

Proposing the Importance of the "Compromise Ability" Component in the Institutional Dimension: A Study of the National Democratic Party (NasDem)

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Article Info

Article history:

Received: 28 October 2024

Publish: 2 November 2024

Keywords:

Party Institutionalization;

NasDem Party;

"Ability to Compromise"

Abstract

There is a debate about which dimension is most decisive in party institutionalization. Party institutionalization can first be seen from the increase in votes as an early indication. In the case of the 2014 to 2019 elections in Indonesia, the party that has seen the largest increase in votes is the NasDem Party, indicating that the party is the most institutionalized. This paper aims to examine the institutionalization of the NasDem Party. The method used is qualitative, by analyzing the empirical case of the NasDem Party. The result is that there is a dilemma in the debate on the concept of party institutionalization, and the stability of the NasDem Party's vote is relatively influenced by the organizational dimension, especially the strength of membership. Although the coherence of members seems problematic, the strength of members has contributed to the benefit of party votes. The "Ability to Compromise" component is important to be proposed as a prerequisite for balancing between dimensions of party institutionalization.

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1. INTRODUCTION

During the reform era, political parties' vote acquisition in Indonesia showed varied vote acquisition (BPS Data, 2019; Thoha, 2017). Variations in vote acquisition show that there is a shift in voters from one party to another and from one election period to the next (S. Mainwaring & Su, 2021). In Indonesia, the voter shift is still influenced by personal figures. Personalization is important to measure the level of institutionalization of political parties (S. Mainwaring & Torcal, 2005). One side of strong personalization means that most party interests do not rely on institutionalization. On the other hand, personal strength has provided benefits for party solidity.

Table 1. Political Party Votes Obtained for the 2014 – 2019 Election Period

Source: RI KPU data for 1999-2024

Party	2014	2019	Difference
PDIP	18,96	19,33	0,37
GolKar	14,75	12,31	2,44
CLA	9,04	9,69	0,65
MCC	6,77	8,21	1,44
PAN	7,57	6,84	-0,73
PPP	6,53	4,52	-2,01
UN	1,46	0,79	-0,46

Party	2014	2019	Difference
PKPI	0,91	0,22	-0,69
Democrat	10,19	7,77	-2,42
Hanura	5,27	1,54	-3,73
Gerindra	11,81	12,57	0,76
NasDem	6,74	9,05	2,31

The political party with the highest increase in the period from the 2014 Election to the 2019 Election was the NasDem Party. The NasDem Party's vote share was recorded from 6.74% in 2014 to 9.05% in the 2019 Election, indicating that the NasDem Party was the most institutionalized party in that period. However, the NasDem Party still shows that there are problems both in the institutional dimension. Internally, the membership strength indicator does influence the stability of vote acquisition. On the other hand, there are still members who appear less institutionalized. In the coherence dimension, there are still members who are not in line with party decisions and are disobedient. Meanwhile, externally, this relatively new party does not yet have strong social roots and there are still problems in the autonomy dimension. This autonomy dimension problem is influenced by personalization within the party.

The experience of the NasDem Party has reflected the debate about the dimensions of party institutionalization. Some scholars emphasize one dimension, and some emphasize another dimension. Uncertainty arises from the opinion that a party may be highly institutionalized in one dimension but at the same time less institutionalized in another dimension (Levitsky, 1988: 641). This becomes a dilemma and gives rise to dissatisfaction, thus inspiring the author to try to propose important components in institutionalization that have not been explicitly discussed by previous scholars.

The Concept of Party Institutionalization

The theory that will be used to study the NasDem Party specifically is the theory of Matthias Basedau and Alexander Stroh (2008). According to them, party institutionalization is understood as a process in which each political party participating in elections experiences an increase or stability and organizational value.

First, the “rooted dimension in society” is included to stabilize the organization externally. *Second*, in terms of a more institutionalized level of party organization, it must show a higher level of organization. *Third*, Autonomy is demonstrated by the absence of personal control over the party arbitrarily. *Fourth*, Coherence is related to the behavior of party members or cadres who are loyal to the party organization.

Figure 1. Dimensions of Party Institutionalization According to Basedau and Stroh
 Source: Matthias Basedau and Alexander Stroh, 2008

Dimension	Stability	Value-Infusion
External	Roots in Society	Autonomy
Internal	Level of Organization	Coherence

Matthias Basedau and Alexander Stroh proposed fifteen indicators to analyze the level of institutionalization of political parties. This indicator is the result of a compilation developed from previous literature.

