Analysis of the Failure of Islamic Political Parties in Gaining Votes in Indonesia General Elections

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the failure of Islamic political parties to gain votes in general elections. This analysis is based on a hypothesis testing procedure, namely whether the proportion of failure of Islamic political parties in gaining votes in general elections is caused by constant or not constant factors (in the sense that they are caused by something significant or by design). The approach in this study uses a quantitative descriptive method using the hypothesis testing method through the khai-square distribution (X2). Based on the procedure of testing the hypothesis, this study concludes that the null hypothesis which states that the proportion of Islamic political parties that fail is constant and therefore the cause is purely chance factors (chance factors) is accepted.

Keywords: democracy, elections, Islamic political parties

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis kegagalan partai politik Islam dalam mendulang suara dalam pemilihan umum. Analisis ini didasarkan pada prosedur pengujian hipotesis yaitu apakah proporsi kegagalan partai politik Islam dalam mendulang suara di pemilihan umum disebabkan oleh faktor konstan atau tidak konstan (dalam artian disebabkan oleh sesuatu yang signifikan atau by design). Pendekatan dalam penelitian ini menggunakan deskriptif kuantitatif dengan menggunakan metode pengujian hipotesis melalui distribusi khai-kuadrat (X2). Metode ini diterapkan karena hasil penelitian berupa data diskrit dan bersifat kategoris yang dikelompokkan dalam setidaknya dua kelompok sampel. Melalui metode pengujian hipotesis ini, ditentukan keputusan mengenai penyebab terjadinya suatu keadaan. Dalam artian apakah keadan itu terjadi karena factor-faktor yang bersifat signifikan (significant factors) atau factor-faktor yang kebetulan saja. Berdasarkan prosedur pengujian hipotesis, penelitian ini menyimpulkan hipotesis nihil yang menyatakan bahwa proporsi partai politik Islam yang gagal adalah konstan dan karena itu penyebabnya adalah faktor yang bersifat kebetulan belaka diterima. Sehingga dapat disimpulkan bahwa kegagalan partai politik Islam dalam melakukan pendulangan suara dalam pemilihan umum disebabkan factor yang bukan signifikan dalam artian ada suatu pengkodisian tertentu.

Kata Kunci: *demokrasi, pemilihan umum, partai politik Islam*

INTRODUCTION

The democratization that has been built in recent years has elements of values and elements of institutions (Nugroho 2012). Public appreciation of the values of justice, equal rights, freedom of expression, for example, is a sign of the presence of democratic values (Noviati 2013). Democracy itself must be built with the development of political institutions (Yunitasari et al. 2017). One of the important political institutions is political parties. In a democratic system, the existence of political parties is a necessity (Purnamawati 2020).

Democratization efforts require political means or channels that are coherent with the needs of the people in a country (Ramadhanti 2018). Political parties are one of the means in question, which have a variety of functions, platforms, and rationale (Andrias & Nurohman 2013). One of these functions and platforms can be used as a consideration to assess whether a government is democratic or not (Jafar 2017).

Political parties have very strategic roles and positions (Labolo & Ilham 2015). The strategic role is played by political parties as a liaison between government processes and citizens (Sulaeman 2015), so space for the birth of new political parties is needed (Romli 2011). It is possible that citizens need or need the birth of a new political party in parliament which does represent their interests (Rosana 2012). So, a formula in the form of a regulation is really needed which provides an open space for new political parties to enter parliament without having to stumble over requirements that are deliberately used to hinder new political parties from entering parliament constitutionally (Anggon, 2019).

After independence, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia issued Notice Number X dated November 3, 1945, concerning the Formation of Political Parties. There are 36 political parties that are ready to enliven the dynamics of democracy in the country. There was only one Islamic party that emerged at that time, namely Masyumi, which could be said to be the only representative of Islamic political power in Indonesia. However, in its development, the internal conflict required the exit of PSII (1954) and NU (1952) (Pledge 2003). There is no single container for Islamic political parties. In the 1955 election, the map of Islamic political power was split into five political parties, namely Masyumi, PSII, Perti, PPTI, and NU.

