



Islamic political parties in the legislative institution of Gorontalo Provincial people's legislative council 2019 general election results leading to 2024 general elections

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the significant challenges Islamic Political Parties face following the 2019 General Elections, particularly in terms of their existence, contribution, and implications. It focuses on both inhibiting and supporting factors that affect these parties' struggle within the legislative institution of the Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD) of Gorontalo Province as they move towards the 2024 General Elections. The research conducted for this study falls under the qualitative phenomenological research category. It involves analyzing written and spoken words from individuals and observing their behaviour. The Vicky Randall and Lars Svasan Theory are employed to strengthen Political Parties, both structurally in shaping behaviour and culturally in shaping attitudes and culture. This research indicates that Islamic Parties have a strong presence in the DPRD of Gorontalo Province, thanks to their legislative members elected in the 2019 General Elections. They receive positive support from traditional and religious figures. However, there needs to be more coordination among Islamic Party legislative members when it comes to representing the aspirations of the Islamic community through legislative initiatives based on Islamic law. This lack of coordination persists within faction and commission meetings in the DPRD of Gorontalo Province since the 2019 General Elections. The implications of this research propose the adoption of "The Coalition Axis on Critical Concept" theory for managing Islamic political parties, legislative members, faction leadership, and the leadership hierarchy of the DPRD of Gorontalo Province. This theory offers a breakthrough for legislative members from Islamic Political Parties to exert dominance in every faction/commission meeting agenda, focusing on authority and carefully considering legislative products as they prepare for the 2024 General Elections.

Keywords: Islamic political party; legislative institution; People's Legislative Council; Gorontalo Province; 2019 General Election Result; 2024 General Election

1. INTRODUCTION

Islamic politics is defined as the politics carried out by Muslims through political parties, encompassing the Islamic agenda in state regulations for personal interests, political parties, and groups about the values and principles of Islamic politics. This is derived from Surah Ali Imran (3:159) regarding consultation (musyawarah).

فَبِمَا رَحْمَةٍ مِّنَ اللَّهِ لِنْتَ لَهُمْ وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَظًّا غَلِيظَ الْقَلْبِ لَانفَضُّوا مِنْ حَوْلِكَ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ ﴿١٥٩﴾

Translate:

"And by the mercy of Allah, you dealt gently with them. And if you had been rude [in speech] and harsh in heart, they would have disbanded from about you. So pardon them and ask forgiveness for them and consult them in the matter. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who rely [upon Him]."

As a province formed through the expansion of North Sulawesi Province, Gorontalo consists of Gorontalo Regency and Gorontalo City. It became the 32nd province in Indonesia to separate itself through regional autonomy, governed by Law No. 38 of 2000. The majority of the population in Gorontalo is Muslim, known as the "Serambi Madinah" (Veranda of Medina), with a philosophy combining traditional customs and Islam. In the context of Islamic politics in Gorontalo, parties such as PPP, PKS, PKB, and PAN play essential roles as they are based on Islam and strive to implement Islamic agendas in state politics.

In the 2019 elections in Gorontalo Province, 20 parties registered, but only 16 qualified. Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB), Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI), Partai Masyumi, and PUI (Islamic Community Party) were parties that did not qualify as election participants. Non-Islamic parties such as Golkar, PDI Perjuangan, Nasdem, Gerindra, and Demokrat also gained significant support in this province, despite the majority of the population being Muslim. The phenomenon of Islamic parties in the 2019 elections can be seen from theological, historical, sociological, and reformative factors. Islamic parties believe that religion and politics should be united, and Islamic political parties are deemed necessary for that purpose.

Islamic parties face various challenges, such as transforming ideology into a political platform, internal conflicts, identity crises, tendencies towards political pragmatism, and limited resources, especially regarding funding. Among them, only the National Awakening Party (PKB) received the highest number of votes, while the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) experienced a momentum of increasing support. PAN and PPP are predicted to face difficulties in the 2024 elections as Islamic party voters may switch to other parties.

Based on the introduction mentioned above, the issues that arise are as follows: the existence of Islamic parties resulting from the 2019 elections in Gorontalo Province, the contribution of the Gorontalo community in supporting legislative members from Islamic parties in the Gorontalo Provincial Council (DPRD Provinsi Gorontalo), and the presence of inhibiting and supporting factors for the struggle of Islamic parties resulting from the 2019 elections in the Gorontalo Provincial Council towards the 2024 elections.

