



# POLITICAL COMMUNICATION PROCESS IN THE FACTIONALISM OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL PARTIES: CASE STUDY OF PROSPEROUS JUSTICE PARTY (PKS) (1999- 2023)

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## ABSTRACT

This research wants to know the process of political communication in factionalism that occurs in Islamic Parties, namely Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). The approach taken in this research is qualitative with case study research type and interview method as data collection technique. Interviews were conducted with 12 (twelve) resource persons. The theories used in this research are political communication theory, conflict theory, and faction theory. The results showed that there are stages in Prosperous Justice Party factionalism, namely cooperative factionalism, competitive factionalism, and degenerative factionalism. In these three stages, each stage was analyzed in accordance with the elements of political communication, namely sender, encoding, message, channel, decoding, receiver, feedback, and noise. In the cooperative factionalism stage, there are justice and welfare factions. At the competitive factionalism stage, there are conflicts between factions and at the degenerative factionalism stage marked by the birth of a new party, namely the Gelombang Rakyat Indonesia party. The generation system in Prosperous Justice Party as a recipient communication element, plays a role in political communication and strengthens the party's ability to overcome persistent conflicts and has saved the party from prolonged conflict. In addition to regeneration, PKS leaders and the Majelis Syuro as sender elements or communicators, have a central role in the political communication process. Their role covers various aspects, from formulating party messages to communicating with the public, party members, and other stakeholders.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Political parties are organized entities, consisting of a number of competing groups with diverse views. In the realm of modern democratic politics, the presence of political parties has a very important significance (Arianto et al., 2021). The purpose of establishing of political party is to mobilize society, voice special interests, offer compromise to different views, and provide a means of succession to legitimate political leadership. The existence of political parties is necessary to promote a system of government based on popular representation and democratic principles. A political party is an attempt by a group of individuals or communities to change the existing political system of form a new mindset in society in order to create a better order (Fadila et al., 2022).

A political party is a group that is structured in a permanent manner and aims to maintain control of the government for the benefit of the party leadership and provide ideal and material benefits to its members. The emergence of political parties is based on the belief that by forming these entities, individuals with similar views and goals can be combined so that their direction can be integrated together (Al Hamdi & Anawati, 2021). One cause of conflict is the difference in choice, being part of a coalition or being in opposition. This tends to create tensions between political parties, even leading to internal conflicts where some sections break away to form new parties or face dual leadership. Such internal conflicts indicate a lack of unity within political party structures and a lack of strong institutional processes (Romli, 2017).

Factionalism is a long standing phenomenon around the world. South Africa's post 1994 consolidation of democracy over nearly three decades has been inseparable from factionalism. Factions can be disastrous, conflictive, divisive and destabilizing or they can strengthen political parties (Kanyane, 2021). Scholars and pundits have noted the dominance of the American two-party system (Clarke, 2020). Ideological factions provide party identities that allow legislators to define partisan types and capture specific resources. Research on ideological factions, analyzing new data on nine ideological factions in American parliaments 1995-2018 (Clarke, 2020).

Based on studies of factionalism in mature democracies such as Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and Canada, there have been changes in party organization due to democratic process. This democratization process tends to have a negative effect on the party. The factions that occurred in the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDP) and the Italian Christian Democratic Party (DC) were caused by the existence of proportional rules and procedures. This is then exacerbated by the self-serving behavior of faction leader, which creates patronage and hinders the democratization process (Boucek, 2013). These faction leaders later contributed to the collapse of party dominance in Italy and Japan in the early 1900s. Reforms resulted in weak leadership and difficulties in decision-making. Party problems and government instability took a toll on party revenues (Boucek, 2013).

One of Europe's radical left parties, the Greek Coalition of the Radical Left (Syriza), was the most successful party in the 2015 elections. Syriza is a socially oriented organization led by a dominant coalition of oligarchs that transformed itself into a political party. The economic situation and external pressure from European institution during the first and second Syriza government shifted the party's power. Cooperative factionalism turned into degenerative factionalism, which led to the split of the left faction in 2015. At its formation in 2004, there was cooperative factionalism, then it turned into competitive factionalism and ended in degenerative factionalism that led to the split of the leftist faction in 2015 (Tarditi & Vittori, 2019).

