

FROM ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT POPULISM MOVEMENT TO POLITICAL PARTY: REVISITING THE UMMAT PARTY IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

The rise of populist movements in Indonesia's political culture and democracy is influenced by the pragmatic ideologies of Muslim figures and perspectives that represent the majority group in the country. The formation of the Ummat Party represents one of the manifestations of the populist movement. The objective of this research is to elucidate the evolution of anti-establishment populist movements that have manifested as the Ummat Party, which has been initiated by Islamic populist figures in Indonesia, specifically Amien Rais. This study was conducted using a qualitative research method. Data collection techniques were carried out through observation and literature review. The findings revealed that Amien Rais employed anti-establishment populist narratives to create a movement of resistance, resulting in the establishment of the Ummat Party in Indonesia. By utilizing this narrative, the Ummat Party aims to challenge the socio-political status quo within Indonesia's democratic culture, advocating for change. Moreover, the Ummat Party exhibits a political agenda in utilizing the anti-establishment movement as a strategy to attain power and as a form of opposition against the current government in Indonesia.

Keywords: Anti-Establishment; Political Party; Populism; Amien Rais

Abstrak

Gerakan populisme dalam budaya politik dan demokrasi di Indonesia banyak dipengaruhi oleh pemikiran praktis tokoh dan pandangan Muslim yang menjadi kelompok mayoritas di Indonesia. Munculnya Partai Ummat adalah salah satu dari bentuk gerakan populisme tersebut. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan proses munculnya gerakan populisme anti-kemapanan yang bertransformasi menjadi Partai Ummat yang digagas oleh tokoh populis Islam di Indonesia, yakni Amien Rais. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi dan telaah pustaka. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Amien Rais menggunakan narasi populis anti kemapanan guna membentuk gerakan perlawanan dengan mendirikan Partai Ummat di Indonesia. Melalui narasi ini pula, Partai Ummat berupaya untuk mengubah struktur sosial politik dalam budaya demokrasi di Indonesia. Lebih lanjut, terdapat kepentingan politik Partai Ummat untuk mengambil isu gerakan anti kemapanan ini sebagai sarana mencapai kekuasaan dan sebagai bentuk resistensi terhadap pemerintah Indonesia saat ini.

Kata Kunci: Anti-kemapanan; Partai politik; Populisme; Amien Rais

A. INTRODUCTION

One of the essential aspects of the implementation of democracy is the emergence of grassroots movements that provide access to free speech toward particular opinion of public issues, where in this case, is commonly referred to the formation of political movements as the manifestation of collective movement from the particular community, aimed for proposing such changes to the social order produced by existing regimes (Meyer, 1997; Porta & Mario, 2020). In this case, a political movement broadly positioned as the political entity in pressure groups on behalf of the status quo occurred among social order, where the existing status quo is also often used by political movements as their resources to conduct collective actions to influence social order (Rochon, 2011). Furthermore, a political movement is usually based on a particular political ideology deliberately used to guide the movement's struggle (Nicholas, 1973).

Political movements have also grown with the assistance of populist figures. These figures have utilized particular populist narratives based on the status quo occurred among the community, which are used as a catalysator resource for the collective action of the masses. The meaning of populism in the context of political figures refers to particular political rhetoric, which emphasizes assessing certain primacy and legitimacy of politics should be attached to the will of people as an absolute value (Funke et al., 2020; Hadiz & Robison, 2017; Mudde, 2017; Sahab, 2017; Taggart, 2000). It has illustrated the necessity that populist figures think of themselves, as representatives of the will of those who feel represented. In contrast, populist figures are present based on the consequences of political conditions and social demands resulting from dissatisfaction. In short, according to Savirani et al. (2014), populist figures have three dimensions: first, the populist movement led by populist figure has the certainty of being oriented

to the will of the people by using certain political status quo narratives; second, political movement led by populist figure has such ideas that are deliberately developed to strengthen the relationship between the people represented in the populist movement with the populist figure; last, the narrative that is used as a strategy for the populist movement by populist figure, massively has formed anti-establishment and anti-elite sentiment.

