



DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

**LOCAL POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT ISSUES
IN INDONESIA**

Editors:

Dyah Mutiarin
Ridho Al-Hamdi
Isnaini Muallidin
Queeny Pearl Tomaro



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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Local Politics and Public Management Issues in Indonesia

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THE VOICE OF ISLAMIC PARTY IN INDONESIA: THE CASE OF THE INDONESIA'S 2014 GENERAL ELECTION

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Abstract

The Islamist phenomenon causes the gaps of economic and political situation for islamic communities in Indonesia and political euphoria or democracy in Indonesia. That it is raison islamic politics resurgent on the 2014 general election. The real phenomenon is that the Islamic future in Indonesia depends on Muhammadiyah and NU, two Islamic organizations, than to the activist progressive muslim for responses and economic, political and cultural facts against the Islamist movement. Responses from activist and Islamic organization like Muhammadiyah and NU concretely answers economic problems. The future of Indonesia and its Islamic capture depends on Muhammadiyah and NU for creating activities and supporting the efforts to civil Islam and civil society. Muhammadiyah and NU movements create activities that develops trust and popular understanding of Islam. Muhammadiyah and NU having culture and social capital for survival and sustainability for being a long time social force in the community has worked to counter the Islamic radicalism phenomenon in Indonesia after the 11 September 2001 tragedy.

Keywords: *Islamic parties, Islamism, revivalism, the 2014 election*

INTRODUCTION

Before the general election of 2014 was held, there were some survey institutions doing surveys about the possibility of the electability and the winning of the Islamic parties. From the surveys done, most of it say that the electability of the Islamic party would be decreased drastically, and even predicted the lost in the general election of 2014. Some survey results were taken by LSI (The Institution of Indonesian Survey), for example. In March of 2013, it showed that none of the Islamic party was included for the big four of the voter's choice. The Development Union Party (PPP), the Nation Resurgence Party (PKB), the National Mandate Party (PAN), and the Welfare and Justice Party (PKS) as the Islamic parties or based on the Islam mass which were validated as the participant political parties of the 2014 general election, just obtained under 5 percent of the voters.

As informed by National Survey Institution and Indonesian Survey Circle or Saiful Mujani Research Consultant (SMRC), the electability of PKB was 4.5 percent, PPP was 4 percent, PAN was 4 percent, and PKS was 3.7 percent. Degree of the electability of the Islamic party and party based on the Islamic mass was far behind the nationalism party. Whereas, the nationalism party or the party not based on the religion, is seen to take the significant vote. It was said, Golkar Party had increased its support of vote by 22 percent, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle got 18.8 percent, Democrat party got 11.7 percent, and Gerindra Party got 7.3 percent. Even Nasdem, as the new party, had the same electability with PKB.

Survey institution of LSI Network held survey in 33 provinces in Indonesia with 1,200 respondents, and using a method of *multy-stage random sampling*, with a margin of error estimation about 2.9 percent. The result of the survey found the interesting fact that none of the figures from the Islamic party was included in the big three. Four of the strongest president candidates were dominated by the nationalist figures. They were Megawati Soekarno Putri with 20.7 percent support, Aburizal Bakrie with 20.3 percent support, Prabowo Subianto got 19.2 percent, and Wiranto with 8.2 percent of support. Meanwhile, the figures from the Islamic party were just in the fifth position and so on. The figure of the Islamic party was viewed to have less prestige than the nationalist figures.

While Hatta Rajasa, for example, the general chief of National Mandate party (PAN) just obtained 6.4 percent. Suryadharma Ali, as the general chief of the Development Union Party (PPP) got 1.9 percent, Anis Matta, the President of Welfare and Justice Party (PKS) achieved 1.1 percent. Whereas, Muhaimin Iskandar, the General Chief of the Nation Resurgence Party (PKB) just earned about 1.6 percent of support.

Before, result survey of LSI Network on 1-8 October of 2012, with 1,200 respondents and using multistage sampling and also 2.9 margin of error, it also showed the prestige of the Islamic party to have gone vague. Voice of the Islamic party tends to decrease from era to the era. In the first general election of 1955, vote obtained of the Islamic party was 43.5 percent. In the general election of 1999, vote account of the Islamic party got down to 36.8 percent. But it never got stronger in the general election of 2004 with 38.1 percent vote. However, in the general election of 2009, the voice obtained of all the Islamic party decreased drastically with 23.1 percent.

At the time, support for the figures from the Islamic party was viewed to have decreased significantly. Popularity of the leader of the Islamic party also becoming the ministers of Susilo Bambang Yudoyono's Cabinet, such as Hatta Rajasa (PAN), Muhaimin Iskandar (PKB), and Suryadharma Ali (PPP), was still under 60 percent. In another side, the popularity of the national figures such as Aburizal Bakrie, Megawati Soekarnoputri, and Prabowo Subianto had been 60 percent above. A vague destiny is seen to be faced by presidential candidate coming or nominated by the Islamic party. Majority voice of the voters addressed toward the figures from the nationalist party got the support of above 15 percent averagely.

