

THE CONSTRUCTION OF *DAKWAH* (ISLAMIC MISSIONARY) PHILOSOPHY AND THE POLITICS OF PROSPEROUS JUSTICE PARTY (PKS) OF MAKASSAR: PERSPECTIVE OF *FIQH SIYASAH* (ISLAMIC POLITICAL LAW)

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Abstract : For PKS, Islamic Law does not only comprise legal-formal laws adopted directly from Islam or absorbed from Islamic values, but also laws non-contradictive to Islam. PKS rests on its ideological construction developed based on the key principles confirming Islam as a complete and perfect concept to deal with all aspects of life. Islam was revealed as guidance for humanity to manage life and living. It is an obligation for every Muslim to establish live order according to the teachings of Islam. Here, Islam is understood as a religion (*ad-din*), and at the same time a State (*ad-daulah*), that is, the rules and regulations to manage life in the context of power. From this perspective, PKS pronounce itself as a *dakwah* (Islamic missionary) party, although, so far, PKS highlights a pragmatic-realistic approach in order to achieve its missionary politics.

Keywords: Islamic Law, Values, Key Principles, Humanity

Introduction

In the present context, Islam is often present not only as a teaching but also as an ideology. This circumstance stems from a religious-political view that refers to the proposition: *inna al-Islam wa ad-din ad-dawlah*, meaning that Islam is a religion as well as a

state (Bahtiar Effendi, 2001)¹. Although in its development the statement pronouncing Islam as an ideology is still controversial, in reality, in some Muslim neighborhood, there are movements or thoughts that treat Islam as an ideology. The controversy is understandable, considering that throughout its own history, the concept of ideology has always been a controversial discourse both in the sense of framework and movements.²

In Indonesia, along with the development of the national political life when entering the era of Reformation, pathways to democracy are widely opened for the public to participate

¹ Husein Fauzi al-Najjar previously proposed a theory of society development necessity. According to al- Najjar, this theory is intended to argue against our view about “Islam is a religion as well as a state” (*al-Islam Din wa Dawlah*). This theory proposes an alternative viewpoint as a foundation, that is, “Islam is a religion as well as worldly life” (*al-Islam Din wa Dunya*). Al-Najjar’s thought itself is described as a more detailed interpretation of Ali Abdul Razik’s *al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm*, which goes up against the view suggesting that Islam provides a comprehensive political theory about state in the form of *khilafah* and that Islam necessitate Muslims to strive for its establishment. Al-Najjar suggests that Islam does not mix up religion and state, as the Prophet Muhammad SAW was not sent to develop kingdom and state. Rather, he comes as a Prophet bearing message from heaven, namely the Islamic Law (*shari’ah*). This law does not determine any particular power system (*nizham al-Hukm*), it only fixes on the principles (*mabadi’ al-hukm*) (Abdul Aziz, 2011: 47).

² Ideology as a Western concept, which was initially introduced by Destutt de Tracy in the era of the French Revolution, is seen as an alternative thinking of the existing prejudices in metaphysics and religion. At that time the concept of ideology is seen as a new science, that is, a “science of ideas”, which was useful as a “new base for the education of public”. Neutral conception about ideology describes ideology as a system of thought, system of belief, and symbolic practices related to social and political actions. On the other hand, critical conception views ideology as a fundamental subject relating to the justification of domination. In-depth explanations of the concept of ideology can be found in Jorge Larain (1996 : 20-21), *Konsep Ideologi*, ed. Tom Bottomore, translated by (Jogjakarta :LKPSM). See also John B Thompson (2003:17), *Analisis Ideologi: kritik wacana Ideologi-Ideologi Dunia*, translated by (Yogyakarta: IRCiSod)

voluntarily in various political processes. The Reformation era also entered a new phase by bringing about a political liberalization.

This situation has allowed the birth of a great number of political parties, and Islam also significantly took part in this democratic era. This is evident in the fact that among the political organizations emerged there are parties with an Islamic social origin. Political parties began to “re-find their momentum” to lure the public. Religious symbols are once more taken as a “commodity” capable of increasing vote.

In the context of a political party, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is a party that proclaims itself as a party based on Islam. PKS affirms itself as an Islamic party and at the same time confirms that its involvement in politics is grounded in Islam as a general and all-embracing system of thought (Islam is a global and synthesizing system of thought). Islamic societies should reflect Islamic values in various foundation and structures of life.³

³ Masdar Hilmy, *Islamism and Democracy; Piety and Pragmatism*. Although in its development the term Islamism is often equated with Marxism. Why then are many people showing interest in Islamism? This is because the basic of its movement sets off from the socio-political phenomena of a country facing complexity and Islamism then offers a national solution by suggesting *sharia* enforcement. Similarly, a number of people are interested in Marxist ideology as Marxism offers a theory of justice, suggesting that capitalism must be fought in order to establish social justice within a country. Why then was Islamism found objectionable by some people? The answer is because Islamism is considered to be domineering and does not respect pluralism. An example of this is the criticism of the formalization of *sharia*. *Sharia* should not be forcefully inserted into the territory of the state policy as it belongs to the realm of public sphere. For more details see Peter Bahr, “Marxism and Islamism: Intellectual Conformity In Aron's time and Our Own,” *Journal of Classical Sociology* (2011) 11: 173.

In the context of Islamic political movements in this reformation era, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) emerges with Islamists and ideologist characters. Anis Matta (2008: 114) confirms that PKS is an open party, which seeks to integrate between Islamic missionary and politics. At this point then two nomenclatures which marks PK philosophy was constructed, namely the “identity” and the “Manifesto” of the party. Based on these nomenclatures, it became clear that the philosophy of PK was developed based on the conception of *Tarbiyah* (education), making sense of the Islamic *shariah*, the concept of Islamic state, and the concept of *Khilafah*.

In the philosophical foundation for the assertion that Islam is a perspective view to understand the political realities as well as to develop strategies of political struggle, the party intends to prove the truth of an axiom in politics, that is that Islam is a universal religion covering all aspects of life with various complex dimensions (Furqan, 1996: 124).

Since its inception, this campus network missionary party has declared itself as an Islamic party. Moreover, the party declared itself as a missionary party, the party that dedicates itself to widespread the teachings of Islam to everyone and to accomplish those teachings in real life. In other words, the PKS emerged to struggle for the interests and the glory of Islam. Striving for the interests and the glory of Islam should have an obvious construction and philosophical base.

For the above reason, analysis on the development of PKS from an on campus missionary (education) movement to an institutionalization of the student movement and finally becomes a political party with the jargon of *dakwah* will make interesting exploration. Furthermore, as a party that comprehend Islam as a binding rule in terms of *ubudiyah* (worship), *mu'amalah* (human interaction) and *siyasah* (politics), it will be interesting to investigate and to see the perspectives of *Fiqh Siyasah* in perceiving the phenomenon of the political movements as well as the missionary (*dakwah*) conducts of PKS, particularly in Makassar.

Formulation of research question

Taking the above background into consideration, a major research question can be formulated as follows: Ideologically, what is the construction of the philosophy of *dakwah* and politics of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Makassar like in shaping the integration of politics and *dakwah*, and to what extent is the construction in line with the basic values of *Fiqh Siyasah* (*shar'iyah*)?

