

## Failure of Persatuan Pembangunan Party to Pass The Parliamentary Threshold In The 2024 Elections: An Analysis From The Perspective of Party Institutionalization

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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to analyze the failure of the Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP) in the 2024 elections using the perspective of political party institutionalization. This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The data collection technique in this research is a literature study. The findings of this study explain that PPP's failure to qualify for parliament in the 2024 elections is dominated by its very poor institutionalization factor. On the root of society indicator, the PPP failed in two ways, namely the party elite's poor psychological reading of its voter base and its slowness in understanding the importance of transforming internal changes, which resulted in a significantly underdeveloped social mass base. Then, the autonomy indicator explains that PPP does not fully have autonomy in making decisions regarding the nomination of candidates for the 2024 elections. On the Level of organization indicator, PPP also experienced a very acute and prolonged management conflict problem. This has made PPP's image in the community very bad. Finally, the coherence indicator shows that PPP is weak in consolidating cadres and sympathizers, which has an impact on the lack of solidarity in following the decisions taken by the party for the 2024 elections.

**Keywords:** Persatuan Pembangunan Party, Parliamentary Threshold, Political Party Institutionalization, 2024 Election

### ABSTRAK

Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis kegagalan Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) pada Pemilu 2024 dengan menggunakan perspektif kelembagaan partai politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Teknik pengumpulan data dalam penelitian ini adalah studi literatur. Temuan penelitian ini menjelaskan bahwa kegagalan PPP untuk lolos ke parlemen pada Pemilu 2024 didominasi oleh faktor kelembagaan yang sangat buruk. Pada indikator akar rumput, PPP gagal dalam dua hal, yaitu buruknya pembacaan psikologis elit partai terhadap basis pemilihnya dan lambatnya PPP dalam memahami pentingnya melakukan transformasi perubahan internal, yang berakibat pada basis massa yang tidak berkembang secara signifikan. Kemudian, indikator otonomi menjelaskan bahwa PPP tidak sepenuhnya memiliki otonomi dalam mengambil keputusan terkait pengusangan kandidat untuk Pemilu 2024. Pada indikator tingkat organisasi, PPP juga mengalami masalah konflik kepengurusan yang sangat akut dan berkepanjangan. Hal ini membuat citra PPP di masyarakat menjadi sangat buruk. Terakhir, indikator koherensi menunjukkan bahwa PPP lemah dalam melakukan konsolidasi kader dan simpatisan yang berdampak pada kurangnya solidaritas dalam mengikuti keputusan yang diambil oleh partai untuk Pemilu 2024.

**Kata Kunci:** Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Ambang Batas Parlemen, Pelembagaan Partai Politik, Pemilu



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## 1. Introduction

The 2024 elections were held simultaneously on February 14 to elect the president and vice president, members of the House of Representatives (DPR) at the national, provincial, and district levels, and members of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) (Wibawana, 2024). In the 2024 elections, 24 political parties are participating, namely the Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB), the Gerakan Indonesia Raya Party (Gerindra), the Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party (PDIP), the Golkar Party, the Nasional Demokrat Party (NasDem), the Buruh Party, the Gelora Party, the Keadilan Sejahtera Party (PKS), the Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB), the Hanura Party, Garuda Party, Amanat Nasional Party (PAN), the Bulan Bintang Party (PBB), Demokrat Party, Solidaritas Indonesia Party (PSI), Perindo Party, Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP), Aceh Nanggroe Party, Atjeh Beusaboh Generation Tha'at Dan Taqwa Party, Darul Aceh Party, Aceh Party, Adil Sejahtera Aceh Party, Soliditas Independen Rakyat Aceh Party and Ummat Party (Akbar, 2024).

In the context of this research, it is motivated by the failure of Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP) to pass the parliamentary threshold of 4 percent in the 2024 elections. This is based on the election results determined by the Indonesian General Elections Commission (KPU) on Wednesday (3/20/2024) which states that the PPP received 5,878,777 votes or 3.87 percent. This number decreased by 0.65 percent compared to the 2019 Election. At that time, PPP pocketed 6,323,147 votes or 4.52 percent, which was converted into 19 DPR RI seats (Farisa, 2024). This event was a double blow for PPP, not qualifying for parliament and also the defeat experienced by their presidential candidates, Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD. This result was the PPP first failure in the last 50 years in legislative contestation (Saputra, 2024).

PPP is a party that is quite old and even very prestigious in the New Order era. The history of PPP began on January 5, 1973. This party is the result of a merger of four religious parties, namely the Nahdlatul Ulama Party (NU), the Islamic Party of Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association (PERTI), the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII) and the Indonesian Muslimin Party (PARMUSI). The merger of the four religious parties aimed to simplify the party system in Indonesia in the face of the first General Election during the New Order era in 1973. Due to its distinctive party logo attached to Islamic religious politics, the PPP is popularly known as the Kaaba Party. The party has a broad base of supporters, especially in Jakarta, East Java, Central Java, and West Java. PPP has a strategy to win elections by prioritizing the issue of Islamic values and fighting for a democratic national life (Selviany, 2024).

