Political Attitude of the 212 Alumni towards Muhaimin Iskandar as a Candidate for Vice Presidentiality of Anies Baswedan

Virginia Pacina Nan Tampukmas¹, Abdul Ghofur¹

¹Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta

*Corresponding Author: Virginia Pacina Nan Tampukmas

Abstract

The General Election is an event where the public can choose their leaders openly and compete between the three presidential candidates, namely Lt. Gen. TNI (Ret.) H. Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusumo, H. Ganjar Pranowo, S.H., M.I.P., and H. Anies Rasyid Baswedan, S.E., M.P.P., Ph.D. The third candidate certainly has their strategy for selecting a vice presidential candidate and how to campaign. Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, as candidate pair number 1, experienced many challenges in getting public support. This research aims to explore the political attitudes of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 community organization using interpretative qualitative methods to understand social phenomena through Bryman's interpretation process. Meanwhile, to find out the extent of the truth of the research, the author uses qualitative data analysis techniques starting from data collection and data analysis, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions. The results of the research show that, on average, the administrators and members of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 showed cognitive, affective and conative components regarding Muhaimin Iskandar's candidacy as Anies' vice-presidential candidate, who then ultimately accepted candidate number 1 because of the mental that resulted from joint deliberations and produced Ijtima Ulama.

Introduction

In the 2024 general election, three presidential candidates have been announced, namely Lieutenant General TNI (Ret.) H. Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusumo, H. Ganjar Pranowo, S.H., M.I.P., and H. Anies Rasyid Baswedan, S.E., M.P.P., Ph.D. The Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) officially announced the three candidates, which immediately received various types of responses from the public. The emergence of the name Muhaimin Iskandar, officially announced as Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate, received multiple responses from the public because the candidate pair Anies Baswedan - Muhaimin Iskandar was considered unsuitable. After all, many other vice-presidential candidates were deemed more appropriate to run alongside the name Anies Baswedan. Then, their candidacy to become one of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates received a good response from various parties and a "negative" response from other parties.

The closeness between Anies Baswedan and the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 has been visible since the 2017 regional head election, where, at that time, it could be said that the victory of the Anies - Sandi pair in the 2017 Jakarta governor and deputy governor election was based on strong encouragement from the Kelompok 212. Since then, Anies has become even closer and closer. Closely related to the group (Septiana, et al, 2020).

Kelompok 212, or Persaudaraan Alumni 212, maintains ties of brotherhood with Anies Baswedan. If you look at the political scene, the closeness that still exists today is due to the symbiotic relationship of mutualism between the two, namely because Anies needs the masses
to fight in the 2024 elections and PA 212 also needs Anies as a "shield" so that their activities can continue without political interference such as the implementation of a grand reunion which is held every year at Monas with Anies' permission.

The nomination of Muhaimin Iskandar as Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate in the 2024 election received different responses from various community groups, including the Persaudaraan Alumni 212, where members of PA 212 gave various responses when receiving the announcement. One of them was said directly by Deputy Secretary General of PA 212 Novel Bamukmin, and his party sent strong criticism to Anies Baswedan after appointing PKB Chairman Muhaimin Iskandar or Cak Imin as vice presidential candidate. As if calling Anies Baswedan a traitor. Novel said that Anies could become a presidential candidate, inseparable from the role of PA 212, which gained votes in the election for Governor of DKI Jakarta several years ago. In contrast to the struggle of PA 212, Novel said that Cak Imin was not the right person to accompany Anies Baswedan. Novel said Cak Imin has a lousy track record.

If you look at the relationship between PA 212 and the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa in 2017, PKB was one of the parties that supported Ahok-Djarot as a candidate for governor and deputy governor because Djarot was a native NU person at that time. At that time, he was often with PKB and respected the party. At that time, PKB supported Ahok with the principle that Allah SWT always forgives mankind for unjust acts, so it is appropriate for mankind to forgive each other according to the teachings of the Islamic religion itself (Detik.com). Because the PKB declared support for Ahok-Djarot, the 212, at the direction of the FPI Grand Imam, Habib Rizieq Shihab, distanced itself from the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa or PKB, which was considered to be one of the parties supporting religious blasphemy. This political friction then created a gap and distance between the 212 alumni and the PKB, which continues today.