The emergence of this Islamic party, in greater numbers in 1999 than the Islamic parties that existed in the 1950s and 1960s, invites speculation (Fadlillah 2018). Some see it as "the re-entry of Islam in politics." There are also those who immediately voice alarmism – part of, to borrow Oliver Roy's term, "political imagination" regarding the inseparability between the areas of religion, law, economy, and politics (Saifuddin 2013). Azyumardi said that one of the elements that make a party classified as an Islamic party is making Islam the party principle.

Despite its lively appearance, from election to election, the number of parties and votes obtained by Islamic parties has stagnated, even decreased (Al-Hamdi 2013). Of the three groups of Islamic parties, only 5 parties passed in the 2014 election. In the 2004 election, the total vote acquisition of the four Islamic-based Islamic parties was only 18.77 percent of the national vote. The PBB got 2.62 percent of the national vote. Meanwhile, PPP received 8.16 percent (Tolkah 2018). PKS and PPNUI followed, with votes of 7.2 percent and 0.79 percent respectively. In the following two elections, the total vote acquisition of the four Islamic parties decreased to 15.15 percent in the 2009 election and 14.78 percent in the 2014 election (Rahawarin 2011; Luerdi 2013).

Without intending to deny existing judgments, how can the phenomenon of the reappearance of Islamic parties be understood? Is this reality automatically a deja vu and a repetition of the old Indonesian experience, where the presence of Islamic parties can create a certain tension – or what Leonard Binder calls an uneasy synthesis – in relation to the state? From a formal legal perspective, the journey of "Islamic parties" is not as fortunate as their counterparts who are "non-Islamic parties". For quite a long time, the government viewed Islamic parties as major political competitors that could disrupt the state's ideological foundations. Because of this, the government seeks to weaken and tame Islamic parties. As a result, Islamic political activists and leaders not only failed to make Islam the basis and state religion ahead of Indonesia's independence – which was later repeated in the grueling trials

at the Constituent Assembly – but also, as a political force, they occupied the position of a minority or outsider group (Susanto 2020).

Several previous studies related to this research were Firdaus Ayu Palestine's research which concluded that the cause of the decline in the votes of Islamic parties was first, the fusion of political parties and the history that accompanied it. Second, the factor of the Islamic party which was less successful in "galvanizing" cadres into militant and capable cadres. Third, party candidates who abandon the party's sacred visions and missions, causing them to carry out black campaigns (Palestine 2015). Another study conducted by Muhammad Himawan Sutanto concluded that the failure of Islamic political parties in Indonesia occurred as a result of their inability to make good agenda setting (Sutanto 2011).

Meanwhile, according to Muhammad Sirozi, the causes of the defeat of Islamic parties in the 1999 elections were divided into five factors. These five things are: First, campaign methods and materials that are not quite right. Second, the low credibility of party figures in the eyes of the people. Third, the low level of education of the people. Fourth, the role of the media. Fifth, some people are confused about choosing (Sirozi 2004).

This study aims to analyze the failure of Islamic political parties to gain votes in general elections. This analysis is based on a hypothesis testing procedure, namely whether the proportion of failure of Islamic political parties in gaining votes in general elections is caused by constant or not constant factors (in the sense that they are caused by something significant or by design).

ISLAMIC PARTIES

There are two definitions of Islamic parties. First, political parties use Islam as the party principle, and use Islamic symbols. Second, political parties do not use Islam as a party principle but have a support base from mass organizations Islam. From the first definition we can mention the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Crescent Star Party (PBB), and the United Development Party (PPP) as Islamic parties. Meanwhile, from the second definition, there are two political parties that can be categorized as: Islamic parties, namely the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the National Mandate Party (PAN). This study uses the first definition regarding what is called an Islamic party.

RESEARCH METHOD

The approach in this study uses a quantitative descriptive method using the hypothesis testing method through the khai-square distribution (X2). This method is applied because the research results are in the form of discrete and categorical data which are grouped into at least two sample groups. In addition, this hypothesis testing method is also a form of independence testing to determine whether there is a relationship between two variables. The two variables referred to are variables that are considered as independent variables and dependent variables. Through the hypothesis testing method, a researcher can make decisions about the causes of a situation. In the sense of whether the situation occurred due to significant factors or chance factors.

