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Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan

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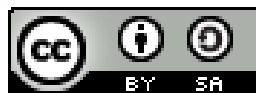
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Party change and electoral performance: assessing the impact of intraparty conflict on the Democrat and Hanura parties

Ridho Al-Hamdi^{1*)}, Krisma Trianisa², Lenny Kurniasari³, Tanto Lailam⁴, Neni Nur Hayati⁵, Ramli Mahmud⁶

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Abstract

This article examines the determining factors inducing the decreasing votes of two renowned political parties in Indonesia: The Democrat Party (PD) and the People Conscience Party (Hanura). As the ruling party in the 2009 election, the PD's votes declined dramatically in the two following elections. Meanwhile, Hanura failed to exceed the parliamentary threshold in 2019. Methodologically, it is qualitative research by utilizing a comparative case approach. To gather data, this study employed in-depth interviews and documentary analysis and strengthened by NVivo 12plus platform by using Crosstab Query and Wordcloud Analysis to visualize data. By applying the party change indicators developed by Harmel and Janda, the findings revealed that leadership change was the most influential factor toward the poor performance of both parties in the electoral competition. Such leadership change caused a detrimental conflict and changed a dominant faction inside the party. More specifically, the corruption case behaved by the PD's politicians aggravated the party charm, and the parliamentary threshold was a supporting aspect of the thrown out of Hanura from the parliament.

Keywords: *political parties, party change, internal conflict, leadership change*

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Introduction

A global trend denotes a weak institutionalization of political parties in numerous third-wave democracies such as in Eastern Europe (Mainwaring & Maxwell, 1999), Latin America (Carter, 2018; Levitsky et al., 2016), and Southeast Asia (Hicken & Kuhonta, 2014). Most Indonesian political parties have also suffered from this trend (Choi, 2010; Hamayotsu, 2011). Although the party system in Indonesia is more institutionalized than other parties in Southern America, other Asian countries, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe (Croissant & Völkel, 2012; Hamayotsu, 2011; Mietzner, 2013), Indonesia's recent parties seem to be weaker gradually over time. More importantly, driving factors influencing weak institutionalization should be investigated. This paper examines the intraparty conflict stressing this weakly institutionalized party system in Indonesia, which, in turn, affects the poor performance in the electoral contest.

In post-New Order Indonesia 1998, some influential political parties suffered an internal conflict. Among them are the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle or PDIP (Priyowidodo et al., 2014), the National Awakening Party or PKB (Noor & Firman, 2012),

the Prosperous Justice Party or PKS (Akmar, 2019; Al-Hamdi & Anawati, 2021; Noor & Firman, 2012; Nurdin et al., 2019), the United Development Party or PPP (Nurdin et al., 2019), and other Muslim-based parties (Yunanto & Hamid, 2013). Such a flush affects parties' poor performance in the electoral competition. The PKB's votes decreased dramatically from 12.61% in 1999 to 4.94% in 2009. The PPP's votes declined gradually in five election cycles from 10.71% in 1999 to 4.52% in 2019. Although the PKS' votes increased continuously from 1999 to 2009, they fell slightly from 7.88% in 2009 to 6.79% in 2014 due to such a conflict.

Two other political parties suffered vote erosion in the last Indonesian election due to an intraparty conflict. They were the Democrat Party (PD) and the People Conscience (Hanura) Party. Figure 1 demonstrates that the PD's votes dropped drastically from 20.85% in 2009 to 10.19% in 2014 and 7.77% in 2019. In the meantime, Hanura's votes fell from 5.26% in 2014 to 1.54% in 2019. It even failed to surpass the parliamentary threshold of 4% in 2019, causing it to be thrown out from the House of Representatives.

