

## Shifting Political Strategy, Organizational Characteristics, and Political Issues of Islam-based Party in Indonesia

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### Abstract

*Throughout the 2016-2022 period, the journey of the National Mandate Party (PAN) faced a critical juncture which was marked by its decision to make changes in three aspects, namely changes in strategy, organization and issue position. Amien Rais's personalization has a very big role in transmitting the discourse of populism within PAN and encouraging changes in the position of issues and strategies chosen by the PAN coalition. PAN General Chair Zulkifli Hasan can push to end the personalization of Amien Rais due to (1) PAN's defeat in 2019; (2) the strengthening of the Zulkifli Hasan faction and the nationalist-religious-moderate group in PAN in working together to overcome the personalization problem of Amien Rais and (3) PAN's operational demands and prerequisites (such as eliminating the two sons of PAN and rejecting Islamic populism) to join President Jokowi's government. This research uses a qualitative approach to understand and explore the phenomenon of changes in the PAN party throughout the 2016-2022 period. This research identifies and explores the personalization of Amien Rais' figure influencing strategic shifts and decision-making processes within the National Mandate Party during the 2016-2022 period. This shift includes changes in coalition positions, ideological narratives, and leadership dynamics. This study highlights key findings regarding these changes. First, the shift in the 2016 Coalition, namely the external factor that influenced PAN's shift from opposition to supporting President Jokowi's government in 2016 was the cartelization of political parties in Indonesia. Second, the shift in ideology in 2017-2018, external factors, namely the rise of the Islamic populist movement, especially the success of the 212 movement in the Jakarta gubernatorial election, influenced PAN to change its stance to be in line with the movement. Third, coalition and ideology reversal 2020-2021. External factors, namely the defeat of the opposition party in the 2019 presidential election, ongoing party cartelization, the entry of Gerindra (opposition coalition leader) into Jokowi's government, and the waning influence of the Islamic populist movement contributed to PAN's decision to return to supporting the government. Internal factors related to the shift in dominance from Amien Rais to Zulkifli Hasan as a key figure in PAN decision making play an important role. This shift was influenced by factors such as PAN's defeat in the elections, strengthening support for the Zulkifli Hasan faction, and operational demands.*

**Keywords:** Party Change, National Mandate Party, Amien Rais, Zulkifli Hasan, Personalization

### INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 1990s, Harmel and Janda (1994) popularized the study of party change as a study that focuses on explaining the reasons why political parties change their political strategies, organizational characteristics and structures, as well as their issue positions. Various studies explain the causes and processes of contemporary party change in various parts of the world. Kosiara-Pedersen explores the influence of differences in party leadership on changes in party organization, party issue positions, and party strategy that occurred in the People's Party and the Progress Party in Belgium. The results of the study explain in depth the process of party leadership influencing party changes. These results support the assumption that leadership will influence changes in political parties.

Research on party change was also carried out by Luypaert (2019) who examined the influence of external stimuli in the form of electoral defeat on organizational changes in aspects of organizational decision-making structures and changes in issue positions in three mainstream political parties throughout the 1990s in Northern Belgium (Flemish). The results of his research show that changes in issue positions appear to have occurred more frequently than organizational changes in the three parties since their electoral defeat throughout the

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1990s. These results imply that changes in party organization are more difficult to occur than changes in party issue positions.

Paquay's research (2019) explains the influence of external stimulus in the form of left-wing populism discourse developed by the Belgian Workers' Party with a communist ideology on changes in attitudes towards workers' issues (accommodative, indifferent/dismissive, or hostility/adversarial) towards the three mainstream Belgian parties (Socialist Party, Reform Party, and Humanist Center Party). The results of his research showed that only the Socialist Party adopted an accommodative change in attitude by agreeing with a number of political issues from the Belgian Workers' Party, while the Reform Party and the Humanist Center Party tended not to change their attitudes and tended to be indifferent.

Hayton (2022) explains the influence of external 'shocks' in the form of the political development of 'British Exit' (Brexit), changes in leadership, and changes in dominant factions affecting the campaign strategy and voter mobilization of the Conservative Party and Labor Party in England. The research results show that the Conservative Party's response was much better than the Labor Party in managing its internal conflicts and implementing its voter mobilization strategy.