Research methods

This research is conducted using a qualitative method. One reason for this is that the subject matter to be explored is comprised in a dynamic social phenomenon. Besides, the subject matter in this study is related to the dynamics of thinking and behavior or action of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS).

In this study, in accordance with its objectives and conceptualization, the author wish to look deeper into the overview of the research focus in the movement carrying the ideals of the political ideology in terms of both structure and culture. Therefore, this study applies descriptive and exploratory methods to determine the purpose and the logic framework described above.

The data cited in this study are analyzed with descriptive-analytic techniques, which do not only provide a description of the phenomenon under study but also analyze and discuss the subject in order to have thorough, detailed, and in-depth assessment of the phenomenon obtained from the field. The location chosen in this study is within the city of Makassar.

Since this is a field research, data collection techniques applied comprises primary data and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained directly from the primary source. In this study, the primary data was obtained using interview guides. The interview sources in this study are the authoritative experts of the focus the subject matter in Indonesia, including some experts from the intellectual circles in South Sulawesi. This procedure is applied so that the information obtained can be justified scientifically. The sources also have quality of thinking as well as good analysis. In the interview process, the author uses a semi-structured format wherein a number of core topics presented in the interview, but there are still flexibility in asking questions. In this circumstance, the author uses open-ended questions.

The primary key data includes in-depth interviews with a number of key informants. Additional major data sources comprise official decisions pronounced by PKS (DPP PKS) as a political institution, the provisions of the organization, official pronouncements obtained from certified documents restored in the archives of the organization, and official standpoints of PKS, both published and unpublished. All documents and interview records are intended as an attempt to reconstruct the events related to various causal, conditional, and contextual factors as well as a range of related components to provide an accurate picture of the model of political education conducted by PKS as well as its influence on the transformation from a missionary movement into a political party

This study integrates a historical study and a contextual approach to review documents, notes of court sessions, archives and publications issued by PKS (books, magazine / bulletin issued by the party). Informal interviews with PKS leaders / elites were performed to obtain information and descriptions from the object of study, which means that the interviews were conducted for the purpose of obtaining descriptions and data from particular individuals for the purpose of gaining information (Koentjaraningrat, 1994: 130). Individuals subjected to the interview are called informants. They were chosen because they can provide information or description about the subject matter. Deciding about leaders / elites from PKS to be interviewed is as illustrated by Robert D. Putnam (2000: 91) in the category of

positional elites, reputational elites, and decisional elites.

Secondary data were obtained mainly from publications with some relevance to PKS, such as the publication issued by the Public Relation section of DPP PKS and the Shura Council DPP PKS. Secondary data will also be obtained from public media, scholarly research results that have been published in various mass media, journals, books, magazines, academic papers, thesis, and dissertations relating to the subject matter of this study.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

1. *Fiqh Siyasah*

The concept of *fiqh siyasah* implemented in this study aims to outline a choice of complex political diversity of the society. The concept of *fiqh siyasah* itself tries to understand the diversity within the scope of uniformity of the rules of *sharia* with reference to the Qur'an as well as to the Hadith of the Prophet and to the rules that apply in *siyasah*. Therefore, any policy determined by the society in its diversity is legally acceptable as long as it stays within the scope of the *shari'ah*, which appears in universal arguments, both in the Qur'an and in the Hadith of the Prophet, or in the universal rules and the spirit of the teachings and in *maqasid al-shari'ah*. Viewed from this perspective, by declaring itself as an Islamic based party, PKS has indirectly entered into the space of diversity of the signs of *sharia*. The political integration and the missionary movement carried out so far will be very interesting when seen from the viewpoint of *fiqh siyasah*.

The term *fiqh* literally means to know, to understand, and to comprehend. This meaning is specifically used in the field of religious law or Islamic jurisprudence (according to Ibn al-Mandzur in *Lisan al-'Arab*). In a technical terminology *fiqh* means science or knowledge of the laws of *shariah*, which is *amaliyah* (practical) in nature, and was derived from detailed Qur'anic arguments. *Fiqh* also means knowledge of the Islamic law derived from the Quran and the *Sunnah* compiled by way of *ijtihad*. The word *siyasah* comes from the root ساس- سياسة which means to manage, control, administer, or to make decision. Furthermore, *al-siyasah* is sometimes interpreted as leading in a way that brings about benefits. Here it can be concluded that *fiqh siyasah* or *siyasah Shar'iyah* is the science that studies the ins and outs of the setting up of public as well as country affairs with any forms of laws, regulations, and policies constructed by the power board in line with the principles teachings and the spirit of the *Shari'ah* to bring benefits into reality. (Pulungan, 1997: 21).

2. The concept of Islamism

The presence of Islamic movement that carries an ideology relating or integrating Islam with state or political institutions, in the contemporary discourse, is identified as Islamism (*Islamiyah*). This movement (Islamism) believes that Islam cannot be separated from and have an integral relationship with the country's politics, as Islam covers all aspects of life. It is such kind of Islamist group that has the tendency to be ideologically motivated and be a representative of the "Islamic movement" (*al-harakah al-Islamiyyah*) (Nasir, 2007: 275)

Islamism can also be interpreted as a movement or organization that seeks to change Muslim community with programs and ideology fetched from the sacred text of Islam. Unlike the terms “fundamentalist”, “militant”, “radical” or “terrorist”, which tend to imply Western pejorative connotations and may contain reductionism, the term “Islamist” (*Islamiyyun*) is chosen by those who take parts in the Islamists movement. The term “Islamist” is different from the term “Muslim” in the sense that the former refers to people with conscious activist agenda, the later is a nominal identity for individuals or groups of people from a series of ideological views. Islamism refers to both political Islamist and a process of re-Islamization (Hilmy, 2009: 24)

Relating to the subject of Islamism, Ayubi (1991: 67-68) states that the term is usually used to designate three categories of the Islamic movements: Salafi, fundamentalist, and neo-fundamentalist. Islamism does not merely emphasize identity as Muslims, but rather a conscious choice of Islam as a doctrine and ideology. Political Islam is often used to refer to the category of fundamentalist and neo-fundamentalists who tend to emphasize the political nature of Islam and are directly engaged in anti-state activities.

In view of some definitions of the concept mentioned above, it is obvious that both the movements and the outlook of PKS can be categorized as those of the Islamist. These movements can be clearly identified through symbols, posters of political advertisements, as well as social and missionary movements in

Makassar. These movements will certainly influence the political and social life especially in the city of Makassar, South Sulawesi.

3. Social Movement Theory

This research will furthermore adopt the viewpoint of the Islamic Movement. The perspective of Islamic movement is considered relevant to assess PKS, which calls itself a Muslim political power utilizing the instrument of political party. This exposure to some concepts and theories of Islamic movements is intended as an effort to understand the phenomenon of the shifting dynamics of the Islamic missionary movements (education) to the Islamic political movement (PKS). Borrowing the perspective of the concept and theory above will bring about better understanding about PKS, which originates from an educational missionary movement as a part of an Islamic movement with modern characteristics, be open to democracy, and is therefore moderate. This movement wish for a change with the intention that Indonesia moves towards a more Islamic civil society through peaceful means. The phenomena and efforts to form an Islamic political party that appear at first as an Islamic Da'wah Movement (education) emerging from the community, in the its further development eventually transformed into a formal political force, that is as a political party, which then also enter the parliament, the executive board, and other institutions.