In principle, the criteria for testing the hypothesis are determined by comparing the frequency obtained from observation (nij) with the expected frequency (eij). If the two frequencies are the same or the difference between them is very small, then the null hypothesis is accepted. Meanwhile, if the two frequencies display a striking difference in value, the null hypothesis is declared rejected. In a simpler sense, the null hypothesis is accepted if the calculated khai-squared value is smaller than the khai-squared value in the

table based on the level of significance and certain degrees of freedom. As for the magnitude of the khai-squared value, it can be determined by applying the formula.

$$x^2 = \sum_{I=1}^{n} \frac{(n_{ij} - e_{ij})^2}{e_{ij}}$$

Where x^2 is the khai-squared value of the calculation results, nij is the frequency obtained from the observations in row i and column j (certain cells). While eij is the expected frequency of row i and column j.

Previously, the value of the proportion of individuals who have "good" characteristics must be determined which is denoted as P. The value of the proportion of individuals who have "good" characteristics is searched by applying the formula:

$$P = \frac{n_{11} + n_{12} + n_{13} \dots n_{1k}}{n}$$

Where P is the value of the proportion of individuals who have "good" characteristics, n11 is the number of individuals who have "good" characteristics from sample group 1, n12 is the number of individuals who have "good" characteristics from sample group 2, n13 is the number of individuals who have characteristics "good" from sample group 3 onwards and n is the total number of samples.

Acceptance or rejection of a null hypothesis can be known after a series of hypothesis testing procedures are carried out.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

When referring to the definition that an Islamic party is a political party that uses Islam as the party principle, in the 1999 elections, parties that clearly had Islamic principles, namely PUI (Islamic Community Party), PKU (Umat Awakening Party), New Masyumi Party, PPP, PSII (Islamic Syarikat Party), PSII 1905 (1905 Islamic Syarikat Party), Masyumi (Masyumi Islamic Political Party), PBB, PK, PNU (Nadhlatul Ummat Party), and PP (United Party).

Table 1. Grouping of Failed and Non-Failed Islamic Political Parties During the 1999-2019 Election

Characteristics	1999 Election	2004 Election	2009 Election	2014 Election	2019 Election	Total
Number of Failed Islamic Political Parties	5	2	4	1	1	13
The Number of Islamic Political Parties Has Not Failed	8	4	2	2	2	18
Total	13	6	6	3	3	31

In this study, the proportion of the number of Islamic political parties that fail in each observational election is denoted by PDn. In essence, the null hypothesis states that the proportion of Islamic political parties that fail is constant and therefore the cause is purely chance factors. Meanwhile, the alternative hypothesis basically states that the proportion of Islamic political parties that fail is not constant and therefore the cause is a significant factor. Thus, the null hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis are symbolically formulated as follows:

H0 : PD1 = PD2 = PD3 = PD4 = PD5
H1 : PD1 ≠ PD2 ≠ PD3 ≠ PD4 ≠ PD5

Regarding the significance level used in the testing process, this study uses a significance level of 5% or 0.05. Based on the description in this study, the number of observed elections or the number of proportions that exist is 5. So, the degrees of freedom are 4 (5 − 1), if the significance level is 0.05 and the degrees of freedom are 4, then the khai-squared value in the table is 9.488. Thus, the testing criteria applied in this study is that the null hypothesis is accepted if

X2 ≤ 9,488

While the null hypothesis is declared rejected if

X2 > 9,488

The first time, the khai-squared value is calculated by determining the value of the proportion of the number of political parties that are declared failed in each election to the total sample size. The value of the proportion is

$$\frac{5 + 2 + 4 + 1 + 1}{31} = 0,4194$$

Next, the expected frequency value is calculated. The calculation of the expected frequency value is applied to the number of individuals who have "good" and also "bad" characteristics. In accordance with the context of this study, the expected frequency value is calculated as follows

