

Challenges on Party Institutionalization: The Broken Linkage of Three Faces of Party in the National Democrats on Promoting Renewable Energy Bill

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Abstract

This article explores institutionalization challenges in the National Democrats (NasDem) Party in promoting the Renewable Energy Bill, viewed from the party's three faces. NasDem is strategically involved in policy decision-making in the Indonesian parliament, but the three faces of the party are yet to be seen. Despite being established over a decade ago, the direction of institutionalization is still transforming, especially in the linkage between public office and the party at the grassroots. The research question is: How do the three faces of the party in NasDem impact the challenges of institutionalization? Drawing from the Renewable Energy Bill case studies, we argue that three challenges exist. First, a personalistic party's strong influence leads to failure in two-way communications, especially at the grassroots. Second, the vision of the renewable energy law was not implemented at the grassroots because the party had to focus on regional policies. Third, although the renewable energy vision has not been fully implemented, the idea of 'green politics' has been realized by the party wing at the grassroots through the political education program.

Keywords: *NasDem, three faces of the party, party institutionalization, broken linkage, renewable energy bill*

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Introduction

The trend of political parties adopting green politics has been rising following pressures from various international agreements such as the Paris Agreement and the agendas promoted by Indonesia's Presidency in the G-20. This includes the development of the Draft Law on New and Renewable Energy (RUU EBET), which was on the agenda for a plenary session in March 2021. The planning of the RUU EBET has been in intense discussion, but the concept of renewable energy within this draft law is not new. Some academics criticize that the RUU EBET allows broader space and accessibility for oligarchs and businesspeople to use this not-new energy source (CNN Indonesia, 2023) because specific provisions allow for liquid coal, which contradicts the idea of renewable energy

(zero carbon). New energy, such as nuclear and liquid coal, must uphold the essence of renewable energy.

Political parties play a central role in determining policies, including the 'green' ones. This article analyzes the role of the National Democratic Party (NasDem) concerning its involvement in the formulation of the Draft Law on New and Renewable Energy Policy (RUU EBET). NasDem Party is selected based on several points. First, research involving the NasDem Party still needs to be explored, especially the dynamics of party organization in national policy-making. Second, we aim to explore how restoration and change-making ideology underpin the party and influence the dynamics of party institutionalization. Third, the strategic position of the NasDem Party in the VII Commission of the Indonesian Parliament (DPR-



RI) is assumed to have an impact on the promotion of policies, particularly in the areas of energy, research and technology, and the environment. The strategic party positions allow the placement of party cadres as the commission's chairperson.

Discussions on political parties and public policies associated with socio-technical transitions, such as new and renewable energy, are limited (Schmid, 2021), especially on issues surrounding new and renewable energy, which have gained prominence over the past decade, especially in third-world countries. The limited discussion is probably due to problematic characteristics inherent in the functioning of political parties in Indonesia, such as factionalization at the central and grassroots levels due to clientelism and patronage (Fionna & Tomsa, 2020). The status of party leaders

as veto players in decision-making processes allows this clientelism to proliferate at the grassroots level (Budi, 2013; see Tomsa, 2013, as cited in Savirani & Budi, 2023).

Using the institutional approach with Katz and Mair's (1993) on the three faces of political parties, this article examines why the dynamics of national public policies, such as the agenda for new and renewable energy, do not resonate at the grassroots level of political parties. What are the obstacles and challenges in distributing these policies among the three faces of the party? Grounded in the theory of the institutionalization of political parties developed by Randall and Svasand (2002), this article employs four criteria divided into two parts: structurally related to systemness and autonomy and attitudinally related to value infusion and reification.



In addressing the questions above, this article adopts a qualitative case study approach, with primary and secondary data. Primary data is obtained through in-depth interviews with key stakeholders at the grassroots level. In addition to primary data, secondary data was gathered, such as the opinions of the NasDem Party faction in the Indonesian Parliament (DPR-RI) Commission VII regarding the Draft Law on New and Renewable Energy, the party's constitution (AD/ART), media reports related to keywords such as NasDem Party and RUU EBET, the views of party figures on the RUU EBET, and the party's implementation of the RUU EBET at various levels.