By complementing this understanding, populist movement led by populist figure also often divides the two groups of people into two different directions: 'the people' and 'the others'. Where 'the people' in this case are defined as those who are victims of the status quo, while 'the others' are those who create social, political, and economic inequalities in the status quo (Canovan, 1999; Kyle, 2018; Müller, 2016; Zúquete, 2015). Still, in the same way, the populism frame is divided into three dimensions based on the conflicts between the people and the others; cultural populism, socio-economic populism, and anti-establishment populism.

Table 1
Three Types of Populists Frame in a
'The people vs. The others' Conflict

	Cultural Populism	Socio-economic populism	Anti-establishment populism
<i>The people (Insider)</i>	'Native' members of the nation-state	Hardworking, honest members of the working class, which may transcend national boundaries	Hardworking, honest victims of a state run by special handful people interest
<i>The others (Outsider)</i>	Non-natives, criminals, ethnic and religious minorities, cosmopolitan elites	Big business, capital owners, foreign or 'imperial' forces that prop up an international capitalist system	Political elites who represent the prior regime

Key Themes	Emphasis on religious traditionalism, law, and order, national sovereignty, migrants as enemies	Anti-capitalism, working-class solidarity, foreign business interests as enemies, often joined	Purging the state from corruption, strong leadership to promote reforms
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Source: (Akarca 2021; Kyle 2018)

These three dimensions are used to identify the map of populist movements that occurred and also used as resources for political movements to mobilize the masses (the people), to fight against the creators of the status quo (the others); by populist figures to achieve the goals represented, by using political movements based on populism framework. These are some example findings of those three dimensions of the populist framework. It can be started from cultural populism, like the study from (Campani et al., 2022; Löffmann, 2022; Valcore et al., 2023; Zheng, 2022), which examined how Donald trump has tried to divide between insiders and outsiders due to the coronavirus disease in confronting Asian American as a minority group. The next one is in the case of Socio-economic populism, where the evidence from Hajdu & Mamonova (2020), has demonstrated the strategy on how populism movement in the form of communist legacy has influenced societal attitudes towards capitalism and socialism in the framework of 'food sovereignty' in Romania.

The last one is the anti-establishment populism dimension, in which the authors also focused on. In this case, a study from Yabancı (2015) has argued that the consequences of widespread anti-establishment populism discontent in Kosovo by focusing on the case of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje (LVV), there are three arguments to explain its appeal: structural factors (electoral availability and party system), societal dynamics (political and economic dissatisfaction) and the agency of the LVV (internal

organization, cohesion, and leadership) all of them have contributed to the emergence of Anti-establishment populism practice.

By utilizing the populism practice, the populist actors, in most of the cases, also use the feeling of fear from the insider (the people) to confront the outsider (the others) and achieve their goals. In the sociological term, this is also known as the culture of fear. According to Best (2020) and Furedi (2007), the culture of fear is where people may incite fear in public to achieve political goals through the existing emotional bias. They have argued that the use of fear in public motivates a particular group of people. The culture of fear could be a powerful tool in achieving specific goals, like in terms of politics; the study from Mölder (2011) has shown how the culture of fear precipitated by an emotional response to uncertainty, instability, and anxiety in social discourse has utilized in the hands of ideologies stressing (e.g. nationalism, Marxism and religious fundamentalism) on the conflict between the insider and the outsider. Furthermore, he also has argued that under populism practice, the culture of fear could be transformed into a political instrument to mobilize people with irrational emotions.

In another side, in the case of politics, the culture of fear has been considered as a resource in shaping the political movement. The political movement result from planning and organizing public complaints, which rely on the culture of fear as the available resources to shape the political movement. Thus, in a political movement, there is an individual strategic mobilization to achieve particular goals (Abhipraya et al., 2020; Gamson & Tarrow, 1999; Inwegen, 2018) by using the culture of fear. In this case, political movements often create opportunities for populist figure to achieve political goals. As stated by Koopmans (1999), political movements that benefit from the status quo (the culture of fear) give rise to political opportunities, with populist narratives created by influential actors; and also by accumulating status quo gaps that

are compatible with political goals, as their resources to open up specific political opportunities (Rochon, 2011). Because possible circumstances could create political opportunities to bring such changes in the political systems, structures, and policies or by other developments in the political field (Rochon, 2011).