Von Dem Berge and Obert's (2018) study examined the influence of a number of variations in political party change factors such as party age, party proximity to the European Union, a country's level of democracy, the existence of political party laws, electoral losses, and leadership changes on organizational change. leading to intra-party democratization of 14 political parties in Hungary, Romania and Slovakia from 1989-2011. The results of the analysis show that party age, proximity to the European Union, and changes in leadership are important factors in determining organizational changes to become more democratic in a political party. These various studies support the assumption of influencing factors and the process of party change.

In contrast to these various studies, this study uses a framework of party change factors (including leadership factors, dominant faction change factors, and external stimulus factors) on various aspects of party change (including changes in strategy, organization, and issue positions) in a comprehensive manner. still rarely found in Indonesia. Most popular research on party change in Indonesia only pays partial attention to the theory of party change and has a different research focus than the party change studies mentioned above.

For example, Tomsa (2008) researched the successful change of the Golongan Karya Party (Golkar) in facing the democratic transition and general elections in 2004. Although there were external-internal factors that were considered to explain the phenomenon of change in the Golkar party, Tomsa focused more on studying the institutionalization of political parties. (party institutionalization) to explain the successful process of changing the Golkar party.

Ambardi's research (2009) explains that the Indonesian party system is characterized by a trend of compromising ideological positions and political party programs after the electoral competition phase ends to join a government coalition in order to obtain state resources. However, Ambardi's argument is based more on the cartel political party model a la Katz and Mair (1995). Next, Suwarso (2016) explains comprehensively the impact of the electoral system on the change in political parties to become merely pragmatic rather than programmatic political vehicles in Indonesia from 1999-2009. However, this research focuses on the impacts of changes in electoral regulations on the pragmatic strategies of political parties using an institutionalism approach.

The lack of research on party changes is very unfortunate considering that the phenomenon of party changes often occurs in Indonesia. There are at least two main reasons that encourage frequent party changes in Indonesia, namely: (1) the unstable internal condition of political parties in Indonesia; and (2) the dynamic (changing) conditions of the Indonesian political environment.

In this regard, this research will examine political changes in the National Mandate Party (PAN). Throughout the 2016-2022 period, PAN's journey faced a critical juncture which was marked by its decision to make changes in three aspects, namely changes in strategy, organization and issue position. The process of these changes shows the process of PAN's interaction with the internal and external conditions of their party. There are two

things studied in this research, namely (1) identification of changes in PAN and (2) identification of potential factors that influence these changes in PAN.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Harmel and Janda (1994, 275) define party change as “variation, alteration, or modification in the way parties are organized, what human and material resources they employ, what they use, and what they do.” However, this definition is considered too broad, so Harmel and Janda limit party changes to changes that occur within the direct control of the party itself. In other words, the party change in question is a change decided by the group or party leader himself (Harmel & Janda, 1994: 275).

There are at least three scopes/aspects of party change, namely: Changes in Political Strategy, Organizational Changes, and Changes in Issue Positions. Changes in political strategy refer to changes in the way a party takes action to achieve its main goals, which include things such as maximizing vote share, gaining government seats, and promoting policy programs. Some examples of changes in political strategy are changes in the way an election campaign is conducted, picking fights, or changing attitudes from passive to confrontational opposition. The focus of strategic changes discussed in this article is related to the choice of party coalition, namely the decision of a political party to collaborate with a certain group of political parties.

Organizational changes refer to changes in party rules and structures which include various things such as changes in executive and legislative candidates, selection of party leaders, division of tasks and responsibilities within the party, split or re-formation of parties, representation at annual meetings, sanctions for violations of rules and regulations. the practice of excluding party members, as well as other de facto practices that influence party organizations. Panebianco (1988) observed that party organizations actually continue to experience a continuous process of change. The definition of organizational change used in this paper is changes in the decision-making structure of an organization, especially those that affect the power dynamics and authority structure of the organization.

A change in issue position is a change in the emphasis of the issue championed by the party. A change in issue position is a change in the emphasis of the issue championed by the party. For example, changes in party views regarding issues of religion-state, equality-economic growth, human rights (HAM), and so on.

