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# The Dynamics of Movement-Based Party Regeneration Strategies: A Comparative Study of PKS and the Gelora Party in Depok City

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## Abstract

**Objective:** The study analyses and compares the dynamics of the regeneration strategy of movement-based political parties by taking a case study of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the Indonesian People's Wave Party (Gelora Party) in Depok City. The main focus of this research is to examine the design, practice, and implications of cadre regeneration on the consolidation of party organizations at the local level. **Theoretical framework:** The analysis of this research relies on the theory of party institutionalization and the theory of cadre parties developed by Panebianco and Mainwaring, as well as the concept of political socialization to read the process of internalizing the values and ideology of cadres. **Literature review:** Previous studies have shown that regeneration is a key element in maintaining the identity, discipline, and sustainability of political parties, especially those born from ideological bases or social movements. The latest literature emphasises the difference between an institutionalised model of regeneration and a community-based adaptive model of recruitment. This study adapts and expands on these findings by placing them in a local empirical context. **Methods:** This study uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive case study design. Data was obtained through in-depth interviews with the regeneration elite of PKS and the Gelora Party in Depok City, as well as documentation in the form of AD ART, cadre curriculum, and organisational reports. Data analysis is carried out through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and systematic conclusion drawn. **Results:** The findings of the study show that PKS implements a tiered, structured, and sustainable cadre system with an emphasis on ideological coaching, loyalty, and organisational discipline, so as to be able to maintain the stability and solidity of the party. In contrast, the Gelora Party has developed a more flexible and community-based regeneration with a focus on developing leadership capacity and social networks, but has not been supported by a strong level of institutionalisation. **Implications:** The results of the study confirm that institutionalised regeneration contributes significantly to the resilience of the organisation and the consolidation of the party at the local level. **Novelty:** This study offers a comparative analysis based on local contexts that highlights how differences in the depth of institutionalisation of cadre regeneration affect the sustainability of movement-based parties.

**Keywords:** institutionalisation of parties, regeneration of political parties, movement-based parties, gelora parties, pks.

## INTRODUCTION

Political parties are the main pillars of a representative democratic system. Law Number 2 of 2011 affirms that a political party is a national organisation formed voluntarily by Indonesian citizens based on the same will and ideals [1]. The goal is clear, namely to fight for the political interests of members, society, nation, and state, as well as to maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This provision places political parties as strategic institutions in the democratic process and the distribution of state power [2].

In practice, political parties carry out the function of political communication. Public aspirations are absorbed, formulated, and fought for through party representatives in legislative institutions and formal political forums [3]. The party also functions as a means of political recruitment. Through the party, candidate leaders are prepared, selected, and tested before entering public office. The quality of democracy is greatly influenced by the quality of the cadre regeneration process carried out by political parties. Without systematic regeneration, the party risks losing its ideological direction and organisational capacity [4].

Regeneration is a crucial issue for movement-based parties. This type of party does not only rely on the electoral machine, but also on cadre loyalty and the internalisation of common values. The Prosperous Justice Party is an example of a movement-based party that develops from social transformation. Starting from the Tarbiyah movement in the late 1990s, PKS built a party structure with a base of educated, young, and urban middle-class Muslim cadres. From the beginning, PKS has placed regeneration as the main foundation of organisational sustainability [5].

PKS is known to have a layered and institutionalised cadre regeneration system. Regular coaching through liqa and mentoring is the main instrument for cadre formation. This process runs regularly and in a structured manner. Recruitment is carried out selectively. Internal communication is maintained intensively. Ideological values are strengthened through collective activities and symbolic rituals. This strategy results in a relatively high level of discipline and cadre loyalty. Cadres are not only positioned as political tools, but as part of the party's long-term mission. However, the internal dynamics of political parties have never been completely stable. Internal conflicts often arise as leadership changes, differences in political orientation, and competition for resources arise. In the context of PKS, this dynamic culminated in the exit of a number of elites and key cadres who then founded the Indonesian People's Wave Party. The Gelora Party is present as a new party with a narrative of movement strategy reform and a more adaptive political approach.

The Gelora Party claims to be a movement party with a different format. This party was not born from a long-term cadre regeneration process like PKS. Instead, Gelora relies on elite networks, political figures, and cadre mobilisation across backgrounds. This condition raises important questions about how the new party's regeneration strategy is carried out and the extent of its effectiveness in building a sustainable organisation [6].

The city of Depok is a very relevant empirical context to study this phenomenon. Depok, for two decades, has been known as an electoral base and PKS cadre base. The dominance of PKS at the local level has made Depok a laboratory for movement-based party regeneration. The fact that a number of PKS cadres in Depok moved and became the core management of the Gelora Party shows the existence of complex cadre dynamics. This shift cannot be understood only as an electoral phenomenon, but as the result of an interaction between organisational structures, ideologies, and leadership.

The difference in party age, organisational structure, and ideological orientation between PKS and the Gelora Party created a significant variation in cadre regeneration

strategies. PKS represents a party that has been institutionalised with an established coaching mechanism. The Gelora Party represents a new party that is still looking for a stable cadre regeneration format. This difference deserves to be tested empirically, especially at the local level, which is a space for direct interaction between parties and cadres [7].

Based on this context, this study focuses on the comparison of the design, practice, and effectiveness of PKS and Gelora Party cadre regeneration in Depok City. The analysis is directed at four main aspects. First, the cadre recruitment mechanism and member selection pattern. Second, the system of fostering and internalising ideological values. Third, the pattern of cadre mobilisation in political and social activities. Fourth, the impact of cadre regeneration on the consolidation of party organisations at the local level. The focus of the research is placed on the context of Depok, not on the national claims or narratives of each party.

The problem formulation in this study is designed specifically and operationally. First, how to design the strategy for the regeneration of PKS and the Gelora Party in Depok City. Second, how the practice of regeneration is carried out at the structural and cultural levels. Third, what factors affect the effectiveness of the regeneration of each party. Fourth, what are the implications of the regeneration strategy on the consolidation of party organisations at the local level. This formulation allows for systematic and measurable analysis [8].

The purpose of this study is to compare the regeneration strategies of two movement-based parties in the local context. This study examines the consistency between the regeneration design and practice in the field. In addition, this study assesses the extent to which regeneration contributes to the resilience of the party organisation. With a comparative approach, this study seeks to identify the advantages and limitations of each regeneration model.

Theoretically, this research relies on the theory of party institutionalisation and political regeneration. The institutionalisation concepts of Mainwaring and Panebianco are used to assess organisational stability, social roots, and autonomy of party structures. The theory of political regeneration is used to understand the process of cadre formation and leadership regeneration. The concept of political socialisation is used to analyse the internalisation of the values and collective identity of cadres. The movement-based party approach and social movement theory are used to explain the relationship between cadres, elites, and support bases [9].

