

PART 1

ISLAMIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

Kees van Dijk

A paradox in present-day Indonesia is that Islam is thriving but that Islamic political parties are not. With one exception, the PKS (Prosperous Justice Party/Partai Keadilan Sejahtera), their results in elections held after 1998 have been poor. This is even more remarkable because some of these parties are closely linked to socio-religious organisations that do seem to thrive and have a large following, which in the case of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah amounts to tens of millions. This indicates that recruiting or winning over national and local religious leaders to gain more votes at general elections appears to be less effective than is often assumed.

Disappointing past election performance confronts politicians of Islamic parties with a dilemma. They may reach out to non-Muslims, accepting them as members and recruiting them as candidates, or they may focus on non-religious issues in their campaign. Such approaches, however, can backfire. Immediately after May 1998 when the Reform Era was taking shape new political parties were established, among them Islamic parties being 'open' to others, i.e. to Indonesians with another religion, due to concerns with Amien Rais of the PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional/National Mandate Party) and Abdurrahman Wahid of the PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa/National Awakening Party) about the intensity of communal conflicts in those days, which in some regions had taken a very violent form. Gradually, the selection of candidates with a different religion and the downplaying of Islam became a strategy to tap into new groups of voters, but it has been argued that the decision not to stress their own, specific, religious stance may have cost votes, and, indeed, could well explain the poor election results.

While preparing for the general elections of April 2014 a number of politicians told *The Jakarta Post* in January 2013 how they intended to deal with what the newspaper called 'the country's increasingly secular voters'.¹

1 *The Jakarta Post*, 23 January 2013.

The PAN would 'no longer use Islamic attributes', while the PKB stressed that it had never 'introduced itself as an exclusive Islamic party'. Speaking on behalf of the PKS, a political party that owes part of its success in the past to its image of being a 'clean' party, i.e. its leaders not being tainted by corruption, the chairman of the PKS faction in Parliament, Hidayat Nur Wahid, underlined the importance of impressing the electorate with the party's 'commitment to good governance and corruption eradication'. A few days later the chairman of the PKS would be arrested on suspicion of corruption. Shortly after the arrest of Luthfi Hasan Ishaq, a sex scandal followed when a close political friend of his, Ahmad Fathanah, was arrested in a hotel – in bed with a girl who certainly was not his wife. In November of that year, Ahmad Fathanah was found guilty of corruption by the Jakarta Anti-Corruption Court and sentenced to 14 years in prison. In March 2014, the Jakarta High Court added two years to the sentence. In December 2013 Luthfi Hasan Ishaq got 16 years. Some PKS members tried to belittle the incident by calling the friend a 'secret agent whose mission it is to ruin the party's image ahead of the 2014 elections'.²

The PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan/United Development Party) and PBB (Partai Bulan Bintang/Crescent and Star Party) refused to change their religious approach. The PPP announced that it would not recruit non-Muslim candidates and seemingly intended to reach out to fundamentalist groups, such as the FPI (Front Pembela Islam/Front of the Defenders of Islam) and even the mysterious Al-Zaytun boarding school, linked to a sect brainwashing its members and aiming at the establishment of an Islamic state.³ The PBB lashed out against 'hypocritical, pragmatic politicians' who were prepared to cast aside their ideology just to win seats.⁴

In April 2014 the PKS and PBB saw their share of the vote drop compared to the general elections of 2009. The PKS obtained 6.8 per cent of the votes instead of 7.9 per cent; the PBB 1.5 instead of 1.8 per cent. The PPP performed slightly better and saw an increase from 5.3 to 6.5 per cent. The PAN and PKB also saw their positions improve. They gained 7.6 and 9 per cent (instead of 6 and 4.9 per cent) of the vote respectively.

2 *The Jakarta Post*, 13 May 2013.

3 *The Jakarta Post*, 14 March 2013, 1 April 2013.

4 Maklumat Partai Bulan Bintang, 23 January 2013 (<http://bulan-bintang.org/maklumat-partai-bulan-bintang>, accessed 12 May 2013).



PDI-P poster in the streets of Jakarta showing Megawati Soekarnoputri in 2000

One of the reasons for the weak election performance of Islamic political parties is that they do not have a monopoly on Islam. Labelling their rivals, Golkar, PDI-P (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan/Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle) and Partai Demokrat, 'secular parties' or using the term 'secular voters' fails to appreciate the role of Islam in politics in general. Already during the New Order politicians and office holders, including President Suharto himself, rushed to Islamic institutions and gatherings to increase their popularity. Organisational ties were also developed. During the New Order Golkar established links with traditional and modernist Muslims via a number of organisations of which the GUPPI (Gabungan Usaha Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam/Joint Effort to Modernize Islamic Education) and an association of former members of the HMI (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam/Islamic Student Association) are the best known, while in August 2007 the PDI-P launched its Islamic wing, Baitul Muslimin (House of Muslims). At times the secular PDI-P even appears to be an Islamic party. At the close of the New Order, protestors supporting the PDI-P suspended their street protests to pray, while Sukarno's daughter, Megawati, the party's popular leader, initially appeared on party posters with her hair uncovered, but was later depicted wearing a headscarf.

A second factor contributing to the poor election results of the Islamic political parties is that they and the organisations they turn to for mobilising support are complex entities. Within one and the same party or organisation members have different, even mutually exclusive, opinions about what an Islamic society should look like and what reaching it involves; disputes amongst the leaders can be frequent and bitter. Adding to this is a built-in source of conflict: the presence of religious advisory boards and fatwa councils, institutions that clash with their executive boards, one of the most important points of friction being the primacy of religious considerations over political ones. This certainly comes to the fore in Permata's in-depth analysis of the rivalries within the PKS and the socio-religious organisation affiliated with it, the Jemaah Tarbiyah, and between the two. The PKS is a proper choice because it is an Islamist party which, together with the Jemaah Tarbiyah, strives for and identifies itself with the promotion of a drastic Islamisation of Indonesian society. Yet the delicate internal relationships described in Permata's report are also very present in the other Islamic parties and socio-religious organisations. It also underscores that in the relation between political party and affiliated organisation, the latter may be or intends to be a moral compass, something that also comes to the fore in Bastiaan Scherpen's report about reactions to the Ahmadiyah persecution in which he touches upon the relations between



PDI-P poster in the streets of Jakarta showing Megawati Soekarnoputri in 2002

the PKB and the socio-religious organisation it is close to, the Nahdlatul Ulama.

The contributions by both Permata and Zuhri show how diverse membership can be. Members of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama and other Islamic organisations have joined the PKS, while PKS and Jemaah Tarbiyah activists are among the members of the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. This has given rise to the accusation of 'infiltration' of Islamists in Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. There may indeed have been real cases of infiltration, but in other instances, probably more numerous, using that word conceals the point that fundamentalist Islamic ideas advocated by the PKS are also supported in Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah circles. Under such circumstances, the PKS' missionary zeal has met with fierce competition over control of social and religious institutions. Zuhri concentrates on one of these cases, reconstructing how the PKS took over a 'Muhammadiyah' mosque in Central Java and the 'war' that was the result. Other cases, also touched upon by Zuhri, involve rivalries over the control of boards of branches of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah and secular and religious schools and universities.

While Permata's report can serve as an example of the internal dynamics of Islamic organisations, Zuhri's analysis provides an insight into competition as a result of Islamisation efforts within the Islamic community, which is also played out elsewhere in Indonesia. Their contributions are complementary. While Permata concentrates on the PKS as a political party, Zuhri focuses on its religious work among Muslims and the central role the mosque plays in the religious propaganda and political mobilisation of the PKS. Zuhri describes the growing concern of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama over the rising influence of Islamists in their community and the competition over religious institutions, forcing them in 2006 and 2007 to take measures to turn the tide of such 'infiltration and sabotage'. Warnings against the points of view of Middle Eastern Islamists have also become more frequent.

Islamic political parties and socio-religious organisations are prime actors in the embedding of religion in national and regional legislation and in society. They can act both as a motor and as a brake. There have been frequent appeals to Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, being the largest socio-religious organisations in Indonesia, to speak out in favour of religious tolerance, and to combat the spread of terrorism in the country. A litmus test of religious tolerance is the attitude towards Ahmadis and Shi'ites and the reaction to their harassment. That is why this section concludes with an analysis by Bastiaan Scherpen on the response of the Islamic political parties and the socio-religious organisations associated with them to the mob violence targeted against Ahmadiyah

communities. The point of departure is the killing of three members of Ahmadiyah by an angry crowd of between 1,000 and 1,500 people on 6 February 2011 in West Java. What happened is one of the instances in which Muslims, stressing that Ahmadiyah is a deviant sect and that Ahmadis should not live in their midst, resort to violence. In this case the target was a house in the village of Umbulan in Cikeusik inhabited by an Ahmadiyah family. To avoid violence the previous day the police who had been alerted by an SMS message to the possibility of mob violence had persuaded the family in question to leave the village, but failed to convince 17 Ahmadiyah members who had arrived in Umbulan in the morning of the 6th to stand by their fellow believers to do the same. When the attack came three of them were killed and five were seriously wounded. The police did not interfere. It was one of the instances in which the police said they had felt overpowered. Fear for their own safety and wellbeing when police officers are confronted with an angry crowd at times makes them decide not to act. In February 2013, even the Indonesian National Police used being outnumbered as an excuse to explain the failure to protect members of religious minorities when attacked by crowds of radical Muslims. Its spokesman, commenting on a Human Rights' Watch report criticising the reluctance to act resolutely when Ahmadis and Shi'ites were molested, said that when police officers were 'outnumbered by a mob, an omission could happen' in enforcing the law.⁵ Gruesome as the Cikeusik incident was, the follow-up created even greater controversy. Twelve attackers were prosecuted and sentenced to a mere three to six months in jail. A six-month prison sentence was also received by one of the Ahmadiyah followers, who had travelled to Umbulan and himself had been seriously wounded. He was charged with resisting a police order to leave the village, assault, and as their leader inciting the other members of his group. Bastiaan Scherpen's contribution shows how difficult it is for the Indonesian government and for Islamic parties and organisations to deal with, on the one hand, demands to ban the Ahmadiyah as a deviant sect, and, on the other hand, calls in Indonesia and abroad to uphold principles of religious freedom and human rights. It also brings to the fore that universal values can have different meanings for different groups, be it Western governments or Muslims, especially where religious minorities are concerned.

5 www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/02/02/national-police-play-down-report-religious-violence.html.

1 A Study of the Internal Dynamics of the Prosperous Justice Party and Jamaah Tarbiyah

Ahmad-Norma Permata

1 Introduction

This research explores the internal dynamics of the Prosperous Justice¹ Party or Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) and its mass organisational root and supporter, the Jamaah Tarbiyah (JT).² Since a political organisation is never a unitary actor, there are always internal plurality, differences, tensions and even conflicts. This study uncovers the internal dynamics inside the two organisations, the tensions and dividing issues between the two, as well as the key figures in each group.

JT is a unique organisation in contemporary Indonesian politics. At its core, it is an Indonesian branch of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*), founded in 1983 by a group of graduates who studied in the Middle East. However, it is joined by networks of activists from different organisations, ranging from domestic political and social organisations – such as DDII,³ Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU),

- 1 It is worthy of note that the word 'justice' has been used ubiquitously among the Muslim Brothers' network across the globe (political party and social movement): e.g. 'Justice and Development' is used at the same time in Turkey, Libya, Morocco, Syria and Algeria, while the Egyptian Brotherhood party is called the 'Justice and Freedom Party'. A closer analysis reveals that at least for PKS 'justice' does not refer to the idea of 'fair treatment', but rather to 'political retaliations'. Members of the PKS perceive themselves as victims of repression and persecution both by Western colonial rulers and secular national governments. And now the time has come for them to fight back, to do what others have done to them, to do justice.
- 2 Jamaah Tarbiyah literally means 'Community of Education'. In practical terms, 'education' means training and indoctrination, i.e. of a comprehensive Islamic way of life.
- 3 Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (or Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council) was founded in 1967 by Mohammad Natsir and several other ex-Masyumi politicians after they were thwarted by the Suharto regime in their bid to return to politics. It received large funds from Middle Eastern countries, especially Saudi Arabia.

HMI⁴ – to Salafi⁵ groups. This wide variety of groups sets the organisation apart from its Egyptian counterpart. In 1998, JT activists founded a political party called the Justice Party (Partai Keadilan, PK), which was then renamed the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS). The relationship between the JT and PKS is also unique because the JT is an informal organisation insofar as it is not formally registered and thus – according to Indonesian legal reasoning – cannot be banned. The JT could be described as a shadow organisation for the PKS which differs from the relationship between the NU and PKB⁶ or Muhammadiyah and PAN,⁷ both of which are formal organisations, albeit operating in different arenas (one is social and the other is political).

The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is one of the stars of Indonesian democratisation. Firstly, it marks a new era of Muslim politics. This is because the party was not born from mainstream Muslim organisations. This is a critical point, as during the New Order era the government manipulated and compromised all Muslim organisations and key figures within them. Consequently, virtually no Muslim organisation operating at that time was immune to the regime's political engineering. The PKS, although it was founded during the Suharto regime, was led by a new

4 Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Islamic Student Association), founded in 1947, is the largest university student organisation in Indonesia and a powerful political network. It has been a supplier of leaders and activists to the country's political parties, including Akbar Tanjung (former chairman of Golkar), Ismail Hassan Metareum (former chairman of PPP) and Anas Urbaningrum (at the time of writing chairman of the ruling Partai Demokrat). In 1986, responding to the law that obliged mass organisations to adopt the state ideology, Pancasila, the organisation split into two camps: its leadership accepted the law in order to be acknowledged as a legal organisation by the government – subsequently known as the DIPO faction (an acronym of Diponegoro Street where its office was located in Jakarta). Another group, however, rejected Pancasila, retained the Islamic ideology, and went underground. It is known as the MPO faction since it declared itself to be the Organisation's Saviour Council (*Majelis Penyelamat Organisasi*). When the law was cancelled, the DIPO faction dropped Pancasila from its ideology and readopted Islam, but the two factions failed to reconcile – as they developed distinct traditions and networks – and run independently as twin HMI organisations.

5 From Arabic *Salaf al-Salih*, or pristine generations – i.e. this refers to the first generations of Muslims, including the companions of the prophet Muhammad. These are conservative groups that adopt Saudi-style Islamic ideas and practices.

6 Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party) was founded by NU leaders, but has no organisational link with NU.

