groups, namely more than 10 million votes. However, in 2009, his votes dropped to 5.14 million of the total valid votes. The Islam-based party that tends to increase its vote share is PKS. If you look at the graph, PKS got a small gain during the 1999

elections, only 1.43 million votes. However, after that, the votes for the party whose birth name was the Justice Party often rose, only dropping slightly once in 2009. PBB became the party with the smallest number of votes in this group. During the five election periods, the vote only increased once, namely in 2004 with 2.97 million of the national valid votes.
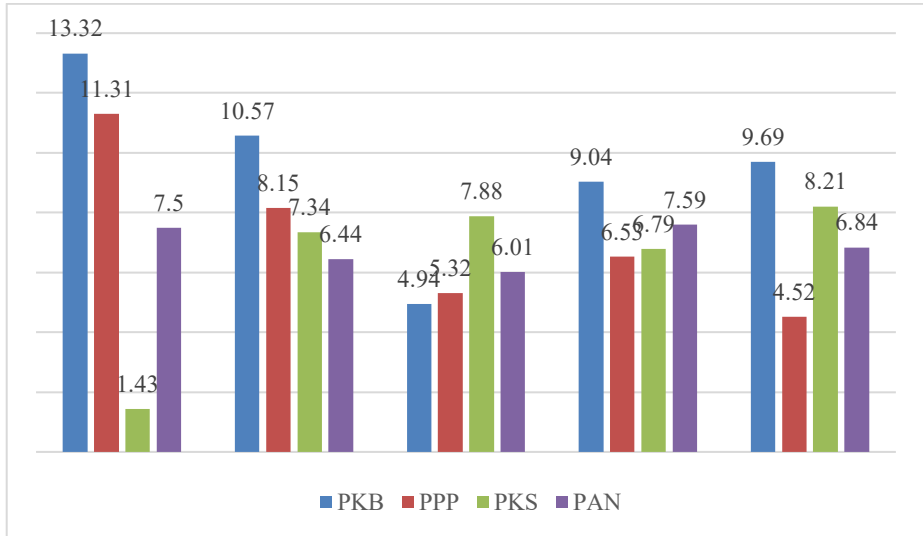
Fig. 1. Islamic Party Vote Acquisition from Election Results 1999-2019 (Source: General Election Commission, 2019)

This research aims to examine more deeply how the electability of the Islamic parties PKS, PKB, PPP, and PAN position themselves in the presidential election, considering that Indonesian Islamic parties (PKS, PKB, PPP, and PAN) have the same basic party ideology and the same character of their mass base. This article will also be able to directly answer the problem of why Islamic political parties do not build a joint coalition to face the upcoming 2024 presidential election. This is related to the political bargaining power in the coalition entered to nominate the 2024 presidential and vice-presidential candidates. As we know the four Islamic political parties have never been in a single coalition on the Islamic axis, even though the discourse about forming a coalition between the four parties is always put forward in the run-up to the presidential election. However, this discourse always failed to materialize and again the Muslim vote was divided into building a national coalition led by other parties that did not nominate a presidential candidate from among Islamic parties.

2   Political Party Coalition

Indonesia is one of the countries that implements a multi-party system. The multi-party system is one of the party systems that is developing in the modern era. Multi-party

party systems use coalition techniques with parties that have almost the same goals. [5] A coalition is defined as an alliance between several parties in which each party has its interests to achieve in cooperation. The term coalition is popular in political activities. According [6], a coalition is an alliance or cooperation for a limited period to achieve certain goals. In the political field, the intended goal is to take over power and hold the government. The same thing was conveyed [2,7]. The Coalition is essentially to form a stable, strong, independent, and durable government [4]. To increase the chances of becoming a winner in elections. To get stronger legislative support [3,8]. To help avoid political polarization and promote cooperation and compromise between political parties different [7,9].

[8] In the case of political party coalitions, there are also negative elements where the commotion of political party coalition excesses that occurred after the legislative elections still cross parties. [10] Party officials suddenly behind the scenes were flirting with each other, making glances, playing matches. [11] The party ideology which was said to be the basis for the establishment of the multiparty system began to be put aside, bartered with the lure of quotas. [2] Even though they stated in front of the media that they had no transactional intentions, the skepticism of collusion was still everywhere. [12] Coalitions in a presidential system become important when the executive and legislative institutions have room to intervene in the work of government, such as in Indonesia. The government feels the need to build a coalition that can stabilize and streamline government policies and work. Regarding this, coalitions are built by the government by dividing seats of power as a form of coalition bond, something that has been seen in the democratic process since the reform era [13,14].