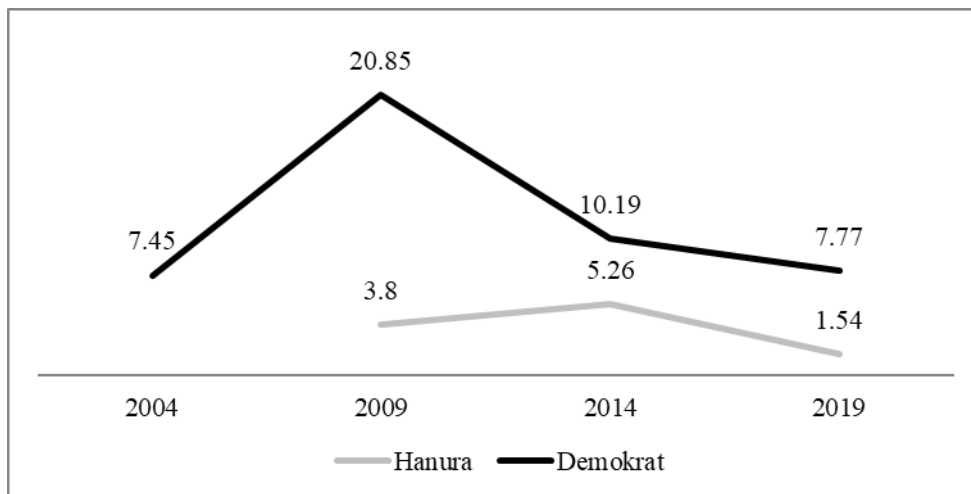


Figure 1. The electoral performance of the PD and Hanura in Indonesian elections

Source : Compiled by the authors

This situation is reinforced by another growing trend, i.e., presidentialized parties, mainly since the 2004 direct presidential election (Ufen, 2018). It can be seen with charismatic solid figures inside numerous political parties, such as Megawati Sukarnoputri in the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Prabowo Subianto in the Great Indonesian Movement Party (Gerindra), Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono or SBY in the Democrat Party (PD), and Surya Paloh in the National-Democrat Party (Nasdem). Thus, Honna (2012) Argued that the PD needs to be more institutionalized due to a weak leadership consolidation and little progress in improving identity and appeal separated from SBY. Nevertheless, Poguntke & Webb (2005) It is postulated that the presidentialized party is also a global tendency due to the growing ability of party leaders to avoid party mechanisms and appeal to voters directly. The result is the appearance of dictatorial leaders.

Many scholars around the globe have researched the issue of intraparty conflict. This paper utilizes the VOSViewer platform to review such topics in the Scopus database. The platform combines red, green, and blue (RGB) to determine the density level of the problem under study. The redder the color, the more research was carried out on the problem. Conversely, the greener the color, the less research was conducted.

identify the creation of such a multi-party system, Geertz's (1960) findings are relevant to be presented here, where he discerned three kinds of Indonesian social classes: *abangan* (a nominal Muslim society), *santri* (a devout Muslim group), and *priyayi* (an aristocrat cluster). In contemporary Indonesian life, *abangan* and *santri* still exist, while *priyayi* is disappearing gradually due to the socio-cultural transformation of society.

Studies on the party system in Indonesia's post-New Order 1998 somehow are influenced by Geertz (1960) Framework. It can be proven by Ufen's (2010) classification of two main groups: (1) secular parties (PDIP, Golkar, PD) and (2) Islamic parties, which can be grouped into several clusters, namely moderate Islamic parties (PKB, PAN), the Islamist party with modernist and traditionalist features (PPP), and modernist Islamist parties (PKS, PBB). In the same vein, Mietzner (2013) Separated them into two opposing spectrums: secular (PDIP) and Islamic (PKS, PPP), where there are parties that position themselves in the middle spectrum (PKB, PAN). Meanwhile, Al-Hamdi (2017) I cataloged them into the nationalist-secular party, the nationalist-Muslim party, and the nationalist-Islamist party.

Research Method

This study belongs to qualitative research. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) by applying a comparative case approach to investigate more than one case through in-depth data collection (Creswell, 2013; Flyvbjerg, 2011) For a particular objective: determining factors of parties' declining votes in the electoral contest. This study employed documentary and in-depth interviews to collect data. (Creswell, 2013). The documentary was conducted from credible online news channels, social networking sites, and other appropriate sources. Meanwhile, in-depth interviews were conducted with the PD and Hanura politicians from January to February 2021. After data were gathered, the last step was analysis divided into fourfold steps: reducing data, displaying data by applying the *Nvivo 12 Plus* platform, and, in turn, it employs *Crosstab Query* and *Wordcloud Analysis* to visualize and result data, drawing and verifying, and concluding results (Creswell, 2013).

Results and Discussion

This paper applied Harmel and Janda's stimuli to assess the intraparty conflict of the PD and Hanura. As a political institution, political parties experience internal dynamics over time called "party change." Harmel & Janda (1994) Conceptualized the party change as any alteration or modification in how parties are organized, what human and material resources they can draw upon, what they stand for, and what they do. Hence, applying Harmel & Janda (1994) Framework: This study proposes a twofold stimulus that determines a change inside the party.

1. Internal stimuli. The shift in party functionaries may be part of the leading indicator to change, where the new leadership accomplishes changes that have already been decided upon. In addition to that, all political parties have identifiable factions within them. Several parties can be classified as groups of rival factions. Nonetheless, although the leadership alterations can occur without factional displacements, conversely, the factional displacement cannot occur without leadership change. In brief, factional displacement is an upshot of leadership change. Thus, the internal stimuli comprise two indicators: leadership change and change in dominant factions (Harmel & Janda, 1994). Thus, Internal stimuli consist of leadership change and change in a dominant faction.
2. External stimuli. It consists of an external shock that immediately correlates to performance considerations on the party goal and causes the party's decision-

makers to fundamentally re-evaluate its effectiveness on that goal dimension. It embraces a range of social, economic, and political factors in environmental changes outside the party, such as the party actors' engagement in the corruption case, coalition strategies, regulation reforms mainly related to parliamentary thresholds, and provisions for public funding (Harmel & Janda, 1994). Such stimuli are scrutinized in this study to further investigate the intraparty conflict between PD and Hanura. Therefore, external stimuli encompass four indicators: the corruption deed behaved by politicians, a coalition form, regulation reforms, and party financing.