7 Partai Amanat Nasional (or National Mandate Party) was founded by Muhammadiyah leaders but has no organisational link with Muhammadiyah.

generation of Muslim activists who did not belong to any of the existing Muslim organisations. These activists perceive themselves as part and the continuity of Muslim politics in Indonesian history, yet they have broken away and differentiate themselves from existing Muslim organisations and activists whom they deem to be compromised and contaminated by the regime.⁸

Secondly, the party has many of the brightest Muslim politicians who are graduates, not from Islamic educational institutions like the leaders of other Muslim organisations, but from top rank secular universities across the country. The PKS's leadership are, uncommonly, not religious scholars by training, as in other Muslim organisations. Activists are graduates from secular academic disciplines ranging from engineering, economics, and medicine to physics and mathematics. These universities still provide the main avenue for the younger generation wanting a route into the bureaucracy and other professional occupations. In this way, the party quickly established its networks among the country's elite.⁹

Thirdly, many perceive its political ideology as suspicious with regard to its participation in democratic politics. The Jamaah Tarbiyah adopts its ideology from the Egyptian Muslim Brothers and its gradual Islamisation political project, namely: (i) the Islamisation of individuals; (ii) the Islamisation of families; (iii) the Islamisation of society; (iv) the Islamisation of the political system.¹⁰ The programme drew critics from inside and outside Muslim communities. Many Muslim organisations see the party as spreading aggressive activities that are not only undermining their territories, but also jeopardising Indonesian Muslims' moderate political tone. Others even accused the party of promoting a radical political agenda to change the Indonesian nation-state into an Islamic political system.

Fourthly, the party also impresses the Indonesian public because of its organisational consolidation. It is the only major political party in Indonesia that does not suffer from an organisational split. It is also the only party capable of maintaining the solid adherence of its supporters. These characteristics have given the party advantages, especially in local elections, in which it has won several plurality majorities in situations where multiple candidates were standing for election. The Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2007 is a telling example, in which

8 Yon Machmudi, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Wajah Baru Politik Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Harakatuna, 2005), 23–24.

9 Elisabeth Collins, 'Islam is the Solution', *Kultur* 3, no. 2 (2003), 157–182.

10 Hilmi Aminuddin, *Strategi Dakwah Gerakan Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2003), 144.

the elected governor needed all the other 16 parties in the provincial Parliament to join forces in order to beat the PKS by 56 per cent to 44 per cent. The solidity of its support is also a powerful weapon for the party in political negotiations, or to press its demands.¹¹

1.1 INTERNAL FRACTURES

That said, observers will not fail to notice internal – sometimes very serious – rifts in the party. Firstly, internal tensions had already begun to surface during its foundation. In 1998, following the regime change, senior activists of the JT discussed the possibility of forming a political party to advance their interests and agendas, but reached no agreement regarding the timing. Some of them agreed that the time was right to create a political party and join in democratic competition; others thought they were not ready yet and preferred to stay aloof from power competition. The dispute was resolved by distributing questionnaires to around 6,000 Tarbiyah activists around the world. Sixty-eight per cent of those who returned the questionnaires agreed to create a political party.¹²

Secondly, different strands can also be found among the party leadership on how to manage the organisation. During the first four years of its history, under the name of the Justice Party, its organisation was decentralised and more democratic, with the highest decision-making body being the party's national congress. This meant that sovereignty was in the hands of the party members. However, from 2003, when the party was renamed the Prosperous Justice Party, the party's statute (*Anggaran Rumah Tangga*, ART) was also amended, and the highest decision-making body became the elite in the Deliberation Assembly (*Majelis Syuro*). This change represents not only different organisational structures, but also competing political perspectives: i.e. democratic versus pragmatic tendencies.¹³

Thirdly, different opinions also emerge in the party's programmatic platforms. There are several inconsistencies in the party's organisational

11 Ahmad-Norma Permata, 'The Prosperous Justice Party and the Decline of Political Islam in 2009 Election in Indonesia', in *Islam and the 2009 Indonesian Elections: Political and Cultural Issues: The Case of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*, ed. Remy Madinier (Bangkok: IRASEC, 2010), 48–49.

12 Collins, *ibid*.

13 Ahmad-Norma Permata, *Islamist Party and Democratic Participation: Prosperous Justice Party in Indonesia 1998–2007*, PhD dissertation, Westfälische-Wilhelms Universität Münster, 2008, 187.

statutes. Many who see these as intentional point to the double face of the party. Yet closer analysis shows that, in fact, these inconsistencies represent disagreements among the statute's authors and deep divisions within the party itself. For instance, there are clauses in its statute that stipulate that the PKS is an open party and all Indonesians aged 17 and over are eligible to become members. However, other clauses in the same statute prescribe that in order to become a party member it is necessary to recite an oath that includes the Islamic *shahadah* – 'there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Messenger'. This would make them, at least nominally, Muslims – thus, only Muslims can become party members.¹⁴

Lastly, the party's political behaviour also records internal differences. For example, the party saw the 1999 legislative elections as just another activity of religious propagation (*dakwah* or *tabligh*). During the election campaign the party leadership instructed its activists to intensify their religious activities, to persuade people to accept Islam instead of promoting their party, and to pray to God to help them win the elections. However, five years later, during the 2004 elections, the same leadership body issued a fatwa to its activists and members to mobilise people to vote for the party in the elections, regardless of whether they agreed with the party's political perspectives or not.¹⁵

Close observation reveals that tensions and frictions between the JT and PKS – as well as inside each of the two – stem from their experiences in democratic political competition. Basically, JT members are PKS members. However, intensive and increasingly systematic and specialised political activities separate PKS activists from other JT members who do not get involved in party organisations. PKS activists are increasingly pragmatic in their behaviour, while JT members are more likely to remain normative.

Inside the PKS, there are divisions between 'office oriented' and 'policy oriented' politicians: the former perceive politics as a competition to maximise power and as a resource that has to be pursued in its own way and with its own rules, while the latter perceive politics as a competition to influence public policies and something that needs to be pursued in accordance with Islamic principles. Furthermore, inside the 'office oriented' camp there are 'pragmatists' who have established networks with former President Suharto's family, the military and Chinese businessmen, and pushed the idea that the party should become an open, secular, political party. There are also 'reformists', who are politically closer to the networks of democratic activists that brought down the Suharto regime and who moved the PKS's political agenda in line with the wider

¹⁴ Ibid., 176.

¹⁵ Ibid., 213–218.

Indonesian agenda for democratisation. By contrast, among the 'policy oriented' camp there are 'moderates' who accept office-seeking politics as a tolerable short-term strategy, and 'radicals' who perceive politics purely as a struggle to influence policies; they staunchly insist that PKS activists are, in principle, preachers and not politicians.

Meanwhile, within the JT there are differences between 'loyalists' who blindly support the PKS and 'critics' who support the PKS only when it follows JT principles. Furthermore, inside the 'loyalist' camp there are groups of people who are loyal to certain leaders – because of the access and resources these leaders share, or for other more personal reasons – but critical of others. It should be noted that those who are loyal to organisations defend them vehemently from external critics. By contrast, among the 'critical' activists there are those who stayed inside the JT network and criticise the PKS from this position, and those who left the JT network and criticise the PKS as outsiders. The figure on page 35 aims to capture the sub-divisions as described.

The tensions, frictions and divisions are intensely disturbing and unsettling for JT and PKS leaders, and they are desperately seeking ways to overcome them. Two ideas are worth close attention. Firstly, some perceive the problem to be rooted in the separation of the JT and PKS leaderships. The two organisations are basically two sides of the same coin, adhering to the Muslim Brotherhood's motto that the party is the *jamaah* (a community of the faithful), and the *jamaah* is the party (*al-hizb hiya al-jamaah, wa al-jamaah hiya al-hizb*). However, the two have different rules and patterns of behaviour: the JT follows Islamic principles under the guidance of the supreme leader (*muraqib 'amm*), while the PKS follows the Indonesian political system and competitions led by the party's president. Therefore, the JT and PKS tend to go their different ways. To overcome the problem, it has been suggested that the leaderships should be united and the supreme leader of the JT should assume the position of the party president of the PKS. In this way, there would be a single line of command across both the JT and PKS networks of organisations and this would minimise tensions and frictions.¹⁶

Secondly, another argument, starting from the same observation, is that the root of the tensions and frictions among the JT and PKS is the incompatibility between the two organisations: JT members are informal and follow their own internally set rules, while the PKS is a political party that must comply with state rules and the political

16 Interview with Yusuf Supendi, Jakarta.

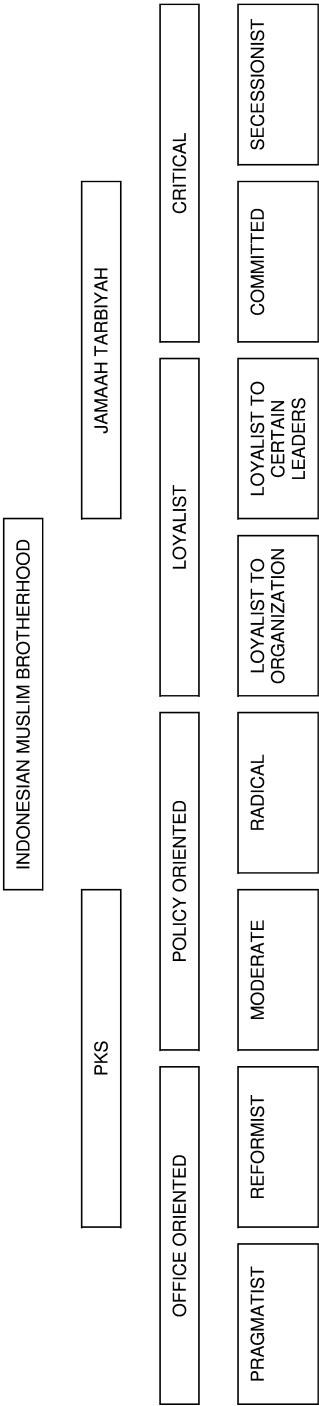


FIGURE 1 Sub-division of Indonesian Muslim Brotherhood

reality. However, in contrast to the previous perspective, which proposes leadership unification, this group suggests that the JT and PKS must be separated organisationally. The JT needs to be formalised as a social organisation, registered and bound by state regulations. In this manner, the two organisations – which are in fact composed of the same group of people – can operate in different arenas, the one social the other political, and need not interfere with or disturb each other.¹⁷ In other words, PKS politicians can do their pragmatic political jobs without the worry of being exposed to the scrutiny of JT members.

1.2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Researchers and analysts have different attitudes to the internal dynamics of the PKS and Jamaah Tarbiyah. Some deem the current dynamics to be a sign of the party's strength and superiority. Such opinions are commonly held by party functionaries and members. Zulkifliemansyah, a PKS Member of Parliament, has written several articles in this vein. He eloquently argues how the party, which evolved from the dakwah movement, seeks to achieve progressive objectives in democratising Indonesia, without losing its commitment to moral ideals. Yon Machmudi, an academic and PKS founder, explains that the Jamaah Tarbiyah and PKS represent a new generation of Muslim politicians and social activists. It transcends the moderate versus radical dichotomy of Muslim political activists that was typical during the New Order era – the former heavily stressing accommodation, whilst the latter put much weight on purification. The Tarbiyah community overcomes the dilemma of purification and accommodation through non-confrontational gradual Islamisation. This strategy succeeded in attracting followers and sympathisers from both modernist and traditionalist circles of Indonesian Muslims – something that Machmudi argues has never happened before.¹⁸

Others argued that the internal dynamics reflect the parties' hypocrisy. One widely circulated article of this type is by Sadanand Dhume. In it, he describes the PKS as a radical party actively promoting the Islamisation of Indonesian politics. Although Dhume sees the PKS as a peaceful political

17 Interview with Abu Ridho, Jakarta.

18 See Zulkifliemansyah, 'Overcoming the Fear: PKS and the Democratization,' *Jakarta Post* 5 December 2005. 'Prospect for the Justice and Prosperous Party (PKS) and Political Islam,' USINDO Open Forum, Washington D.C. 8 June 2006. 'Understanding PKS as Living Entity within Indonesia's Democratic Space,' *Jakarta Post* 10 August 2007. Yon Machmudi, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Wajah Baru Islam Politik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Harakatuna, 2005).

organisation that is willing to participate in the democratic political process, he believes that this is merely a facade to conceal its real agenda. He wrote, provocatively, that

despite the Justice Party's social work, little separates its thinking from Jemaah Islamiyah's. Like Jemaah Islamiyah, in its founding manifesto, the Justice Party called for the creation of an Islamic caliphate. Like Jemaah Islamiyah, it has placed secrecy – facilitated by the cell structure both groups borrowed from the Brotherhood – at the heart of its organisation. Both offer a selective vision of modernity – one in which global science and technology are welcome, but un-Islamic values are shunned. The two groups differ chiefly in their methods: Jemaah Islamiyah is revolutionary; the Justice Party is evolutionary.¹⁹

Yet others try to capture the complexity and paradox more comprehensively. Martin van Bruinessen wrote that PKS politicians are 'imperfect democrats but perhaps Indonesia's strongest force for democratisation' based on the fact that many of the party's spokesmen believe in anti-Islamic conspiracies, are anti-Zionistic, anti-Western, and have been known to be hostile to liberals and secularist Muslims. At the same time, the PKS

is one of the very few forces in the political arena that may seriously contribute to a gradual democratisation of the country, as it believes in participation in the existing political system and in changing society through persuasion of individuals rather than through grabbing power.²⁰

Likewise, Bubbalo and Fealy wrote that the PKS has some ambivalence towards the West, actively participating in various protests against American support of Israel and the invasion of Iraq, and tends to be suspicious of the political agendas of the EU and US, especially the 'war on terror'. Yet many of its senior figures have a Western tertiary education and visit the West frequently, and their awareness of international developments is probably higher than that of any other Indonesian Islamic party.²¹

19 Sadanand Dhume, 'Radicals March on Indonesia's Future', *Far Eastern Economic Review* 168, no. 5 (2005).

20 Martin van Bruinessen, 'Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in post-Soeharto Indonesia', *Southeast Asian Research* 10, no. 2 (2007), 117–154.

21 Anthony Bubbalo and Greg Fealy, 'Joining the Caravan? The Middle East, Islamism and Indonesia', The Lowy Institute for International Policy paper 05 (Alexandria: Longueville, 2005).

