

Assessing the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* Solidity in Merangin Regency during the 2024 Regional Elections

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Article History:

Received on 29 January 2026

1st Revision 02 February 2026

2nd Revision 09 February 2026

3rd Revision 18 February 2026

Accepted on 23 February 2026

Abstract

Purpose: This study examines the level of internal solidity of the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* in Merangin Regency in the context of the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Head Election.

Methods: This research used qualitative methods with a case study approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with party elites, local party administrators, legislative members, political observers, and academics, complemented by document analysis of party statutes and bylaws, official party decisions, local media coverage, and electoral data provided by the General Election Commission.

Results: The findings indicate that PAN Merangin demonstrated functional solidity, reflected in cadre loyalty, short-term organizational stability, and the absence of open internal fragmentation. However, this condition cannot yet be categorized as an institutionalized solidity. Decision-making remains highly centralized, formal conflict resolution mechanisms are weak, and cadre regeneration is not systematically institutionalized.

Conclusions: The *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* in Merangin Regency for the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections cannot be categorized as institutionally solid, although cadre loyalty is the cornerstone.

Limitations: This study's limitation is that it focuses only on the dynamics of PAN Merangin's solidity in the context of the 2024 simultaneous regional head elections, thereby limiting the generalizability of the findings to other parties or regions.

Contributions: This study contributes to political science and local democracy studies by highlighting the gap between functional solidity and institutional strength within local political parties during regional electoral competitions.

Keywords: *Internal Conflict, Local Election 2024, Party Solidity, Party Institutionalization*

How to Cite: Wati, A, D, S., Subekti, D., Pasaribu, I., Elsi, S, D. (2026). Assessing the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* Solidity in Merangin Regency during the 2024 Regional Elections. *Jurnal Studi Ilmu Sosial dan Politik*, 6(1), 103-118.

1. Introduction

The 2024 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections is a national political agenda that will be held simultaneously on November 27, 2024, as stipulated in the General Election Commission Regulation Number 2 of 2024 concerning the Stages and Schedule of Regional Head Elections (Putra, Wulandari, & Arief, 2024; Wijayanti & Priyowidodo, 2025). The simultaneous implementation of the Regional Head Election aims to streamline the election process, harmonize the terms of office for regional heads, and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of regional governance. In addition, the Regional Head Election serves as a means of consolidating local democracy because it involves the direct participation of the community in electing their regional leaders (Aspinall & Mas'udi, 2017).

In this context, the role of political parties is very strategic because parties not only act as nominators of candidates, but also as institutions responsible for maintaining political stability and consistency in policy direction ([Ibrahim, Hafel, Kader, Kaunar, & Arsad, 2025](#)). Merangin Regency in Jambi Province is one of the regions participating in the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections, with fairly competitive political dynamics. The Merangin Regional Election features two pairs of candidates for regent and deputy regent: the Nalim-Nilwan pair and the Syukur-Khafid pair, each supported by a coalition of political parties with significant power. The presence of these two large coalitions demonstrates the high intensity of political competition at the local level and reinforces the position of political parties as key actors in the nomination process and the mobilization of electoral support. This situation makes the Merangin Regional Election interesting to study, particularly in terms of how political parties manage their internal dynamics amid intense competition ([Wati, Subekti, & Pasaribu, 2025](#)).

In this context, the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* has become the main focus after winning the most seats in the 2024 legislative elections in Merangin Regency. PAN's position as the winner of the legislative elections gives it strong political bargaining power in determining the direction of coalitions and support for regional head candidates. However, this electoral advantage is not necessarily accompanied by completely stable internal conditions in the party. The emergence of the issue that PAN would nominate Nalim as a candidate for regent, which was reinforced by communication between the candidate and the party's central elite, raised expectations at the regional level. When PAN officially shifted its support to the Syukur-Khafid pair, this decision triggered differences in attitudes and internal dynamics within PAN Merangin ([Wati et al., 2025](#)).

These internal dynamics become even more complex when differences in support involve not only ordinary cadres but also strategic actors within the party structure. These differences in attitude reflect a dilemma between loyalty to party decisions and personal interests, including kinship ties ([Fitriani, Subekti, & Pasaribu, 2025](#)). This situation shows that internal conflicts within political parties do not always manifest as open conflicts but can also be latent and symbolic, which ultimately affects the image and solidity of the party as a whole. If not managed properly, such differences can weaken internal cohesion and disrupt the party's effectiveness in carrying out its political agenda ([Haber, 2015](#); [Ishiyama & Marshall, 2017](#); [Romli, 2018](#)).

Therefore, this study is important for examining the internal cohesion of the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* in Merangin Regency in the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections. This is based on the theory of party solidity ([Klingelhöfer & Müller, 2024](#)). Solidity is the ability of a party to maintain political unity, internal loyalty, and cohesion among cadres and elites through procedural leadership mechanisms, cadre development, decision-making, and conflict resolution. Using this perspective, this study aims to explain how PAN Merangin manages its internal dynamics and the extent to which the party's solidity is institutional or still dependent on figures and personal relationships. The results of this study are expected to contribute academically to the study of political parties at the local level and serve as material for evaluating the strengthening of party institutions in the future.

2. Literature Review

Studies on the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* largely focus on its electoral strategies. [Asriadi \(2025\)](#) shows PAN's combination of social media, personality-based approaches, and selective recruitment in the 2024 legislative election. [Jibril and Usni \(2023\)](#) highlighted efforts to attract Generation Z, while ([Arifwenderi Pratama, Rusta, & Tamrin, 2022](#)). Describe PAN's use of politainment strategies. These studies confirm PAN's electoral adaptability of the PAN but remain focused on external performance; the role of internal organizational cohesion remains underexplored.