Table 2. Indicators of Political Party Institutionalization

Sumber : Mattias Basedau dan Alexander Stroh. 2008. Measuring Party Institutionalization in Developing Countries: A New Research Instrument Applied to 28 African Political Parties

Dimensions	Indicator
<i>Roots in Society</i> (Roots in Society)	1. The age of the party against independence
	2. Party age against the early multiparty period
	3. Changes in voter support in the last two elections
	4. Links to civil society organizations
<i>Autonomy</i> (Autonomy)	5. Number of changes in party leadership
	6. Changes in voter support after a change in party leadership
	7. Decision autonomy of individuals and groups
	8. Popular appreciation of a particular party
<i>Level of Organization</i> (Organizational level)	9. Membership power
	10. Regular party congress
	11. Material and personal resources
	12. Presence of national organizations, activities outside the campaign
<i>Coherence</i> (Coherence)	13. Parliamentary group coherence (no defections and defections)
	14. Moderate relationship between Intra-party groupings (no factionalism dysfunction)
	15. Tolerance for intra-party dissidence

They explained that *first*, a well-instituted political party must have stable roots in society. *Second*, political parties must balance their roots in society with their autonomy as organizations. *Third*, organization is shown by how much formal membership and organizational activity the party has. *Fourth*, the coherence of a political party requires that even though there are organizational differences, the political party can still act as a unified organization.

1. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach because it is suitable for examining individual party cases, by combining library research and field studies. The qualitative research process is largely inductive (Creswell, 2014:32 & 38). According to Lowndes (et al., 2018: 185) researchers tend to use qualitative evidence and offer the results as an interpretation of the relationships between the social phenomena being studied.

The focus of research is to provide detailed, text-based answers that are often historical in nature and include political observations (Lowndes et al., 2018:237). These researchers have a tendency to collect, analyze, and interpret data simultaneously (Neuman, 2014). Data collection stages were carried out by determining research boundaries, collecting information through interviews, observations, documents and visual materials, and establishing protocols for recording information (Creswell, 2014: 239).

To increase the degree of validity, data triangulation is used (Creswell, 2014: 259). Triangulation is an almost “amulet” method for confirming findings. Data triangulation is used to find the validity of the data collected. This is due to natural data bias, so it is necessary to correct it by reading other sources. Even if an event is not controversial, it will

be viewed from different points of view by different observers (Miles & Huberman, 1984, pp. 266–267).

2. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Dilemma and Discussion of Party Institutionalization

According to Huntington (1968) institutionalization is the process by which organizations and procedures gain value and stability. Stability is part of the institutionalization of political parties (Huntington, 1968; Janda, 1980a; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2001). Low levels of institutionalization produce political instability, and vice versa. The degree of institutionalization of any political system can be determined by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence of its organizations and procedures. The stronger the institutionalization of an organization, the four dimensions of institutionalization will show a stronger level and the more institutionalization weakens, the weaker dimensions will result (Huntington, 1968, pp. 13–18).

It must be acknowledged that Huntington has provided much inspiration for the concept of institutionalization. This is because the institutionalization concept has been widely adopted by scholars. Mainwaring and Scully (1995), for example, define institutionalization at two important points, namely stability and acceptance. In terms of time to time, stability can be shown by the party's ability to maintain a stable vote.

The institutionalization of problematic parties is considered to disrupt the process of democratic consolidation because political parties have an important role in this process (Kopecký, 1995). In the process of making the party more institutionalized, negotiations took place between elites who were members of the political formation (Gherghina, 2015). Huntington wrote about institutionalization in the context of political systems (Huntington, 1968). Mainwaring and Scully (S. P. Mainwaring & Scully, 1995:78) emphasize institutionalization on stability. While there are also those who emphasize what is referred to as *value infusion* (Levitsky, 1988; Selznick, 1997). Stability and Value in institutionalization can be defined by adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence (Huntington, 1968:12).

The stability of political parties in question includes many things such as: Mainwaring and Scully who have spoken in the context of party sustainability, support for the party (Rose and Urwin in Drummond, 2006); roots in society (S. Mainwaring & Torcal, 2005); voter movement (Mair, 2008:43); support base, broad and distributed membership (Bollever and Bytze; Tavits; Carter in Rybář & Spáč, 2020).

In terms of value or in other words 'value infusion' (Huntington, 1968; Levitsky, 1988; Selznick, 1997), institutionalization occurs when the party obtains value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand (Levitsky, 1988 in Selznick, 1997), or when the actors' goals shifted from pursuing personal goals to the goal of perpetuating the party organization (Levitsky, 1988:79). Referring to Selznick (1997:5), non-institutionalized parties are seen by their members only as a means to achieve a goal that can be abandoned at any time. Mainwaring & Torcal (2005:5) illustrate that more institutionalized parties are not subject to a few ambitious leaders, they gain the independence of their own values.