![Figure 1. Presidential Choice: Simulation of 10 Names (Before Muhaimin Iskandar's candidacy)](image1)

![Figure 2. Presidential Choice: Simulation of 10 Names (After Muhaimin Iskandar's nomination)](image2)
We can see from the graph above that the survey results conducted by the Indonesian Survey Institute on 4-12 September 2023 used a multi-stage random sampling methodology with face-to-face interview techniques with questionnaires. The vote share for Anies Baswedan experienced a significant decline when he was still alone and after the announcement of Muhaimin Iskandar as his vice-presidential candidate. Sampling carried out on 1,200 respondents with a tolerance or margin of error of around 2.9 percent proved a decline in Anies' electability, which was 19.7% in August and then decreased to 16.9% after Muhaimin Iskandar's announcement.

In the online survey release, viewed via the LSI DENNY JA OFFICIAL YouTube channel, LSI Denny JA researcher Adjie Alfaraby stated that two factors impacted Anies' vote decline. First, he strongly criticised the Chairman of the High Council of the Partai Demokrat and the 6th President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), regarding leaders who did not fulfil their promises after the "AMIN" declaration. Second, he stated that Cak Imin was less popular and less liked than the General Chair of the Partai Demokrat, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY). The results of another survey show that Muhamimin's popularity is 49 percent while AHY's popularity is 65.9 percent. The percentages between the two are 16.9 percent.

Anies Baswedan's efforts to win the election were, of course, by using several strategies, such as selecting vice presidential candidate Muhaimin Iskandar, who currently serves as deputy chairman of the DPR RI from the PKB, for several reasons. Anies said that Muhamimin's figure could bring a different voter base and that he already had experience as a minister, namely that he had been deputy chairman of the Indonesian DPR and MPR. Apart from that, Anies felt that he already had chemistry with Muhamimin regarding their vision and mission of change, so Anies decided to collaborate with Muhamimin Iskandar as his representative. Apart from the strategy for selecting a vice presidential candidate, Anies also needs to prepare several other methods, such as choosing a coalition of his political parties, carrying out blusukan activities to the general public without using media or posting them on social media, and needing to collaborate with several parties who have a strong base such as the Kelompok 212 which has supported him for a long time. However, the presence of Muhamimin Iskandar, who once had a background that was not in line with Islamic religious teachings, made Anies Baswedan's strong support base become "unbalanced" again.

Methods

This research is a type of descriptive research that uses qualitative research methods. The qualitative method is the appropriate method for studying the problem formulation in this research. This is supported by the epistemological position of qualitative methods, which are interpretive, where qualitative methods emphasise understanding social phenomena through the process of interpretation (Bryman, 2016). So, the explanation of the phenomena in this research, which is descriptive, is very suitable if carried out using qualitative methods.

The technique applied in this research is to collect various data based on the phenomenon being studied. In order to search for primary data, researchers use data collection techniques through interviews to interact with various parties or informants who can be sources of information expected to help answer and explain problems and research objectives. Interviews, as a technique in this situation, are carried out by collecting answers to prepared questions and attachments from informants to enrich the data. Sugiyono explained that data collection techniques using interviews can be divided into structured, semi-structured, and unstructured (Sugiyono, 2013). In this research, the researcher used a structured interview technique where the researcher prepared straightforward interview questions related to the topic he wanted to
study. Researchers avoid questions that lead to long and ambiguous responses. Apart from interviews, researchers collect data related to the subject or problem being studied collectively, referred to as a literature study. These details can be found in scientific books, research summaries, academic essays, theses and dissertations, laws, yearbooks, encyclopedias, and other printed and digital written sources (Purwono, 2008).

**Results and Discussion**

**Alumni Fraternity 212**

The 212 Group, now known as the 212 Alumni Brotherhood, is an Islamic religious-based identity political group that emerged due to identity politics events in the 2017 regional elections. This incident occurred after a controversial statement made by one of the Jakarta gubernatorial candidates, Ahok, who was suspected of violating Islamic beliefs in the event in the Seribu Islands on September 27, 2016. Ahok's statement, which caused prejudice against the beliefs of Muslims, caused mixed reactions from many groups and sections of the Muslim community. Thus, mass action to defend verses in the Koran, including Volume One (1410), Volume Two (411), Volume Three (212), Volume Four (112), Volume Five (313) and Volume Six (55), resulted in the Islamic Defense Action which was led and driven by the GNPF-MUI or the National Movement to Guard the Fatma of the Indonesian Ulema Council which predominantly contained members of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). They pressured Ahok to receive sanctions commensurate with his attendance at the demonstration on December 2, 2016, known as the "212 Action", which focused on the Monas area to Hotel Indonesia (Fadhlan & Azizah, 2022).