Meanwhile Kees van Dijk explains that the ambiguity visible in PKS political behaviours is a logical consequence of the complexity of the changing political environment in Indonesia. This complexity has created asymmetrical alliances among different political actors and, subsequently, ambiguous behaviours and internal dynamics among political actors seeking to compromise their ideological objectives and political realities. The PKS is distinctly Indonesian in its structures and behaviours.²²

1.3 A THEORETICAL NOTE: A FAILING OR A POST-ISLAMISM?

Any attempt to explain the developments of a political organisation will face at least two dilemmas. The first is a dilemma between the rational and natural perspectives of an organisation. The rational perspective conceives an organisation primarily as a tool for a group of people to achieve certain – previously set – objectives. Perhaps this is the most widely used definition of an organisation, i.e. that any development and dynamics within the organisation can only be explained in light of the organisation's objectives, because any member of the organisation should act according to the specific tasks and division of labour of that organisation. This implies that the yardstick for measuring or valuing behaviours of the members and dynamics of the organisation are the organisational objectives that are set *a priori*.

The natural perspective of an organisation, however, maintains that in any organisation, as long as there are multiple people there will be multiple objectives being pursued. Consequently, the real objectives of the organisation are never set *a priori*, but rather *a posteriori* following successive problems faced by the organisation. Of course it does have previously set, long-term, objectives, but they are often subordinated or compromised by more immediate and more urgent short-term objectives. And, because there is a plurality of objectives being pursued simultaneously by different members, the real objectives of the organisation are none other than the lowest common denominator, the objective that all members agreed upon, namely the survival of the organisation. Hence, in contrast with the rational perspective, which takes the *a priori* objectives as the yardstick for all members' behaviours and organisational dynamics, the natural perspective puts the highest value on any behaviour and dynamic that guarantees the survival of the organisation.

22 C. van Dijk, 'Different Settings, Different Definitions, and Different Agendas: Islamic and Secular Political Parties in Indonesia and Malaysia', in *Interpreting Islamic Political Parties*, ed. M.A. Mohamed Salih (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 51–81.

The second is the dilemma between the collective and selective system of incentives. The former deems that the collective incentives a political organisation gives to its members should be distributed amongst all members equally. The most fundamental of these are identity and solidarity. As politics is about collective goods, not owned by certain groups but available to all, political organisations also promote collective incentives to all of their members. This explains why people join and participate in political organisations without being paid or receiving other material rewards. Meanwhile, the latter system proposes to understand an organisation as an arena in which to pursue personal interests and, therefore, different members will receive different rewards according to their different roles, efforts and achievements. This perspective explains why in political organisations, which are by default voluntary organisations – i.e. people participate not because they are being paid or coerced – members are constantly competing for control of the organisation and for power and resources. This is because different organisational positions provide different authorities that entail different sets of incentives.²³

Perceived from this perspective, the tensions and frictions within and between the JP and PKs are part of the normal process of organisations seeking to survive in a rapidly changing political environment. However, these developments are interesting in light of current discussions on Islam-based politics. Two theories are relevant at this point: namely, Oliver Roy's thesis on the failure of political Islam, and Asef Bayat's notion of post-Islamism. Roy built his observations on Islam-based politics in Afghanistan. He argues that Islam-based politics failed to accomplish its mission to build a comprehensive Islamic system of life that included an Islamic society and an Islamic state. For him, the failure was due to its circular ideological and political programme, in which proponents of political Islam believe that a true Islamic society can only be built under an Islamic state – which will ensure the enactment and enforcement of Islamic values. Yet, at the same time, a true Islamic state can only be created if politicians uphold and enact Islamic principles, i.e. under an Islamic society. Unable to break this vicious circle, they abandoned the idea of creating an Islamic state and resorted to promoting Islam in terms of private values.²⁴

Meanwhile, Asef Bayat, based on his observations of post-revolutionary Iran, found a different feature of political Islam that he calls

23 Angelo Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organization and Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chapter 1.

24 Oliver Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1994), 60–68.

'post-Islamism'. He explains that, having gone through a period of political experimentation and of establishing a comprehensive Islamic system of life, political Islam was exhausted by both internal contradictions and external pressures. However, in Bayat's observation, instead of crumbling or giving up its mission, the movement evolved into a new and more open one by adapting to its environment and adopting critiques and questions once directed to it – such as democracy, human rights, gender equality, religious pluralism, etc. – as part of its new mission.²⁵

The present research has found that like Roy's thesis, the JT and PKS are ensnared by their circular comprehensive agenda of Islamising the Indonesian society and state. Although on paper the Muslim Brothers' gradual Islamisation agenda adopted by the JT-PKS seems to offer a breakthrough to escape the vicious circle, in reality the circle and its vices remain. It occurs, for example, when JT-PKS members have to decide in which phase of Islamisation they find themselves. Many of them believe they have accomplished the Islamising of society and are now moving on to Islamising the political system. However, there are just as many who believe that they are still in the phase of Islamising the society, and are not yet ready to Islamise the state. Since they all believe that for each phase of Islamisation there are different priorities and different strategies, as well as different leadership compositions, tensions and frictions emerge when they argue about which priorities should be implemented, which strategies should be pursued, and who should be in charge. And when money and power are involved, conflicts and confrontations are inevitable. However, also like what Bayat observed, the JT and PKS have evolved in terms of qualitative development, by adapting into a democratising political system, and adopting new ideas and programmes – formerly foreign to them – into their own. Previously holding the belief that the existing secular democratic (albeit pseudo) system will gradually be replaced by an alternative, comprehensive Islamic system of life, they now see Islam more as a contributing system, which will improve the existing democratic system, making it more religious and humane.

2 Historical Developments and Institutional Settings

This section deals with the historical development of the JT and PKS, starting from their inception and moving on to the contemporary situation. The focus is on the interplay between three factors: the ideas and ideals adopted from the Egyptian Muslim Brothers, the

25 Asef Bayat, 'What Is Post-Islamism', *ISIM Review* 5, no. 16 (2005), 5.

histories and legacies of Islam-based political activism in Indonesia, and the institutional frameworks provided by the dynamics of political competition. This will show how the JT is uniquely Indonesian in character and needs to be assessed in its own context.

Among its unique characteristics, the JT never publicly declared itself to be a branch of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers and it never disclosed its mechanism of relationships with its Egyptian headquarters. This has resulted in different interpretations among observers, as well as among its members. It is unlike other transnational Islam-based organisations such as Hizbut Tahrir, Ahmadiyah, or Jama'ah Tabligh, which publicly declare their status and, consequently, the people who join the organisations know that they are part of international networks and under the auspices of their headquarters overseas. Although among JT's top leadership it is clear that their organisation is a local branch of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers and it is bound by their statute, this is not so clear for JT activists and members lower down the hierarchy. Many perceive the JT to be a domestic Islamist organisation, or an organisation only inspired by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.

2.1 CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS

The history of the JT started when four graduates – Hilmy Aminuddin, Salim Segaf al-Jufri, Abdullah Baharmus, Encep Abdusyukur – returned from studying in the Middle East and founded an organisation dedicated to Islamic propagation (dakwah) by adopting the model of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers' organisation, including its organisational structure, recruitment and training. They utilised cell-like groupings, in which one mentor recruits, trains, and supervises five to ten members, and the cell members only know each other; they do not know members of other cells.²⁶

Initially, under the leadership of Salim Segaf, the JT recruited only select members. They targeted those who were fluent in Arabic and knowledgeable in Islamic studies, and therefore they remained a limited and a small group. Later, when Salim Segaf went to continue his studies in Saudi Arabia, the leadership of the organisation was handed over to

26 Some speculate that MB founder Hassan al-Banna adopted the organisational structure of Mussolini's fascist army: see Francis Fukuyama and Nadav Samin, 'Can Any Good Come of Radical Islam?', *Commentary Magazine*, September 2002. Others say it refers to the Sufi tradition of which al-Banna had been a member. See Ibrahim M. Abu Rabi, *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 67.

Hilmy Aminuddin. In contrast to Salim Segaf, Hilmy Aminuddin decided to simplify the recruitment requirements and targeted students of secular universities. In this way, the JT succeeded in extensively recruiting new members and expanded its branches to various major cities across the country.²⁷

By the late 1980s, the JT had established a stronghold in many major cities. In Jakarta and Bogor it established a network of institutions: *Nurul Fikri* (Arabic, lit. illumination of ideas), study groups assisted high school students in their studies but were used by JT activists to recruit members; *Sabili* (Arabic, lit. my way), a magazine promoting Islamic teachings to the public, especially to the young led by Rahmat Abdullah; *Khairul Ummah* (Arabic, lit. the best community), a dakwah group led by Yusuf Supendi; *Al-Hikmah* (Arabic, lit. wisdom), an Islamic boarding school led by Abdul Hasib Hasan; and 'Studies and Information on Contemporary Islamic World', a study group that distributes information about international politics and conflicts, especially in Palestine and Afghanistan, led by Abu Ridho and Almuzammil Yusuf.²⁸

During the 1990s, the JT had stable networks in many universities in major cities across the country, and it started taking over intra-curricular and extra-curricular student organisations. From the North Sumatra University in Medan, North Sumatra, to the Indonesian University in Jakarta, Bogor Institute of Agriculture in nearby Bogor, Bandung Institute of Technology in Bandung, Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Sepuluh November Institute of Technology in Surabaya and Brawijaya University in Malang, down to the Hassanuddin University in Makassar South Sulawesi, the top leadership and activists among all their students were JT members.

During the months of crises ahead of the regime change in the mid-1990s, when Indonesian Islam-based political activism under the umbrella of the ICMi (Indonesian Muslim Intellectual Association)²⁹ was active in mobilising issues and support, JT students' networks established KAMMI, facilitated by ICMi networks and led by Fahri Hamzah. Subsequently, this organisation would supply many of the JT and PKS

27 Arief Munandar, *Antara Jemaah Dan Partai Politik: Dinamika Habitus Kader Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Dalam Arena Politik Indonesia Pasca Pemilu 2004*, PhD dissertation, The University of Indonesia, 246.

28 Ali Said Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002), 139–175.

29 ICMi was founded in 1990 under the patronage of former President B.J. Habibie – then Minister of Research and Technology – and played a bridging role between the Suharto regime and Islam-based politics.

leadership. When Suharto eventually stepped down and a new democratic government was formed, followed by the opening-up of the political system, JT activists discussed whether they should take the chance to participate in the competition for power. Opinion was split among JT's central leadership, and so they decided to hold a vote. More than 6,000 questionnaires were distributed within their networks with three options: joining the political competition by creating a political party, joining with another, existing political party, or remaining non-political but going public. Fifty-six per cent of the votes returned were for the first option.

A political party called Partai Keadilan was established in 1998. During the 1999 elections it garnered 1.7 per cent of the national vote and failed to pass the electoral threshold required by law to allow a party to participate in the next elections. With only seven seats in Parliament it merged with Amien Rais' PAN, joining forces to push for new amendments to the constitution that would prevent the military from returning to power. During the short-lived Abdurrahman Wahid presidency, the PK received one ministerial post (forestry), but this did not last long as the minister was sacked by President Wahid for arresting and bringing to trial powerful businessmen for illegal logging, in fear of political retaliation by their business network. During Megawati's presidency, she offered the PK another ministerial post, but the party declined, on the ground that it rejected a female president, and she was perceived as being supported by secular and Christian politicians.

To be able to continue its participation in politics, the JT needed to establish a new political party. It did so in 2003 and founded Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, using PK's organisational networks and leadership. In the 2004 elections it surprisingly tripled its share of the vote to 7.3 per cent, and secured 45 seats in Parliament. In return for supporting Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidential candidacy it received three ministerial posts: housing, agriculture, and youth and sport. In the 2009 elections it won 7.8 per cent of the vote, collected 57 parliamentary seats and became the biggest Islam-based political party. It also received four ministers: Science and Technology, Agriculture, Information and Communication, and Social Affairs. Interestingly, although its percentage increased, the actual votes the party collected decreased from 8,325,020 votes in 2004 to 8,206,955 in 2009.

2.2 LEGACY OF DOMESTIC ISLAM-BASED POLITICAL ACTIVISM

A closer observation, however, reveals that the history of the JT did not start at its foundation, and its history did not emerge out of the blue.

When the JT was created in the early 1980s, there were already networks of dakwah activists and organisations spanning across the major cities in the country, and especially among young academics. This network organised regular recruitment and training sessions for activists, and established centres in – or near – campus mosques in various cities such as Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Malang, Palembang, Lampung, Padang, and Makassar.³⁰

This network of activism dated back to 1968 when DDII organised training sessions called *Latihan Mujahid Dakwah* (LMD, or Dakwah Fighters Training) in Jakarta for young Muslim activists. Well-known figures involved in this training included former Masyumi politicians such as Natsir, Roem, and former Minister of Religious Affairs Mukti Ali, while the participants included Imaduddin Abdurrahim, Amien Rais, Kutowijoyo, Abu Ridho and Mashadi. The last two went on to become senior JT activists.³¹

From 1974 onward, alumni of the LMD started to spread to various campuses, with two of these locations rising to particular prominence. The first was the Salman³² mosque of the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) where Imaduddin Abdurrahim established a series of training sessions called *Latihan Hidup Islami* (LHI, or Islamic Life Training) to promote an Islamic way of life among students and the public. The second was the Shalahuddin mosque of Gadjahmada University in Yogyakarta, under the leadership of Amien Rais. Here they established a Salahuddin³³ community that organised lectures and discussions on Islam. From these two institutions younger generations of dakwah activists emerged who later became JT leaders, such as Hidayat Nur Wahid, Mutamimul Ula, Untung Wahono, Tifatul Sembiring, Tjahjadi Takariawan, amongst others.³⁴

2.3 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR POLITICAL COMPETITION

Another factor that contributed to the unique trajectory of JT's historical development is the political institutions that have regulated political

30 A.M. Luthfi, 'Gerakan Dakwah di Indonesia', in Jimly Ashidiqy et al., *Bang Imad: Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwahnya* (Solo: Gema Insani Press, 2002), 158–166.

31 Ibid.

32 The name refers to Salman Al-Farisi, the Prophet Muhammad's companion who is regarded as his best military strategist.

33 It refers to a Kurdish Muslim general during the Crusades, Salahuddin Al-Ayyubi (1138–1193).

34 Ibid.

competitions in Indonesia in the last five decades. These institutional settings are characterised by a complex triangular antagonism and an alliance between the Suharto regime, the military and Islam-based politics.