The above discussion has shown the process of emergence and development of PKS from a missionary program to a political movement. The following discussion will position PKS as a

political party, which also present itself as a collective action force using social organizations. To understand the term “social movement”, it is important to look back at the emergence of the theory of social movements in early 1970s. In the 1950s and mid-1960s, social psychology was dominated by studies of social movements, which relies on a collective behavior approach that views social movements as “a form of a prolonged social crowd and social panic”.⁴ Later on, a group of scholars, especially those who advocate the theory of resource mobilization, criticized the theories of collective behavior and started to formulate ideas relating to the importance of organizational factors and conducive political structures to study social disturbance.⁵

By maintaining the classical argument asserting that social movements and political parties are two different categories, McAdam & Snow list a number of characteristics of social movements as follows: 1) in the form of collective actions; 2) having a change-oriented goal; 3) having the character as an

⁴At least there are three major cases between social movements and collective behavior : institutional versus non-institutional, planned versus spontaneous, and temporal versus continuity. It is also said that the collective behavior is characterized by the non-institutional and spontaneous activity characteristic, but the most fundamental difference between social movements and collective behavior is on the duration of the social movements, namely that the duration of the social movement is much longer than the collective behavior. See Gary T. Marx and Douglas McAdam, 1994. *Collective Behavior and Social Movement: Process and Structure*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey. P. 72. See also Burhanuddin Muhtadi, *Dilema PKS; Suara dan Syariah*. Jakarta: Gramedia. p.50

⁵ Discussion about this approach is available in John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, 1997. “Resource Mobilisation and Social Movements: A Partial Theory”, in Zald & McCarthy (ed.) *Social Movement*. Also in Burhanuddin Muhtadi, 2012. *Dilema PKS; Suara dan Syariah*. Jakarta: Gramedia.p. 50

organization; 4) having a continuity aspect, although sometimes is temporal; 5) collective action is extra-institutional, or at least a combination of extra institutional actions (demonstrations on the streets) and institutional (lobbying). Combining the five elements above, it can be concluded that a social movement is "collectivity or actions of a group of people which in some cases are carried out by the organization and have the dimensions of sustainability beyond the procedures and institutional mechanisms of formal politics, with mutual purpose to challenge the status quo" (Muhtadi, 2012: 51). McAdam and Snow assertively maintain the claim that social movement actors are outsiders beyond the institutionalization elements of formal politics, including political parties.

With reference to the perspective of the social movement theory above, then how could PKS be included in the category of political party? In this case, the author will have a different standpoint from the above, arguing on the basis of the growing trend of social movements over the years. There is a very close potential between the institutional politics and the institutional movement. The proof is that the social movements are loaded with extra institutional actions not only during general elections.

In this regard, PKS can count as a social movement organization based on the following three important factors: 1) the political opportunity structure; 2) resource mobilization; 3) collective action frames. In the subsequent discussion, by looking at the facts, especially in Makassar, South Sulawesi, there are a

number of external factors leading to the resurrection of PKS. By applying mobilization resource perspective, PKS can increase the involvement of its supporters and this involvement then transforms into a more neatly organized activism with a long-term commitment. *Siyasah dauliyah* that appears in South Sulwaesi is the involvement of some cadres of PKS in decision-making or having obtained strategic positions, such as vice-regents, department heads, board members, etc.

Discussion

PKS is a new dynamic and articulative religious movement after the termination of the New Order regime in 1998. In the context of the reform era, PKS greatly benefits from the developments of contemporary politics in Indonesia for ideological barriers as experienced in the New Order era no longer exists. Although PKS was born after the New Order era, in fact it originates from Islamic organizations previously inhibited by the New Order, as will be described in this chapter. This point will explain three stages of formation of PKS from a social movement to the level of formal political institutionalization. The first stage, is a phase of on campus missionary; The second is the establishment of the student movement as an on campus Missionary Institute and Union of Indonesian Muslim Student Action (KAMMI); and the third is the stage of a political movement. PKS is a political party which was originally a part of educational movement on campuses in the form of a worshipers group to become a

phenomenal political movement for a few years, least from 2004 to 2009.

Among the reasonably comprehensive studies about PKS was conducted by one of its declarators, Yon Mahmudi, wherein he confirmed that *Jamaat Tarbiyah* and PKS do not only conduct ideological experiments, but also contribute to the politics of contemporary Indonesia through examining the nature of the relationship between Islamic based politics and that of the secular states, by presenting their ideas in the context of Indonesian hood on the consideration of a missionary benefit (Machmudi, 2005: 78)

Historically, when the On Campus Missionary Institute (LDK) developed Justice Party (PK) in 1998, the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood (IM) was getting stronger. PK resumed the basics of Islam are preached through the educational movement within the LDK. The ideology and methodology of the movement set up prior to its becoming a party is not shifted nor replaced. In further development, the circumstance even comprise expanding, deepening, standardizing, and institutionalizing the ideology as well as the method within the framework of the party

In the context of the Justice Party (PK), the effect of IM is very strong in terms of its philosophy as *verstehen* of the party implemented to see the reality of Indonesia in the era of the authoritarians. From here, then come to existence the nomenclatures which mark PK philosophy, namely the “identity” of the party and the “Manifesto” of the party (Muhtadi, 2012). Based on these nomenclatures, it is increasingly clear that PK

philosophy was formed based on the conception of Education, an interpretation of the Islamic *sharia*, the concept of Islamic State, and the concept of Caliphate, which is in line with the basic values of *fiqh Siyasah*.

In the philosophical foundation for the assertion that Islam is a viewpoint to understand the political reality and to build strategies of political struggle, the party intends to prove the truth of an axiom in politics suggesting Islam as a universal religion that covers all aspects of life with a complex variety of dimensions (Furqan, 2006: 124).

Since its inception, this on campus network missionary has declared itself as an Islamic party. Moreover, the party declared itself as a missionary party, that is, a party dedicating itself to spread the teachings of Islam to everyone and to realize those teachings in real life. In other words, PK was born to fight for the interests and the glory of Islam.

Similar circumstance took place when the Justice Party (PK) turned into PKS in 2002. PKS is the constitution of the ideology, thought, and method that PK struggles for. Even when it has become PKS, the struggle of Islamist ideology and agenda appeared to be more real and articulative. In the context of this shift, PKS is becoming increasingly close to IM, either in terms of ideology, thought, or political measures to be taken. This solid intersection between PKS and IM is evident in the sincerity of PKS in applying the ideology of Islam and fight for the enactment of an Islamic social system, Islamic political system, and in the

implementation of Islamic law as the formal law of the State.⁶

Purposing the application of Islamic law in the context of civil society means a construction of formal law that absorbs Islamic values and changes in the laws contradicting the universal values, including the values of humanism. For PKS, Islamic Law at includes not only the legal-formal law adopted directly from Islam or absorbed from Islamic values, but also other laws that do not contradict Islam.