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2. METHODS

This dissertation research on Islamic Political Parties in the Legislative Institutions of the Regional People's Representative Council of Gorontalo Province utilizes a research method that does not rely on statistical figures as its measure but instead focuses on qualitative research. This approach aligns with Bogdan and Tailor's views, as quoted by Moleong. Moleong defines qualitative methodology as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in written or spoken words or can be in policy actions. Furthermore, Lexy J Moleong explains that qualitative research aims to understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects, such as behaviour, perception, motivation, and actions, holistically and descriptively using words and language in a specific natural context and utilizing various natural methods.

This research applies a phenomenological qualitative approach. The qualitative approach has several characteristics, such as using actual settings, the researcher as the main instrument, descriptive data, emphasis on the process, inductive data analysis, and attention to interpreting each important event. The phenomenological approach was chosen because it aligns with the research objective of describing social events in society in depth. This approach can reveal the actual events that occur in the field and uncover hidden values. The phenomenological approach is also more sensitive to descriptive information and strives to maintain the unity of the object being studied.

In the phenomenological approach, this research utilizes the theories of Vicky Randall and Lars Svasan. According to this theory, the process of party consolidation, both structurally in influencing behaviour and culturally in influencing attitudes and culture, becomes the focus of the research.

The process of forming Islamic parties in the Gorontalo Provincial Legislative Council encompasses internal-external and structural-cultural. When these two aspects intersect, a four-cell table is formed, including the following: a) The degree of systemness resulting from the intersection of the internal and structural aspects; b) The degree of value infusion in a party resulting from the intersection of the internal and cultural aspects; c) The degree

of decisional autonomy of a party resulting from the intersection of the external and structural aspects; and d) The degree of knowledge or public image resulting from the intersection of the external and cultural aspects.

This dissertation research begins by focusing on the concept of Islamic parties in the Gorontalo Provincial Legislative Council, based on the political phenomena occurring within it, especially within the scope of the Gorontalo Provincial Legislative Council. The research has several limitations, including (1) The assessment of society towards the existence of Islamic parties in Gorontalo; (2) The contribution of the Muslim community in supporting legislative candidates from Islamic parties in the 2019 Provincial Legislative Council Election in Gorontalo; (3) Factors hindering and supporting the struggle of Islamic parties in nominating their party members in the Gorontalo Provincial Legislative Council in the 2019 election.

In the current institutional context of political parties, particularly in the context of Islamic political parties, there is a connection to the concept of Islamic parties proposed by Hannah Pitkin, as quoted by Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, identifying four distinct but interconnected dimensions of representation. These dimensions include formal representation, referring to institutional rules and procedures through formally elected representatives; descriptive representation, referring to the similarity in composition between representatives and the represented, such as ethnicity and gender; substantive representation or responsiveness, referring to the alignment of representative actions with the interests of the represented; and symbolic representation, referring to the symbolic representation of the represented party. This concept is used to analyze the factors contributing to the low representational function of Islamic parties in the Gorontalo Provincial Legislative Council. One indicator of the institutionalization of Islamic parties is when a political party fully carries out its functions according to its comprehensively formulated bylaws. However, a weakness of Islamic parties in Indonesia is the lack of a system within the political Islam that is perceived to represent Islamic parties.

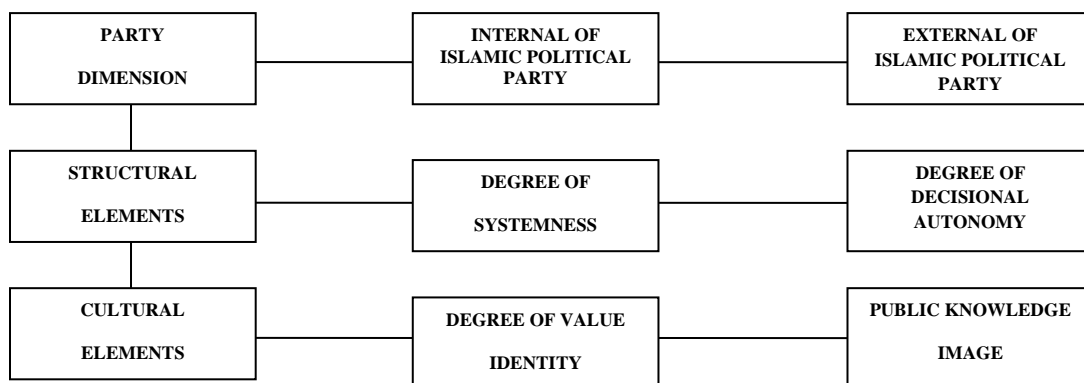
In line with this, in this dissertation, the author examines the concept of political party institutionalization based on the theories of Vicky Randall and Lars Svasand. According to these theories, institutionalization involves two aspects: internal-external and structural-cultural. By combining these dimensions, a four-cell table can be formed, including: (1) the degree of party systemness resulting from the intersection of internal and structural aspects, (2) the degree of party identity as a result of the intersection of internal and cultural aspects, (3) the degree of party autonomy in decision-making resulting from the intersection of external and structural aspects, and (4) the degree of knowledge or public image of the political party resulting from the intersection of external and cultural aspects.