THE VOICE OF ISLAMIC PARTIES IN THE 2014 GENERAL ELECTION

The descending of the vote of the Islamic party and the Islamic figures, such as explained above, was caused, at least, by three factors. According to LSI researcher, Adjie Alfaraby, there were three factors causing the figure of the Islamic party not to have significant support on the presidential candidate based on the survey result held in 2013.

First, less publication from the figures of the Islamic party. It's said by LSI researcher, "If they had publication, the public expose would increase popularity and pleasure toward the figures," Adjie said, in his paper, in LSI office, Jakarta, Sunday, on March 17th of 2013.

Based on the facts found by LSI, it was just below 30 percent of the public always watched advertisement, activity news, and visiting the figure of the Islamic party. Whereas, the second factor, funding of the Islamic party was less which couldn't support the socialization and campaign activities maximally. Third, figure from the nationalist party was seen to be able to accommodate the interest of the Islamic community. At least, about 6.1 percent of the public believed that the nationalist figures could accommodate the interest of the Islamic community. The support weakness of the Islamic party figure was not just at the position of the presidential candidate, but also at the vice presidential candidate. Of the four strongest vice presidential candidate, there was just one figure from the Islamic party. It can be seen from the support toward the presidential candidate nominated as the following: Joko Widodo or Jokowi with 35.2 percent, Jusuf Kalla with 21.2 percent, Hatta Rajasa with 17.1 percent and Mahfud MD with 15.1 percent. The other leaders of the political party were just 5 percent below.

However, the result of the 2014 general election said different or contrary from the prediction of some survey institutions and analysts, even some got increased. This made some people startled in analyzing the writhe of the political Islam in Indonesia, because the voice of the Islamic party, if PKB is included as the Islamic party, the voice of the Islamic party was stagnant, it was not decreased but also not increased significantly. However the activists of the Islamic party claimed that the Islamic party had increased voice, such as said by the politician from PAN, Drajat Wibowo, Fahri Hamzah, and Mahfud Sidiq from PKS. We can see that the voice of the Islamic party remaining besides PPP got increased even by just two percent (6.53 percent), PKS 6.79 percent, Pan 7.59 percent, whereas PKB increased one hundred percent becoming 9.84 percent. In another side, PBB just obtained 1.46 percent. So, if those were combined, the voice getting of the Islamic party (based on Islam such as PPP, PKS, and PPP), including PKB and PAN, the voice of the Islamic party was 31 percent. They could nominate running-mate

candidate for president and vice president. But it's a little difficult like what was said by Amien Rais, Muhaimin Iskandar, Suryadharma Ali, so the decision to make a coalition with the other political parties. PAN and PPP adopt its approach from Gerindra whereas PKB together with Nasdem chooses to make a coalition with PDI P.

Let's see the vote of the parliament in the General Election of 2014 between the Islamic party and nationalist party. The Islamic parties are represented by PPP, PKS, and PBB, added by the parties based on Pancasila but their main base supporters are Muhammadiyah, namely PAN, and NU, that's Nation Resurgence Party (PKB).

Table1.3.The Vote of the Parliament in the General Election of 2014

No	Party Name	Vote Getting	Percentage (%)
1	Nasdem	8.402.812	6.72
2	PKB	11.298.957	9.04
3	PKS	8.480.204	6.79
4	PDI PERJUANGAN	23.681.471	18.95
5	Partai GOLKAR	18.423.312	14.15
6	Gerindra	14.160.311	11.81
7	Partai Demokrat	12.728.913	10.19
8	PAN	9.481.621	7.59
9	PPP	8.157.488	6.53
10	Hanura	6.579.498	5.26
11	PBB	1.825.750	1.46
12	PKPI	1.143.094	0.91

Source:KPU, 24 August 2014.

Based on the voices obtained of the 2014 legislative election (parliament), it can be said that the parties based on Islam mass decreased or remained stagnant, but some view that the vote getting of the Islamic parties increased because PPP and PKB got significant votes from the analyst's prediction saying that the voice of the Islamic party would descend rapidly. But one thing that is always forgotten is that the target decided by the Islamic party was not reached. Like what is

already known, that PKS's target was 15 percent, PAN's was 20 percent, PKB's was 15 percent, and PPP's was also 15 percent. However, none of the mentioned parties obtained their targets. This shows that the voice of the Islamic party, even though was not smashed, remained at its first position due to PKB and PPP factor, because both of the parties accommodated NU mass.

After the 2014 general election where there was no single majority voice, the idea of the coalition became compulsory to be able to nominate a running mate for president and vice president. PDIP, as the winning party, chose to make coalition with Nasdem, PKB, which has NU-background. Whereas, Gerindra, as the the third winning party, then chose to have coalition with PAN and some PPP elites under Suryadharma Ali's leadership, because some cadres of PPP didn't choose to have coalition with Gerindra. In another side, Golkar, Demokrat, Hanura and PKS haven't decided which party to make a coalition with, even though Golkar gives a clear indication to make a coalition with PDIP.

