

# INTEGRATION INTERCONNECTION POLITIC AND ISLAMIC PARTIES (Applying Amin's Solution for Election Winning)

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**Abstract.** The two backgrounds of this paper have two anxieties, first, Islamic parties in every election in Indonesia always lose compared to the number of Muslim voters, second, the solution for Islamic parties to win in the 2024 elections. The purpose of this study is to answer two research questions, first, what factors what makes Islamic parties lose continuously every election? and second, what is the right solution for Islamic parties to apply in winning elections? Sociology of Religion as an approach and Mixed Methods as a research method. Materials of research come from journals and news media. The results of the study indicate that there are twelve defeat factors for Islamic parties and the solution that can be applied by Islamic parties to win the 2024 election is Amin Abdullah's idea of integration interconnections politic and Islamic parties that have been successfully applied in various fields other than politics, especially in changing IAIN to UIN. The research discussion was divided on the pros and cons of the defeat of the Islamic party, the pros stating the reasonableness of losing because of the factors of defeat and the contra stating the existence of a conspiracy. The conclusion that is a combination of the results and discussion is the defeat of the Islamic party due to internal and external factors and the application of Amin Abdullah's idea in winning the Islamic party in the 2024 election is worth to be practiced. Three recommendations, for Islamic parties immediately apply this solution, for all law faculty - social and political science faculty to develop this idea and for the next researcher to research Islamic parties outside Indonesia.

**Keywords:** *Integration Interconnection, Election, Islamic Party, Winning, 2024*

## INTRODUCTION

### Backgrounds

The first concern is that the Islamic parties in Indonesia are fragmented, not united to one party. Islamic parties in Indonesia are grouped into two, first, party groups based on religious organizations such as PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*) from NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) and PAN (*Partai Amanat Nasional*) from *Muhammadiyah* which get votes based on organizational ties, second, party groups that claim to be parties that have an Islamic platform such as PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*), PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*) and PBB (*Partai Bulan Bintang*). In reality, this division causes polarization and splitting of Muslim voters' votes in the interests of each group based on ideological and emotional factors as well as the reluctance of some Muslim voters to choose Islamic parties based on the history that occurred in the 'militarization' of supporters of Islamic parties when DI TII occurred, which causing trauma to Muslim voters and the campaign themes conveyed are irrelevant to the reality and problems that exist in society (Biyanto 2017).

Data from the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia states that the number of adherents of Islam in Indonesia is 231,069,932 people or 86.7% of the total 266,534,836 Indonesian citizens (Portal Data Kementerian Agama RI 2022). This data is out of sync compared to the defeat of Islamic parties in every election that took place in Indonesia from 1955 to 2019. On paper, the number of Muslim voters is choosing and winning Islamic parties, but in reality, nine elections, political parties Islam suffered defeat.

The second concern in this research is finding the right solution for Islamic parties in winning the upcoming 2024 elections. Solutions that are measurable and have a gradual procedural and can be implemented to attract the minds and hearts of Muslim voters so that the number of Muslim voters is synchronized with the victory of Islamic parties as the majority citizens in Indonesia.

### Research Questions

From the two concerns in the background, two research questions can be made, first, what are the factors that caused Islamic parties to lose in nine elections in Indonesia? second, what are the solutions that Islamic parties can use to win the elections in 2024?

### Approach

Sociology of Religion as an approach. The sociological approach is applied with several theories related to Islamic parties, namely the three paradigms of social theory. The first paradigm of social fact theory in conflict theory is that conflict in a country or society is a necessity and even conflict is something positive if it adds to social integration.