Many political parties, including Islamic parties that meet the electoral threshold requirements, need help in achieving a high degree of systemness. One of the factors is the dominance of party leaders over the sovereignty of party members and the interests

of factions, groups, and dominant factions over the interests of the party as an organization. While not always detrimental, leader dominance in political parties can pose adverse risks if the leaders use their charisma to strengthen their dominance.

The inability of existing Islamic parties to achieve an adequate level of systemness can be analyzed, as stated by Prasetya. In his view, a party's performance cannot be solely evaluated based on the political party's laws. However, it should also consider the alignment between the principles and platform of Islamic parties with the behaviour of elites, voters, and party programs in an empirical context. This indicates that during the 2019 elections in Gorontalo Province, the existing Islamic parties still need to fulfil their functions by the provisions in the political party's bylaws.

Furthermore, the bylaws of Islamic parties are not able to serve as a basis for the implementation of the functions of a political party. In that case, the function of representation of Islamic parties cannot be adequately carried out (formal representation). Formal representation requires delegating authority to appointed individuals to represent rather than dominating.



Based on the image, there are two crucial aspects in party politics, namely the internal and external aspects, involving two elements, namely structural elements and attitude/culture (cultural), in the party formation process. The internal dimension explains the relationship among the internal parts of the party structure, which impacts the improvement of sustainability and accountability prospects in general elections. On the other hand, the external dimension explains that to strengthen its existence, a party needs to strengthen its internal parts and establish relationships with the government or similar organizations outside the party.

This dissertation research lasted six months, from May 2022 until October 2022, in Gorontalo City, specifically at the office of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of Gorontalo Province. The selection of the research location was done intentionally (purposive) with the consideration of its alignment with the main focus in the theoretical foundation of this dissertation research, which is the representation of

Islamic parties in the DPRD of Gorontalo Province as a result of the 2019 elections, and chosen as a suitable place to obtain informants and documentary data related to the second focus, which is the gap between Islamic and non-Islamic parties in the DPRD of Gorontalo Province based on the 2019 elections.

According to Lofland and Lofland, primary data sources in qualitative research consist of words, actions, and additional data such as documentation and others. Additionally, data sources also include informants, observable activities, and documents. In this context, informants can be divided into two categories by Miles and Huberman, namely key informants and non-key informants. The selection of key informants is done deliberately. It aims to obtain relevant and competent information regarding the research problem so that the obtained data can be used to build theories. Subsequent informants are selected based on recommendations from initial informants, who are then asked to nominate others who can also provide information, and so on, until data saturation is reached. If the addition of informants only yields the same information, it indicates that the number of informants is sufficient as data saturation has been achieved.

Furthermore, this method is known as "snowball sampling," where informants are selected successively until data saturation is reached. In this research, the initial informants or sources of information are the officials/staff of the DPRD of Gorontalo Province at the research location. In contrast, the subsequent informants are members or leaders of Islamic parties who are the focus of this dissertation research. "Place and Event" refers to various events and social situations related to the research focus that will be observed. Examples include the presence and activities of the DPRD of Gorontalo Province. Documents are additional data sources that complement the primary data relevant to the research problem and focus. Examples include the DPRD of Gorontalo Province (Profile Document), Minister of Home Affairs Decree, Commission Activity Reports, Commission Chairman Reports, Commission Planning Reports, and so on.

According to Lexy J. Moleong, qualitative research uses various types of data. These data types are divided into words and actions, writings, photos, and statistics, which are used as necessary information. Verbal statements or stories from interviewed informants and observed actions are used as primary data in qualitative research. Meanwhile, writings, photos, and statistical data obtained from various relevant documents related to the research focus are used as complementary data (secondary).