By that condition, the idea of Islamic Party Coalition to nominate the candidate from them failed. Coalition of the Middle Axis II failed before it even matured. The idea from M. Din Syamsuddin, Makruf Amin, and MS Ka'ban didn't have positive response from the elites of the Muslim politic. So, this is the end of the Islamic party to nominate its own running candidate for president and vice president, even though the Islamic party got 31 percent voice if PAN, PKB, PPP, PKS, and PBB are combined.

RESURGENCE OF INDONESIAN POLITICAL ISLAM

Voice getting of the Islamic party reached 31 percent then triggered the willingness from some Muslim elites to build axis of the political Islam like what was done in the era of Abdurrahman Wahid with the name of the Middle Axis II, such as said by M. Din Syamsuddin from Muhammadiyah, Makruf Amin (NU), Zulkifli Halim and Jawahir Thontowi (HMI), but that idea was rejected by Amien Rais who have once triggered the idea of the Middle Axis I, Fahri Hamzah and Mahfud Sidiq (PKS), Muhaimin (PKB) and Suryadharma Ali (PPP). By that situation, the idea of the Middle Axis II was not brought to reality even though the power of Islam, seemingly, became the decisive factor in the 2014 General Election in Indonesia, because its voices was significant enough.

In the difficult situation for the Muslim people to have role in the political practice of the Islamic party because the voice remained on the middle level of value. There was the idea from the elites of the Islamic Association of University Students (HMI) and Alumnus Family of the Islamic Association of University Students (KAHMI) to support Moh. Mahfud MD, who is the figure from NU, former Chief of Constitutional Court (MK) to be the vice president as the couple of the winning party of the 2014 General Election, either PDI P or Golkar. Another name that was proposed was Jusuf Kalla, who was also the activist of HMI from Makassar, and also one of the figures of NU and was the vice president (2004-2009). Jusuf Kalla is known well in the ummah (followers) of NU, Muhammadiyah, or bureaucrat due to his smartness and his braveness to take any policy in leading such as what he done when becoming the vice president from SBY. By the time this paper is being written, Jusuf Kalla is the General Chief of the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) and Council of Indonesian Mosque.

Beside Mahfud MD and Jusuf Kalla, the young generation and figures of HMI nominate Rector of Paramadina University, Anies Baswedan, the Arabic descendent and the activist of HMI from Yogyakarta Branch. Anies Baswedan is also one of the presidential candidates from Demokrat party through the way of the Demokrat Party Convention. In some surveys, name of Anies Baswedan is compared to Jusuf Kalla and Mahfud MD to be the couple (vice president) of the presidential candidate from the winning party, either Jokowi from PDIP or to be nominated as the presidential candidate from the non-coalition parties; those are Demokrat, Hanura, and PBB.

Irrespective of all of them, there are some reasons why the Islamic party remains in Indonesia even though it's little difficult to be termed as the 'strong one'. Some of the reasons are: first, theological reason saying that within the religious services (syariah), politics can't be separated but can be chosen or differentiated. This one had been the religious argumentation since the prophet hood era until the era of *khulafaurrasyidin*. The other reasons are: first, as the way for the political elites of the Muslim to convey their political aspiration that was repressed for years by the regime of the New Order, except for the ones who became part of PPP or Golkar, not the Islam-based party. In

other words, it is a form of the syariah formalization in Indonesia and it made syariah substantial as the idea triggered by Nurcholish Madjid. In such as that position, Abdurrahman Wahid as the figure of NU who was known inclusively also took initiative of forming the new party, PKB, and then becoming the first Chief of Syurah Council.

Second, it is to move the house of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectual and Abangan Intellectual. If the Muslim intellectuals were ashamed or were not apparent to play the political role in the New Order regime, so since the reformation era of 1998, the Muslim and Abangan intellectuals have played the political role in practice in the political party that they built by themselves. These identified parties are PAN and PKB, the political parties accommodating most the Indonesian Muslim Intellectual, either from Muhammadiyah or from the alumnus of Masyumi activist of the Old Order. There is Amien Rais, who was the General Chief of PAN then becomes the Chief of Consideration Council of PAN. Meanwhile, at PBB, there is Yuzril Ihza Mahendra, who was the intellectual.

Third, it's the house of the activist of the political Islam and the Islamic movement of campus. We know that in the reformation era there has been PKS, besides PBB which we know as the party belonging to the activist of the Islamic movement, such as religious proselytizing movement of the Islamiyah Religious Proselytizing Council of Indonesia (DDII). DDII, at first, was built by the figure of Masyumi, Moh. Natsir, and after Natsir, DDII was led by Anwar Harjono, then Hartono Mardjono and Husein Umar. While PKS is the place of Islamic campus activist, the studying religious activist of campus and campus religious proselytizing institution (LDK), besides the activist of Movement Union of Indonesian Muslim Student (KAMMI), such as Fahri Hamzah, Rama Pratama, who are then active at PKS. And some other Islamic activists supporting Islamic movement through politics, they are Imadudin Abdurrahim, Fuad Amsyari, and Ahmad Muflih Saefuddin (AM. Saefuddin) being active at PPP.