Furthermore, relevant topics on the PPP have been addressed by previous studies in the last five years. Research from Al Abza et al., (2019) examines the pattern of relations that occur between Tarekat Cukir and PPP and seeks the background of how these relations can occur. This article concludes that between Tarekat Cukir and PPP there is a pattern of mutually beneficial relations (symbiotic mutualism) from the side of Tarekat, while on the other hand from the political-economic side, the congregation of Tarekat Cukir feels disadvantaged. The dominant reason why Tarekat Cukir supports PPP is because of Santri's dependence on their Mursyid who is a PPP politician. This is reinforced by the historical bond between the two parties and the spiritual bond that connects the Mursyid teacher who is a PPP politician with his Santri. Then, research by Amaliatulwalidain et al., (2022); Sweinstani, (2019) explained the role of women in the development unity party (PPP). The results showed that although the law and party-politics have been very supportive of the position of women in political parties, glass ceilings still occur but this is no longer based on a patriarchal culture but rather constraints on women themselves. It is very clear that women's lack of self-confidence, even a sense of guilt to the family if they are too active in the party, or the placement of structural positions that are not in accordance with their expectations and even limited funds are obstacles currently faced by women to be active in the political world, especially in the management structure of political parties, so that women still cannot enter the political world in full.

Furthermore, research from Ariffin, (2019) explains the history of the conflict of the United Development Party during the New Order era. The PPP is often hit by conflicts, either in the form of individuals or giving birth to factions in internal party conflicts. During the New Order era, conflicts and fragmentation of the PPP elite were due to differences in the opinion of the elites. In addition to internal differences of opinion, conflicts were also caused by the institutionalization of the party which tended to be formal in resolving conflict issues, including when the PPP often found it difficult to resolve internal problems, thus providing opportunities for external parties (the government) to intervene in PPP conflicts. Moreover, research from Dwiki Irnanda & Fuady, (2020); Harun et al., (2023) explains the political communication strategy of the Persatuan Pembangunan Party. Political communication carried out by all political parties is different, among political parties competing with ideas or political styles to attract public sympathizers.

Political parties become a political bridge between the owners of power, namely the people, and the government as the holder of the mandate of power. In addition, its function is also central in a democratic

country (Harjanto, 2011). The important changes experienced by Indonesia in carrying out the democratization process include the emergence of various political parties. In the reform era, after the opening of the freedom to establish political parties, the nuances of the nation's politics were filled with political party activities (Solikhin, 2017). As a modern organizational demand, political parties are required to have democratic and collegial leadership ethics, organizational ethics, and ethics of accountability to the community, all of which are institutionalized in a mutually agreed upon internal party mechanism (Haris, 2016).

The institutionalization of political parties is a process of stabilizing the attitudes and behaviors of political parties that are systematic and patterned in supporting the basic principles of democracy (Imansyah, 2012). The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD) sees institutionalization based on internal democracy, internal integrity, political identity related to party ideology, organizational resilience and campaigning capacity (Romli, 2016). Randall & Svåsand, (2002) theory of political party institutionalization divides the level of political party institutionalization into four dimensions. The first is the dimension of systemness, the second is the dimension of value identity (value infusion), the third is the dimension of a party's autonomy in decision-making (decisional autonomy), and the fourth is the dimension of knowledge or public image (reification).

Then, according to Huntington, (1994), the institutionalization of political parties is an organizing process and procedures to obtain certain values and stability. A political party can be considered well institutionalized when it has been successful in creating and internalizing its organizational values and has achieved internal stability over time. Furthermore, Huntington, (2006) in his book "Political Order In Changing Societies" defines institutionalization (political institutions) as a process by which organizations and procedures acquire standard and stable values. The level of institutionalization of each political system can be determined in terms of the ability to adjust, complexity, autonomy and integration. In addition, institutionalization can be measured by measures of size; first, self-adjustment, second, rigidity, third, complexity, fourth simplicity, fifth, autonomy-subordination, and sixth, unity-division.

Meanwhile, according to Basedau & Stroh, (2008) there are four dimensions of party institutionalization, if described are as follows: First, Roots in society, meaning that this party has stable roots in society. Second, autonomy (independence in making decisions), meaning the freedom of political parties from outside influences in making every decision and party policy. Third, level of organization (organizational tools that always work for the benefit of the party at every level of management), meaning that the management at the top level to the management at the lower level works for the benefit of the party to raise the party and provide victory in the election. Fourth, coherence (the cohesiveness of party members), meaning the cohesiveness of party members in parliament, so that there are no defections from party members and stick to the party policies that have been taken.

Based on the explanation of previous research, the discussion focuses on the role of women in the PPP, the history of PPP conflict, and PPP political communication strategy. However, there is no comprehensive research that explains the institutionalization of the PPP after its election failure. Therefore, this research offers novelty to focus on that point. Thus, the purpose of this study is to analyze PPP failure to qualify for parliament in the 2024 elections using the perspective of political party institutionalization.

## 2. Research Methods

This research uses qualitative methods. The goal of qualitative research is to use the researcher's understanding to explain and interpret life's realities (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). In qualitative research, there are five approaches that are usually used, namely narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, ethnographic, and case study (Creswell, 2016). Of the five approaches, this research uses a case study approach because it is very relevant to the topic taken. By definition, a case study approach is the identification of a particular case or more than one concrete case, which can be an individual, small group, organization, or partnership. It can also be a community, a relationship, a decision process, or a special project. The key is a case that can be bound by certain parameters, such as place and time. Usually, the case studied is current and is a real-life case so that the accuracy of the data can be obtained, not lost due to time (Al-Hamdi et al., 2020). Therefore, the case study in this research is the PPP in the 2024 election.

The data collection technique in this research is a literature study. So, the data sources used in this research come from credible online news such as Kompas.com, cnnindonesia, tempo.co, detiknews.com, liputan6.com and relevant journal articles. The data analysis technique in this research is descriptive. The stages of data analysis carried out are collection and processing, data selection, analysis and verification between variables, as well as interpretation and conclusion drawing (Al-Hamdi et al., 2020). Furthermore, this research uses Basedau & Stroh, (2008) theory of the four dimensions of party institutionalization as a basis for answering the research objectives.