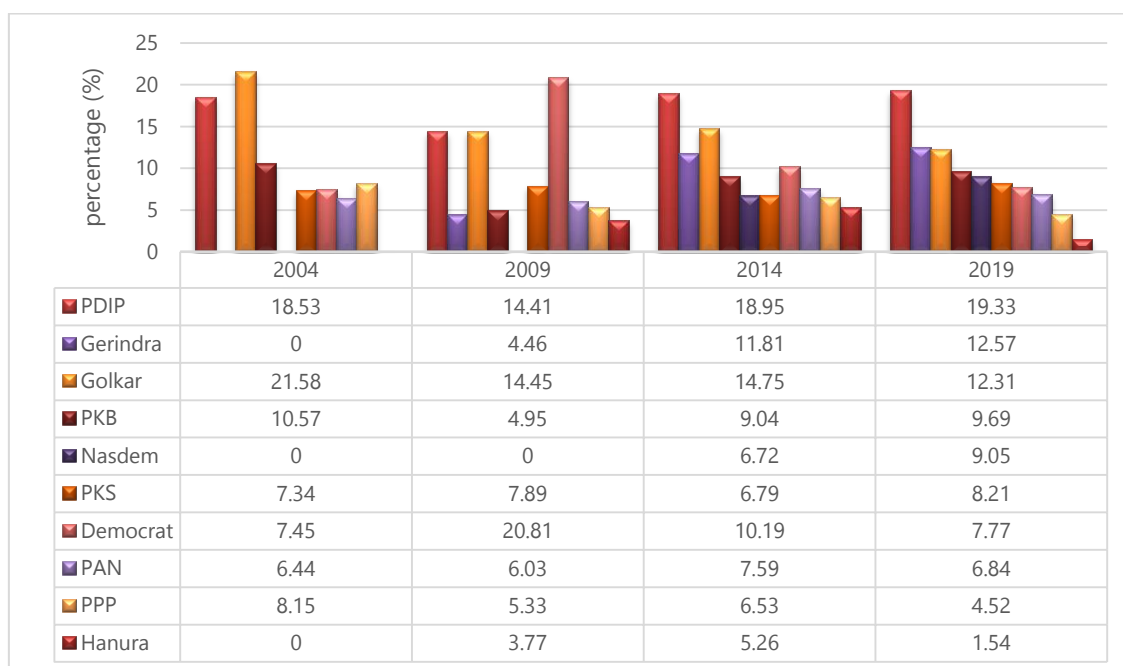


Figure 3. Indonesian Election Results, 2004-2019

Source : compiled by the authors

Figure 3 shows that the ruling parties in the 2004 and 2009 elections were the Golkar Party and the Demokrat Party (PD), respectively. In the meantime, PDIP was the ruling party in two later elections, 2014 and 2019. The PD began to join the election from 2004 to the present, while the Hanura Party commenced from 2009 to present. Although the PD reached the top position in the 2009 election, it suffered a declining vote drastically in the 2014 and 2019 elections, respectively. Meanwhile, although Hanura reached the parliamentary seat in the 2009 and 2014 elections, it was thrown from the House of Representatives due to its failure to surpass the parliamentary threshold.

Democrat Party: Declining votes and the fading of the ruling party

As one of the new parties in the 2004 election, the PD successfully nominated its cadre, SBY, as the elected president and positioned it as one of the big five parties across the country. The 2009 election strengthened its position as the ruling party, and SBY was re-elected as the second-term president. It is an overwhelming achievement. There was no crucial conflict inside the party, at least until 2010. When the 2010 PD Congress elected Anas Urbaningrum as the party general chairperson five years later, the hidden conflict between Anas and SBY commenced in many chances due to a different faction, where SBY preferred to support Andi Mallarangeng for the PD chairperson candidate in the 2010 PD Congress.

In the context of internal stimuli, the leadership change began when the peak conflict occurred between SBY and Anas. When Anas was arrested by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in early 2013 related to the case of the Hambalang Building corruption, soon after this case, Anas' position was replaced by SBY through an extraordinary congress. Anas and other PD politicians suffered corruption cases in distinctive cases between 2011 and 2013, such as Angelina Sondakh, Muhammad Nazaruddin, and Siti Hartati Murdaya. Such corruption cases have become the primary stimulus of the declining electability of the PD. (Kumparan, 2021). It is supported by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY), SBY's son, stating that the significant factor inducing the PD collapse in the 2014 election was many cadres arrested by KPK due to corruption deeds. Ruhut Sitompul, the PD politician, had a view similar to Agus's. Consequently, the party suffered a weak solidity (Amalia, 2018; Asyari, 2018).

Such cases contradicted the PD's image as the party campaigning for the watchword of "anti-corruption." The party suffered a public trust crisis. Other PD rivals capitalized on this situation to influence public perceptions massively through mass media. It resulted in negative views from society on the PD image. (Oktaveri, 2014). Therefore, numerous PD politicians expected that the leadership change from Anas to SBY would positively impact the party's performance. (Akuntono, 2013; Gatra, 2014). Nevertheless, other PD politicians did not concur with this leadership change. Sri Mulyono, the Indonesian Movement Association (PPI) Activists argued that Anas' case was part of the scenario to eliminate Anas from his position as the PD general chairperson (Auliani, 2013).