Fourth, it's to move the articulation house of Islamic politician who were active in the religious party of the fusion result, namely PPP and Golkar. Most of them were the activists of the organizations of extra campus like HMI having background of the moderate Muhammadiyah

and NU, the Islamic Student Movement of Indonesia (PMII), the activist of NU and Association of Muhammadiyah Student (IMM), and the the activist of Muhammadiyah. Student activists after becoming the alumni of HMI, PMII, IMM are then associated to the political parties based on Islam or at least the political parties having affiliation to the Islam such as PKB, PAN, and Ummah Resurgence Party (led by Deliar Noer), PKNU by Syukron Makmun, Nahdatul Ulama Party led by Sholahuddin Wahid, and new Masyumi or PSI 1911 led by the Cokroaminoto Son and Amrullah Ahmad.

Beside the internal factors above, the appearance and the survival of the Islamic party or the movement of the political Islam are caused by the factors beyond the Islam of Indonesia. Of those factors are the winning of the parties based on Islam in the region of Africa, Middle East, and Southeast Asia. The victory of PAS in Aljazeera, Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the victory of Bath Party in Iraq, Ahmadinejad winning in Iran, the victory of the Islamic party of Morocco, Sudan, and the winning of Serantau Islam Party (PAS) in Malaysia give motivation and belief of the activist of the Islamic party to support continuously the birth and the development of the Islamic party in Indonesia.

Related to the survey result developing in facing the legislative presidential election and, there were some responses from the Islamic politician such as from PKS done by Hidayat Nurwahid, Anis Matta and Romahurmuhzy from PPP saying their optimism about the Islamic party in the 2014 General Election. We can see their comments to be slightly blaming the survey institutions of the 2014 legislative election as following.

In responding the survey result of Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) Network, Fraction Chief of Welfare and Justice Party (PKS), Hidayat Nurwahid said that the destiny of the Islamic political party was not decided by the survey result. It was said by the former chief of People's Consultative Council of Indonesia: "As a democracy communication, please tell the result of your study," Nurwahid said. However, it's clarified by the survey institution always becoming the reference that the election had not been done that day. For the Islamic political party, the survey result was the whip to work harder. Besides that, people's

sovereignty is people's right, it can't be represented by the survey institution. By asking, Hidayat Nurwahid also said "Does the people's sovereignty end by this survey?" he said.

With a slight indifference, Hidayat Nurwahid disagreed that there was an ideology contestation between Islam versus nationalism, because, according to him, there was no said dichotomy of nationalist or Islamic. All of them right now have Islamic wing, such as PDIP having *Baitul Muslim* where its chief is the young generation of NU. Golkar previously has had an Islamic community of Al Hidayah Islamic Studying. In another side, Democrat has *Majlis Dzikir*. While the survey result saying that non-islamic party can represent Islamic society. It means that there is the contribution of the success of the Islamic political party. It's important also to remind that national party has Islamic organization as the wings. "If we say that there is ideology contestation, it's misleading," he said.

Further, it was said by Hidayat that by that survey result, it was important for the Islamic parties to evaluate themselves. However, PKS never worries about the survey result. This political party has understood survey result well even though that survey would be seen as the developing critic. "We don't prohibit anyone to make survey, but the survey institution must be fair. The election is not done today," he said.

In another side, the same comment was also delivered by the Secretary-General of Development Union Party (PPP), M Romahurmuziy saying that the Islamic political party will not be gloomy (dark). He believes that the Islamic political party will always have place in Indonesian politics. According to Romy, nick name of Romahurmuziy, not all the factors explored by LSI influences the Islamic political party. The leader of the Islamic political party is, indeed, less popular than the leader of the nationalist party because the leaders of the nationalist party have had longer years to play politics in Indonesian political stage. Besides that, Romy said, nationalist party has more funding.

After receiving the vote result of the 2014 legislative election, many responses appeared from Islam in order for the power of Islam to move continuously and in unity as one support to Islam as the

political movement. They suggest ignoring the total vote of the Islamic political parties in this survey which was about 15 percent, far behind the result of the 2009 general election (29.1), 2004 (38.3 percent), and 1999 general election (36.5 percent). Not only is the political party, but also the politician of the Islamic parties received no public support to be a presidential candidate of 2014. If the election is held by the time this research was conducted, the respondents to choose Hidayat Nurwahid will be 4.6 percent, Hatta Rajasa will be 3.9 percent, Yuzril Ihzamahendra will be 3.2 percent, Muhaimin Iskandar will be 2 percent, and Suryadharma Ali will be 0.9 percent. Those are under the vote obtained by the nationalist figures, namely Megawati Soekarno Putri (18 percent), Prabowo Subianto (17.4 percent), Aburizal Bakrie (17.1 percent), and Wiranto (10.2 percent).