Apart from being a missionary party, PKS also takes Islam as an ideology. The ideological construction of PKS rests on the key principles that Islam is a complete and perfect concept controlling all aspects of life. Islam was revealed as guidance for humanity to manage life and living. Therefore, it is obligatory for every Muslim to set up life order in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Here, Islam is understood as a religion (*ad-din*), which is a guide to live in servitude and submission to Allah, and at the same time as a State (*ad-daulah*), the rules and regulations to manage life in the context of power.⁷ For that reason, secular ideology that separates between religion and state in the context of shared living arrangements should not be accepted. Religion should not only apply as a rule in private sphere, but in public territory as well. In

⁶ This is clearly visible when comparing between official decision products made by PK and PKS. For further explanation, see PK online and PKS online as well as the AD-ART of PK and the AD-ART of PKS.

⁷ In the official statements of PK/PKS, the point establishing an "Islamic State" is never mentioned. However, in a lot of writing products composed by PK/PKS cadres, the purpose of establishing an Islamic State can be easily found. So is in cadre forums or in *halaqoh tarbiyah*, the ideals of establishing an Islamic State makes a fundamental subject.

the basic policy of the party, the philosophy of the basic policy reads: "Islam is an integral system capable of guiding mankind towards spiritual and physical well-being, worldly and in the hereafter. Welfare can only be realized through two victories, namely personal victory (*futub kebususshab*) and political victory (*futub amah*). Personal victory is achieved through devotion of an individual nature, whereas political victory is achieved through collective devotion. Systemic and continuous missionary is the only way to achieving the two victories (MPP MCC, 2008). Hence PKS understands Islam as a binding rule in terms of *ubudiyah* (worship), *mu'amalah* (human interaction), and *siyasah* (state politics). Thus the systems of ritual, society, and the state should be managed by the provisions of Islam. Finally, It can be said that PKS requires every Muslim to strive to uphold Islamic life and to apply Islamic law as public law, and (including) to establish an Islamic State.

The mission of PKS consists of seven items, namely (1) to disseminate Islamic teachings and to produce cadres as elements of *taghyir* (change); (2) to develop Islamic civil institutions in various fields as centers of change (*markaz taghyir*) and solutions; (3) to establish Islamic public opinion and supportive climate for the implementation of solution oriented and beneficiary Islamic teachings; (4) to build up political awareness for the society, to defend, serve, and empower the rights of citizenship; (5) to enforce *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (commanding goodness and forbidding evil) to those in power consistently and continuously

within the frame of Islamic law and ethics; (6) to be actively engaged in communication, friendship, cooperation and reconciliation with various elements among Muslims for the realization of *ukhuwah Islamiyah* and *wahdatul-ummah*, and with other components of the nation to strengthen unity in the realization of the reform agenda; and (7) to contribute positively in establishing justice and in fighting injustice, especially upon Muslim countries under oppression.⁸

In addition to the issues contained in the Islamist vision and mission above, PKS also routinely campaign the rhetoric of clean and good governance and anti-corruption. PKS also keeps on maintaining its traditional roots by preserving commitment to the agenda and the political ideals of the Islamists. So is also the support of PKS cadres in the parliament or through demonstrations demanding *sharia* nuanced local regulations in various areas, including in Makassar, South Sulawesi.⁹ The regional regulations of *sharia* takes various forms, such as rules on Islamic fashion in government offices, obligation to recite the Qur'an, the banning of alcohol and gambling, regulation on women's night hour, closing prostitution areas, and so forth.

Besides proceeding with the process of framing Islam as a solution for individual transformation and an Islamization of the

⁸ Official website of PKS, <http://www.pk-sejahtera.org>.

⁹ By Hj. Sri rahmi: the existence of some PKS cadres in the parliament and in some strategic positions in the regional government are indicators that PKS has entered the phase of a state orbit missionary. Interview on 23 septembre 2014.

state through formal politics, PKS also offers a package of solution through two patterns of Islamization (MPP PKS, Platform 2007: 48). First, cultural Islamization of individuals and community groups through missionary media and cultural institutions to strengthen the cultural and intellectual base of the community. Basic argument is that the process of cultural imperialism through secularism has undermined Muslims' perspective, so it is necessary to have cultural Islamization to return to the path corresponding to the sources of Islam (*al-ruju 'ila al-Qur'an wa al-Hadith*). Islam should be understood as *kaffah*, total, comprehensive, and includes all ways of life without separation between *al-Din wa al-Dawla* (religion and state). In other words, PKS views Islam as a complete corpus of rules and guidelines that provide guidance for the spiritual and worldly needs. Such conception is combined with belief that Islam is universal. PKS believes this universality of Islam to be the spiritual and moral basis for the development of Indonesia. This cultural Islamization is proceeded gradually and by phases, and it takes a long process.¹⁰

The second type of PKS' prognostic framing is structural Islamization approach (MPP PKS, Platform 2007: 50). Some PKS leading figures acknowledge that the main goal is the birth of a "state based on Islamic law". It needs a systematic structural strategy to realize the formalization of Islamic law or values through the instrument of state. As acknowledged in the paradigm

¹⁰ Aan Rohana, interview with Burhanuddin Muhtadi, Jakarta 4 Oktober 2008

of PKS, this structural pattern takes the form of formal political participation intended to restructure policies and institutions of the State in order to implement Islamic law in the community (MPP PKS, 2007; 50). The main argument is that Islam should play a key role in the state, and *sharia* as an inherent part of Indonesian society should be presented formally in the national law.¹¹

However, for PKS, the implementation of the values and Islamic law in the country is the final stages of the ongoing Islamization process ranging from Islamization of individuals, families, neighbors, and community (MPP PKS Platform 2007: 35). In order to sharpen the strategy of structural Islamization, PKS opened up by working with the existing political system. This is the main difference between this party and the more radical Islamist movements in Indonesia such as Hizbu Tahrir, which rejects democracy from the beginning. Rumadi identifies PKS as “parliamentary Islamist” because this party is willing to work in the system of procedural democratic mechanisms. However, PKS does not want to proceed blindly in carrying out the structural Islamization by ignoring the plurality of the nation. The options for PKS is not an Islamic state applying *sharia* nor a secular state rejecting *sharia*, but the State of Indonesia, which realizes the religious teachings and presents the sublime and universal human values. (MPP PKS, 2007: 50).

¹¹Interview with former PKS president, Tifatul Sembiring, “The PKS dan *Shari’a* Law”, *The Jakarta Post*, 8 Februari 2006. In Burhanuddin Muhtadi, 2012. *Dilema PKS; Suara dan Syariah*. Jakarta: Gramedia.