The presence of factions in political parties is something that is difficult to avoid. But it becomes a problem when cooperative factionalism turns degenerative. In the Convention People's Party of Ghana (CPP) and the People's National Convention (PNC), there has been an excessive cult of personality with infighting between factions which has resulted in a decline in the party's votes at elections. There are several possibilities that led to the CPP and PNC being unable to overcome the problem of fragmentation within the party. Therefore, the party needs to build a strong party structure, reduce leadership dominance and minimize political opportunism (Boakye, 2022).

The Philippines is a rich case study on the issue of intra party factions and factionalism in competitive party systems in Southeast Asia. The factionalism of political parties in the Philippines has occurred over time, from the bi-factionalism of the two-party system to the multi-factionalism of parties. The resilience of factions in political parties in the Philippines is the result of a combination of institutional and structural factors rooted in the history of the party system (Teehankee, 2020).

South Africa's nearly three decades of post 1994 democratic consolidation have been inseparable from factionalism. Factions are either disastrous, conflictive, divisive, and destabilizing or they can strengthen political parties. Political parties in South Africa are examples of parties that face the problem of factionalism. Factions can cause havoc and instability in political parties, but factions can also drive positive change for the party and even strengthen participatory democracy and the multi-party system in South Africa (Kanyane, 2021).

Southeast Asia has many interesting areas to study factionalism, as the region has a wide variety of parties and party systems, with the dominant party being a case of two sides fighting for power (Tan, 2020). The type of factionalism that occurs in Southeast Asia tends to be programmatic, clientelism, and personalist/charismatic (Hicken & Tan, 2020). In the case of Southeast Asia, it was found that the more competitive the party system, the greater the likelihood of factional patterns between parties in a particular government. This is influenced by the socio-cultural and institutional forces of factionalism, the role of patronage, party size, and the degree of party centralization. Unlike factionalism in the Japanese LDP which promotes party cohesion, factionalism in Southeast Asia is generally seen as an undesirable anti-party feature that encourages corruption and vote-buying.

The conflicts within the Hong Kong Democratic Party (DP) are unique and popular. The Hong Kong Democratic Party experienced a series of intra-elite conflicts and competitive factionalism in different stages of its



development. The DP took several steps to save the party when it was hit by a crisis, so intra-party elite conflict in the case of the DP is defined as competitive factionalism. Consolidation was carried out by prioritizing the commitment to create a democratic regime and regulate public life (Hung, 2020).

Tanzania's dominant party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), was able to manage factionalism in the presidential nomination process before the 2015 general elections. A group of politicians were able to form powerful factions and create sharp divisions within the party until CCM leaders removed them from the 2015 candidacy to restore party unity in preparation for the election. The CCM presidential nomination in 2015 was characterized by the revival of centralized control and influence of party leaders in leadership secession to prevent a fall into degenerative factionalism that would seriously weaken the party (Tsubura, 2018).

Part of the group remained within the United Development Party (PPP) while others joined the Unity Party (PP), which was established on January 3, 1999 under the leadership of PPP Chairman Jaelani Nano. The establishment of the PP split the PPP vote in the 1999 elections. The PP under the leadership of Jaelani Nano was unsuccessful in competing with the PPP, which at the time was led by Hamzah Haz. In the 1999 elections, PP won 1 seat in parliament, and after that PP never again appeared in the general elections (Nurdin et al., 2019).

An Islamic party that has experienced internal conflict besides the PPP is the National Awakening Party (PKB). PKS is one of the political parties born from the womb of the 1998 reformation. A day after the collapse of the "orde baru" regime, as Soeharto stepped down from the presidency on May 21, 1998, the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) received various proposals from Nahdliyin from various regions in Indonesia to establish a political party that accommodates the aspirations of Nahdliyin and Muslims in Indonesia in general. The history of the birth of this Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) mass-based political party cannot be separated from the figure of Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur. However, since May 2005 until now, Muhaimin Iskandar (Cak Imin) has held the position of Chairman of PKB. PKB is the party that experienced the worst split (three times in ten years) in the history of reform.