A Brief Context on the Draft Law of New and Renewable Energy Bill

The proposal regarding the Draft Law on New and Renewable Energy (EBET) fundamentally

represents an effort of transformation and addition to the Energy Law enacted in 2007. Furthermore, the EBET Bill was introduced as the Indonesian government's commitment to addressing climate change resulting from fossil energy use and achieving net-zero emission targets. It recognizes that cleaner and more affordable energy is the answer to the global challenges of demoting fossil fuel-based energy sources. This is because fossil energy also has potential asset abandonment losses (Kontan.co.id, 2023). However, due to a lack of political will regarding new renewable energy, Indonesia has yet to follow this global energy transition trend (Siagian et al., 2022). Therefore, material and legislative support for new and renewable energy is needed to accelerate the



action. The proposal for the EBET Bill is considered crucial and prioritized as a significant step for Indonesia's energy transition.

To understand why the EBET Bill is essential to discuss and enact as a policy, recognizing the proposed policy direction in the bill is necessary. Through Presidential Regulation Number 112 of 2022, the government seeks to increase investment and accelerate the achievement of renewable energy targets. This regulation outlines the preparation of the electricity supply business plan (RUPTL), the roadmap for accelerating the end of the Steam Power Plants (PLTU) operational period, and the implementation of electricity purchases. This regulation forms the basis for a more in-depth exploration of issues, including the discussion of EBET sources, the use of nuclear energy, and the roadmap for energy transition. The explanation is outlined in

the 12 government focus points for regulating the EBET Bill (Humas EBTKE, 2022). In this policy direction, the government considers legal regulations as one of the juridical foundations, including Law Number 30 of 2009 concerning electricity and nuclear energy regulated in Law Number 10 of 1997 and Law Number 10 of 2020.

However, the EBET is far from perfect to address the challenges, including the unclear conceptual definition of new energy and renewable energy. Technically, the term 'new energy sources' remains vague, especially in Law No. 30 of 2007 concerning Energy. Similarly, some literature on energy sources states that energy is only grouped into renewable and non-renewable forms (Bertram & Clover, 2010; Zohuri & McDaniel, 2021; Rosen & Farsi, 2022). This idea contradicts the term 'new energy' in the EBET Bill. In the renewable



energy dimension, technological innovation is still needed to meet the energy demand, with outputs such as solar energy, wind energy, air energy, bioenergy, and geothermal energy (Kamran & Fazal, 2021). Thus, the terms new and renewable energy should ideally not be merged.

Institutionalism Theory and Three Faces of Party as an Analytics Framework

This research employs two frameworks. Firstly, we utilize the theory of institutionalization proposed by Randall and Svasand (2002). This theory is particularly relevant as it considers the context of a post-reform state transitioning into a new democracy as the scope of study. The initial theory of party institutionalization developed by Samuel Huntington (1968) or Kenneth Janda (1980) is essentially a combination

of values and stability. This perspective overlooks the role of party institutionalization as a feature for organizing the party's internal dynamics (Randall & Svasand, 2002:11-12). Meanwhile, Panebianco's (1988) model represents an evolution in the development of institutionalism theory by introducing two crucial dimensions: autonomy and systemness (see Kumbaracibasi, 2018:8).

According to Panebianco (1988), the concept of autonomy refers to the relationship between the party and its external environment. In Kumbaracibasi's (2018) interpretation, autonomy is when a party is dominated by veto actors and is able to move relatively freely. Meanwhile, systemness is related to internal relations and the party's organization, evaluated based on the party's ability to maintain its members' communication



at the grassroots level and the elites' communications in the central office or public office. The stronger the relationship among actors within the party in its political regions, the higher the effectiveness of intra-party democracy and the functionality of the party as a political institution (Borz & Janda, 2018; Kumbaracibasi, 2018).

Based on the criticisms and adjustments to the theories proposed by Huntington (1968) and Panebianco (1988), Randall and Svasand refined the four concepts, dividing them into two degrees of relationships and two typologies. As seen in Table 1, the structural typology is examined through the points of systemness and autonomy used by Panebianco (1988). Randall and Svasand then add the attitudinal typology, where value infusion and reification are introduced as complementary dimensions of institutionalization. The value

infusion refers to the party's value system or culture formulated within the party. This depends on the actions of party actors and supporters in identifying and committing to the incentives provided by the party. Meanwhile, reification refers to the party's presence in building public imagination (see Randall & Lars, 2002 in Kumbaracibasi, 2018). Using this institutionalization theory, we aim to apply the two typologies and four concepts in three domains: the degree of centrality, party communication patterns, and the implementation of values and ideologies in responding to public policies.