Moreover, Jhoni Allen Marbun, former PD politician, confirmed that SBY ordered him to insist that Marzuki Ali not run in the 2013 Extraordinary Congress as the party general chairperson candidate. Thus, SBY was the only candidate. Afterward, Jhoni emphasized that SBY's replacement of Anas's position eventually had no significant role. (lg_nkri.hargamati_, 2021). Similarly, Gede Pasek Suardika argued that as the general chairperson, SBY failed to win the PD's 2014 election. He also refused SBY as the PD's top leader because it would not be democratic if SBY's family and his factions merely dominated the party functionaries. (Lestari, 2014). On the contrary, SBY even dismissed three different factions that Anas united as the party strength: the *Duren Sawit* group (Anas faction), the *Cikeas* group (SBY faction), and the *Halim* group (Marzuki Ali faction) (Suardika, interviewed on February 15, 2021).

The SBY leadership inside the PD was continued for the following period, 2015-2020. The 2015 Congress elected him through an acclimation method. Nonetheless, some PD politicians like Ahmad Mubarak and Subur Sembiring did not concur with this leadership change. They already asked SBY to allow other cadres to lead the party because some gangs want to exploit the SBY position to gain their interests. (Santoso, 2015). Marzuki Ali supported Mubarak and Sembiring's views.

Nevertheless, Amir Syamsuddin, SBY's faction, quarreled with that claim. Amir assumed that such an acclamation was not intentional but induced by no cadres who wanted to nominate themselves (Adityowati, 2015). Furthermore, although the leadership change occurred in the 2020 congress from SBY to AHY through an acclamation way (CNN Indonesia, 2020), challenging and intelligent works are fundamentally required for AHY to make his party have better electability in further elections (Utama, 2020). The current intraparty conflict between the factions of AHY and Moeldoko from 2020 to 2021 has made AHY seriously consolidate his internal party in coping with the 2024 election.

The change followed the leadership change in a dominant faction. The aftermath of Anas's replacement induced the removal of Anas' loyalists inside the PD, such as Ahmad Mubarak, Gede Pasek Suardika, Saan Mustopa, and Ma'mun Murod. Other PD politicians also replaced Gede and Saan's positions as members of parliament. Gede said it was part of the agenda of clean up carried out by SBY's faction to Anas' loyalists. (Asril, 2013a; Detik, 2013) despite violating the party statute (Akuntono, 2014). However, the SBY faction, such as Max Sopacua, Nurhayati Assegaf, and Ruhut Sitompul, quarreled with Gede's statement. They argued that Gede's dismissal was caused by his engagement as the key person inside the PPI, who constantly criticized and attacked the PD. (Asril, 2014). Thus, when Gede, Saan, and Mubarak established the PPI, they received threats in distinctive ways from the PD elites. (Asril, 2013b).

The dismissal was also applied to other functionaries who joined the PPI. (Viva, 2013). Thus, this situation was followed by the dismissal of various PD politicians at the central board who still stood up for Anas. (Ferdiansyah, 2018). Table 1 demonstrates that numerous Anas' loyalists in the regional boards, believing it was an elite scenario, eventually resigned as PD functionaries. (Asril, 2013b). Since his resignation as the party leader, Anas has frequently expressed his pejorative chatters on SBY's performance through mass media. It successfully made SBY's faction infuriating. (Merdeka, 2013).

Table 1. List of Anas' loyalists who resigned from the PD.

No	Name	Position
1	Tri Dianto	Chairperson of the PD in Cilacap Regency
2	Muhammad Rahmad	Vice Executive Director, the Central Board of the PD
3	Harun Alrasyid	Member of the Consultative Assembly, the PD in North Sumatera
4	Andi Akbar Pulungan	Member of the Supervisory Assembly, the PD in North Sumatera
5	M. Syahbana	Member of the Supervisory Assembly, the PD in North Sumatera
6	Muazzul	Vice Coord for Youth and Sports Affairs, the PD in North Sumatera
7	Yunianto Wahyudi	Functionary, the PD in East Java

Source: compiled by the authors (2021)

Regarding external stimuli, the engagement of the party cadres in the corruption case was the most effective among other external factors inducing the declining votes of the PD in the electoral contest. The arrest of Muhammad Nazaruddin, the general treasury of the PD at the time, in the Wisma Atlet bribery case could uncover the involvement of other PD politicians (Liputan6, 2019b) in the Hambalang building project case, such as Anas Urbaningrum, Andi Mallarangeng, and Angelina Sondakh. Nazaruddin tangibly received the bribe of IDR 4.6 billion. He was charged for seven years in custody and a fine of IDR 300 million (Sadikin, 2020). Mallarangeng was the defendant for the corruption of IDR 4 billion and USD 550 thousand in the Hambalang case (Albanna, 2019; D. Maharani, 2014). He was charged for four years in custody and a fine of IDR 200 million (D. Maharani, 2014). Anas was the defendant in the grant reception of IDR 116.8 billion and USD 5.26 for the government and Hambalang projects, including other corruption cases. He was charged for seven years in custody and a fine of IDR 300 million. In addition to that, he should compensate the state loss, i.e., IDR 57.5 billion (BBC Indonesia, 2014a). In the meantime, Sondakh was the

defendant who received the gratification of IDR 12.58 billion and USD 2.35 for the government and Hambalang projects (Anti-Corruption et al., 2017). She was charged for ten years in custody and a fine of IDR 500 million (Pratiwi, 2017).