Party institutionalization argued by Neumann 1956; Key 1964; Borre and Katz 1973; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Dalton and Wattenberg; 2000 (S. P. Mainwaring & Scully, 1995) where party institutionalization is the ability to produce symbols of identification and loyalty. Converse (1969) has modified the argument of some *scholars* by placing symbols of identification and loyalty as things that can create continuity in elections (S. P. Mainwaring & Scully, 1995). The application of the concept of institutionalization to political parties (as organizations) was simplified by North (1993: 11-12) where institutions are the rules of the game and organizations are the players.

Previously, institutionalization at the point of adaptability had been conceptualized by Kirchheimer (1966) in Mainwaring (1995), who was drawn into the party. In this case, adaptability in party institutionalization is considered as a rational actor who reacts and adapts to the constraints and opportunities provided by the electoral market. This conception clearly supports the first point in institutionalization that Huntington mentioned.

The development of the institutionalization concept of political parties was further carried out by Rae (1971), Harmel and Janda (1982) who argued that political parties are influenced by their organization, ideological position, membership, and policy proposals by state organizations, type of government (i.e. presidential vs. parliamentary system), electoral systems, democratic experience, and by Sartori (1976; 1994) in Mainwaring & Scully (1995) electoral law. These dimensions can clearly be divided into party internal and party external dimensions. This section can be grouped by Randall and Svåsand (2002) into the Systemic, Autonomy and 'Value Infusion' dimensions.

However, in contrast to what Mainwaring (1995) argued, in terms of autonomy, parties cannot only depend on state policy, type of government, electoral system and electoral law. Mainwaring parties can also be very dependent on votes, they have an interest in aligning with the opinions of citizens. As a result, they tend to be sensitive to voters' messages. Dependence on public opinion shows weak autonomy.

Meanwhile, Panebianco has chosen two criteria in measuring the institutionalization of political parties, the level of autonomy, *dream to dream* environment and systemic level (Randall & Svåsand, 2002:9). Panebianco's argument is that the institutionalization of political parties is the process of an organization strengthening itself (Randall & Svåsand, 2002:10). He acknowledged that in practice Autonomy and Systematicity would be interrelated. However, Panebianco suggests that high levels of party institutionalization (autonomy and systematicness) may actually hinder flexibility or adaptability (Randall & Svåsand, 2002). In other words, Panebianco provides room for options for the level of party institutionalization, whether to ignore the ability of adaptability in party institutionalization or the level of autonomy and system that is adapted to political and electoral culture.

Levitsky (1988), referring to Philip Selznick (1997), saw a gap in the dilemma of a high level of party institutionalization and adaptability. He proposed an 'Infusion of Values' in party institutionalization. The argument is that party institutionalization is when an organization becomes infused with values beyond the requirements of its technical task. However, it seems that this conception was inspired by Panebianco's opinion which talks about how organizations are valuable in and of themselves (Randall & Svåsand, 2002:10). Panebianco added that penetration is necessary, the greater the element of penetration (from the central level to the regional level) the stronger the party institutionalization (Randall & Svåsand, 2002; 12). What Panebianco means is the party's ability to penetrate the agreed values of party members.

Levitsky himself suggests that autonomy is not necessary for institutionalization, at least in the sense of value diffusion (Randall & Svåsand, 2002: 8). Supported by Kenneth Janda who defines party institutionalization as one that is reified in the public mind. According to him, a party can be highly institutionalized but does not need the independence of other groups (Janda, 1980a). Of course, Kenneth Janda rules out a high level of autonomy. Morlino (1996:23) himself shows a pessimistic assessment that maximum adaptability simultaneously with complexity as well as maximum coherence and autonomy seems almost impossible in a form of institutionalization (Randall & Svåsand, 2002).

Levitsky's further opinion is that, it is necessary to distinguish between systemic aspects and 'value infusion', these two dimensions do not necessarily go together. Parties can be high or low on both, but there may also be parties that are strong on 'value infusion' but

low on systematicness (organizational routinization) and perhaps vice versa. Meanwhile, Kenneth Janda, who firmly separates the institutionalization of the party system from the institutionalization of political parties (each party), provides the argument that an institutionalized party is a party that is reaffirmed in the minds of the public (Randall & Svåsand, 2002:7).

Vicky Randall and Lars Svasand (2002) have summarized the debates on the level of institutionalization of political parties by providing four measures of the level of institutionalization of political parties, namely; Systemicity, Decision Autonomy, 'Value Infusion', and Reification. Their main argument is that political party institutionalization is understood as the process of strengthening political parties both in the form of patterned behavior and in integrated attitudes or culture.