The second framework is the concept of party organization proposed by Katz and Mair (1993), who argued that the dichotomy attributed to political parties between parliament and extra-parliament or leaders and followers (representative and constituent) cannot be detached



Table 1. Dimensions of Institutionalization

	Internal	External
Structural	Systemness	Autonomy
Attitudinal	Value Infusion	Reification

Adapted from Randall and Svasand, 2002:13

from the faces and elements that drive the subsystem of a party. The term ‘faces of the party’ is used by Katz and Mair to examine how a party operates at various levels, consisting of three categories: the party in public office, i.e., elected members in legislative and executive branches; the party in the central office, i.e., the daily executives of the party, such as the chairman and department heads; and the party on the ground, i.e., party members and activists.

To elaborate, the party in public office includes elected party members who have successfully secured seats in the legislative body through general elections. Elected party members enjoy various benefits,

including material aspects of power and status (Katz & Mair, 1993). Additionally, elected party members can benefit from networking among parties, both within the commission where they are located and within the legislative network as a whole. With these advantages, a party cadre elected as a council member must have accountability and an agenda to build a government with a clear vision and mission.

The second category is the party at the central office. This typically refers to the NasDem Party’s Central Leadership Council (DPP) in the Indonesian context. The presence of the DPP in the party is crucial because it has a central function,



controls all issues, and can make essential decisions to direct the levels below it (Katz & Mair, 1993). Furthermore, the DPP motivates party cadres at all levels, providing input on public policy strategies and mediating between party networks.

Lastly, the third face is the party on the ground. Typically, parties at this level operate under the Regional Leadership Council (DPW) or Local Executive Board (DPC), both of which aim to mobilize cadres in specific areas. Relationships at this level are usually closer, as power relations operate vertically and horizontally. Such relationships can occur between DPW executives and party wings or local community organizations. The party on the ground can also assist in implementing party agendas. Thus, this party face can be seen as an extension of the NasDem Party's DPP. In this context, although functioning

as implementers, DPW or DPC plays a crucial role in identifying the roles of stakeholders in its region to promote the expansion function from electoral political victories.

This study uses the framework developed by Katz and Mair (1993) to dissect how parties interact and compromise on various agendas brought by each face of the party. Katz and Mair's framework does not limit the existence of other forms of party organization, especially in analyzing parties in the global south (see Roewer, 2020). It should be noted that Katz and Mair's concept implementation in this theory refers to parties in Europe. This article analyzes the differences between the three faces of party organizations to indicate the distinctive features of party organization functions, which are still ambiguous.



Ideology and Dynamics of the NasDem Party

To comprehend how a political party executes its agenda and formulates policy decisions within the government, it is imperative to consider the party's ideology and organizational dynamics (Harmel & Janda, 1994; Pedersen, 2011). The National Democrat (NasDem) Party has undergone a long process to become a political entity in Indonesia. It emerged during political regulation changes in 2011 and faced challenges, especially after the revision of the Political Party Law by the People's Consultative Assembly (DPR). The party successfully overcame these challenges and became the only new party to surpass the parliamentary threshold in the 2014 elections. NasDem brings a unique perspective to politics. Article 4 of NasDem's constitution in Section III, which discusses Principles and Characteristics,

highlights NasDem's distinctive identity as a Movement for the Restoration of Indonesia. This article describes NasDem's orientation as a change agent aiming to bring Indonesia to its 'restorative' values.

NasDem's political manifesto establishes its existence on the philosophical basis of national politics and the people's sovereignty, reaffirming its role as a pioneer of 'the Restoration of Indonesia.' This philosophy serves as a central pillar guiding all the party's steps and decisions. Aiming to restore the political values of democracy, the party mobilizes resources to promote democracy's quality and systemic changes in Indonesia's political processes. It strives to distance itself from identity-based political practices that often trigger conflicts by advocating idea-based politics. Although the party focuses its attention and activities in Jakarta,



the movement advocates change across Indonesia. The concentration of activities across Indonesia illustrates NasDem's commitment to advocating for national interests and the diversity and complexity of local realities. In this context, NasDem can be seen as a dynamic force centred on political power in Jakarta and embracing various regions' diversity and cultural richness.

NasDem introduced the concept of Unconditional Coalition in the presidential elections of 2014 and 2019, aiming to unite political forces. Moreover, NasDem also introduced the concept of Politics Without Fees in local elections, which can be considered a breakthrough in the Indonesian political landscape. This approach demonstrates NasDem's desire to eliminate economic barriers to political participation.

