




Political Flow in the 2009 Election (Study on Changes in the Platform for the Prosperous Justice Party in the 2009 Election)

Muhammad Alatas

Political Science Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Article history:</p> <p>Received August 28, 2021 Revised Sep 10, 2021 Accepted Sep 20, 2021</p> <hr/> <p>Keywords:</p> <p>Elections, platforms, Political</p>	<p>The purpose of this study is to describe the dynamics of Indonesian Islamic politics that occurred in the 2009 general election (election). Given that since the 1998 reforms were rolled out, it seems to have reopened the pages of history about the flow patterns that were formed in the early days of independence. In contrast to the previous two elections, where the nuances of sectarianism were very strong, in the 2009 elections, every political party began to realize that in the context of a pluralistic society like Indonesia, it would seem odd to only rely on religio-ideological cleavages as icons for mobilizing and maximizing votes. Because by opening up, each party can gain as much support as possible from various entities, races, religions and groups in order to rule this country. And in general, this research aims to see the pattern of political flow that occurred in the 2009 election; a study on changes to the Prosperous Justice Party Platform in the 2009 General Election.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC license.</i></p> <div style="text-align: right;">  </div>

Corresponding Author:

Muhammad Alatas,
Political Science Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta
Email: muhammadalatas@gmail.com

1. INTRODUCTION

The Prosperous Justice Party (PK-Prosperous) is the continuation of the struggle for the Justice Party (PK) which in the 1999 election won 1.4 million votes (7 DPR seats, 26 Provincial DPRD seats and 163 City/Regency DPRD seats) (Kurniawan, 2014). On July 20, 1998 PKS was founded with the initial name Partai Keadilan (abbreviated as PK) at a press conference at the Al-Azhar Mosque Hall, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta. The president (chair) of this party is Nurmahmudi Isma'il (Ujang, Mukarom, & Sa'diah, 2018).

On 20 October 1999, PK accepted the offer of a seat in the Ministry of Forestry and Plantations (Hutbun) in the cabinet of KH Abdurrahman Wahid's government, and appointed Nurmahmudi Isma'il (then party president) as candidate for minister. (AlFaruqy, Sarbini, & Setiawan, 2017). Nurmahmudi later resigned as party president and was replaced by Hidayat Nur Wahid who was elected on May 21, 2000. On August 3, 2000 Eight Islamic parties (PPP, PBB, PK, Masyumi, PKU, PNU, PUI, PSII 1905) held a gathering and gathering Islamic parties at the Al Azhar Mosque and asked for the Jakarta Charter to be included in the 1945 Amendment to the 1945 Constitution (Azhar, 2015).

As a result of the Election Law Number 3 of 1999 concerning the conditions for the application of the minimum limit for the participation of political parties in the next election (electoral threshold) of two percent, the PK must change its name to be able to participate again in the next

election.(Amen, 2015). On July 2, 2003, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) completed the entire verification process of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights (Depkehham) at the Regional Leadership Council (Provincial) and Regional Leadership Councils (Regency/City level). A day later, PK merged with PKS and with this merger, all of PK's property rights belonged to PKS, including its board members and cadres. With this merger, the PK (Justice Party) officially changed its name to PKS (Prosperous Justice Party).(Nurlina, 2014).

After the 2004 General Election, Hidayat Nur Wahid (the incumbent President of PKS) was elected as chairman of the MPR for the 2004-2009 term and resigned from his position as President of PK Sejahtera. At the First PKS Syuro Council Session on 26-29 May 2005 in Jakarta, Tifatul Sembiring was elected President of PK Sejahtera for the 2005-2010 period.

R. William Liddle, a professor in Ohio State University's Department of Political Science, in his book *Revolution from the Outside; Demokatzation in Indonesia* (2005), states that in the 1999 and 2004 elections, there was an ideological struggle which later transformed into political power. PKS is one of the parties that emerged from the modernist Islamic ideology adopted by party elites, and made this ideology an icon for mobilizing and maximizing votes. This then makes some people call PKS as well as other parties that rely on religio-ideological cleavages as icons for mobilizing and maximizing votes as "stream politics".(M. Alatas, nd).

The concept of flow was first coined by anthropologist Clifford Geertz in *The Javanese Village* (1959), to describe the social and political structure of villages in Java at the beginning of the independence era. Two years (1952-1954) Geertz lived in Pare, East Java, before he finally introduced this concept to the scientific world(Fauziah, nd).