Andi Nurpati, the PD politician, admitted that such corrupt deeds became the main factor in PD's poor image. Voters were eventually disappointed with the PD's performance. Other political parties exploited this situation by continuously promoting negative images of the PD through mass media. "We know that mass media capitalize on this issue. It affects societal acceptance," Nurpati said (interviewed on February 17, 2021). The constitutional reform is related mainly to applying the parliamentary threshold in Indonesian elections from 2009 to the present. The PD consistently proposed 4 percent due to encouraging party simplification. (Siregar, 2011). Regarding the presidential threshold, the PD rejected the application of 20% of the parliamentary seat or 25% of the valid national votes when the House of Representatives approved the bill of election in the 2017 plenary session. Other parties, namely Gerindra, PAN, and PKS, followed the PD position. The vice-chairperson of the PD fraction, Benny K. Harman, argued that the verdict was unconstitutional. (BBC Indonesia, 2017; CNN Indonesia, 2017). According to Hince Pandjaitan, secretary-general of PD, his party proposed 0 percent of the presidential threshold to provide various alternative candidates for the public. (Paath, 2019). Gerindra, PAN, and Hanura supported the PD proposal. (Fazli, 2017). Therefore, Andi Nurpati explained that one factor inducing the PD's declining votes was the absence of the presidential candidate from the party. It was caused by the inability to surpass the presidential threshold (interviewed on February 17, 2021).

On the availability of campaign funding, the state budget has been one of the financial sources used by political parties to fund their activities, including the electoral campaign. It is applied merely for parties succeeding in exceeding the parliamentary threshold. From 2013 to 2018, the price for a valid vote was IDR 108. From 2013 to 2014, the PD received IDR 2.3 billion each year, separately. Furthermore, from 2015 to 2018, it earned IDR 1.37 billion yearly. Based on Government Regulation No. 1/2018, the public funding increases to IDR 1,000 per valid vote. In the 2019 election, the PD obtained 12,728,913 valid votes. It gained IDR 12.72 billion. (Firdaus, 2017; Prihatini, 2018; Retaduari, 2017). In response to such a fund, Andi Nurpati insisted on increasing the amount to more than 1,000 per valid vote. It aims to avoid the possibility of parties conducting corrupt deeds when their cadres occupy crucial positions in the government cabinet. (Berita Satu, 2014b). Meanwhile, the financial source of the PD in the 2019 election came from the party contribution, legislative candidates' donations, other donations individually, and bank interest totaling IDR 189.7 billion. (Demokrat, 2019).

In dealing with the coalition strategy in the 2014 election, the PD did not join any factions, whether Prabowo-Hatta or Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla (Waskita, 2014). It was based on the internal deal decided on May 18, 2014, where 56 percent of elites preferred to stand neutral while 24 percent voted for the Prabowo faction. No one voted for the Jokowi faction (BBC Indonesia, 2014b). In other words, the PD took an "underground coalition," denoting the invisible strategy in building a coalition. It aimed to avoid public perceptions that the ruling party preferred to manage its coalition rather than rule the government. The PD applied this "underground coalition" in both the 2009 and 2014 elections due to its position as the ruling party (Kompas, 2009). However, the final position of the PD in the last minutes before the D-Day of the election was joining the

Prabowo coalition. This decision was based on Prabowo’s vision to continue the SBY’s government policy (Berita Satu, 2014a; Fiansyah, 2014).

In the 2019 election, the PD preferred to join the Prabowo-Sandi coalition rather than the Jokowi-Ma’ruf. This option was based on the party elites’ three meetings, where the final decision was made on August 10, 2018 (Pradewo, 2018; Tv One, 2018). Nevertheless, some argued that the PD was half-hearted in nominating Prabowo-Sandi. (Firdaus, 2019). Such a half-hearted can be seen in some facts. First, AHY failed to be nominated as the Prabowo vice-presidential candidate. (Ihsanuddin & Wedhaswary, 2018). Second, there was a special meeting between AHY and Jokowi after the D-Day of the election and before the final electoral decision. (Firdaus, 2019). Third, the PD allowed its members and supporters to vote for any presidential candidate. Fourth, the party did not punish other PD functionaries who supported Jokowi-Ma’ruf. (Ihsanuddin & Wedhaswary, 2018; Yulika, 2018). Fifth, the party allowed Andi Arief, the vice secretary-general of the PD, to criticize Prabowo. (Yulika, 2018). Even Andi accused Prabowo of being the actor who behaved in transactional politics in selecting his partner as the vice-presidential candidate. Andi said that Sandi already spent IDR 500 billion for PAN and PKS to take the vice-presidential candidate position and called Prabowo “Jenderal Kardus” (General of Cardboard). In Indonesian terms, the cardboard symbolizes a box of money. (Nasution, 2018). According to Nurpati, Andi’s attitude changed daily because Prabowo violated the agreement on the nomination of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) as his vice-presidential candidate (interviewed on 17 February 2021).