	0,4194 x 5 =			13 − 5,451612903	
e11 =		5.451612903	e21 =	=	7.548387
e12 =	0,4194 x 2 =	2.516129032	e22 =	6 − 2.516129032 =	3.483871
e13 =	0,4194 x 4 =	2.516129032	e23 =	6 − 2.516129032 =	3.483871
e14 =	0,4194 x 1 =	1.258064516	e24 =	3 − 1.258064516 =	1.741935
e15 =	0,4194 x 1 =	1.258064516	e25 =	3 − 1.258064516 =	1.741935

After the calculation of the expected frequency value has been completed, it is then placed to the right of the actual number of Islamic political parties that failed or did not fail. This step needs to be taken to facilitate the process of calculating the khai-squared value and to make it easier to read the numbers listed in the calculation.

Table 2. Expected Frequency Value and Actual Frequency

Characteristics	1999 Election	2004 Election	2009 Election	2014 Election	2019 Election	Total
Number of Failed Islamic Political Parties	5(5,45)	2(2,52)	4(2,52)	1(1,26)	1(1,26)	13
The Number of Islamic Political Parties Has Not Failed	8(7,55)	4(3,48)	2(3,48)	2(1,74)	2(1,74)	18
Total	13	6	6	3	3	31

The khai-squared value of the calculation results in this study is searched through the following calculations.

$$\frac{(5 − 5,45)^2}{5,45} + \frac{(2 − 2,52)^2}{2,52} + \frac{(4 − 2,52)^2}{2,52} + \frac{(1 − 1,26)^2}{1,26} + \frac{(1 − 1,26)^2}{1,26} +$$

$$\frac{(8 - 7,55)^2}{7,55} + \frac{(4 - 3,48)^2}{3,48} + \frac{(2 - 3,48)^2}{3,48} + \frac{(2 - 1,74)^2}{1,74} + \frac{(2 - 1,74)^2}{1,74} =$$

0,20395421 + 0,26638918 + 2,20187305 + 0,066597294 + 0,066597294 + 0,20395421 + 0,26638918 + 2,20187305 + 0,066597294 + 0,066597294 = 5,61082206

As is known from the calculation above, the calculated khai-squared value is 5.61082206. Meanwhile, the khai-squared value in the table for a significance level of 5% and degrees of freedom of 4 is 9.488. Because the calculated khai-squared value is smaller than the khai-squared value in the table, the null hypothesis is accepted, and the alternative hypothesis is rejected.

If one looks at the course of the elections from 1999 to 2019, it is clearly illustrated that there are only a few Islamic political parties that have continuously won votes that are safe from the threshold of the parliament. PKS has fairly stable electoral power during elections. Following the election for the first time in 1999 under the name of the Justice Party, it managed to pass to parliament with 1.36 percent of the vote and 7 seats. In the 2004 election, the PKS vote increased to 7.34 percent. Then in 2009 won 7.88 percent of the vote. PKS's vote share in 2014 decreased to 6.79 percent. Then it increased again in the 2019 election with 8.21 votes or 50 seats in the DPR. The electability of PKS today is safe from the threshold of parliament. In the March 2021 SMRC survey, PKS received an electability of 5.2 percent. The January 2021 LSI survey recorded an electability of 7.6 percent. As well as the January 2021 Kompas R&D survey, PKS has an electability of 5.4 percent.

PPP as the oldest Islamic party that still exists today, is not compared to its declining electoral strength. In the 2019 election PPP only pocketed 4.52 percent of the vote from the 4 percent threshold. PPP only sent 19 representative seats. In the 2014 election, PPP won 6.53 percent of the vote. In 2009, PPP won 5.32 percent of the vote, in the top four in the 2004 election with 8.15 percent of the vote, and in the 1999 election 10.71 percent. However, looking at today's survey, PPP is in danger of not passing the election. In the March 2021 SMRC survey, PPP only has 2.7 percent electability. The January 2021 PPP LSI survey has an electability of 2.4 percent, and the January 2021 Kompas R&D survey is only 0.5 percent.