With this framework, this research is expected to make an empirical and theoretical contribution. Empirically, this study enriches the understanding of the dynamics of political party regeneration in Indonesia at the local level. Theoretically, this study expands the discourse on the sustainability of movement-based parties in the context of competitive electoral democracy.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

A study by Kristiyanto et al. highlights the process of institutionalisation of parties in Indonesia's electoral democracy. This research shows that political parties must be able to strengthen their identity and internal culture in order to be able to survive in the competitive political arena. Parties that do not strengthen the institutionalisation of internal democracy risk losing strategic direction due to external contestant pressures. These findings place institutionalisation as an important element in building cadre capacity that is consistent with the party's vision [10]. The study used a national survey approach and a literature review to show that internal party strength determines the organisation's resilience and long-term relevance [11]. This study provides a theoretical basis for understanding how *Institutionalization* can strengthen regeneration, although it does not focus on local levels or movement-based party comparisons.

Research by Sulaksono et al. explores the relationship between political recruitment and *Institutionalization* through a case study of PDIP in the Surakarta mayoral election. Key findings suggest that there are internal tensions when central structures intervene in local recruitment processes. This indicates *institutionalisation*. The party is closely related to the recruitment mechanism, structural autonomy, and consolidation of cadres at the regional level. The tension that arises hinders the solidity of the organisation [12]. This article is relevant because it shows how the internal dynamics of the party structure affect the recruitment and development process of cadres, an important part of an effective cadre regeneration process.

Sejati et al. examine the role of the *Regional Leadership Council* in the process of regeneration of the Golkar Party in Ciamis Regency. This study emphasises the importance of systematic, value-based, and inclusive cadre regeneration programs to improve the quality of members. The findings show that the local strategy of party institutions has a significant role in creating competent cadres through structured training and coaching. The results of this study support the argument that the regeneration strategy is not only formal but must also be practised consistently at the regional level to strengthen the party structure.

Da'im et al. discussed recruitment patterns and human resource development strategies in political parties in East Java. The study found that commitment to organisational culture and leadership development systems is an important factor in creating qualified cadres. This research provides insight that the regeneration strategy involves various internal processes that are integrated, including organisational culture, leadership systems, and continuous coaching [13]. These findings help develop a conceptual framework related to cadre recruitment and capacity building mechanisms, especially for movement-based parties that require members with high ideological commitments.

Morong explored the aspect of accountability in the regeneration of the Golkar party to maintain the quality of legislative members. This study emphasises that, in addition to the cadre development mechanism, there is a need for an internal evaluation and reporting system to ensure the integrity and competence of legislative cadres [14]. This shows that regeneration is not only about training but also supervision, accountability, and continuous evaluation. This research expands the focus to the quality of output aspects of the regeneration process, strengthening the validity of comparing two parties with different approaches to regeneration.

Hendrik and Danial discussed the strategy of fostering cadres through political literacy. The findings highlight the urgency of coaching through political education to improve the basic competencies of party cadres. This strategy focuses on increasing political knowledge as an important capital in regeneration, especially for the new generation of cadres [15]. This research gives important weight to political education in the process of regeneration, relevant to comparing the value-building model between old and new parties.

Hadi and Gandryani discussed the idea of enforcing the minimum membership period requirement for legislative candidates as a form of improving regeneration. This article highlights that formal mechanisms, such as membership requirements, can improve the quality of cadre regeneration and minimise pragmatic recruitment practices. This shows that the formation of internal rules can strengthen the party regeneration process. This study broadens the perspective by showing that internal rule reform can affect the quality of the cadre regeneration systemically.

## METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative case study method with descriptive-analytical properties to answer research questions in depth and contextually. This approach was chosen because it allows researchers to comprehensively understand the dynamics of movement-based party regeneration strategies in the local context of Depok City. Case studies are relevant to examine the process, meaning, and practice of cadre regeneration that cannot be explained quantitatively, especially in parties that experience differences in the level of institutionalisation and internal dynamics of the organisation.

The research design is comparative by placing the Prosperous Justice Party and the Indonesian People's Wave Party as the two main cases. PKS is positioned as a movement-based party that has been institutionalised, while the Gelora Party is positioned as a new party that was born from the dynamics of internal conflict and brings claims of reform of the movement's strategy. Comparisons are conducted in the same social and political context to avoid structural biases and reinforce the validity of empirical analysis.

The location of the research was determined in Depok City because this area is known as an electoral base and PKS cadre base, as well as an area with significant development of the Gelora Party. The subjects of the research are determined purposively, namely, actors who are directly involved in the process of regeneration and the organisational structure of the party. The selection of informants aims to obtain accurate and representative data related to the design, practice, and evaluation of cadre regeneration in each party.

The data collection technique is sourced from primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through in-depth semi-structured interviews with key informants to explore information about cadre recruitment mechanisms, coaching systems, internalisation of ideological values, and cadre mobilisation strategies. Secondary data is obtained through documentation studies to collect data and information in the form of books, archives, internal party documents, activity reports, and other relevant written sources. The documentation was used to strengthen the findings of the interviews and provide an institutional overview of the regeneration pattern implemented by each party.

Data analysis is carried out systematically through three main stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and the conclusion drawn. Data reduction is carried out by simplifying and focusing the raw data obtained to be in line with the problem formulation and theoretical framework of political party regeneration and party institutionalisation. The presentation of data is carried out by organising data in the form of thematic narratives and comparisons between cases to facilitate the identification of patterns and differences in cadre regeneration strategies. Conclusions are drawn by formulating research findings analytically based on the consistency between the empirical data and the theoretical framework used [\[16\]](#).

The validity of the data is maintained through triangulation of sources and techniques by comparing the results of interviews between informants and verifying them with written documents and sources. The study also pays attention to the ethical principles of social research, where all informants give consent before the interview is conducted, and the data is used solely for academic purposes. Technically, the writing of research manuscripts is adjusted to the provisions of the layout of scientific articles, including column boundaries, margins, and page orientation, in order to meet the publication standards of reputable scientific journals.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### PKS Cadre Regeneration

PKS cadres are party members and are also often referred to as da'wah activists who have two functions to spread Islamic religious values to the general public to behave better towards fellow human beings and to Allah SWT. as well as as a thinker, driver and implementer of an organizational idea, and also always ready as a servant in the community in accordance with the slogan launched in 2020, namely "PKS People's Servant" [17].