After one year of this action, the National Congress emerged, which was held by GNPF-MUI and the Presidium Alumni 212 to prepare for the 212 Grand Reunion, which will be held on December 2, 2017, at the National Monument (Monas) field in Jakarta. Many Indonesian groups responded in different ways regarding the essence or important purpose of the reunion. Due to the emergence of various opinions about the value and purpose of the 212 Grand Reunion, this issue has become a matter of public debate. However, Gerakan 212 was due to the detention of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) on charges of religious blasphemy, which was the demand of movement 3, which had been fulfilled. Because of this association, the Kelompok 212 became increasingly visible and eventually became an "influential" organisation (Fadhlan & Azizah, 2022).

Political participation carried out by the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 (PA 212) has become a significant political force in Indonesia, mobilizing the masses in major actions such as the 212 Islamic Defense Action in December 2016, becoming a driving force for democracy as explained by Samuel and Joan that Political participation is not only limited to conventional influence but can also take the form of mass actions, demonstrations, strikes, even rebellions and acts of terror. This movement had a considerable impact in encouraging political participation and awareness of religious issues among the conservative Muslim masses. Their participation in general elections and supporting specific candidates has changed political dynamics in Indonesia, especially from a spiritual perspective, where the presence of PA 212 has deepened social polarization in Indonesia, especially in the spiritual context. They represent a solid Islamic conservative voice, indirectly strengthening religious identity in society (Hasyim, 2020; Imtiyaz & Mohamed Saleem, 2023).

The 212 Alumni Brotherhood has a significant influence on policy formation in Indonesia. With a solid mass base, they can influence the political agenda and pressure the government to take action that suits their aspirations and interests. This includes things like religious law, public morality, and educational policy. Although controversial at times, PA 212 has also
played an important role in civil society. They voice the views and interests of large sections of the conservative Muslim community who may feel unrepresented by formal institutions. It can be said that the presence of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 has strengthened specific religious identities and expanded the space for collective religious appreciation in Indonesia (Hasyim, 2020; Hakim, 2023).

Alumni Brotherhood 212 has an organizational management structure consisting of 17 core members, namely: M Riziq Shihab as Trustee, Syuro Muhammad Yusuf Martak as Chair of the Assembly Council, Nasir Zein as Deputy Chair of the Syuro Council, Slamet Maarif as Secretary of the Syuro Council, Abdul Qohar Al Quds as General Chair, Bernard Abdul Jabbar as Deputy General Chair, Uus Sholihuddin as Secretary General, Muhammad Iqbal as General Treasurer, Rizal Fadilah as Head of Strategy with Deputy Secretary General Novel Bamukmin, Irawan Taqwa as Head of Organizational Affairs with Deputy Secretary General Ate Saifullah, Asep Syarifuddin as Head of Networks, Dedi Subuh as Head of Defense with Wasekjen Widodo Tanjung, and Supriyadi as Chair of Economics together with Wasekjen Subarkah.

The political attitude of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 towards the candidacy of Muhaimin Iskandar as Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate in the 2024 elections

General elections are a form of implementing democracy in a government. As explained by Lincoln, democracy is a government of the people by the people and for the people; democracy is very closely related to politics, so the people cannot be separated from political participation. The 2024 election contest is exciting to observe because of the regulations regarding the presidential threshold. Where this regulation discusses the requirements for the nomination of president and vice president in article 6A paragraph (2) regarding "Pairs of candidates for President and Vice President are proposed by political parties or combinations of political parties participating in the election before implementation of elections" which means that with this article there is open space for all parties to take part in promoting and nominating their president and vice president so that in the future, if the candidate they nominate wins, they will also get the "power" to be present in the government system (Ahmad et al., 2022)

The nomination of Muhaimin Iskandar as Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate underwent various processes and consideration of the threshold terms and conditions to achieve 0% of the parliamentary vote or the equivalent of 25% of the national vote from the valid vote nationally in the previous DPR member election. This then presented and created a coalition of the Partai Nasional Demokrat and the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa in a coalition to reach this threshold, namely the presence of the candidacy of Muhaimin Iskandar, who was running as Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate (Ahmad et al., 2022).