Meanwhile, the Crescent Star Party (PBB) currently has no seats in parliament. In the 2019 election, the PBB only got 0.79 percent of the vote. The 2014 and 2009 UN elections did not pass to parliament with 1.46 percent and 1.79 percent respectively. In the 2004 elections, the PBB had seats in the DPR with a vote of 2.62 percent or 11 seats. In the 1999 elections, the PBB passed with 1.94 percent of the votes and 13 seats. However, seeing the electability of the party led by Yusril Ihza Mahendra it is quite difficult to compete in 2024. PBB only has 0.5 percent electability in the March 2021 SMRC survey, 0.1 in the January 2021 LSI survey, and 0 percent in the January 2021 Kompas R&D survey.

Islamic political parties outside of PKS, PPP, PBB are very difficult to get votes and gain seats in parliament. In the 2004 election, which was participated in by 24 political parties by imposing an electoral threshold system of three percent of the 1999 election votes, practically only PPP and PKS passed the electoral threshold of the seven political parties that passed. In the 2009 DPR member elections, when the first parliamentary threshold was implemented, only 9 parties passed the parliament meeting the 2.5 percent vote threshold and only PKS and PPP as Islamic political parties passed. While in the 2014 election, only the Nasdem Party as a new party was able to qualify for parliament. The KPU stated that 10 of the 12 parties participating in the 2014 election succeeded in meeting the national threshold of 3.50%. Two parties that do not meet the threshold and therefore cannot place representatives in Senayan

are the Crescent Star Party and PKPI. Whereas for the 2019 election which implemented the parliamentary threshold of 4% of the 9 political parties that passed, there were only PKS and PPP while PBB only ranked 15th in the national vote acquisition with a gain of 0.79%.

There is an overestimation of Islamic parties with most Muslims. In fact, empirically-historically, even though Muslims are the majority, Islamic parties have never won elections. If traced from the history of election implementation, we still remember the 1955 election which was touted as the most democratic election in Indonesia, but the Islamic parties lost. NU, Masyumi, PSII, Perti, PPTI, and AKUI won only 45.2 percent of the votes, still below that of the national parties plus non-Islamic parties which received 54.8 percent.
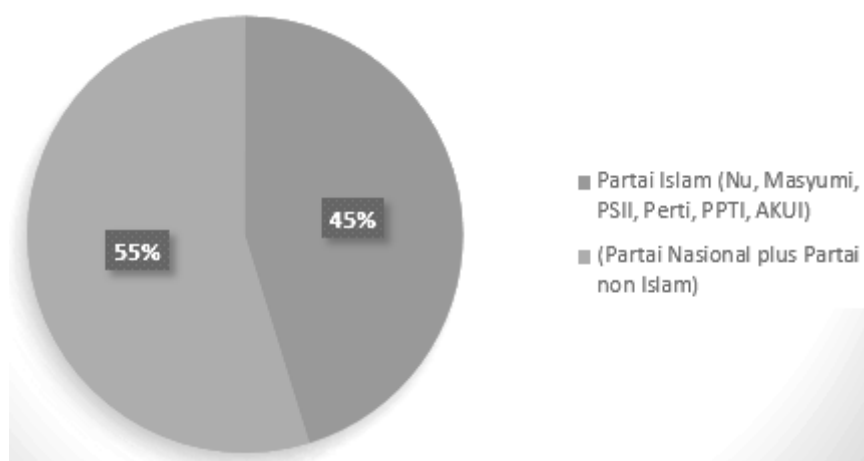

Figure 1. Vote Acquisition of the Islamic Party vs. the National Party plus the Non-Islamic Party in the 1955