In addition to PPP and PKB, an Islamic political party that has experienced internal conflict is the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). PKS is one of the political parties based on Islamic principles. The party was founded under the name of the Justice Party (PK), on July 20, 1998 at the Al Azhar Mosque, with more than 30,000 people attending. At the beginning of its establishment, the party was led by Dr. Nurmahmudi Ismail. Based on data from the 1999 elections, the Justice Party only received 7 seats in the House of Representatives (Arrasyid&Abidin, 2020). PKS as an Islamic-based political party in Indonesia is often considered to have solid character with good internal leadership and militant cadres. However, after the 2004 elections, there were differences in views that led to factions within PKS.

A series of internal conflicts within PKS are part of the historical process of divisions that have occurred within Islamic parties in Indonesia and have broken the solidity of party cadres to gain voter support in each election. However, based on the data on the percentage of votes cast in the elections from 1999 to the 2019 elections, PKS was able to continue to maintain and increase the vote acquisition target.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Political Communication**

Political communication refers to a series of processes by which information such as facts, opinions, beliefs, and so on are conveyed, exchanged, and sought by participants in the context of more organized political activities. This view emphasizes that the presence and performance of political institutions are the result of a particular political system and political communication takes place in the context of a particular political system (Mc Quail, 1992). Meadow (1980) in Nimmo (2004) argues that the term of communication refers to any exchange of symbols or messages that to a significant extent have been shaped by or have consequences for, the functioning of the political system (Nimmo, 2005). Meadow (1980) emphasizes that the symbols or messages conveyed have an important impact or shape the consequences of the political system.

Today, communication experts have found that the elements of communication are not just five (who, said what, on what channel, to whom with what effect), but have evolved into many more. Communication experts have spent years researching each element of communication to determine how each component affects how effective communication is. Previous communication research emphasized persuasion, or the attempt to achieve a desired impact. Message senders attempted to convince individuals to act or not act. However, recent advances explain that communication research is becoming increasingly broad in the impact it examines (Morissan, 2013).

### **Conflict Theory**

Conflict theory asserts that conflict is necessary to create social change. Functional structural theory argues that social change in society always occurs when equilibrium is achieved, while conflict theory believes that social change arises from conflicts of interest. At some stage, societies can reach a common agreement despite previously being involved in conflict. In conflict situation, there are often negotiations that lead to the formation of an

understanding or consensus. Rafl Dahrendorf developed his theory with some acceptance and some rejection, while modifying Karl Max's sociological theory. Initially Rafl Dahrendorf saw conflict theory as a partial perspective that could be used to analyze social phenomena. Conflict is defined as a "clash" caused by differences in views, competition, and arguments that arise between individuals, individuals and groups, or between groups. Conflict does not always have a negative impact, because new innovations in life can be born through conflict (Dahrendorf, 1959; Nurdin et al., 2019a). Conflict does not always lead to division, but can also be a starting point for positive things.

### **Factionalism Theory**

Factionalism can be seen in non-exclusive terms, namely as a dynamic process of subgroup partisanship (Boucek, 2009) in (Emanuele et al., 2020). Scientific research on factions began to be developed around the 1960s-1970s by Zariski (1960), Rose (1964), Sartori (1976), Beller & Belloni (1978) in Noor (2015). The study has become a classic theory used as a rationale for research on factions and political divisions. Factions are a term used in the context of institutional politics. The two key elements of factions are subgroups within larger groups and subgroups based on similar identities and goals (Zariski, 1960 in Noor, 2015). A faction is an intraparty group whose members share the same identity and goals and work together to achieve those goals (Romli, 2017). Factions have a variety of goals, including influencing party strategy and policy, maintaining the faction's patronage and control over the party, and proposing a new set of values to the party (Wahyuni & Ayu, 2022; Zariski, 1960). Factions consist of two important components, namely sub-groups that are members of a larger group, and sub-groups united by common goals and identities (Romli, 2017).

Francoise Boucek does not consider factions as fixed, so Boucek introduced the term factionalism and described it as a dynamic process of a subgroup. This process can change many times in line with the response of the incentives received by the subgroup. Factionalism will show different variations in different experiences within political parties. According to Boucek, factionalism is: cooperative, competitive, and degenerative. This typology refers to actors within the party, which involves the dynamic formation of subgroups within the party. It also includes process changes that occur in response to various incentives.

