



Transition of Cadre Pattern of The Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS): Adaptation of PKS Strategy Ahead of the Simultaneous Election in The Bandung Region

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Abstract. The purpose of this research is to try to analyze the maneuvers of the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) in the contestation of the general election, where on the one hand, PKS carries the title of “Islam” which tends to be rigid, while on the other hand the political battle arena requires pragmatism, so the author tries to see the PKS transition in the regeneration process. In contrast to the PKS vote at the national level which is fairly stagnant at 7-8%, PKS in its mass base is actually quite dominant, and is even able to disrupt the existence of nationalist parties that have been subscribed to winning legislative elections in previous periods. So it becomes an important question, why PKS is so stable and even aggressive in the regions, but tends to be sluggish in the national vote. What kind of strategy is supposed to encourage PKS to be so hegemonic and dominant in its mass base. This research uses Peter Schroder's theory of Political Marketing theory and uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The results showed that although PKS slowly began to open itself up in the cadre recruitment process and began to leave Arabic-Middle Eastern specific terms such as Liko and Halaqah, which were later replaced by more general terms such as Member Development Unit (Unit Pembinaan Anggota, UPA), PKS did not abandon its conventional regeneration process which was tight. PKS still conducts grouping regeneration by relying on Murabbi as a mentor. Murabbi was assigned by elected council members and PKS figures who had won the contest. When other parties focus on recruiting public figures for instant electability, PKS in the four Greater Bandung areas modifies its strategy by recruiting community leaders such as MSME leaders and Pesantren owners. However, the vote acquisition was not as significant as the recruitment of artist cadres.

Keywords: Cadre Party, Political Strategy, Local Election, PKS

1 Introduction

Referring to Law No. 2 of 2011, Article 1, a political party is defined as an organisation that is national in nature and formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily based

on a common will and ideals to fight for the political interests of members, society, nation and state, and to maintain the integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia based on the 1945 Constitution. And constitutionally in Indonesia, political parties have the right to compete in general elections, where elections have been held since 1955 until the last 2024.

The Constitutional Court (Mahkamah Konstitusi or MK) in the process then formulated decision No. 14 / PUU-XI / 2013 which consequently, the general election system is carried out simultaneously to elect the President and Vice President, House of Representative (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR), Regional Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, DPD), and Provincial Representative, which will take effect from the 2019 election onwards [1]. This means that by considering various aspects ranging from political, sociological, financial, and other important aspects, political parties will be drained of energy more completely if they want to continue to compete in the contestation of these dynamic general election votes.

The Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) is one of the parties that has been working hard. Although PKS (along with Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI-P), Indonesia Democratic Party) is a party with mature and solid grassroots regeneration, PKS needs to work even harder considering other parties are increasingly pragmatic in gaining public votes. For example, National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN) and National Democratic Party (Partai Nasional Demokrat, Nasdem) often conduct massive recruitment of artists and public figures, and National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) which already has its "subscription market" in *Nahdhatul Ulama* (NU). If PKS continues to rely on its grassroots regeneration, then the calculation of victory may become increasingly vague.

The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is one of the Islamic-based political parties and has the main objective to realize universal ideals and channel the political aspirations of Muslims and all levels of society in Indonesia. The Islamic ideology carried as PKS party ideology makes it a unique phenomenon in the Indonesian political constellation. PKS is also a movement node in Islamic politics that is driven by youth, which according to Yon Machmudi relies on global and universal Islam, despite being influenced by the Middle East and Egypt [2].

PKS itself is quite messed up with the internal conflict it is experiencing, this is marked by the separation of the Anis Matta and Fahri Hamzah carriages, two of its best cadres as well as the founders of the Justice Party (the forerunner of PKS) during the reform era, where later the two formed a new party called the Gelora party [3].