This phenomenon repeated itself in the 1971 election: NU won 18.67 percent of the vote, Parmusi 7.36 percent, PSII 2.39 percent and Perti 0.70 percent. Even though Golkar won 62.8 percent of the vote, PNI 6.94 percent, Parkindo 1.34 percent, and the Catholic Party 1.11 percent.
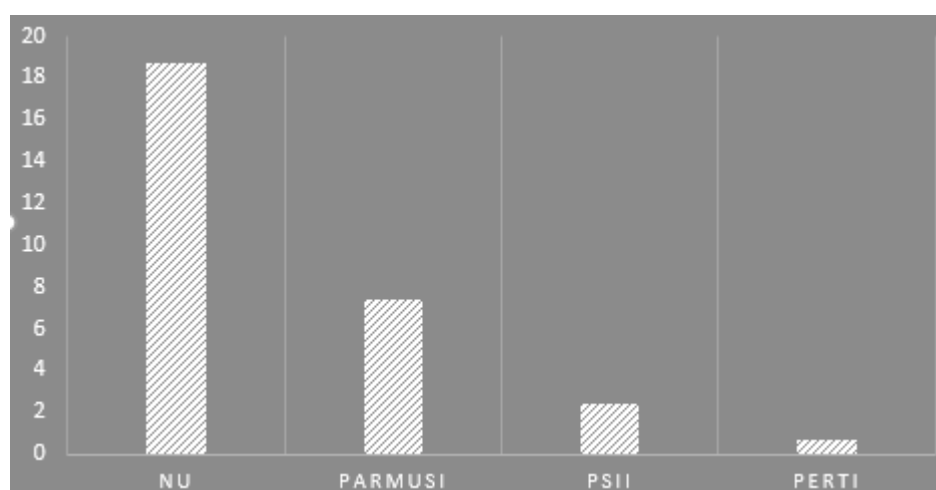

Figure 2. Vote Acquisition of the Islamic Party in the 1971 Election

Even in the 1977 election – after the 1973 fusion – the vote acquisition of Islamic groups through PPP declined: 29.3 percent. This decline continued in the following elections: 1982 (27.8 percent) and 1987 (16.0 percent). It was only after the 1992 election that the voices of Islamic groups experienced an increase, in 1992 (16.2 percent) and 1997 (22.4 percent). However, this increase was unable to match the gains in the 1977 elections.
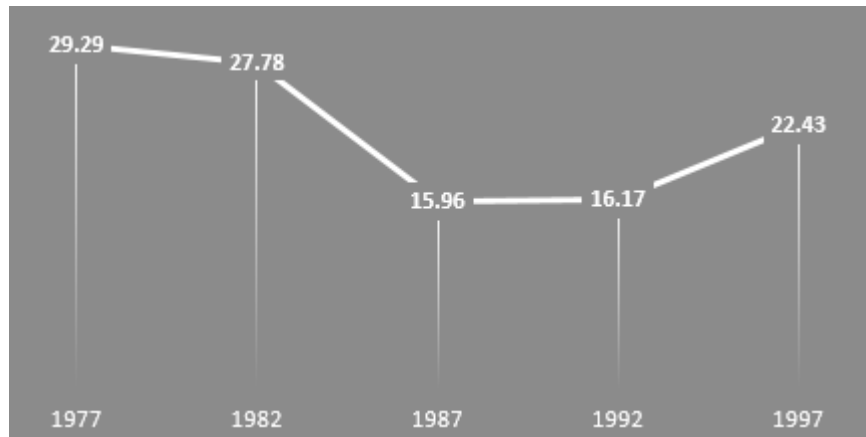
Figure 3. Voices of Islamic Groups after the Fusion in 1973

This phenomenon should be realized by the Islamic political elite: that a majority is not a guarantee of getting many votes. Because, Muslims are now more rational in choosing parties, no longer just because of primordialism (religion).