Research on recruitment and regeneration has revealed structural weaknesses. ([Rahayu, 2023](#)) notes loyalty-based recruitment of female cadres; [Anggoro, Yani, Setiabudi, and Muradi \(2020\)](#) identify centralized and non-transparent candidate selection; and [Anshari and Fadiyah \(2019\)](#) point to elite-dominated practices that weaken local institutionalization. Although these findings relate to party solidity, they do not systematically conceptualize it within institutional theory. Comparative studies provide further insights. [Arifwenderi Pratama et al. \(2022\)](#) link PAN's institutionalization in West

Sumatra to electoral gains and cadre solidarity. In contrast, [Subekti and Al-Hamdi \(2024\)](#) show declining solidity in the PDIP due to centralized decision-making, while [Anawati and Al-Hamdi \(2020\)](#) demonstrate the PKS's resilience through procedural leadership and conflict management.

However, these analyses do not specifically examine PAN's solidity of PAN at the regency level during simultaneous regional elections. To address this gap, this study draws on party institutionalization theory [Kristiyanto, Arinanto, and Ghafur \(2023\)](#) emphasize adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence, with coherence reflecting internal unity. [Lisi \(2024\)](#) stresses the importance of organizational routinization and the balance between centralization and autonomy. [Subekti, Wahid, Yusuf, and Sa'adah \(2025\)](#) highlight systemness and value infusion, while [Klingelhöfer and Müller \(2024\)](#) soldity party with underscores elite cohesion and conflict management in Indonesia's multiparty context.

Based on these perspectives, party solidity is operationalized through four indicators: procedural clarity in decision-making, institutionalized conflict management, systematic cadre mechanism, and the balance between central authority and local autonomy. These indicators ensure analytical consistency from theory to the findings. This study fills an empirical and theoretical gap by examining PAN's internal solidity in Merangin Regency during the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections, where the party held a dominant legislative position but faced internal dynamics. By integrating institutional theory with local empirical analysis, this study contributes to a more systematic understanding of party solidity in Indonesia's decentralized political system.

3. Methodology

This study employs a qualitative case study design to examine the internal cohesion of the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* in Merangin Regency during the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Head Election. A qualitative method was chosen to gain an in-depth understanding of decision-making processes, conflict resolution, cadre regeneration, and ideological commitment within a specific spatial and temporal context of the party. Data were collected through semi-structured, in-depth interviews and document analysis. Informants were purposively selected based on their structural positions and involvement in PAN Merangin, including the Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer, executive board members, party cadres, legislative members, and external observers familiar with local party dynamics. The documentation study covered PAN's Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART), internal decrees, media reports, and official data from the Merangin Regency General Election Commission (KPU). As this study focused on processes and meanings, no quantitative instruments were used.

Data were analyzed using an interactive model consisting of data reduction, display, and conclusion drawing. Information from interviews and documents was systematically selected, organized, and presented narratively to identify patterns and relationships, with conclusions verified continuously throughout the research process. To ensure validity, this study applied source and method triangulation. Interview data from party elites and grassroots cadres were compared to assess consistency in decision-making, organizational autonomy, and internal consolidation. These findings were cross-checked with official party documents to minimize bias and strengthen the credibility and reliability of the conclusions drawn.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Procedural Leadership: Decision-Making Process and Charismatic Figure

The procedural leadership of the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* in Merangin Regency during the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections demonstrates how the party's organizational mechanisms are implemented in a hierarchical, collective, and coordinated manner in accordance with its Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART). Based on Article 27 of the PAN AD/ART, the strategic decision-making process is carried out in stages, starting with the DPD (regency/city), then the DPW (province), and culminating with the DPP (central) as the party's highest authority. The findings indicate that the decision-making process within PAN Merangin formally followed the party's established organizational mechanism. According to the Chair of the Merangin DPD, the process of determining

support for regional head candidates was conducted in stages, beginning at the regency level (DPD), proceeding to the provincial level (DPW), and culminating at the central board (DPP), which held the final authority. At the local level, an initial assessment was undertaken to evaluate potential candidates based on their electability and competence. However, the ultimate decision on the nomination rested entirely with the DPP, the highest decision-making body within the party structure.

This explanation was reinforced by the Secretary of the Jambi Provincial DPW, who emphasized that PAN operates through a structured and hierarchical system. The process begins with candidate registration and administrative screening, followed by internal evaluation and coordination between the party levels. Once the DPP determines the official candidate, all party structures, including those at the regional level, must implement and support the decision. This reflects a vertically coordinated organizational pattern, in which authority is concentrated at the central level. A member of the Merangin DPRD from PAN further explained that the determination of support was based on objective considerations, particularly the survey results assessing candidate electability. In the Merangin case, internal survey findings indicated that the Syukur–Khafid pair possessed significantly higher electability than competing candidates, which formed the basis of the DPP’s recommendation. This suggests that, procedurally, the party justified its decision through empirical and strategic calculations aimed at maximizing its electoral success.

Nevertheless, several informants acknowledged that the decision-making process is predominantly top-down. Party cadres at the regional level described PAN as a hierarchical organization in which decisions issued by the DPP were binding and must be implemented without modification. Local structures primarily function as executors of central directives rather than as active participants in the determination of strategic political decisions. Following the DPP’s recommendation, the DPD promptly conducted regional consolidation to ensure organizational compliance and electoral mobilization. The Secretary of the Merangin DPD also noted that although the formal structure and procedures are clearly regulated, communication between the central and regional levels is not always fully participatory. Once the DPP issues a formal letter of instruction, all cadres must comply, leaving limited space for regional deliberation.

From an academic perspective, a lecturer in Government Science at the University of Jambi assessed that PAN Merangin adhered to its formal statutes in conducting the nomination process. However, the decision-making pattern remained elitist and centralized, with the DPP exercising dominant control and limited grassroots involvement. A local political observer similarly argued that although the decision to support the Syukur–Khafid pair was rational and strategically grounded in survey data, the centralized and top-down nature of the process positioned regional party structures primarily as implementers rather than co-determiners of policy. Overall, the findings reveal a dual pattern: while procedural compliance with party rules is evident, the substantive distribution of authority remains highly centralized, shaping the dynamics of internal solidity within PAN Merangin.