PKS always prioritises the solidarity of its cadres, especially from the six regeneration processes that the researcher wrote in chapter III, which is considered by political observers to be a party with an effective cadre process that produces militant cadres. Therefore, a political observer of the Indonesian Public Institute (IPI), Karyono Wibowo, conveyed to reporters *tribunnews.com* that PKS is not trapped by the symbol of leadership (one cadre), and obeys the line of struggle, regulations, and mechanisms, as well as the party's program.

A cadre party is a party that prioritises the quality of cadres over quantity. The researcher considers this to be in accordance with the character of PKS, because looking at the results of the research that refers to the quality of its cadres through regular coaching every week and other cadre regeneration processes. The regeneration process is not only carried out by cadres at the central or regional levels, but it must be followed by cadres up to the branch level [18].

The PKS recruitment or regeneration program has been passed down from time to time, and it is ensured that the program from the DPP (Central Leadership Council) to the lower levels, such as DPW (Regional Leadership Council) and DPD (Regional Leadership Council), is passed down again to the village level (DPRa). It's just that the way of delivery to the community adjusts to their respective regions and regions. This is in accordance with the explanation from Fadjeri, as the Head of the Depok City PKS DPD Regeneration Division, whom the researcher met on November 25, 2021, in the Depok City PKS DPD Meeting Room.

The regeneration strategy taken by PKS is through the *tarbiyah* system adopted from the thoughts of Egyptian scholars, namely Sheikh Hasan Al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb. The tarbiyah-style regeneration process applies the curriculum and materials made directly by *asatidz/ah* PKS, one of which is Alm. KH. Rahmat Abdullah (Founder of the IQRO' Bekasi Foundation).

#### 1. *Halaqah* or *Liqah*

*Halaqah* comes from an Arabic word meaning "circle". Meanwhile, *Liqah* is his activity, which means "meeting". This is the first step that a cadre must take if they want to continue their sympathy and want to be part of the PKS internally.

This program is led by a *murabbi* (teacher/coach) and is attended by 5 to 11 *mutarabbi* (students/fosters) on a normal basis. In each *mutarabbi*, it is also directed to have *mutarabbi*. This activity is carried out not only in mosques or prayer rooms, but can also be in the house of *murabbi* or *mutarabbi*, according to group agreement only [19]. That is how the *halaqah/liqa'* system works, continuous or what is often said as a 'da'wah relay'.

The urgency of this *halaqah/liqa'* is to add to the full religious insight of Islam, and not to produce Sharia experts. *Halaqah* is also to increase knowledge about Islam, nationality, and the state in general cannot be separated just like that, because any activity must follow the corridors that have been established by Allah SWT. stipulated in the Quran and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.

## 2. Mukhayyam

Mukhayyam comes from the Arabic language, which means camp. In this activity, it has the basis of the ability to train oneself in building togetherness (*ukhuwah*) with other cadres. From these activities, it can be seen how the nature and character of a cadre is real, individualistic or has a spirit of 'team work', togetherness, help, and sharing.

*This mukhayyam* is carried out in the open air, such as the forest, for (usually) 3 days and 2 nights. Not only training togetherness, but the physical and mental cadres are also forged with strenuous activities. Such as going up and down the mountain, sleeping on a 'mountain' mat and a 'star' roof, and *survival skills* (survival exercises), and others. *Mukhayyam* is not the realm of the field of Regeneration, but from the field of BKO (Scouting and Sports Agency) [20].

## 3. Tasqif

*Tasqif* is a forum attended by more than 2 (two) *groups of liqa'*, and it contains knowledge, especially Islamic materials, or language in the general public commonly known as *ta'lim* [21]. *Tasqif* aims to form a correct understanding of Islam and nationality about religion and state, and strengthen the knowledge and mentality of cadres to become militant, loyal, and nationalist cadres. *Tasqif* is also commonly referred to by cadres as "*Joint Liqa'*".

## 4. Mabit

Mabit is short for the Night of Faith and Piety, which is one of the means of *the tarbiyah* pattern. Mabit is usually performed in mosques and attended by several *Liqa'* groups. The mabit agenda is also filled with religious *tausyiah* or even social and political issues. The main interest of this mabit is the intellectual debriefing and insight of cadres. Mabit is for male cadres only, not for female cadres. Instead, female cadres carry out *jalasa ruhiyah* activities or activities in the form of being in the mosque for a whole day (morning to evening) by doing activities together, such as Dhuha prayer, *ta'lim*, and others [22].

## 5. Daurah

*Daurah* means training. *Daurah* is one of the means of *the tarbiyah* pattern, which gathers cadres at various levels (structural and cultural) in one forum that is carried out for more than one day (at least two days), whose agenda is in the form of Islamic studies, scientific, creativity training and *problem solving* in daily life. This activity was initially carried out in the realm of campuses, but by following the development of *da'wah* to the community, finally this *Daurah* was also carried out in the general public. This pattern can be the first step for a person to become a PKS cadre in his area.

The regeneration implemented by the PKS DPP, which is handed down to the DPW and DPD, and also forwarded by the DPC, and to the lowest level, namely the DPRa, is a system formed for coaching, training, and education for party members at a level and sustainable level. Regeneration in PKS also has two (2) objectives, namely:

*First*, the addition of quantity (members) in the PKS body using the KTA-nization program method or increasing the number of members by giving Member Identity Cards to all cadres and community members who declare themselves to join PKS. With various benefits that will be provided to the recipients of this PKS KTA, which, of course, are adjusted to their respective fields [23]. For example, if the community registers as a member of PKS through the Youth sector, the benefits of KTA are adjusted to the programs contained in the Youth sector, as well as in other fields.

However, in accordance with what is stated in AD-ART chapter IV article 11, PKS can terminate membership status and withdraw KTA if members:

- a. died;
- b. resign;
- c. become a member of another political party;
- d. prohibited from being a member of a political party by laws and regulations; or
- e. violate the Articles of Association and/or Bylaws.

*Second*, the increase in the quantity of members must always go hand in hand with programs to increase and improve the quality of members or cadres. This addition of quality is considered very important so that the "immunity" of PKS cadres is both mental, intellectual, physical toughness, and financial resilience, and the cadres' families can be well maintained.

This quality addition is based on programs launched by the PKS Cadre Division. Over time, the management of DPTP PKS under the leadership of Ahmad Syaikh (2020-2025) no longer adopts the names of the regeneration process used by the *Muslim Brotherhood*, such as *Halaqah* or *Liqah*, *Tasqif*, *Mukhayyam*, and others [24]. Ahmad Fadjeri thinks that this is a good thing because lately these names have always been associated with radicalism by the general public, and he added that the replacement of these names is to make them more accepted and easier to remember among the public. The names of the regeneration programs were replaced with:

- a. *Halaqah/Liqah* was replaced with UPA (Angota Development Unit);
- b. *Tasqif* was replaced with PPW (Insight Enhancement Training).
- c. Mabit was replaced with PPS (Spiritual Enhancement Training), and
- d. *Mukhayyam* was replaced with Fitness Camping.