### 3. Result and Discussion

#### Roots in society

Conceptually, this point talks about the party having stable roots in society. The concept of roots in society is a public understanding of the party itself. Therefore, political parties must be able to image themselves to the public, which is oriented towards high public trust in the party. If the public has a good and positive image, it will have an impact on the internal party, for example in terms of constituent support in the periodic democratic party. However, if in the eyes of the public the party has an undesirable image, then the consequence is that the party will be abandoned by the public. In fact, many parties continue to strive to appear as a pro-people party. Imaging efforts made by political parties can be implemented through political processes and natural disaster phenomena. This is expected to increase the popularity of the party (Primadi & Purwaningsih, 2019). The discussion about this can be measured by two points, namely the party's work in society and the party's work in national politics.

The progress of the United Development Party in society in the context of the 2024 elections is quite complicated. Despite the fact that PPP has a high level of popularity and has a loyal mass base. Professor of Islamic Political Thought at the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Madura, Zainudin Syarif, revealed that so far the PPP's pesantren bases have strong roots. For example, Darul Ulum Banyuwangi Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School, Al Anwar Sarang Rembang Islamic Boarding School, Salafiyah Syafiiyah Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic Boarding School, Miftahul Huda Islamic Boarding School, Manonjaya Tasikmalaya, Brani Probolinggo Islamic Boarding School and a number of other Islamic boarding schools (Khoirunnisa, 2024). Meanwhile, Director of Indonesian Political Parameters (PPI) Adi Prayitno also assessed that PPP has experience, and is supported by adequate resources in the 2024 elections. PPP has loyal voters who will not easily move to other parties. This makes PPP's electoral work easier, especially for the 2024 elections. Mohtazul Farid, a socio-political observer at Trunojoyo University Madura (UTM), said that PPP is the only Islamic party and the oldest in Indonesia. No wonder then that PPP has strong voter roots in Indonesia. In addition, PPP has a network of kiai, santri, and pesantren who consistently raise the party bearing the Ka'bah symbol (Khoirunnisa, 2024).

The survey released by Puspoll Indonesia shows that there are 2 characteristics that stand out for PPP, namely the Islamic Party and the ka'bah symbol which reached 50.7%. Furthermore, the identity as an old party, green color and political party reached 14.9%. The combination of these five identities reached 65.6%, which means that party identity is more prominent than figures. Puspoll Indonesia Executive Director Muslimin Tanja said this fact represents the strength of the PPP in its party institution. Therefore, for PPP branding its party identity is prioritized over selling its figures (Khoirunnisa, 2024).

However, it turns out that all these things cannot lead PPP to the Senayan in the 2024 elections. Since PPP was established in 1973, this is the first time they have not been involved in the distribution of DPR seats. As one of the oldest parties and the only Islamic party left from the New Order era, PPP actually had great capital when Indonesia entered Reformasi in 1998, however, since the start of Reformasi, PPP has been unable to "capitalize on Islamic political power" and, instead, has been stuck being a "middle player" said Aisah Putri Budiatri, a researcher at the Political Research Center of the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)(Singgih, 2024).

Later, the arrival of many new parties split the public vote and the PPP lost its mass, including to the PKB, which was "born from the womb of Nahdatul Ulama (NU)" and other nationalist parties. By 2022, the NU claims that the number of its members in Indonesia will reach approximately 150 million. Meanwhile, the results of Denny J.A.'s Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) study in 2023 showed that the majority of voters from NU actually ranked PDI-P as their favorite party, with a percentage of 21.9%. Gerindra is the second favorite party, with 13.6%. PKB is only in third place with 11.6%. "NU voters who did not choose PKB mostly chose nationalist parties, especially PDIP. Well, why not PPP? That's why I think it means that PPP has failed to attract ties with NU people. The party does not function effectively to carry out regeneration, recruitment, plus strengthening ties with its constituents" according to Aisah Putri Budiatri, a researcher at the Political Research Center of the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) (Singgih, 2024)

Furthermore, the PPP is also struggling to win support from young voters, who will dominate the 2024 elections. This is in line with the opinion of political observer Adi Prayitno in a podcast on youtube nalar tv stating that the PPP failed to read the changing demographic profile. PPP's voters are older generations based in rural areas and Islamic boarding schools. In the 2024 elections, the voter profile has changed to show that young people have a large number, which makes the campaign and its approach must be different.

Then, talking about PPP's work in the political sphere in the context of its participation in Indonesia's national elections. According to KPU data, the government held national elections starting in 1955 to elect

members of the House of Representatives and Constituent Assembly. However, PPP only participated in the elections on May 2, 1977. The elections of that period were held to elect members of the House of Representatives. At that time, the PPP received 18,743,491 votes or 29.29 percent. This achievement made the party the second-largest number of majority votes after Golkar. PPP received 99 DPR seats in 1977. In addition to members of the DPR, as many as 32 PPP cadres were appointed members of the MPR. Since then, the PPP has been one of the political parties that dominate Indonesian elections. Its position has only been surpassed by Golkar, which continues to receive the majority of votes from citizens. For the record, Indonesian elections from 1977 to 1998 were only participated in by three parties, namely Golkar, PPP and PDI. However, in the 1999 elections, the number of PPP and Golkar votes was surpassed by PDI-P. At that time, PPP won 58 seats out of a total of 462 seats available. Meanwhile, PDI-P and Golkar received 153 and 120 seats respectively. The number of PPP votes declined further in the 2009 elections. The party only received 38 seats or the equivalent of 5,544,332 votes. The party lagged behind the Democrats (148 seats), Golkar (106 seats), PDI-P (94 seats), PKS (57 seats), and PAN (46 seats) (Puspapertiwi, 2024).