Political parties experience change, there are three main factors that make party change occur, namely party leadership, factionalism, and the environment. Party leadership can influence change within political parties. This is because party leaders have the authority to advocate for change within the party. Personalization, namely the tendency to give uncontrolled decision-making power to party leaders, can be a factor in party leadership.

Change of dominant faction refers to replacing the dominant faction group in a party with a new faction group. This change can also encourage other changes within the party, as the new faction usually has fundamental differences with the old faction. These differences include identity, views on strategic parties, and leadership styles, and so on.

Environmental changes or external stimuli are events or factors outside the control of a political party that influence changes in the party's pursuit of their main goals. Some examples of these external factors include changes in voter behavior, declining electoral strength of parties, dynamics of political party competition, and changes in general election rules.

## **METHODS**

This research uses a qualitative approach to understand and explore the phenomenon of changes throughout the 2016-2022 period. This paper chooses to use a single case study method to produce in-depth research regarding the phenomenon of changes in PAN throughout the 2016-2022 period. This paper will also carry out a causal process tracing analysis to explore the process mechanisms by which various party change factors influence the occurrence of various aspects of PAN change.

Regarding data collection, this paper will use broad questions (open-ended questions), interview data, observation data, document data and audio-visual data. Primary research data collection was carried out using

a purposive sampling method, namely collecting data from sources who were representative and balanced in answering research questions.

Secondary data in the research comes from PAN party documents, articles, news and electronic data related to the research topic. In addition, data validation is carried out using data source triangulation techniques, namely exploring the truth of certain information by using various data sources such as documents, archives, interview results, observation results or also by interviewing more than one subject who is considered to have different points of view to provide views. (insights) that can be compared. The data analysis techniques used by researchers include the process of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions/verification.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **PAN in the Historical Trajectory of Indonesian Politics**

In 1998, the collapse of the Soeharto regime encouraged the establishment of new political parties in Indonesia. At that time, President Habibie lifted the government's ban on the formation of political parties and issued various policies to restructure and regulate the electoral system. The impact of this policy was the formation of new parties which pushed the Indonesian party system to become multi-party. One of the parties that was born as a result of these various policies was the National Mandate Party (PAN).

During his journey, the figure of Amien Rais, who at that time was the General Chair of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership for the period 1995-1998, had a big role in establishing PAN. However, there were at least four groups from various professional, ethnic and religious backgrounds who pushed for the establishment of PAN, namely: First, the People's Mandate Council (MARA) which was the main entity that pushed for the birth of PAN. Towards the end of Soeharto's presidency, MARA was born as an organization consisting of figures from various prominent backgrounds.

After Suharto's resignation, there was debate regarding MARA's future role—whether MARA became a political party or MARA remained the guardian of reform. On the one hand, there are parties who support the transformation into a political party, while on the other hand there are parties who disagree and support MARA to continue to act as a guardian of reform. Several MARA members, such as Zumrotin, Ratna Sarumpaet, and Nur Syachbani Kartjasungkana, opposed the idea of PAN becoming a party. Meanwhile others, including young Muslim intellectuals such as Ulil Abhsar Abdala and historian Ong Hok Ham, support the formation of a new party.

On July 22 1998, a MARA meeting took place at the Borobudur Hotel, Jakarta, which resulted in an agreement on the formation of a new political party. Amien Rais' next follow-up was to attend the MARA meeting at Cemara Galeri Jakarta on July 27 1998, to formulate the party platform. The experts in charge of formulating the party platform include political scientist Mochtar Pabottingi, economist Anggito Abimanyu, and lawyer Albert Hasibuan who are respectively responsible for the political, economic and legal platforms.

Second, apart from MARA, the Tebet Association was also an important entity in establishing PAN. The Tebet Association consists of individuals involved in informal discussions at the Agribusiness Development Center (PPA) in Tebet, Jakarta. They founded PPA in 1978 by prominent Muslim leaders such as Amin Azis, Dawam Rahardjo, Kosasih, Adi Sasono, A.M Saefuddin, and A.M Fatwa. Initially PPA focused on the study of agribusiness, poverty, welfare and education. However, gradually the PPA expanded its activities to cover broader social and political issues.