Based on the results of the Researcher's brief interviews with several PKS cadres in Depok City, the Researcher concluded that the four cadre regeneration programs had a positive impact, and even many cadres increased their loyalty to PKS. Because, according to PKS cadres, currently PKS is still the best of the alternative rows of existing parties, and PKS still has firm principles with the 'da'wah party'. In contrast to the Gelora Party, which is not a party based on da'wah [25].

In terms of organising, according to Mr Ahmad Fadjeri, PKS has a different system and mechanism from other parties. In PKS, there are 3 (three) levels of size and 7 (seven) sub-levels of membership, namely:

#### 1. Supporting Members

- a. Beginners is a path that is open to Indonesian citizens (WNI) who are 17 years old. In this level, it is usually called a party sympathiser and already has a KTA (Member Identity Card).
- b. Siaga is a membership level that has begun to be active in party activities, especially at the sub-district level or DPRD. Such as social services, health services, and others.

#### 2. Driving Members

- a. Young, this level is a level that has been approached in the party's coaching program.
- b. Primarily, this level is more or less the same as the Young Member level. The difference between Young Members and Primary Members is in the UPA (Member Development Unit) curriculum.

### 3. Pioneer Members

- a. Madya, when the members have participated in the party's coaching program regularly and are loyal to the party. Members of this level are required to issue ITB or Monthly Fixed Contributions worth IDR 50,000.
- b. Adults are associate members who have become "dynamizers". Which means that members can direct when there are cadre problems. Members of this Age are also party administrators who have been determined by the party's Syuro Assembly.
- c. Mainly, they are adult members who have been used as an example in the party body; if PKS cadres often mention the term qiyadah or leadership.

Prabowo Subianto, as the General Chairman of the Gerindra Party, revealed to the media crew that he really respects PKS, which has a strong cadre system. Moreover, Prabowo wants the Gerindra Party's cadre regeneration system to be as strong as what has been achieved by PKS. Political observer at Paramadina University, Toto Sugiarto, assessed that PKS is a cadre party and a solid party, which should always be running the PKS political machine, its grassroots cadres are very obedient and respectful of the policies of the party leadership, and that is what becomes scary [\[26\]](#).

PKS cadres who are considered solid do not necessarily have a "test". But in October 2018, PKS was abandoned by many core cadres such as Anis Matta, Fahri Hamzah, Mahfudz Sidik, and others who created the Garbi community organisation (Indonesian New Direction Movement). Garbi made several PKS cadres change direction. Even Anis Matta and Fahri Hamzah conducted a "political safari" to intensify this Garbi, including in the city of "One Million Cadres", namely Depok.

In an interview with TribunNews, Gelora Party Chairman Anis Matta said that he and his colleagues founded the Gelora Party on the grounds that there was an internal conflict with PKS leaders because they were considered to have failed to absorb the aspirations of its members, who wanted a new narrative about national integration. Although the narrative was not built in some time before the Gelora Party was established in 2019, it has been a narrative since 2013, when Anis Matta continued the leadership of Lutfi Hasan Ishaq as President of PKS [\[27\]](#).

PKS Depok City during the 2019 election or cadres began to break up; in fact, PKS at the national level and especially in Depok City, gained more votes than in previous elections. This indicates that the existence or absence of the Gelora Party, especially in Depok City, does not interfere with the votes achieved by PKS. In 2014, PKS was only able to pass 6 legislative candidates to the Depok City parliament, but in 2019, PKS was able to pass 12 legislative candidates to the Depok City parliament. On the other hand, in the 2019 election, PKS nationally was also able to secure 50 seats in the House of Representatives for its cadres, which in 2014 won 45 seats in the House of Representatives. So, maybe this can be called "prahara becomes a gift".

There is no difference in the strategy of PKS cadre regeneration after the existence of the Gelora Party. However, it is indeed tightened up in the coaching process and in carrying out *the charity of the jama'i* or its collective work, so that in the future there will be no cadres and members who leave the party.

The current PKS regeneration program relies on three things, namely education, training, and coaching. And these three programs must have a strong relationship with each other. It cannot be if PKS only relies on one program, what happens will not have strong militancy and solidity with fellow cadres and also with the party.

## Education

If a cadre is already at one level and wants to be raised to the next level, there is education about the party according to the level of the member, and it is continued at the inauguration of the member. For example, there is a cadre at the Driving membership level and wants to be raised by the DPD Regeneration Division to the Pioneer membership level, then the member must attend Level III Education, which is accounted to the DPC Regeneration Section in accordance with the member's domicile (Jabodetabek) through an invitation given through the UPA Trustee. However, this education should not be known to other UPA members, because it is confidential or *many*.

The content of the nation, state, party, and religion is the main material contained in Level III Education. This aims to strengthen the concepts of Tarbiyah, cadres, if they get the mandate to do it with faith, sustainable goodness, have the strength of a social base, and understand that politics and da'wah are 2 things that cannot be separated, where da'wah is the "commander". For example, liquor (liquor) is prohibited by religion, but can still be traded in Indonesia. Seeing this, the Depok City PKS, through the faction in the Depok City DPRD, proposed the Liquor Regulation, which regulates that the distance of liquor sales must be 1 km from mosques/prayer rooms and schools. In fact, the distance between mosques/prayer rooms and schools is always less than 1 km, so there is no room for the movement of buying and selling liquor in Depok City. This is where politics and da'wah come into play [28].

In addition to education to raise the level of a member, this education is also carried out to increase the quality of knowledge about the party to all cadres, even cadres who are at the lowest level, namely Novice Members. Cadre education is also a form of implementing the message of the constitution. In the Political Party Law, it is stated that parties are obliged to carry out a direct and sustainable regeneration process.

As a cadres-based party, PKS is obliged to meet the "nutrition" for its members regularly and sustainably to be prepared to face complex problems that occur in society, and also to be present in the community as a solution to existing problems. That way, cadres can become agents who convey the importance of political participation as an Indonesian nation.

## Training

There are at least six (6) types of training at PKS, in which there are sub-sub-trainings. The PKS Training Program is:

- 1). Training on the implementation of the KKP (Party Cadre Regeneration Curriculum)
- 2). Insight Enhancement Training (PPW)

Insight Enhancement Training or PPW is present for Young and Primary Members who are responsible for the Cadre Regeneration Division at the DPC level. The person in charge of the Insight Enhancement Training for Intermediate and Adult Members is the Cadre Regeneration Division at the DPD level. Furthermore, the person in charge of Insight Enhancement Training for Main Members is the Cadre Regeneration Division at the DPW level.