Vote share obtained by the PPP in elections throughout Indonesia's history. 1973 General Election: 14,833,942 votes (27.11 percent) gaining 96 seats. 1977 General Election: 18,722,138 votes (29.29 percent) gaining 99 seats. 1982 General Election: 20,871,880 votes (15.97 percent) gained 61 seats 1987 General Election: 13,701,428 votes (15.97 percent) obtained 61 seats. 1992 General Election: 16,624,647 votes (17.00 percent) obtained 62 seats 1997 General Election: 25,340,028 votes (22.43 percent) gained 89 seats 1999 General Election: 11,329,905 votes (10.71 percent) gained 58 seats. 2004 General Election: 9,248,764 votes (9.15 percent) gained 58 seats. 2009 General Election: 5,533,214 votes (5.32 percent) gained 38 seats 2014 Election: 8,157,488 votes (6.53 percent) obtained 39 seats 2019 Election: 6,323,147 votes (4.52 percent) obtained 19 seats 2024 Election: 5,878,777 votes (3.87 percent). Based on the long election data, it shows that PPP's votes in each election have decreased significantly since 1997 (Puspapertiwi, 2024).

In the 2024 elections, the Party bearing the symbol of the Ka'bah was considered a wrong step in supporting Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud Md in the 2024 presidential election. Political observer from the National Education University (Undiknas), I Nyoman Subanda, revealed the reason why PPP could not break the 4 percent parliamentary threshold. Subanda said that PPP took the wrong step in supporting Ganjar-Mahfud. According to Subanda, PPP is an Islamic party with a traditional Islamic mass base. By supporting Ganjar-Mahfud and entering into a coalition with PDIP - a nationalist party - PPP lost its constituency. In fact, PPP supporters are deeply rooted (Detiknews.com, 2024).

Likewise, the Coordinator of Kawal Pemilu dan Demokrasi (KPD), Miftahul Arifin, explained the PPP's failure in the 2024 elections. According to him, the coalition with PDIP had no electoral impact on PPP. Miftah cited data from the findings of the Denny JA Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) which stated that around 43.7 percent of PPP voters made their choice for Prabowo-Gibran. The remaining 36 percent chose Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar and only 15.1 percent chose the Ganjar-Mahfud pair. Miftah assesses that the PPP in coalition with PDIP is not in line with the PPP voter base, this can be seen from the pockets of votes that usually gain seats. Miftah continued, the difference in party and candidate ideology is also one of the reasons why PPP failed to make it to Senayan. The Ganjar-Mahfud pair is more identified with nationalists, while PPP is more identified with Islamic voters (Wakik, 2024).

This data is reinforced by a statement from the Acting Chairman of the PPP Bali Regional Leadership Council (DPW) Idy Muzayyad admitting that his party did not benefit from the coattail effect of supporting Ganjar-Mahfud. The party's votes were even eroded. He saw several parties that supported other presidential candidates getting a positive coattail effect. The Chairman of the PPP DPP for the Organization, Cadre and Membership (OKK) Region III, said that this would be part of the evaluation in future elections (Detiknews.com, 2024). Likewise, what was conveyed by the Executive Director of Trias Politika Strategis, Agung Baskoro, stated that one of the factors that allegedly caused the PPP to be thrown out of parliament according to the results of the 2024 general election (Election) was due to elite policies not in line with the will of cadres and sympathizers at the grassroots level. "Electorally, the PPP negates the aspirations of the grass roots who prefer to support Anies or Prabowo,". However, the elites at the PPP Central Leadership Council (DPP) decided to support the presidential-vice presidential candidate pair number 3 Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD, which actually had a negative impact on the party's vote in the legislative elections (Saptohutomo, 2024a).

Based on the discussion of the PPP work in the realm of society and politics in the context of its failure in the 2024 elections, there are two determining factors. These two things are the party elites' poor psychological reading of their voter base to move politically in determining the candidates to be promoted and choosing their coalition partners. Furthermore, it is also related to the slowness in understanding the importance of this party in carrying out the transformation of internal changes that have an impact on the insignificant

development of its social mass base. This is why loyal voters in the NU base already have many other choices, while PPP is not working on a new niche, namely young voters who are dominating in the 2024 elections. Millennials are a group that is difficult to dictate in terms of political choices, millennials are rational voters and like smart figures too. In the 2024 elections, there is a demographic bonus of almost 60 percent of educated, literate, and millennials whose voting preferences are different from the older generation.

Even though in the era of Romahurmuzy's leadership ahead of the 2019 elections, calls to work on young voters (millennials) had been made. Romahurmuzyi appealed to all cadres to carry out campaigns according to the tastes and needs of millennials, for example by holding try outs, band festivals and similar events. In addition, cadres and legislative candidates are also active in the social media universe, such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube. The appeal departs from the reality that in the era of contemporary politics social media is very effective in campaign activities (Adamczewska, 2023). This is reinforced by the findings Kruschinski & Bene, (2022) that with the presence of social media, the ones who use it the most are millennials to make friends or communicate with other people who cross national boundaries. This is also reinforced by the findings Pardo, (2013) that millennials are more dominant in utilizing social media in communicating virtually and sharing information. However, it turns out that this has not been maximized by the PPP in order to face the 2024 elections.

### Autonomy

Autonomy or can be called independence in making decisions. This means the freedom of political parties from outside influence in making every decision and party policy (Basedau & Stroh, 2008). So, in the context of this discussion, it relates to the independence of PPP in making policies related to the 2024 elections. Politically, there are two important policies taken by PPP in order to face the 2024 elections, namely the first decision to form a coalition with PDIP to carry presidential candidate Ganjar Pranowo and Vice President Mahfud MD and the second to naturalize Sandiaga Uno from Gerindra party to become a PPP cadre. Actually, these two big decisions have a strong correlation with each other.