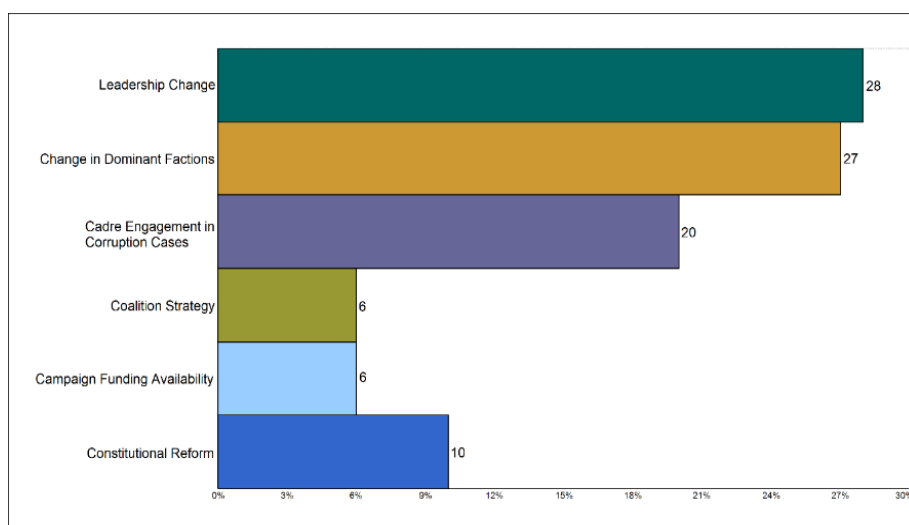


Figure 4. Driving factors inducing the declining votes of the PD in the 2014 and 2019 elections (%).

Source: processed by the NVivo 12+ platform

By applying the NVivo 12+ platform to capture mainly online News Channels, Figure 4 reveals that the leadership change was the most influential factor in inducing the dramatically declining votes of the PD in Indonesia’s two last elections, 2014 and 2019. Two other critical factors supported the decline: the change in dominant factions and the arrested cadres for corruption.

Hanura Party: They were thrown out of the parliament in 2019

The 2009 election was the first time Hanura participated in the electoral contest. It successfully surpassed the parliamentary threshold of 2.5 percent at the time. Wiranto, the ex-military general, was the first general chairperson of Hanura from 2006

to 2010 and was re-elected by the party congress for a second-term period from 2010 to 2016. Under Wiranto, Hanura performed well in two elections (see Figure 1). Due to the president's appointment as the Coordinating Minister for Political, Law, and Human Rights Affairs, Wiranto's position was replaced by Osman Sapta Odang (OSO) in the 2016 extraordinary congress through an acclamation way. OSO is one of Indonesia's Regional Representative Council members with a personal background as a businessman. Wiranto believes that OSO will have an influential role in directing the party in the future.

Hanura's intraparty conflict began after the leadership change from Wiranto to OSO. It can be seen in the enmity between Wiranto and the OSO factions in the 2019 election. The peak of enmity eventually ended with an attempt by OSO to dismiss numerous of Hanura's functionaries, including his general secretary, Sarifuddin Sudding. The Wiranto faction argued that such a dismissal violated the party statute. Many OSO's actions did not align with the party mechanism, such as appointing numerous chairpersons to the provincial boards. In addition to that, many aspirations coming from regional functionaries were not responded to or followed up by OSO. (Taufiq, 2018). As a result, the cohesion inside Hanura needed to be stronger. Many of Hanura's potential politicians moved to other political parties. This situation caused poor preparation in coping with the 2019 election, and, in turn, Hanura could not surpass the parliamentary threshold of 4 percent.

The never-ending conflict was the most influential factor in the Hanura failure in the 2019 election. With such a severe conflict, the party had no significant power anymore. This situation is also applied to other political parties. Thus, if an organization suffers a conflict, it is no longer a full power. It eventually fails to reach the primary target. The following impact of the dismissal is that the OSO faction did not invite Wiranto to the party congress held on December 17-19, 2019 (Prastiwi, 2019).

Therefore, Berliana Kartakusumah, former general secretary of Hanura, postulated that the Hanura failure in 2019 was a good instance that a political party should have these essential factors: (1) A trusted figure, mainly the general chairperson; (2) All party functionaries should maintain party solidity; (3) Having trusted legislative candidates as the vote-getter in the electoral contest; (4) Having robust funding to deal with the electoral competition; and (5) Having fascinating programs to attract public sympathy, and, in turn, voters will vote for that party. Among those factors, Berliana was sure that leadership was the main factor of success or failure. Thus, Berliana assessed that OSO needed better management to organize the party conflict. OSO could have been a better problem solver (interviewed on January 25, 2021).