To intensify the two Islamization strategy, PKS offers motivational frameworking through a massive and organized program called *dakwah ila Allah*, which means “call” or “invitation” to Allah. Considering that PKS struggles for individual and structural change, this party tries to rebind missionary concept with different objectives. First, *dakwah* is also intended for re-Islamization of the *abangan* Muslims. Second, PKS introduces a new content in the missionary material emphasizing interpretation of Islam as not merely of moral and personal rules, but also a universal package of life guidance that regulates both worldly and the afterlife living with social, political, economic, and cultural direction in addition to providing guidance in the process of faith transformation for individuals and social or national organizations.¹²

In the objective of missionary politics (*siyasah daulyah*), particularly in Makassar city, PKS classifies the missionary phases that comprise the activity and object of into four phases called missionary orbit (*mahanir*) (Aminuddin, 2008:1-5). Each achievement of a missionary orbit is a prelude to the next missionary stage. To PKS, the transformation from one *mihwar* to the next one is an extension of service stages and as well as a process of leadership. The first orbit is *mihwar tanzhimi*, which focuses on consolidation and supervision of cadres (MPP, 2007:30). In short, the transformation should begin the capability

¹² PKS Council of Party Supervisors (MPP), *Filsafat dasar Perjuangan PKS*, n.p., n.p., 2007.

of PKS in developing its internal power, in terms of both the infrastructure and superstructure of the missionary. The second is *mihwar sya'bi* (the orbit of society), wherein missionary activities begin to pour out energy for the benefit of public society through the movement of *amar ma'ruf nabi munkar* using the instrument of community organization (MPP, 2007:31). At this point, development of Islamic social institutions that have either formal or non-formal relationship with PKS, recognized as *wajihah*, comprising schools, hospitals, charity institutions, and other, become social institutional factors facilitating the relationship between the party and the society. Secondly, the party figures and cadres will be more widely recognized. Third, there are chances to invite figures from outside to join the party. Fourth, missionary institutions emerge as an effective pressure. Fifth, professional management of the institutions can increase the optimalization of the role of institutions and missionary cadres. (MPP PKS, *Platform* 2008:32). This missionary stage will allow PKS to have a social penetration to increase electoral support basis. The missionary media is no longer centered at mosques as was the circumstance of *jamaah tarbiyah* during the authoritative regime, but it has expanded further along with the transformation into a more democratic political structure.

The third stage is *mihwar muasasi* (the orbit of institutionalization), wherein PKS cadres emerge and enter into social and political institutions, including the parliament, bureaucracy, and professional associations. (MPP PKS:32). The

main objective of the party cadres in this missionary stage is to have vertical mobility and penetration into public institutions by affecting, translating, and formulating the concepts and values of Islam into public policy issued by the political institutions. This stage is separated in two sectors, namely missionary in the parliament and in the bureaucracy. Parliamentary missionary is the state's official podium providing a forum for cadres to perform constitutional efforts for the implementation of Islamic values through legislation (*taqnin*), monitoring (*hisbah*), and public speech (*tabligh*). As for the bureaucratic missionary, it is an executive area for the efforts of translating, affecting, formulating, and implementing policies according to the Islamic values (MPP PKS:32-33). The expansion of *mihwar muasasi* was even more obvious when PKS succeeded to increase votes up to 600 %, raising from 1,3 % in 1999 to 7,4 % in the general election 2004. A number of cadres succeeded to enter the national House of Representatives, and a greater number were successful at the provincial and regional levels.

The fourth stage is *mihwar daulah* (the orbit of state), which aims to obtain power through democracy and to reinforce Islamic law thoroughly (*kaffah*). *Mihwar Daulah* relies on PKS directly and totally in dealing with state institutions. In the orbit of institution (*mihwar muasasi*) the interaction of the PKS cadres in the bureaucracy and parliament sectors is only partial and individual, whereas in the orbit of state the interaction is carried out in

totality.¹³ However, the constitution, manifesto, and platform of the party is not clear enough in explaining about this final stage of the missionary. This is so in order to minimize public suspicion on the agenda and ideological ideals of the party to change the foundation of Indonesian state.

Observing the development of PKS so far, the tendency of post-Islamism is visible in the political attitude of the party in emphasizing more on the agenda of substantiating Islamic values. Moreover, in political and social sense, PKS has not been successful to form a dominant power, as indicated by the failure of the party to achieve the target of 20 % votes in general election 2009. The three orbits passed through by PKS (*mihwar tanzihimi, sya'bi, and muasasi*) still leave a room for the party to not being straightforward about its hidden agenda with regards to the public suspicion about establishment of an Islamic State. But the existence of *mihwar daulah* makes it difficult for PKS to deny the proposition that this party still preserve political ideals to establish an Islamic State.¹⁴ PKS surely appears to be more enduring and more attentive in proceeding with the missionary stages. The abovementioned four stages are followed gradually in a bottom-up

¹³ Burhanuddin Muhtadi, quoting from Rumadi, "Gerakan Islamis Kontemporer di Indonesia", a paper presented in Diskusi Lesehan Kalyanamitra with theme "Menguatnya Fundamentalisme Agama: Ancaman bagi Pemenuhan hak Azasi Perempuan dan Demokrasi di Indonesia", 20 Juli 2010, p.35

¹⁴ During PKS National Conference on 1-3 Februari 2008 in Bali, some hot issues were brought up when PKS announce to be open to non-muslim. After the conference, PKS as an Islamist party was successful to have representatives in the parliaments in some non-Islamic eastern part of Indonesia. PKS' internal dynamic between the vision of Islamic State and the number of non-Muslim cadres within the party becomes a specific issue.

approach. This is called “*tadarruj*” (gradualism), that is, a series of preparation steps heading to the package of prognosis or solution formula called Islamization of Indonesia in the form of formalization of Islamic law into the constitution. The founder of Ikhwanul Muslimin, Hassan al-Banna, proposes:

We start (missionary movement) from individuals, family, environment or community, and then society in wider scope. When the society itself is truly convinced about Islam, it is then just a matter of time before Islamic law can extend its implementation to the state level. (Muhtadi, 2012:177).

The four stages can be classified into two important strategies: namely cultural strategy or horizontal mobilization (*ta’biyah al-afaqiyah*) and structural strategy or vertical mobilization (*ta’biyah al-amudiyah*). The horizontal mobilization comprises *mihwar tanzhimi* and *ya’bi*. It is the stage that obliges PKS cadres to make internalization and penetration of missionary values by out-spreading cadres into different layers of society to introduce Islamic methods and policies. The vertical mobilization comprises *mihwar muasasi* and *daulah*. These two orbits necessitate out-spread of cadres into executive, legislative, and judicative institutions through the mechanism of political party and cadre professionalism.

First, *Mihwar Tanzhimi*. In this stage, internal force is consolidated by implementing organization. In the case of South Sulawesi, PKS makes cadre recruitment from among young activists in various campuses. They develop an organization

comprising all learning potential. In some campuses it is indicated that the embryo of PKS is actually Unity of Muslim Students Action (KAMMI), Campus missionary institution (LDK), and other organizations broadly known as *jama'ah tarbiyah*. Almost all campuses in Makassar, both public and private, have this organization.¹⁵

Second, *Mihwar Sya'bi*. When they feel that the internal consolidation has been perfected, it is then time to proceed to the next stage, that is, to provide socialization concerning missionary movement. The objectives comprise first, increasing the religious capacity of the society; second, presenting and reinforcing positive opinions about Islam in terms of living matters, with regards to society, economy, politics, law, security and defense, or human right; third, providing *wajibah* or media for legal and formal activities. This circumstance can be seen in the formation of Bulan Sabit Merah (BSM), which operates in the field of humanity; Fourth, providing media or institutions that collect society potentials, such as Tali Foundation, which participates in the field of society business capital assistance centered in Makassar, and so forth; Fifth, building up communication and cooperation with social figures, socio-political organizations, and missionary

¹⁵ This indicates an activity of a reliable internal consolidation, hence it can accommodate all potential they have.