The first is related to the decision to enter a coalition with PDIP, Perindo and Hanura to support Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD in the 2024 elections. PPP decided to support presidential candidate Ganjar Pranowo, based on the results of the 5th National Leadership Meeting (Rapimnas) of the party bearing the Kakbah symbol (Detiknews.com, 2023) The leaders of the three assemblies of the United Development Party (PPP), namely the Honorary Assembly, Advisory Assembly, and Sharia Assembly, also fully support the political steps of the central leadership council (DPP) regarding the 2024 election results. "PPP, in accordance with the bylaws in making decisions, certainly adheres to party mechanisms, one of which considers the views of all assemblies," said Acting Spokesperson PPP Chairman Imam Priyono (Fauzi, 2024).

Mardiono as Acting Chairman explained the reason why PPP supports Ganjar as a 2024 presidential candidate. "PPP wants to continue political support for Ganjar Pranowo in the presidential candidacy, to continue the leadership relay,". Furthermore, similar support was given by PPP during the 2018 Central Java elections. PPP delivered Ganjar to become Governor of Central Java side by side with PPP cadres. Mardiono explained that PPP wants to leave the politics of amar makruf nahi mungkar to be implemented in the political order of government in the future through religious politics. "PPP is as sure as it can be with the culture of coming from NU, he has almost the same vision as PPP". Finally, Mardiono said that Ganjar was also chosen based on surveys conducted so far and according to PPP Ganjar shows high electability (Rinepta, 2023).

Interestingly, the decision to propose Ganjar as a Presidential candidate by PPP also had a hand in President Joko Widodo's direction. This was conveyed by the Chairman of the Advisory Council of the DPP PPP Romahurmuzyi, who alluded to Joko Widodo's direction regarding presidential and vice presidential candidates. Romahurmuzyi in the Info A1 podcast on the kumparan youtube channel stated that indeed President Joko Widodo asked PPP through Mardiono to carry Ganjar Pranowo in the 2024 election. Even specifically, the direction from Joko Widodo was to pair Ganjar Pranowo, who was a PDIP cadre, with Sandiaga Uno, who at that time was approaching PPP. "This is part of the direction from Mr. Jokowi, to make the figures of the pair all the presidents man. And, from the beginning I said that the most likely thing could be Ganjar Sandi versus Prabowo-Erick," said Rommy (Triyoga, 2023). In fact, this is also reinforced by a statement from Acting Mardiono who claimed to have received a thank you from President Jokowi for the decision to support Ganjar Pranowo as a presidential candidate. Mardiono said Jokowi appreciated PPP's move to carry out the political process without triggering uproar. Jokowi, he said, considered PPP's steps to have a big impact on the journey of the Indonesian nation (CNNIndonesia.com, 2023a).

Then, the second story concerns Sandiaga Uno's decision to join the PPP cadre ahead of the 2024 elections. Sandiaga was a former vice presidential candidate in 2019, when he was paired with Prabowo Subianto. Wearing Gerindra Party clothes and having turned 'blue' during the 2019 presidential election,

Sandiaga had to admit the superiority of his competitor, the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin pair. After the 2019 presidential election, Sandiaga was still wearing the Gerindra uniform until he officially left the party bearing the Garuda head symbol (Safitri, 2023).

After no longer being a Gerindra cadre, Sandiaga joined PPP. Sandi was officially confirmed as a PPP cadre and received a membership card (KTA) and PPP jacket. Sandiaga's inauguration as a PPP cadre was carried out at the PPP Central Leadership Council (DPP), Jalan Diponegoro, Central Jakarta. The KTA and jacket were given directly by Acting PPP Chairman Mardiono accompanied by a number of high-ranking PPP party officials. Sandiaga has now been given the position of Chairman of the PPP Election Winning Body (Bappilu). Chairman of the United Development Party (PPP) DPP, Achmad Baidowi, said Sandiaga's joining was one of the ammunition for the party bearing the Kaaba symbol to welcome the 2024 elections (Dirgantara, 2023).

Sandiaga Uno's reason for joining PPP is also closely related to the 2024 Presidential Election or Presidential Election. This is reinforced by a statement from Miftah Sabri, a sympathizer of Sandiaga Uno, who stated that Sandiaga was thinking about the optimum period in his life. Sandiaga wants to make efforts in this election. Sandiaga has the opportunity to become a presidential candidate even though so far he has always been seen as just a vice presidential candidate. Sabri said that Sandiaga is a politician who carries out political retail in all regions in Indonesia. He hopes that by joining PPP the opportunity for Sandiaga to become a presidential candidate will open (Luxiana, 2023). As time went by, PPP then nominated Sandiaga as Ganjar's vice presidential candidate. The decision to nominate Ganjar Pranowo as presidential candidate and fight for Sandiaga Uno to become vice presidential candidate was a decision made through internal party procedures which were followed by the entire party structure as regulated in the PPP's articles of association/bylaws (AD/ART). PPP Secretary General Arwani Thomafi emphasized that Pl Ketum Mardiono was intensely engaging in political communication with PDI Perjuangan General Chair Megawati Soekarnoputri PDI Perjuangan Secretary General Hasto Kristiyanto (Rahayu, 2023).

However, in the end it was not Sandiaga Uno who was chosen by PDIP Chairperson Megawati Soekarnoputri and other party leaders supporting Ganjar. In fact, the person chosen as Ganjar's vice presidential candidate was Mahfud Md. This announcement was made directly by Megawati at the PDIP DPP Office, Jalan Diponegoro, Central Jakarta, Wednesday (18/10/2023). Megawati was accompanied by the general chairs of the pro-Ganjar coalition parties, namely the Acting General Chair of the PPP Mardiono, the General Chair of the Perindo party Hary Tanoesoedibjo, the General Chair of the Hanura party Oesman Sapta Odang (OSO) (Dedy Priatmojo, 2023).