Conflicts arise due to several things, such as the decomposition of capital, the decomposition of labor and the emergence of a new middle class which questions the validity of the unequal distribution of resources so that a new polarization is formed. Conflict has a function in providing group stability, giving rise to new norms, adaptation mechanisms, balance of power, the development of new coalitions and new associations and group boundaries. This theory is closely related to political theory, because the definition of politics is the art of gaining power and maintaining it with physical power (weapons), economic power (wealth and control over goods and services), normative power (traditions of religiosity, legitimacy and authority), personal power (charisma and popularity) and expertise (information, knowledge, technology and intelligence). Power over natural resources and human resources, whether in the form of influence via loyalty and commitment or the exchange of benefits or coercion and domination plus intimidation, can only be obtained through the formation of political parties. One of the functions of political parties is conflict management in society as the owner of the vote in elections, in addition to means of political communication, means of socialization and political mobilization as well as recruitment and formation of government (Darmoko 2017).

This approach measures how small or how big is the conflict between Islamic parties, whether internal conflicts with Islamic parties or among Islamic parties as well as conflicts with other parties, whether nationalist parties or non-Islamic religious parties, or even conflicts with voters in elections. The community as the owner of the vote represented by the one man one vote is a place of battle in seizing and maintaining power and authority. In conflict theory, individuals are dominated and influenced by their environment, in elections, how much domination and influence Islamic parties have on Muslim voters.

Symbolic interaction is the second paradigm in social definition theory. According to Symbolic Interaction (Chicago Blumer School), interactions between people are shaped by the symbols that one or more people generate. These symbols then form groups, which eventually result in an in-out of group structure that breeds sectoral exclusivity and ego based on these symbols. If the answer is the same, enter; if not, exit. These symbols are interpreted differently depending on the symbol reader's ability to translate, interpret, extrapolate, or understand the meaning. Along with symbols, there are scenarios that are specifically generated and created in the patterns of time and bodily motions when people interact in terms of age, gender, age, clothes, appearance, and speech. Dramaturgy is used in symbolic interaction. Dramaturgy is a criticism of the symbolic which is played as a stage for expression and impressions as subjective and objective facts, which occur between the front stage and the back stage, resulting in a stretching of relations in the form of differentiating, circumscribing, stagnating, avoiding and terminating. Social definition theory reveals that individuals who dominate and influence the environment (Darmoko 2017). According to this theory, voters control Islamic parties just like they do nationalist ones. Voters who are Muslim and non-Muslim are necessary for both political groups.

The third paradigm of social behavior theory in social exchange explains matters relating to motivation and hedonism in behavior that occurs in society when giving and exchanging an intangible value or more in the form of direct material or finished material. The principles of this theory focus on four things: first, the unit of analysis of the important role in the social order, second, the exchanges carried out by individuals so that they join and form groups to fulfill and complement each other, third, the benefits obtained in the form of emotional pleasure and fourth, social validation of self-fulfillment and motivation in social exchange (Darmoko 2017). In social exchange theory, individuals tend to seek benefits for themselves in social interactions, especially in elections with the fulfillment of motivation and hedonism.

Religion is a set of laws that God revealed to a chosen group of people, laws that are practiced in various forms of worship, muamalat, and morality, and laws that are packed into dimensions of the world and the hereafter together with prohibitions and orders. In order to find the best solution for the political behavior of Islamic parties in the 2024 elections, the sociology of religion in this study will approach the issue by measuring the extent of the dominance and influence of Islamic parties and the dependence of Muslim voters on party choices in elections or vice versa.

According to Durkheim, there are two categories of behavior that make up religion: Sacred and Profane. The manifestations of the holy (sacredity, something sacred) and profane (individual - group practice) are similarities and differences that are driven by many factors. When it comes to the spirituality of worship, which is expressed in many facets of human existence, religious writings can be divided into the holy and the profane. The purity of religious spirituality as it manifests as a symbol of the social reality that takes place is examined by Durkheim's thesis (Kamiruddin 2011). Political parties are a form of profane religion because they help people interpret religious symbols.

The pioneers of sociology have long investigated how religion in society manifests through organizations and political parties, and Sociology of Religion concentrates on this topic (Jamhari 2020) in addressing socioreligious issues (Soehadha 2018) such on the Islamic parties' inexperience in resolving disputes amicably and successfully, avoiding unproductive disputes, and minimizing egoism (Syamsuddin 2020) due to which the Islamic party lost the election.