In a news article titled “PAN Officially Endorses Syukur-Khafid Pair in Merangin Regional Election,” it is explained that the PAN Central Executive Board officially made the decision through Decree Number PAN/A/Kpts/KU-SJ/086/VI/2024, which was handed over directly by PAN Chairman Zulkifli Hasan to the Jambi Provincial Executive Board and the Merangin Regional Executive Board. This shows that the decision-making process still follows the formal mechanism in accordance with Article 27 of the AD/ART, with the DPP as the highest authority ([Prianto, 2024](#)).

Based on the interview results and data obtained, the analysis of the research findings found that PAN Merangin had carried out the decision-making mechanism procedurally and in stages in accordance with Article 27 of the AD/ART. However, this process still shows a top-down communication pattern, with the DPP as the dominant party in determining the direction of decisions. This shows that even though the party is administratively running according to the mechanism, the space for regional participation in the decision-making process remains limited. DPD and DPW tend to function as implementers rather than decision-makers. The Merangin DPD lacks sufficient deliberation time because the DPP makes decisions based on survey results.

This finding is in line with [Subekti and Al-Hamdi \(2024\)](#) regarding the Surakarta PDIP, where the centralization of the elite weakens regional aspirations. However, this is not the case in the context of the Merangin PAN, where solidity can still be maintained owing to the region's rapid response in consolidating. This finding reinforces the party institutionalization theory from [Kristiyanto et al. \(2023\)](#) that a party is not yet institutionalized if the regional structures do not have independence in political processes, which reflects weak regional autonomy in the party institutionalization process. Overall, this illustrates that the institutionalization of PAN Merangin is not yet complete, but it is quite stable because the regional structure is adaptive to the central decisions.

Charismatic figures play an important role in maintaining an organization's stability and solidity, especially amid internal dynamics within a party. In the context of the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections, Ahmad Kausari, ST., MT., as Chairman of the Merangin DPD PAN, emerged as a central figure who helped reduce differences in cadre support following the DPP PAN's decision to endorse H. Syukur - Abdul Khafid pair. The interview findings revealed that Ahmad Kausari's leadership significantly bolstered consolidation and political communication within PAN Merangin. As Chair of the DPD, he actively engaged with party structures down to the grassroots level to explain the party's decisions and address differing views among cadres. Informants described his communication style as calm, persuasive, and familial, enabling cadres to accept strategic decisions with openness and minimizing the potential for internal resistance to change.

The Secretary of the Merangin DPD PAN acknowledged that personal and familial ties to alternative candidates did not override party loyalty, largely because of the DPD Chair's direct guidance and persuasive approach to the matter. Through consistent reminders that loyalty must be directed toward the party rather than individuals, Ahmad Kausari reduced emotional tensions and reinforced organizational discipline among cadres, even in situations involving personal affiliations. Similarly, party officials noted that immediately after the DPP announced its decision, the DPD leadership swiftly conducted internal consolidation meetings involving administrators at different levels. In these meetings, Ahmad Kausari emphasized the importance of maintaining unity and adhering to the official party's line.

His approach was described as firm yet non-confrontational, combining organizational authority with persuasive communication to ensure compliance without triggering conflicts. From an academic perspective, local political observers assessed that Ahmad Kausari's charismatic and emotionally grounded leadership was instrumental in preventing internal disagreements from escalating into a split. His reliance on deliberative and persuasive communication rather than coercive authority contributed to the resolution of tensions through internal dialogue. This leadership style functions as an integrative force within the organization, reinforcing internal cohesion and sustaining party solidity during politically sensitive periods.

Based on the results of the interviews and data obtained, the analysis of the research results in the indicator of charismatic figures, namely the charismatic leadership of Ahmad Kausari in PAN Merangin, proved to be a major factor in maintaining organizational cohesion after differences in cadre support in the 2024 regional elections. A communicative, consultative, and familial approach enabled the peaceful resolution of internal conflicts without escalating to legal proceedings or party tribunals. The role of this charismatic figure strengthened the party's stability, while underscoring the importance of humanistic leadership in local politics. In the context of charismatic figures, it was found that at the regional level, such as in Merangin Regency, this was a decisive factor in maintaining party stability after the decision was announced.

The chairman of the Merangin PAN Regional Representative Council, Ahmad Kausari, played an important role in mitigating cadres' disappointment through a personal approach, persuasive communication, and a leadership style that was emotionally accepted by the members. This pattern is in line with research ([Anawati & Al-Hamdi, 2020](#)) on the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), where the charisma of local leaders proved capable of maintaining solidity, even though the formal structure was under pressure. The theory from [Klingelhöfer and Müller \(2024\)](#) on procedural leadership in decision-

making reinforces this finding, stating that charismatic figures can act as unifying symbols and minimize the potential for conflict among party members. An overall analysis of PAN Merangin shows that a local leader's influence can transform a tense situation into one of mutual acceptance.

4.2 Conflict Resolution Mechanisms: Prevention of Internal Conflicts and Conflict Resolution

Efforts to prevent internal conflict within the Merangin branch of the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* during the 2024 simultaneous regional elections were ineffective due to poor communication between the central and regional structures of the party. Normatively, Article 27 of the PAN's statutes and regulations stipulates that party decisions must be made collectively, collegially, and in stages, starting from the *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD)*, the *Dewan Pimpinan Wilayah (DPW)*, and finally the *Dewan Pimpinan Pusat (DPP)*. This principle is intended to maintain openness and participation between structures, thereby preventing potential conflicts from arising. However, in practice, vertical communication is closed, and the DPP's top-down decisions have led to differences in support within the party.