NasDem is not just a political party aiming to seize power but an agent of change. This translates into an achievement as the only new party to successfully surpass the parliamentary threshold in the 2014 elections. The achievement also indicates that the concept of Indonesian Restoration has a strong appeal in society. By combining a philosophical foundation, commitment to idea-based politics, and innovative measures such as Unconditional Coalition and Politics Without Fees, NasDem realizes its vision and mission of Indonesian Restoration. The policy-making by NasDem, both at the party and legislative levels, reflects how the party's ideology and direction. At this stage, party dynamics, such as the role of internal factions, political coalitions, and interactions with voters, contribute to shaping and influencing the policies.



NasDem bases its existence on the values of Pancasila, as reflected in the party's manifesto and Constitution/Bylaws (AD/ART). It prioritizes nationalism, referring to the spirit of unity among Indonesia's diverse ethnic and cultural groups. The democracy implemented by NasDem stems from the spirit of deliberation and consensus as a fundamental principle for resolving conflicts and discouraging aggressive actions. The party also acknowledges that Indonesian democracy grows from cultural values, especially the principle of '*gotong royong*' or collaboration among all elements of society. This principle is the foundation for the party to formulate political policies prioritizing national interests and the common good over individual and group interests.

The three main goals are political sovereignty, economic independence, and cultural

dignity. This understanding emphasizes that political and economic democracy serves as a means to achieve the welfare of the people and social justice. Restoration as the primary foundation is interpreted as a step to advance Indonesia as a key player on the global stage.

The Three Faces of NasDem Party

Party in Public Office

The primary key to success for political parties in public office lies in electoral victories, indicated by the success of party cadre members in securing the votes of constituents according to their respective electoral districts. Therefore, the representative aspect consists of varying ideas tailored to the represented regions' conditions. Table 1 shows the party's faction in Commission VII, which consists of five members,



including one serving as the commission's chair and four others as members. Sugeng Suparwoto, as the commissioner, has a central position with broader access to issues.

Second, the faction supports the development of nuclear energy as a new energy source but underscores its use for purposes like industry, medical applications, food production,

Table 1. Commission VII DPR-RI NasDem Faction Members

Commission VII DPR-RI NasDem Faction		
Member Name	Electoral Region	Position
Sugeng Suparwoto	Central Java VIII	Commission Chair
Arkanata Akram	North Kalimantan	Member
Rico Sia	West Papua	Member
Rian Firmansyah	West Java II	Member
Ina Elisabeth Kobak	Papua	Member

Source: dpr.go.id

The analysis of the faction's stance on the Draft Law on New and Renewable Energy (RUU EBET) results in eight key points. First, the faction asserts the need to develop EBET utilities, such as hydro, geothermal, wind, solar, marine, and biomass resources. Moreover, the dependence on fossil energy is deemed environmentally detrimental.

and others. Third, the faction is committed to reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 29% by 2030, a commitment based on COP 21 or the Paris Agreement subsequently ratified through Law Number 16 of 2016.

Fourth, the faction emphasizes the importance of providing new and renewable energy at both



the central and local government levels to be managed sustainably. Fifth, the faction underscores the significance of drafting the RUU EBET because this agenda must have legal certainty in filling gaps or providing legal references to the regulations below it. Sixth, the faction highlights the necessity of setting prices for new and renewable energy based on economic value, considering the return rates beneficial for businesses. Seventh, the NasDem faction emphasizes the need for incentives for businesses involved in new and renewable energy and those in the electricity sector using non-renewable energy that meets renewable energy portfolio standards; Eighth, the faction encourages banking institutions, through specific schemes, to finance new and renewable

energy projects and promote coal downstreaming as a primary and environmentally friendly energy source.

From the above eight points, two overarching ideas emerge. Practically, based on the party's foundation and advocacy for related legal products, the party addresses the need for new and renewable energy, reflecting an awareness of narratives about dependence and the need for renewable energy. Economically, the party underscores the importance of economic factors in this RUU EBET. Points 5-8 touch on the role of the economic market considered most capable of driving the successful RUU EBET implementation. It differs from the perspective of the PKS Faction, for example, which highlights the setting of prices to be paid by the public rather than the market or producers. Additionally, points such as the discretion proposed by the PKS