## **Methods and Materials**

This study employs a hybrid methodology, which mixes quantitative and qualitative techniques, because the paper's main themes are data and views, two interrelated topics. The figures shown are the vote totals for the Islamic

parties in each Indonesian election, which are converted to percentages to show how much ground the Islamic parties lost. Regarding the classification-related viewpoints that were sorted and chosen in order to provide answers and solutions in this study. Though it will ultimately provide a new meaning on how to assess the figures for the % defeat of Islamic parties, qualitative analysis looks at and analyzes the same numbers. This research will be unique along the many techniques used. This method is applied to the customized research data sources that this research had determined from journals (documents) and news media (websites).

Because the use of laboratory data or numbers in behavior is insufficient for the therapist to deliver the proper dose even though he has utilized Evidence-Based Practice, mixed techniques are used to solve problems relating to human psychological health and behavior (Ferreira et al. 2022). In addition to being employed in the health sector, mixed methods are also used in business to determine whether or not a product will sell by looking at client happiness (Sukarnadi and Raharjo 2019) and based on birth control through contraception, family wellbeing (Misra et al. 2021). In order to adequately respond to the two research objectives in this study, the use of mixed techniques is both necessary and appropriate.

Journals and the news media are sources for research materials. Due to the following circumstances overwhelming it, the Islamic Party lost: The inability of politicians to respond to national, Indonesian, and Muslim issues in terms of tolerance and pluralism and the discrepancy between rhetoric and action in enshrining Islamic philosophy in political morals was the first defeating cause (Soim 2018), The number of provincial sharia laws, like those in West Sumatra, is an indicator, although the Islamic party has not actually prevailed (Wanto 2012). The second element is the Islamic parties' own internal structural issues, which are divided (Nurdin, Saputra, and Prayitno 2019) and the hiring of cadres without following a quality procedure (Tanjung 2019). Third, Islamic political parties have not been successful in increasing political engagement, particularly among young voters casting their first ballots (Prasetyo 2021).

Fourth, voters' confidence in selecting an Islamic party has not increased as a result of the political services offered in the form of community contact (Sahputra 2018) and lacks the necessary qualifications to serve as a legislative body that can link people's aspirations for the welfare of the people (Nur 2016). Fifth, implementing a democratic system half-heartedly that prioritizes one person, one vote, and determines victory based on quantity rather than quality because, on the other hand, the desire to implement political *ijtihad* in a quality capacity in the enforcement of Islamic law is not yet fully implemented (Prihatin 2016).

Sixth, the public's perception of Islamic parties in numerous regions, which have been the foundation of Islam since independence, has continued to be a source of votes and won at home, but the data shows that there is no appreciable change in the scale of winning outside the regional base (away) (Juliani 2021). Seventh, it contradicts the state's fundamental ideology, Pancasila, whether outright or by covert ideological changes that continue to uphold religion as an ideology (Fadli 2020).

The community prefers inclusiveness that can accept all levels of religious understanding, which demonstrates that the substantivistic dimension is more acceptable than legalistic formalism. Eighth, the religious symbols used by Islamic parties are not fully accepted by the wider community as a result of the exclusivity that is formed (Saifuddin 2013). Ninth, associating Islamic politics with Islamic politics, because Islamic politics is defined as a struggle carried out with Islamic symbols in order to cultivate a support base, but Islamic politics is defined as a battle carried out with Islamic symbols in order to achieve power. without having to alter the nation's foundation (Joebagio 2016).

Tenth, *tahaluf siyasi* (Political coalition) is based on what seems to be pragmatic things rather than on sacred and pure meanings like making sacrifices for those who have been wronged, suppressing falsehood, and elevating the dignity of the truth, so a coalition with the term *tahaluf* is inappropriate; what is appropriate is *tanashub* or *takaluf siyasi* / transactional politics (Hawari 2019), similar to how the Ahok case involved the 2017 regional head election (Mayrudin and Akbar 2019) as well as numerous instances of corruption by prominent Islamic parties, such Luthfi Hasan Ishaq (President of PKS) (Kamil 2021), Governor Zumi Zola Jambi of the PAN party (Gabrillin 2018) along with Imam Nahrawi, PKB's Minister of Youth and Sports (Nur Hakim 2019).