Fortunately, the prolonged consolidation carried out by PKS since the beginning of the reformation period has been able to test the party's solidity. Even though it was abandoned by influential figures, plus the blow of naughty cadres involved in corruption and immoral cases [4]. However, these national-level phenomena have less significant effect on vote acquisition in the regions. PKS is still able to maintain its vote bases such as West Sumatra, West Java and West Nusa Tenggara. Even in

Jakarta, transmitting dominance in its neighboring city, Depok, PKS was able to rank first. And interestingly, PKS managed to shift Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI-P) from its own cage, especially in West Bandung Regency and Cimahi City. Although in the end, PKS votes were very unsatisfactory in Central Java and East Java. So that it affects the percentage of national vote accumulation.

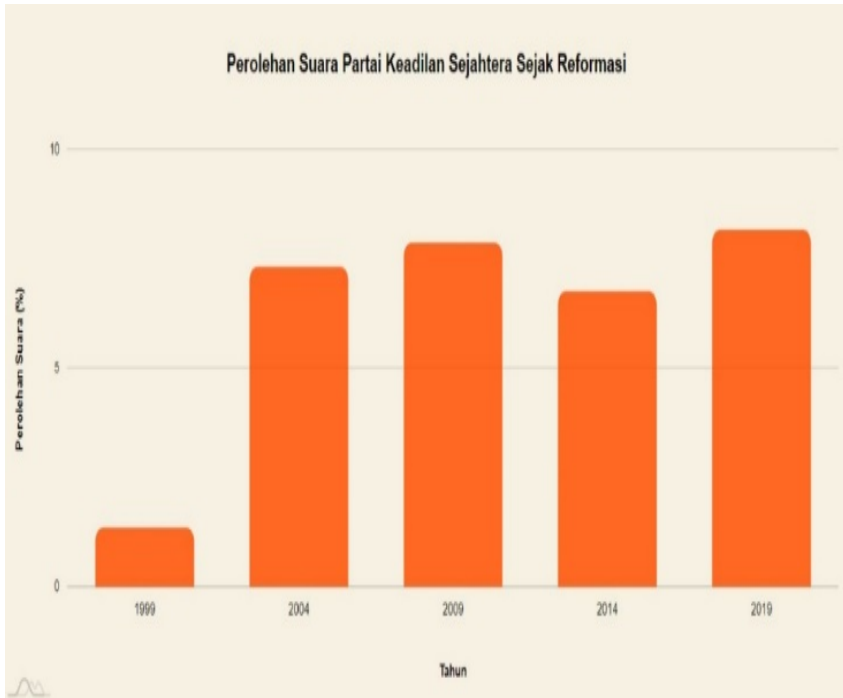


Figure 1. PKS Vote Gains Since Reformation

Source: KPU, 2024

The success of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in several of its participation in the election contestation can be concluded that PKS is quite successful in maintaining its ideology and integrity as a party that has integrity, the success of PKS cannot be separated from the cadre process of each party member itself, as we know the cadre process that occurs in each party is very important in developing and improving the quality of party or party members, either directly or indirectly.

In its regeneration pattern, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) requires its cadres to play an active role in hierarchical training called *Marhalah*. This coaching includes the learning process (*Ta'lim*), organizational training (*Tanzhim*), character building (*Takwin*) and evaluation (*Taqwin*). The most famous coaching pattern for Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) cadres is the *Tarbiyah* pattern which is often referred to as *liqa* (meeting) and mentoring activities. In PKS conception, *Tarbiyah* is the core of all activities. Everything done has the value of coaching or education to improve the quality of Islam and *Harrah* (movement). Therefore, PKS has a view on the issue of

coaching (*Tarbiyah*) as something that is core. Which means that all forms of activities carried out and being in any position, all PKS cadres must return to *tarbiyah* (*al-ruju'ila hadhanat al-tarbiyah*).

The core location of *tarbiyah* activities is through ideal ways of interacting, therefore the first party that can determine the success or failure of *tarbiyah* activities is the manager of *Tarbiyah* or *Murrabi* (coach). *Murabbi* not only fosters intellectual, emotional, spiritual and physical aspects but also moral aspects of his teaching must be practised not only theorized. Therefore, the *Murrabi* must have *Quwwatu al-ta'tsir* (the power of influence that makes an impression), in addition to being required to educate through the tongue, a *Murrabi* is also required to educate by example. *Murrabi* is required to be aware that everything he does and his appearance has pedagogical nuances (*Tarbawi*). Apart from that, so that the change of *Mutarrabi* towards a better direction can take place well, a *Murrabi* is required to master the *manhaj* and *wasail* in the *Tarbiyah* process [4].