The findings reveal that internal dynamics within PAN Merangin emerged due to the presence of two prominent figures closely associated with the party: H. Syukur and H. Nalim. According to the Chair of the Merangin DPD, differences of opinion emerged ahead of the regional elections because both figures wielded significant political influence and had historical ties to the PAN. When the DPP ultimately decided to support H. Some cadres expressed disappointment, particularly those who viewed H. Nalim, a longstanding party figure. In response, the DPD leadership promptly undertook consolidation efforts to maintain organizational unity following the announcement of a central decision.

At the individual level, the Secretary of the Merangin DPD, who is also the son of H. Nalim acknowledged experiencing a difficult position due to personal and organizational considerations. Although he remained loyal to the party's official decision, he indicated that communication from the central leadership was limited, leading to misunderstandings at the regional level. This situation illustrates how minimal vertical communication before a final decision can intensify internal tensions, especially when personal affiliations intersect with party politics. From the perspective of regional administrators, the DPD largely functions as the executor of decisions determined by the DPP. Once the recommendation for the Syukur–Khafid pair was formally issued, the regional structure immediately organized consolidation meetings to ensure alignment across the party levels. Internal discussions were conducted to manage differences; however, these deliberations generally occurred after the central decision was finalized rather than during the formative stage of candidate selection.

Party officials further explained that regular meetings and informal forums were routinely organized to maintain communication between the administrators and the cadres. While these mechanisms were effective in reducing the potential for open division, they could not entirely eliminate dissatisfaction because the final authority rested with the central leadership, leaving limited deliberative space at the regional level for the regional leadership. At the provincial level, party leadership clarified that the DPP's decision was grounded in electability survey results, which indicated that the Syukur–Khafid pair had stronger electoral prospects than H. Nalim. Consequently, the provincial and regency structures were institutionally obligated to implement and support the central directive of the party's hierarchical system.

From an academic standpoint, local political observers assessed that, although PAN formally adhered to its organizational procedures, vertical communication between the central and regional levels remained predominantly unidirectional. Decisions and information flowed from the center downward, with limited opportunities for substantive input from regional actors. This pattern, characterized as elitist and top-down, positioned regional cadres primarily as implementers rather than as participants in strategic decision-making. Consequently, opportunities for early conflict prevention were constrained, and internal tensions were managed reactively through post-decision consolidation rather than through inclusive deliberation during the candidate selection process.

Based on the interview results and data obtained, the analysis of the research findings revealed that the prevention of internal conflicts in PAN Merangin has not been effective, despite being formally guided by Article 27 of PAN AD/ART. The lack of open vertical communication between party structures and the dominance of decisions made by the DPP make it impossible to prevent potential conflicts from the outset of a project. Differences in support at the regional level emerged only to a limited extent through Rahmad Hidayat, who had a personal relationship with a candidate not endorsed by the party. This indicates that PAN's conflict prevention system remains reactive and highly dependent on the chairman rather than on established institutional mechanisms. This study also found that, in the context of conflict prevention mechanisms, internal conflict prevention in PAN Merangin has not been effective, even though it formally adheres to Article 27 of PAN AD/ART.

Vertical communication between party structures that is not open, and the dominance of decisions from the DPP, make it impossible to prevent potential conflicts from the outset. These findings are in line with the research ([Anshari and Fadiyah, 2019](#)). This shows that PAN faces internal communication and closed recruitment issues in several regions, thereby giving rise to resistance. This is also consistent with the theory of party institutionalization ([Subekti et al., 2025](#)). This weak conflict prevention indicates that the "systemic" dimension of party institutionalization is not yet optimal. Overall, this situation shows that weak communication and institutional mechanisms mean that PAN Merangin does not have an effective prevention system.

Tehn, the resolution of internal conflicts within the Merangin branch of the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* during the 2024 simultaneous regional elections shows that despite differences in opinion, particularly due to personal factors between senior cadre H. Nalim and the PAN Central Executive Board's decision to support the pair of H. Syukur - Abdul Khafid, the conflict cannot be understood solely as an individual conflict because the actors involved are party officials and cadres who carry the identity and interests of the organization. Therefore, this personal conflict directly affects the party's image and solidity at the regional level. Normatively, Article 30 Paragraph (1) of the PAN AD/ART (Statutes) stipulates that "any disputes arising within the party shall first be resolved through deliberation and consensus." This principle served as the foundation for the Merangin DPD PAN's management of potential cadre divisions. This resolution process is carried out without the need to involve the Party Court, as stipulated in Article 30, Paragraph (2) of the PAN AD/ART, because the issue can be resolved at the regional level.

The findings indicate that Ahmad Kausari, the Chair of the Merangin DPD PAN, played a central role in reducing internal tensions following the issuance of the DPP's decree. Immediately after the central decision was announced, he initiated a large-scale consolidation meeting involving party administrators and cadres at the regency and subdistrict levels. In this forum, he emphasized that the DPP's decision was final and binding, and that all party elements were required to unite in support of the officially endorsed candidate pair. This rapid consolidation effort was intended to prevent differences of opinion from escalating into organizational fragmentation. Regional party officials confirmed that the prompt organization of a comprehensive consolidation meeting helped to stabilize the internal situation. By bringing together administrators to deliberate collectively, DPD leadership created a space for clarification and reaffirmation of party discipline.

As a result, tensions that had emerged following the announcement of the central decision gradually subsided, and the cadres came to recognize the binding nature of the DPP's directive within the party's hierarchical structure. The Secretary of the Merangin DPD, who was personally connected to one of the alternative candidates, acknowledged that the familial and persuasive approach adopted by the DPD Chair contributed significantly to defusing potential conflicts. Despite his personal circumstances, he ultimately aligned with the party's official stance after receiving direct guidance and participating in internal meetings. This illustrates how leadership communication at the regional level functions as a mechanism for reinforcing loyalty and organizational cohesion during sensitive political moments. At the provincial level, party leadership monitored the situation and assessed that the swift response of the Merangin DPD effectively contained the issue before it expanded beyond the internal structures.