Based on this discussion, it can be understood that in the context of the PPP's decision to navigate the 2024 elections there are two sides. The first aspect of the nomination of presidential candidate Ganjar Pranowo is normatively taken based on the National Rapimnas decision in accordance with the party's AD/ART. However, it turns out there is a political side which reveals that the decision to nominate Ganjar Pranowo was influenced in the form of directives by President Joko Widodo. At this point it can be said that independence in decision making is still colored by the interests of a handful of internal and external elites. Intervention and interference by elite interests in decision making means parties are not independent in decision making. Therefore, autonomy in making decisions to nominate candidates for the 2024 election is not fully owned by the PPP. Likewise, in the context of Sandiaga Uno's entry into the PPP cadre, the main reason was so that he could be appointed as vice president together with Ganjar Pranowo. This scenario also turns out to be President Joko Widodo's desire to ensure that those who fight in the 2024 election are people close to him.

### **Level of organization**

Level of organization or what can be called an organizational tool that always works in the interests of the party at every level of management. What this means is that management at the top level and management at the lower level work for the interests of the party to grow the party and provide victory in elections (Basedau & Stroh, 2008). In the context of the discussion regarding this case, it is related to the dynamics of PPP management ahead of the 2024 elections. The Executive Director of the Indonesia Political Review (IPR), Ujang Komarudin, said that the most crucial factor that caused the failure of the United Development Party (PPP) to obtain a seat in the DPR RI for the first time was namely often hit by internal conflicts which have an impact on the PPP being abandoned by its voters (Raharjo, 2024).

This is also in line with what was conveyed by the Director of Trias Politika Strategis Agung Baskoro who stated that one of the factors that caused the United Development Party (PPP) to be thrown out of the House of Representatives (DPR) in the 2024 general election was an internal conflict that was not resolved properly. Good. "Institutionally, the PPP has been hit by internal conflicts back and forth, even for a long time, causing the image of the party bearing the Kaaba symbol to continue to be degraded," (Saptohotomo, 2024b).

In the last ten years, PPP has experienced internal management conflicts at least twice. The first case of internal conflict between the Suryadharma Ali camp and Djan Fariz and the Romahurmuzy camp coincided with the corruption case uncovered by the Corruption Eradication Commission which ensnared Suryadharma Ali when he was still the leader of the PPP. The PPP conflict during the leadership of General Chairman Suryadharma Ali (SDA) occurred since 2014. According to explanations from a number of PPP internal groups, the root of the problem occurred when SDA and Chairman of the PPP Central Leadership Council Djan Faridz attended the Gerindra Party campaign on March 23 2014. According to PPP politician Qoyum Abdul West Java, turmoil within the PPP at that time began to occur since the National Working Conference in Lirboyo, East Java. At that time, PPP began to map out who the candidates would be in the 2014 presidential election. According to Qoyum, at that time there were a number of names of figures who were deemed worthy of being nominated as presidential candidates. However, he said, in the National Mukernas, SDA stated that it wanted to run in the 2014 presidential election. After some time, finally the names of presidential candidates deemed worthy of being supported by the PPP narrowed down. The choice is between Prabowo Subianto or Joko Widodo (Saptohutomo, 2022).

However, SDA and Djan Faridz suddenly appeared at Prabowo's campaign and expressed their support. SDA's attitude then drew protests from 27 representatives of the PPP Regional Leadership Council (DPW). At that time PPP was split into 2 camps, namely SDA which was supported by Djan Faridz, and PPP Secretary General M. Romahurmuzy and PPP Deputy Chairman Emron Pangkapi. On May 23 2014, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) named SDA as a suspect in the Hajj fund corruption case. SDA, who at that time served as Minister of Religion, submitted a letter of resignation to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on May 28 2014. According to Qoyum, the designation of SDA as a suspect made PPP cadres uneasy. Because according to Qoyum, SDA should resign for the good name of the party. "This did not happen according to the national leadership meeting," he said. SDA was then detained and found guilty by the court. The two camps each held a conference. The PPP Congress in Jakarta appointed Djan Faridz as general chairman (Saptohutomo, 2022).

Meanwhile, Romahurmuzy's camp held a conference in Surabaya. He was then appointed as Chairman of the PPP in the congress by acclamation. This gave birth to the Surabaya Congress which unanimously elected Romahurmuzy as General Chair of the PPP. "The umktamar in Surabaya was attended by 72 percent. So de facto and de jure, we complied," he said. The two camps also fired each other's management. On the other hand, Suharso, who was previously in the SDA camp, decided to move to support Romahurmuzy. Djan Faridz also filed lawsuits against the Romahurmuzy camp, 4 cases each at the Constitutional Court, 2 cases at the Central Jakarta District Court, and 6 cases at the Jakarta State Administrative Court. However, none of Djan Faridz's claims were accepted. On the other hand, the Supreme Court decided to reject the Judicial Review (PK) proposed by the Djan Faridz camp, and continued to recognize the management of the PPP DPP resulting from the VII Bandung Congress with the General Chair of SDA and Secretary General Romahurmuzy (Saptohutomo, 2022).