In the 'Infusion of Values' dimension, Randall and Svasand argue that the more party members and supporters identify the party as an expressive phenomenon, and the higher the level of voter loyalty, the more the party is institutionalized. *Autonomy*, parties that depend entirely on external factors are less institutionalized than those where the preservation of the organization is not due to external factors (Randall & Svåsand, 2002:10). *Adaptability*, a party cannot be said to be institutionalized if it is not able to survive over time (Randall & Svåsand, 2002:11).

Matthias Basedau and Alexander Stroh (2008) have acknowledged the contribution of Randall and Svasand in the difficulty of agreeing on party institutionalization as argued by the *scholar* previously. However, Basedau believes that Randall's concept has not been tested, and tends to avoid the difficulties that arise from the practical application of the complicated concept of party institutionalization to real cases. Basedau and Stroh modified the four dimensions of measurement by Randall and Svasand, because according to them the reification proposed by Randall was actually included in 'value infusion'. 'Infusion of values' means that some relevant people (party members and voters) see the party as an organization that should not be abandoned (Basedau & Stroh, 2008: 8). The four dimensions that Basedau and Stroh input are: Roots in Society, Organizational Level, Autonomy, and Coherence.

Basedau and Stroh explain the four, namely: (a) The party has stable roots in society, (b) There is an organizational apparatus that is always present at all levels of administration and acts in accordance with the interests of the party, (c) Regardless of its social roots, the party is relatively independent from individuals and groups inside and outside the party, and (d) the Party acts as a united organization and is tolerant of certain intra-party disputes.

They both argue that party institutionalization is a process for each political party participating in the election to experience an increase or stability and organizational value. They proposed three things regarding general principles for measuring party institutionalization, namely; First, measuring party institutionalization separately from the party system. Second, party institutionalization, which includes organizations, is basically about increasing stability and injecting values. Third, organizations must institutionalize with respect to their internal and external relationships. The institutionalization of this party must also be carried out at all levels (Basedau & Stroh, 2008; Khikmawanto, 2021).

Institutionalization in the Stability Practices of the NasDem Party

Root Dimensions in Society

- (1) The first indicator calculates the age of the NasDem Party towards independence, clearly very far from 1945 to 2011 (History of NasDem, 2024; History of the NasDem Party, 2023) a distance of 66 years. (2) The age of the party in the initial multiparty period was from 1999, so if you count the founding of the NasDem Party in 2011, it is 12 years apart.

- (2) However, it should be noted that the NasDem Party is a splinter of the Golkar Party (Yunarto in Perdana, 2012:116; Aprimayanti, 2021:52) especially Surya Paloh himself as General Chair was previously a senior politician at Golkar. The NasDem Party has clearly utilized the Golkar Party network as evidenced by the large number of NasDem Party administrators who are former Golkar Party administrators (Yunarto in Perdana, 2012: 100). Don't forget its history as a NasDem mass organization, which at the start of its declaration on February 1 2010 consisted of 45 national figures including Surya Paloh and Sri Sultan HB IX (Siswono, 2022:56; Upara, 2016:81). Other names include Khofifah Indra Prawansa, Anies Baswedan, Ahmad Syafii Maarif, Budiman Sudjatmiko, and Basuki Tjahja Purnama (Ahok). With adequate political infrastructure, the Golkar network and NasDem mass organizations, the NasDem Party at the start of its participation immediately passed to Senayan. As a result, in the 2014 election period it went straight to Senayan, and in the 2019 election there was an increase.
- (3) Relations with civil society organizations have previously been established, such as: the Mass Labor Movement, the Student League, the Legal Advocacy Agency, and NasDem Farmers). NasDem also communicates with the largest mass organizations in Indonesia, namely NU and Muhammadiyah (interview with Choirie, 2024; Komarudin, 2024; Zaki, 2024). As a comparison, before the 2014 elections there was actually a new party that wanted to be formed, namely the PPN party, this party was even a combination of 12 other small parties (Savitri, 2011). However, the PNN Party did not have the same smooth fate as the NasDem Party.
- (4) Changes in voter support in the two elections (2014 and 2019) saw the NasDem Party increase in votes by 2.31%. This relates to indicators of relationships with civil society organizations, especially the performance carried out by party members who nominate themselves. In the results of research by Intje Supriadi Indama et al (2019) in Banggai Regency, relationships with certain communities or civil society organizations were quite successful in increasing the vote share of legislative candidates (legislative candidates). The NasDem Party itself, such as Saan Mustopa, has cared for voters through community networks, one of which is the volleyball community, providing college scholarship programs, assistance with uninhabitable housing, and providing health services (Observasi, 2023).