As a basis for scientific studies, there are several studies conducted by several previous researchers that also discuss political party coalitions in Indonesia; The first research was conducted [5] This research focuses on discussing the Coalition of Indonesian Political Parties which explains that presidential power is limited power due to political compromises between political parties and the President who is part of the government coalition. The coalition formed by the government (the President and his supporting party), is divided based on the composition of seats in parliament and party support during the Presidential Election (Presidential Election). This has an impact on the composition of the number of ministers in the government cabinet. It is hoped that the formation of a coalition will provide stability to the president's political agenda and work due to strong political support in parliament. With [15], Political Party Coalition 95, the solidity of the coalition can be based on the same goals and shared political agenda between the coalition of political parties.

Further research which is also not much different is a study conducted [3] This paper seeks to answer questions about the political coalition model in post-Soeharto Indonesia and also examines the trend of post-Soeharto party coalitions. This research was carried out through a literature review, the results of the study showed: first, basically the political coalition that was formed after Soeharto showed two models, government coalition and legislative coalition; secondly, the coalitions that occur in Indonesia today tend to be pragmatically oriented, especially in agreements at the political party level.

3   Electability of Islamic Parties

The study of Islamic Parties is often linked to the framework of political Islam and sectarian politics. These two theories have dominated studies of Islamic political parties from the beginning of independence until now, although some use other theories. There has not been much study of Islamic political parties and electability so there is limited literature. Electability is often discussed ahead of general elections. Political party electability means the level of electability of a political party in the public. According to [16] high party electability means the party has high voting power. [17] To increase electability, the object of electability must meet the criteria of electability and also be popular. [18]To increase electability, it depends on the campaign techniques used. Electability is used as the main benchmark for the success of a quality agency, but those who are not in the circle of power become marginalized.

There are several main indicators to see the electability of a person or agency, in this case, associated with an Islamic party, namely that it occupies a strategic position, frequently appears in various mass media, and has a positive image with strong character and attitude [19]. An electable government or institution is automatically accepted and supported by the majority of the people because they know the figures individually and trust them as a whole, that their values and interests will be protected and fulfilled [17]. The government is believed to be politically and technically capable of handling the problem.

Meanwhile, according [8], Electability can be measured in several ways, namely first, Political Surveys. A political service is a medium that can show the electability of a candidate or political party in the run-up to the regional elections. In democratic countries, surveys are an instrument of democracy and are usually carried out by authoritative institutions, both independent survey institutions and political party/candidate survey institutions. Second, voter behavior, namely voting activity by individuals is closely related to decision-making activities to vote or not to vote (to vote or not to vote) in a general election (direct regional elections). If voters decide to vote (to vote) then voters will choose or support certain candidates.

The Islamic Party is a political organization that aims to influence government policy through controlling public positions in the executive and legislative institutions [6,7]. Islamic parties, which in certain contexts are also part of the Islamic movement, are facing the impacts of political modernization and globalization in various ways. The characteristics of Islamic parties are very diverse and depending on the political situation in the country, they cannot possibly be understood as a single phenomenon [9]. Just as the characteristics of Islamic politics itself are influenced by local situations and contexts, the character of Islamic parties is formed according to their response to the situation they wish to overcome.

According to [20] in general, there are at least three responses that can be mapped. First, Islamic movements that adopt democracy as a cultural system. They reject the exclusively Western approach to democracy and interpret democracy through an Islamic perspective, for example considering the concept of shura to be compatible with deliberative democracy. In this way, democratic principles are considered to be in line with culture, history and local values, and when used in politics do not violate sharia.

[11] Islamic movements consider supporting or using democracy as a strategic choice to achieve their goals. This type of movement usually occurs in countries that hold relatively open and fair elections. The democratic system which has become a consensus on the correctness of the political system is used by Islamic groups to gain legitimacy and support from the people. Third, the Islamic movement rejects democracy both substantially and methodically.