Eleventh, voter behavior toward Islamic parties is influenced by three main factors, namely sociological (similarity of ethnicity, religion, race, and class from employment, etc.), psychological (emotional closeness), and rational decisions based on facts that are processed by reason, as can be explained in the 1955 election, in which a combination of Islamic parties received 45.2% of the vote, including Masyumi, NU, PSII, PERTI, and others (KPU n.d.). In the general election of 1977, the PPP, a coalition of Islamic parties, garnered 29.3% of the vote. In the elections of 1982 and 1987, that number dropped to 27.8% and 15.97%, respectively. Additionally, just 36.98% of the vote was cast in the 1999 election, which featured 31 Islamic parties, during the Reformation period. Islamic parties, which included 7 parties in the 2004 general election, only garnered 38.39% of the vote. Islamic parties won 29.20% of the vote in the 2009 election with 9 parties. Five Islamic parties only received 31.3% of the vote in the 2014 election (Mahardika and Fatayati 2019) and the 2019 Election, where just 30.05% of the vote was received by the five parties PKB, PKS, PPP, PAN, and PBB. Only 31.58% of the votes were cast for Islamic parties overall in the nine elections (KPU 2019).

The twelve election-related political factor is identity politics, which is equal to religious exclusivity. Identity

politics-related cases, including the Ahok case (Firdaus 2017) following Anies Sandi's triumph (Fautanu, M, and Gunawan 2020) Despite the fact that it ultimately widens the gap between Muslim voters and Islamic parties and poses a threat to the country's unity and integrity (Al-Farisi 2018). Political and theological illiteracy, social inequality, inadequate political institutions, and unequal political polarization all contribute to the growth of politics of identity (Paralihan 2019). Contrary to the politics of tolerance and togetherness that have been adopted in Indonesia since its independence, the politics of identity (Alfaqi 2015) which ought to be used to the invaders (Suseno 2018) It is connected to political communication that was chosen and used with intention during campaign speeches to draw in large numbers of people (Dhani 2019). Muslim voter recruitment through reasonable voters was unsuccessful due to identity politics (Muhtadi 2018), using data from the two most recent elections, which were held in 2014 with 31.3% of the vote and in 2019 with 30.05%.

Amin's theory of interconnection integration 'Spider's web' is an effective and efficient solution. This idea can be put into practice by Islamic parties by taking steps to gradually integrate interconnections between politics and Islamic parties. In building knowledge and developing knowledge as well as the victory of one group over another, such as the conquest of cities both militarily and economically and even democratically through the collection of the most votes at this time, it is necessary to master and apply the right politics in every battle and match, which as a whole, it is necessary to integrate the interconnections of all the elements involved.

The Integration Theory was built by Kuntowijoyo with the term Islamic Studies, with various other figures such as Fazlur Rahman, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Ziauddin Sardar, Ismail Raji` al-Faruqi, and Sheikh Muhammad Naquib al-Attas. Integration is the opposite of dichotomy, which seeks to discriminate or compartmentalize clearly different ones, causing prolonged conflict and decline and collapse in every dynasty of power and technological development. Integration in the view of the scholars is an attempt to integrate general knowledge and religious knowledge. This integration theory was later criticized by Amin Abdullah because these two groups, both the general science group and the religious science group, would not get along and even wanted to beat each other (Machali 2015) despite the fact that some items can naturally be mixed from the two.