This activist group held intensive political discussions to anticipate changes in political reform. This intensive discussion resulted in support for Amien Rais to develop a more concrete political platform. The Tebet Association is also considering forming a new party under Amien Rais. However, this group is also considering the possibility of joining the PPP (United Development Party) following offers from several PPP leaders who wanted Amien Rais to lead their party. After that, discussions between the Tebet association group and MARA resulted in a commitment to form a new political party that was inclusive and pluralist.

Third, people involved in the Muhammadiyah National Conference (Muktamar) on 5-7 June 1998 in Semarang. The idea of forming a new party emerged from discussions at the Tebet Association, which was finally brought to the Congress by A.M Fatwa and became the main issue discussed at one of the commissions at the Congress (Fatwa 2003, 202). At that meeting, delegates from Solo and Jakarta strongly demanded that a new party be established and supported Amien Rais as its chairman even though at that time Amien Rais was the General Chair of PP Muhammadiyah.

Fourth, the Center for Strategy and Policy Studies (PPSK) which is based in Yogyakarta and was founded by Amien Rais and his intellectual figures such as Ichlasul Amal, Yahya Muhaimin, Watik Pratiknya, Syafi'i Ma'arif and Afan Gaffar, at the end of the 1980s after Amien completed his PhD studies in Chicago. For Amien Rais, PPSK is his second home. One of Amien's relatives believes that Amien should listen more to his PPSK friends than his own family. (Uchrowi 2004, 127). The analysis carried out by PPSK often influences Amien's political steps, such as his involvement in ICMI and his role as General Chair of Muhammadiyah, especially in criticizing President Soeharto.

On 5-6 August 1998, a meeting to discuss the formation of a new party took place at Wisma Tempo Megamendung Bogor, and was attended by representatives of the three main elements, namely PPSK, the Tebet association and MARA. At that time, MARA played a very important role in formulating the party platform. The meeting agreed on two other important aspects of the party's formal structure, namely: the name and composition of the party's founders. The founders consisted of nine figures. Three figures represent the Tebet Community and Muhammadiyah; AM Fatwa, AM Lutfi and Abdillah Toha. Meanwhile, three other figures from MARA are Gunawan Mohamad, Ismid Hadad and Zumrotin. Syamsurizal, a researcher at Gadjah Mada University, was chosen to represent PPSK. Some of the names being considered include the People's Mandate Party (PAR), the Nation's Mandate Party (PAB), and the New Indonesia Enlightenment Party (PIB). At that time, Gunawan Mohammad proposed the name Partai Amanat Rakyat (PAR) but it was rejected because the majority of participants thought it gave the impression of being 'leftist'. The meeting agreed on the name National Mandate Party.

Even though the Megamendung meeting agreed to form a new party, Amien Rais continued political negotiations with a number of PPP elites, resulting in a formal letter of agreement stating that Amien was willing to be nominated as Chairman of the PPP Expert Council. This ultimately caused great concern not only among the attendees at the Megamendung meeting, but also among Muhammadiyah cadres. As a result, at one of the Muhammadiyah meetings in Solo which was attended by Amien Rais, demands for the formation of a new political party were voiced by Muhammadiyah regional leaders.

On 13 August 1998, Amien Rais met with PPP leaders and rejected their offer to lead PPP. The next day Amien Rais appeared on national television to announce his plans to form his own inclusive and pluralist party. Ten days later, the National Mandate Party was declared. Faisal Basri, an economist at the University of Indonesia was appointed as the first Secretary General (Sekjen) of the National Mandate Party. Faisal is considered to represent academics and NGO activists whose ideological orientation is often categorized as leaning towards socialism.

Therefore, the decision to choose an inclusive party can be seen as a political experiment. Hajriyanto Thohari, former Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah and once a DPR Member from Golkar, praised Amien's decision and compared him to Nurcholish Madjid. Thohari believes that Amien has continued and transformed Nurcholish Madjid's ideas about inclusive, pluralist and anti-sectarian idealism into more concrete actions.