This Insight Enhancement Training is held at least once every 3 (three) months. The goal or purpose of this PPW is to improve understanding, paradigm, and mindset on the themes of the KKP (Party Regeneration Curriculum). The content to fill this program is the delivery of material and discussions to delve into the material.

This program is usually attended by the police, TNI, or Ulama as speakers or speakers to form the spirit of nationalism and religion of the cadres. This also breaks public opinion about PKS, which is 'anti-Pancasila' and 'radical'. This Insight Enhancement Training is carried out every month in the last week. This PPW has been

carried out since the beginning of Ahmad Shaikhu's leadership as President of PKS [29].

### 3). Spiritual Enhancement Training (PPS)

The person in charge of the Spiritual Improvement Training for Young and Primary Members is the Regeneration Division at the DPC level. The person in charge of the Spiritual Improvement Training for Intermediate and Adult Members is the Cadre Regeneration Division at the DPD level. Furthermore, the person in charge of Spiritual Enhancement Training for Key Members is the Regeneration Division at the DPW level.

This Spiritual Improvement Training is carried out at least once every 3 (three) months. The target of this PPS is to habituate worship practices that can improve the spiritual well-being of members. The implementation time of PPS for male members is carried out from one hour before maghrib to the time of syuruq (sunrise), which means for men to stay overnight. As for female members, it is carried out according to the conditions of the participants, by avoiding nighttime [30].

### 4). Leadership and Entrepreneurship Training

Just like the 2 (two) trainings above (Insight Enhancement Training and Spiritual Enhancement Training), Entrepreneurship Leadership Training for Young and Primary Members is responsible to the DPC level Regeneration Division. Leadership and Entrepreneurship Training for Intermediate and Adult Members is responsible to the Cadre Regeneration Division at the DPD level. As for the Main Member, it is responsible to the DPW. At least, this training is held every 6 (six) months, to train the skills of Members in terms of Entrepreneurial Leadership [31]. The content that is arranged to achieve these goals is delivered by resource persons, practice, and discussion.

### 5). Cadre Regeneration Management Training

For the Management of the Cadre Regeneration Division, the DPC is responsible to the Cadre Division at the DPD level. The Management of the DPD Regeneration Division, it is responsible for the Regeneration Division at the DPW level. As for the Management of the DPW Regeneration Division, it is responsible to the Central Level Regeneration Division, namely the DPP.

This agenda is implemented at least 2 (two) times in one year. The purpose of this program is to increase the understanding of the management of the policies of the Cadre Sector, to increase the effectiveness of the management in managing the regeneration program, and, of course, to increase the solidity between the Cadre management. The content taken is about the socialisation of policies in the Cadre Sector, cadre management training, and *workshops* on the implementation of the regeneration program [32].

This agenda is scheduled to increase understanding of the policies of the Cadre Division and improve the skills of a coach and supervisor in managing the UPA group effectively. This program is carried out at least 2 (two) times a year, where each meeting contains directions from the leadership, the skills of Coaches and Supervisors in managing the UPA group, and the socialisation of policies in the Regeneration Field, which are of course very important to be understood by a UPA Coach and Supervisor.

The UPA Coach and Supervisor Capacity Building Training is more or less the same as the UPA Coach and Supervisor Preparation Training. What distinguishes the word 'prepare' from 'improve' is that, which means that after the UPA Coaches and Supervisors have been prepared by the Cadre Field team, the next task of the Cadre Field is to improve the capacity and quality of the UPA Coaches and Supervisors to be applied in fostering UPA Participants.

The UPA Supervisor is a functional position determined by the party structure, the backbone of the success of the KKP (Party Cadre Regeneration Curriculum), and as a communication node between the leadership and members or vice versa. UPA Trustees must have at least one level of membership from the UPA members they manage, must have a strong will to become a UPA Trustee, and must have a commitment to time management to foster UPA.

The person in charge of this Training is in the fields related to the network, which is the means of managing standby members. This training aims to provide qualified network facilitators according to the desired number, increase understanding of party policies, improve the skills of facilitators in managing networks, and increase the number of young members [33]. This program is filled with the content of general party policies, skills in managing this network, and through *workshops*.

#### 6). Thematic Training

This Thematic Training will be carried out according to the needs of the party. So, the nature of this Thematic Training is *conditional*.

### Construction

UPA or Member Development Unit is the most important PKS cadre regeneration program. Not just the meeting, but the content and function of this program to strengthen the cadre are very meaningful for PKS. In the PKS AD-ART, it is clearly stated that this UPA program is a program for the regeneration of all PKS Members in accordance with the mandate of the Law on parties, which has the goal of forming cadres as candidates for leaders who have high integrity.

UPA, which was formerly known as *Halaqah* or *Liqah'*, has material content or the Party Cadre Curriculum (KKP) that provides understanding to UPA group participants from 4 (four dimensions, namely family, spirituality, science, and organisation. Spirituality here discusses inclusive religious life and religious life in the midst of a diverse society. Because PKS has never had a problem with religious and national identity [34].

UPA is expected to bring benefits to the public about Islam that loves the Republic of Indonesia, and PKS cadres become role models and pioneers to provide an understanding of nationality and Islam that must be understood by the public in a moderate manner and keep up with the times. And with the UPA program, a cadre base that is obedient, solid, militant, and creative is also formed.

UPA holds meetings every week for 1.5 (one and a half) hours to 4 (four) hours. The content carried out every week is reading or depositing memorization of the Quran, directions from UPA coaches, reading the instructions of the party leadership and discussing the technical implementation (if a letter of instruction has just been issued to members), evaluation of the UPA program, implementation of the KKP, discussion of personal conditions, family, and the process of regeneration, as well as agreeing on the program and action plan of the UPA group. In addition, UPA also held programs and action agendas outside of weekly meetings. Namely, mutual visits between UPA members, visits to party figures or leaders, spiritual training of members, tours, meals together, sports, and so on are also adjusted to party regulations [35].

This obedience can be seen in the principle of "*sami'na wa atho'na*" or "we listen, and we obey" to party leaders at all levels. As a leader, he must also carry out his mandate sincerely, love his members, be responsible, and be an aspirational leader (listening to the complaints of his members and receiving constructive criticism and suggestions). Obedience must also be done with full awareness and understanding, which means that they must have the ability, willingness, and free time, and a leader must prioritise faith.