The goal of integration in this study is to bring together two disparate, polarized concepts, such as politics and Islamic political parties. An Islamic party is a group of Muslims who assert to be saints who represent God and prophetic successors who steadfastly carry out the mission of upholding justice and equating welfare for humans. Politics is frequently defined and unilaterally claimed to be dirty, illegitimate, and un-Islamic because there are no restrictions on how a person or group can gain and maintain power. Politics and Islamic political parties will always compete with and defeat one another, just like religious knowledge and general science. Parties that declare themselves to be non-Islamic are adversaries if it is interpreted broadly. As a result of this, Amin Abdullah has criticized integration as being insufficient and has suggested that it should be combined with further interconnections. Amin Abdullah and his Interconnection Integration Theory has reformed IAIN (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*) into UIN (*Universitas Islam Negeri*) as a major wave of gradual changes in scientific development in Indonesia with various new study programs that study and provide wider and varied solutions to problems and human life (UIN Sunan Kalijaga n.d.).

Interconnection is an effort to understand the complexity of the phenomena of life experienced and lived by humans, because Amin argues that any scientific building, whatever its form, will not be able to stand well without cooperation, greeting each other, needing each other, correcting each other, and interconnecting between scientific disciplines. So integration-interconnection is an effort to respect each other that general science and religion are aware of their respective limitations in solving human problems, this will give birth to a collaboration at least to understand each other's approach (approach) and method of thinking (process and procedure) between the two sciences.

The interconnection between politics and Islamic parties is a necessity in a conscious effort to cooperate, correct each other and need each other, especially in changing patterns of haram and halal standards in Islamic politics and parties. The integration Interconnection of Amin Abdullah's theory in politics and Islamic parties is an effort to respect and understand the roles and functions between the two and to raise awareness of the limitations of each so that they work together and complement each other in solving community and government problems in an effort to win the 2024 election. It could start with the departure of Islamic party waggons that are exclusively propelled by the historical normative concept 'locomotive' that emphasizes the content of political arguments as the fundamental support for the more contextual integrative interconnective paradigm (Tajuddin and Awwaliyah 2021).

Integration Interconnection in politic and Islamic parties can be applied through the following levels: philosophy, material, methodology and strategy (Suparni 2020). The philosophical level that contains the existential fundamental values of Islamic politics and parties, the material level that combines and connects universal political values into Islamic parties and vice versa, the methodological level in combining and linking the methods and approaches of political parties and Islamic parties that seem very contradictory and the level of strategy in implementation and practice that is adaptive and accepted by the people who become voters in elections in an effort to improve the individual quality of Islamic parties in critical, creative, collaborative and communicative thinking by not only voicing the arguments of the holy book and impressing forcing them to be interrelated but come true (Sugilar,

Rachmawati, and Nuraida 2019) between politics and Islamic parties although most of these roles do not really touch the problems that occur in society and do not provide solutions as expected.

In the 2024 election, there will be 24 parties that have passed the administration, including new Islamic parties, such as the *Partai Ummat* founded by Amin Rais. (Partaiummata.id 2022) and the *Partai Gelora* founded by Muhammad Anis Matta (partaigelora.id 2022). In the event of General Legal Administration Services Implementation of Value “*PASTP*” (*Profesional, Akuntabel, Sinergi, Transparan, Inovatif*) In the Political Party Legal Entity Service held by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, East Java on August 15, 2022, Heru Wahono Santoso said that there are two things related to political parties in Indonesia regarding the definition and funding of political parties. In the definition of a political party, it is stated in LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA NUMBER 2 OF 2011 CONCERNING AMENDMENT TO LAW NUMBER 2 OF 2008 CONCERNING POLITICAL PARTIES Article 1 that: *Political parties are organizations that are national in nature and are formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of the same will and ideals to fight for and defend the political interests of members, society, nation and state, and maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia* (dpr.go.id 2011) and some of the goals and functions of political parties. and four problems that require solutions, first, the source of funds for political parties to participate in the 2024 election which has five crucial issues: political parties depend on brokers and financial strongmen, parties as ATMs with bad governance, double bookkeeping and limited legal reach. Second, mapped political education to improve people's political literacy to seven challenges (face-to-face conventional political education activities with the community in the form of socialization, political podcasts through Youtube and others, distribution of videographic political content to improve political literacy, public service advertisements with political and election materials. in crowded public facilities, political courses develop positive and active political information agents in the community, infographic content on social media for the millennial generation and political education in 'democratic villages' in each region) (Santoso 2022). Third, the fulfillment of the 30 percent quota for female candidates and fourth, the rights of persons with disabilities in their rights to nominate themselves as legislative candidates, being able to become election committees and being comfortable in choosing.