In this case, political movements influenced by populist figures in many cases are associated with the formation of political parties in upholding the populist narratives carried at the beginning of movements to solve the status quo, where the aim is to bring such changes toward the gap of status quo through public policies (Katz & Crotty, 2006). Both political movements and political parties have significant differences, especially in the organizational structures and methods that are being used (Bozonelos et al., 2022). But still, both of them, in this case, often become pressure groups to influence policies that are recognized as the source of the gap between the status quo and certain ideologies utilized by populist figures (Bozonelos et al., 2022).

However, some cases have also shown that populist political movements have succeeded in transforming into political parties to contest elections. The 15-M movement against austerity in Spain culminated in the formation of the populist Podemos party (Porta et al., 2017). The labour movement in Brazil assisted to form the Brazilian Labor Party, which had its origins in the Populist political movement based on the Socio-economic Populism framework (Meyers, 2007) – Hug (2001) argued that new political parties often emerge to replace or at least, as a protest to against the existing regime in power. Many political parties emerged from political movements influenced by populist figures to replace the existing political order, which they considered as corrupt political elites. Often, especially when political parties that are already in power are deemed to have failed to carry out their political mandates, there will be an opening for a new critical strategic movements on

the political scene (Hug, 2001). The spread of new values and issues in society and the emergence of political distrust; have been identified as important factors underlying the emergence of new political parties (Bolleyer, 2013).

Among democratic countries worldwide, Indonesia, the world's third-largest democracy, is a crucial case in point. Escaping from the authoritarian regime of former president Suharto, which was signed by a massive democratization process in 1998, was a huge turning point in the emergence of political parties. At the beginning of democratization, the number of political parties that were established reached 184 parties, and 141 of them had obtained legalization as legal bodies (Romli, 2011). The emergence of new political parties and populism movements in Indonesia are both connected; a basic understanding of the fact that a study by Rakhmani & Saraswati (2021) has argued that there is a strong connection between the political campaign industry conducted by political elites in the established-political parties in Indonesia based on socio-economic perspective, where at the end it has created such division of majority voters into two groups of polarization as the resources of populism to treat democracy. In the case of Indonesia as their focus, however, in terms of populism and political parties, in the end, the conclusion revealed the tendency of authoritarianism practice in the populism framework. Instead of solely from a socio-economic perspective, Ahmad (2021) argued that media had played a significant role in shaping the authoritarian populism framework in Indonesia between incumbent and pressure groups of political parties.

However, most studies suggested the domination of political elites instead of political parties, which are the ideology adopted in this case. Soeng (2010) suggested that populism in Indonesia's political contestation has been dominated by political elites from established national and local political parties

(Rahmawati et al., 2023; Widian et al., 2022). The streams of populism in Indonesia have taken into two significant themes after three decades of authoritarian rules, where secular nationalist populism and religious populism in the form of Islamic-oriented form are currently dominating the sphere of political contestation in political elites and electoral affairs (Hadiz & Robison, 2017).

Most studies regarding establishing a populism framework in political parties tend towards established political parties. Previous studies focused on the role of established political parties in Indonesia, with long historical roots in electoral contestation. Of this fact, deepening more profound populism practice in the scope of the non-established political party is considered an essential point of study to fill the gap of a comprehensive discussion on the populism theme; Established political parties have enough massive resources to create a populism framework by their ideologies. For this reason, by taking more consideration of non-established political parties in the populism framework, in this case, would assist in making a more comprehensive discussion on this theme. In addition, the existing previous studies only focused on the political perspective. By adding a sociological perspective to the theoretical framework would assist in understanding the theme of populism differently and contribute to the study of populism in different perspective.