Novel Bamukmin, one of the Deputy Secretary Generals of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212, said that almost all of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 administrators rejected the nomination for several reasons that occurred. The affective or emotional behaviour carried out by Novel Bamukmin regarding his rejection of Muhaimin Iskandar's candidacy was based on the relationship between the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, which is Muhaimin Iskandar's party, and the Persaudaraan Alumni 212, which had had a tense relationship long before the 2016 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election. To be precise, since the change in leadership period, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) came together with K.H. Said Aqil Siradj then made the Front Pembela Islam (FPI) organisation or Novel Bamukmin's organisation inconsistent with NU both in religious and political attitudes (Jaffrey, 2020).

Novel Bamukmin's cognition or knowledge then became the reason why he openly rejected it in the media, which, according to him, since the leadership of K.H. Said Aqil Siradj could say that Secularism (separation between politics and religion), Pluralism (mixing one religion with
anothe another), and Liberalism (things that deviate from the Islamic religion) attacked from within NU itself, including several members who later joined several parties other than PKB such as PDIP or the Indonesian Partai Demokrat of Struggle. He assumes that these three understandings have been entered into and implemented by "unscrupulous" figures in NU. According to him, the book upholds pluralism, namely diversity of ethnicity, religion, culture, etc. However, when talking about "isms", this becomes a different thing because it understands where there is a mixing of religions, and this cannot happen, such as joint prayer between religions, celebrating other religious celebrations, and others. These understandings have deviated and are no longer in line with the ulama's agreement in the 2005 MUI Fatwa No. 7. A Fatwa decision is a mutual agreement, which means it must be followed and implemented together. This is the same as what is happening now, where the decision of MUI Fatwa No. 83 of 2003 was issued regarding the boycott of Israeli products, which must be carried out by all Muslims, including all Islamic organisations that have existed until now (Fahimah & Yarmunida, 2023).

Novel Bamukmin's cognitive and affective attitude became increasingly visible when he said and brought up the events of the 2016 DKI Jakarta Governor Election; he emphasised again the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, which at that time supported Ahok who was considered to have committed religious blasphemy which at that time was the MUI DKI Jakarta Fatwa even though it had issued a decision that Ahok indeed committed religious blasphemy and the Central MUI has also issued a "Religious Attitude" whose value can be said to be higher than the MUI Fatwa regarding the issue of religious blasphemy committed by Ahok. He said that Religious Attitude was the result of decisions from all commissions or all fatwas, which decided that Ahok committed religious blasphemy at that time. However, at that time, PKB continued to defend and support Ahok and was considered deviant even though PKB itself consisted of kyai and students from NU (Fadillah, 2022).

Furthermore, Novel Bamukmin expressed his cognitive reasons regarding the ideal presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair should be Umara and Ulama. At the same time, Anies and Muhamin were ministers, both people involved in politics, so they had no clerics. Moreover, one of them does not represent the figure of an ulama. At the same time, the ideal partner is an umara and an ulama to complement, remind, and control each other. Because Indonesia itself is a country that upholds belief in the Almighty God, the representation of the Ulama themselves must be indeed Istiqomah (Romadlan, 2022).

Novel Bamukmin's cognition is mainly due to knowing and holding beliefs regarding Muhamin Iskandar's background, which can be said to be the opposite and not in line with the Persaudaraan Alumni 212. His understanding of political parties is also broad and complete, so he can be said to have rejected the candidacy. This is based on cognitive or personal knowledge and experience and added to his personal affective or emotional relationship regarding the past relationship between NU and PA 212.

However, Novel Bamukmin said that he respected the politeness and seriousness of Anies Baswedan and Muhamin Iskandar, as well as the PKB staff who finally came to the Ulama and the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 to explain their vision and mission in front of the Muslim community and signed the Pakta Integritas from the Itjima Ulama forum which contains 13 points of agreement. The candidate pair. Therefore, Novel Bamukmin became one way to support Candidate Pair Number 1 while the Itjima Ulama was issued by the Persaudaraan Alumni 212.