The problem is, with the relatively new age of the party, the NasDem Party actually does not have strong roots in society compared to other parties that have existed for a long time such as PDIP and Golkar (interview with Choirie, 2024; Komarudin, 2024; Zaki, 2024). New political parties are considered to not have strong roots in society so they need popular figures to increase their vote share (Barokah et al., 2022; interview with Choirie, 2024). The NasDem Party Secretary General (Sekjen) Johnny G. Plate himself previously admitted that the Nasdem Party as a new party does not yet have a solid electoral base so it needs strong figures to increase its vote share (Rahayu, 2019). The NasDem Secretary General's statement can be justified if you pay attention to the decline in the NasDem Party's vote share in several provincial areas, namely; Aceh Province, West Sumatra Province, Riau Province, Bengkulu Province and Banten Province (KPU Data, 2019).

Autonomy Dimension

- (5) There was one leadership change in the NasDem Party until 2019 after it was previously chaired by Patrice Rio Capella, who at the first congress in January 2013, Surya Paloh was elected as general chairman (*NasDem Party*, 2024). Regarding this leadership change, a conflict occurred in which Hary Tanoe refused to allow Surya Paloh to become general chairman of the party, and this resulted in HT leaving the NasDem Party. Furthermore, after the 2019 elections, at the second congress on November 8

2019, Surya Paloh was again elected as general chairman (Ihsanuddin & Meiliana, 2019).

- (6) Under the leadership of Surya Paloh, the NasDem Party succeeded in experiencing positive changes in its vote share. The increase in NasDem's vote share was the highest compared to other parties.

At the beginning of the formation of the NasDem Party, it gave freedom to groups that rejected Nasdem Ormas to become political parties. Several years later, the autonomy of the NasDem Party's decisions was seen in the dynamics of political contestation which rejected an increase in the requirements for supporting independent candidates for the 2017 Regional Elections. This was because the NasDem Party considered that increasing the requirements had the potential to limit regional head candidates (Christie, 2016). Even though at that time the phenomenon of Independent Candidates was considered frightening for political parties (Erdianto, 2016).

- (7) This has demonstrated the independence of party decisions. However, on the other hand, the NasDem Party also shows problematic decision autonomy.

For example, in cases that occur in the regions, the DPC level lacks autonomy in determining its decisions (Choirie, 2024; Komarudin, 2024). Conflict regarding the deputy chairman of the West Lombok DPRD council; The DPC supported Agus while the DPP supported and decided Multazam as deputy chairman of the council (Radarlombok.co.id, 2016). Of course, in this case the NasDem Party at the central level has limited the autonomy of party decisions at the regional level. This is contrary to the concept of institutionalization which must be carried out at all levels. This means that parties at the regional level must also have independent decision autonomy.

- (8) Popular appreciation was shown by the NasDem Party for the situation where the practice of political dowry was rampant which was considered bad. The NasDem Party itself took steps by promoting politics without dowries (Choirie, 2024; Suditomo, 2024). This step received appreciation from a number of politicians and made them interested in joining the NasDem Party. Like Ridwan Kamil (March, 2018) who believes that the NasDem Party's dowry-free political steps need to be used as a role model (nasdem.id, 2019). The next example, in the 2017 DKI Regional Election (Putra, 2018) Ahok, who initially did not want to run for Governor because of political dowry issues, finally showed his appreciation by wanting to run after receiving support from the NasDem Party. Also like Syahrul Yasin Limpo who moved to the NasDem Party, one of the reasons being the concept of politics without a dowry promoted by the NasDem Party (Putri, 2018). The accumulation of the NasDem Party's dowry-free political steps can be seen from the 2020 Pilkada. The results in the 2020 Pilkada were that the NasDem Party won 59.46% (jateng.nasdem.id, 2023). This victory shows that the NasDem Party's political steps have attracted appreciation from various parties. In fact, politics without a dowry has attracted the attention of many celebrities to join in (Lukihardianti, 2018) and run for office in the Legislative Election.

The problem is, on the one hand, the popular appreciation carried out by the NasDem Party has a beneficial impact on the party, on the other hand it also has consequences that are considered to be detrimental. With these methods of showing appreciation, the NasDem Party does not have a strong emotional connection with the figures it promotes (Choirie, 2024; Komarudin, 2024), which is also the method used by the NasDem Party in the Legislative Election (Paath, 2019). The people who are promoted are considered very vulnerable to incompatibility with the party's interests. This issue may indicate a problematic degree of coherence. An example is Ferry Mursidan Baldan (Hakim & Krisiandi, 2018), who was previously Minister of ATR from the NasDem Party, then in 2018 took a hiatus and supported Prabowo-Sandi ahead of the 2018 Presidential Election. Of course this is

contrary to the provisions of the NasDem Party which supports Jokowi-Ma' ruf. Even in Aceh (Editorial, 2019), Chairman of the DPW NasDem Party, Zaini Djalil, admitted that after the 2019 Election, many party cadres had moved to other parties.