The first institutional setting faced by Islam-based political actors was the refusal by the newly founded New Order regime in the mid-1960s to revive the banned Masyumi party as well as the return to politics of ex-Masyumi leaders. In this setting the antagonism was between the Suharto regime, backed by the military, and Islam-based politics. The situation forced Islam-based politics to split their resources: on the one hand, they relied on younger politicians to get involved in political competitions through the newly created Parmusi party; on the other hand, the ex-Masyumi politicians created the non-political Indonesian Islamic Dakwah Council (DDII). It was the DDII that started a systematic synthesis of religious propagation and political activism, and spread it among secular university students.

The second institutional setting was Law No. 3/1975, which forced all Islam-based and Muslim-based political actors to fuse into a single party named the United Development Party (PPP), while the other parties were lumped into the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). In this setting, the antagonism was between the Suharto regime and Islam-based politics and other political parties, whereas the military suffered an internal fracture between Suharto aides and his critics and stayed aloof. Meanwhile, complexity increased in internal Islam-based politics as the fusion combined two bitter rivals, the traditionalist and modernist groups. This political ordeal in the mid-1970s brought university students into the limelight as they were involved in riots in Jakarta in January 1974. This urged the regime to react by issuing a law that prohibited students from engaging in political activities, known as the Normalization of Campuses' Life/Student Coordination Body (NKK/BKK), issued in May 1978. On the one hand, this succeeded in suppressing student political activism. Instead of discouraging, however, this policy further intensified student political radicalism. In fact, it was under such a political atmosphere that senior members of the JT and PKS matured during the late 1970s and early 1980s.³⁵

The third institutional setting was the regime's move to mobilise former Darul Islam rebels in a pretext to intercept the return of the

35 Adam Johnson and Jonathan Paris, eds., *The Politics of Post Suharto Indonesia* (New York: Council of Foreign Relations, 1999), 33–35. Damien Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 84–86.

communists.³⁶ The revived DI networks subsequently developed an ambiguous relationship towards the regime that revived them, and its 'evil twin', Islam-based politics. It was during this period that Hilmy Aminuddin, the son of a high ranking DI leader, Danu Mohammad Hassan, emerged among DI detainees. He served three years in military detention and was released without charge. This history created a dark side to the JT-PKS history, because many Islam-based activists accused Hilmy of being co-opted by the military or the intelligence service. JT-PKS rejected the allegation by pointing to the fact that Hilmy was released without charge.³⁷

The fourth institutional setting was the political laws known as the package of five laws, one of which – Law No. 8/1985 – stipulated the mandatory adoption of the state ideology, Pancasila, as the sole basis for all organisations. This setting drew a complex political constellation: on one side, there was the bitterest antagonism between the regime and Islam-based politics; on the other side, the regime was also in conflict with the joint forces of a group of retired military generals, ex-Masyumi politicians, and social activists, known as 'Petition 50'. On yet another side, the military suffered a further split between Suharto loyalists, under Vice President Lt. Gen. Sudharmono, and professional soldiers under Chief Commander Gen. Benny Moerdani resenting the growing Suharto family businesses.³⁸ The mandatory adoption of Pancasila as the sole ideology intensified radical tensions among Islam-based organisations. Indeed, many of them went clandestine – rejecting the law and preferring illegal status – including the Indonesian Islamic Students (PII)³⁹ and a faction of the Islamic Student Association (HMI), known as the 'MPO faction.'

36 The revival of the former DI combatants was conducted by Ali Moertopo, then Suharto's personal assistant, against the will of the commander of the State Intelligence Coordination Agency (Badan Koordinasi Intelejen Negara, BAKIN) Sutopo Yuwono. Moertopo insisted that he had personal approval from Suharto: see Heru Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro dan Peristiwa 15 Januari '74* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1998), 167. Asvi Warman Adam, *Menguak Misteri Sejarah* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 222–226.

37 Yon Machmudi, *Islamising Indonesia: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and The Prosperous Justice Party* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), 93–94.

38 Jun Honna, 'Military Ideology in Response to Democratic Pressure during the Late Suharto Era: Political and Institutional Contexts', *Indonesia* 67 (1999), 77–126.

39 The PII was founded in 1947, and was an influential network because many of its activists became notable figures in Indonesian social and political organisations, until it went clandestine in 1985 when it rejected the adoption of Pancasila as the sole ideology. It was among the few organisations membership of which included students of secondary and higher education institutions.

Many of the top activists of these clandestine Islam-based organizations subsequently joined the JT and later on the PKS, including Mutamimul Ula (former PII national chairman), Tamsil Linrung and Nur Sanita Nasution (HMI-MPO).

The fifth institutional setting was the sour relations between Suharto and the military, which pushed the former president to form an alliance with Islam-based politics. This setting created a new and complicated platform of political constellations, in which every camp suffered internal fractures: the regime was split between pro- and anti-democratisation; Islam-based politics was split in two directions, i.e. between pro- and anti-Suharto, and between pro- and anti-democracy; the military was also split in two directions, i.e. between the Islam-leaning camp (green soldiers) and the secular-leaning and Christian (the red soldiers) factions, and between those who were anti- and pro-democratisation. It was this complicated political constellation that gave PKS politicians first-hand experience that politics was never simple and black-and-white, as was understood by JT members. It was from this moment on that PKS politicians – and in fact many other Islam-based politicians – learned about strategic alliances based on similar political interests, set aside political ideology, and went on to form a faction known as the pragmatists.⁴⁰

3 Ideology, Organisation, Factionalism

This section explores the internal structures of the JT and PKS, as well as the relationships between the two, in terms of both organisation and leadership. In principle, these organisations constitute two sides of the same coin, following the MB's principle, 'the community is the party, and the party is the community'. However, since the two organisations operate in different arenas, the one political and the other social, and are governed under different regulations, they have inevitably developed different sets of rules and procedures that sometimes are not compatible with each other: the JT is a social religious organisation that operates under the principles of personal ethics and piety, while the PKS engages in political power struggles and mostly operates under the principles of programmatic achievements and accountability. Consequently, the two often clash with each other.

40 R. William Liddle, 'The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (1996), 613–634.

3.1 THE POLITICS OF GRADUAL ISLAMISATION

As an offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, the JT has adopted its ideology, political programmes and organisational structures. Ideologically, the JT follows an ideal of 'gradual Islamisation': moving in phases from Islamising individuals, to Islamising families, to Islamising society, and then Islamising the polity.⁴¹ For JT members, this evolutionary programme is not only ideal, but also logical in that it follows the logic of societal development: by Islamising individuals it would be easier to move towards injecting Islam into families as the smallest social units. And, once families live under Islamic teachings, then society will move to uphold Islamic values and cultures. Finally, if Islamic norms become public norms, then the emergence of an Islamic political system is just a matter of time.⁴²

This form of gradual Islamisation also represents the moderateness of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, which is a peaceful Islam-based movement, and cannot be linked to radical Islam-based movements and organisations. JT activists are keen to put forward this argument, as the Muslim Brotherhood is continuously being labelled and interpreted, by foreign as well as domestic writers, as a radical and revolutionary movement, and the implicit implication being that the JT and PKS, as its derivatives, are likely to follow the same path. Furthermore, in the context of the Indonesian Islam-based movement, the gradual Islamisation programme of the Muslim Brotherhood exemplifies a breakthrough that transcends the antagonism as well as the failures of radical movements such as Laskar Jihad or the FPI and accommodative movements such as Muhammadiyah and the NU. This is a new trend among Indonesian Muslims that has given rise to a new type of *santri*.⁴³ Abdi Sumaithi – a.k.a. Abu Ridho – explained that such gradual steps of preaching Islam was the method implemented by the Prophet Muhammad. He started by persuading individuals to follow Islam, and then internalise Islamic

41 The original concept of gradual reforms (*islah*) from Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna runs as follows: reforming individuals (*islah al-nafs*), reforming Muslim families (*islah al-bait al-Muslim*), reforming society (*islah al-mujtama'*), national independence (*tahrir al-wathan*), reforming the government (*islah al-hukumah*), and international prominence and international expansions. See Fathi Yakan, *Revolusi Hassan Al-Banna: Dari Sayyid Qutub hingga Rasyid Al-Ganusy*, trans. Fauzun Jamal and Alimin (Bandung: Harakah, 2002), 12–13.

42 Interview with Khalid Machmud, 19 April 2007.

43 Interview with Yon Machmudi, a PKS founder and lecturer at the University of Indonesia.

values and behaviours through Muslim families, which would then externalise into Islamising social structures and customs. After Islam became the framework of society the Prophet would establish a political system, a state, followed by the international expansion of Islam to other countries.⁴⁴

Another typical ideological trait of the Muslim Brotherhood which the JT has adopted is concern and enthusiasm for international conflicts involving Muslims, especially Palestine-related issues. This internationalism serves several functions for JT members. Firstly, it provides an ideological foundation for the JT, as part of the Muslim Brotherhood network, to struggle for Islam and Muslims and to fight against the enemies of Islam – especially the Jews. For them, the Jewish people always pose trouble for Muslims, and they – out of fear and hatred towards Islamic prominence – have been involved in the downfall of all major Islamic empires, from the conquering of the Umayyad dynasty by the Mongols to the abolition of the Ottoman Empire by Atatürk.⁴⁵ Secondly, international issues are very useful for attracting new recruits, especially among students. Thirdly, they are also a strong issue for attracting public attention and sympathies.

From this gradual programme, the JT also adopts evolutionary political strategies, known as the ‘stages of dakwah’: the first stage is ‘foundation’ (*tanzim*) in which JT activists start to explore Islamic political programmes and research the social and political environments in which they operate. The second is socialisation (*sha’bi*) in which they start to socialise their political programmes and recruit and train members. The third is institutionalisation of their resources (*mu’assasi*), during which they encourage JT members to pursue careers in diverse professional occupations (public, private and voluntary), utilising networks of alumni from major universities, and achieving positions in their respective vocations in order to extract resources to support JT programmes. The last is participation in power struggles through political competitions (*daulah*), during which they become involved in political competitions, assume public office and implement policies.⁴⁶

JT activists believe that the first and second stages were passed through during the 1980s, when the organisations carried out underground activities formulating strategies, recruiting and training members and

44 Interview with Abu Ridho, Jakarta.

45 Interview with Yusuf Supendi, Jakarta.

46 Yon Machmudi, ‘Islamizing Indonesia’ (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), 177–186. Anis Matta, *Menikmati Demokrasi: Strategi Dakwah Menikmati Kemenangan* (Jakarta: Pustaka Saksi, 2002), 9–11.

activists. The third stage came during the 1990s, and when the political environment became more conducive they started to go public, ran various institutions, while their members advanced their careers in various professional jobs. Finally, the fourth stage was entered from 1998 when they established a political party, participated in elections, held government office and implemented public policies.⁴⁷

3.2 KEY IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES

3.2.1 *Islamic State*

The PKS, following the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, does not have a specific blueprint concept of what kind of state or political system there should be. This is in contrast to Hizbut Tahrir, which seeks to revive a universal Islamic caliphate, or Jemaah Islamiyah under Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, that seeks to create a Southeast Asian alliance of Islamic governments.⁴⁸ In fact, just like those radical movements, the PKS believes that Islam is a comprehensive system of life that should be enacted in the individual, societal and political spheres. However, for the PKS, what makes those spheres Islamic are not the structures, but rather the behaviours of individuals within them. An Islamic society is a society where its people behave according to Islamic teachings, while the structure of the society can be modern, traditional or tribal. An Islamic society is where Muslims enact Islamic rituals regularly, Islamic values – dress codes, cuisines – become norms in public life, and crimes and immorality are minimised or altogether absent.

Likewise, an Islamic political system is not confined to a universal caliphate, but can be a kingdom or a republic, as long as it follows Islamic principles. For the PKS, people live in a society and the state is a means to improve that society. Thus, the state serves as a supporting factor to create an Islamic society – an *ummah*. It is a structure that provides rules and regulations by which people should live, and it has the authority to enforce them, and to punish transgressions. An Islamic state is a political system that is capable of enacting Islamic principles in society.⁴⁹ The PKS also believes that Indonesia is a fundamentally Islamic state because it accommodates religion as part of state and government affairs. Pancasila, as Indonesian state ideology, was formulated by Muslim politicians, and

47 M. Aay Furqon, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Ideologi dan Praksis Politik Kaum Muda Muslim Indonesia* (Bandung: Teraju, 2004), 124.

48 Sidney Jones, 'Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The case of the "Ngruki Network" in Indonesia', *ICG Indonesia Briefing*, 8 August 2002, no. 14, 693–617.

49 Interview with Untung Wahono, Jakarta.

it represents the spirit of Islamic teachings in political life. The problem for the PKS is that Indonesian administrations have not implemented Pancasila comprehensively, because the rulers do not have a commitment to Islamic principles. Only if political leaders and government officials, who are mostly Muslims, have a personal commitment to Islamic values, can Pancasila be applied comprehensively.

The PKS accepts a democratic system on two grounds: firstly, democracy is a flexible system; it can be socialist or capitalist, a monarchy or republic, secular or religious. Political consultation as the basic principle of democracy is perfectly in line with Islamic teachings. Secondly, democracy is a political reality in Indonesia – and internationally – and therefore it should be taken as a starting point for building an Islamic political system. Politics is a means to propagate religion (*dakwah*), and it – as the term *Tarbiyah* implies – aims at changing people and improving their conditions. Thus, *dakwah* activities, including those in politics, should start from comprehension and acceptance of reality, and not a denial of it.⁵⁰

3.2.2 *Religious Pluralism*

For the JT-PKS, Islam is the ultimate and universal truth that must be propagated to all humankind wherever and whoever they are. It is mandatory for all Muslims to preach their religion according to their capacity and opportunity. However, Islamic propagation should focus on achieving benefits and avoid loss and risks. In a societal and political context, this means that *dakwah* activities should be carried out in ways that avoid conflicts and instabilities – which will not only harm society, but also give a negative image of Islam and Muslims. Indonesia is a democratic and religious country, in which the constitution sanctions freedom of religion. This means that Indonesian people are free to live according to their faith. Religious pluralism does not entail an acknowledgement that all religions are the same, but refers to a condition in which people can profess and express their religious beliefs. Therefore, for the PKS it is not religious pluralism, but rather a pluralism of religions, meaning that Indonesians live in a country that recognises different religions. This does not abolish the obligation for all Muslims to propagate Islam. Islam must be propagated, but in a peaceful way.