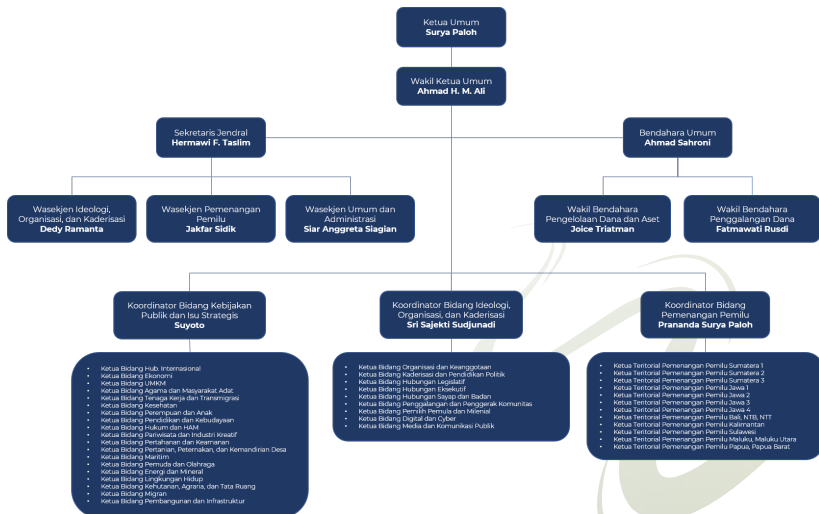
Faction are more comprehensive than what NasDem offers regarding collaboration for sustainable energy.

Party in Central Office

The primary resources of a political party's central office include centralization, expertise, and formal positions at the top of the party organization. The NasDem Party's Articles of

Association (AD/ART) (Chapter XVIII Party Order Article 27) stipulate that the highest-ranking rules of the party are the Articles of Association (AD), followed by the Articles of Household (ART), then the Party Regulations (PP), Decisions of the Central Leadership Council, Instructions of the Central Leadership Council, Decisions of the Regional Leadership Council, and Decisions of the District

Figure 1. Structure NasDem Party's Central Leadership Council (DPP)



Source: Nasdem Party Regulation Number 1 of 2020

Leadership Council. The party regulations below must comply with or not contradict the AD/ART. It implies that all party policies must stay within the vision and mission because these are the core of the AD/ART.

The NasDem's DPP coordinates instructions and the flow of information the Chairman conveys. This information is directed downwards, following the hierarchical structure of the party from the Regional Leadership Council (DPW) to the branch level. Thus, the party's DPP plays a key role in mobilizing activists and determining the issues to be addressed in policies and the stance to be taken. It aligns with the principle of internal party democracy, as adjusted by the NasDem AD/ART in Article 26 on Decision-Making, stating that decision-making is carried out through deliberation for consensus.

This concept demonstrates the importance of the DPP and deliberation as the center of the party's formation. Shared understanding and consensus in decision-making are highly valued principles in the party's structure. This idea makes deliberation one of the main elements in shaping party policies and solidifying the party's stance on various issues. The primary resources of the party's central office are its central position, the expertise of DPP members, and its formal position at the top of the party hierarchy (Katz & Mair, 1993).

All these elements play a crucial role in facilitating practical deliberation and decision-making. The presence of party leaders at various levels also strengthens the party's capacity to reach agreements and coordinate various initiatives. With these resources, the political



party's central office guides, manages, and coordinates the party's efforts to achieve its political goals.

The Draft Law on New and Renewable Energy (RUU EBET) did not become a topic of discussion in internal party deliberations due to the absence of instructions from the NasDem's DPP. The only promotion of the RUU EBET was carried out personally by DPP officials through media reports on the party's website. However, it should be noted that the issue of the RUU EBET cannot be resolved solely within the elite circles. It should involve all faces and wings, including grassroots-level community organizations, which articulate and accommodate the needs for policy sustainability. To some extent, political parties function as intermediary actors connecting the government and the public.

Likewise, the RUU EBET did not become part of the agenda-setting discussions at the Regional Leadership Council (DPW) level, making national issues seem not based on the needs of the people. The focus of deliberations outlined in the AD/ART provides an overview of the system built by the NasDem Party, specifically in decision-making, but strategic party policies are still determined by DPP, from the upcoming election victories to publicity. NasDem's extensive coverage of the RUU EBET in the media has drawn attention. However, to what extent the articulation of the Regional Leadership Council (DPW) in terms of energy issues has been successful remains to be seen.