The data collection process in qualitative research involves three activities. According to Lofland and Lofland, there are three activities in the data collection process: 1) Getting-in: This stage involves entering the research location in the DPRD of Gorontalo Province, including adaptation and interaction with research informants, by maintaining ethical and sympathetic relationships to reduce the social distance between the researcher and informants; 2) Getting along: This stage involves efforts to establish a more intimate personal relationship with research subjects, seeking comprehensive information and striving to understand the meaning of the acquired information and observations; and 3) Logging the data: This stage involves four data collection techniques, namely a)

Observation: Used to observe the activities of the institution and individuals related to Islamic and non-Islamic parties in the DPRD of Gorontalo Province as important objects in the research regarding the representation of Islamic parties. It also observes the involvement of government institutions or other parties related to the DPRD of Gorontalo Province; b) Interviews: Used to obtain empirical information related to the views and attitudes of legislative members in the DPRD of Gorontalo Province regarding legislative functions, budgeting, oversight, and others at the research location. Interview data is recorded using recording devices and interview guides; c) Documentation: Used to collect various information and data taken from documents, such as decrees, meeting results, and other documents related to the DPRD of Gorontalo Province; and d) Focus Group Discussion (FGD): Conducted with informants to establish openness, trust, and understand the perceptions, attitudes, and experiences held by informants to have intensive and constructive discussions on specific issues with different backgrounds.

Data analysis is conducted to identify patterns. This is done by reviewing field notes, interview results, and collected materials to enhance understanding of all gathered information and enable the presentation of findings. Data analysis includes three stages, according to Miles and Huberman: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing verification. The use of an interactive model in data analysis is a technique that involves interconnected data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Data collection was conducted from May 2022 to October 2022 for a period of six months.

To examine data validity, Moleong and Nasution state that four criteria can be used: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. To examine data validity in this research, the following steps were taken: (1) Increasing the observation period to one year (May 2022-May 2023) to verify the accuracy of the obtained information and data; (2) Conducting peer debriefing, which involves discussing the research findings with peers and other researchers who know about the research problem and research methods. This discussion takes place over three days with the aim of obtaining criticism, suggestions, and questions that can strengthen confidence in the validity of the research findings; (3) Conducting triangulation by comparing data obtained from other sources (such as other city DPRD or central government) at various stages of the research and different periods. This triangulation is done using data triangulation, which examines a phenomenon from various sources; and (4) Conducting member checks by re-verifying the information provided by informants based on field notes after each interview. The purpose is to ensure that the information used in the research report aligns with the informant's intention. Transferability is an empirical issue that depends on the context similarity between the sender and the receiver. Empirical incident data will be sought and collected in similar contexts to ensure transferability.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research conducted in this dissertation successfully identified the presence, contributions, barriers, and support for Islamic parties in the Gorontalo Provincial

Regional Representative Council (DPRD) leading up to the 2024 elections. The findings of the research are as follows:

- a) Islamic parties maintain a strong presence in Gorontalo Province following the 2019 elections, with many seats in the Gorontalo DPRD. These parties play a crucial role in the legislative process and policy formation in the province; therefore, they are still needed to represent the people's aspirations.
- b) Support from the masses and religious figures is a positive factor influencing Islamic parties' existence in Gorontalo. Parties such as PKS, PPP, PAN, and PKB have a solid mass base in Gorontalo Province.
- c) Islamic parties in Gorontalo face challenges such as increasing competition with other political parties, evolving political issues in society, and public perception of Islamic parties. However, there is an opportunity for Islamic parties to strengthen their presence by enhancing their programs, vision, and mass base.

The role of legislative members in the Gorontalo DPRD strengthens the presence of each Islamic party. The participants in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) agreed that the Gorontalo DPRD plays a crucial role in strengthening the existence of Islamic parties, particularly in formulating policies that support the interests of the Gorontalo community as a whole. Islamic parties resulting from the 2019 elections in the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD also contributed significantly to safeguarding religious and social agendas, striving for the welfare and justice of the community. Their contributions can be observed in the policy-making process in the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD. However, the strengths and weaknesses of the contributions of Islamic parties were also highlighted in the FGD. Their strengths include consistent views that prioritize the community's interests and a solid mass base. However, a lack of coordination among Islamic parties in voicing the people's aspirations is a weakness that needs to be addressed.

Every issue raised by Islamic parties in the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD, such as education, health, economy, and religion, is considered essential and should be the primary focus of policy-making within the institution. Challenges faced by Islamic parties include competition with other political parties and public perception of Islamic parties. However, Islamic parties still have the opportunity to increase their contributions by strengthening coordination among Islamic parties in voicing the aspirations of the Gorontalo DPRD.