There are, in fact, two different pluralisms, external and internal. External pluralism means coexistence and tolerance towards other religions, while internal pluralism is understanding and cooperation with other Muslims from different traditions. With regard to external

50 Interview with Abu Ridho, Jakarta.

pluralism, the PKS shows a tolerant attitude towards other religions, while in relation to internal pluralism it also shows tolerance towards other Muslim groups as long as there is no question of doctrinal heresy or political interests. There are two cases worth special attention. Firstly, the Ahmadiyah controversy that sparked deadly violence against the members of a minority group. In this case, PKS politicians urged the government authorities to act firmly to prevent any violent acts, yet at the same time they also urged the government to disqualify Ahmadiyah as an Islamic group. A study by Bastiaan Scherpen in this volume maps the political attitudes of Indonesian Islamic social and political organisations on the issue of Ahmadiyah, and the PKS shows a harsh and conservative attitude. The PKS also reportedly expelled a member who converted to Shi'ism and took care of his wife who decided to divorce him following his decision.⁵¹ Secondly, the JT-PKS also shows a changing attitude towards other Islamic organisations. In the past, it has aggressively recruited and mobilised members of other Islamic organisations, as well as infiltrated and taken over religious forums and mosques belonging to other organisations. Research by Syaifuddin Zuhri reveals a sensitive example of how the party took over Muhammadiyah's mosque in Yogyakarta, taking advantage of an earthquake disaster.⁵² However, after major organisations such as the Muhammadiyah and NU reacted officially by issuing statements and policies criticising the PKS, the party responded by issuing clarifications and instructions to its members to maintain harmony and brotherhood with other Islamic organisations.⁵³

3.2.3 *Gender Equality*

Gender equality is an extremely sensitive issue in the JT-PKS, and they treat it cautiously. Basically, the PKS upholds a rather misogynist idea of gender, which believes that men are superior to women. The party's Sharia Council issued a statement on the participation of women in politics, specifying that men and women have a different set of obligations and rights, and women's participation in political life is allowed as long as it is deemed appropriate. Interestingly, the statement specifically listed inappropriate conduct that women in politics should avoid, such as dressing too smartly, wearing too much perfume and speaking in a

51 Arief Munandar, 'Antara Jamaah dan Partai Politik', 217.

52 See Syaifuddin Zuhri's contribution to this volume.

53 Triono Wahyu Sudibyo, 'Kampanye di Semarang, Hidayat Klarifikasi PKS Anti Maulid', 28 March 2009, <http://news.detik.com/read/2009/03/28/175913/1106503/700/kampanye-di-semarang-hidayat-klarifikasi-pks-anti-maulid?nd992203605>.

seductive voice – as if the Sharia Council was so worried that PKS female politicians were unable to understand what was inappropriate conduct by using their common sense.⁵⁴ The misogynist understanding of gender relations in the PKS is also obvious from the fact that many PKS leaders from different factions – from radical and conservative to pragmatic and liberal – practise polygamy.

There are female PKS politicians who have earned a good reputation in politics, such as Nur Sanita Nasution, the late Yoyoh Yusroh, and Ledia Hanifa. They support the interpretation that there are different obligations and rights between men and women, but that the two sexes are equal, i.e. that men and women have equal status before God, state and society. Yet, since they have different biological and psychological natures, they have different roles, both in private and in public life.⁵⁵ A number of women have tried to initiate a more progressive understanding, but the unfortunate consequence was that they were expelled from the party structure for their efforts.⁵⁶

The PKS provides relatively open opportunities for women, and women politicians and activists participate in every section of the party structure. Women were among the original founders of the party (five out of 50), and the party allocates seats for women in every organisational structure. In the powerful Deliberation Assembly, ten out of 100 members are women; in the Party Advisory Board three members are women; there are even two women members of the Sharia Council – something very unusual for Islamic organisations. In addition, the PKS also has a special department for women, which deals specifically with women's issues.⁵⁷

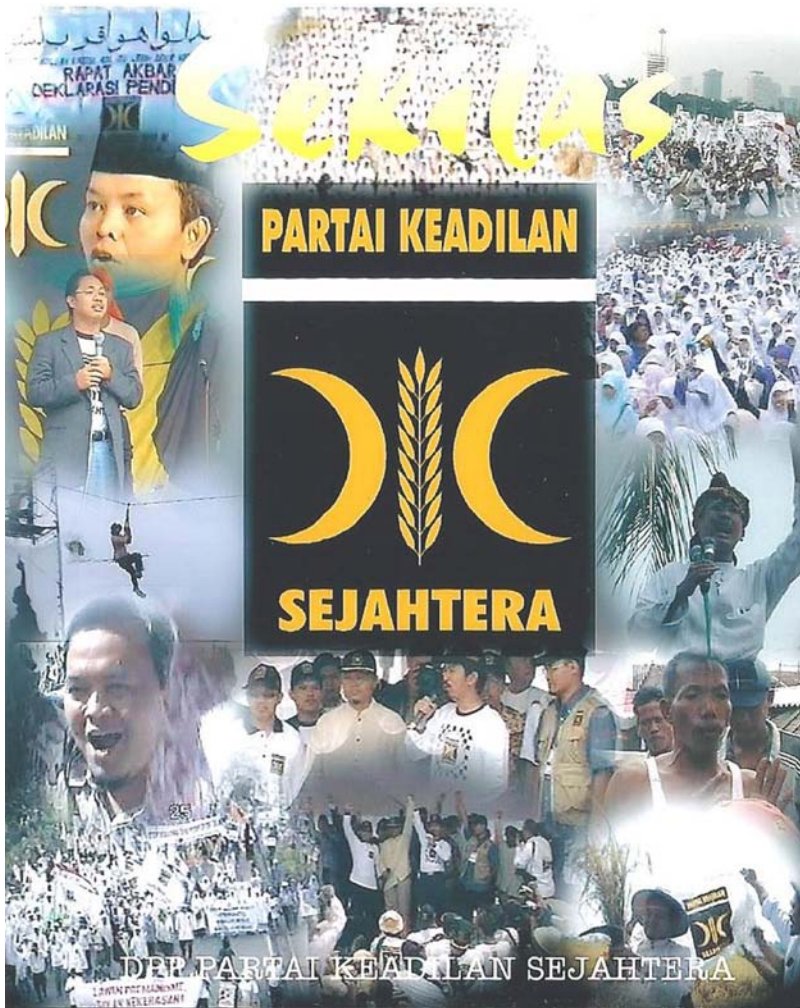
The PKS also put forward a significant number of female candidates in the parliamentary elections. During the 2004 elections it had 446 female candidates for national, provincial and district/mayoral legislatures and all of them passed the qualification requirements, although there is no further information on how many of them were actually elected as members of Parliament. In comparison, the female candidates of other Muslim parties were as follows: PPP – 497 candidates; PKB – 551 candidates; PAN – 554 candidates, and PBB – 372 candidates. With regard to the recommended 30 per cent quota for female candidates the PKS did even better, and fulfilled the quota in 65 electoral regions (*Daerah Pemilihan*). This was the highest number compared to other parties: the PAN and PKB managed to achieve this in 45 regions, the PBB in 42 regions

54 Permata, 'Islamist Party and Democratic Participation'.

55 Interview with Nur Sanita, Jakarta.

56 Interview with Arief Munandar.

57 Interview with PKS member of Parliament Yoyoh Yusroh, 21 June 2007.



Cover of VCD used for campaigning by the PKS in the run up to the 2004 general elections

and the PPP in only 30 electoral regions.⁵⁸ In the national legislatures, the PKS had one female out of seven MPs (14 per cent) during the 1999–2004 period. In the period of 2004–2009 the PKS had more female Members of Parliament, but their percentage was lower, i.e. three out of 45 (6 per cent).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ See *Republika*, 29 January 2004.

⁵⁹ Interview with PKS member of Parliament Yoyoh Yusroh, 21 June 2007.

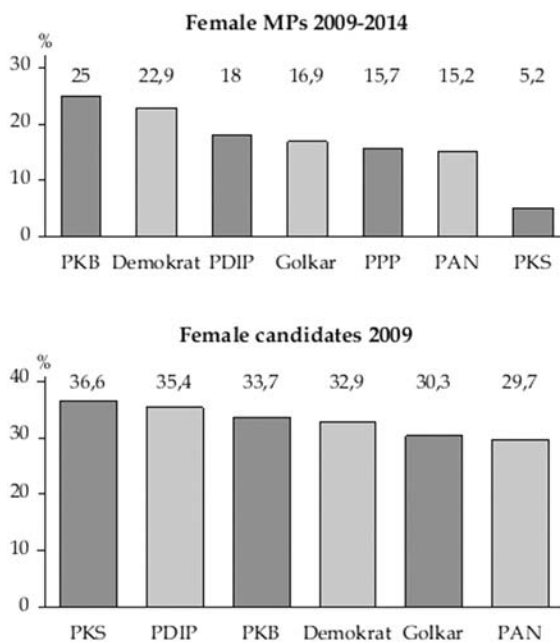


FIGURE 2 *Female MPs (2009–2014) and candidates (2009) in the Indonesian Parliament*

In the general election of 2009, the PKS had the highest number of female candidates for national legislators among major parties – 212 out of 579 or 36.1 per cent. However, when it came to the number of candidates who were elected in the 2009–2014 Parliament, the party experienced the lowest number – three out of 57 or only 5.2 per cent. This discloses the reality of the situation of women politicians in the party who suffer from a paradox: on the one hand, at a personal level, female leaders and activists of the PKS have a high level of education and skills and have played substantial roles in contributing to the party's achievements. On the other hand, at an institutional level, they have limited opportunities both to advance their careers and to be acknowledged for their contributions.⁶⁰

3.3 ASYMMETRICAL ORGANISATIONS

Until 1998, the JT was organised as a secretive movement, imitating the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, with a supreme leader at the top holding religious as well as organisational authority. He was assisted by deputies with different tasks. The JT supreme leader came under the auspices of

60 Permata, "The Prosperous Justice Party," 36–37.

and was in consultation with the supreme leader of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, especially in matters regarding organisational procedures and political strategies. However, he was not under the direction of the foreign authority. There are coordinative forums for regional as well as international Muslim Brotherhood networks. The networks also use the hajj pilgrimage to coordinate with each other and consult with the Egyptian headquarters.⁶¹

Under this centralistic leadership, the JT organises recruitments and indoctrination training through cell-like networks of activists, known as *usroh* groups, which consist of five to 12 participants supervised by a mentor. In many cases, members of a cell do not reveal to members of other cells who their mentor is. On their part, the mentors form further cells, etc. There are regular activities conducted by the groups; the first is a weekly meeting (*liqo*), in which members of cells meet with their mentor to learn and discuss religious subjects, mostly theology and prophetic history. The second is a monthly gathering (*mabit*) in which cell members spend a night in a mosque, to offer night prayers and hold in-depth discussions on certain topics with their mentors. The third is a gathering (*daurah*) in which larger numbers of participants gather and invite potential recruits, usually under cover of student events in schools and campuses. The fourth is travelling (*rihlah*) in which a large number of JT activists, accompanied by their families, travel to tourism sites to socialise with each other in a more informal way. The fifth is outbound (*mukhayam*), during which a group of JT members spends several days out of town for physical exercise and to learn survival skills.⁶²

Among JT members there are formal as well as informal structures. Formal structures regulate how members interact with each other, based on seniority in joining the organisation as well as their position in the organisation. As the organisation is composed of ramified *usroh* cells, networks of mentors and students, on paper each member will have certain relations with other members in terms of seniority. Informal structures, meanwhile, deal with non-structural factors that affect the way members interact or behave towards certain members. Commonly, they differentiate between people who are trained in Islamic studies and those who have a secular educational background. Among those who hold degrees in Islamic studies, the highest and most respected are those scholars of Islamic law (Sharia), followed by theological studies (*usul al-din*), and other Islamic studies (education, history, Arabic etc). Meanwhile, there are also degrees of seniority among those with secular

61 Interview with Yusuf Supendi, Jakarta.

62 Permata, 'Islamist Party and Democratic Participation', 99.

education. Hard science scholars are highest in status, followed by scholars with a background in social and cultural sciences.⁶³

Since 1998, when the JT established a political party, the organisational structures of the JT have blended with those of the PKS. During 1998–2003, the highest decision-making body was the National Assembly, which holds the authority to draft and amend statutes, to elect the chairman of the Shura Assembly, and to select chairmen and functionaries for the Advisory Council, the Shariah Council, and the party's central leadership. The Shura (or Deliberation) Assembly had 99 members, 65 of whom were elected proportionally from 33 provinces based on the approximate numbers of JT members of each province, plus as two special members the current and former Assembly chairmen (Hilmy Aminuddin and Salim Segaf Al-Jufri), and 32 additional members who were selected by the Assembly based on professional expertise.

In 2003, however, under the banner of the PKS, the highest decision-making body moved to the Shura Assembly, thus giving the supreme leader – as the chairman – near-absolute authority. Although the National Assembly still holds the right to draft and amend statutes, and to elect the chairman and members of the Shura Assembly, it is in the hands of the Shura Assembly to decide where, when and how the National Assembly should be held. This change represents what political scientists call 'oligarchy'; that is, the shifting of the highest authority from the hands of the members into the hands of the elite. The reason commonly put forward by JT and PKS leaders for this shift is that it simplifies the decision-making process.⁶⁴

The new structures also create complexities as they blend JT organisational rules, which follow Islamic principles, and PKS organisational rules, which follow the national party system and the logic of political competition. As a consequence, what commonly happens is that most decisions are taken with political considerations but stated, communicated and explained using religious terminology. Party leaders need to communicate with their members using religious language, while at the same time they have to make public statements using rational language. It also explains the party's ambiguous behaviour and its sometimes double standards. During national and especially regional elections, the PKS always issues official statements about why it nominates certain candidates using Islamic criteria, while there are many media reports purporting to show how those decisions are made based purely on political deals.⁶⁵

63 Interview with Arief Munandar, Jakarta.

64 Permata, 'Islamist Party and Democratic Participation', 187.

65 *Tempo*, 26 August 2012.