Organizational Level Dimensions

(9) The strength of the NasDem Party membership shows party members from various backgrounds such as: former politicians from other parties (senior politicians), powerful people in the regions, and popular celebrities. There are 315 legislative candidates among entrepreneurs/workers/entrepreneurs, 66 legislative candidates for incumbents/former DPR/DPRD members, and 37 to 45 legislative candidates among celebrities (G2arnesia, 2109; Iqbal & Teresia, 2018; Sary Sakti et al. , 2020). In the 2019 elections, one of the celebrities who won a seat in the DPR was Muhammad Farhan (Damanik, 2018).

Another member strength is Fauzi Amro in South Sumatra (electoral district 1) who is a former Hanura Party cadre. There is also Percha Leanpuri (*3 NasDem Party Elected Legislative Candidates*, 2019; RMOLSUMSEL, 2019; Tambak, 2019) which received the most votes, 124,047 votes. He himself is the son of the Governor of South Sumatra for the 2018-2023 period, Darman Deru (Budi, 2021). It is known that the NasDem Party's vote share in the province increased by 7%, from 7% (277,404) in 2014 to 14% (581,381) of the vote in 2019. It can be said that they are strong people in their region.

Then there was H. Rusdi Masse Mappasessu who received the most votes with 119,064 votes compared to other candidates in South Sulawesi, (*Rusdi Masse Mappessus*, 2019; 2024; Saputra, 2023; *Rusdi Masse Mappessus*, 2019b). He is also the former Regent of Sidenreng Rappang from 2008 to 2018, as well as chairman of the South Sulawesi NasDem Party DPW (Secretariat General of DPR RI, 2016).

There is Rahmad Gobel with 146,067 votes in Gorontalo. Rahmad Gobel himself was Minister of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia in 2014-2015, commissioner and director of various companies, and has a background in several organizations (Secretariat General of DPR RI, 2016) in Gorontalo. Of the total 34 provinces, in terms of vote percentage, Gorontalo Province received the highest increase in votes. From only 3% (20,930 votes) in 2014, to 25% (167,572 votes) in 2019, with the acquisition of 1 seat. Meanwhile, in the previous period, they did not get any seats at all.

However, in the case of Banten, especially Banten I (Lebak and Pandeglang), figures like Hj. Tri Murni no longer running in the 2019 Election has been directly proportional to the decline in the NasDem Party's vote share there (BantenNews.co.id, 2023; Margaret et al., 2018; Taufiqurrohman, 2014). This shows that on the one hand, members' ability to mobilize support has provided benefits for the party (Choirie, 2024; Komarudin, 2024). However, on the other hand, this support did not last long. This has certainly shown that there is no continuity in vote acquisition in elections (Converse, 1969; S. P. Mainwaring & Scully, 1995), for the NasDem Party. Apart from these problems, party membership also appears resistant to appearing as party cadres.

For example, Lucky Hakim, who is running for DPR-RI in the 2019 elections, does not seem to dare appear as a cadre of the NasDem Party, he prefers to play it safe by appearing as a public figure (Choirie, 2024; Rahayu, 2019). Even other examples such as Saan Mustofa (Observation, 2023) clearly say: "it doesn't matter what party you belong to, as long as we have to choose good people." This narrative certainly does not persuade voters to support the party.

(10) The Party Congress seemed problematic, Surya Paloh's term of office expired on March 6 2018 (Nurita, 2018), but the congress was only held in 2019 after the election. Surya Paloh's term of office has expired, which should have been on March 6 2018, so all

decision letters issued by the DPP will be invalid. However, during this period Decree No. 102 -SK/DPP-DPP/NasDem/IV/2018 which was signed by Surya Paloh in April 2018, concerning Ratification of Changes in the Management of the Regional Leadership Council of Central Sulawesi Province. Also, the same decree as number 128 regarding changes to the composition of the NasDem Party management in Tebing Tinggi City, North Sumatra.

- (11) Material resources still rely heavily on assistance from the Central Leadership Council (DPP), the source of funds for which is mostly from the general chairman (Aliyudin, 2013; Choirie, 2024; Komarudin, 2024; Zaki, 2024). In various literature such as Sergiu Gherghina (2015), dependence on party funding has resulted in the dominant role played by funders, one of which is in party decision making (Choirie, 2024; Komarudin, 2024).