The pattern of formation of sects in Indonesian politics is an excess of the influence of Dutch colonial ethical politics³ Geertz . Research(Teak, 2016)even observed that the agrarian policies of the Dutch government, in particular the so-called *Cultuur Stelsel*, the forced cultivation system of agriculture, sought to protect or preserve the traditional social and political structures of the Javanese. The Dutch colonialists also tried to isolate Javanese society from the outside world, or in Geertz's language "Javanese agricultural products, but not the people, want to be included in the modern world".

What is meant by stream politics is a socio-cultural group that is transformed into a political organization. In the 1950s, Clifford Geertz found four major sects in Javanese society, namely: PNI which represented the priyayi group, PKI which represented the abangan group, Masyumi as representative of modernist students, and NU which represented traditionalist students. Thus the formation of political parties at the beginning of independence followed the existing grouping lines, either according to ethnic groups, ethnicities or religions and beliefs.(Herdiansah, 2017)

Anis Matta, Secretary General of PKS(S. Alatas, 2010), said that the era of sectarian politics in Indonesia was judged to be over. Constituents in the 2009 election are predicted to be more affected by the performance of cadres and party credibility, rather than religious sentiments or certain groups. Uniquely, this statement was conveyed by the Secretary at a meeting of the PKS Team of Eight with a number of non-Muslim figures from Makassar at the Clarion Hotel, Makassar. Therefore, according to Anis, PKS wants to embrace all ethnic groups and religions in Indonesia to meet the target of 20 percent of the vote in the 2009 General Election. Now is the time for PKS to open up, carry out humanitarian issues without the domination of religion. In addition, the PKS agenda to carry out humanitarian issues without any barriers in national unity is to eliminate the common belief that the party is always oriented towards place, character, and color.

Although initially PKS wanted to try to maneuver with a cross-ideological strategy, support for PKS still tends to be dominated by its militant cadres. PKS is not able to penetrate the ideological boundaries of political streams, and is less successful in sucking in swing voters and rational voters. This is evidenced by the relatively stable (stagnant) vote of PKS in the 2009 election(Nurhasim et al., 2016).

2. RESEARCH METHOD

2.1. Types of research

In compiling this thesis, the author uses qualitative research methods by conducting a literature search in the form of books, papers, newspapers, articles related to the writings

discussed in this thesis. To comprehensively complete the material in this paper, the author conducted in-depth interviews, with the technique used was purposive sampling [12], namely the sample was selected with certain considerations, while the considerations taken were based on the research objectives. And as resource persons are members of the Party Advisory Council (MPP) and the Syuro Council of the Prosperous Justice Party and also one of the founders of the Prosperous Justice Party.

All data, both literature and interviews, were then analyzed descriptively. As a reference for this writing guide, the author uses a book published by the Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta "Guidelines for Writing Thesis, Thesis and Dissertation" and the 2003/2004 academic guidebook of the Faculty of Ushuludin and Philosophy of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

2.2. Data collection technique

The data collection techniques for this research are first, documentation which includes study materials in the form of written works in the form of books, articles, journals, seminar papers, books, Golkar Party documents and data from the mass media. The second interview was a question and answer process in the ongoing research, in which two or more people met face-to-face, digging directly for information or information from several sources who understood the leadership patterns of Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla in the post-New Order Golkar Party.

2.3. Data analysis technique

While the analysis technique is one of the techniques in research by conducting analyzes of the data obtained. This analysis aims to explain in as much detail as possible with matters relating to the post-New Order leadership pattern of the Golkar Party. So the analysis that will be used is descriptive analysis, namely the efforts made by working with data, digging up data and information, organizing data, sorting it into manageable units, with the aim of finding a systematic, factual, actual picture of the facts and activities related to the leadership pattern of Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla in the post-New Order Golkar Party.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Stream Politics in the 2009 Election

As explained in the previous chapter, what is meant by stream politics is a socio-cultural group that is transformed into a political organization. Clifford Geertz found four major sects in Javanese society, namely the PNI which represented the priyayi group, the PKI which represented the abangan group, Masyumi as the representative of the modernist santri, and NU which was the representative of the traditionalist santri. Thus the formation of political parties at the beginning of independence followed the existing grouping lines, either according to ethnic groups, ethnic groups or religions and beliefs.