Party on the Ground/Party on the Grassroots

Party on the ground or party on the grassroots refers to the faction of a political party comprising activists, members, and those directly involved with the community. This segment's task is to provide education or cadre training at the grassroots level. In this context, the NasDem Party has conducted several activities. For example, the education and training in Bekasi involved stakeholders from SMEs, the community, and party activists, as well as NasDem as cadre members, sympathizers, or as NasDem's legislative candidates. The NasDem Party has a system for soliciting aspirations at the community level, with a total of 32 DPWs in Indonesia. The grassroots movement, aimed at formulating policies and cadre development at the community level, communicates and disseminates

information adapted to the local context. NasDem extensively conducts cadre schooling in the recruitment process of cadres at the DPW level.

Figure 1 shows that DPW ideally assumes the responsibility of developing communication by adjusting to the local context and approaching the community according to its characteristics and needs. As such, they can build a strong relationship between the party and the community. This function allows the party to garner broader support and establish better connections with their voter base at the local level. Moreover, in collaboration with DPCs, DPWs also control the executive and legislative work to conduct evaluations and ensure checks and balances. The monitoring carried out by DPWs and DPCs ultimately directly influences public policy processes in terms of evaluation, advocacy, and promotion.



Political parties at the local level also serves as political recruitment. As such, the discussion and aspirations related to the RUU EBET have not touched upon local needs and interests. The consolidations presented in Figure 2 show that the consolidation only discusses cadre training and 'sowing new seeds' for legislative candidates. Some issues are not highlighted locally as the focus is on strengthening mass support in votes and political recruitment. NasDem reports that provide

clarity and rationality regarding public or political policies within the central discourse only captured by public officials at the central level, not becoming the consumption and agenda-setting at the local level.

The NasDem's DPW is the closest policy articulation to the community, as stipulated in the party's organizational AD/ART, regarding the task of command instructions aimed at implementing all policies of the DPP and Party Regulations. The

Figure 1. Nasdem Worksheet

Misi	Masalah	Aksi		
		DPP	DPW/DPD	DPC/DPRt
Sistem politik yang demokratis dan berkeadilan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Oligarki - Politik Uang - KKN - <i>Distrust</i> Publik terhadap Partai 	Mendesain, mengawasi, mengatur pendanaan, dan mengkampanyekan Gerakan Akar Rumput. Bekerja sama dengan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pengusaha pro demokrasi - Kampus - TV - NGO - Youtuber 	Memfasilitasi Gerakan Akar Rumput <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Menyelenggarakan Sekolah Kader Calon Legislatif - Membuat mimbar kampanye anti-politik uang - Membuat sikap dan pandangan partai terkait hasil evaluasi kerja eksekutif dan legislatif. 	Gerakan Akar Rumput <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mengusung kader potensial dan idealis sebagai DPR. - Menolak politik uang. - Mengontrol kerja eksekutif dan legislatif.

Source: Website Official Nasdem



Figure 2. Party Consolidation



Source: Official Instagram account DPW NasDem

focus is guiding party policy to the leaders of Regional People’s Representative Councils (DPRD), faction leaders, and members of the DPRD according to their levels. These tasks clearly show that DPWs are responsible for articulating information from the center to the regional level.

The RUU EBET is one of the Indonesian Parliament’s policies and is held by the Chairman

of Commission VII, a member of the NasDem Party, Sugeng Suparwoto. Therefore, the prioritization in articulating this policy must reach the party at the regional level to articulate the aspirations of the people in the region. This is because a political party must be able to set common goals with the community so the policies can contribute to political stability and accommodate the community’s aspirations.



NasDem as Presidentialized and Personalistic Party: Challenges on Institutionalization

Another case study is the enactment of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, which holds implications for the national social-political landscape. Despite the law's controversial nature, NasDem's support for this policy inadvertently indicated the party's support for presidential initiatives, unquestioning the government's decisions. This portrayal reflects the concept of presidentialized parties, where parties in a government coalition become vehicles for the president to implement policies outlined in the work plan (Scarrow et al., 2022). The approval of government-proposed policies means that the party rarely expresses dissenting opinions or contradictions.

In the case of the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE), the party also showed its support. Its only concern was about articles being considered ambiguous or potentially prone to misuse, prompting the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia (POLRI) to review them. Ahmad M. Ali, the Chairman of the NasDem Party Faction in the Indonesian Parliament, conveyed this view in an interview, stating, "NasDem, as a party supporting the president, certainly supports government policies. The ITE Law has sparked controversy because some people feel criminalized using certain articles in it," (Girsang, 2021). This illustrates the party's consistent stance in supporting government policies while being aware of controversies or debates surrounding the law's implementation after its enactment.