The integration interconnection application of political and Islamic parties in various problems to face the 2024 elections can be applied procedurally by understanding the root causes of problems that can be solved by a culture of readiness and overcoming problems that can be technically controlled and socially engineered, which if they cannot be handled properly will cause a social disaster (Khairul Rahmat and Kurniadi 2020). The problems that arise in society such as poverty, education, wages and employment have been textually explained in the solution of the Qur'an and hadith through the stories of the prophets and companions. But in reality, Islamic politics and parties are not able to present pragmatic realistic contextual solutions and as a result they are not the main choice for Muslim voters themselves, because when measured by the three social approaches and the twelve factors as mentioned above, Islamic parties always lose in terms of Elections and their practice in the field directly as well as engaging in the community are needed such as blusukan and conveying meetings with the community on social media is a necessity. Changes in communication styles and speeches as well as taking sides with the community in every action are not a negative image before the election. The continuity of the performance of Islamic parties through their cadres as legislative candidates or regional head candidates needs to be demonstrated by various activities that actually solve real-life problems.

Moderation-based multicultural from integration interconnection is something that Islamic parties can practice in a political approach to society through mutually beneficial relationships and win-win solutions for all elements of society that are semi-permeable (mutually penetrate or dissolve in certain things and not in certain things). others), intersubjective testability and creative imagination (Sufratman 2022) through five logic levels: rhetorical logic level, comparative logic level, triangulation logic level, integration logic level and interconnect logic level (Nurul 2019). And political parties are required to understand political terms, a total of 39 terms, which appear at the time the elections will be held such as electability, constitution, campaign, democracy, electoral district, dcs, dct, dpk, dps, dup, dsp, golput, incumbent, box. vote, KPU, Bawaslu, php, phpu, quick count and so on (Sholehudin 2020) and able to provide a solution if there is a problem through a logical process of proof and formal legal procedures so that every cadre of an Islamic party can carry out the process of integration interconnection of political terms with the reality on the ground before the election, during the election and after the election.

Improving the quality of Islamic politics and parties through the concept of interconnection integration can be applied through the following stages of PPEPP (*Penetapan, Pelaksanaan, Evaluasi, Pengendalian, dan Peningkatan Standar* = Standard Setting, Implementation, Evaluation, Control and Improvement) non-stop sustainable Islamic party originating from Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education Article 52 paragraph 2 (dpr.go.id 2012). PPEPP Islamic parties can follow the patterns contained in 45 important points in 6 sections related to political parties as written in the Handbook of Party Politics (Katz and Crotty 2006) and 13 chapters divided into 36 strategies of Sun Tzu in the book *The Art of War Sun Tzu* and 36 strategies (Tjiang Feng 2007). These two books, from the west and east, are theoretically calculated if they are understood and mastered and practiced with the procedural integration of political interconnection - Islamic parties through the PPEPP system against Islamic parties, they result in an increase in the

standard of strength for internal parties and foster public confidence in the electorate by integrating and raising awareness, cooperation and mutual respect for each other's virtues and fill in the gaps in the contextual practice between the thoughts of Islamic political scholars and the thoughts of non-Muslim western or eastern political scholars.

Integration interconnection politic and Islamic parties is the attitude, behavior and character of openness and tolerance for differences and acceptance of differences on the level of faith and devotion of voters which is outwardly or visibly determined and measured by outward symbols of religion, especially in the way of dress. The desire to get votes by being elected by Muslim voters who, in the demands of the quality of the Islamic party level, will not be directly proportional if the processes of fair and agreed-upon openness are violated with names that are unpleasant, even misleading and infidel in the context of disagreeing and not wearing clothes so that become an identity that automatically isolates Islamic parties from the reality that is understood to occur in a pluralistic society. Identity politics can backfire if it is used excessively in the struggle for power.