Regarding a change in dominant factions, Hanura's leadership change was followed by altering the dominant faction. It can be seen that after OSO was elected as the general chairperson, he changed some positions of parliament members inside the Hanura Fraction (Kapol, 2018; Wiwoho, 2018). In 2017, OSO dismissed one chairperson of the central board. In 2018, he discharged five chairpersons of the central board and two party's secretaries. The OSO faction argued that such dismissal should be executed because they were not professional in operating their duties (T. Maharani, 2019); see Table 2). According to Benny Ramadhani, the OSO faction has already organized an internal meeting on this issue and has not violated the party mechanism (Kumparan, 2018). Nevertheless, Sarifuddin Sudding and Daryatmo, the Wiranto faction, claimed that such a dismissal was illegal and not in line with the party regulations (Kompas, 2018). Sudding and Daryatmo's view was supported by Marlis Arinia, the chairperson of Hanura in West Sumatra (Jpnn, 2018; T. Maharani, 2019). Sudding also conducted a

similar thing: an attempt to dismiss OSO due to his illegal dismissal (Saraswati, 2018). It is such a knotty conflict.

Table 2. List of Hanura's functionaries who were dismissed by the OSO faction.

No	Name	Position	Date of Dismissal	Replaced By
1	Sarifudin Sudding	General Secretary of the Central Board of Hanura	15 January 2018	Muhammad Yasin Payapo
2	Ayu Hindun Hassanusy	Chairperson, Hanura in Maluku	23 March 2018	Wisnu Purnomo
3	Aceng Fikri	Chairperson, Hanura in West Java	26 January 2018	Hendri Zainuddin
4	Mularis Djahri	Chairperson, Hanura in South Sumatera	14 January 2018	Abrar Amin
5	Zakaria Abas	Secretary, Hanura in South Sumatera	14 January 2018	Herry Lontung Siregar
6	Tuani Lumbantobing	Chairperson, Hanura in North Sumatera	21 July 2017	Wisnu Dewanto
7	Marlis Arinia	Chairperson, Hanura in West Sumatera	17 April 2018	Verizon Effendi
8	Alexander Fransiscus	Chairperson, Hanura in Bangka Belitung	21 January 2018	Haryadi Muhammad

Source: Compiled by the authors (2021).

A new round of conflict continued in the court between the factions of OSO and Daryatmo (the successor of the Wiranto faction). According to Gede Pasek Suardika, general secretary of Hanura, the Daryatmo faction could not fire OSO because the OSO leadership was legal and validated by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. However, the Daryatmo faction believed the conflict had not ended and continued. (Chairunnisa, 2018). Each faction also demanded another return of the party's goods. (Eksa, 2019; Fernandez, 2018).

In the internal stimuli, constitutional reform is the influential factor among others. More specifically, it is related to the parliamentary threshold. Hanura is one of the parties rejecting the implementation of the parliamentary threshold of 4 percent and prefers to remove this threshold from the electoral system. It is no longer relevant if Indonesia applied a simultaneous election system in 2019 (Putra, 2017). If this regulation restricts the number of political parties, it harms small parties and does not appreciate people's votes. Thus, it is part of the regression of democracy. (Merdeka, 2017; Tashandra, 2017) Because the threshold aims to discriminate against small parties (Aditya & Rastika, 2020). Each citizen's vote should be represented in the parliament. (Andayani, 2020). In addition to the intraparty conflict, the high percentage of the parliamentary threshold induced Hanura to fail to achieve the parliamentary seat.

Regarding the availability of campaign funding, when Hanura reported to the election commission (KPU), it had merely IDR 49 billion as a campaign modal to address the 2019 election. Such funding came from legislative candidates and other personal donors. This funding is smaller than other new parties, such as the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) (Farisa & Asril, 2019; Liputan6, 2019a). Since 2014, Hanura has received public funding of IDR 6.57 billion each year. It is the smallest modal compared to other parties because Hanura has the smallest parliamentary seat (Firdaus, 2017). Hanura no longer received such public funding in 2019 because it failed to surpass the parliamentary threshold (Ramadhan, 2020). In forming the coalition strategy, Hanura

consistently nominated Jokowi as the presidential candidate in the two last elections, 2014 and 2019. This strategy aimed to earn the coattail effect of Jokowi’s presidency to the legislative election. Nonetheless, this strategy did not work effectively. There was no natural effect of Jokowi’s presidency on the Hanura votes. Therefore, this strategy failed to help this party surpass the parliamentary threshold.