The Secretary-General of Bulan Bintang Party (Moon and Star Party/ PBB) RM Wibowo said that actually all the political parties have a problem of decreasing their electability. It was said by the General Secretary of PBB that not just the Islamic political party have decreased vote. The other political parties have the same thing. All the political parties, but some will remain well and maybe the new parties will get attention from the public, he said at PBB office. He added that, indeed, society is disappointed with the work of the political party. In relation to this, PBB intends not to repeat the failure of the 2009 general election because it failed to pass the electoral threshold. Even though it was no exaggeration, PBB had targetted 5-7 percent vote of the 2014 general election, however the final result was just 1.46 percent, far enough from the target. Wibowo said that PBB must work hard to fight and to survive.

In another side, Chief of Nation Resurgence Party (PKB), Muhaimin Iskandar, said that he doesn't worry about the result of the survey saying that the electability of the political parties based on Islam mass is threatened in 2014 general election. Muhaimin said for sure that the survey result doesn't represent the true situation. Such as quoted from *kompas.com*, Muhaimin reminded the survey result before the general election of 2009 where it was said that the electability of PBM was just 1 percent. But the reality, PKB obtained voice about five percent. According to him, it happened because the surveyor didn't reach mass communities of PKB in the village. According to the

Abdurrahman Wahid's nephew, the survey didn't reach our constituent. That survey can be received but we don't need to worry because it was just sampling, it was said by Muhaimin Iskandar or Cak Imin.

It's not far different from PKB, Secretary-General of PPP Romahurmuziy clarified that the use of the survey results now days to predict the voice getting of the 2014 general election is the big mistake. The Secretary-General of PPP, usually called Romi, said that the survey is like the thermometer which is just able to predict by the time sampling held. Even, the survey can be invalid in a week when there is another factor influencing the general election. Romi explained that there are four factors influencing the vote of the political party, those are the characteristic figures, rooted structure, massif maneuver, and sufficient logistic. The survey of LSI is just able to portrait figure and logistic factors. Whereas the second and third factors are just the operational by the time the election is held so it's always forgotten by the surveyor to include in the analysis, like what was said by the younger sister of the former Chief of PBNU, Mohammad Fajrul Falaakh, in Jakarta.

Meanwhile, the secretary-general of the Islamic Follower Forum (FUI) KHMuhammad Al Khaththath suggested to the Islamic political parties to not believe the survey result released by some survey institutions related to the electability of the political party of Islam. He also gave suggestion, at the same time for the Islamic political party to increase its electability. Al Khatat said, "I suggest in order for the Islamic political party to carry Syariah Presidential Candidate, God Willing, the support from the Islamic society will come," said by Ustadz Al Khaththath when he was asked for his argument about the survey result of LSI Network showing continuously the decrease of the electability of the Islamic political party.

The idea of the Syariah Presidential Candidate is in the frame of the State Union of Indonesian Republic of syariah. It's now campaigned massively by Islamic Follower Forum (FUI) together with the social organization of Islam. Even the volunteer of the syariah presidential candidate moving in the grassroots has been formed. It's said that FUI and FPI have thousand of members, Ustadz Al Khaththah said further o the chance to win the Islamic political party is big enough. At the

same time, Ustadz Al Khaththath recommended to the Islamic political party to show the ideological identity and the clear the line of its struggle, namely for the State Union of Indonesian Republic of syariah.

He also asked for the Islamic political party to not believe the theory saying that the voters tend to be moderate. Said Al Khatat, "the Islamic party may not make bluer its ideology; the ideology and the struggle must be explicit (clear). Because if all are moderate, what is the Islamic political for?"

SUPPORTING FACTOR OF THE RESURGENCE OF THE POLITICAL ISLAM

Delving into the less Islamic figure and loss of electability of them than the secular figures, Ustadz Al Khaththath can understand it well. It's because, so far, the media just raises and promotes the secular figures. Besides that, the existence of the survey institution is designed to give advantage of the secular figures. Al Khaththath said that actually we have many figures having the capacity to be the president. One of them, now discussed massively, is Habib Rizieq Syihab, the General Chief of Front of Islamic Protector.

The resurgence of Islam seemingly gets support directly from Habib Rizieq's suggestion for the Islamic party. The General Chief of FPI, Habib Rizieq Syihab, in his book *Hancurkan Liberalism, Tegakkan Syariat Islam*, gives some suggestions for the Islamic parties. Here is quoted by Habib Rizieq. "It's explained that in the General Election of 1955, the voice of the Islamic party represented by Masyumi and NU Party obtained, each, 57 and 47 chairs from 257 chairs totally in the Parliament, or each of them obtained 20percent and 18.4 percent of the total vote. And in the next elections, the combination voice of the Islamic party never obtains better than the vote obtained in the 1955 election. Even the vote of the Islamic politic gets less and less. The small voice of the Islamic party in each election in Indonesia could be caused by the violation (injustice) in holding election by the New Order regime, where it has been the general understanding of the society. However, it could be also that the Islamic party was not interested, so the electability of the Islamic party was very low."