Integration interconnection politic and Islamic parties understood as one of the many ways in art in an effort to seize power and then defend it. Art is an expression of human expression as outlined in interesting audio-visual works and even gets rewarded according to the needs of the community for the art itself. In the Arabic proverb it is stated that: al-Hajah umm al-Ikhtira' or "The need for something will make someone find useful and easy inventions" or in other words Islamic parties become the main needs of the community so that it is necessary for cadres to be able to meet the needs of the community. the. Refers to the balance of demand - supply.

The first art for Islamic parties to be needed by the community starts from the ability of Islamic parties to admit their weaknesses (financial, one-way communication patterns and dominantly find fault with other parties) so that they need community assistance to jointly realize what the community needs so that there is an integration of interconnection of strengths with different levels of faith and wealth between individuals in society to complement each other with the awareness that each individual has shortcomings and weaknesses with mutual cooperation. The needs of the community by mutual cooperation for food and clothing, as well as the need for education and health as well as work opportunities are priorities.

The second art that the community needs is for Islamic party cadres to imitate what the winners of the previous elections did, the last 10 years for example, whether they admit it or not, Jokowi as the role model of leadership, not only at the national level but even at the international level with the G20 presidency. . The character that appears from Jokowi's figure is what the community needs, Islamic party cadres can imitate Jokowi's programs and activities before becoming the mayor of Solo (this is most important, especially three to five years before the Solo city regional head election) , while serving as mayor of Solo, Governor of Jakarta and was elected president. One of the many keys to Jokowi's victory is to come, see and listen directly to the problems that exist in the community and provide balanced solutions and measurable targets. Jokowi is not the type of "*Asal Bapak Senang* (As long as you are happy)" and prefers to be silent so as not to answer slander and sarcasm. Owners of electoral votes from the community need leaders and parties who focus on working for the community and anti '*baper*' (easy get emotional).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Results

Two results from materials and methods are first, the twelve factors of the defeat of Islamic parties are certainly not proportional to the number of Muslim voters in Indonesia. The twelve defeat factors can be categorized into two factors, internal and external. Internal factors are related to the pattern of cadre recruitment and internal conflict management that cannot be resolved properly. External factors arise from the reaction of the community as the owner of the vote against Islamic parties with various things that make people reluctant to choose Islamic parties such as the incompatibility of symbols with the behavior of the party elite and the unfulfilled needs of the community for Islamic parties. Second, a measurable solution that can win Islamic parties in the 2024 elections is Amin Abdullah's theory of integration interconnection. The integration interconnection politic and Islamic parties is a solution that Islamic parties can do by integrating and cooperating with each other on positive things with all parties and the awareness to recognize the weaknesses of Islamic parties so that they can complement each other so that Muslim voters are interested in voting.

### Discussions

The defeat of the Islamic party and its contributing elements are the subject of two opposing views in this topic. As Yudi Latif argued, the Islamic party lost because Muslim voters did not support it, the Islamic party's vision and mission did not align with society, and the quality of knowledge regarding ethics, worship, and aqidah was not balanced with politics, economics, and other sciences. According to the pro group, the Islamic party deserved to lose. Because Indonesian Muslims are less concerned with formality and religious symbolism, Azyumardi Azra claimed that Islamic parties are not likely to become big and decisive forces. To combat anarchist, Nurcholis Madjid advocated the slogan "*Islam yes, Partai Islam no*" (Hanifa 2013).

According to Muhammad Sirozi, there are five things that cause Islamic parties to lose: (1) the lack of precise materials and methods used during the campaign, (2) the lack of trustworthiness of Islamic party leaders and their lack of connection to the voting community as a result of their aloof communication style, (3) the low level of political education held by the community, (4) the media's role in politics in forming public opinion that is less influenced by Islamic parties, and (5) the difficulty Muslims have in selecting an Islamic party (Sirozi 2004). In her thesis, Annisa Verdiantika comes to the conclusion that three factors—a lack of a strategic mission formulation, an inability to identify and develop figures, and frequent inconsistencies in political attitudes and behavior—are to blame for Islamic parties' defeat in the organizational framework (Annisa and Riyono 2018).