Another response came from Slamet Maarif, Secretary of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 Syuro Council. His combativeness or tendency to act was expressed by saying that when the
candidacy was first announced, there was some rejection and agitation of disagreement among the management and members, but then deliberation and discussion were immediately held. I will work directly with the core members of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 regarding considerations, including steps regarding Anies Baswedan collaborating with Muhaimin Iskandar. Furthermore, he added that the most important thing is to look at benchmarks such as input from scholars and Islamic religious figures who generally have no objections. So, the turmoil was resolved in deliberation, and the syrup results were agreed upon together to wait for the Itjima Ulama.

Conative structure or prediction from Slamet Maarif, who said that the organisation welcomed the candidacy of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar because the two groups, which had been considered to be in conflict, then gathered together to become one and fought together, and it was hoped that this could lighten the atmosphere. It cannot be denied that in the media and at lower levels, there has been a "wall" since 2017 between Muhaimin Iskandar's camp and PA 212. He predicted that the tense atmosphere between both parties, PKB and PA 212, would be eased with this nomination. He added that many people responded well to Muhaimin Iskandar's candidacy at both the national and regional levels. Muhaimin Iskandar can represent NU through PKB, and Anies Baswedan represents modern Islam.

According to him, it is normal for different views, including among the PA 212 administrators, such as some who refuse, some who agree, and some who are half-hearted, and this is an Umrah thing because each member has their own plans. Rejection does not only occur at the centre but also in regional areas, such as PA 212 East Java, which rejects it based on various considerations and Muhaimin Iskandar's track record. Moreover, if, at the centre, there is rejection from Novel Bamukmin. However, in the end, after deliberation in the organisation, it was decided to continue waiting for the Itjima Ulama, and all members agreed that there would be no further differences. Whatever the Itjima Ulama decides will be obeyed, and they will fight for the results later.

Ultimately, his cognitive structure emerged after communication and the exchange of thoughts within Itjima Ulama. At the Itjima Ulama, the factors and background were discussed further to finalise the political stance of PA 212 and then decided to support Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar because of several considerations, first because Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar signed the Pakta Integritas Itjima Ulama which contains 13 points. The second is to look at the benefits and harms of the three candidates; the one who has the least harm to the nation and religion of Islam in Indonesia is candidate pair number 1. So, the Pakta Integritas was signed, and the PA 212 ulama fully supported Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. According to him, the most important thing is the Pakta Integritas because the Pakta Integritas is the part that will be held accountable in front of all Muslims. The cognitive structure or knowledge became even more visible when he said that in the end, the support for candidate pair number 1 was not because he supported Anies Baswedan or Muhaimin Iskandar personally but because of the existence of Itjima Ulama so that PA 212 supported candidate pair number 1 openly.

Responses from other members of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 were present by expressing cognitive structures or knowledge with conative structures or predictions that Muhaimin Iskandar's candidacy was not surprising or did not meet expectations because, after the nomination of Anies Baswedan by the National Democratic Party, the party must have already had We don't know about his interests. When Anies Baswedan issued the concept vision and mission of Change and wanted Indonesia to become a Khilafah country, we could see a little about Anies' political direction and candidacy. So it can be said that the Change in Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidacy from Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono from the Democratic
Party to Muhaimin Iskandar from the National Awakening Party was due to Anies' vision and mission being more in line with Muhaimin from PKB.

Then, his cognitive structure was seen when there was a direction from Itjima Ulama when he signed 13 Integrity Pacts. Of course, the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 followed Itjima Ulama's direction as a command based on directions from above and trusted in the Ulama's decisions. According to him, the decision of Itjima Ulama greatly influenced and influenced the general Indonesian public because, as it is known, the majority of Indonesian people are Muslim. With the "power" of Nahdlatul Ulama, the Habibs, and the Ulama, it can be said that this decision strongly influenced attracting people to vote—candidate pair number 1 Anies Baswedan and Muhimin Iskandar.

The last member of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 that I interviewed expressed his cognitive opinion that Muhaimin Iskandar's candidacy was quite surprising and disappointing because historically, in 2017, the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 and the National Awakening Party were at odds. Still, suddenly, in 2024, Anies Baswedan took Muhaimin Iskandar. In his view, the nomination caused a bit of "conflict" internally and within the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 partisans because the coalition was put together suddenly or unexpectedly.