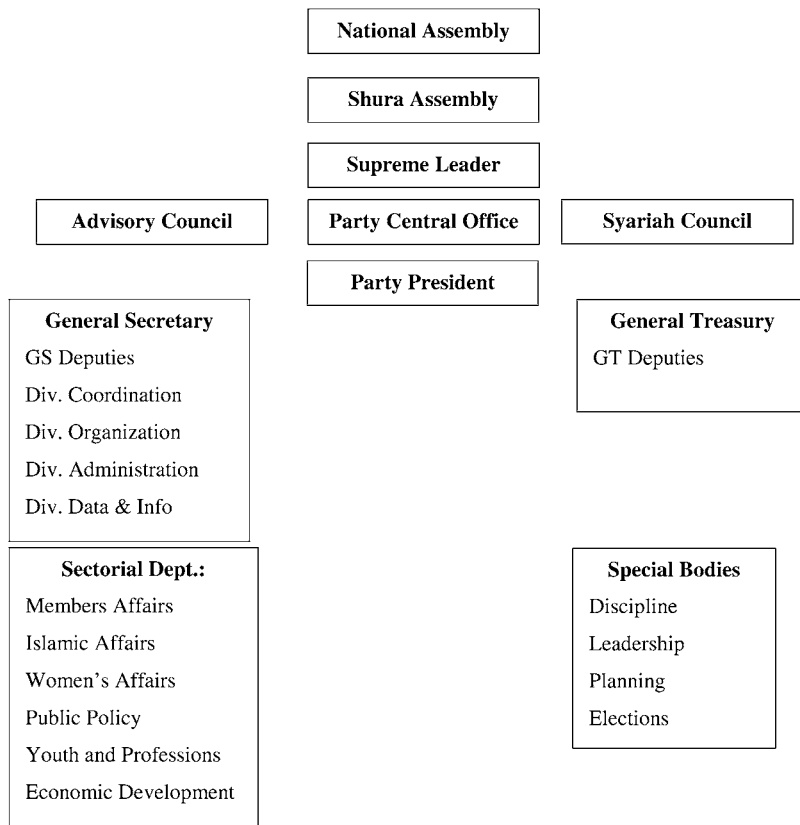


FIGURE 3 *Organisational structure of the PKS*

The powerful position of the supreme leader generates its own problems, as it creates an alternative authority and loyalty for party leaders and members. The authority enables him to bypass organisational procedures that split the party machinery between loyalty to the organisation and to the supreme leader. The most infamous case is the dominant position enjoyed by the party's general-secretary, Anis Matta, who not only held the position for three terms because of his closeness to the supreme leader, but even dared to take on more terms as party president. For example, he engineered the resignation of the party president, Hidayat Nur Wahid (PKS president 2003–2005), in 2005, under the auspices of the Shura Assembly.⁶⁶ He also defied Tifatul Sembiring (PKS president 2003–2005), ahead in the 2009 election, when he unilaterally established an ad hoc 'National Election Winning Team' headed by himself while

⁶⁶ Interview with Yusuf Supendi, Jakarta.

the party president took his seat only as a regular member – though this team did not perform well, as many of its members sided with Sembiring.⁶⁷

It is this unsolved structural asymmetry that eventually created irreparable fractures within the JT and PKS. To keep the organisation running well, the JT leadership has to follow two incompatible rules of the game: the one subjective and symbolic, the other objective and tangible. This has created double standards for the party: on the one hand, it takes decisions based on rational political calculations of cost-benefit risks, while at the same time it maintains the use of religious language – commonly backed up by quotations from the Qur'an and Prophetic Traditions – to communicate them, especially to their members.

Three cases will suffice to show how this dilemma manifests itself. The first was the 2004 presidential election, when the party was split between supporters of Amien Rais, a democratic leading figure with high Islamic credentials but a poor chance of winning, and supporters of the former army commander Wiranto, a secular pro-Suharto candidate with a greater chance of success. What actually occurred was rivalry between Hilmy Aminuddin (the supreme leader), who had a political deal with Wiranto, and Hidayat Nur Wahid (the party president), who was committed to supporting Amien Rais. Yet both of them tailored religious arguments to support their choices. The second example was the 2008 PKS national congress, held in Bali, at which it was proposed that the party should drop its exclusively Islamist ideology and declare itself an 'open party'. The supreme leader and party general secretary endorsed this idea, while the party president (Tifatul Sembiring) rejected it. The arguments were again tailored to religious debates. Yet, in fact, the leadership disagreed about the best strategy for the 2009 elections: whether to stay in a narrow niche of conservative Muslim voters or to move into the wider share of plural voters. The third case involved a fatwa issued by the PKS Shariah Council of Solo, Central Java, in 2010, on the legality of electing a Christian as a political leader, in order to explain a political deal made between the party and the PDI-P who nominated a Catholic, F.X. Rudyatmoko.⁶⁸

67 Arief Munandar, 'Antara Jamaah dan Partai Politik', 93–94.

68 See Solo PKS Sharia Council, 'Pengangkatan Non Muslim Dalam Pemerintahan: Sebuah Pandangan Dan Analisa Syar' (On Electing Non-Muslim Government Leader: An Islamic Interpretation), January 2010.

3.4 FRICTIONS AND FACTIONS

After the 2004 election, when the party tripled its votes and obtained almost seven times the number of seats it had held in Parliament, and held three ministerial offices, the central leadership was confronted with the impossible task of maintaining polarising trends between steadily idealistic JT activists and increasingly pragmatic PKS leaders. JT activists – most of whom were not involved in party structures – started to demand that the JT's top leaders, especially the supreme leader, return to the basic JT commitment as a dakwah movement and organisation, and thus soften its political agenda. The tension was high when in March 2009 a group of senior JT activists – including the PKS's 1999 presidential candidate Didin Hafiduddin – handed a petition to the supreme leader, Hilmy Aminuddin, demanding that he should be held accountable in terms of the ideological, organisational as well as financial management of the PKS. They accused Hilmy of utilising the JT for the PKS's political agendas.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the political pressures on the PKS in the national arena forced the party leadership to rely more and more on effective decision-making mechanisms by recruiting practically minded politicians – sometimes from outside the JT. This new PKS leadership, in return, demanded that the supreme leader focus on allocating JT resources to support the party's capacity to compete in an unstable political environment. Having succeeded in winning the supreme leader's influence, they started to excommunicate and fire critical JT activists – including former party vice president Syamsul Balda and party founder Yusuf Supendi.

The polarisation between the JT and PKS continues, and there is even polarisation within the two. Inside the PKS, for example, there are divisions between 'office oriented' politicians (who focus on maintaining party positions in political competitions) and 'policy oriented' politicians (who focus on promoting Islamic policies). Furthermore, among office pursuers there are pragmatists, who use politics to advance personal and party interests – including collaborations with the Suharto family, military networks and businessmen (Anis Matta, Fahri Hamzah, Zulkieflimansyah); and reformists, who put the party's interests in line with democratic reforms (Hidayat Nur Wahid, Tifatul Sembiring, Sohibil Iman). Among policy pursuers, there are moderates who do not get involved in pragmatic politics but tolerate it (Mutamimul Ula, Untung Wahono); and radicals who do not tolerate any pragmatic political behaviour (Abu Ridho, Yusuf Supendi).

69 Interview with Didin Hafiduddin, Bogor.

Inside the JT, among those who are not involved in party structures, there are divisions between loyalists who unwaveringly support decisions by the party leadership, and critical activists who criticise what they perceive as defiant behaviour and decisions by party elites. Among the loyalists, there are activists who are loyal to certain party leaders but critical towards others (mostly younger activists, still unstable in their financial life, who enjoy cliental relationships with certain party leaders), and those who are loyal to the party and eager to defend the PKS from outside critics. Meanwhile, among critics there are activists who remain in the JT (Didin Hafiduddin, Daud Rasyid Sitorus) and those who have left the organisation and launch their criticism from outside (Tizar Zein, Ihsan Tanjung, Mashadi).

There are three different answers commonly put forward by the PKS with regard to the frictions inside the JT and PKS: the first is a cliché, that friction and factionalism are common phenomena in any organisation, especially among political parties. Proponents of this argument typically add that the PKS is the most solid of all parties in Indonesia, the only party that does not suffer from an organisational split. The second answer was put forward by Yusuf Supendi, who argues that the frictions are caused by the asymmetrical structures of the JT and PKS, and deems party structures as being foreign to Muslim Brotherhood tradition. In order to resolve the frictions, he proposes that the supreme leader take the position of party president, so that there will be a single authority and single line of command.⁷⁰ The third answer was provided by Abu Ridho, who sees the frictions as a result of blending two incompatible structures into a single organisation: the JT's social structures and the PKS's political structures. To overcome the factionalism he suggests separating into two different organisations: the JT, with a different leadership, should follow the logic of a social organisation; and the PKS, with another leadership, should follow the logic of political competitions.⁷¹

4 Democratic Participation

This section discusses the PKS's experience in terms of democratic political participation, i.e. how the party has been caught between maximising political interests and promoting Islamic values. It explores PKS behaviour in three political arenas: political mobilisation, coalition and government formation, and policy formulation and implementation.

⁷⁰ Interview with Yusuf Supendi, Jakarta.

⁷¹ Interview with Abu Ridho, Jakarta.

In those three arenas, the party experienced a dramatic change from normative perceptions and behaviours, perceiving politics as an integral part of dakwah activities and therefore needing to be conducted in line with Islamic norms, into pragmatic understandings and dealings, by taking politics as an instrument for the objectives of dakwah that need to be handled in their own way. At the same time, the change marked the polarisation between increasingly pragmatic PKS politicians and normative JT activists, which turned into tensions and frictions.

In terms of political mobilisation, the PKS has experienced a trajectory from natural understanding of political competition, from perceiving elections as a formal test and a trial of the political party's reputation in society, into a rational understanding of it as contestations that involve strategies to engineer information and reputations, and into a transactional understanding in which it realised that political competition through elections is not only about winning or losing, but rather how to play what it has. Similarly, in the arena of coalition and government formation, initially it perceived a coalition exclusively in terms of ideological cooperation and rejected the notion of collaborating with a secular party. Subsequently, it started to realise that a coalition with a secular party might be seen as a pragmatic short-term strategy in order to achieve normative long-term objectives. Finally, in the area of policy formulation and implementation the party seems to have been trapped between formulating symbolic-normative and rent-seeking policies.

4.1 POLITICAL MOBILISATION

The PKS has experienced a significant change in political mobilisation, in terms of how it understands the notion of mobilisation as well as the way it carries it out. Firstly, during the early years of its history, JT and PKS leaders perceived political mobilisation as a natural social process, in which reputation and popularity are by-products of society's appreciations of their good and beneficial deeds. Secondly, after they followed through various events of political mobilisation – from rallies on the streets, media warfare to influence public opinion, to elections campaigns – they started to realise that politics is not a natural social process, but rather a series of engineered events through the manipulation of information. Thus, they started not only to amplify their profiles and reputations, but also to fabricate them, sometimes almost out of nothing.⁷² Thirdly, when

72 PKS strategies for socialisation included taking advantage of natural disaster relief activities that were often required, by putting its name on aid packages which were sent by other people or organisations to disaster victims; escorting trucks

they learnt more about the nature of democratic competition, especially the idea of plurality – that to win a competition does not only mean to become a majority, but to measure any achievement towards a certain benchmark – they started to utilise political mobilisation as a means of political transaction.

This change, however, did not take place for the PKS network as a whole, but rather more among its political elites. Not all PKS members agreed with this interpretation of politics, and many of them firmly believe that politics is just a means for dakwah, and political achievements are merely by-products of dakwah achievements. Thus, the change marks polarisations of perceptions and behaviours among JT-PKS members, between politically oriented and dakwah oriented factions.

The first event at which the JT was involved in a serious political mobilisation was the 1999 election. At this time – perhaps influenced by the idea of gradual Islamisation – they understood politics as a natural social process, in which elections are merely an arena for political parties to test their popularity and reputation in society. Therefore, they did not prepare a systematic campaign ahead of the elections, but rather intensified their regular activities: coordination meetings, religious sermons, as well as personal rituals such as night prayers. A statement (*Bayan*) issued by the party's central board ten months ahead of the election day informs us about what it deemed important. Firstly, JT members should dedicate their activities to Allah, not to the party. Secondly, the party's ultimate mission is to enact God's laws on earth, political activities through the party are merely a means to an end. Thirdly, maintaining harmony and preventing prejudices, especially with other Muslims, are more important than political achievements. Fourthly, elections are not a trial for the party but an arena for the JT to exercise its ability in implementing religious and political skills. Fifthly, minimising political and social costs is more important than achievements.⁷³

Things were different during the 2004 election, however. After the Justice Party failed to pass the 2.5 per cent electoral threshold, the JT founded the Prosperous Justice Party with a new understanding about politics and political mobilisations. There were at least three changes: firstly, in terms of organisation, they established a more systematic organisational structure. During the previous period, the party had not established an institutionalised organisational structure – as it had barely

carrying aid, but were not owned by the PKS; or using vehicles with PKS flags. These activities helped to fabricate a public image of a party that cares for the suffering of the people.

73 Justice Party Central Board Official Release, 22 August 1998.

one year from inception to election – and relied more on its internal networks of *usroh* cells. In addition, the electoral law had not required any organisational benchmark. For the 2004 election, the electoral Law No. 8/2000 required that in order to be eligible to participate in the elections a political party needed to establish organisational branches in all of the provinces and half the total number of districts in those provinces.

Secondly, in terms of human resources, it started to sort and select party leaders and functionaries not only based on their seniority in the JT network, but rather on individual character and skills suitable to the organisation's requirements. The PKS also systematically trained and upgraded the various skills and capabilities of party leaders and functionaries by organising courses, workshops and training on various subjects, such as delivering public speeches, writing in public media, talking in front of TV cameras, lobbying, fundraising, even in carrying out psychological warfare through black campaigns, such as how to exploit the weaknesses and scandals of other parties in order to demoralise its political competitors and to boost the confidence of its supporters.

Thirdly, in terms of political strategy, in which they perceived politics no longer as a natural social process, but rather a competition needing to be pursued in its own way. They raised funds intensively, both from JT members and external donors, domestic and foreign. They started to perceive politics merely as a means to an end, and strategic collaborations with anyone were viewed as tolerable or even necessary, as long as the partners were committed to the long-term goals of the party's mission.⁷⁴ They publicised their opinions and activities by organising rallies and protests against various domestic and international issues. PKS leaders became aware of and skilful in using public media by inviting reporters to their activities.⁷⁵

At this point the disagreements started to emerge among JT and PKS members respectively. Controversy often centres around the issue of fundraising: fundraising, in which PKS functionaries actively mobilise financial support from external donors, including government institutions, the network close to the Suharto family and business companies owned by non-Muslims. Critics and protests started to emerge among JT activists who saw these activities as defiant both morally and politically. Morally, the critics argued that politics should be taken as an integral

74 Interview with Hidayat Nur Wahid, Jakarta. He also mentioned that years ahead of the election PKS members persuaded JT members to save white shirts and headscarves to be printed with the party logo for election campaigns.