### **Personalization of PAN Leadership**

Harmel and Sväsand explain that personalization is the tendency to place extraordinary and uncontrolled party decision-making authority in the hands of a party leader who is largely uncontrolled by formal party mechanisms. The main indicator of strong policy focus on one person is the interaction between party leaders and members who prioritize loyalty rather than commitment to party programs, ideology or organizational rules.

In PAN's leadership, Amien Rais' personalization has a very large role in transmitting the discourse of populism within PAN and encouraging changes in the position of issues and strategies chosen by the PAN coalition. Amien Rais' closeness to this Islamic group can be seen in various ways. For example, actively participating in various activities of the Islamic Defense Action, Alumni Association 212, even visiting and expressing support for Rizieq Shihab at his temporary residence in Mecca.

Even though Amien Rais founded PAN with a plural-inclusive platform and supported a number of Islamic thought reforms since he graduated from America, in his youth Amien Rais had thoughts in the style of Muhammad Natsir and continued to maintain close ties with conservative Islamic and da'wah movement groups involved in the Defense Action. Islam such as the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII). This closeness allows Amien Rais to have sympathy for the narrative of the struggle of the conservative Islamic group pioneering the Islamic Defense Action and the 212 Movement which fights against political, economic and social injustice experienced by Muslims. This closeness and feelings of sympathy enabled Amien Rais to transmit the narrative of identity politics and the discourse of Islamic populism within PAN.

The weak influence of the PAN General Chair and the strong influence of Amien Rais in determining coalition strategy and changing issue positions can be seen from the chronology of its development. First, Amien Rais used his informal power as party founder to encourage PAN to support Anies and reject Ahok in the 2017 DKI Regional Election. He did this by first transmitting the values of conservative Islamic groups since the 2017 DKI Regional Election by openly participating in and supporting the Islamic Defense Action movements.

Second, Amien Rais's very strong informal influence was seen when he was able to direct PAN to support Prabowo as President and become the opposition to Jokowi's government. This happened two days before determining the direction of the PAN coalition, where there was a clear tendency for the central leadership of the PAN DPP to support Jokowi's government again in the 2019 presidential election. Even though there had been communication indicating that PAN tended to agree to continue President Jokowi's leadership. However, Amien Rais intervened in the PAN's decision by saying that he 'vetoed' the PAN's decision by shifting support to Prabowo as a presidential candidate.

## **PAN Political Changes**

This section will explain the focus of research problems specifically related to the phenomenon of changes in PAN throughout 2016-2022. The explanation regarding this matter will begin by explaining several things, namely (1) identification of changes to the PAN; (2) identification of potential factors that influence changes in the PAN; and (3) the relevance of the PAN change case study.

### **Changes in PAN's Political Strategy**

Throughout the 2016-2022 period, PAN often changed their coalition-choice strategy. In general, the choice of party coalition is the decision of political parties to work together in an association of parties that has certain political goals. Before 2018, PAN was a member of the coalition of political parties supporting the Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla (Jokowi-JK) government. PAN has clearly been included in the coalition of political parties supporting the Jokowi-JK government since a PAN cadre (Asman Abnur) assumed the position of Minister for Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform (Menpan-RB) in 2016. However, PAN decided to leave the coalition supporting the Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla government and join the government opposition coalition which also supported presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno in 2018 for the 2019 Presidential General Election.

PAN's departure from the coalition supporting the government marked the departure of Asman Abnur from the Jokowi-JK government cabinet in 2018. After that, PAN decided again to join the coalition of political parties supporting the government of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin (political opponents of Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno) in 2021. Based on the 2nd National Working Meeting (Rakernas), PAN officially decided to returned to support the governing coalition. Furthermore, PAN's support resulted in obtaining the seat of Minister of Trade (Mendag) held by PAN General Chairman Zulkifli Hasan (Zulkifli Hasan) in 2022.

In fact, the change in PAN's coalition choices is not something new, but PAN has always been included in government coalitions even though it is a critical partner of the government and previously had conflicting attitudes. Historically, PAN has never had a pure opposition to the government and has always been included in the government cabinet after the electoral competition or general election phase ended. For example, PAN continued to have four ministerial positions even though it was involved in the ousting of President Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) and the appointment of President Megawati Soekarnoputri in 2001.