Even if there is, lately, a kind of "motion not to believe" from the people toward the Islamic politic, so there is the push to build the Islamic party which becomes the really Islamic politics. However, if it's viewed well, the main factor making Islamic society (*ummah*) disappointed is in the gap of the different understanding and mindset between the political party and Islamic society in the grassroots. The political party focuses more on "law" (political *ijtihad*) whereas the people in the grassroots concern more on the "ethic."

What is the difference between law and ethic? As an illustration, if the Ulama (Islamic Scholars) with his attribute as the scholar of Islam has safari (religious travelling) in Ramadhan then had lunch in a restaurant, he, based on law, is not guilty because the *musafir* (traveler) may not fast, but ethically, it's difficult to receive because the scholar of Islam is the pattern.

Many kinds of attitude and movement of the Islamic political party witnessed by society in the grassroots have made restiveness in the middle of the society's life as the biggest voters of the Islamic party. The restiveness as the reflection of the different interpretation of the law and ethics between the political party and society in the grassroots in some events, as following:

First, when some Islamic mass organizations and Islamic political parties are fighting to return Jakarta Charter in the Parliament, there are, in the contrary, Islamic parties trying to cut it with the argument of fighting for Madinah Charter. And some elites of the other Islamic political parties gave statements that Jakarta Charter is the part of the past, and the others saying that the amendment of the basic Law of 1945 has been final. As the political *ijtihad*, it doesn't have any problem but ethically it makes society confused.

Second, when some Islamic parties have agreed to make an Islamic fraction in the House of Representatives/People's Consultative Council of Indonesia as the representation of the brotherhood and unity, suddenly there is the Islamic party preferring to make coalition with the other political party by the reason of reformation. From the political *ijtihad*, it can be explained but ethically it makes society in the grassroots shocked.

Third, some Islamic political parties, when they campaigned, shouted to prohibit the president from the woman, but when they must have overthrown the man president by the consequence the woman president took the position, they did it with the argument of the "dangerous" situation. Whereas they had alternatives to struggle for the general election again, but, in fact, there was no formulation of struggle for that alternative. They were even involved in the power sharing with a woman president whom they prohibited before. As the political *ijtihad*, it could be understood, but ethically it was so difficult to be received by the society in the grassroots.

Fourth, some Islamic political parties, when they campaigned, made commitment that they would just propose the Muslim legislative candidate, but the reality they nominated non-Muslim legislative candidate in some regions by the reason that there was no choice because of the non-Muslim majority in that region, while there were some Muslim that could be nominated in the region. As the political *ijtihad*, it could be discussed, but ethically it was so difficult to be received by the society in the grassroots.

Fifth, there is senior woman politician from the Islamic political party who never wears muslimah clothing as should be, it's enough for her to wear kebaya and veil, her argument is that Islam may not be forced and it needs process in implementing it. The most important thing is politeness. As the political *ijtihad*, it's debatable, but ethically it was so difficult to be understood by the society in the grassroots.

Sixth, there is the elite of the Islamic political party whose wife doesn't wear veil and it's exposed in public. The reason is in the process of asking for Islam (*dakwah*). As the political *ijtihad*, it can be understood as long as asking for Islam runs always, but ethically it was so difficult to be understood by the society in the grassroots.

Seventh, when some Islamic mass organizations and Islamic political parties fought for dispersal of Ahmadiyah, some Islamic political parties appeared not having spirit for that, but just giving statement in the social media, or sending letter to the President silently, without having real concrete action. There was even an Islamic political party which didn't participate in the action of one million people for

dispersal of Ahmadiyah, but were just showing flag and banner and also giving pamphlets. Ironically, there was leader of the Islamic political party who defended Ahmadiyah from the dispersal. As the political *ijtihad*, it could be understood as the strategy, but ethically it hurt Muslim community (*ummah*).

Eighth, when some Islamic mass organizations which were not pro with Ahmadiyah and pro with the Draft of Law of APP faced openly with Nationhood Alliance for the Freedom of Belief and Having Religion (AKKBB) which was pro with Ahmadiyah and not with the Draft of Law of APP, there was even an Islamic party giving appreciation for some figures of AKKBB.

Ninth, when there is the interest of the political party which was made to suffer a financial loss or there is the political party agenda which must be promoted, there will be the Islamic political party doing a demonstration with hundred thousands of people, however when there is the people's interest or the important agenda of the *ummah* (people) which must be promoted, the political party, even, is reluctant to mobilize its mass with the reason that it is not its agenda. As the political *ijtihad*, it can be understood because there are political norms, but ethically it's disappointing for the people in the grassroots.