Consolidation measures were viewed as consistent with party directives and as evidence of responsive regional leadership capable of maintaining stability.

Members of the Merangin DPRD from PAN also considered large-scale consolidation a turning point in restoring unity among cadres. Through structured communication and internal dialogue, resistance diminished, and no further open rejection of the DPP's decision was observed in the trial. Party officials emphasized that deliberation and collective discussion, conducted after the decree's issuance, were key instruments in achieving alignment and preventing prolonged division. From an academic perspective, local political observers assessed that the conflict resolution steps taken by PAN Merangin reflected a degree of local political maturity in the party. The rapid consolidation and emphasis on dialogue prevented the conflict from escalating. However, observers also noted that this model of conflict management remains highly dependent on the personal leadership of the DPD Chair and has not yet been fully institutionalized through formal written mechanisms. While effective in the short term, reliance on charismatic and situational leadership may pose challenges to long-term organizational resilience unless it is supported by a structured, systematic internal conflict resolution framework.

In a news report titled "DPD PAN Merangin Holds Large-Scale Consolidation Following DPP Decision," it was explained that the event was attended by all administrators, sub-district cadres, and PAN figures in Merangin. The event was led directly by the Chairman of DPD PAN Merangin, Ahmad Kausari, as an effort to strengthen the commitment to the party's decision ([Ponce & Scarrow, 2023](#)). Based on the results of the interviews and data collected, the resolution of internal conflicts within PAN Merangin was analyzed by prioritizing the principles of deliberation and consensus as stipulated in Article 30, Paragraph (1) of the PAN AD/ART. Conflicts arising from differences in support were successfully resolved through large-scale consolidation and direct communication between leaders and cadres. This mechanism has proven effective in maintaining the integrity of the party without involving the Party Court. However, institutionally, the PAN Merangin conflict resolution system still depends on the DPD Chair and has not been formally and structurally established within the organization.

This study found that in the context of conflict resolution mechanisms, PAN Merangin conducts deliberations, consolidations, and direct communication between leaders and cadres, enabling conflicts to be resolved without involving the Party Court. Although effective, this mechanism still depends on the figure of the DPD Chair and has not been formally established in the organization's structure. These findings are in line with those of [Anawati and Al-Hamdi \(2020\)](#) on PKS, which confirmed that value-based resolution and horizontal communication are more effective. This also reinforces the theory of [Klingelhöfer and Müller \(2024\)](#) that a healthy resolution mechanism becomes a pillar of party institutionalization when prevention fails. This analysis shows that PAN Merangin's organizational culture can compensate for deficiencies in its formal structure.

4.3 Systematic Cadre Mechanism: Political Recruitment and Tiered Cadre Development

The political recruitment mechanism of the *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)* in Merangin Regency during the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections shows that the party conducted an open, tiered selection process for regional head candidates, but the final results were still heavily influenced by electability considerations and decisions from the central leadership. Based on Article 29 of the PAN AD/ART, it is explained that the party "prioritizes internal cadres in public office nominations, but still opens opportunities for external figures who share the same ideology, vision, and commitment to the struggle with PAN." This means that even though the party provides space for figures from outside, its basic spirit still prioritizes internal cadres in the political recruitment process.

In Merangin, the selection mechanism was carried out openly through coordination between the DPD and DPW. However, the final decision remained with the DPP as the party's highest authority. The Merangin DPD PAN proposed two prominent names: H. Nalim, a senior PAN cadre who had long contributed to the party, and Hendra. Syukur is an external figure with high electability according to internal survey results. Finally, the DPP PAN endorsed the Syukur-Khafid pair, a decision that sparked internal dynamics within the party because it was not fully in line with the spirit of regeneration mandated by the AD/ART.

The findings indicate that the candidate selection process at PAN Merangin was conducted formally and openly in accordance with organizational procedures. According to the Chair of the Merangin DPD, the regional leadership facilitated a selection process beginning at the branch level, in which both internal cadres and external figures were given the opportunity to present their visions and programs. The results of this process were subsequently submitted to the provincial (DPW) and central (DPP) leaders. Nevertheless, the final authority to determine the nominated candidate remained with the DPP, which based its decision on broader strategic considerations, including survey results, electability, and the probability of an electoral victory. A similar view was expressed by the Secretary of the Merangin DPD, who emphasized that, procedurally, PAN's mechanism is open and allows broad participation in the selection process. However, he noted that although the party's AD/ART prioritizes internal cadres, this principle is not always fully realized in practice. In certain cases, decisions made by the DPP may differ from the preferences or expectations of regional cadres, thereby creating a gap between formal rules and political outcomes.

From the perspective of party representatives in the local legislature, PAN's recruitment decisions were pragmatic and electorally oriented. The party was described as prioritizing survey data and electability assessments when determining its official candidate selection. Consequently, even when internal cadres were available, the central leadership could opt for an external figure if empirical data suggested a greater likelihood of victory. This reflects a strategic orientation that prioritizes electoral competitiveness in decision making. Regional administrators further confirmed that although open recruitment procedures were implemented, the regional structure primarily functioned as a proposing body. The ultimate determination of candidacy rested with the DPP, and the DPD's role was to submit recommendations and implement the final decision. This hierarchical pattern underscores the concentration of decision-making authority at the central level.