During the New Order era, the flow pattern was reflected in electoral politics when Suharto forced all santri parties to join the United Development Party (PPP), and all priyayi, abangan, and non-Islamic parties diffused into the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). After the New Order, the political reality based on the flow did not gradually disappear, but on the contrary became more prominent. R. William Liddle, professor in Ohio State University's Department of Political Science, in his book *Revolution from the Outside; Democratization in Indonesia* (2005) states that the flow pattern still applies, and in the 1999 elections all parties that won the most votes, except Golkar were a new embodiment of the flow system described by Geertz.

The PDI-P was an organizational and ideological continuation of the PNI created by Sukarno. Likewise with PKB, which is a continuation of the NU political party. We can also link, more loosely, between PAN through Muhammadiyah (as modernist students) and Masyumi. PPP also cannot be separated from its past with NU when in 1971 with the santri parties, it diffused into PPP.

According to Arya Fernandes, political trends are now moving away from ideological spaces, things that have been considered taboo. That has been refuted. The rivalry of Islamism and nationalism is no longer in the ideological realm. Religious symbols are also no longer a lure to attract voters' sympathy. The formation of Baitul Muslim Indonesia (BMI) by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the declaration of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) to become an open party further strengthens the signal of the collapse of political flow.

Imam Prihadiyoko is more extreme in saying that Indonesian politics is now increasingly showing non-ideological politics. In fact, according to him, there is no longer a tiring ideological debate. Ideological polarization like the past is very difficult to find, especially when dealing with Islam and Nationalists. This shift, according to Prihadiyoko, further shows the lack of clarity in politics. The reason is, the political style that emerges is like the blind being attacked by bees. His steps and actions seemed irregular, all he wanted was the end result.

3.2 Changes to the Prosperous Justice Party Platform.

The PK Sejahtera development policy platform is a document that reflects the party's vision, mission, programs and attitudes towards various Indonesian problems. The platform is the main driver of party activities, and will make all party assets in all sectors of life, namely the third sector, public sector and private sector work in an integrated, continuous, focused and directed manner so that limited party resources can be managed properly to get results in accordance with which is expected and can be directly felt by sympathizers, constituents and society in general.

According to the Chairman of the PKS Central Advisory Council, Suharna Surapranata, the PKS Development Policy Platform in various strategic areas of life is seen as important for two goals. First, as an instrument of communication to the constituent masses as well as a tool to resonate perceptions about the shared life that is being fought for. Because this platform reflects the identity, content of the heart and the head of the PKS, as well as navigation in managing the country and the commitments that will be carried out. In a political context, the platform is a proposal offered by the party to constituents and the voting public to gain votes in an objective and responsible manner.

This political platform also wants to reaffirm the characteristics of PKS as a Da'wah Party, which not only works in a structural political struggle for power every 5 years in the election frame, but also as a party that carries out cultural works in the development of people and civilization. It is in this context that PKS's determination can be expressed as a da'wah institution that carries the principles and commitments of being clean, caring and professional.

The PKS Development Policy Platform consists of platforms in the political, economic and socio-cultural fields. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the platform is limited to discussing political platforms. In summary, the political platform can be described as follows:

Table 1. Prosperous Justice Party Platform Summary

No	Politics	Platform overview
1	National Politics	Pioneering the reform of the political, bureaucratic, judicial, and military systems to commit to strengthening democracy
2	Leadership	Cultivate strong leadership who has the ability to build community solidarity to participate in all dynamics of national and state life, which has moral, personality, and intellectual excellence (Clean, Caring and Professional)
3	National state administration	Encouraging the implementation of the constitutional system in accordance with the functions and authorities of each institution so that there is a process of mutual supervision, changes to more stable constitutional relations
4	Bureaucratic Reform	Improving the recruitment system and awarding sanctions, as well as managing the number of civil servants and focusing on functional positions to build a clean, credible and efficient bureaucracy
5	Law enforcement and human rights protection	The law enforcement strategy begins with cleaning up the enforcement officers from problematic and corrupt behavior, as well as strengthening institutional capacity
6	Defense	Making people's power the basic capital of the state's strength in facing domestic threats of foreign funds, by increasing awareness of defending the state of the people through the growth of mutual trust and a new national spirit.
7	Security	Making people's power as the basic capital of domestic security and social order by placing the police as the apparatus for maintaining security and order, law enforcement, protector and protector and public servant.
8	territory	Developing controlled regional autonomy and oriented towards the spirit of justice and proportionality through deliberation in state institutions at the central, provincial and regional levels
9	Foreign policy	Encouraging free and active principles, mobilizing world solidarity in support of oppressed nations in seizing their independence

No	Politics	Platform overview
10	Communication and Information	Fulfilling the principle of freedom of information with honesty in communication, accompanied by the enforcement of professional ethics and the provision of legal sanctions for violations of information. Maintaining the spirit of freedom of expression so as not to be restrained by economic and political interests.