Tenth, when some Islamic mass organizations need to deliver their aspiration through the House of Representative, occasionally they have difficulty to meet their friends from the Islamic political party, even any of the Islamic political party doesn't want to meet due to assumption that they are not "part of them". Whereas, the Islamic mass organizations are the biggest voice suppliers of the Islamic political parties in the general election. This is not the only thing which can't be received by Muslim society.

Besides that, it's added by some behaviors of the politicians from the Islamic political parties suspected of doing corruption, pornography, sexual case, and the like.

Habib Rizieq said: "I ask all the elites of the Islamic political parties to see 'people's understanding' which is unadorned and opened about 'Islamic political ethics' in order, in the future, the Islamic party can put its self as the container of the Muslim political aspiration." The

ten points that I explored above are just the small part of the problem involving some Islamic political parties. There are many problems in the ground which need to be seen accurately and we need to find solution for the development of the Islamic party optimally in order to get victory maximally.

There must be a synergy among the Islamic party, and it will be better if they can be united in the future so there will be just one Islamic political party. The Islamic mass organization may vary, but not for the Islamic political party because Islamic mass organization is just focused on social activity without touching the power, whereas the Islamic political party involves in the politics of power. The Islamic mass organization doesn't join the elections, but the Islamic political party joins. By that way, Muslim society is not burdened to choose the Islamic mass organization, but they are burdened to choose the Islamic party.

Even if the Islamic political parties can't be united, at least they can build just one Islamic Fraction in Parliament accommodating all the Islamic party. If they remain disunited, they, at least, can make synergy among the Islamic parties. The point, the variations of the Islamic political party may not be the reason of the dissension of the politic of Islam, but it must be the part of the role description and task in reaching the political victory for the Islamic people.

And the Islamic mass organizations should cooperate together for the empowerment and increased winnability of the Islamic political party. And I believe, Islamic mass organizations cooperation will be done sincerely if the Islamic political party can play its role as the true Islamic political party and consistent in the way for God. Remember, the true Islamic political party just tries to find God's blessing, so chairpersonship and power is not the aim. It's just the way to reach God's blessing. May God, Allah SWT, unites the Muslim people in upholding His law, and gives power for the strugglers of His religion, and always blesses them with the real victory.

Now, the legislative election has been held with the permanent vote result won by the party which is not based on the certain religion, even though it's difficult to say that, in Indonesia, there is no victory for the Islamic party. What we can see is the victory of the political party based

on Islamic mass because all battled for vote of Islam whose popularity is about 88,7% of the Indonesian popularity. Either PDIP, Democrat Party, Golkar, Nasdem, Gerindra, Hanura, or PAN and PKBeven PKS, PPPand PKS. All battled for the mass named Indonesian Islamic citizens.

THE FUTURE OF INDONESIAN ISLAM

If we believe the existance of the Islamic movement which I have described above, there will be a dialogue/dialectic in Islam in Indonesia. Who will get the proper 'place' in Indonesia are those who can present Islam suitable to the Indonesian context. The way of being Islam which can give response fairly in the theology, politics, economy, and cultural sectors will be part of the Islamic people of Indonesia.

Nowadays, indeed, we see the extreme community being glorious because the governing regime doesn't make explicit boundaries of the existance of the Islamic community where in its own origin state is forbidden, such as Hizbut Tahrir of Indonesia, also the other Islamic community preferring coercion in running its activity to get the target of Islam.

If the positive law is upheld seriously, social imbalances related to unfairness, stupidity and human rights violations are erased. I think that there is no place anymore for the extremely islamic community because the mainstreaming of the Indonesian Islam is the moderate Islam which we see from Muhammadiyah and NU. So, it's important for us to support both of these two organizations to move continuously in the form of its moderation, not the fundamental one. If this one can be done by NU and Muhammadiyah, I hope that the Islam of Indonesia will have a polite and humble face, and has vision of humanity and *rahmatan lil alamin*.

Some islamic formats existing in Indonesia really give contribution of explaining for us, the Islamic people of Indonesia, Christian, and on other religions in Indonesia, even the Muslim people in the world have various islamic formats existing. If referring to Jurgen Hubermas, those are the groups competing about the public space of sphere becoming the space of quarrel among the people in Indonesia and in the world. All offer something in the public sphere with some manners and all

battle for winning the quarrel. All decorate in their own languages and agendas. So, it's right if Hubermas, then, said that the public spehre is the very tightly contestation area of many interests, including the interest of the religions, of course beside the political interest.

The interest of the religions and politic is always angular because religion and politics, actually, can be distinguished but both can't be separated. Secularization is the most contemporary formulation to tell the importance of distinguishing which one is the religious business and which one is the political business, but in the religion and also in the politics there are always acts of slicing, not separating. This one is always understood wrongly by most of people that secularization is exactly the same as omitting religion in the public sphere. It's not like that at all because wherever it is, the public sphere will always have relations with the values and one of them is the religion. So, actually Indonesia has been in the position, in my opinion, where none of the religion is the political basis or philosophy but the religious value, in this case Islam and the big religions, gives positive and substantial contribution of the statehood.