institutions.¹⁶

Third, *Mihwar Mu'assasi*. In this stage, direct political participation should be implemented. This stage may take forms in the establishment of a political party originating from the missionary movement or in the out-spread of the missionary movement activists in different political parties. In fact, a majority of KAMMI and LDK cadres widely spread within a number of political parties in South Sulawesi. By inserting missionary activists into legislative, executive, and judicative institutions in South Sulawesi, PKS is at the same time out-spreading its genuine cadres. Further detail can be seen in the Table below:

Table 1. PKS Parliament member 2009-2014

Area	Type	City	Total
DPW	Province	Sulawesi Selatan	7
DPC	City	Makassar	5
DPC	Regency	Gowa	2
DPC	Regency	Takalar	3
DPC	Regency	Jeneponto	3
DPC	Regency	Bantaeng	1
DPC	Regency	Bulukumba	-
DPC	Regency	Sinjai	3
DPC	Regency	Selayar	-
DPC	Regency	Maros	3
DPC	Regency	Barru	2
DPC	Regency	Pangkep	3

¹⁶ It is evident that PKS cadres has always collaborated with other parties in preparing candidates for the regent. At the same time, a majority of PKS organizers and cadres of South Sulawesi come from other social organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, and Wahdah Islamiah. Recently when Wahdah Islamiah had a conference in Makassar, the president of PKS, Anis Matta, was also present in the event, and it brought about public opinion that Wahdah Islamiah support Anis Matta to run for President.

DPC	City	Pare-pare	3
DPC	Regency	Soppeng	-
DPC	Regency	Wajo	2
DPC	Regency	Sidrap	4
DPC	Regency	Enrekang	1
DPC	Regency	Tator	2
DPC	Regency	Palopo	-
DPC	City	Bone	3
DPC	Regency	Luwu	1
DPC	Regency	Luwu Timur	3
DPC	Regency	Luwu Utara	3

Source: KPU of South Sulawesi

The above data indicate that the amount of PKS cadres in the parliament has widely spread, so that the third stage (*mihwar mu'assasi*) is considered accomplished. This will allow PKS to perform maximum in carrying out its political *dakwah*. The next step in this stage (*mihwar mu'assasi*) is also to have political communication, either in the form of coalition with other parties or in any other forms. Below is the structure of PKS coalition in promoting a regent candidate:

Table 2. PKS Coalition with Other Parties

Province/City	Name of Pairing Candidates	Coalition Party
South Sulawesi	Ilham Arief Sirajuddin Abd. Aziz Kahhar Muzakkar	PKS , PD, HANURA
Makassar	Tamsil Linrung Das'ad Latif	PKS
Gowa	Andi Maddusila Andi Idjo Jamaluddin Rustam	PKS , PKB, PBB, PKPI, PPIB, PKPB, PDP, PIS, PSI PDS
Selayar	H. Syahrir Wahab, MM H. Saiful Arif, SH	Golkar, PAN, PKB, PPP, Barnas, Gerindra and PKS
Bulukumba	H. Zainuddin Hasan H. Syamsuddin, SH., MH	PKB, PKNU, PMB, Gerindra, Merdeka, PKS, PKP

Maros	Nur Hasan - Karim Saleh	PKB, PKNU, PMB, Gerindra, merdeka, PKS , PKP
Pangkep	Drs. H.M. Taufik Fachruddin Hj. Nurul Jaman Syafruddin Nur, SH	PKS , PDIP, PDK, PBR
Barru	HM Malkan Amin HM Sofyan Lskki SH Msi	Partai Demokrat, PKS PPP, PBR, and PDK
Soppeng	H. Andi Soetomo Aris Muhammadiyah	PKS , PAN, PKNU, PPRN, PDP, and PKPI.
Tator	HM.Yunus Kadir Dr.Ir.Yansen Tangketasik,M.Si	PKS , PAN, HANURA, PPDI
Bone	Drs. H. Andi Fashar Mahdin Padjalangi, M.Si-Ambo Dalle	Golkar, PDIP, PPP, PKS
Luwu Timur	Andi Hatta Marakarma Thorig Husler	Golkar, PKS , Demokrat, PAN,
Luwu Utara	Drs. Arifin Junaidi, MM Indah Putri Indriany	PKS , Golkar, PBB, PPP, PAN

The above data indicates that the distribution of PKS' coalition is quite well spared in almost all parties. This shows that the political communication of PKS with other parties is reasonably even and is not discriminating. To the author's analysis, such phenomena indicate that to PKS, the identity and ideology of the party are not barriers. This also indicates that to proceed to the fourth stage, *mihwar daulah*, PKS should not be exclusive towards other parties; it should stay open to achieve its vision of political Islamization.

Fourth, *Mihwar dawlah*. The logic of this stage is that efforts to establish justice, goodness, and preservation of community aspiration are not sufficient to be carried out by the political party alone. To PKS, there are a number of limitations on the part of the political parties. The party is only one of the instruments with activities effected by various other systems in a country. An

instance for this is the life of political party is affected by the decree and other ruling instruments relating to party concern and general election. Even if it is feasible to send missionary activist to accomplish mission in the parliament, this is not sufficient in achieving wider political objectives.¹⁷

Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr suggests that political life is a must in the social life of the human being. Without political life, human life in the society will not achieve well order. Human's mutual objectives will not be achieved if they do not help each other. In this regard, Ibnu Khadun defines politics as a mechanism that helps human life in the society run well to achieve the mutual objectives of their shared ideals.¹⁸

For this reason, missionary movement should consider about constructing an independent ruling government, which is free from any foreign interference in terms of ideology, politics, law, economy, and culture. This will create governance that protects the society from degradation of faith and morality, fulfills society's rights, establish justice and prosperity for every single nation, manages natural resource with total responsibility. Such

¹⁷ Chayadi Takariawan, *Menyongsong Mibwar Daulah; Mempersiapkan Kader-Kader dakwah menjadi Pemimpin Negara*. Intermedia, Solo, 2009. In the context of South Sulawesi, the presence of PKS cadres in the parliament as well as at the position as Regents in some areas indicates that South Sulawesi has entered the stage of *MibwarDaulah*. Interview with Sri Rahmi, PKS parliamentary specialist, on 19 Desember 2013.

¹⁸In understanding a political significance, one chapter of his book is entitled "*Masyarakat manusia harus mempunyai suatu politik yang akan mengatur urusannya*". See Ibnu Khaldun, *Muqaddimah*, p. 137.

circumstance necessitates the involvement of (PKS) missionary activists that it has to be applied in the orbit of penetration into state institution. (Khalidun, 1986:67). Political penetration into the state government is a special phenomenon for the contemporary Islamic politics. This further confirms that Islamist movements have realizes that in order to achieve their political vision of Islamism they have to join the power circle. Missionary should be in synergy with politics.¹⁹

The above political phenomena is corresponding to Yusuf Qardhawi (1997:123) in his viewing that Islam will have no meaning without politics. When one separates Islam from politics, he has turned it to become like Buddhism, Christianity, and so forth. The reason is that non-Islam religion only comprise spiritual substance and leave out political matters.