In the 2004 presidential election, PAN supported Amien Rais as a presidential candidate, but this effort ended in defeat in the first round of the presidential election. In the second round, PAN decided to join the coalition of parties supporting Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla (SBY-JK). This choice of coalition bore fruit with SBY-JK winning the presidency and PAN gaining three ministerial positions. In the 2009 elections, PAN again supported the incumbent government coalition represented by presidential candidate SBY-Boediono. This choice bore fruit with the victory of SBY-Boediono and three ministerial seats for PAN. In the 2014 General Election, PAN nominated their cadre as vice presidential candidate, namely Hatta Rajasa, to accompany Prabowo Subianto. However, it turned out that the coalition of parties supporting the Prabowo-Hatta pair (Red and White Coalition/KMP) suffered defeat against the coalition of parties supporting the Jokowi-JK pair (Great Indonesia Coalition/KIH).

Interestingly, although PAN previously supported the KMP coalition and was involved in the KMP vs KIH feud in Parliament throughout 2014, PAN decided to join the coalition supporting the government and won the seat of Menpan-RB in 2016. In this way, changes in the strategy chosen by the PAN coalition are something that often occurs. Not only PAN, other parties in Indonesia have a tendency to join the government after electoral competition, even though they previously had different political views during the electoral competition cycle.

### **Characteristics and Organizational Structure of PAN**

Organizationally, major changes have occurred within PAN, especially in the aspect of changing its rules and decision-making structure from previously informally centered on one of the party's founders (Amien Rais) to more formal decision-making following the rules and structure of the Articles of Association/Bylaws. (AD/ART) after the V PAN Congress in 2020. In their research, Sugiarto and Riswanda documented Amien Rais' central role in making important PAN decisions informally. For example, Amien Rais had the role of giving 'blessing' to the election of Soetrisno Bachir at the II PAN Congress in 2005, the election of Hatta Rajasa at the III PAN Congress in 2010, and the election of Zulkifli Hasan at the IV PAN Congress in 2015. During -Currently, PAN has an unwritten rule that the general chairman only serves one term so that cadre regeneration can take place.

Apart from that, PAN has a 'tradition' that every cadre who wants to become General Chair of PAN must get the 'blessing' of Amien Rais. Apart from selecting the general chairman, Amien Rais plays a major role in determining the support of the PAN coalition in each election. For example, Amien Rais was able to make PAN decide to support the coalition of parties supporting SBY-Boediono even though the General Chair of PAN at that time, Soetrisno Bachir, wanted PAN to support Prabowo Subianto in 2009 (Riswanda 2021, 58–68). Likewise, in 2018, Amien Rais used his veto rights as party founder to get PAN to support the coalition of parties supporting Prabowo Subianto as president. This call made 30 Regional Leadership Councils (DPW) support Prabowo, while 4 DPW (Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, South Kalimantan and Riau Islands) supported Jokowi at the 2018 PAN National Working Meeting. Even though several days earlier, several PAN leaders had communicated with the Secretary PDI-P General, Hasto Kristiyanto, that they want Jokowi as president again.

Different from before, determining the leadership and choice of the PAN coalition is no longer centered on Amien Rais. At the V PAN Congress in 2020, the re-election of Zulkifli Hasan as General Chair of PAN made the unwritten rules regarding the General Chair of PAN who only served one term invalid. The election of Zulkifli Hasan also did not receive the 'blessing' of Amien Rais, thus making this 'tradition' also invalid. In fact, during this time Zulkifli Hasan fought against a figure who had the 'blessing' of Amien Rais, namely Mulfachri Harahap.

Apart from the PAN leader's decision making, the PAN coalition's choice of decision to support and re-enter the government coalition is determined by the 2021 PAN National Working Meeting rather than the influence of Amien Rais. These various changes are actually more in line with the provisions of the PAN AD/ART which do not state a term limit for the general chairman's term of office, so that in fact the previous PAN General Chairman can nominate again. Regarding Amien Rais' role as Chair of the PAN Honorary Council, this position actually does not have 'veto' rights to make decisions regarding the election of party leaders or coalition choices but only has the right to handle ethical issues and PAN cadres only. However, during this period the PAN organization experienced organizational discontinuity/split which led to the establishment of a new party, namely the Ummat Party which was spearheaded by Amien Rais and his loyalists.