PKS Depok City is currently also focusing on regenerating young people, because in the upcoming 2024 elections, the number of voters among youth in Depok City is around 40%, and in 2024, legislative candidates will also emerge from among young people who will be fully supported to achieve the target of the Depok City PKS DPD in the 2024 elections. In this case, Ahmad Fadjeri, as the Head of the Depok PKS Regeneration Division, said that the Depok City PKS DPD was assisted by the Depok City PKS Muda in capturing the youth cadre process in Depok City. And to regenerate the party cadre process to carry out leadership relays and fill the structure in PKS so that in the future, young people through PKS Muda Depok City are mentally and physically ready.

### **Regeneration of the Gelora Party**

The Gelora Party was present in Indonesian politics in 2019, starting with the Garbi community organisation (Indonesian New Direction Movement). The Gelora Party at the national level is fronted by former PKS cadres, as well as in Depok City. Ahmad Rasyid Ghufon, commonly called Ghufon, as the Chairman of the Cadre Regeneration Division of the Depok City Gelora Indonesia Party DPD, in his interview with the researcher, claimed that almost 90% of the initial management of the Depok City Gelora Party DPD were former PKS cadres in Depok City.

The city of Depok is known as the "City of a Million Cadres" because of the large number of PKS cadres in Depok City. Many of its cadres have changed direction to become members and administrators of the Gelora Party because they have different views on politics. However, Ahmad Ghufon, as the Chairman of the Cadre Regeneration Division of the Depok City Gelora Party DPD, said that this was not because of the regeneration process of the Gelora Party [\[36\]](#).

Ahmad Ghufon (Head of the Cadre Regeneration Division of the Depok City Gelora Party DPD) said that the regeneration carried out by the Depok City Gelora Party DPD began with *Mapping* or mapping in each region, and from the results of the mapping, it can be seen how *Basic* or *passionate* the region is. For example, in a sub-district, the majority of people are happy in terms of cycling, so a special bicycle community was created and entered by Gelora Party cadres. As that momentum slowly built, the people who participated in the community were given an understanding of the Gelora Party and given a forum for coaching by the Depok City Gelora Party DPD. There are three (3) stages of the coaching strategy owned by the Indonesian Gelora Party:

1. *Organisation development*: people who have just entered Gelora must know how to organise, especially in organising in Gelora. So that the new cadres can organise the Gelora party, regardless of their background (religion, education, sports, and so on).
2. *Social development*: In this stage, members will be equipped to know and become *problem solvers* in the community, the purpose of which is for members to be able to serve in their own environment, such as RT chairs, RW chairs, and cultural community leaders.
3. *State development*: after being able to manage the party organisation, being able to manage at the lowest level of government, finally, we can manage a country, which is actually the main goal of all political parties.

Unlike PKS, which has seven (7) levels of membership, the Gelora Party only distinguishes between members and administrators. There is no difference in membership levels. However, it is the same with PKS, whose field of regeneration must intersect with other fields. The API program or the Indonesian Leaders Academy is the result of a collaboration between the field of Regeneration and the field of Leadership. As the name implies, API is a program that emphasises the leadership process of a member who is specially prepared to become a public official

(governor/deputy governor and mayor/deputy mayor) or become a member of the legislature at various levels.

#### 1). Party Orientation

In this case, Party Orientation or OKE Gelora at the district/city level is the first step in introducing the vision, mission, and goals of the Gelora Party to new people or stating that they want to join the Indonesian Gelora Party for understanding and producing quality human resources.

#### 2). Indonesian Human Academy

The Indonesian Human Academy, commonly known as AMI, is intended for all cadres, both members and administrators. The existence of the AMI program to oversee the Gelora Party's big goals or ideals towards Indonesia becoming one of the top five world powers, Gelora Party cadres are an important part in initiating ideas, designing and implementing strategic steps. AMI has a function to give birth to Indonesian people by taking care of reason and spiritual values so that they become a moderate religious society and love for the country, have a nationalistic insight and leadership that is creative, innovative, and progressive and able to collaborate with the nation's children, so that in the future Indonesian children can be empowered, concluded the Chairman of the Cadre Regeneration Division of the DPD Gelora Party of Depok City, Ahmad Ghufon [37].

Before the COVID-19 pandemic (*Coronavirus Disease*), this AMI should ideally be done within 1 (one) month. However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, it is still rarely carried out by the DPD of the Indonesian Gelora Party. Because it is still categorised as a nascent party, Ahmad Ghufon considers that the existing cadre regeneration process has not seen the results, but as time goes by until now, people are increasingly aware of politics, especially knowing the Indonesian Gelora Party.

### **Comparative Analysis of PKS and Gelora Party Cadre Regeneration**

The Gelora Party was present and founded by former PKS main cadres at the central level, such as Anis Matta (Secretary General of the PKS DPP 2003-2013 & President of PKS 2013-2015) and Fahri Hamzah (Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, PKS Faction). As revealed by Ahmad Ghufon, the Gelora party was born because the political thinking of cadres (who left PKS) was no longer in line with the central leadership of PKS.

The relationship between PKS and the Gelora Party is limited to cadres who have a new ship. However, Dr Salim, as Chairman *Shura Assembly* PKS, stated to the media that in the future, PKS and Gelora could be political partners, the presence of Gelora is not a threat to PKS [38].

Although the Gelora Party was born and established from the former PKS leadership, the regeneration process carried out is not similar, or even the same, but the regeneration process carried out by the Gelora Party is very different from what PKS does. If PKS is still with a regeneration process that prioritises its spirituality through UPA and PPS, but still upholds the values of Pancasila, then what the Gelora Party does is a regeneration process through more general segmentation and entered through community communities in the AMI and OKE regeneration programs.

The PKS DPP Regeneration Division is obliged to downgrade its programs to the Regeneration Division in its lower structure. The PKS Cadre Division has carried out several transformations so that the regeneration process can be more accepted among the community by changing the names of its various programs, namely:

1. *Halaqah/Liqa'* with the Member Development Unit (UPA);
2. *Tasqif* with Insight Enhancement Training (PPW);
3. *Mabit* and *Daurah* with Spiritual Improvement Training (PPS); and
4. *Mukhayyam* with Fitness Camp.

When compared to the PKS regeneration process, the Gelora Party regeneration process is different, through the OKE (Party Orientation) and AMI (Indonesian Human Academy) regeneration programs that focus on developing communities within the community.

The regeneration of PKS departs from the conception of cadres as party members as well as da'wah activists. Cadres are not only positioned as an electoral political instrument, but also as agents of spreading Islamic values in social life. This dual role forms the character of PKS cadres as public servants, in line with the slogan "PKS People's Servant". This identity places cadres as thinkers, movers, and implementers of organisational ideas that are ready to be present in the public space in a sustainable manner [39].