At the provincial level, party leadership clarified that while the AD/ART prioritizes internal cadres, it also allows for external figures whose values and commitments align with PAN's ideological orientation. In the Merangin case, the DPP assessed that the selected candidate possessed leadership qualities and ideological compatibility consistent with the party's character, thereby rendering the decision organizationally-legitimate. From an academic standpoint, local political observers acknowledged that PAN adhered to its formal rules in conducting open recruitment. However, they questioned the extent to which the decision reflected the spirit of long-term cadre development, arguing that the preference for a more electable figure may sideline internally nurtured ones. This tension illustrates the broader dilemma between administrative compliance and ideological consistency in China. Similarly, academic analysis suggests that PAN Merangin's recruitment practices exemplify a common pattern in contemporary political parties, where short-term electoral pragmatism often outweighs long-term institutional and cadre-building considerations. While procedurally valid, the final outcome highlights the dominance of electability as the decisive factor in candidate selection, reinforcing the central leadership's strategic control over regional political dynamics in the party.

Based on the interview results and data collected, the analysis of the research findings revealed that PAN Merangin had conducted an open and tiered political recruitment process in accordance with the principles of a democratic and inclusive party. However, in substance, the final decisions made by the DPP were still dominated by considerations of electability and the party's short-term political interests. This study found that in the political recruitment process, PAN Merangin opened candidate selection to the public, but the final decision remained entirely in the hands of the DPP, which selected candidates based on electability and political considerations. This pattern made recruitment appear open at the beginning, but it was actually closed because the voices of regional administrators did not have a significant influence ([Agung, Indrajat, Harjo, & Juantara, 2022](#); [Aldi, Febriyanti, & Amaliatulwalidain, 2024](#)). These findings are in line with [Anggoro et al. \(2020\)](#), who state that although PAN provides an open selection process, the final decision on candidates is still determined by the central leadership. [Rahayu \(2023\)](#) also confirms that PAN is becoming more pragmatic by selecting figures who are considered to have electoral appeal. This reinforces the institutionalization theory from the perspective of [Lisi \(2024\)](#), whereby the strong role of the central leadership indicates weak regional autonomy and

that PAN's recruitment process is not yet fully institutionalized. Overall, the PAN Merangin case shows that formal procedures alone are insufficient to guarantee a democratic recruitment process if regions are not given adequate space to participate in decision-making.

Cadre development lays the foundation for building strong and sustainable political resources for the party. Based on Article 24 of the PAN AD/ART, cadre development must be carried out in a planned, tiered, and continuous manner through political education, training, and cadre assignments at all levels of the party's structure. The goal is for each cadre to have the ability, loyalty, and readiness to occupy strategic positions within and outside the Party. However, the political reality in PAN Merangin shows that the results of cadre development have not been fully optimized. In the 2024 regional elections, internal cadres such as H. Nalim, who had long contributed to PAN's growth, was not nominated by the party, and the decision was made to nominate an external figure. This indicates that cadre development results have not become the main basis for political decision-making.

The findings show that PAN Merangin has formally implemented cadre training and regeneration programs at various organizational levels in Jambi Province. According to the Chair of the Merangin DPD, cadre development activities are conducted regularly, ranging from basic training at the regency level to branch-level programs. These initiatives are intended to strengthen the organizational capacity and prepare future party leaders. However, despite the continuity of cadre training, strategic political decisions, particularly those related to electoral support and candidate nomination, remain under the authority of the DPP. At the regional level, party officials acknowledged that although regeneration processes were ongoing, they had not yet become the primary consideration in determining the party's direction of support. Electoral survey results and electability calculations continue to play a more decisive role in candidate selection than internal cadre development. This indicates a gap between the institutional objective of nurturing a long-term cadre and the short-term strategic orientation of electoral competition.

Legislative members from PAN further observed that while many potential cadres have emerged from training programs, relatively few have been given the opportunity to advance to strategic political positions in the party. This presents a challenge for the party, as the tangible impact of cadre development is not always reflected in recruitment outcomes or leadership appointments. Similarly, party administrators noted that cadre education programs are held annually, yet their distribution and follow-up remain unevenly distributed. Not all active cadres have equal access to advanced political training, which may limit the effectiveness of regeneration efforts and hinder the systematic preparation of future leaders.

From an academic perspective, local political observers have assessed that although the PAN has established a structural framework for cadre development, it has not fully integrated this system into its strategic decision-making processes. Trained cadres are not consistently prioritized for key positions, suggesting that regeneration has not yet become a determining factor in the party policy. Furthermore, cadre development still depends significantly on the initiative and orientation of current leadership figures. For regeneration to function optimally, a more institutionalized and objective framework is required, ensuring that trained cadres are systematically promoted based on merit rather than on situational political considerations.

The DPD PAN Merangin held Basic Cadre Training to strengthen the capacity of the DPC and branch levels. However, this activity has not directly impacted the opportunities for internal cadres to secure strategic positions in political candidacies. Based on the results of the interviews and data collected, the analysis of the research findings found that PAN Merangin's cadre development has been carried out in stages and in accordance with Article 24 of the PAN AD/ART, but the results have not been effectively incorporated into the party's political decisions. Cadre development is carried out routinely, but it has not become a major factor in determining the direction of support and the placement of strategic positions. This shows that the cadre development process in PAN Merangin remains formal and has not been fully established as a development system grounded in cadres' achievements and competencies.

Furthermore, the study found that, in the context of cadre development, PAN Merangin conducted formal cadre development in accordance with PAN's statutes, but cadre development was not the primary basis for regional head candidacy selection. The fact that senior cadres such as H. Nalim was not nominated, confirming the findings ([Anggoro et al., 2020](#); [Anshari & Fadiyah, 2019](#)). The PAN cadre development often functions administratively. This also reinforces the institutionalization theory ([Kristiyanto et al., 2023](#)), which states that this condition indicates a weak level of organization, namely, the discontinuity between the cadre regeneration structure and the use of cadres in strategic decision-making. These findings confirm that PAN Merangin has a structure but does not yet have a cadre regeneration routine that serves as a source of political legitimacy.