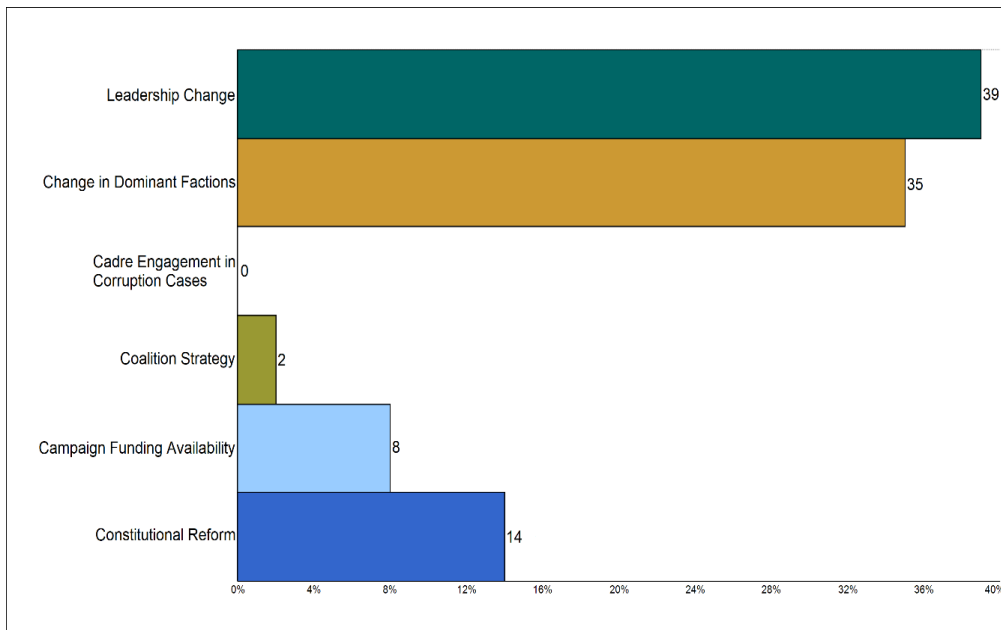


Figure 5. Driving factors inducing the Hanura failure in the 2019 election.
Source: processed by the NVivo 12+ platform.

As shown in Figure 5, using the NVivo 12+ platform to capture online news channels demonstrates that the leadership change was the most potent factor inducing the Hanura failure to surpass the parliamentary threshold of 4 percent. Most Hanura elites admitted it. A change followed it in the dominant faction inside the party. Therefore, the intraparty conflict effectively demolished the party organization and thwarted its triumph in the electoral contest. As elaborated in previous passages, such a conflict has resulted in many consequences. Although one faction could defeat another, the party had many disadvantages rather than benefits. The constitutional reform also supported the poor situation inside Hanura.

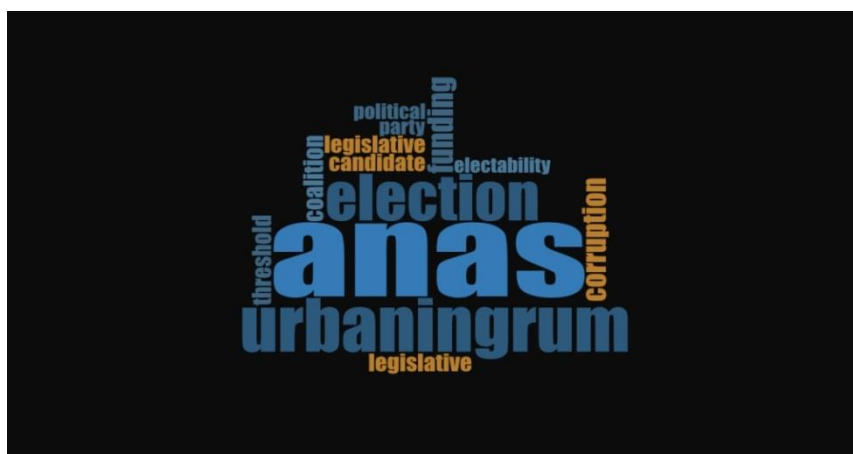


Figure 6. The word cloud of the PD and Hanura in news channels.
Source: processed by the NVivo 12+ platform.

Figure 6 strengthens the paper's findings that the phrase "Anas Urbaningrum" has been more significant than other words. It demonstrates that the term "Anas" underlines the decisive factor of the leadership change and the change in dominant factions, inducing the vote erosion of both the PD and Hanura. The words "corruption" and "funding" denote supporting factors, mainly in the case of the PD, while the word "threshold" is also influential in the context of the Hanura case.

They are considering the results and discussion above that the party system institutionalization (PSI) and the intra-party democracy (IPD) are poor in the case of the PD and the Hanura Party. The intraparty conflict significantly affects poor electoral performance, and in turn, it decreases votes dramatically. The PD and the Hanura Party are tangible proof. This finding confirms that the PD still has a weak leadership consolidation due to not being far away from the figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Honna, 2012) and a poor conflict resolution mechanism. More tragic, the Hanura Party not only suffers from poor leadership consolidation and weak conflict resolution but also needs to improve the regeneration mechanism, the intraparty decision-making mechanism, the party ideology, and the party strategy in the fulfillment of public expectations. Thus, neither PSI nor IPD is fundamentally embedded inside the PD and the Hanura Party.

Conclusion

By applying six indicators of the party change theorized by Harmel & Janda (1994) This paper analyzed the leadership change as the most influential factor inducing the dramatically declining votes of the PD in the last two elections and the failure of Hanura to surpass the parliamentary threshold of 4 percent. Such a leadership change in this context effectively affected the alteration of a dominant faction inside these two parties. Thus, internal stimuli were more effective than external stimuli in inducing the party's performance in the electoral contest. More specifically, the arrest of the party cadres in the corruption case also determined the fading of the PD's charm as the ruling party. In the case of Hanura, constitutional reform was also a driving factor that influenced its failure to achieve parliamentary seats.

The PD and Hanura cases indicate that if a political party fights to achieve electoral victory, it must maintain its internal cohesion and avoid detrimental fragmentations. It seems like it could be more challenging, but it should be performed. The party institutionalization is not merely belonging to a certain elite. It is a common goal. Cadres and party members must follow the party mechanisms and procedures without any exceptions.

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