Toward this phenomenon, the emergence of new political parties based on political movements led by populist figures in the 2024 Indonesian election has gradually emerged. One of the most dominant, where the emergence of a new political party starts with a populist figure, is the Ummat Party which has prepared to compete in the 2024 election (Farisa, 2022). Mohammad Amien Rais, otherwise known as Amien Rais, is the initiator of the Ummat Party. Amien Rais was already known as a populist figure who criticized government policies towards the end of President

Suharto's rule by using populist narratives of a corrupt government. He had also begun establishing the National Mandate Party (PAN), which served as general chairman when PAN was first established in 2005 and did not seek re-election at the Second Congress (Hakim, 2021).

Under the administration of President Joko Widodo, Amien Rais often positioned himself as a pressure group by criticizing the ruling regime, where in this case, Joko Widodo (Novelino, 2022); Now, he has established a new political party named the Ummat party and became a source assembly which started as a political movement with a populist narrative that used to provide such resistances to Joko Widodo regime through the 2024 election contestation (Boufakar, 2022). Therefore, this research will try to explain the mechanism of the political movement that Amien Rais mobilized by using a populist narrative framework, where it succeeded in building the Ummat party as a participant in the 2024 election.

B. METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative research method with a case study approach (Al-Hamdi et al., 2020; Creswell, 2013; Martono, 2017; Salim & Syahrur, 2012). A qualitative method was chosen to explore and describe a case study of how Amien Rais has mobilized his political movement with a populist narrative framework to open up political opportunities and use it to establish the Ummat Party as a formed entity of pressure group to provide resistance toward Joko Widodo regime. In this study, researchers used secondary data as the primary source in writing the manuscript, where secondary data has obtained through written sources, not directly from field sources (Martono, 2017). After the data has been received, researchers analyze the available data with interactive analysis

techniques, which include; data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion (Huberman, 1994).

These are the explanation of the interactive data analysis model:

a. Data Collection

Data obtained from secondary resources from reports, news, article journals, books, and other written resources through literature review studies. Moreover, the available data has divided into a note which consists of two parts, which are descriptive note and reflective note. The descriptive note is a natural record obtained, in another side the reflective note is a note whose impressions, opinions, commentaries, and interpretations from the researchers on what the findings are.

b. Data Reduction

The next step is data reduction process, that is used to sort out the existing data to get proper data into account, where it will be in accordance with the research topic. The existing data reduced are originally from secondary data obtained from literature review technique.

c. Data Display

Furthermore, the data that has been reduced will be displayed to get an overview of the findings. In addition, data display is a stage of describing the information that has been collected regarding to the main topic of research. The form of data display in this case, will be in the form of narrative text.

d. Conclusion

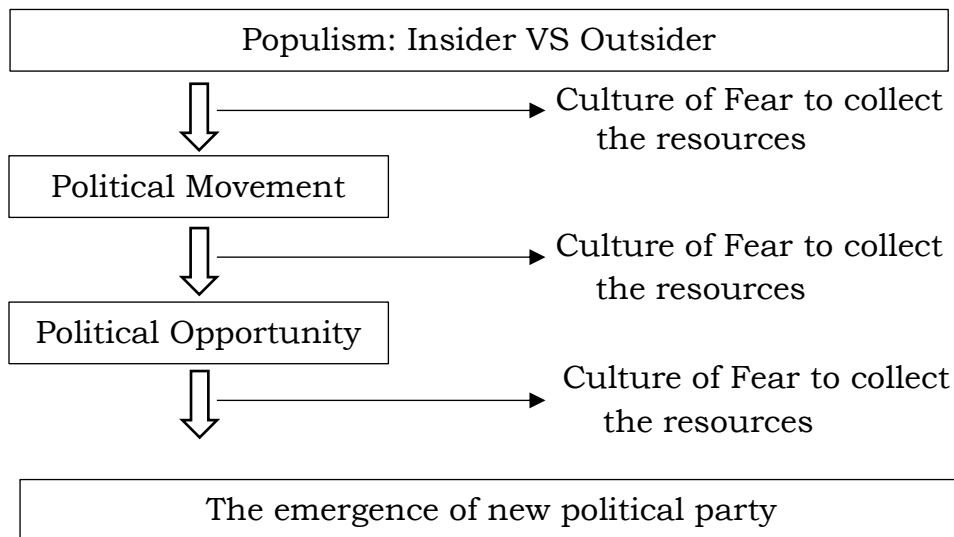
This stage has carried out to interpret the findings, regarding to the benefits and issues in how information has recorded, exchanged, and processed; then we begin to analyze how these things are connected in supporting each other. We have summarized which phase that Amien Rais has engaged and played the most essential role in shaping populism framework into political

opportunity as a moment for the formation of ummat party as pressure group of ruling regimes