The defeat of parties based on Islam in the June 7, 1999 general election was absolutely crushing. Only the United Development Party (PPP) won significant votes and entered the top five; the results of the Crescent Star Party (PBB) were far below expectations, although it managed to form its own faction in the DPR with 13 members. The Justice Party (PK) only won 7 seats in the DPR, failed to meet the minimum acquisition requirement (threshold) of two percent of the total, and thus was liquidated for the 2004 elections.
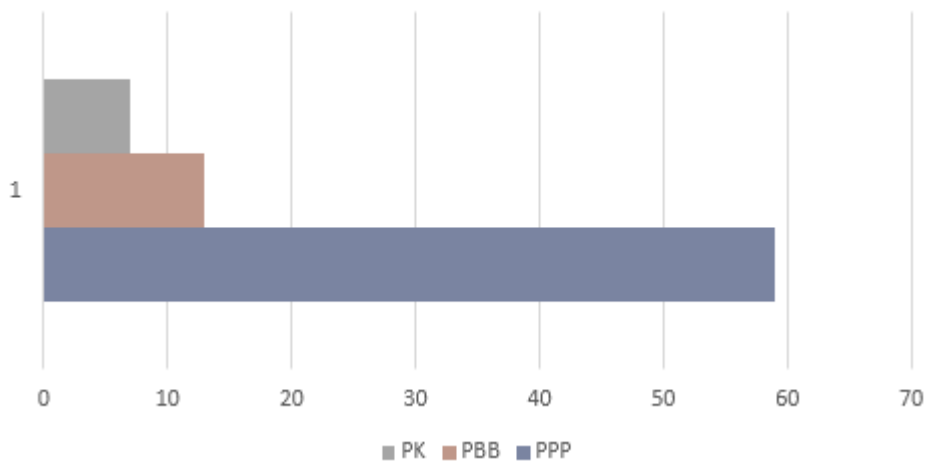

Figure 4. Vote Acquisition of Islamic Political Parties in the 1999 Election

The three parties are only a minority of the 12 Islamic parties that are contesting (plus five other parties based on "Islam and Pancasila" principles). In other words, the readiness and completeness of their administration was good, as evidenced by the 17 parties that passed the tight selection of Team 11 which ultimately passed only 48 contestants from around 160 political parties that registered. This means that more than a third of the participants in the 1999 election were Islamic parties. This administrative readiness is admirable, considering that the requirements for participation set by the election organizers are quite strict, for example that each party must have at least branches in 14 provinces.

The readiness of the apparatus and administration that was completed in just a few months was not reflected in their vote tally. After all the ballots had been counted, it was revealed that the combined gains of all the Islamic parties were far behind the PDI Perjuangan, which had garnered around 34 percent of the vote. Despite its lively appearance, from election to election, the number of parties and votes obtained by Islamic parties has stagnated, even decreased. In the 2004 election, the total vote acquisition of the four Islamic-based Islamic parties was only 18.77 percent of the national vote. The PBB got 2.62 percent of the national vote. Meanwhile, PPP got 8.16 percent. PKS and PPNUI followed, with votes of 7.2 percent and 0.79 percent respectively. In the following two elections, the total vote acquisition of the four Islamic parties decreased to 15.15 percent in the 2009 election and 14.78 percent in the 2014 election. In the two elections, the votes obtained by the PBB did not even reach 2 percent. Because of this, the UN cannot even seat its members in the DPR. Meanwhile, PNUI cannot participate in the 2014 election.

In the 2009 elections, PBB received 1.79 percent of the vote while PNUI (continuation of PPNUI) received 0.14 percent. Meanwhile, PBB won 1.46 percent in the 2014 election. PPP also took a steep road with a vote acquisition of 5.33 percent in the 2009 election and 6.53 percent in the next election. Only PKS has a stable enough vote. He obtained 7.89 percent in the 2009 elections, and 6.79 percent in the 2014 elections. In Politics of Shari'a Law (2016), Michael Buehler recorded the votes of PBB, PPNUI, PKS, and PPP in more than 1,000 local elections held from 1998 to 2009. As a result, the four parties only received a majority of the votes in Aceh Besar District, NAD as much as 51 percent in the 1999 DPRD elections. The four parties also won 58.6 percent of the votes for the DPRD elections in Bone Bolanga District, Gorontalo.

CONCLUSION

Based on the above calculations, the null hypothesis which states that the proportion of Islamic political parties that fail is constant and therefore the cause is mere chance factors (chance factors) is accepted. So, it can be concluded that the failure of Islamic political parties to gain votes in general elections is caused by factors that are not significant (significant factors) in the sense that there is a certain conditioning.

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