Cooperative factionalism refers to a situation where factions can have the potential to unite political parties (Boucek, 2013). In cooperative factionalism, although factions have different political views, they try together to strengthen and unite the party (Priohutomo et al., 2019). This is seen in parties that are formed from the merger of several different groups and unite to form a political party (Noor, 2015). This happens in a democratic political process. A democratic political climate creates opportunities for differences to grow. In a democratic climate, freedom of opinion is given the opportunity to grow and develop so that new groups emerge in the party. The position of the political elite is at odds with the constituents. These political elites and constituents are key actors in political change, such as regime change, transition to democracy, party system reorganization, party mergers, and party splits. Cooperative factionalism emerges when parties have the ability to facilitate cooperation between different groups within the party. The existence of this faction can dynamize the party. Cooperation occurs because there are political interests and common goals in the party, namely gaining power, votes and revenue (Fionna & Tomsa, 2020).

Cooperative factionalism is not always bad, but it can be a force for the better. This happens because opposing parties can still work together. Factions with different characteristics are dynamic to the democratization process. The existence of factions reflects cultural diversity. Factions can form due to similarities in character, strong family ties, strong community loyalties or similar preferences. This also happens in political parties, especially in two-party dynamics that emphasize party unity. Group loyalty based on family ties and local networks of political patronage can be a driving force for intra-party factionalism. In short, as long as it facilitates cooperation, factionalism can be good for parties and democracy. However, cooperative factionalism can be difficult to sustain in the long run as it tends to change the course of intra-party competition which can threaten party integrity.

Competitive factionalism arises due to differences in views between groups regarding revenue generation (Boucek, 2009). This kind of party division potentially has a negative impact on the party. However, competition between factions can also be good for the party because the different positions and arguments between factions will provide options for responsible party leaders to make the best decisions for the party's interests (Priohutomo et al., 2019). In addition, competition can encourage party leaders to form coalitions between factions and protect minority factions (Noor, 2015). The factionalism of parties into competing groups, often associated with centrifugal competition (away from the center) due to internal divisions or institutional actions (or both) (Boucek, 2009). Competitive factionalism implies fragmentation and division (Priohutomo et al., 2019). Competitive factionalism refers to the division of a political party into competing factions, internal conflicts, differences in views, polarization of opinions and divisions that lead to centrifugal pulls within the party. Centrifugal forces that push away from the center can strengthen divisions and potentially create the birth of new political parties (Boucek, 2009).

Degenerative factionalism is a situation where there are many factions within a party that aim to maintain patronage relationships (Boucek, 2009). Political patronage is the provision of rewards to individuals or business





entities for the support given to the political party in power (Priohutomo et al., 2019). Appointing or recruiting someone into a government position is one form of reward. Elected officials use these appointments as a form of reward to individuals who helped them win and retain office. Degenerative factionalism is formed in an effort to fight for control of party finances and can lead to the destruction of political parties or party splits (Priohutomo et al., 2019). Boucek said that factionalism tends to undergo a transformation, starting from cooperative factionalism (cooperation) then turning into competitive factionalism (competition), and finally towards degenerative (destructive) factionalism (Boucek, 2009).

Degenerative factionalism occurs when political actors prefer to optimize and gain benefits through the provision of patronage or political support to certain individuals or groups. The strengthening of individual interests rather than the general interests of the party will encourage and trigger a rift that leads to party disintegration. Competition between factions within the party will open a new round of party disunity. If poor party conditions within the party are not improved, existing cooperation will be replaced by competition that can destabilize the party and potentially lead to degenerative (Jauchar et al., 2022).