Framework of Thinking

In this study, the authors have built the framework of thinking from different variables. The figure below explains the theoretical framework used by authors:

Figure 1.
Theoretical Framework



(Source: Authors, 2023)

It started from how populist leaders collect the resources of the existing status quo by implementing the culture of fear among public, dividing who are the insiders (the people) and who are the outsiders (the others) based on the Anti-establishment populism dimension; that inciting fear under the existing status quo of public, to achieve political goals through the existing emotional bias from uncertainty, instability, and anxiety in social discourse in the hands of ideologies stressing. As a result, public mobilization happened to support the particular goals of the populist actor by creating a political movement of the insiders (the people) to confront the

outsiders (the others). By using the culture of fear to collect the resources, the populist actor opened up the political opportunity to achieve the goals, creating a political party as a tool to bring changes in public policy and solve the status quo.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Since the beginning of the democratization moment in the reform era, many new political parties have emerged on the surface of electoral contestation in 1999 as electoral participants, up to a total of 48 political parties that met the requirements as electoral participants have regulated (Amalia, 2013). The rise of new political parties at the beginning of the reformation was also followed by many subsequent election contestations, which experienced electoral volatility in the number of political parties. For the 2024 election, many new political parties have emerged; One of them is the Ummat Party, which has become a party that has attracted the attention of academics to become the focus of political party studies. This was caused by the figure Amien Rais, the founder of the Ummat party.

1. Populist Figure

Various populist figures in Indonesia have emerged, by this fact it is indicating the existing contestation of discourse by using 'will of people' narratives, also giving more dynamics to electoral contestation in Indonesia. As one of the politicians in Indonesia, studies from (Wihartono, 2018), argued that Amien Rais shows a tendency towards such extreme populist attitudes, likely the case of his campaign program in the mosque about not re-electing Joko Widodo as the president in 2019, because Amien Rais considers Joko Widodo's regime is not in favor of the people (Wiwoho, 2018). Amien Rais' statement also has positioned Joko Widodo's government as a form of democratic regression which tends to lead to the authoritarianism practice, where there is an anti-critical and

corrupt government (Komara, 2019); also by forming a public opinion to show the evidence, where the gap of status quo occurred due to the government's failure in developing the socio-economic circumstances (Nadlir, 2018).

Amien Rais' statement, ahead of the 2019 presidential election, clearly formed a sentiment of anti-establishment populism, which has positioned the society as the victim of the status quo gap created by the ruling corrupted government. Where “the insider” actors who are considered as “the people” are the people themselves, who are also the victims of a corrupted government that works for the benefit of a handful of groups. Furthermore, “the outsider” actors considered as “the others” are Joko Widodo's government for his first term in office. The division between insiders and outsiders also occurred more massively, where political sentiment was built by Amien Rais, who categorized the Allah Party and the Satan Party (Wihartono, 2018).

In this context, Amien Rais considers Allah's Party, a party that opposes government regimes such as PAN, Gerindra, and PKS. However, Amien Rais did not specifically mention which party was included as a satanic party. However, in the political context that occurred, was when Amien Rais intensively criticised Joko Widodo's government, which was considered has taken far into account Islam from political life (Uneputty, 2021). From these facts, the premise that can be drawn as a conclusion is that, the satanic parties are those parties that support Joko Widodo's regime in the first term, which is considered far from Islamic values and Muslim.