His affective and cognitive structure emerged when he revealed that with this candidacy, he had no intention of changing political direction because, in fact, he personally already supported Mr. Anies Baswedan or number 1, even though it was a shame that the vice president he was partnering with was Muhaimin Iskandar. It cannot be denied that it is true that there was rejection of the nomination from several internal parties and other Persaudaraan Alumni 212 networks; however, when there was rejection and differences of opinion, the internal parties immediately held a joint deliberation and then waited for guidance again and would remain in one line together.

After the departure of Itjima Ulama, he said that the internal Alumni Association 212 then agreed to follow this decision and support candidate pair number 1 because Anies-Muhaimin had signed 13 Integrity Pacts where the main points were the decisions of the ulama and had been predicted and discussed correctly for the sake of a better future for Indonesia. He added his conative opinion or prediction by arguing that if we talk about the influence of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 on the general public, especially other Islamic communities, it is undoubtedly quite influential because it can be seen from the events of 2017 where the PA 212 crowd reached millions, so it can be concluded that there are still many parties involved. He followed the 2024 election and most likely supported the number 1 candidate.

Then, from this network, it is very likely that more people will be added from outreach and invitations to family and other communities to support Anies–Muhaimin for various reasons. So, the influence of PA 212 can still be considered in the world of politics because its network is also spread throughout almost all of Indonesia and is not only located in one point. With the presence of Itjima Ulama's decision, it can be said to be indirectly calling the Muslim community in Indonesia by itself, although not all of them, but the majority of people, on average, follow this decision to support Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar.

On the other hand, member 212, an alumnus of the Gerakan 212 Habib Ali Alatas, expressed more about the Konatif structure, where he stated that he did not interfere too much with Muhaimin Iskandar's candidacy. According to him, the most important thing was the decision of Itjima Ulama because he said that whoever Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate is, the most important is that the representative can balance Anies and does not have a lousy track record towards Muslims. Habib Ali also brought up affective aspects that he indeed influenced, namely regarding whoever the presidential and vice-presidential candidates are, the most
important thing is that they have to sign the ulama Pakta Integritas. He also added that most alumni from Kelompok 212 had an affective component related to following the direction of Itjima Ulama. Moreover, according to him, the 212 alumni group still members of 212 after Itjima Ulama will continue to follow the direction of political support by the direction of the decision, namely providing support to candidate pair 1.

The Conative Structure was also expressed by Habib Ali Alatas, who expressed the opinion that the nomination of Muhamim Iskandar as Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate could be said to provide "enjoyment" to many parties because it cannot be denied that there is tension between the PKB kyai and PA 212, FPI and PKS kyai groups. Especially what happened in the 2019 election, so with this candidacy, it is hoped that the tension will melt, and in reality, it will actually melt and become together and united.

Another opinion emerged from 212 movements partisan Nabil, who argued by expressing his affective structure that Muhamim Iskandar's candidacy was surprising to 212 alums because the nomination could also be sudden. After all, in just three days, the National Democratic Party announced the candidacy and created tension between the National Democratic Party and the Democratic Party. Like the general public, Nabil did not expect this candidacy and said that the government might have implemented a political strategy to win the 2024 elections, of which the general public was unaware.

Nabil then released the cognitive component with the opinion that Muhamim Iskandar's candidacy was beyond expectations or what had been predicted so far, this candidacy was something that had a benchmark far from the expectations of the general public. Moreover, Anies Baswedan, who is considered to have had achievements since the time of governor in DKI Jakarta, is compared to Muhamim Iskandar, who has a poor background or track record and is less competent in terms of government. However, there was a bit of confusion about the political direction in the 2024 election when the candidacy was held, so the choice between Anies Baswedan or Prabowo Subianto was split 50:50.

Nabil's Affective Structure emerged when the Itjima Ulama decision was made, which greatly influenced many groups, including himself, because many groups believed and adhered to this decision because this decision was not only a decision that came from the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 but was also a decision of the ulama so it influenced many parties. Two hundred and twelve alumni and the Indonesian Islamic community were included to support candidate pair number 1, Anies-Muhamim. Plus, many people are laypeople who don't follow political developments in Indonesia, so waiting for the ulama's decision is an option for them in the 2024 elections.