[14] In the Indonesian context, responses to democracy from Islamic movements are also diverse and are broadly grouped into three groups. First, the formalist group chose to make Islam the official party ideology. They fight for Islamic values through political channels and participate in elections. This category is represented by parties with an Islamic ideology, including PPP, PKS, and PBB. Second, the substantial group which makes Islamic values the substance of social and political life, but rejects the formalization of Islam in the state and government. In the realm of political parties, they are represented by PAN and PKB. [21] the secular group rejects the inclusion of religion (Islam) in state life and the government system and tries to separate the state domain from religion. They consider that the adoption of religion in political and governmental life will not only erode the quality of state life but will also reduce the meaning of religion for its citizens.

This perspective is not popular because various Islamic community organizations that act as intermediaries between Muslims and the government are still dominated by conservative groups [22]. Several big figures from both NU and Muhammadiyah who tend to have a secularist perspective have at least become symbols of the intellectual strength of this group. According to [17], to increase electability, Islamic parties should be able to observe people's behavior as voters. Voter behavior can be analyzed using three approaches, namely the sociological approach. Sociological background such as religion, region, gender, age, etc. are important factors in determining political choices. Psychological approach: This approach uses and develops psychological concepts - especially the concepts of socialization and attitudes to explain voter behavior. the rational approach emphasizes candidate orientation and image issues.

Meanwhile, [13] divides the Islamic party entity into two conceptions. First, a party that has Islamic party principles with leadership under the control of people whose Islamic beliefs are beyond doubt and carries Islamic symbols from signs to political jargon. Second, a party which in its principles, symbols, jargon, and daily behavior is very far from the color of Islam but whose leadership is under the control of people with an Islamic identity. The main constituents of these parties usually come from Muslims and certain religious organizations.

This type of research is qualitative with a phenomenological approach to reveal phenomena related to the behavior, perceptions, motivations, and actions of policymakers and implementers in this study, namely Islamic political parties. The data sources used are secondary data, namely relevant research, results of previous research, books, journals, and information from mass media on official sites that can be accounted for. The data analysis technique used is the Triangulation technique, first, data reduction, in this stage information will be classified which can be used as data information in this paper, selecting relevant study results from documentation results from social media and ob-

servation results. Second, displaying/presenting the data, the data that has been se-lected, and the relevant selection results are then arranged in detail and systematically. This research method can be seen from the flowchart below (Fig. 2).
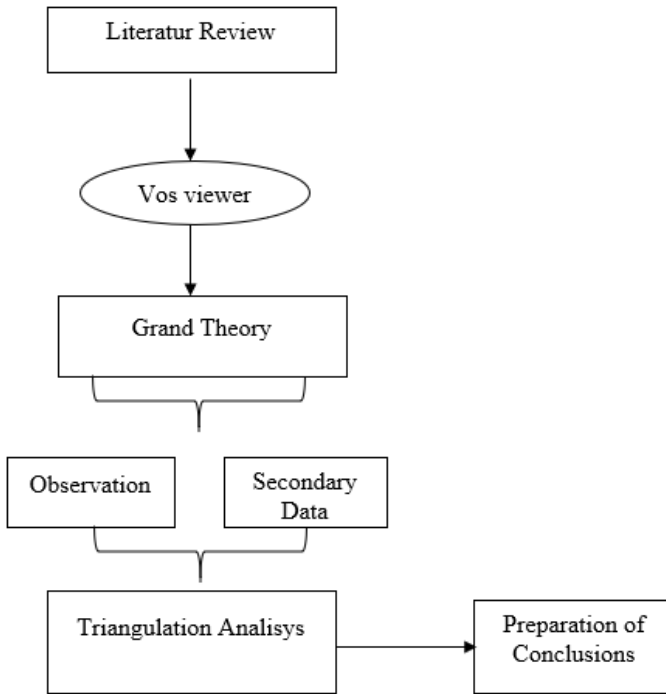

Fig. 2. Research Method

In the 2024 presidential election, it is known that Islamic parties will not form coa-litions with other Islamic parties that have the same ideology, goals, and Islamic base. Coalitions aim to realize policies according to the interests of the party, however, in practice, coalitions are only used as an opportunity to increase the party's strength but utilize the same ideological background and character of the community/masses so that efforts to form an Islamic axis always fail to materialize. Several attempts to form an Islamic Axis in the presidential election have failed. Every time before the Presidential Election, the discourse of forming an Islamic political party axis always appears but always fails to materialize.