The position of Amien Rais as a populist figure in Joko Widodo's regime in the first term consistently positioned himself as an actor that could provide such resistance to Joko Widodo's government through a populism framework with the focus of an anti-establishment narrative that placed the people as victims of the gap in status quo resulted from the corrupt government policies. It

also simultaneously creates a position of political opportunity for Amien Rais to create a movement called 'people power' as a form of resistance if fraud in the 2019 elections occurred in winning Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin (Jakarta Globe, 2019). By this intention, Amien Rais considers that his position has such a high political bargaining power to mobilize the masses in providing a resistance movement to the Joko Widodo's regime, which is considered not in favor of the people. In the end, after the 2019 election was held and resulted in the Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin as the winner, the demonstration movement against the Electoral Commission at the national level on behalf of people power continued to occur by accusing the electoral commission has conducted cheating in the result of 2019 election (Jakarta Globe 2019).

However, many analysts think that the concept of people power brought by Amien Rais has no significant impact on anything. It happened because Amien Rais was considered a lack of figure in mobilizing people, because he has no experience on it (CNN Indonesia, 2019). But the fact that can be drawn from this, however, is that Amien Rais is the figure who introduced the term 'people power' by using the anti-establishment populist narrative for the first time in Indonesia. Up to this point, it can be interpreted that Amien Rais was trying to take advantage of political opportunities through the populist narrative conveyed. During the second term of Joko Widodo's regime that has been re-elected, Amien Rais still consistently positioned himself as pressure group toward the ruling government, which means that Amien Rais and his followers both still considered themselves as 'the insider' (the people). During Joko Widodo's inauguration in his second term, when most of the opposition attended the invitations to inauguration of elected president and vice president, Amien Rais, prefers not to attend it (Chandra, 2014). This also reaffirms that Amien Rais did not provide any legitimacies to the elected government (Barker, 2007).

The anti-establishment populist narratives continued to be uttered by Amien Rais during Joko Widodo's second term. Starting from Amien Rais' statement, along with various data provided about the economic decline due to the ruling government has no more in favor of people and pro-capitalist tendency (Novelino, 2022), degradation of public trust toward the government until democratic regression occurred due to the violence of civil liberty and abuse of power (Alam, 2021); The narrative of anti-establishment populism was also put forward through the publication of Amien Rais's book entitled "Jokowi Retreat or Continue" (Lesmana, 2020); Until the critique was directed to ministries under Joko Widodo's regime which was considered failed in understanding the issues faced by community (Saputra, 2020); Even criticism toward the issue of three terms for Joko Widodo to be in power, as authoritarianism practice to reject democratic tradition, was also carried out against Joko Widodo's regime (CNN Indonesia, 2021).

Various narratives given by Amien Rais to the government of Joko Widodo are in line with the research from Sahab (2017), where political movements often grow with the assistance of populist figure, where these figure uses populist narratives based on the status quo which are used as a source of mass propulsion. The meaning of populism, in the context of the character, refers to political rhetoric, which considers that the primacy and legitimacy of politics of truth with the people as an absolute value. In this case, anti-establishment populism that is carried out through political rhetoric conveyed by Amien Rais; intentionally forms a construction that he has represented the will of people based on the gap in status quo generated by Joko Widodo's regime.

2. The Emergence of Political Opportunity

The existing fact about political movement carried out with an anti-establishment populist narrative by Amien Rais, since Joko Widodo's government regime in the first term into the second term;

with additional debatable evidence that Amien Rais has an influential background during the new order, which is known as the father of reform (Hakim, 2021). Those are becoming one of the resources to be used to create political opportunities. Political movements influenced by an anti-establishment populist figure such as Amien Rais could create political opportunities to achieve political goals. As stated by Koopmans (1999), political opportunities are created by political movements that take advantage of the status quo with populist narratives created by influential actors; and also accumulate the gaps in the status quo that are compatible with the political goals of pressure groups as resources to opening up political opportunities (Rochon, 2011). Political opportunities could be created by particular circumstances where it will be possible to ensure signs of progress in the political system, structure, and policies or by other developments in the political field.

In the context of this research, Amien Rais uses political opportunities obtained from the culture of fear in the form of anti-establishment populist framework, where it has positioned the people as the insiders (the people) and Joko Widodo's government regime as the outsiders (the others); by gathering support to create new political party, to compete in the 2020 election as electoral participants and make certain progresses in political system, structure, policies or by other developments in the political field through policies that would be made. Even though Amien Rais was one of the founders of PAN, Amien Rais did not return to PAN due to internal political party problems (Sari, 2020). Amien Rais prefers to establish a new political party by using the resources he has obtained from the culture of fear as a tool in the form of an Anti-establishment populism framework and taking advantage of the political opportunities created; by establishing a new political party named the Ummat Party. In the same time, this fact has provided

that the political elite has failed to consolidate the internal affairs of political party issues (Suhawi, 2018).