The dominant players in this party often have the label of Party Elite. Amanah Upara's research (Upara, 2016: 182) has shown that ahead of the 2013 NasDem Party's first congress there was pressure from Surya Paloh for the NasDem Party DPW chairs to provide letters of support to him. Another thing regarding the dominant role played by the NasDem Party Elite is regarding the decision to nominate Anies Baswedan in the 2024 presidential nomination (Anindita et al., 2022). This decision resulted in several NasDem Party cadres deciding to leave (Aditya & Rastika, 2022; CNN Indonesia, 2022; Detik.com Editorial Team, 2022). A personalized dominant role shows that the party has not been institutionalized, this often results in internal party conflict (Bakar, 2013: 111-113).

- (12) The presence of national organizations and activities outside the campaign can be exemplified in Gunungkidul Regency. The Nasdem Party holds arts activities so that people get to know the NasDem Party better and unite their support. The activity was attended by Nasdem Party officials from the Central Leadership Council (DPP), Regional Representative Council (DPW), Branch Leadership Council (DPC). The second example, activities outside the campaign, is that the NasDem Party once launched the Digital Al-Quran application (Ariyanthi, 2017; Wibowo, 2017). Then the Inauguration of the NasDem Party DPD ranks in Rote Ndao Regency (*Victor Laiskodat Appoints the Board of the NasDem Rote Ndao Party DPD*, 2017). However, from Panca Haqiqi's (2014) findings, the NasDem Party's activities in the regions are less visible apart from just before the election.

Dimensions of Coherence

- (13) There have been no defections or deviations from parliamentary groups which means internal disruption to the party. The case of a group of parliamentarians who were deemed not to be in accordance with party regulations has occurred at the DPRD (Regional People's Representative Council) level. This concerns the difference between the RAPBD (Regional Expenditure Budget Plan) in Governor Ahok's Government and the RAPBD in the DKI Jakarta DPRD. Previously, the NasDem Party had taken a stance for its cadres who sat in the DKI Jakarta DPRD not to use the right of inquiry in this matter. However, the DPRD submitted a right of inquiry which included legislative members from the NasDem Party. In Bayu Hermawan's report (2015), the Secretary of the NasDem Party DPP, Rio Capella, at that time would sanction the removal of his members who were sitting in the DKI Jakarta DPRD if they did not immediately revoke the right to inquiry into this case.

This case regarding the right to inquiry shows that members must behave in accordance with the interests of the party in government (Choirie, 2024; Komarudin, 2024). But on the other hand, it shows that the members who sit in the legislative body lack autonomy. Another

example that shows a problem in the coherence dimension is the case of Ferry Mursidan Baldan which was mentioned previously in the Autonomy Dimension.

- (14) Next, regarding the moderate relationship between intra-party groupings or in other words what is termed factionalism, this happened in 2013 (as mentioned in the autonomy dimension), where at least HT followers also left the NasDem Party. For example; Secretary General of the NasDem Party Ahmad Rofiq, Deputy Secretary General of NasDem Saiful Haq, and Internal Chair of the DPP Endang Tirtana, and loyalist cadres of Hary Tanoesoedibjo in the NasDem Party (Leonarda Johanes R.S., 2013). Also in 2018, a Nasdem Party cadre, Kisman Latumakulita, sued Surya Paloh as General Chair of the NasDem Party at the NasDem Party Court. The reason is because according to the 2013 AD/ART and Congress, Surya Paloh is considered to have ended his term of office on March 6 2018 (Nurita, 2018).
- (15) Meanwhile, tolerance for intra-party disobedience has occurred in the case of the NasDem Youth Guard DPP supporting Surya Paloh to become general chairman, but Saepul Haq as chairman of the DKI NasDem Youth Guard rejected Surya Paloh, instead supporting HT to become General Chair. This incident resulted in the dismissal of Saepul Haq as chairman of the NasDem Youth Guard. This means that the NasDem Party is less tolerant in this case.

Another illustration at the regional level is that there are already problems regarding coherence in the Tanjung Pinang DPD (Yudistira, 2014), conflicts regarding positions which are considered nepotism, recruitment of Legislative Candidates (prospective legislative candidates) which are considered not in accordance with the AD/ART, causing demonstrations from the party wing, and Determining Candidate Numbers that do not comply with the AD/ART until resignation occurs from the NasDem Party.