The second case of split occurred after Suharso Monoarfa was dismissed from the position of General Chair of the PPP based on the decision of the PPP National Mukernas in Banten, and Muhammad Mardiono was decided as Acting General Chair of the PPP. The process of dismissing Suharso was carried out after the High Council received three letters requesting Suharso to resign. The third letter was sent on August 30. They then asked for a legal opinion from the Party Court in accordance with the PPP AD/ART, and asked the PPP DPP Daily Management (PH) to immediately hold a meeting to elect and appoint the Acting General Chairperson (Plt) to fill the vacancy. The PPP DPP Daily Management Meeting then appointed Muhammad Mardiono as Acting PPP General Chair replacing Suharso. However, Suharso and people who were said to be 'Suharso loyalists' rejected the reasons for his dismissal at Mukernas. Starting from stagnant party electability, internal ripples, to requests to focus on the cabinet as a minister. Suharso emphasized that PPP does not want any more conflict like what happened in the last election which eroded the party's votes. He invited cadres to unite to face the 2024 elections (Saptohutomo, 2022).

Executive Director of the Institute for Democracy & Strategic Affairs (Indostrategic), Ahmad Khoirul Umam, said that Suharso's dismissal could be interpreted as a fall in Suharso's political legitimacy within the party, as well as showing the emergence of two factions within the Kaaba Party. If this internal conflict continues to become a legal dispute at the PTUN and Supreme Court levels, the impact will not only weaken the solidity of the party's political roots, but also have the potential to affect the validity of the political party verification data that was just registered with the KPU last August. If the mitigation process is not carried out immediately, the weakening of the PPP's political cells threatens to suboptimal party political machinery. Khoirul Umam reminded that PPP was one of the senior political parties whose electability declined in the 2019 elections, because the attitude of the PPP elite was divided between the desires of the grassroots masses



(Kumparan.com, 2024). Likewise, what was conveyed by a Political Observer from Al Azhar University Indonesia (UAI), Ujang Komarudin, assessed that Suharso's dismissal could have an impact on consolidation ahead of the 2024 Election. Because, PPP had the trauma of experiencing a split and its voice was eroded in the 2019 Election (Kumparan.com, 2024).

Based on this discussion, it is clear that in terms of the strength of its management structure, PPP is experiencing very serious problems and has been going on for quite a long time even before the 2024 elections. This has an impact on the party management's lack of focus in consolidating their power and campaigning for their ideas to the public. The PPP management is still not finished with its own domestic affairs which are vulnerable to internal conflict. more than that, the bad impression is related to the PPP's frequent internal conflicts reaching the community. This made the PPP's image in society very bad. It is at this point that voters have no interest in voting for PPP in the 2024 elections.

### Coherence

Coherence can be interpreted as the unity of party members. What this means is the unity of party members in carrying out policies or leadership decisions, so that defections do not occur and they remain firm in adhering to the party policies that have been taken (Basedau & Stroh, 2008). In this context, it is related to the consolidation carried out by the PPP leadership with all elements within the party to follow the policy results from the national leadership meeting regarding nominating presidential and vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election. However, it turns out that this is a PPP problem, Director of Trias Politika Strategies Agung Baskoro stated that "Personally, General Chairman Mardiono's leadership has not optimally embraced and consolidated all existing cadres and political resources" (Saptohutomo, 2024c).

This is reinforced by the fact that several cadres up to high-ranking PPP DPP officials also support candidate pair number 1 Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) and candidate pair number 2 Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Senior PPP politician Habil Marati has been one of the Kaaba party figures who has supported Anies since the beginning of this year. He once served as General Treasurer of the PPP DPP during the era of general chairman Suryadharma Ali. Habil then formed the Kaaba Building Forum volunteers to support Anies. In fact, he and the volunteer group Go-Anies and Amanat Indonesia (ANIES) formed a Joint Secretariat with the name KIB alias Kuning, Ijo, Biru (CNNIndonesia.com, 2023b).

There are also elements calling themselves "PPP fighters" who declare their support for Prabowo-Gibran. PPP figures who attended the declaration included Deputy Secretary of the PPP DPP Advisory Council Hj. Hizbiyah Rochim, Deputy Chair of the Advisory Council Witjaksono to PPP cadre Raden Agung Zainal Abidin. Hizbiyah Rochim in his speech at the declaration event asked to work hard to win Prabowo-Gibran in the presidential election (CNNIndonesia.com, 2023b). Former Deputy Chair of the PPP Advisory Council, Witjaksono, explained why he and hundreds of PPP sympathizers declared support for Prabowo-Gibran at the Ambhara Hotel, Kebayoran Baru, South Jakarta, last Thursday. Witjaksono said that his party's move to support the Ganjar-Mahfud pair had no electoral effect on the party. Not only that, the vote for the party bearing the Kaaba symbol is said to be eroding and is in danger of not passing to Senayan. Witjaksono referred to a number of analyzes of the tendencies of PPP cadres and sympathizers in the field. The results of the analysis concluded that the majority of PPP cadres or sympathizers wanted Prabowo-Gibran (Amirullah, 2024).

Previously, Witjaksono admitted to communicating intensely with the Chair of the Prabowo-Gibran National Campaign Team (TKN) Rosan Roeslani before dropping his support for the presidential and vice presidential candidate pair number 2. Their communication continued until Witjaksono and hundreds of PPP sympathizers declared their support. During the declaration, Witjaksono claimed that 300 PPP cadres and sympathizers were in the same carriage as supporting Prabowo-Gibran. Of the 300 cadres, 30 people are registered as legislative candidates in the 2024 elections, and 17 are PPP leaders from central to regional levels. That carriage was what Witjaksono named PPP Fighter (Amirullah, 2024).