PKS is known as a party with strong cadre solidarity and an effective cadre regeneration system. Political observers consider that PKS does not depend on a single figure, but on adherence to the party's line of struggle, organisational mechanisms, and programs. This character reflects the typology of the cadre party that emphasises quality over quantity of members. The findings of the study show that routine and tiered coaching is the main foundation of PKS cadre militancy, starting from the central level to the branches.

The PKS cadre regeneration program is nationally standardised. The curriculum and regeneration design were derived from the DPP to DPW, DPD, DPC, and DPRa with the same substance, although the delivery method was adjusted to the character of the region. This strategy strengthens the ideological and organisational consistency of the party. The PKS cadre system adopts the tarbiyah model sourced from the thoughts of Hasan Al-Banna and Sayyid Quthb, with adjustments to the Indonesian national context.

Halaqah or Liqa' is the starting door for regeneration. This forum is in the form of a small group led by a coach and takes place regularly. Halaqah serves to expand the vision of Islam, nationalism, and statehood in an integrated manner. The coaching relay model ensures that cadre regeneration runs sustainably. In addition to halaqah, PKS has mukhayyam as a means of character formation through outdoor activities that emphasise togetherness, physical toughness, and teamwork [40].

Tasqif and Mabit strengthen the intellectual and spiritual dimensions of cadres. Tasqif serves as a forum for the enrichment of understanding of Islam and nationality collectively, while Mabit emphasises strengthening faith and socio-political insights. Daurah complements the regeneration process through intensive cross-level training that integrates Islamic studies, scientific, and problem-solving skills. This overall pattern shows a systematic and layered regeneration of PKS.

PKS differentiates the purpose of regeneration into adding quantity and improving quality. The increase in quantity is carried out through the provision of Member Identity Cards to the people who join, while still being bound by the provisions of the AD and ART. Quality improvement is directed at strengthening the mental, intellectual, physical, and resilience of the cadre family. In its development, PKS changed the nomenclature of regeneration to be more adaptive to public perception, without changing the substance of coaching.

The PKS membership structure is composed of three major levels and seven sublevels. This system allows for scalable and tiered cadre management. Education, training, and coaching are the three main pillars of PKS regeneration. Education functions to raise the membership level and deepen the understanding of the party, Islam, and nationality. The training is focused on increasing insight, spirituality, leadership, entrepreneurship, and the capacity of regeneration managers. Coaching through UPA is the core of regeneration because it integrates family, spiritual, intellectual, and organisational dimensions.

The solidity of PKS cadres has been proven to be maintained despite the exodus of core cadres who later established the Gelora Party. Electoral data shows that the Depok City PKS actually experienced an increase in votes in the 2019 election. This fact indicates that the PKS cadre regeneration system can maintain grassroots base loyalty and organisational consolidation, even in situations of internal conflict.

The Gelora Party is present as a new party born from the Garbi community organisation. In Depok City, the majority of the initial management of the Gelora Party were former PKS cadres. This cadre transfer is more influenced by differences in political views and the direction of the national narrative, not by the attractiveness of the Gelora Party's cadre regeneration system itself. Gelora's regeneration began through social mapping and community approaches according to regional interests and character.

The Gelora Party's cadre regeneration strategy consists of three stages, namely organisational development, social community development, and state development. This model emphasises the ability of cadres to manage organisations, become problem solvers at the local level, and prepare themselves for state roles. Unlike PKS, the Gelora Party does not recognise layered membership levels, but only distinguishes between members and administrators.

The Party Orientation Program is the entrance to the regeneration of the Gelora Party, followed by the Indonesian Human Academy as the main coaching program [41]. AMI is designed to form cadres with a sense of nationalism, moderate spirituality, and collaborative leadership. However, as a new party, the results of the regeneration of the Gelora Party have not shown a significant impact organizationally or electorally at the local level.

The comparison shows the fundamental difference between PKS and the Gelora Party. PKS relies on institutionalised and tiered ideological regeneration, while the Gelora Party prioritises community-based regeneration with a more general national orientation. PKS emphasises the integration of da'wah and politics, while the Gelora Party places regeneration as an instrument for the development of social and state leadership. This difference has implications for the level of organisational consolidation, where PKS shows stronger resilience than the Gelora Party in Depok City.

**Table 1. The Basic Character and Orientation of PKS and Gelora Party Cadre Regeneration**

| Aspects                         | SMEs                             | Gelora Party                                |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <b>Party Type</b>               | Da'wah-based cadre party         | Community-based movement parties            |
| <b>Regeneration Orientation</b> | Ideological, tiered, long-term   | Pragmatic-strategic, open, adaptive         |
| <b>Recruitment Base</b>         | Continuous internal coaching     | Social communities and networks of interest |
| <b>Focus on Values</b>          | Integration of da'wah, politics, | National leadership and                     |

|                        |                                            |                                            |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
|                        | and nationality                            | collaboration                              |
| <b>Main Objectives</b> | Militancy, loyalty, and solidity of cadres | Elite influence expansion and regeneration |

This table explains the differences in ideological orientation and cadre organisation between PKS and the Gelora Party. PKS is positioned as a cadre party with a da'wah base that emphasises ideological development, loyalty, and militancy of cadres in the long term. Cadres are prepared as political actors as well as agents of value. On the contrary, the Gelora Party displays a more open and adaptive movement-based party character. Gelora regeneration is directed at expanding the social base through communities and networks of interest. The focus is not on deepening tiered ideologies, but on strengthening leadership capacity and cross-group collaboration. This difference shows two models of regeneration that depart from different organisational logic.

**Table 2. Cadre Regeneration System, Stages, and Instruments**

| Dimensions                   | SMEs                               | Gelora Party                  |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>Regeneration Model</b>    | Structured tarbiyah system         | A phased development model    |
| <b>Stages</b>                | UPA, PPW, PPS, Leadership Training | OKAY, AMI, API                |
| <b>Membership Tier</b>       | 7 formal levels                    | Untiered                      |
| <b>Main Instruments</b>      | Party Cadre Curriculum (KKP)       | Academy and party orientation |
| <b>Relationship Patterns</b> | Murabbi–mutarabbi                  | Facilitators–members          |

This table explains the technical and operational differences in regeneration. PKS implements a structured and layered tarbiyah system, with clear and continuous coaching stages. The main instrument of PKS cadre regeneration is the Party Cadre Curriculum, which regulates materials, methods, and cadre evaluation nationally. Membership is formally distinguished in seven tiers that reflect the level of loyalty and capacity of the cadres. On the other hand, the Gelora Party does not implement a formal membership level. Regeneration is carried out through orientation programs and academies that are thematic and functional. Cadre relations are not hierarchical like murabbi-mutarabbi, but facilitative and participatory.