75 Permata, 'Islamist Party and Democratic Participation', 216.

part of dakwah activities, and therefore should be funded exclusively by morally accountable funds, while politically they accused PKS politicians who received funds from non-Muslims of collaborating with enemies and thus betraying their own mission. Both proponents and opponents supported their opinion with religious arguments backed with quotations from religious books and authorities.⁷⁶

Later on the PKS exhibited another trend of behaviour in political mobilisation, namely transacting votes with other political resources. Following the rules of the game in a multi-party democratic system, PKS politicians quickly learnt that the options available for election participants are not only either to win or lose, but rather to win a bigger or smaller prize according to whatever they got. In democratic politics, for a political party votes are like money for business companies and transferable into other resources. Once PKS politicians got this idea, they started to exchange their votes for other resources, offices or money. This is known as 'political dowry' (*mahar*). They play the game effectively, and most of the time smoothly, especially during gubernatorial and district/mayoral elections, because they have loyal voters. In the 2007 Jakarta gubernatorial election, the PKS received 30 billion rupiah (US\$3 million) for nominating Let. Gen. (ret) Adang Darajatun, former vice-commander of the Indonesian police.⁷⁷ While in the last 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election, after its candidates lost in the first round, the PKS asked for 100 billion rupiah (US\$100 million) from the incumbent Fauzi Bowo in return for its 500,000 votes; but the latter bargained for 20 billion rupiah (US\$20 million), and a deal was reached.⁷⁸

These political actions added more fuel to the existing resistance by JT conservative activists, since such political transactions enabled certain

76 A telling example is the case of a PKS politician, a holder of a doctoral degree in Islamic studies from Saudi Arabia. In the 2004 election he lost in his home district, a traditional Muslim stronghold in Banten province, to a Roman Catholic North Sumatran politician from the secular party PDI-P. Perplexed by the defeat – he believed he had had good contact and coordination with his supporters – he conducted an inquiry into why he had lost. He found that it was because his rival had given 'direct aid' (a euphemism for buying votes) a few days ahead of the polling day. In the 2009 election, unwilling to repeat the same mistake, he provided his voters with direct aid and won a seat in Parliament. The politician opined that money politics is more tolerable than letting a Roman Catholic politician from a secular party represent his Muslim community. Interview with a former student who became an expert member of staff of one of the parliamentary committees.

77 Interview with Yusuf Supendi, Jakarta.

78 *Tempo*, 26 August 2012.

politicians to enjoy lavish lifestyles. The tensions were so high that a few critical JT activists were actually excommunicated or expelled from the party for criticising this behaviour. Indeed, some even left the JT and organised their own groups criticising the PKS and JT leadership for misleading the organisation and betraying the Muslim Brotherhood's political mission.⁷⁹ However, some of the more skilful politicians were able to secure support both from high ranking party officials, by providing a significant cash supply badly needed by the party in the increasingly capital intensive political competition, as well as from younger JT activists, by opening channels for funds, networks and careers.⁸⁰

4.2 COALITIONS AND GOVERNMENT FORMATION

Similar to what happened in terms of political mobilisation, the PKS also experienced changing perceptions and behaviour with regard to political coalitions in government formation. Initially, during the early years of its history, the PKS's leaders understood the government as an institutional mechanism for formulating and implementing policies, and assumed that political parties would pursue policies following their particular ideology and programmes. Later on, they started to learn that coalitions, just like gathering votes, are instrumental to political objectives and thus should be pursued in their own right. Again, this change also marked the emergence of internal divisions between activists who perceived political activities as an integral part of dakwah activities and thus should be pursued in line with Islamic principles, and those who perceived politics as instrumental to dakwah objectives and thus argued that the end justifies the means.

The first joint venture the party participated in was the formation of the Communication Forum of Islamic Parties (FSPPPI, Forum Silaturahmi Partai-Partai Islam) in 1998. It demanded that the government should repeal Laws No. 3/1985 and No. 8/1985 that required organisations to adopt Pancasila as their sole foundation and it was successful in this. Secondly, fully recognising their minimal calibre, eight of the Forums' members – ten minus the PPP and PBB – agreed to pool their remaining votes in the election in order to get additional seats, the so-called *Stembus Accoord*; a term borrowed from the Dutch.⁸¹

The second political move was to join PAN to form the Reform Faction (*Fraksi*) in the Parliament. This is rather interesting as PAN is actually not

79 Email correspondence with an ex-JT member.

80 Arief Munandar, 'Antara Jamaah dan Partai Politik', 98–99.

81 Permata, 'Islamist Party and Democratic Participation', 240–241.

an Islamic party; at the same time, other Islam-based parties from the FSPPI requested that the PKS join the Islamic Party Faction. According to Hidayat Nur Wahid, Amien Rais, not PAN, was the deciding factor. PKS leaders knew Amien Rais very well, and they were confident that he would pursue a political agenda parallel to that of the PKS. Furthermore, Amien Rais and other PAN leaders also had credentials as reformists, which was in line with the PKS's political vision. Finally, the PKS's decision to join PAN was based on democratic reasoning, as it made the Reform Faction – with 41 seats – the fifth largest faction in the Parliament. Thus, it had the right to receive a vice chairmanship in the legislature, defeating the Military Faction, which held 38 seats.⁸²

The next political coalition that the PKS joined was the Central Axis, a coalition of Islam-based politicians under Amien Rais designed to challenge the candidacy of B.J. Habibie (who was perceived as a remnant of the Suharto regime) and Megawati (who was perceived as a secular politician backed by Christians).⁸³ Amien Rais, against all the odds, nominated Abdurrahman Wahid as the alternative candidate. Initially the PKS, together with another Islam-based party, the PBB, preferred to support Habibie.⁸⁴ When eventually Habibie withdrew his candidacy, the PKS reluctantly gave its support to Abdurrahman Wahid with a qualifying statement that he was the least bad choice.⁸⁵ Senior JT activists and former interim PKS president Untung Wahono observed that it was beyond doubt that the PKS preferred Habibie to Abdurrahman Wahid.⁸⁶

When Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as president, he offered the PKS one ministerial position in his cabinet. The PKS accepted and

82 Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan*, 282–286.

83 Despite the widely held belief that the coalition had been initiated by Amien Rais in order to mobilise support from Muslim politicians, closer observation revealed the opposite. The forum was initiated by a number of senior Muslim politicians to bring Amien Rais back into his proper habitat of Islamic politics. It was triggered by Amien Rais's agreement to join forces with Megawati and Abdurrahman Wahid in furthering a reform agenda. Islamic politicians responded to this move with anxiety, both for ideological as well as democratic reasons. Ideologically they associated Megawati and her PDI-P with secular and Christian politics; while democratically many perceived both Megawati and Abdurrahman Wahid not really as reformists, because they were reluctant to support reforms such as amending the constitution and the demilitarisation of politics. See Suharsono, *Cemerlangnya Poros Tengah* (Jakarta: Perennial Press, 1999), 86–88.

84 Untung Wahono, *Peran Politik Poros Tengah* (Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2003), 115.

85 PK Bayanat, 17 September 1998.

86 Wahono, *Peran Politik Poros Tengah*, 134.

nominated its chairman, Nur Mahmudi Isma'il, for the position. In a meeting held following the offer, PKS leaders discussed which department was most preferable, and they agreed on several criteria: firstly, it must be a populist ministerial post, i.e. it must deal directly with the public; secondly, it should be in accordance with the party's human resources in order to maximise its performance; thirdly, it should not depend on foreign funds; fourthly, the PKS also preferred a department with the least number of problems. Based on these criteria, the PKS proposed the Ministry of Agriculture. Abdurrahman Wahid seemed to agree with the PKS's proposal and Ismail was on the cabinet list as the Minister of Agriculture. However, when the new Indonesian United Cabinet was made public, Isma'il was shifted to the Ministry of Forestry and Horticulture.⁸⁷

When President Abdurrahman Wahid was impeached by Parliament, the PKS fully supported the impeachment and Megawati's rise to the presidency. Interestingly, the PKS did not join the cabinet, although Megawati reportedly offered one ministerial position. At least four factors might have motivated the PKS to take this decision. Firstly, the Megawati presidency was controversial among conservative Muslims because of her gender. PKS conservative ideology perceives political leadership to be the privilege of male politicians, and thus Megawati was not a proper choice when there were many capable male politicians. Secondly, joining the government under the Megawati presidency was not preferable from a policy point of view, because she and her party were perceived as the reincarnation of the secular-nationalist PNI from the previous era, and thus the arch-rivals of Islamic politics. Thirdly, another anti-Megawati sentiment was that many Muslims perceived the PDI-P to be the vehicle for Christian politicians, notably Maj. Gen. (ret.) Theo Syafe'i, one of Megawati's closest aides, who was believed to have strong anti-Islam feeling. Fourthly, PKS leaders felt that they needed to improve their party organisation as it had failed to pass the electoral threshold and was unable to participate in the next election as a result.⁸⁸

The party's perception and attitude towards political cooperation changed drastically when the party was renamed the PKS. The first moment this became clear was on the eve of the 2004 presidential election. In line with the change of party leadership, its perceptions and attitudes towards political coalition were also moving from idealistic, policy oriented to pragmatic, power oriented. Again, this change exacerbated

87 PK Bayanat, 29 October 1999.

88 Permata, 'Islamist Party and Democratic Participation', 245.

tensions between normative JT activists and increasingly pragmatic PKS politicians. Consistently with their attitude in the past, PKS leaders under Hidayat Nur Wahid supported the nomination of Amien Rais. A few weeks ahead of election day, however, a new option was pushed by Hilmy Aminuddin to back General Wiranto. Hilmy argued that the top priority of the PKS's strategic political agenda was to stop Megawati, who had been made favourite by some observers as she paired with NU chairman Hasyim Muzadi. Amien Rais was preferred ideologically, yet his chances of winning were slim. Wiranto, meanwhile, had a greater chance as he was supported by the winner of the last election, the Golkar party. Undaunted by Hilmy's move, Hidayat urged a vote in the Shura Assembly and won the support of the majority of the members of the party's highest decision-making body.

This incident marked the tension and split among the PKS leadership between reformists (those who put the PKS agenda in line with the agenda of democratic reforms) and pragmatists (those who take politics purely as instrument to achieve power and interests). Hilmy Aminuddin, the supreme leader of the JT, and the then chairman of the PKS's Shura Assembly, lost face in front of that council and Wiranto for failing to bring the party to support him. He blamed Hidayat Nur Wahid for this. It is said that after that moment he vowed that after 2009, Hidayat, who in 2004 was elected speaker of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), would be an ordinary legislative member.⁸⁹ The tension continued until a new MPR was installed in 2009, during which period the pragmatic camp, represented by the party's general secretary, Anis Matta, was in constant conflict with the reformist faction under the party president, Tifatul Sembiring.

Later developments show how the pragmatic camp had the upper hand. Two simultaneous factors were at play here. On the one hand there was the powerful position of Hilmy Aminuddin, who combined the spiritual authority of the JT and the organisational authority of the PKS. On a personal level, he is very charismatic – a combination of spiritual piety, Sundanese aristocracy and an authoritarian attitude similar to that of a military commander. As the founder of the JT he has a lot of pupils under his mentorship, and he gave many of them important positions in party structures, and together they orchestrate the PKS's management.⁹⁰ On the other hand, the PKS's pragmatic trend is also framed by real world

89 Arief Munandar, 'Antara Jamaah dan Partai Politik', 262.

90 Arief Munandar, 'Antara Jamaah dan Partai Politik', 29, 334; *Jakarta Post*, 29 March 2011.

politics and an increasingly capital-intensive political competition.⁹¹ This – in addition to the rampant corruption in regional administrations – forces political parties to collect huge amounts of money for regional elections as well as other political activities. In this situation, just like other parties, the PKS relied heavily on its practically minded politicians.

During Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidency, the PKS showed another peculiar pattern of coalition behaviour, in which it took coalition agreements hostage for political leverage. In Yudhoyono's first term (2005–2009) as a coalition partner, the PKS was involved in political bargaining with the president regarding the plan to raise oil prices. At first, PKS leaders rejected the plan as it was unpopular and could lead to a heavier economic burden on Indonesians already struggling to make ends meet. The PKS clearly understood that supporting this government policy would incite negative reactions from its supporters. The party president, Tifatul Sembiring, repeatedly insisted that his party rejected the plan. One week later, however, the party leader met with the president, and the PKS turned its political stand on the issue through 180 degrees. 'We have to come to terms with political realities', said Tifatul Sembiring, referring to the fact that the majority of the parties in Parliament supported the plan, and that abstaining from supporting the government policy at such a decisive moment would risk its cabinet portfolios.⁹²

The decision triggered waves of reactions from PKS supporters. KAMMI, the PKS student organisation, sent its representative to the PKS faction in the Parliament to deliver their protests, and questioned the party's commitment to the struggle for the poor. KAMMI's branches in some provinces also voiced similar complaints.⁹³ Some PKS regional branches also voiced their disappointment with the party's decision to support the unpopular policy. A few of them even urged their leaders to withdraw from the coalition government, since the support had resulted in a deterioration in the PKS's popularity. The damaging impact of the oil price policy caused great concerns among PKS leaders, with some surveys reporting that only 2.6 per cent of Indonesian voters intended to give their vote to the PKS in the next election – a two thirds decline from the 7.3 per cent it had garnered in elections a year before.⁹⁴

91 Commenting on this topic, Minister of the Interior Gamawan Fauzi acknowledged that the costs of a district/mayoral candidacy can be as high as 50 billion rupiah (US\$ 50 million). www.inilah.com/read/detail/490041/begitu-mahalnya-menjadi-bupati/.

92 *Tempo*, 28 March–3 April 2005.

93 *Tempo*, 21–27 March 2005.