Then, one of the former PPP cadres, Joko Purwanto, also declared his support for the presidential and vice presidential candidate pair number 2, Prabowo-Gibran. He once served as General Chair of the Kaaba Youth Force (AMK), a wing organization of the PPP. Joko and his friends, former PPP cadres, are members of the PPP Supporting Prabowo-Gibran Forum. Joko declared a PPP Forum Supporting Prabowo-Gibran in Central Jakarta. As chairman, Joko said that the declaration was only a form of confirmation of support, because in fact the group he leads has supported Prabowo since the 2009 presidential election. According to Joko, PPP should also support Prabowo-Gibran. Because, Prabowo-Gibran is in line with the PPP's political position, namely a moderate conservative Islamic party (Yulianto, 2023).

Seeing this condition, the PPP Central Leadership Council (DPP) threatened to fire cadres who did not agree to support presidential candidate and vice presidential candidate number 3 Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD in the 2024 presidential election. This statement was conveyed by the Chairman of the PPP DPP, Achmad

Baidowi alias Awiek, when responding to a declaration of support from a number of PPP cadres from various regions in East Java for candidate pair number 2, Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming (CNNIndonesia.com, 2023c). Furthermore, the Chair of the PPP DPP for Youth and Students, M. Thobahul Affoni emphasized that the United Development Party (PPP) remains steadfast in supporting the Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates, Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud Md. Meanwhile, party elements who support other presidential candidates are considered smugglers. Aftoni said that PPP remained consistent in its decision to support the presidential election for Ganjar-Mahfud which had been decided collectively collegially through the VIII PPP National Leadership Meeting (Rapimnas) which was attended by the DPP and all PPP Regional Leaders throughout Indonesia and must be obeyed by all cadres. He explained that if there are parties in the name of PPP supporting other candidate pairs, then these cadres are contraband who do not understand the AD/ART and organizational regulations (Adhitiawarman, 2024).

Differences in support from PPP cadres for the presidential and vice presidential candidates also occurred in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections. The PPP in the Jakarta Congress, led by Humprey Jemat, had declared that it supported the pair Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno ahead of the 2019 presidential election. This decision was taken through a national working deliberation or Mukernas III at the Gallery Building, Jalan Talang Number 3 Menteng, Central Jakarta on 15-16 November 2018. . The direction of support taken by the Jakarta Congress PPP camp is different from the choice of the PPP chaired by Romahurmuziy at that time to support the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair in the 2019 presidential election. The management recognized by the KPU, based on the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights No. M.HH-06.AH.11.01 of 2016 is PPP management with General Chair Romahurmuziy and Secretary General Arsul Sani (CNNIndonesia.com, 2023b).

A similar thing also happened in the 2014 presidential election. The PPP, which was initially led by Suryadharma Ali, joined the Red and White Coalition supporting Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa. At that time, PPP together with four other parties supported the Prabowo-Hatta pair. However, the PPP's political stance split after Suryadharma Ali became a suspect in a corruption case and leadership dualism occurred. PPP led by Romahurmuziy supports the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla pair. Meanwhile, PPP Djan Faridz remains in Prabowo's ranks (CNNIndonesia.com, 2023b).

Based on the discussion data, it shows clearly and clearly that within the PPP internally, both leadership, cadres and sympathizers do not have solidarity in following party policy to support the candidate pair Ganjar Pranowo and Gibran Rakabuming Raka. This has a very direct negative impact on the PPP's vote acquisition in the 2024 elections. In fact, solidity is an important part of political parties as part of joint efforts and endeavors to achieve goals, whether in electoral contestation or otherwise. In line with this Trianggorowati & Al-Hamdi, (2020) explained that cadre loyalty and party sympathizers are two significant influences in determining party vote acquisition. This is none other than because both of them play an important role in winning the democratic contestation. Meanwhile, Noor, (2012) explained that the relationship between party institutionalization and the cohesiveness of political parties, particularly Islamic political parties, the more parties that are institutionalized in decision-making, the more likely it is that the parties will remain cohesive. He also demonstrated how the foundations of party cohesion include dedication to party principles, the efficiency of internal dispute resolution procedures, and organized cadre formation programs.

This problem actually stems from the very weak consolidation carried out by the PPP leadership. Plt Mardiono and his management do not appear to have the capacity to consolidate the party internally to solidly follow the policies that have been taken by the political party. Research from Wessels & Klingemann, (2006) states that consolidation is intended as an effort by actors and supporters to strengthen and strengthen party institutions in the midst of political competition in the form of general elections (elections). Each political party has a different strategy to obtain high votes in elections. Political parties generally carry out institutional consolidation as part of their strategy to win the elections they will face. There are two aspects to this type of institutional consolidation of political parties: internal and external. Structural and political (ideological) agenda consolidation are included in the internal dimension, whilst vertical and horizontal consolidation are included in the external dimension (Noor, 2012).

#### 4. Conclusion

The conclusion in this research explains that the PPP failure to qualify for parliament in the 2024 election is dominantly due to its very poor institutionalization. In terms of the root of society indicator, PPP failed in two respects, namely the party elites' poor ability to read the psychology of their voter base to move politically in determining the candidates they would nominate and choosing their coalition partners. Furthermore, it is also related to the slowness in understanding the importance of this party in carrying out internal transformational changes which have the impact of not developing significantly in its social mass base.

Then, the autonomy indicator explains that PPP does not have complete autonomy in making decisions regarding nominating candidates for the 2024 election, whether in supporting Ganjar Pranowo or including Sandiaga Uno as a cadre and nominating him as a vice presidential candidate. Furthermore, on the Level of Organization indicator, PPP also experienced a very acute and prolonged management conflict problem. This made the PPP's image in society very bad. Finally, the coherence indicator shows that PPP is weak in consolidating cadres and sympathizers, which has an impact on solidarity in following the decisions taken by the party for the 2024 elections. Furthermore, the implications of this research explain that political parties that do not organize their institutionalization system properly will have difficulties in participating in political contestation.

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