With regard to the form of the state, PKS aspires to development towards an advanced, strong, safe, just, prosperous and dignified Indonesia in accordance with universal ideals, namely the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia which is just and prosperous under the protection of Allah SWT. PKS makes democracy a representative political model in the context of a pluralistic society like Indonesia.

By observing all the platforms in the political field listed in the "Prosperous Justice Party Development Policy Platform", it can actually be concluded that there have been no significant changes that can classify PKS as an open party.

Regarding PKS's commitment to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and democracy which is emphasized in the Development Policy Platform, since its inception, PKS has never shown any intention of establishing an Islamic State in Indonesia. Based on the political documents compiled by this party, there is absolutely no mention of establishing an Islamic State or any agenda for enforcing the Jakarta Charter.

Regarding the commitment to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and Democracy, stated by one of the founders of PKS, Abdullah Baharmus, Lc., MA., he stated that PKS is one of the Political Parties in Indonesia which has the principle that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is final, so we do not want to establish Islamic State, but after all the morals and teachings of Islam must be our soul and our daily life. Therefore, in politics, we must use Islamic morals and Islamic principles such as justice, honesty, professionalism. As also stated by one of the members of the PKS Syuro Council, Ika Fithriyadi, that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is final as stated in the PKS Platform book issued by the Party Advisory Council (MPP).

3.3 Factors Affecting Platform Changes

Changes in MCC are mostly related to internal and external factors. According to Ika Fithriyadi, one of the factors that pushed PKS to make these image changes was because PKS was often accused of being an ideological party associated with hardline Islamic groups, such as Wahabiah and the Muslim Brotherhood. According to Fithriyadi, in many ways it is related, in fact there is no relationship at all between PKS, Wahabiah and the Muslim Brotherhood, and this issue also arises from outside PKS, in fact if it is called an effort to implement Islam in a kaffah manner and it arises from a movement, we agree. However, PKS is a political party in Indonesia that is not allowed to have relations with foreign countries.

The Secretary General of the PKS DPP, Anis Matta, added that since the 2004 general election, it has become increasingly recognized that PKS must open up if it wants to become a big party. This is the internal attraction of PKS. On the one hand, there is a desire to become a big party by opening up, on the other hand, it does not want to lose its Islamic identity³². Similarly, what Baharmus said that means that the political application system applied by PKS in gaining public sympathy has been changed. In the past, PKS was very famous for its Islam, but now we embrace all circles, because Indonesia is a pluralistic country. We try to respect all parties and in practice there are and are not political affairs, PKS cadres help all parties affected by natural disasters, for example in Bali,

Meanwhile, according to Ika Fithriyadi, another factor was that PKS was a new party founded by people who were not from the previous government or had no contact with politics before the reform era. As a new party that has participated in 2 general elections, PKS continues to learn from experience to be able to realize our hopes and elections are a benchmark for the community to recognize the existence of PKS. In 1999 PK got 1.7% of the vote, in 2004 PKS got 7.7% of the vote (an increase of 3 times) and exceeded the (electoral threshold) in the 2004 election which was 3% of the vote, in just 10 years it has received an extraordinary number of votes. Allah SWT.

So then, according to Fithriyadi, the Shura Council made a strategy to face the 2009 general election with a target of 20% or 24 million votes and/or the top three. So to achieve this target, it is necessary to mobilize our potential in order to be able to achieve the number we are targeting. We

make a strategy for cadres to be able to perform two roles, namely mobilization vertically and horizontally. What is meant by vertical mobilization is so that cadres are able to massively play a role in existing institutions in this country, while horizontal mobilization is so that cadres are able to coordinate and have dialogue with the community. These two things are then emphasized as a way for us to be able to carry out our potential in order to gain the voice of the community. We know that Indonesian society is so heterogeneous that of course there will be pros and cons issues, that's for sure. PKS does not want to be pro only to one community, therefore a big idea emerged to then attract support from all parties, such as Suharto and his supporters, Soekarno and his supporters, Ahmad Dahlan and his supporters. This is the way we can get votes, regardless of the existing controversy and marketing observers admit that PKS has taken a pretty good and smart way. Even though in the 2009 election, PKS did not reach its target, we must take lessons from all the events that occurred. such as Suharto and his supporters, Soekarno and his supporters, Ahmad Dahlan and his supporters. This is the way we can get votes, regardless of the existing controversy and marketing observers admit that PKS has taken a pretty good and smart way. Even though in the 2009 election, PKS did not reach its target, we must take lessons from all the events that occurred. such as Suharto and his supporters, Soekarno and his supporters, Ahmad Dahlan and his supporters. This is the way we can get votes, regardless of the existing controversy and marketing observers admit that PKS has taken a pretty good and smart way. Even though in the 2009 election, PKS did not reach its target, we must take lessons from all the events that occurred.