Political roles in human social life is particularly significant, as, according to Ibnu Khaldun, political life only belongs to human beings. Animals and other beings do not have such element of life. Therefore, human deals with political life through the best sides existing in himself, that is, by implementing his best characters. (Qardhawi, 1997:69)

Particularly with the case of PKS, shifting viewpoints upon the existing local issues appears to be reasonably moderate and has no difference from those of other parties. This is observable in the

¹⁹ Interview with Andi Akmal Pasluddin, head of DPW PKS of South Sulawesi Selatan on 13 July 2014 in Makassar.

following table.

Table 3. Local Issues and PKS Viewpoints

Issue	PKS Viewpoint
Freedom of Pers	The main point is freedom with responsibility. The public should be widely Informed, but with sensible effects.
Food and Drug Control	The control is a must and should be intensified in collaboration with BBPOM
Train Project	This is an alternative cheap transportation besides bus, to support economic development. For city transportation, the model of bus way and monorail should be planned at the level of RT RW.
Market Control	Markets are centers of public economy, but at the same time it should be straightened in order not to cause traffic problems. It is time to rearrange market areas to keep them clean and comfortable.
Control of Improper Housing Area	Overcome poverty. Poverty is the main cause of improper housing.
Index Target of Human Development	Economical empowerment. The component of human development (IMP) comprises, age, knowledge, and proper living standard. These three elements can be improved when the community is economically strong.
Comfort City	<i>Comfort City. One house one</i>

The importance of lactation room	tree, spread out plants within the city, provide green lines by planting tree along street edges. Encourage development of roof garden on high buildings.
Unemployment	Provide capital assistance, trainings, coaching, and consultation from successful business corporation. Developers should provide lactation room. Public and governmental facility should have special segments including lactation room, toilet for children, and facility for the disable. Public empowerment with trainings and financial assistance.

Source: adapted from some campaign issues proposed by some PKS Regent/Mayor and legislative candidates

In the case of the general election for the Mayor of Makassar in 2013, the main programs proposed by PKS candidates are such as: 1) Quick Response; 2) One Roof Services; 3) Transparency of Information; 4) The mayor hears; 5) Makassar Cyber Net; 6) Optimization of Government officials.²⁰

The seven major programs above clearly illustrate that PKS' partner in the general election for Makassar Mayor

²⁰Political campaign of PKS candidates for mayor and deputy mayor, Tamsil Linrung and Das'ad Latif, in 2013. Among major ethical and moral principles proposed by the *sharia* on the rhetoric campaign, there are two of particularly importance: honesty and truthfulness. The communication in the campaign, either verbally, in writing, and through other means must be based on *sharia* (Thaib 1994: 88)

sufficiently reflect the concept of good governance. Such ideological issues turned out to be improving the community response to every general election and hence make it capable to compete with the other parties, especially other Islamic parties. PKS policy looks indifferent from those of other parties. Ideological issues such as the enforcement of Islamic law are no longer a major issue. Yet in certain cases, such as legislation of liquor in Makassar airport, PKS was quite shocking for being among the parties that accept these local regulations.

On the election of Makassar Mayor, many observers, including the author, were amazed as PKS was daring to nominate one of its outstanding cadres, Tamsil Linrung, to compete in the election, whereas Tamsil was widely known for his expertise in the House of Representatives of the Indonesian Republic with national experience, not just a local player. PKS is like a miniature of the country wherein it always stands on the state formation by prioritizing structure and not driven by merely power and the interest of social formation.

In many cases, it is undeniable that PKS is often trapped in practical interests and in the dilemma between votes and *sharia*, and also between the aspiration of the congregation and the practical political interests. This is a risk that must be faced by PKS with the spirit of Da'wah Party living in a secularist system of direct democracy. PKS's decision to promote its own cadre in the election of Makassar Mayor is consequently of high risks. First, the political winds that hit the PKS at national level was indeed being

not good, especially after the case of meat import bribery, which dragged the president of PKS, Lutfi Hasan Ishaq, to court. Worse yet, this case brought up some points that could lead to a sentiment in the part of voters, especially the presence of women in circle of the meat import case. Although this is of national issues, the influence of the news certainly affect mainly women voters at the local level.

As a cadre party, an internal dynamic within the PKS has occurred, wherein equation between structure and actor took place. The attack on PKS at the national level in the bribes case of meat import must have an impact up to the election of the mayor of Makassar city. Negative stereotyping upon the conduct of Ahmad Fatonah (AF) who was considered to be in direct contact with Lutfi Hasan Ishaq should not be taken as trivial. Above all, AF has a political as well as cultural proximity with Makassar citizens in general.

Second, nominating figures from a national stage level is also not always good and tends to contain greater risks, although on the other hand Linrung has been continuously building an image of a figure with closeness to Makassar for representing the constituency of South Sulawesi.

Although PKS was experiencing internal dynamics as the above, it in fact a part of politics, which by definition is identified as part of the art of the possibility, wherein any happenings can occur. Sometimes a candidate has spent long time engaging in political socialization but then could not say much as the subject

ultimately has to deal with the elite selection or for being long-winded in building voter polarization.

In the case of Makassar Mayor election, the mass media issued a surprise from PKS regarding Tamsil Linrung's partner, the famous religious figure from Makassar, Das'ad Latif. This was such a surprise because Das'ad is widely known as a scholar or preacher who frequently help candidates campaigning for the General Election, especially in regional elections.

The figure Das'ad was chosen because he must have a huge potential for a popular vote especially within the collection of *taklim* or the mosque voter base. A religious figure that runs for an election makes a surprise for the people of Makassar, considering that besides the figures of businesspersons, politicians, bureaucrats, there are also religious figures. This is a phenomenon that explains how the current election of Makassar Mayor represents a number of professional groups with different backgrounds. At least Ustadz Das'ad becomes an icon reflecting the plurality of the candidates for the Mayor of Makassar, and the diversity of political motives in a mayor election arena. At least an Ustadz figure could serve as a base and hope for Muslims, especially in Makassar, to establish good political guidance in accordance with the *siyasa syar'iyah*.

'Militant' PKS cadres can make the main capital for the pair of Tamsil Linrung and Das'ad Latif in the context of election of Makassar Mayor. By maximizing the political network of PKS cadres effectively, this couple should not be underestimated. PKS

has the structure of militant supported by young voters with urban bases.

But there is one technical problem that is often forgotten, that is, are the cadres, who are largely of campus base, eligible to vote? Sometimes many PKS cadres are not registered as voters, mainly because they are students in Makassar without voter cards. Another major problem faced by this candidate pair is in having political communication with the non-cadres. Perhaps this is where Ustad Das'ad plays the major role of having political communication at the network of more pluralistic Islamic politics. Moreover, as an alumni and a communication lecturer, Ustad Das'ad is knowledgeable and therefore capable of building simple communication for voters to easily understand.²¹

Looking at political practices and issues above, it is obvious that PKS actually wants to give impression to the public that the party is not exclusive, it is open to problems of society. This makes particular notes that to enter to the stage of *mihwar daulah* it should certainly be able to grasp the real issues occurring in the community to strive for in the state level.²²

To look at PKS in the context of democracy is indeed very

²¹ In a relaxed talk in his home, Ustadz Das'ad said that his involvement in the Mayor election is due to the support of PKS president, Ustadz Anis Matta. For him, a political involvement of an *ustadz* (religious preacher) is not a problem. The reason is, so far *ustadz* has been preaching for *dakwah* outside the Parliament, and now it is not enough just to preach and strive for the interests of the community in such an old fashion, now it is time to get into the Parliament.