### **Previous Research**

Cooperative factionalism occurred in the Italian Christian Democrats (DC) 1940s to 50s, the Liberal Japanese Democrats (LDP) 1955 to mid-1970s, the French Socialists 1970s, the Spanish PSOE, the Australian Labor Party (ALP), and the American 104th Congress (Boucek, 2009). This is explained by a journal by Francoise Boucek (2009) entitled *Rethinking Factionalism (Typologies, Intra-Party Dynamics and Three faces of Factionalism)* and a journal entitled *The dilemmas of intra-party democracy: Lessons from Italy, Japan*, is a conference paper by Boucek published in September 2013. In the DA (Democratic Alliance), factionalism is cooperative, explained in the journal entitled *A brief history of factionalism and new party formation and decline in South Africa- the case of Cope*, by Ivor Sarakinsky and Ebrahim Fakir, *Journal of African Elections*, Vol 14 No 1, 2015. This journal analyzes the main trends in party splits in both white and black politics. A conceptual framework that combines organizational theory with literature on party factionalism. It uses a case study approach by focusing on the formation, electoral performance and decline of the Congress of the People (Cope) as an opposition party in South Africa. The researcher argues that Cope emerged from factional disputes within the ANC. Existing analysis of Cope examines performance in terms of policy, electoral and opposition performance. Following Boucek's (2009) scheme of three different types of factionalism, it is clear that in the DA (Democratic Alliance) factionalism is co-cooperative, as opposed to the competitive and degenerative form of factionalism that seems to be the path followed in Cope (Sarakinsky & Fakir, 2015).

Competitive factionalism occurred in the DC Party of the 1960s to 70s, the LDP of the mid-1970s, the British Labour Party (1970s to 80s) and the Conservatives of the 1990s. Degenerative factionalism occurred in the DC party from the late 1970s until the explosion in 1994. This is explained by a journal by Francoise Boucek (2009) entitled *Rethinking Factionalism (Typologies, Intra-Party Dynamics and Three faces of Factionalism)*. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) party in Ghana entered a competitive factionalism phase, according to a journal entitled *Party factions and power blocs in Ghana: a case study of power politics in the National Democratic Congress*, published in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 4, 2012, pp.573-601. This journal by George M. Bob-Milliar explains that the NDC entered a phase of competitive factionalism with the emergence of pro and anti Rawlings factions. Competition for executive leadership of political parties and the distribution of state patronage in Ghana is influenced by factional alignments and group interests. In December 2008, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) regained political power and within months a rift in the Ministry emerged. Intra-party turmoil ensued when two factions supported rival candidacies for the party's presidential nomination. The pro-Rawlings faction supported the candidacy of Nana Konadu Agyemang-Rawlings and the anti-Rawlings bloc supported President John Evans Atta Mills. The pro-Rawlings faction wanted the leadership to pass to Vice President Mills and the anti-Rawlings faction favored an open contest. With the power of the incumbent and capitalizing on his huge grassroots popularity, Rawlings ignored the threat to party cohesion and in June used his veto to declare Mills the NDC Presidential candidate.

Boucek's typology provides a model for analyzing party factions from a dynamic perspective. Factionalism has always characterized the NDC. However, the first eight years of its existence were characterized by cooperative factionalism. The various interest groups, though separate, were bound together under the grand NDC party which became an integrated party with executive power concentrated in one individual. Consistent with Boucek's view, decision-making in the NDC during this period was consensual. Competition between key figures within the NDC ahead of its first national leadership contest triggered the party's competitive phase of factionalism. Changes occurred when reforms limited the power of the dominant faction, but it was only after the selection of a presidential candidate that factional support became almost indispensable for the figure seeking the NDC nomination. The journal concludes that party factions are 1).ad hoc groupings that become power blocs and are constellated around specific individuals;

2). factional conflict is not rooted in ideology, but is based on differences in policy objectives, interests and patronage and finally factionalism fluctuates between cooperative and competitive phases (Bob-Milliar, 2012).

The Greek Coalition of the Radical Left (Syriza) is a factionalism that was initially cooperative, turned into a competitive factionalism and ended as a degenerative factionalism that caused a split (Tarditi & Vittori, 2019). This is explained in a journal entitled What are we going to be when we grow up? SYRIZA's institutionalization and its new "governing party" role, by Valeria Tarditi and Davide Vittori, Volume 52, Issue 1, published in 2019, is a communist and postcommunist studies journal. This research aims to analyze the organizational model of one of the most successful European radical left parties, namely the Greek Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), in the 2015 elections. The researcher's findings are that SYRIZA started as a socially oriented organization led by a dominant coalition of oligarchs and transformed itself into a political party, marked by the party's role in government. After SYRIZA experienced the first phase of "structural fluidity", it tried to become a member party at its founding congress, namely a party where internal authority in decision making was recognized by its members. The economic situation and external pressure coming from the European Institutions during the first and second SYRIZA governments shifted the party's organizational power.