Factors hindering Islamic parties in the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD include a need for more support from the public and elections based on personal and group interests. However, there are also supporting factors such as support from the public who understand and appreciate Islamic parties as their representatives in the DPRD and cooperation with other parties in the institution. The recommendations presented in the FGD include improving communication and education to the public about Islam and Islamic parties and conducting more intensive campaigns. Islamic parties are expected to

strengthen cooperation and synergy with other parties in the DPRD to achieve common goals.

Based on the findings from the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) used as a data collection method in this dissertation, there are several theoretical implications and recommendations that can be drawn. After reflecting on the final analysis of the discussion and the results of FGD I and II, ten critical aspects have been identified as the basis for the researcher/author of this dissertation in determining the object of scientific research and developing new theoretical concepts in Islamic Thought. These recommendations are also directed towards the Islamic Party institutions and the leadership elements of factions in the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD:

- 1) There are still many people who choose non-Islamic parties due to a lack of understanding and knowledge about Islam and Islamic parties;
- 2) Party or legislative candidate selection is based more on personal and group interests rather than public interests or the interests of the community;
- 3) There is a need for increased communication, education, and intensive campaigns to the public about Islam and Islamic parties;
- 4) Islamic parties need to strengthen cooperation and synergy with other parties in the DPRD to achieve more significant common goals;
- 5) There is a negative perception and stigmatization of Islamic parties regarding religious issues, leading them to be considered conservative and having difficulty adapting to the times;
- 6) Islamic parties need to strengthen networks and broader financial support, reducing dependence on small donors in order to meet operational and campaign needs;
- 7) Internal reforms and more effective campaign strategies are necessary;
- 8) Islamic parties need to revise their member recruitment patterns with more intensive political training and education before nomination;
- 9) Improvement in party management and organization systems is needed to be more effective in carrying out operational activities and campaigns; and
- 10) Islamic parties in Gorontalo can collaborate with other political parties in the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD, both religious and non-religious, to achieve synergy in policy-making that serves the exclusive interests of the Gorontalo community and the inclusive interests of the Muslim community.

CONCLUSION

This research implies that Islamic parties significantly contribute to the legislative process and policy-making, not just as representatives of religious interests. Internal competition among Islamic parties can be a barrier to their role as policymakers in Gorontalo Province, so efforts to strengthen solidarity among them are needed. Organizational and financial issues can also affect the ability of Islamic parties in elections and the DPRD. Therefore, improvements in these areas are necessary to enhance their existence and contribution. Collaboration with other political parties is also challenging, requiring strengthened dialogue and cooperation to represent holistic community interests.

Furthermore, three theoretical foundations underpin the author's recommendations. First, the Theory of Islamic Party Identity recognizes the role of political identity in reflecting the experiences of injustice in specific groups and making a significant contribution to the existence of Islamic parties in politics. Second, the Theory of Political Party Coalitions emphasizes the importance of coalitions among parties with ideological platforms, close political preferences, and similar policy perspectives. Coalitions can start with the closest "neighbour" party and move towards a majority coalition. Third, the Theory of Rational Action highlights individual actions with goals and values influencing political decisions.

Legislative products also play an essential role in shaping policies and society, such as laws, regulations, and decisions by council members and legislative institutions. Legislative Product Theory explains how legislative products are produced through the interaction of political factors and institutional processes such as public opinion, policy interests, party power, legislation, negotiation, and decision-making.

In order to uphold the existence, contribution, and actualization of Islamic party members in the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD, these recommendations are formulated to strengthen solidarity, improve organizational and financial conditions, enhance cooperation with other political parties, and refer to the theory of Islamic Party Identity, theory of Political Party Coalitions, theory of Rational Action, and theory of Legislative Products.

Based on the discussion, the author recommends the theory of Coalition Axis in the Critical Concept, suggesting that Islamic parties in the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD form alliances to address critical issues or policies. This theory focuses on the activities of the institution's legislative members from Islamic parties. In this theory, a coalition axis is formed when political parties or legislative members have similar critical views on specific issues or policies and work together to achieve common goals. The Coalition Axis in the Critical Concept in the legislative institution aims to influence better and more effective policy-making in line with their critical perspectives.

In forming the Coalition Axis in the Critical Concept, coalition members develop strategies and action plans to influence political decision-making in the legislative

institution. They will maintain their critical views and advocate for political support to achieve their goals. In its implementation, the theory of Coalition Axis in the Critical Concept in the legislative institution is expected to play a significant role in shaping better and more effective policies. However, the success of this theory depends on the coalition members' ability to communicate and collaborate effectively, as well as maintaining their critical perspectives in the legislative process.

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