4.4 Commitment to Party Ideology and Values

Commitment to the party's ideology is a form of cadre loyalty to the foundations of the *Partai Amanat Nasional* (PAN), namely, progressive Islam with the spirit of Muhammadiyah values. This ideology emphasizes openness, justice, social responsibility and moderation in politics. Based on Article 2 of the PAN AD/ART, the party is based on Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin, which serves as a guideline for all political activities, including strategic decision-making and determining the direction of political support. In the context of the 2024 simultaneous regional elections in Merangin Regency, even though the PAN Central Executive Board chose the pair of H. Syukur and Abdul Khafid, who are not pure party cadres, remain obedient and solid. This shows that the support given is not solely due to instructions from above but also to a shared vision and ideological values considered in line with PAN's struggle ([Almahdali, 2025](#)).

The findings indicate that ideological alignment was a central consideration in PAN Merangin's acceptance of the DPP's decision to nominate a candidate who was not an original party cadre. According to the Chair of the Merangin DPD, although Syukur did not emerge from PAN's internal cadre structure, he was perceived as possessing commitments, leadership orientation, and religious views consistent with the party's ideological foundation. He was described as a moderate and community-oriented figure whose outlook aligned with PAN's conception of Progressive Islam. At the provincial level, party leadership similarly assessed that the DPP's decision remained within the party's ideological boundaries. The endorsement of the Syukur–Khafid pair was considered organizationally legitimate because the candidates demonstrated values compatible with PAN's ideological line. Consequently, all parties were expected to implement the decision as part of their institutional responsibilities

At the regency level, party representatives acknowledged that nominating a non-cadre initially generated confusion among some members who expected priority to be given to internal figures. However, after internal explanations emphasized the ideological compatibility between the candidate's vision and PAN's foundational values, resistance diminished, and acceptance increased. This suggests that ideological justification is an important instrument for consolidating internal support. Party administrators further emphasized that loyalty to the party's ideological orientation characterized as Islamic, open, and pro-people was the primary basis for maintaining solidarity. From this perspective, candidate origin is considered secondary to ideological congruence. Even cadres with personal affiliations to alternative candidates ultimately prioritized organizational responsibility and adherence to party ideology over their individual preferences.

Regional party officials reiterated that PAN's ideological identity, grounded in moderate and open Islamic principles, operated as a unifying force during periods of internal disagreement. Differences in political preference were managed within a broader framework of shared ideological commitment. From an academic standpoint, local political observers assessed that PAN Merangin's stability amid potential conflict could be attributed to its relatively strong ideological foundation. Shared adherence to Progressive Islamic values reinforces obedience to party decisions, even when those decisions originate with the central leadership. Furthermore, scholars have noted that ideological congruence between leaders and cadres strengthens organizational cohesion, enabling members to accept central directives on the grounds that the endorsed candidate upholds Islamic values and the Muhammadiyah-inspired spirit historically associated with PAN. Based on the interview results and data obtained, the

analysis of the research findings reveals that commitment to the PAN ideology in Merangin is reflected in the cadres' loyalty to progressive Islamic values and the spirit of Muhammadiyah, even though the party nominated an external candidate. The cadres remain solid because they believe that the candidate shares PAN's ideological vision. This means that ideological loyalty serves as the primary glue that maintains internal cohesion within PAN Merangin amid political differences.

Additionally, this study found that, in the context of party ideology, moderate Islamic values and a public service orientation are important factors that help cadres accept central decisions, even when the figure being promoted is not an internal one. This finding is in line with ([Andika Pratama & Suharto, 2024](#)), who emphasize that ideology is the glue that holds together moderate Islamic parties such as PAN and PKS. It also reinforces the institutionalization theory [proposed by Subekti et al. \(2025\)](#) regarding value infusion, which explains that a party is considered institutionalized when ideological values are strongly internalized by cadres, not merely symbolic. In the context of PAN Merangin, the cadres' acceptance of the central leadership's decision indicates that ideology can be an integrative force when formal structures create tensions.

The commitment to the PAN Merangin party's values was evident in the attitude of its cadres toward the decision of the PAN Central Executive Board to endorse the H. Syukur-Abdul Khafid ticket in the 2024 simultaneous regional election. Although there were differences of opinion because Syukur was not a pure cadre, the administrators and cadres chose to maintain solidity by prioritizing deliberation, openness, trust, and kinship over personal interests. The findings indicate that the principles of deliberation (*musyawarah*) and kinship constitute the primary foundation for managing internal differences within the PAN Merangin. According to the Chair of the Merangin DPD, organizational issues are resolved through collective discussions aimed at reaching a consensus, reflecting the party's emphasis on unity and familial bonds among cadres. Although internal dynamics and differing opinions may arise, open communication and mutual respect are considered essential for maintaining cohesion and preventing fragmentation ([Tarisa, Febriyanti, & Amaliatulwalidain, 2025](#)).

Following the announcement of the DPP's decision, the Merangin DPD promptly conducted large-scale consolidation meetings involving party structures from the regency to the branch level. These efforts were undertaken to minimize friction and reaffirm the collective commitment to the officially nominated candidate. At the provincial level, the party leadership maintained close coordination with the Merangin DPD to ensure that consolidation efforts were aligned with organizational directives. While loyalty to the DPP's decision was considered obligatory within the party's hierarchical structure, its implementation at the regional level was encouraged to be carried out through persuasive and familial approaches rather than coercive measures ([Syah & Nurdin, 2023](#)).

Members of the Merangin DPRD from PAN described the consolidation process as a practical expression of openness and political responsibility to the public. Internal meetings provided space for cadres, including those who initially held differing views, to express their opinions before ultimately reaffirming their collective unity. This deliberative approach reinforced a sense of shared responsibility and organizational maturity among the party members. Consolidation efforts were further strengthened through social and religious activities involving the endorsed candidate, aimed at demonstrating alignment with PAN's ideological orientation of Progressive Islam. Such activities served not only as symbolic gestures of support but also as a means of embedding political decisions within shared-value frameworks. Additionally, cross-branch meetings and direct outreach to cadres were conducted to clarify the central decision and ensure consistent alignment across party structures.