On the other hand, the "cooperative factionalism" envisioned during the first years of SYRIZA's existence turned into "degenerative factionalism" (Boucek, 2009), which led to the split of the left faction in 2015. That cooperative factionalism occurred in SYRIZA since its formation in 2004 turns into competitive factionalism and ends as degenerative factionalism that causes divisions (Tarditi & Vittori, 2019). Based on the background and a set of concepts that have been explained, the researcher formulated the problems that will be discussed in this research, namely: 1). What is the political communication process at the cooperative factionalism stage in PKS? 2). What is the political communication process at the competitive factionalism stage in PKS? 3). What is the political communication process at the stage of degenerative factionalism in PKS? 4). What is the political communication model at PKS? For communication science, this research will add references in the use of political communication theory, conflict theory and faction theory to analyze political party factionalism. This research will be useful for PKS and other parties so that they can use the concept of political communication in overcoming factionalism problems.

### 3. RESEARCH METHODS

Case studies are a comprehensive research method about individuals, groups, organizations, activity programs and so on over a certain period of time. The goal is to get a complete and in-depth description of an object. Case studies produce findings that are then analyzed using theory. In qualitative research, data from case studies is obtained through interviews, observation and archival analysis. This research uses a case study method through in-depth interviews to find out the factionalism that occurred in PKS and how PKS carries out political communication to deal with these problems. The perspective of this research is sociopsychological. Sociopsychology in the context of communication is an approach that emphasizes the role of humans as part of a social entity, exploring interactions and their impact on communication. In this research, researchers used qualitative methods, with a constructivist paradigm approach which aims to describe the social phenomena being studied. In qualitative research, there are 4 (four) types of data collection techniques, namely observation, interviews, documentation and triangulation/combination. The data collection process was carried out in a natural environment, the main data sources came from participant observation, in-depth interviews and documentation. The data collection techniques used in this qualitative research were observation and interviews with 12 sources. Data analysis in qualitative research can begin before entering the field, continue while in the field, and also after data collection in the field has been completed.

### 4. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

The PKS Cooperative Factionalism Stage started from 2004 to 2007. Then the Competitive Factionalism Stage started from 2008 until March 3 2019 when the Garbi mass organization was born. Meanwhile, Degenerative Factionalism started from the declaration of the Gelora party, namely 28 October 2019 until now. The existence of factions in the PKS originates from differences in views, thoughts, styles, political attitudes, management of party identity and management of party resources. These differences in views among the PKS elite then influence political choices. In responding to the developing political situation, finally there is a different way of thinking. These differences in views are an accumulation of differences in political attitudes and resource management, differences in managing party identity, how to manage party resources and contestation in the struggle for leadership. Within the PKS itself there has never been a declaration of factions, the terms justice faction and welfare faction are terms developed by parties outside the party, namely party political figures. The existence of these factions then gave rise to internal party conflicts.

At the cooperative stage, factions can still work together to implement mutually agreed programs. However, at the competitive stage, differences of opinion become sharper and cannot be negotiated again. PKS's internal



problems at this competitive stage can be seen from the case of the Caring Cadre Forum which was driven by Yusuf Supendi. Then the conflict occurred between TS and AM, and there was a discourse of open parties versus Islamic parties. This conflict became even sharper when there was a change of leadership in 2015. It was at that time that closed forums began to emerge which were an attempt to downgrade the legitimate leadership. Underground movements occur throughout Indonesia, with the narrative of wanting to bring change to Indonesia. These closed forums are held using the position of a party administrator, so that people who join think the meeting is part of the party's agenda. This movement then reached its peak in October 2019 with the founding of the Gelora party. So at this stage we enter the stage of degenerative factionalism.