3.4 Implications of Changes in the PKS Platform in the 2009 Election

When the Prosperous Justice Party declared a change in itself, many reactions arose from both internal and external parties. The first reaction according to Ika Fithriyadi³⁵ came from his cadres. According to him, PKS does not deny that the idea of change raises many questions from many parties. It should be noted that everything that has been done will certainly not satisfy all parties. We will use all the experiences that we did in the 2009 election to make a lesson for the better towards the 2014 election.

In a report in Tempo's *mahalalah* entitled "Political Maneuver of the Prosperous Faction" (Tempo, 30 November 2008) it was written that there were many reactions within PKS over the image of change introduced by the party. Anis Matta, the Head of the National Election Winning Team, who cooked up the advertisement, was heavily criticized by the Party's Central Leadership Council. One of the strongest critics is PKS President, Tifatul Sembiring.

The former deputy chairman of the Justice Party, Syamsul Balda, revealed that the image of change promoted by PKS had created two major factions in the party: the "justice camp" and the "prosperous camp". The justice camp chose conservatives in politics, represented by Mustafa Kamal, Untung Wahono and Muttamimul Ula. Meanwhile, the welfare camp is progressive and opportunistic. In this line there are Anis Matta, Fachri Hamzah and Abu Bakr Alhabsyi.

Meanwhile, reactions from outside were very diverse, especially from observers who considered what PKS was doing was controversial. Fachry Ali³⁷ considered that on the one hand PKS had been "gambling" because, it could be, due to the installation of the image, its fanatical voters "run". Meanwhile, Anhar Gonggong³⁸ suspects that this "change" maneuver is highly political: to gain votes, especially Suharto's followers. Moreover, PKS targets that in the 2010 Legislative Election it will be able to get 20 percent of the votes. So with a fairly heavy target, PKS needs a breakthrough by attracting voters, not only Islamic fanatics.

Then, according to Ika Fithriyadi, the relationship between party changes and the number of votes in 2009 was PKS won 7.8% of the vote, if the target was 20%, we failed. But if we generally look at the 2009 election, the Democratic Tsunami/SBY tsunami hit all parties, only PKS survived. PKS in the 2009 election was in 4th position, namely the Modernist Islamic Party which won the most votes. The number of members of the DPR also increased to 57 seats, the ministers sitting in the cabinet increased to 4 ministers. Therefore, to prepare for the 2014 election, PKS must have the courage to bring up other advertisements.

4. CONCLUSION

In general, the 2009 elections are no longer enlivened by ideological or religious struggles. The battle in the election is more colored by imaging and selling the charms of the figures. Political

trends are now moving away from ideological spaces, things that have been considered taboo. That has been refuted. The rivalry of Islamism and nationalism is no longer in the ideological realm. Religious symbols are also no longer a lure to attract voters' sympathy. The formation of Baitul Muslim Indonesia (BMI) by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the declaration of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) to become an open party further strengthens the signal of the collapse of political flow. The fading of political sects in the 2009 elections was also marked by the fading of the ideologies of the parties that became the basis of their struggle. Islamism as a political ideology also no longer has a significant place in the hearts of the voters. So, unlike the 1955 general election, when political currents were still strong and the ideological rivalry between Islamic and secular parties became very obvious. Now, current politics has lost its meaning, especially after the change in the image of PKS to become a pluralist and open party. It becomes difficult then to distinguish between Islamic parties and secular parties. It seems that there is no longer a clear difference between Islamic and secular parties, both in terms of ideology and programs. What has been considered taboo for secular parties has now been debunked. Secular parties such as PDIP managed to accommodate the interests of Islamic groups through the formation of BMI, something that was very taboo in the 1950s. PK Sejahtera development policy platform, is a document that reflects the party's vision, mission, program and attitude towards various Indonesian problems. By observing all the platforms in the political field listed in the "Platform of the Prosperous Justice Party Development Policy", it can actually be concluded that there have been no significant changes that can classify the Prosperous PK as an open party.

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