The results of this research suggest that the four Islamic-leaning parties that are the objects of this research (PKS, PPP, PAN, and PKB) are separated into three coalitions, namely: first, PPP joins PDIP and collaborates with Ganjar Pranowo as a presidential candidate. Second, PKB joined Gerindra in nominating Prabowo Subianto as a Presi-dential Candidate. Third, PKS joined together with Nasdem to unanimously nominate Presidential Candidate Anies Baswedan. Meanwhile, PAN is in coalition with Golkar, but this coalition has not yet taken a position on nominating a candidate for president in 2024, meaning that it has not yet chosen from the candidates available in the coming

year. From the results of this coalition, it can be seen that each Islamic party has separate votes, and the 2024 presidential candidate is not supported by an Islamic political party.

The electability of Islamic parties can be seen from the following indicators. Based on political surveys. In democratic countries, surveys are an instrument of democracy and are usually carried out by authoritative institutions, both independent survey institutions and certain political party survey institutions. Islamic parties have been assessed by the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI), the results of the LSI survey regarding Islamic parties can be seen based on the gradient below (Fig. 3).
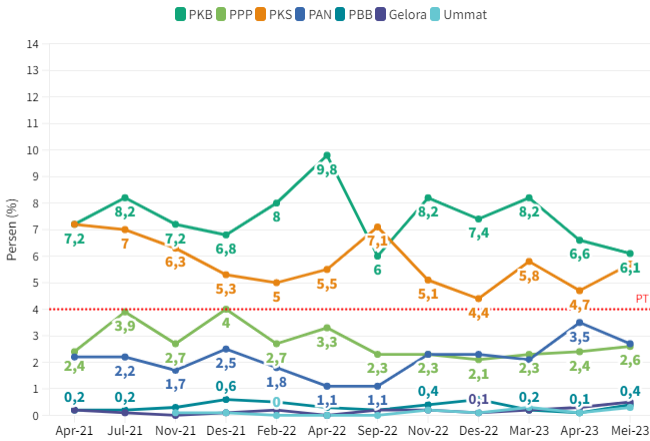

Fig. 3. LSI survey regarding Islamic parties (Source: Indonesian Survey Institute, 2023)

Based on the graph above, as of May 2023, it can be seen that the electability of Islamic parties from the election year is decreasing, there are even several Islamic parties that will not pass the parliamentary threshold of 4% in the upcoming election. For the 2024 presidential election, there are seven Islamic parties, namely the National Kebagkitan Party (PKB), the United Development Party (PPP), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), the People's Wave Party (Gelora), Ummat Party, that is the Islamic party that will compete in the 2024 presidential election. Based on the survey results and the electability of each party, can be seen in the table below (Table 1).

Table 1. Islamic Party Electability Table/May 2023

No	Islamic Party	Electability
1	Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB)	6,1%
2	Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP)	2,6%
3	Keadilan Sejahtera Party (PKS)	5,7%
4	Amanat Nasional Party (PAN)	2,7%
5	Bulan Bintang Party (PBB)	0,4%
6	Gelombang Rakyat Party (Gelora)	0,5%
7	Ummat Party	0,3%

Source: Indonesian Survey Institute, 2023

From the table above, the four Islamic parties that are the focus of this research are the National Awakening Party (PKB), the United Development Party (PPP), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the National Mandate Party (PAN), only the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the National Awakening Party. Prosperous Justice (PKS) passed the parliamentary threshold of 6.1% and 5.7%. This electability has decreased drastically compared to April 2021, when each had an electability of 7.2%. On the other hand, the electability of the other two parties, the United Development Party (PPP) is 2.6% of respondents and the National Mandate Party (PAN) is 2.7% of respondents. The electability is considered low, below 4%.