Based on the AD/ART, every party member is obliged to take part in the cadre formation process organized by the Party according to membership level. Regarding this membership level, it is discussed specifically in the AD/ART and is a characteristic of PKS. This cadre formation is carried out through coaching, training and education in the Member Development Unit (UPA). PKS pays special attention to education and training for its cadres. This aims to maintain cadre solidity and improve the quality and competence of cadres in carrying out party duties and serving the community. Cadre formation in a political party is the process of selecting, training and coaching party members to become qualified cadres who have high dedication to the party's ideology, programs and goals. Cadre formation is a form of long-term investment for political parties, because quality cadres are assets that can contribute significantly to political struggle and party development. The cadre system in PKS ultimately plays a role in strengthening the party's ability to overcome conflicts that occur repeatedly from time to time and maintain solidity. At the stage of degenerative factionalism, internal disputes could not be avoided and later a split occurred with the birth of a new party, namely the Gelora party, but PKS was still able to maintain its solidity.

Cadre formation in a political party has a significant role in influencing and shaping political communication. Cadre formation has a role in developing the party's image, through cadres' in-depth understanding of the party's values, ideology and programs so that cadres can become effective ambassadors in designing the party's image. Cadres who understand the party's messages can help shape a positive image both among PKS voters and society in general. Party cadres who are active and skilled in social media and digital communication can be effective agents in spreading the party's message. They can actively interact with voters through online platforms, strengthen support, and respond to emerging issues. Social media allows cadres to connect with a wider audience than through conventional channels. By having followers and friends on multiple platforms, the party's message can be spread to a large number of people quickly.

The PKS leadership is not only the leader of the party's internal organization, but also the party's external representation in the eyes of the public. Therefore, their communication skills are essential in building and maintaining the party's image, mobilizing support, and contributing to the democratic process. The PKS leadership has a central role in the political communication process. Their role covers various aspects, from formulating party messages to communicating with the public, party members and other stakeholders. The PKS leadership has a major role in formulating the party's vision and mission. They are responsible for determining the direction and goals of the party, which then become the basis for the party's political communication. In preparing strategic messages that reflect the party's vision, mission and policies, party leaders have an important role. Political messages will be used on various communication platforms to build the image and identity of PKS. The PKS leadership, at this cooperative stage, is trying to accommodate the interests of the two different factions, by giving both factions the opportunity to contribute both materially and non-materially. Then at the competitive factionalism stage, the PKS leadership experienced difficulty in accommodating all the interests of its cadres. The PKS discourse as an open party makes it difficult for the PKS leadership to take a stand, because there are differences in views between those who agree with the open party discourse and those who disagree with the discourse. At this stage, the party leadership was less able to take firm action against the FH who had violated the party's AD/ART and was expelled from the party but remained the DPR Leader. At this level, the cadre formation system is able to overcome internal party problems by carrying out efforts to clean up parties who want to leave PKS. At the stage of degenerative factionalism, the PKS leadership took a firm policy by expelling all Gelora party supporters, taking steps to save the party and consolidating the party.

The highest leader of PKS, namely the Chairman of the Syuro Council at that time, Ustadz Hilmi Aminuddin, was able to accommodate all interests, whether they wanted to remain an Islamic party or those who wanted to become an open party. The figure of Ustadz Hilmi Aminuddin is a unifying symbol who always appears as a mediator between two different camps. Not only that, Ustadz Hilmi is known to have breadth of views and flexibility in communicating with various groups. Perhaps this personal character is what makes PKS grow and increase its voice. He had almost no obstacles in communicating with anyone, even with various figures from the military, civilians, political parties, and figures from other religions.

Ustadz Hilmi's replacement, Habib Salim Assegaf Al Jufri, has been Chairman of the PKS Syuro Council since 2015. Even though the party leadership at this time was unable to take firm action against FH who violated the AD/ART, they were considered capable of resolving internal party conflicts. Efforts were made to purge the party structure of people from the welfare faction, both from the sub-district level management to the central level. Identifying everyone who was gathered in these closed forums was the hard work of the PKS leaders elected in 2015. It was these leaders who were able to save the "ship" when some passengers chose to leave the "ship".