### **Changes in Attitudes on PAN Issues**

In terms of issue position, PAN experienced a change from a party that advocated issues widely to a party that also agreed and was involved in advocacy on a number of political issues narrated by conservative Islamic groups who were the pioneers of the Islamic Defense Action and the 212 Movement. Harmel and Svåsand explained that the party those that advocate 'broad' issues are parties that do not have a specific issue focus. In general, parties in Indonesia tend to advocate broad issues, including PAN.

Based on its AD/ART and platform, PAN is a party that fights for various political, national defense, economic, land, labor, social and community issues, education and world relations issues. In practice, PAN changed its issue position by emphasizing (emphasizing) and carrying out an accommodative strategy on a number of issues fought by the conservative Islamic group, the pioneer of the Islamic Defense Action and the 212 movement, and which was at odds with the Jokowi-JK government's policies throughout 2017-2019. The conservative Islamic group that pioneered the 212 Movement was an Islamic group that demanded that the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) be imprisoned, such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and the National Movement to Guard the Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council (GNPF-MUI) in 2017.

PAN's stance at odds with the government can be seen from its decision to reject the 2019 Revision of the General Election Law, support the narrative of discrimination and criminalization of ulama, support the issue of religious blasphemy, and reject the Government Regulation in Lieu of the Law on Community Organizations (Perppu Ormas) 2020. However, in 2021, PAN decided to return to their initial platform of fighting for broad issues, even opposing the issues campaigned by the conservative Islamic groups pioneering the Islamic Defense Action and the 212 Movement.

The change in position on the PAN issue which is against government policy is actually nothing new. For example, when PAN changed its issue position, they initially supported the government and became critics of Gus Dur and Megawati's government, even though they were in the cabinet. The various criticisms of PAN are based on PAN's platform and AD/ART. For example, the process of impeaching Gus Dur from the position of President is a step to ensure that the executive branch does not become authoritarian and practice Corruption-Collusion-Nepotism (KKN) like the New Order. This is certainly in line with the line of struggle for PAN reform in the platform and AD/ART.

During the DKI Jakarta Regional Election and the 2019 Presidential Election, PAN supported sectarian ideas and had an attitude that rejected the results of democratic institutions such as the results of general elections by the General Election Commission (KPU). This happened after Amien Rais made statements about the dichotomy between the 'party of Satan and the party of Allah', calling Ahok like a 'dajjal', calling for 'people power', and criticizing the government regime that gave rise to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) throughout 2016-2020. These various statements have identified PAN as a party involved in the practice of identity politics based on Islamic populism, namely a political practice that narrates the antagonism between the Islamic Ummah and established elite groups that are considered corrupt and oppressive.

President Jokowi also implicitly appealed to PAN to avoid this experience of the sectarian position of PAN issues at the 2nd PAN National Working Meeting in 2021 and the 3rd National Working Meeting in 2022 (Beritasatu 2022; CNN 2021). The change in position on the PAN issue was seen when Zulkifli Hasan also repeatedly explained that PAN would not return to using identity politics based on Islamic populism.



## **Identify Factors Influencing Changes in PAN**

There are a number of important factors that influence changes in each period. Researchers argue that each of these changes has internal and external factors that significantly influence changes in PAN in a certain period.

The internal factor in PAN that prompted the change in the position of the PAN coalition from opposition to supporting the Jokowi government in 2016 was the change in leadership of the PAN General Chair from Hatta Rajasa and switching to Zulkifli Hasan. The development of intra-party dynamics at the IV PAN Congress in 2015 which resulted in Zulkifli Hasan as general chairman prompted a change in the PAN coalition's strategy from being an opposition or balancer and finally entering the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla government. This occurred due to differences in views on the direction of the coalition from Hatta Rajasa and Zulkifli Hasan.

In the 2017-2018 period, external and internal factors pushed for a change in issue positions that supported the populist Islamic narrative and the PAN coalition strategy from government supporters to opposition in 2017-2018. The external factor that was most influential in influencing this change was the rise of the Islamic populism movement which brought about changes in the trend of the political environment in Indonesia. The success of the 212 movement in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada encouraged parties to collaborate with these groups, including in facing the 2019 presidential election.