The political attitude of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 towards the candidacy of Muhamim Iskandar as Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate in the 2024 elections is cognitive, affective and conative. On average, the cognitive knowledge of administrators and members is based on a relatively extensive knowledge of the world of politics plus personal experience from previous election events, such as the 2016-2017 gubernatorial election and also the 2019 election. Known knowledge also arises from Muhamim Iskandar's background, which has been circulating in the political community so that he is increasingly aware of information regarding the vice-presidential candidate, personally and personally, and his organisation, PKB. Cognition can also be seen from holding a joint discussion at Itjima Ulama regarding further discussion of Anies and Muhamim's vision and mission, factors and background, which then finally decided to support candidate pair number 1 because the pair had the fewest disadvantages among the three candidate pairs. Other.

The affective or emotional nature of the management and members of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 can be seen from the management's feelings regarding the background that occurred in
2016-2017 when, at that time, the Front Pembela Islam (FPI) had begun to contradict Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) both in terms of religious attitudes and political stance. According to Novel Bamukmin, the administrator of PA 212, NU has been divided into two parts, NU Kultur and NU Structure and within NU, it has been damaged by several "individuals", which then makes NU no longer in line with the pure teachings of Islam so that it contradicts the teachings of the FPI. Moreover, this emotion then influenced the political attitude of the administrators and members of PA 212 regarding Muhaimin's candidacy. Emotions were also triggered because there was no communication regarding Muhaimin's declaration as a vice presidential candidate to PA 212 internal parties. At that time, Anies' team, including Surya Paloh, did not open communication first regarding who he thought would be his vice-presidential candidate, and there was no such communication. It was enough to cause shock and disappointment from several Islamic mass organisations that had been with Anies from the start, including PA 212.

The attitude of the management and members of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 was influenced by the wishes and predictions regarding the unification of the two camps, namely the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) parties including the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) together with the Persaudaraan Alumni 212, the Front Pembela Islam (FPI), the National Movement for Guarding Fatwa (GNPF), as well as other Islamic organisations. The conative created by the belief that if you choose Muhaimin Iskandar to be nominated with Anies Baswedan, there will be a pair who can represent the unity of Moderate Islam and Modern Islam so that from the national to the regional level all Muslims can live side by side and bind ties of brotherhood.

The Influence of Support from the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 in the 2024 Election

Since colonial times, religion has played an important role in Indonesia's social and political life. Religion plays a significant role in Indonesia's everyday life because Indonesia is a religious country. Suppose you look at the Indonesian state constitution, which is based on the principle of Pancasila, where Belief in One Almighty God is the first principle. In that case, it cannot be denied that religion plays a significant role in almost all social activities in Indonesia. Indonesia. The support of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212, which is based on the Ulama's decision, is undoubtedly something that influences Islamic community groups in Indonesia, as stated by Novel Bamukmin that PA 212 can be said to have a large mass apart from its members, which can be seen from the presence of millions of people every year in Grand Reunion event held at Monas Jakarta. The gathering, which nearly three million people attended, proves the mass held by the Persaudaraan Alumni 212.

The political attitudes of the administrators and members of the 212 Alumni Brotherhood have their own religious and secular factors which interact with each other in Indonesian politics. The realm of religion that appears in PA 212's political stance is visible because the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 is an Islamic religious-based organization or group that puts an Islamic perspective in every decision it makes, the same as when deciding on a political stance in the 2024 election, which is based on the results of interviews obtained by the association. Candidates Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar represent a cross between moderate Islam and traditional Islam, creating mass support. In addition, the PKB, or National Awakening Party, originates from Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia's largest Islamic religious organization, increasingly influencing the political choices of many NU supporters and followers, making their political direction according to NU's direction.

Then it was also revealed that it was not only because of religious factors that resulted in the decision to support the number one candidate pair, but because of other factors, such as among the three candidates, the number one candidate pair was considered to be the least detrimental or "dangerous" for the sake of the nation, and Indonesia is the number one candidate pair. In
addition, the vision and mission of the number one presidential and vice-presidential candidates are also considered to be by the objectives of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212. So it can be said that there are broader political considerations in discussing this support, which creates religious and secular factors interacting with each other, resulting in an integrity pact issued with an announcement of Itjima Ulama against the number one pair.

The political attitudes of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 also influence the political attitudes of many Islamic groups and society in general. As expressed by members and alumni of 212, PA 212 administrators at the district level, Islamic boarding schools, and ulama in several areas other than Jakarta said that they were waiting for the results of the Itjima Ulama from the start. They did not have any political stance before the Itjima Ulama came out, including one The great figure of the Islamic religion, namely Ustadz Abdul Somad, supported candidate pair number 1 after the existence of the Itjima Ulama and the signing of the Integrity Pact (Widian et al., 2023).