This electability value describes the community's support and views towards Islamic parties. High party electability means the party has high voting power. To increase electability, the object of electability must meet the criteria of electability and also be popular. To increase electability, it depends on the campaign techniques used by the party. In this case, it is considered that the Islamic party has minimal campaign techniques so it has not reached all or even half of the votes of the Indonesian people, the majority of whom follow the Islamic religion. Then, understand the importance of surveys in building electability and popularity.

Furthermore, apart from survey results, electability can be seen from voter behavior. Voting activities by individuals are closely related to decision-making activities to vote or not to vote (to vote or not to vote) in a general election. If voters decide to vote, voters will choose or support a particular party. The decision to provide support and vote will not occur if there is not enough voter loyalty to the party of their choice. Likewise, voters will not vote if they think that a party is disloyal and inconsistent with the promises and hopes they have given.

To increase electability, Islamic parties should be able to observe people's behavior as voters. Voter behavior can be analyzed using three approaches, namely the sociological approach. Sociological background such as religion is an important factor in determining political choices. Psychological approach: This approach uses figures and party identification. the rational approach emphasizes candidate orientation and image issues. The sociology of Indonesian society from a religious background dominated by a Muslim majority should be an added value in increasing the electability of Islamic parties. Based on observations, the Indonesian people currently do not have the knowledge that can encourage and attract their interest in siding with Islamic-based parties. In the sense that society does not yet have high political awareness. It would be better if a coalition of fellow Islamic parties aims to be able to raise the concept of religious ideology which is important for the benefit of the Muslim community itself so that there is no longer any open rejection of Islamic figures.

The psychological approach, based on research results, has failed to grow loyalist voters who are specifically attached to their party identity. This is proven by the fact that there are no popular figures who stand out nationally from Islamic parties. According to him, Islamic party figures are only limited to party officials and loyalist voters, who are limited in number. Islamic parties have not been able to prove a rational approach to increasing their electability based on observations that Islamic parties are

unable to carry out good cadre formation and determine appropriate campaign strategies in every election. Islamic parties tend to stagnate as small-medium parties. This proves that Islamic parties have failed to develop the right political strategy to gain votes and are not effective in recruiting the right cadres of politicians to reach loyal voters.

Understanding the theory presented by [13]to make it easier to carry out coalitions, Islamic parties can be grouped into dividing the Islamic party entity into two conceptions. First, a party that has Islamic party principles with leadership under the control of people whose Islamic beliefs are beyond doubt and carries Islamic symbols from signs to political jargon. Based on the characteristics of the party, the Islamic party entities that can be identified are PPP, and PKS PBB, this party often carries Islamic symbols in its politics. Meanwhile, the second Islamic party entity is a party that in its principles, symbols, jargon, and daily behavior is very far from the color of Islam but whose leadership is under the control of people with an Islamic identity. The main constituents of these parties usually come from Muslims and certain religious mass organizations, as shown by the PKB and PAN.

The strength of Islamic political parties' votes has a big role in the consistency of the 2024 election, as the large Islamic population provides an opportunity for Islamic political parties to have strong support. In the upcoming 2024 election, the Islamic parties in a coalition, namely PKB and PKS, are carrying Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The second party and the presidential candidate are known as progressive Muslim intellectuals, reinforced by both having Islamic boarding school backgrounds. The joining of PKS and PKB should be able to strengthen the electability of Islamic political parties.

Islamic parties prefer to form coalitions with nationalist parties.To increase the electability of Islamic parties, Islamic parties should be required to be flexible and strategic. They often have to compromise with situations, sacrificing one interest for another. On the other hand, Islamic parties also carry Islamic symbols, values, and norms, as well as the hopes or interests of their main constituents, namely Islamic groups. They need to uphold the principles contained in Islamic teachings, as they interpret them when deciding on a policy or political action. In the social action scheme, Islamic parties are required to be able to respond to situations strategically and rationally, namely using a pragmatic approach when the situation demands it and an ideological one to maintain their existence and positioning, or combining the two if the actor can provide a rational interpretation for their supporters. Three factors make it difficult for Islamic parties to form coalitions with other Islamic parties, thus affecting the vote share of each party. First, the party's ideological orientation is different. Second, because of different pragmatic interests, the four Islamic-leaning parties will not be in the same electoral coalition in the presidential election. Third, what hinders the formation of a coalition with Muslim parties is the lack of political elite figures

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