Even cadres with personal ties to alternative candidates emphasized that loyalty to party decisions constituted moral and organizational obligations. Direct grassroots engagement was undertaken to explain the binding nature of the DPP's decree and reaffirm unity as a collective responsibility. From an academic perspective, observers assessed that values such as deliberation, trust, and kinship have evolved into an organizational culture within PAN Merangin, rather than merely formal principles. These shared values contribute significantly to sustaining internal harmony, despite the predominance of top-down decision-making. The consistent application of these cultural norms has fostered political

maturity within the local party structure, reducing susceptibility to division and reinforcing solidarity following central decisions.

From the interview results and data obtained, the analysis of the research findings revealed that PAN Merangin cadres maintain consolidation and support H. Syukur through deliberation, openness, and family oriented approach. These values are realized through joint consolidation, social-religious activities, and personal communication with cadres ([Al Hadar, Amaliatulwalidain, & Isabella, 2025](#); [Tarisa et al., 2025](#)). These efforts demonstrate that party values are genuinely applied in political practice and form the basis of PAN Merangin's solidity amid differing viewpoints. This study found that, in the context of party values, the principles of deliberation, kinship, openness, and trustworthiness were important factors in maintaining the unity of PAN Merangin after the DPP's decision. These values are not merely slogans; they are realized through cross-level consolidation, open dialogue, a personal approach to cadres with differing views, and socio-religious activities involving the structure and candidates being promoted.

These findings are in line with [Anawati and Al-Hamdi \(2020\)](#), who show that organizational values grounded in deliberation and kinship can reduce the potential for internal conflict within moderate Islamic parties such as PKS. This also reinforces the theory of institutionalization from the perspective of [Subekti et al. \(2025\)](#) through the concept of value infusion, which asserts that a party is considered institutionalized when its internal values are integrated into the behavior of its cadres. Overall, in the context of PAN Merangin, the application of the values of deliberation and kinship has become an integrative force able to withstand the pressure of the centralization of decision-making. Thus, party values serve as social glue, maintaining cohesion even when structural mechanisms do not operate optimally in the party.

5. Conclusions

5.1 Conclusion

Based on the findings, this study concludes that the *Partai Amanat Nasional* (PAN) in Merangin Regency during the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections demonstrated functional solidity but has not yet achieved institutional solidity. The PAN Merangin maintained organizational unity, prevented open fragmentation, and ensured collective compliance with the DPP's decision. Internal conflicts arising from candidate selection were successfully mitigated through consolidation meetings, deliberation forums, persuasive communication, and appeals to shared ideological values. The cadres ultimately remained loyal to the party's official stance, and no significant organizational split occurred. In this sense, PAN Merangin exhibited functional solidity, namely, the practical capacity to maintain short-term stability and electoral cohesion. However, from an institutional perspective, the party's strength remains limited. Decision-making patterns were highly centralistic, with strategic determinations concentrated at the DPP level and minimal deliberative space for the regional structures. This condition reduced organizational autonomy at the DPD level and narrowed the cadre's participation in strategic processes. Moreover, political recruitment and cadre regeneration mechanisms were overshadowed by electability considerations and central directives, indicating that long-term institutional development has not yet become the primary basis for candidate selection. Conflict resolution mechanisms, although effective, rely largely on personal leadership, informal deliberation, and familial approaches rather than standardized and consistently enforced organizational procedures.

The main theoretical contribution of this study is the affirmation of the distinction between functional and institutional solidity. Functional solidity refers to a party's ability to maintain unity, loyalty, and operational stability in the face of internal tensions. By contrast, institutional solidity requires structured, rule-based, and autonomous organizational mechanisms that operate independently of particular figures. The PAN Merangin case shows that a party may appear solid in practice while remaining institutionally fragile. Therefore, while PAN Merangin demonstrated short-term organizational cohesion supported by charismatic leadership and strong cadre loyalty, its long-term resilience depends on strengthening institutional mechanisms, enhancing procedural autonomy at the regional level, systematizing cadre development, and formalizing conflict-resolution processes.

Without such institutional consolidation, party solidity remains contingent upon individual actors rather than being embedded in durable organizational structures.

5.2 Research Limitations

This study has limitations because it uses a qualitative case study approach that focuses on the *Partai Amanat Nasional* (PAN) in Merangin Regency in the context of the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Election. This specific focus allows for an in-depth analysis of the party's internal dynamics but limits the generalizability of the findings to other political parties and regions. In addition, the research data are highly dependent on interviews with party elites and cadres, as well as document analysis; therefore, there is potential for informant subjectivity, even though source triangulation has been carried out. This study also did not use quantitative instruments, such as surveys, to measure party solidity statistically; therefore, the analysis emphasized organizational processes and internal mechanisms rather than numerical measures of cadre loyalty.

5.3 Suggestions and Directions for Future Research

Further research is recommended using a mixed-methods approach, expanding the object of study comparatively across parties or regions, and conducting longitudinal studies to assess the sustainability of party solidity after regional elections.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to express their deepest appreciation and sincere gratitude to Universitas Jambi for the extensive academic support and excellent research facilities provided throughout this study. The university's commitment to fostering a conducive academic and scientific environment, including access to laboratories, scholarly resources, research infrastructure, and other supporting facilities, significantly contributed to the successful conduct and completion of this research. The authors also acknowledge the invaluable institutional support and encouragement provided by the university, which greatly facilitated each stage of the research process.

Author Contributions

ADSW contributed to the conceptualization of the study, data collection, analysis, and manuscript drafting. DS was responsible for the study design, supervision of the research process, critical revision of the manuscript, and final approval of the version to be published. IP contributed to the data interpretation, methodology development, and manuscript editing. SDE assisted with data collection, literature review, and administrative support during the research process. All authors have read and approved the final version of this manuscript.

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