According to TB Massa Jafar, the failure of Islamic parties was caused by their ahistorical (historically cut off, or in other words, willful forgetting of history) nature, their fixation on normative issues, their refusal to support the interests of the people or voters who had a voice, as well as the influence of Middle Eastern ideas or imports that left them unrooted and unable to even offer locals any solutions. The PBB's secretary general, Ferry Afriansyah, claimed that the Islamic parties failed because they were unwilling to come together. They even engaged in physical violence, verbal criticism, and slander against one another (Pratama 2018).

The Contra group claimed that conspiracy theories and historical events from Indonesian elections caused the Islamic party to lose, which led to its defeat. Based on the Path Dependence concept, Agus Riyanto claimed that Islamic parties' defeat was a continuation of the bad political decisions made by Islamic party officials in the past. These decisions were documented in history as conflicts and divisions in institutions and organizations, which prevented Islamic parties from developing properly and even led to repeated power struggles (Riyanto 2020).

Conspiracy theory is the propensity to believe that a significant event has been covertly prepared by a strong, negative force and to behave accordingly (Khalil, Apsari, and Krisnani 2020) then the Islamic party's multiple defeat elements are the result of a conspiracy, according to conspiracy theories that are pseudoscience (knowledge of physical occurrences that pass for "science" but involve an unscientific process of verification). Elections are echoed by conspiracy theories because there is no solid proof to support why a party lost, especially Islamic parties. There was no coordinated effort between the government, KPU, and Bawaslu to commit an organized, systematic, and large fraud in the 2019 election, according to Wiranto as *Menkopulhukam* (Andry 2019).

Zulkifli Hasan was the general chairman of PAN prior to the 2024 election, and it was said that he used a conspiracy theory to delay the election, drawing condemnation from Refly Harun (Ramadhan 2022), both the PKB and Golkar chairman (Gatra 2022) Having the chance to hold the office of president three times, which President Joko Widodo later explicitly rejected by abiding by the constitution and directing ministers to put work first (Agung 2022).

No matter the occurrence or the case, conspiracy theories are considered to exist. For instance, according to Arya Bima, 19% of Bogor inhabitants thought Covid 19 was the consequence of a conspiracy (Hendartyo and Widyastuti 2020). Armstrong and Buzz never landed on the moon, for example, are two incidents that are still viewed as the product of conspiracies (Kennedy 2019), Death of Princess Diana (Dharanindra 2017). Because everything that occurs in society, notably war, unemployment, and poverty, is the outcome of the formations and plans of a number of influential people, even terrorism is seen as the product of a conspiracy (Hadiprayitno 2003).

Three factors—Western phobia as opposed to Islam phobia, hyper-logic over the relationships that occur, and a nervous antidote for those with dreams about plot holes—are to blame for the assumption that there is a conspiracy against Islam and Islamic parties (Wanodya 2018), Everything is matched to the user's preferences and appears to be compelled to have correlation and connection, whether it be in bahasa, English, or another straightforward language called "*Cocokologi*" as the simple equivalent of a conspiracy theory.

## CONCLUSIONS

As a consequence of the study's findings and debates in results and discussions, there are two main conclusions that can be drawn. The first is that Islamic parties in Indonesia are always defeated, and this is because unanticipated variables contribute to the defeat on a regular basis. Second, Amin's integration interconnection theory in politics and Islamic parties should be tried and practiced to ward off the reason that conspiracy theories are the cause of the defeat of Islamic parties in every election. And the expected impact is that Islamic parties apply the theory of integration interconnection will be able to better educate the academic community at all Islamic universities in Indonesia on the elements that led to the defeat of Islamic parties as well as the best course of action for enhancing the standard of politics and holding enjoyable elections. For researchers after this research, it is possible to examine the relationship between

politic and Islamic parties outside Indonesia, whether they win or lose.

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