The internal factor that prompted a change in issue position that supported the populist Islamic narrative and the PAN coalition strategy from government supporters to opposition in 2017-2018 was Amien Rais' personalization. Amien Rais, who has close ties to populist Islamic groups, an unharmonious relationship with President Jokowi and great influence within PAN, allowed him to change the issue position and strategy of the PAN coalition to support Islamic populist groups and become the government's opposition.

Amien Rais' strong personalization occurred because (1) the general chairman's position was less effective in PAN's internal decision-making system; and (2) weak PAN ideology/platform. Amien Rais' strong influence occurred because he was the founder of a party which had quite a large number of loyalists and was always involved in the succession of PAN leadership, including Zulkifli Hasan. Apart from that, the weak ideology of PAN also encouraged PAN to change its attitude. The results of the research show that there is a very large distance between the PAN platform and positions that support the Islamic populism movement. This shows that the PAN ideology is unable to guide PAN policy.

In the 2019-2021 period, researchers found external and internal factors that encouraged a change in the strategy of the PAN coalition from opposition to supporting the Jokowi government, rejecting the position on the issue of Islamic populism, and changing the characteristics of organizational decision making from being centered on Amien Rais to Zulkifli Hasan in 2020- 2021. External factors that influence are (1) the decline in PAN votes and seats in the 2019 elections, (2) the continuation of the cartelization of political parties in Indonesia, (3) the joining of the leading party of the government opposition coalition (Gerindra) to the Jokowi government, and (4) the waning of the movement Islamic populism.

The internal factor that prompted the change in the strategy of the PAN coalition from opposition to supporting the Jokowi government, rejecting the position on the issue of Islamic populism, and changing the characteristics of organizational decision making from being centered on Amien Rais to Zulkifli Hasan in 2020-2021 was the change in the dominant faction from Amien Rais to Zulkifli Hasan. Zulkifli Hasan pushed to end the personalization of Amien Rais due to (1) PAN's defeat in 2019; (2) the strengthening of the Zulkifli Hasan faction and business groups in PAN in working together to overcome Amien Rais' personalization problems and (3) PAN's operational demands and prerequisites (such as eliminating the two suns of PAN and rejecting Islamic populism) to join the Jokowi government and to (4) defeat of the Amien Rais faction in the 2020 PAN V Congress in Kendari.

## **CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, this research identifies and explores the personalization of Amien Rais' figure influencing strategic shifts and decision-making processes within the National Mandate Party during the 2016-2022 period. This shift includes changes in coalition positions, ideological narratives, and leadership dynamics.

This study highlights key findings regarding these changes. First, the 2016 Coalition shift, namely the external factor that influenced PAN's shift from opposition to supporting President Jokowi's government in 2016 was the cartelization of political parties in Indonesia. The need for smooth governance and the influence of President Jokowi play a role in encouraging this cartelization. Internal factors, namely the change of PAN leadership from Hatta Rajasa to Zulkifli Hasan, are crucial internal factors. Intra-party dynamics driven by different strategic visions influenced PAN's decision to transition from opposition to part of the government.

Second, the shift in ideology in 2017-2018, external factors, namely the rise of the Islamic populist movement, especially the success of the 212 movement in the Jakarta gubernatorial election, influenced PAN to change its stance to be in line with the movement. The repressive response from the Jokowi government has further strengthened this alignment. Internal factors related to Amien Rais' personalization play an important role. His closeness to Islamic populist groups, his dissatisfaction with President Jokowi, and his significant influence within PAN allowed him to change the party's position and coalition strategy.

Third, coalition and ideology reversal 2020-2021. External factors, namely the defeat of the opposition party in the 2019 presidential election, ongoing party cartelization, the entry of Gerindra (opposition coalition leader) into Jokowi's government, and the waning influence of the Islamic populist movement contributed to PAN's decision to return to supporting the government. Internal factors related to the shift in dominance from Amien Rais to Zulkifli Hasan as a key figure in PAN decision making play an important role. This shift was influenced by factors such as PAN's defeat in the elections, strengthening support for the Zulkifli Hasan faction, and operational demands.

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