The same situation also occurs in the New and Renewable Energy Bill (RUU EBET). The party offers full support without providing specific notes, even though it is aware of certain shortcomings. This is particularly relevant to the paradigm of new and renewable energy forms and the technology and economic systems surrounding the distribution processes of new and renewable energy. In this context, it correlates with the power-wheeling system, which was ultimately removed from the initial draft of the legislation.

Furthermore, the party's disposition toward the legislative landscape can also shape political discourse. While advocating the idea of restoration, NasDem's alignment with government policies highlights the nuanced dynamics between the party's commitment to systemic change and its support for existing legislative frameworks.

This gave rise to critical readings of NasDem's position in the broader political spectrum. Its position as a presidentialized party could shift at any time towards personalistic parties, which is inseparable from the shaping of the party's Articles of Association (AD/ART) as the reference for party organization.

The party's characteristics aligned with personalistic parties, as defined by Rahat and Kenig (2018). In this context, personalization refers to the increased centrality of individual politicians in the political landscape, while collective groups such as political parties decline in significance. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the organizational structure outlined in NasDem's Articles of Association (AD/ART). The concentration of organizational authority at the central level, especially with the Chairperson, reinforces NasDem's



personalistic nature. According to Article 7, Paragraph 5, Section II, in Chapter IV on Organizational Structure, the Central Leadership Council of the NasDem Party is empowered to enhance the party apparatus by establishing and appointing members of the Council of Consultation and the Council of Experts. The NasDem Chairman has the prerogative to determine the number and composition of the management, further consolidating that the decision-making rests solely on the party leader.

This organizational framework strengthens NasDem's personalistic nature. Critical decisions, such as the formation of councils and the appointment of members, rest in the hands of the Chairperson. The division of authority in the party structure indicates a centralized approach, where individual leaders play a crucial role in shaping the direction and composition of

the party. This aligns with the scientific understanding of personalistic parties, where the fame of individual figures surpasses the collective role of the party in decision-making processes (Calise, 2015). NasDem's organizational structure, as outlined in its Articles of Association (AD/ART), depicts characteristics associated with personalistic parties. The concentration of authority in the hands of the Chairperson emphasizes the significant role of individual leaders in shaping the party's trajectory. Such a phenomenon aligns with the broader trend of political personalization observed in the contemporary political landscape.

The structure of such a 'personal party' may evolve to be centered around the vision and preferences of the leader, potentially overshadowing the party's collective identity and

decision-making process. One form of personalization observed in the NasDem Party is the determination of the presidential candidate to run in the 2024 presidential election. Surya Paloh, as the party chairman, has the veto power to select, consider, and declare support for the chosen political actor to be endorsed by the party (Detik.com, 2022). This may become a path to more personalistic decisions that impact the degree of centralization and party decision-making for public policy.

Broken Linkage on The Grassroot

In an interview with the representative from the Regional Representative Council in Yogyakarta of the NasDem Party, it was revealed that discussions related to the Draft Bill on New and Renewable Energy have not received adequate attention. The

representative emphasized that issues of this nature are rarely discussed in depth, particularly at the central legislative level.

“Coincidentally, it hasn’t been discussed yet; usually, matters like the New and Renewable Energy Bill (RUU EBET) rarely get discussed, not even thoroughly. My usual responsibilities are with the municipal government of Yogyakarta, focusing on perspectives regarding education and retribution tax policies. Regarding that matter, indeed, it hasn’t been addressed much, and the formation of laws is usually infrequent.” (Interview A, June 2023)

Furthermore, the representative conveyed that the focus of discussions more frequently revolves around topics such as perspectives on



education and policies regarding retribution taxes, especially in the context of relations with the local government of Yogyakarta. On the other hand, the representative indicated that the formulation of laws was only in the Regional Representative Council (DPW) forums and is seldom the subject of in-depth discussions at the national level.

Policy articulation becomes the center of attention for the party only when it is widely discussed by the public. Thus, laws that the public needs help understanding, concepts, and meanings should be further disseminated to higher levels, becoming a benchmark for public participation in policies, especially in the RUU EBET.