Proposing a “Compromise Capability” Component as a Middle Way

There are two groups of scholars who research the institutionalization of political parties. The first group is a group that examines party institutionalization by separating it from the party system (Larry, 1988; S. P. Mainwaring & Scully, 1995; Merkel, 1996). The second group makes a distinction between political parties and party systems (Dix, 1992; Janda, 1980b; Panebianco, 1988; Randall & Svåsand, 2002). Both groups of scholars have contributed to the debate on the concept of party institutionalization. However, so far there has been no general agreement regarding the relationship between dimensions. Levitsky's statement (1988:641) is perhaps the most triggering dilemma in this debate.

Debates about party institutionalization, such as debates about adaptability, tend to ignore the autonomy of party decisions, a system that is too rigid hampers the party's ability to adapt. The 'infusion of values' which is also neglected when parties are forced to adapt, shows that there is no solution to the debate between these dimensions, there is no formulation of which dimensions are more important and which are not priorities in certain conditions. According to Levitsky (1988:641) a party may be highly institutionalized in one dimension but at the same time less institutionalized in another dimension.

Levitsky distinguishes 'value infusion' and systemicism, he cites the case of the Argentine Peronist party (Partido Justicialista, PJ) which in his calculations scores high on 'value infusion' measures but whose rules and procedures have been ignored, manipulated and contested (Levitsky, 1988; Randall & Svåsand, 2002).

Vicky Randall and Lars Svasand (2002) have conducted a study of the institutionalization of political parties in Third World democracies. In general, the institutionalization of political parties in Third World countries tends to be weak. This is influenced by religious identification, traditional ethnicity, resources including network access and funding, concentration on leadership rather than institutionalization

(personalistic), factionalization originating from political clientelism, and short transitions resulting in newly established parties being less institutionalized.

In Mainwaring's (1995) study which draws on the concept of political party institutionalization in the phenomenon of electoral volatility, there are two factors explaining the occurrence of voter shifts. First, the political sociology factor, which argues that party formation and competition takes place along various lines of division ranging from age, education, or professional background to religion, ethnicity, and social class. Second, regarding cohesion, Mainwaring believes that there is a gap that cannot be explained regarding the divisions that cause electoral volatility. So, he proposed a political party institutional framework to explain electoral volatility. At the party level, electoral volatility is not simply the result of general processes such as democratization, economic performance, or electoral framework (S. P. Mainwaring & Scully, 1995).

Mainwaring (1995) and Beller & Belloni (1978), personalistic leadership tends to be negative because competition between them can trigger factionalization, resulting in cohesion within political parties. This gap can be viewed positively where by forming the commitment of party elites, personalistic leadership can be an opportunity to strengthen the institutionalization of political parties.

Actors outside the party who have been described as having a tendency are seen as threatening the autonomy of party decisions. This needs to be reviewed because on the other hand, actors outside the party can provide sources of financial funds used in funding political parties. Lastly and most importantly, there is no agreement on cause and effect in the relationship between dimensions of political party institutionalization, giving rise to overlapping arguments regarding the institutionalization of political parties. For example, with a high degree of systematicity, party actors will be imbued with the values within the party, or with a high degree of 'Value Infusion' will actors consciously comply with all procedures stipulated in the party system.

In a study conducted on the NasDem Party case, a middle way was found to avoid this dilemma. For the sake of stability and sustainability of the party, and for the process of improving institutionalization to continue, the party needs to have a "Compromise Capability" which is useful for balancing between dimensions.

3. CONCLUSION

The debate about the concept of institutionalizing political parties is still difficult to find agreement on, and remains a dilemma. Meanwhile, for whatever reason it cannot be denied that a low level of institutionalization in any dimension has an impact on the stability and sustainability of the party. The desire to achieve stability and sustainability will always require parties to continue to improve institutionalization.

In the case of the NasDem Party, it shows that: popular personal figures, the resources possessed by members, have contributed greatly to the stability and sustainability of the party. However, it seems that party members are not yet fully institutionalized. So that they can unite with the values and will of the party, it is necessary to increase party institutionalization, funds so that the process of improving party institutionalization can face a dilemmatic condition facing between dimensions, so it is important for parties to have the "ability to compromise".

4. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank the Education Fund Management Institute (LPDP) of the Republic of Indonesia for funding my studies and research.

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Interviews

- Interview with Ahmad Effendy Choirie, Head of Election Winning Division for the NasDem Party, 22 July 2024 at NasDem Tower, Jakarta.
- Interview with Moh. Arief S. Suditomo, Candidate for Electoral District 1 West Java 2019 NasDem Party Election, online via zoom.
- Interview with Muhammad Reza Syarifudin Zaki, Candidate for Dapil IX West Java for the 2019 NasDem Party Election, online via WhatsApp.
- Interview with Ujang Komarudin, Political Observer, July 16 in Margo City, Depok.