This fact also shows that the narratives built by Amien Rais about his decision not to rejoin PAN and prefer to establish the Ummat party are related to his tendency to uphold particular populist narratives. The emphasis on populist narratives in the form of political goals built by Amien Rais is reflected in the name of the Ummat Party, where 'Ummat' is an absorption word that comes from Arabic, which means 'the people'. From this, it can be explained that the Ummat Party has tried to build a frame that the Ummat Party has a 'people tendency' and represents the interest of the people, which is one of the characteristics of a populist narrative by Amien Rais, that politics must be originated from the absolute will of the people (Sahab, 2017). In line with the previous one, Amien Rais' speech which was uploaded on his YouTube channel, continued to use the negative narrative toward Joko Widodo's government, which considers as not in favor of the people as the opening remark of the ceremony in the Ummat Party establishment event (Farisa, 2022); and even convinced the public not to re-elect the same regime as Joko Widodo's government after the 2024 election has conducted.

The formation event of the Ummat Party was met by various responses from the public who were supporters of Amien Rais and were in the government opposition group (Novelino, 2022). With the existing supporters as political resources obtained from the culture of fear in the form of an Anti-establishment populism framework conducted by Amien Rais, at the same time he also trying to maintain the composition of his loyalists as a resource for the 2024 election (Farisa, 2022). At the first stage of factual verification by the Election Commission of Indonesia, the Ummat Party was the only party that not qualified to participate in the 2024 Election. This happened because the Ummat Party failed to full fill the

requirements as a newly emerging political party in North Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara provinces (Mantalean, 2022).

For this reason, a resistance movement was proposed by Amien Rais toward the General Election Commission of Indonesia. He blamed the General Election Commission of Indonesia conducted fraud in the verification process (Mantalean, 2022). Amien Rais has argued that the decision taken by the General Election Commission of Indonesia was full of irregularities and blamed that the Election Commission of Indonesia has manipulated the process. Amien Rais accused the Ummat Party was not being passed because he often criticized the government policies. Meanwhile, other parties are sycophantic parties for Jokowi's government (DetikNews, 2022a). However, the final decision has changed. The Ummat Party has now officially been declared a participant in the 2024 Election after the Election Commission of Indonesia stated that they had passed the corrective factual verification. The passage of the Ummat Party adds to the list of parties participating in the 2024 Election (DetikNews, 2022b).

D. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The emergence of the resistance movement that tries to change particular political structures, policies, and their implications toward social order in a democratic country is a sign that democratic practice is at its peak. In the case study raised by the authors, Amien Rais, by establishing the Ummat party is also a form of the resistance movements. By utilizing the narratives of anti-establishment populism raised by Amien Rais, he has tried to enter the political opportunities to reach a higher political position several times. In this way, the establishment of the Ummat party is a form of using the political opportunities created by Amien Rais through a political movements that emphasize anti-establishment

populism and prioritizes the people as the main focal point for the existing status quo gap.

The sociological term of the culture of fear clearly assisted this research that Amien Rais is undoubtedly becoming a populist figure by committing to harness over society with the narratives of becoming a victim under the Joko Widodo regime. Based on Amien Rais's populist narrative, it has become the provision for dividing the insider (the people), which stands for society, against the outsider (the others), which are Joko Widodo regime. It is also the causal of the formation of the Ummat party.

Despite the development of the populism debate, our sociological perspective provides thought-provoking, considering previous studies mainly attempt to discuss populism in political discourse. The case study of the Ummat party is essential as the newly emerged political party, at the same time, serves as an early debate that can be underlying for further research. However, this case study approach has not yet been successfully explained systematically due to the limited literature study. Therefore, it is more appropriate to conduct primary data, where it will benefit from measuring populism.

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