94 Interview with Imam Nur Azis, 22 May 2007.

In Yudhoyono's second term, the PKS played the game of political hostage several times. The first case was in relation to the PKS's participation in initiating a special parliamentary committee in December 2009 to inquire into alleged illegal bailouts by the Indonesian Central Bank under Budiono (then newly elected vice president) and former Finance Minister Sri Mulyani, to save the failing Century Bank. This was a serious case as it could lead to an inquiry about Yudhoyono's campaign funds in the run up to the presidential election. President Yudhoyono saw the PKS's move as deviant. He believed that as it was a coalition partner and had received cabinet portfolios in his administration, it was supposed to back his position. Indeed, the President struck back. Muhammad Misbakhun, a PKS politician who was among the initiators of the Century Bank inquiry in Parliament, was reported to the police for submitting fictitious credits to the failed Century Bank. Misbakhun was found guilty and was sentenced to two years in jail and expelled by his party from Parliament.⁹⁵

In the summer of 2011, the PKS joined the opposition parties and proposed to increase oil prices in order to reduce the budget deficit, whilst the government now desperately rejected any plan to increase oil prices, fearing the public's negative reaction. The President's Democratic Party harshly criticised the PKS's moves as unethical, and urged the PKS to leave the coalition if it did not want to support the government. PKS Members of Parliament replied that they were just doing what parliamentarians should do, namely, channelling public political aspirations. In October 2011, Yudhoyono sacked the PKS Minister of Research and Technology, Suharna Suryapranata, and gave the post to his own party.⁹⁶

The decision of the PKS to remain in the coalition but at the same time constantly criticise the government was caused by the internal dynamics and tension between the reformists who wanted to build a positive public image of the party and the pragmatists who did not want the party to lose its cabinet portfolios. The situation caused a particular dilemma for PKS ministers in the cabinet, such as the Minister of Communication and Information, Tifatul Sembiring, who was accused of becoming the mouthpiece of the government, while his own party criticised government policies.⁹⁷

95 www.tempo.co/read/news/2011/06/10/078339847/PKS-Siapkan-Pengganti-Misbakhun-Arifinto-dan-Yoyoh.

96 <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/10/18/18581479/Menristek.Suharna.Surapranata.Sudah.Berpamita>.

97 Interview with Sapto Waluyo, Jakarta. *Kompas*, 15 April 2009. *Koran Tempo*, 8 March 2011.

The next event, and perhaps the most controversial incident during the political coalition, took place in local politics. Law No. 32/2004 provides that only a party or a coalition of political parties with 15 per cent of the seats in the local legislature can nominate candidates in local elections. Because the PKS is only a minority party in many regions, it needed to enter into a coalition in order to be able to nominate candidates. Until 2008, the PKS had won in 92 regional elections, either on its own or as a partner in a coalition. Eight times had this happened at the provincial level, 84 times at the district level. There are two important points to be made in this regard: firstly, the PKS had won only five times without a coalition (or 5.4 per cent). The other 87 wins were in coalition with other parties and in only 12 of these cases (or 13.9 per cent) were the elected leaders PKS members. As such, in these regional elections the PKS was either a rather unimportant junior coalition partner or it recruited candidates from outside the party. Secondly, and perhaps more interestingly, out of 161 political coalitions it had joined during 244 regional elections held in 2005–2008, 60 per cent were in conjunction with Islam-based parties and 40 per cent with secular and Christian parties: 33 were with the PAN (Muslim-based party), 29 with the Golkar (secular party), 24 with the PPP (Islam-based party), 22 with the Democrats (secular), 20 with the PKB (Muslim-based party), 17 with the PBB (Islam-based party), 14 with the PDI-P (secular party), and one with the PDS (Christian party).

4.3 POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

There are two different perspectives in understanding policymaking processes: firstly, the normative perspective called 'policy accountability', in which a political party formulates and implements policies that are in line with its ideology or programmatic platform, even though it may contradict people's aspirations and thus could risk voters' support for the party in the next election. Secondly, the rational perspective called 'policy effectiveness', in which a party pursues policies that respond to public aspirations in order to secure voter support in the next election, even though it may run counter to its ideology or programmatic platforms. In terms of behaviour, the PKS consistently promotes populist policies that appeal to public sentiments; yet in terms of understanding it has perceived the policies differently in different periods. Previously, it opted for populist policies because it regarded policies as derivative of ideology and programmatic platforms. Later on, in parallel with its increasingly pragmatic and rational understanding of politics, it pursued a similar course of populist policies. However,

this time the PKS no longer understands it as a logical consequence of its ideological formulations, but rather as a strategy to attract public sympathy.

An example of the populist orientation of PKS policies is its selection of cabinet portfolios, in which it prefers ministerial posts that have direct access to the public, such as Social Affairs, Housing, Agriculture and Youth and Sports. It is through such populist ministries that the party can promote itself to the vast networks in society, especially among the economically lower classes that comprise the majority of Indonesian voters. As seen from previous discussions, PKS leaders preferred ministers with direct access to the public as it is interested in promoting its ideology and programmatic agenda. Yet, in later years, it has not only promoted its ideological agenda, but also its political profile. There are other interesting facts about PKS public offices. It seeks to extract as many resources as possible from every office it holds. It mobilises party functionaries as assistants and aides for its ministers, even replacing housekeepers of prayer rooms in the offices with party members. The PKS also maximises the collaboration of networks of its public officers, for example West Java governor Ahmad Heryawan, a senior JT activist and reputed rally organiser, received many awards – normally followed by grants and other subsidies – from PKS ministers.⁹⁸

The PKS also exhibits inconsistent patterns in policymaking, as can be seen in the case of the oil prices. During Yudhoyono's first presidential term, the PKS initially rejected the government's plan to increase the oil price on the ground that it would worsen economic conditions in society. Then, it supported it on the ground that it should conform as a coalition partner. During the second term of Yudhoyono's presidency, the PKS again played with the oil price issue, this time by supporting a proposal from opposition parties to increase the oil price when the government opted for the opposite. In this case, it seems that the PKS was playing two different games at the same time: firstly, it tested the waters in relation to both the governing party as well as the opposition; and secondly, it played at internal power bargaining between its central board and its ministers in public office, as there had been continuous tension between general secretary, Anis Matta, and former party president, Tifatul Sembiring, who was the Minister of Information and Technology. The idea was that the central board was capable of causing or preventing trouble for the party's ministers and, thus, the latter needed to comply with the former.⁹⁹

98 www.ahmadheryawan.com/8-profil-ahmad-heryawan/3333-daftar-penghargaan.

99 <http://www.tempo.co/read/fokus/2012/03/24/2316/Kenaikan-Harga-BBM>

-PKS-Dituding-Berpolitik-Dua-Muka.

The PKS also displayed a double-standard populist policy when it supported the Anti-Pornography Law that censored pornographic displays and lustful entertainment, but did not apply the same standard to its own politician who was caught watching a porn video. The law was controversial, as many groups accused it of being arbitrary, ambiguous, imposing uniform esthetical standards and discriminating against women. It was ratified as Law No. 44/2008 on 28 October 2008. The PKS was one of the staunchest supporters of the Act, and a PKS politician served as the vice-chairwoman of the bill's committee. Unfortunately, a PKS Member of Parliament was caught watching a porn video during a parliamentary session. Since then, the PKS has been in a defensive position, as the media blew up the scandal and pressed the PKS to impose the Anti-Pornography Law on its own politician. Nevertheless, the PKS still pushed the policy forward by proposing and supporting the creation of a Taskforce for the Prevention and Tackling of Pornography¹⁰⁰ as a special body that supervises the implementation of the Anti-Pornography Law. The Taskforce is coordinated by the Minister for Social Affairs and involves various ministries such as those of Religious Affairs, Education, Law and Women's Empowerment, and the police and also non-governmental institutions such as academics and NGO activists.¹⁰¹

Lastly, the PKS is also involved in implementing Sharia-inspired local regulations. These are local regulations implemented by provincial and district governments based on religious values, such as the prohibition of liquor and gambling, forcing people (especially women) to wear Islamic clothing, stopping public activities during Friday religious meetings, requiring Qur'anic literacy, etc. Out of 151 local governments implementing such regulations, 42 are supported by the PKS. In this case, it seems that the PKS's perspective on policymaking is more rational and normative, as it is eager to support government leaders with any policy vision, not just those who implement Sharia-inspired regulations.

5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the internal dynamics of the Indonesian Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and its organisational root and supporter, the Jamaah Tarbiyah (JT), in the context of democratising Indonesian politics. The emergence of the PKS on to the Indonesian political scene has

100 Presidential Decree No. 25/2012, ratified on 3 March 2012.

101 <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/03/13/15352741/Satgas.Antipornografi.Sudah.Bekerja.sejak.3.Maret>.

attracted vast scholarly and popular attention, debates and controversies – both in terms of its ideological profile as an offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers, and with its amazing political achievements; moving from a small party that failed to pass the electoral threshold into the largest Islam-based party in the Parliament and part of the government. Its ideological orientation drew suspicions of pursuing a radical Islamist agenda in order to replace democracy with an Islamic political system, while its rocketing success raised questions about the prospect of Indonesian democratisation that enabled an apparently radical party to become prominent.

This chapter started with tracking the historical development of the JT and PKS. It is true that the JT was founded following the ideological formula and organisational structure of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood model by a group of young graduates of institutions of higher education in the Middle East in the early 1980s. However, further inquiry reveals that the organisation has developed through already existing networks of activists and leadership, nurtured by Islam-based politicians and activists from a previous era, especially young academics in secular universities. The JT evolved into a movement characterised by a mixed political agenda. On the one hand it has adopted the political aims and strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood and wants to create a comprehensive Islamic way of life through a gradual process of dakwah, political democratisation against the background of an authoritarian regime and a politically involved military. On the other hand it is caught up in the realities of Indonesian politics and of the intra-Muslim competitions with other Islam-based political and social organisations.

Such a developmental trajectory and institutional setting created certain internal dynamics inside the JT and PKS. Amid progressive democratic consolidation – especially the consolidation of the party system that made political parties work more professionally – the PKS witnessed an increasingly pragmatic tendency, in both its organisational structures and political behaviour. Organisationally, it experienced a process of oligarchy, in which, initially, the highest authority was in the hands of its members, exercised through the national congress. Later, it was handed over to its elites in the Deliberation Assembly – on the grounds of organisational effectiveness. Behaviourally, it experienced a change in perception and behaviour regarding politics, from perceiving politics as part of Islamic propagation (dakwah) to being conducted following Islamic principles and as an instrument of propagation that needed to be pursued in its own way. These changes led to polarisation, divisions and factionalism both between and inside the JT and the PKS.

In turn, these internal tensions, divisions and frictions influenced a number of aspects of the party's democratic participation: political mobilisation, coalition and government formation, and policy formulation. Initially, the party perceived political mobilisation merely as a contest of profiles and reputations by political actors in front of the public; then it started to perceive political mobilisation as a political competition that requires special preparation and strategies. Finally, its politicians started to realise that during political mobilisation political parties not only compete against, but also cooperate and collude with each other. In terms of coalition and government formation, initially the party perceived it exclusively from an ideological perspective and thus it was willing to cooperate with Islam-based political parties only and rejected cooperating with secular ones. Yet, later on, it adopted a more rational perspective in which coalitions are seen as strategies to maximise political gains, and it became willing to cooperate with any party with any ideology – including Christian parties. Finally, the PKS started to see government coalitions as political cards that can be played against other parties in order to maximise interests or even in intra-party power struggles. Lastly, with respect to policy formulation, the PKS consistently pursues populist policies; yet it perceives these differently at different times. Initially, it understood policymaking normatively as a derivative of ideological orientations. Later, while pursuing the same populist pattern, the party started to perceive populism rationally and as instrumental to attracting public sympathy in order to increase votes in the next elections. As a result, it exhibits inconsistent behaviour in policymaking: on the one hand, it is always keen to join government coalitions; on the other hand, it is also willing to criticise unpopular government policies.

The participation of the JT and PKS in Indonesian democratising politics is also interesting in light of current theoretical debates on the prospects of Islam-based politics. Two theories are relevant: Oliver Roy's thesis on the failure of political Islam, and Asef Bayat's ideas on a political post-Islamism. Much as in Roy's observation, the PKS is also trapped in its own utopian vicious circle of a comprehensive Islamisation of society and state: i.e. that a true Islamic society can be built only under an Islamic state, and that the formation of a true Islamic state requires an Islamic society – in the form of tensions between its political section (PKS) and its social section (JT). Realising the situation, JT-PKS leaders are now starting to discuss how to overcome these tensions: some suggest a unification in which one of its sections needs to be subordinate to the other; others opt for a complete separation between political and social sections, and thus pursue the comprehensive agenda of Islamisation in separate ways.

However, the development of the JT and PKS also resembles Bayat's notion of post-Islamism, in which political Islam, exhausted by its own mission of building a comprehensive Islamic way of life both in society and in the state, has started to adopt programmes it once criticised, such as democracy, human rights, gender equality, religious pluralism, etc. This seems to apply to the JT-PKS, which no longer perceives itself as offering an alternative ideology and programmes to replace the existing ones, both in the Muslim community and for the religiously plural Indonesian people. Rather, it has started to acknowledge its ideology and programmes as being supplementary to making the Muslim community, Indonesian society and the Indonesian nation-state better.

Appendix

TABLE 1 *PKS Involvement in local governments implementing Sharia regulations*

No	Region	Head of Government
1	Kab. Bangka Barat	PKS
2	Kab. Bengkulu Utara	PKS
3	Prov. Bengkulu	PKS
4	Kab. Sukabumi	PKS
5	Kota Depok	PKS
6	Kab. Bekasi	PKS
7	Kota Banjarmasin	PKS
8	Kab. Kepulauan	PKS
9	Kab. Kampar	PKS
10	Kab. Solok Selatan	PKS
11	Prov. Bangka Belitung	Other Party
12	Kab. Pandeglang	Other Party
13	Kab. Serang	Other Party
14	Kab. Muko-Muko	Other Party
15	Kab. Gorontalo	Other Party
16	Prov. Gorontalo	Other Party
17	Kab. Cianjur	Other Party
18	Kab. Indramayu	Other Party
19	Kota Tasikmalaya	Other Party
20	Kota Semarang	Other Party
21	Kab. Cilacap	Other Party
22	Kab. Gresik	Other Party

No	Region	Head of Government
23	Kab. Sidoarjo	Other Party
24	Kab. Ketapang	Other Party
25	Kab. Balangan	Other Party
26	Kab. Hulu Sungai Utara	Other Party
27	Kota Banjarbaru	Other Party
28	Kota Baru	Other Party
29	Prov. Kep. Riau	Other Party
30	Kota Batam	PKS
31	Kota Kupang	Other Party
32	Kab. Pelalawan	Other Party
33	Kota Dumai	Other Party
34	Kab. Pangkep	Other Party
35	Kab. Luwu Utara	Other Party
36	Kab. Selayar	Other Party
37	Kota Kendari	PKS
38	Kab. Pasaman	Other Party
38	Kab. Padang Pariaman	Other Party
40	Kab. Hulu Sungai Selatan	PKS
41	Kab. Tanah Laut	Other Party
42	Kab. Pangkep	Other Party