It political public sphere is clearly different from the construction understood so far that religion and state are separated of their role, so it's the same as "omitting religion from the State". Actually, what happens is overtaking substantial values of the religion and giving these as contribution for the sake of the changes in the economic, politics, law and cultural system in a state. If, in this state, it must be forced to implement one of the religions developing and dominant, it's possible for Indonesia to be torn to pieces by the political interest of the religious people. The religious people will make the dominant religion as the 'forcer of the other religions', so what will happen is, I call it, the deviation of the God's destiny of Indonesia which is pluralist and not the religious state, but religious society have been running for hundred years, since the archipelago had not been called Indonesia and have given freedom to the young generation, Soekarno-Hatta and Sutan Syahrir together with the other young generations.

In the context of the public sphere contestation in Indonesia by the religious community (Islamic) in Indonesia right now, it will be easy and clear for us to find the Islamic group trying to offer some variety

of Islam as I explored before. Even, lately, variety of the popular Islam decorated in Islam of the movie model, the religious proselytizing through the television by presenting 'carbide' clergy (Islamic scholar) and celebrity is the real form of serious competition with the militant and progressive Islamic. Variety of the popular Islam seemingly gets serious support from the media of television and celebrity Islamic scholar created by the media, whereas the variety of the progressive Islam doesn't get significant support from the media. Even though, if we may say, the variety of the popular Islam is the kind of the Islamic narrowing and hypnotizing of the young generation of the Muslim so the Muslim people are 'lazy', they don't embrace Islam in prophetic tradition understanding and fighting for the weak people (*mustadafin*).

Who will win the competition in the public sphere of Indonesia in offering Islamic color? In my opinion, it depends on how they get public support (such as the Islamic society, Islamic Boarding School, Mass organization of the Moderate Islam may not be forgotten). The media support to receive their interest more than the interest of the Islamic society. However, the media has central position in promoting Islam in Indonesia. We will witness the development of the dynamically Islamic format of Indonesia in the future.

CONCLUSION

Seeing the development of the contemporary Indonesian Islam such as that I have explained earlier, we see that Islam of Indonesia is very pluralist in its model (configuration). So, it is difficult to say the homogeneous form of the Islam in Indonesia. Islam of Indonesia is the plurality and the unique Islam, it's said by John L. Esposito, the Islamist from Georgetown University of America, when he visited Indonesia in the late of 2010.

So, the plurality of the configuration of the Indonesian Islam which can be traced and is asked, why does it happen? Some experts such as William Shepartz say that the plurality of the configuration of the Indonesian Islam is caused by the background influencing someone in embracing Islam. The background of education, reading accessed, friendship, history, and even one's psychology will have influence on the configuration of Islam embraced.

Of course, it can be the longer series again about Islamic conjuration of Indonesia, but as the "picture" some Islamic configuration of Indonesia can explain that Indonesian political Islam has many significant changes. There are many influencing factors on the national politics in general. On which kind of Islam will be the sect (*madzhab*) in Indonesia will be decided by the social, political, economic, cultural, and psychological condition of the Islamic society of Indonesia.

Beside those external factors, such as the resurgence of Islam in the other states such as Middle East, specifically, and Europe and America in general, give new energy of the Indonesian Islam to develop. Besides that, considering the internal factor of the Indonesian Islam can give precise description to see the configuration of Islam in Indonesia in the future. Political Islam is different from the cultural Islamic movement, even though the cultural Islamic movement has influence on the national political condition, even the international world.

From the brief explanation above, there is the note that I want to convey that the Islamism phenomenon of the Islamic movement resulted due to the imbalance of the social, economic, and political conditions of the Islamic community, beside the political euphoria of the autonomy faced by this state. So, I think the future of the Islamic society of Indonesia, indeed, depends on the moderate Islamic movement, including the liberal activist of Islam in order to be polite in interviewing or having rhetoric toward the public, by prioritizing more the real problems faced by the Islamic society of Indonesia than presenting the abstract problems, which can't be reached by people. In such as that situation, the Islamic society needs Islam that can answer the real problem in Indonesia.

In the future, Islam in Indonesia is the burden for Muhammadiyah and NU as the most popular Islamic civil organization and believed by the society. Muhammadiyah and NU have culture and assets which can survive continuously in facing the threat of radicalism wave happening in some states, including in the Indonesian Islam.

As the big religious mass organization, it is deserved if the Islamic people, even the non-Muslim hope much for Muhammadiyah and NU. This indicates that most of the citizen still believe religious mass

organization (Islam) and don't believe the organization beyond the religious mass organization. Most of the members of the society don't believe political parties or parliament. Shortly, religious organization still have place in the heart of the society. Why does the society have much hope on Muhammadiyah and NU? That question, indirectly, becomes the "moral burden" for Muhammadiyah and NU, but clearly both of these organizations have credibility in front of the society.

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