The support of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 through Itjima Ulama provides an example that narratives influence many people because they are of the same religion and proves that organizations can shape political narratives and mobilize the masses in general, which we can see from the emergence of support from other Muslim communities such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, PKS, FPI, PPP, and others. The Deny JA LSI survey results also stated that almost all Islamic students and institutions and Islamic voters tend to vote for Anies-Muhaimin (Widian et al., 2023). So, it can be said that relations between groups and the cohesion of Muslims can have a long-term impact on political and social stability in Indonesia because our country has a Muslim majority.

Political observer Prof. Dr. Firman Noor, M.A., said that the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 is immensely respected and "counted" as a more fluid movement and mass organization that has a political impact in Indonesia. According to him, the 212 group is not that big because most of the media are the ones who raise it. It may influence the Indonesian political sphere, but it is smaller. As a mass organization, it does have mass influence, and indeed, it participated in the victory of Anies and Sandiaga at that time. However, its nature still needs to fluctuate if you want to look at it objectively. Indonesian society and several other groups also have their own political choices. The last thing we can see is Babeh Haikal, who is more inclined towards Prabowo. It could be that he is not alone, but several other alumni members have the same political characteristics as him. However, what you need to remember is that it is currently difficult to separate the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 into just a religious, cultural movement from a movement that has a political nuance.

Persaudaraan Alumni 212, from Prof. Firman Noor's point of view, is a social-religious movement that has a political impact and can be used as a political missionary or political machine for certain political moments that influence Anies Baswedan, especially in DKI Jakarta. However, you need to know that influence is fluctuating, meaning that if the moment is right, it can be very influential, but if the moment recedes, then the influence is not as strong as in 2017. PA 212 was vigorous in 2017 because the issue of religious blasphemy was influential at that time, so they had an impact. "Positive" at that time was a form of resistance to this blasphemy. But if the situation of the "issue" is neutral, they do not have such strong legitimacy to be used as a "tool" again; it's like if the enemy doesn't exist, then they are irrelevant. In politics, the relevance of an organization's existence will determine how enormous its political contribution will be to the party it supports. In the sense that if you look at the 2017 issue at that time, it is clear that PA 212 has a strong influence, but when compared to the 2024 Presidential Election, which does not have a religious issue, the relevance of PA
212 is not as strong as before because the 2024 Election issue is more focused on issues of nepotism, anti-constitutionalism, and political ethics. According to him, the decision of Itjima Ulama will make the PA 212 group, the network under it, and supporters who feel close to PA 212 follow political directions to support Anies and Muhaimin, they only have to follow formal legitimacy, and without this, PA 212 supporters can't turn around. Directions to Prabowo Subianto or Ganjar Pranowo. However, let's talk about other Islamic communities. It will be different because other communities will have their reasons and political calculations regarding why they support or reject Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar in the 2024 elections.

**Conclusion**

The political attitude of the Persaudaraan Alumni 212 towards the nomination of Muhaimin Iskandar as Anies Baswedan's vice presidential candidate in the 2024 elections is that they completely reject it, especially the core internal management of PA 212 because of Muhaimin Iskandar's background which is considered unfit and appropriate to be alongside Anies Baswedan because of the alleged corruption case, "Kardus Durian" and Corruption in the Ministry of Manpower (Kemnaker). The reason for his affective rejection arose because of the tension in the relationship between the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) and the 212 Alumni Brotherhood since 2016, which made the PA 212 management and members emotionally agitated by these past events and their cognitive awareness was due to knowledge regarding Muhaimin Iskandar's background dan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa. The conative tends to be more concerned with the relationship between PKB and PA 212. Meanwhile, the conative tends to be towards the desire and prediction of the unification of the two camps, which is mixed with emotional feelings due to feelings of liking and appreciation from the seriousness of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as well as the PKB ranks who then came to the ulama and Persaudaraan Alumni 212 to sign the Pakta Integritas resulting from Itjima Ulama. In the end, after further discussion and deliberation and good intentions from Anies and Muhaimin, both the ulama, administrators and members of the 212 Alumni Brotherhood then declared their support for candidate pair number 1, namely Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar in the 2024 Election at the same time as the results were released Itjima Ulama Persaudaraan Alumni 212 openly.

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**References**