**Table 3. Institutionalisation of Regeneration in Party Structure**

| Aspects                           | SMEs                              | Gelora Party                         |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <b>Institutional Regeneration</b> | Integrated from DPP to DPRa       | Centralised in the DPP and DPD       |
| <b>Program Consistency</b>        | National uniforms, local adaptive | Flexible according to regional needs |
| <b>Internal Regulations</b>       | Strictly regulated in AD/ART      | Normative and evolving               |
| <b>Organizational Control</b>     | High, structural adherence-based  | Moderate, mindfulness-based          |
| <b>Organizational Resilience</b>  | High against internal conflict    | Still in the consolidation phase     |

This table highlights the level of institutionalisation of regeneration. PKS shows a high level of institutionalisation because regeneration is formally institutionalised from the central level to the grassroots. The regeneration program has national standards and is strictly regulated in the AD and ART. Organisational control is strong and based on structural compliance. This makes PKS relatively resistant to the shock of internal

conflict. The Gelora Party is still in the early phase of institutionalisation. Regeneration is more centralised in a specific structure and is not yet completely uniform in all regions. Flexibility is an advantage, but institutional consistency is still in the process of being formed.

**Table 4. The Impact of Cadre Regeneration on Solidity and Electability**

| Indicator                    | SMEs                                         | Gelora Party                         |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <b>Cadre Loyalty</b>         | High and long-term                           | Still fluctuating                    |
| <b>Response to the Split</b> | Internal strengthening of cadre regeneration | Formation of a new identity          |
| <b>Electoral Impact</b>      | Stable and rising                            | Not yet significant                  |
| <b>Leadership Readiness</b>  | Systematic and layered                       | Focused on the selected elite        |
| <b>Development Direction</b> | Deepening of quality and regeneration        | Expansion of the base and legitimacy |

This table explains the implications of cadre regeneration on organisational and electoral performance. PKS shows that tiered and sustainable cadre regeneration has a direct impact on cadre loyalty and electoral stability. Even when there was internal division, PKS was able to maintain and increase vote acquisition. This shows the effectiveness of cadre regeneration as a mechanism to strengthen party institutions. The Gelora Party has not shown a significant electoral impact because it is still in the stage of consolidating its cadres and political identity. Gelora's cadre is more oriented towards the formation of medium-term strategic leadership, so its electoral impact has not been widely seen.

## Analysis

The comparison of cadre regeneration strategies between the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the Gelora Party in Depok City illustrates two distinct models of movement-based party development shaped by different levels of institutionalisation. PKS represents an established cadre party with a long-term ideological foundation, while the Gelora Party reflects a newly formed movement that prioritises adaptability and network-based mobilisation. These differences significantly influence organisational resilience, cadre loyalty, and local political consolidation.

PKS applies a structured and tiered regeneration system that integrates education, training, and continuous coaching. This system is designed not only to recruit members but also to shape ideological commitment, discipline, and collective identity. Regular mentoring forums function as a mechanism for internalising values, strengthening solidarity, and ensuring alignment between party leadership and grassroots cadres. The layered membership structure allows PKS to manage leadership succession systematically and to prepare cadres gradually for organisational and political responsibilities. As a result, regeneration becomes a sustainable process rather than a short-term recruitment strategy.

This institutionalised model has proven effective in maintaining organisational stability during periods of internal tension. Despite the departure of several elite figures and the emergence of the Gelora Party, PKS in Depok City demonstrated electoral growth and organisational continuity. This outcome indicates that loyalty in PKS is embedded more strongly in organisational culture and collective values than in individual leaders. Cadres continue to operate within established structures, ensuring consistency between central policy direction and local implementation.

In contrast, the Gelora Party's regeneration strategy is more flexible and community-oriented. Rather than relying on a hierarchical membership system, Gelora focuses on attracting participants through social communities, interest-based networks, and issue-driven engagement. Its regeneration stages emphasise organisational skills, social leadership, and national orientation. This approach enables the party to reach diverse social groups and to position itself as an inclusive political movement. However, the absence of a clear and layered cadre structure limits the depth of ideological internalisation and long-term organisational discipline.

As a new party, Gelora's regeneration model remains focused on leadership capacity development rather than mass cadre consolidation. While this strategy offers short-term adaptability and openness, it has not yet produced strong organisational cohesion or measurable electoral impact at the local level. The comparison suggests that flexibility alone is insufficient to ensure sustainability in movement-based parties. Overall, the findings demonstrate that structured and institutionalised cadre regeneration plays a decisive role in strengthening organisational endurance and electoral resilience. Movement-based parties that combine ideological depth with systematic regeneration are better equipped to survive internal conflict and maintain long-term political relevance at the local level.

## **CONCLUSION**

This study concludes that regeneration is the main determining factor for the sustainability and consolidation of movement-based political parties at the local level, as seen in the comparison of PKS and the Gelora Party in Depok City. PKS implements an institutionalised, tiered, and sustainable cadre regeneration strategy with an emphasis on ideological coaching, cadre loyalty, and organisational discipline, to create consistency between central policy design and practice in the regions. This model has proven effective in maintaining organisational solidity, increasing the resilience of cadres to internal conflicts, and even encouraging increased vote acquisition despite elite fragmentation and the birth of the Gelora Party. On the contrary, the Gelora Party has developed a more flexible and community-based regeneration with a focus on leadership capacity development and social networks, but it has not been supported by a strong membership level system and standardisation of coaching, so the level of institutionalisation is still limited. This difference shows that structured and consistent regeneration contributes directly to the party's organisational stability and electoral resilience, while adaptive but not yet established regeneration requires institutional strengthening in order to be able to produce sustainable organisational consolidation.

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## **Author's Contributions**

Umar Maulana Hasbi conceptualized the research framework, conducted the fieldwork, and drafted the initial manuscript. Suryani contributed to the theoretical development, comparative analysis, and refinement of the argumentation related to party regeneration strategies. Arrijal Abdul Malik Akbar supported data analysis, literature review, and methodological design. All authors jointly reviewed, revised, and approved the final version of the manuscript and agreed to be accountable for all aspects of the work.

## Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest related to this study. The research was conducted independently and was not influenced by any political party, organization, or external funding body. All analyses, interpretations, and conclusions presented in this article are solely those of the authors and are based on academic considerations and empirical findings, ensuring objectivity, transparency, and scholarly integrity throughout the research process.

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