The Shura Council is a means of political communication, one of the pillars of organizational principles that is upheld and is the highest decision making carried out starting from the election until the deliberation processes are carried out democratically. PKS upholds the principle of democratization in the organization. Members of the Syuro Council are elected by cadres from various regions. Members of the Shura Council have the right to propose holding meetings on certain themes. Shura council members can communicate with party leaders by conveying various problems, suggestions and input for the party.

The party attempted to overcome the impact of factionalism by isolating destructive groups and building internal consolidation and strong external alliances. Party consolidation refers to efforts to strengthen and unify the party's internal structure and support. This involves a series of steps to strengthen unity, increase organizational efficiency, and overcome internal differences. Regarding the conflicts that occur, the party builds consensus among cadres regarding the party's vision, mission and goals.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The cooperative factionalism of the Prosperous Justice Party has similar indicators to the cooperative factionalism that occurred in the Italian Christian Democrat (DC) party in the 1940s to the 50s, the Japanese Liberal Democrats (LDP) from 1955 to the mid-1970s, the French Socialists in the 1970s, Spain PSOE, Australian Labor Party (ALP), and America's 104th Congress, DA (Democratic Alliance) party, National Democratic Congress (NDC).

The cooperative factionalism of PKS began with the existence of factions that were born due to differences in views, thoughts, styles, political attitudes and management of party resources. This difference in views then gave birth to two factions, namely the justice faction and the welfare faction. At the cooperative factionalism stage, the existence of these factions does not really interfere with the implementation of party programs because at this stage party harmony can still be maintained.

Competitive factionalism in the Prosperous Justice Party has similar indicators to the competitive factionalism that occurred in the DC Party in the 1960s to the 70s, the LDP in the mid-1970s, the British Labor Party (1970 to the 80s) and the Conservatives in the 1990s, the National Democratic Party Congress (NDC) in Ghana, Hong Kong Democratic Party. In this phase, the first indication was the formation of the Caring Cadre Forum (2008) which was initiated by Yusuf Supendi. Inter-faction competition also occurred between TS as the third PKS President and AM as Secretary General. Another indicator of competitive factionalism is the existence of polarized party opinions. This polarization appears in the justice and welfare factions. The Mukernas in Bali in 2008 also indicated polarization between Islamic parties and open parties.

The factionalism of the Prosperous Justice Party has similar indicators to the degenerative factionalism that occurred in the DC party from the late 1970s until the explosion in 1994, the Hungarian Democratic Alliance in Romania (DAHR), the Greek Coalition of the Radical Left (Syriza), the National Congress Africa (ANC), in the Buffalo City area of the Eastern Cape, the Ghana Convention People's Party (CPP) and the People's National Convention (PNC). The degenerative factionalism of PKS was marked by the birth of a new party, namely the Gelora party, on October 28 2019.

### Novelty of Research

This research provides a novel contribution in the theoretical field of political communication, conflict and factionalism that occurred in an Islamic party called the Prosperous Justice Party. This novelty is reflected in several important findings related to several stages in factionalism which are divided into cooperative, competitive and degenerative factionalism. This novelty emphasizes analysis on the use of political communication elements (source, sender, message, encoding, decoding, channel, feedback, interference) at each stage of factionalism (cooperative, competitive, degenerative). This research plays an important role in developing political communication theory, conflict theory and factionalism theory in the Prosperous Justice Party. Thus, the phenomenon of conflict in PKS at the stage of degenerative factionalism ultimately gave birth to a new party, namely the Gelora party. At this stage, PKS was no longer able to stem the flow of resistance from the welfare faction. However, PKS was able to carry out internal consolidation well so that not too many cadres joined the new party. Cadre formation mechanisms, shuro councils and leadership within PKS are important elements in PKS's internal solidity. The political communication process that has the greatest influence in avoiding divisions is the source and recipient elements. In competitive factionalism, the elements that have the most significant influence are the source and recipient. The source can be interpreted as the





party leadership and Syuro Council which consists of PKS politicians. Meanwhile, the recipient element can be interpreted as cadre formation. The PKS cadre system is a means of political communication that is able to maintain cadre loyalty. When cadre formation weakens, it will affect the performance of the party machine.

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