²² Interview with Hj. Devi Santy Erawati, a member of the House of Representative of South Sulawesi on 15 Juli 2014.

interesting. Political observers identify PKS as Islamist democrats, the Islamist group that runs democracy, at least electoral democracy, but still reinforce Islamic identity and agenda into public life. The term Islamist democrats, according to a senior political analyst, Saiful Mujani, is a sort of *contradictio in terminis*, a phrase that implies contradictory within itself (Mujani, 2008: 78)

It is certainly easy to understand why the phenomenon of Islamist democrat is called a contradiction, as the common pattern recognized so far is that Islamic movements and democracy are two entities that can never be united. We can see such views through the ideas of Hizb ut-Tahrir, Jamaat Ansharut Tauhid, and other anti-democratic groups.

The *sharia* enforcement efforts promoted by PKS, according to the author, is not as an indicator that they impeding democracy. Precisely according to the author, the struggle for the enforcement of *sharia* in a sense means reinforcing democracy although in a substantial sense (substantive democracy). Sharia has become people's choice as a solution to the crisis. The democratic transition in early 2000s was colored by various issues. The most prominent point was the inability of the state to ensure security, order and legal certainty. On the one hand, the country security tool experienced a delegitimizing and inability due to the history burden from the New Order; at the same time there was also an internal reform demand within the police and military institutions. On the other, social groups enjoy the euphoria of freedom of expression and association. The freedom of expression space

became an expression arena for various groups using their respective moral standards. As a result, conflicts and social tensions often occurred, and even led to mass anarchism and street thuggery.

Sharia movement should be recognized as a result of Islamic activism existing in different institutions, both political parties and extra-parliamentary. Alternation is not in the sense of formal-legalistic substitution, but rather a discursive construction as a new reference for morality standard and social order. It is called discursive construction because the real movement of *sharia* is partial and superficial in nature. It is partial because it tends to be very limited in the area of religious rituals, such as congregational prayers, reciting the Qur'an, and Muslim fashion. As for the problems relating to poverty, education, corruption, tolerance, and social integration are left untouched. Not mention the issues concerning man's relationship with the nature and the environment.

Therefore, the *sharia* movement is still superficial, covering only surface area. *Sharia* movement has not been a long-term oriented problem solving for the socioeconomic conditions. Instead, *sharia* regulations still aim at short-term-oriented results in a short time and are measurable. In spite of its various limitations, *shariah* discourse at least can apply as a morality bond, especially in Muslim-majority regions. In the conditions of crisis, people need a shared system of values to hold on together. Crises often leads to anomie in which the old system is no longer valid or has bee

delegitimized, while the new system as substitute has not been available.

The rapid growth of *sharia* regulations occurs in this anomic period. It is in this context that the initiation of *sharia* contributed to prevent the society from a greater chaos risk due to the absence of a universal value base (morality). This argument is strengthened by the fact: the “golden” period of sharia movement in regional areas only took the average of 3-5 years before losing charm and influence on the society.

Sharia movement at the local level has also become a momentum of social consolidation and a consolidation of democracy. Shariah discourse has drawn the ideological Islamic group to enter into the epicenter of the dynamics of local democracy. Previously, they are excluded from political activism. They were formerly Masjumi, Darul Islam, and sharia ideology bearers. For four decades (1950-1990's) they experienced military oppression and regime stigmatization.

During that period they were forced to be apolitical. In fact, building up substantive democracy needs active partisipation from all elements of society. In this context, the discourse of the sharia functions as attraction as well as political participation space of ideological Islamist groups. This development is of course particularly meaningful to improve the quality of Indonesian democracy.

It is interesting to see that the consolidation and political participation of ideological Islamic groups did not only occur

during the golden period of the *sharia* movement. For the case of Bulukumba, for example, the golden period of the *sharia* movement occurred in 2001-2006 under the Regent Patabai Pabokori. There is even one village named Islamic village. As with other cities such as Pangkep, Maros and Sinjai, they almost entirely apply Islamic law. In that period, the *sharia* movement could mobilize human and financial resources in large quantities. *Shariah* discourse colored governmental bureaucracy, education, teaching in schools, and even in the wedding celebration events within the society. After 2006, when the local power switched, the spirit of *sharia* was fading. Financial support was getting thin. Mobilization of *Kiyai* and *ustadz* was also discontinuing.

However, such circumstance was not necessarily redopolitized ideological Islamic group. Consolidation movement is maintained. Substantive participation in the process of policy making is also consistently performed. If prior to the declaration the sharia movements tended to withdraw from political activism, now they actively influence the policy making process. They do not enter the political power structure, but they have an effective medium for channeling their political aspirations within the reason of local democracy.

Besides, the ideological Islamic groups, that formerly used street action as a medium for *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar*, are now adopting a more elegant method. Moral movement is no longer violent, but peaceful and measurable. Physical violence is no longer the case, especially in addressing immoral practices such as

gambling and prostitution.

This condition is influenced by at least two aspects. First, the internalization of Islamic values of peace and mercy upon everything. Second, the democratic mechanism is believed to open the space for the possibility to realize the ideals of the struggle. Thus, the *sharia* movements in many areas have contributed to building and strengthening democracy. The relationship of the two does not occur through fight of negating each other. Instead, it should be understood within the frame of complementing each other in building a democratic system.

Broadly put, in line with some of the above expert opinions, the construction of PKS' missionary and political philosophy in the field of *fiqh siyasah*, which includes *siyasah dusturiyyah*, *maliyyah* and *dauliyyah*, is still limited to just jargon and concepts. This is visible in the circumstance that some political actions of PKS in Makassar are still not maximized, or even worse, they appear to play a weak role.

Conclusion

The above discussion emphasizes the important factors that include PKS into the category of Islamic party aiming to build or integrate political and *dakwah* (missionary). This perspective stresses that the world of ideas and ideology in conjunction with the factors of organization and political chances is very important. This point also affirms PKS as an organization of social movements. The concept of *siyasah dusturiyyah*, *maliyyah*, and

dauliyyah has entered the stage of state orbit (*mihwar dauliyah*) that has been implemented so far by PKS.

There are some aspects contributing to PKS' entering into such stage; 1) PKS does not only articulates a political agenda in the formally institutionalized politics, but also expresses dissatisfaction and interests through a series of collective actions followed by its sympathizers in a very large quantities on a regular basis. It can be said that there is no other party besides PKS that has a strong relationship with extra-Parliament collective; 2) PKS is a political party that was born through the womb of Islamic social movement entitled *Tarbiyah* (education). PKS utilizes the existing *tarbiyah* networks and resources to carry out its political agenda. PKS has a cell base network (*usrah*) wherein its members hold a meeting to recite and memorize the Qur'an and to have weekly discussions (*halaqah*); 3) The great number of PKS members/cadres entering into the parliament and policy makers, such as some PKS members occupying important positions.

Finally, the importance of reconstruction efforts upon *fiqh siyasah* and of digging it up from classic and contemporary books of *fiqh*. These themes of *fiqh siyasah* can actually be found in the *fiqh* books of ancient scholars, it just needs some reconstruct efforts in order to address contemporary issues.