"Regarding that notion, it hasn't, and indeed rarely if the formation of a law, it's really when it's busy, for example, when there was

the sexual harassment case, we formed a coalition of women." (Interview A, June 2023)

However, the agendas brought by the NasDem Party at the regional level are based on the focus on cadre development with the task of providing political education. Understanding policy like RUU EBET is needed in the articulation at the NasDem DIY DPW level.

"We are always instructed by the Central Leadership Council (party on the central office) to conduct political education...." (Interview A, June 2023)

In line with Katz and Mair's (1993) ideas, local-level party resources include the workforce, which is essential for election campaigns and other political propaganda/agitation, and also to fill various positions in government councils and



Figure 3. NasDem Cadre School



Source: Instagram Official DPW NasDem

local advisors. At the regional level, accumulated resources become part of the NasDem cadres in the region and area. This concept validates the focus at the DPW, which is working on cadre development and political education following the NasDem DPP's focus on political education. From the interview, the stance taken by the NasDem

DIY DPW regarding energy has yet to become a conversation articulated into policy priorities in the region.

Based on the results of interviews and the examination of the party's Articles of Association (AD/ART) discussed in the sections above, it can be observed that communication between party entities at the public office, the party's central



office, and the grassroots level is interconnected. However, the agenda of discussions only partially reflects the entire national-level discourse to be conveyed to the grassroots. The articulation of party interests must be connected. In Lawson's (1988) terms, this connectivity is called political linkage. It is the relationship between senior units within the party and junior units, individuals within the party, the party and the government, or individuals and the government. This relationship influences behaviors, recognition, and involvement in the party's agenda implementation that has been carried out thus far. However, we observe that political linkage in the case study of the NasDem Party in the EBET Bill is ambiguous at several levels.

We perceive this ambiguity as a consequence of NasDem Party's movement that inspires populism, which has thus

far adopted policies that dimensionally affirm the 'pro-people' value (Lawson, 1988, p. 30; Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017, p 98-100). This ultimately affects how communication and the party's facial functions are carried out. When policies are dynamically made at the central and governmental levels, the linkages at the grassroots tend to fail. The grassroots party tends to accept whatever the central party or government gives. We refer to this ambiguity as a broken linkage. In this case, grassroots party cadres are asked to fulfill the facial functions of the party (Katz & Mair, 1993). Yet, the activation to engage in policies implemented at the higher levels still needs to be thoroughly socialized. This void is one of the issues in parties in the modern era. In the political context of Indonesia, the electoral focus on winning seats makes parties more catch-all and influences how

parties respond to challenges. Pedersen (2011) states that this situation compels parties to choose between remaining true to their ideology and party goals or following the direction and goals of only one or two actors, such as the chairman and the president.

Conclusion

Drawing from the discussion above, several crucial points regarding the NasDem Party and the oversight of the EBET Bill can be identified. First, the NasDem Party in the People's Council has proposed the EBET Bill to the central government for further decision-making. Through eight faction consideration points, NasDem emphasizes the importance of the EBET Bill by linking it to economic needs. Second, NasDem faces scrutiny for unequivocally supporting presidential initiatives, raising concerns about autonomy. Its

role in shaping discourse and commitment to 'restoration' turns out to be highly personalized. Despite the importance of grassroots input in politics, NasDem's organizational structure, centered on the chairman, lacks representation in the EBET Bill, remaining elite-centric. Regional Leadership Councils primarily focus on regional affairs, sidelining grassroots perspectives in policy decisions. Thirdly, the NasDem Party at the regional level (especially in the Yogyakarta region) needs to be better aware of the oversight of the EBET Bill. In addition, the agenda at the regional level is organized to assist party cadres in the regional representative council.

Fourth, we observe that the NasDem Party's movements primarily focus on agendas decided by the party's chairman at the central level (DPP). This also has a specific impact on



the political landscape, as the NasDem Party's agenda priorities until 2024 are preparing for the Legislative Elections and Presidential Elections. Thus, through DPP considerations, the party instructs cadre capacity enhancement through political education conducted at the DPW level to introduce legislative and presidential candidates who will participate in the elections. We perceive this phenomenon as a broken linkage, as proposed by Lawson(1988),statingthatpolicy-making with a populist concept

has implications for dynamic communication relationships between the faces of the party. Fifth, the institutionalization of the party based on the infusion of values and the degree of centralization creates ambiguity. This is due to the changingnature of the party, either becoming presidentialized parties as part of a previous coalition or becoming personalistic parties, which transpire in the AD/ART and the party's direction towards the 2024 presidential election.





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