Unfortunately, no one guarantees that this pure regeneration pattern will result in prolonged dominance. Given, other parties are moving with the principle of pragmatism that is so frontal. For example, in the 2019 simultaneous elections, Nasdem became the party with the most cadres among artists, namely 27 cadres. This is not without reason, considering that popularity is also a determining factor for election victory, so there is no doubt for some parties that need instant victory, to carry candidates from among public figures.

Not only public figures, other parties also openly support legislative candidates who are former corruptors. Even the number is not small. Gerindra Party is the political party that carries the most ex-corruptor candidates (27 candidates), followed by Work Group Party (Partai Golongan Karya, Golkar) with 25 ex-corruptor candidates. Some of these parties are ashamed that ex-corruptors also promise abundant logistics due to the impact of the non-enactment of the Asset Forfeiture Bill on suspected corrupt cases.

PKS is ultimately faced with two possibilities, namely maintaining its regeneration pattern which is quite mature and systemic, or adjusting to the situation and conditions, where PKS mortgages its idealism by following in the footsteps of other parties which unfortunately, prove that pragmatism is able to encourage better vote acquisition such as Gerindra, Golkar, and Nasdem, which are nationally above PKS in the 2019 national election vote.

To explore how PKS made a strategic transition, researchers used Peter Schroder's theory related to political marketing strategies. According to Dr. Schroder, campaign strategy is a special form of political strategy that aims to gain as much power and influence as possible by obtaining good results in general elections. Furthermore, Schroder explained that the campaign strategy is divided into 2 (two) types, namely, offensive strategies (attacking) and defensive strategies (defending). Offensive strategies are divided into strategies to expand the market and strategies to penetrate the market. Meanwhile, defensive strategies are strategies to defend the market and strategies to close or surrender the market. Offensive strategies are necessary if a party

wants to increase its voter turnout [6]. Schroder explains that offensive strategies used to implement policies must sell or display differences to the status quo or the current situation and highlight the benefits expected from it. A defensive strategy will come to the surface if the governing party or a governing coalition consisting of several parties wants to maintain its majority [7].

2 Methodology

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach, which is an approach in which researchers explore real life with contemporary limited systems (cases) or limited systems (various cases) through detailed and in-depth data collection involving primary information sources (observation / observation results, interviews, audiovisuals, documents) and secondary information (published journal literature sources, books, laws and regulations, and other documents). Meanwhile, the determination of informants used purposive techniques. The informants that the author determined in this study were the chairman of the DPD and the Head of the Cadre of the Bandung Regency Prosperous Justice Party, as well as several PKS cadres who were elected as legislative members spread across electoral districts 4 (Cicalengka, Nagreg, Cikancung, and Rancaekek), 5 (Majalaya, Solokanjeruk, Ibun, Paseh), and 6 (Baleendah, Ciparay, Pacet, Kertasari). Data collection was carried out through interviews with informants, as well as documentation through observation, and the data analysis process was carried out through a triangulation process, where the results of field findings in the form of interviews were combined with theories and data that researchers had collected. the research lasted for 5 months, from March to August 2024.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 Political Dynamics of *Harrahkah Islamiyah* in Greater Bandung Post-Reform

Greater Bandung is principally a regional concept in which it is divided into four districts/cities. Greater Bandung consists of Bandung City, Bandung Regency, Cimahi City and West Bandung Regency. The last two regions, Cimahi and West Bandung Regency (hereinafter referred to and abbreviated as KBB), have only been expanded since 2001 and 2004 respectively, which means that they are new regions after the reformation. And if it is related to the political dynamics of Islamism in the Bandung area, then Cimahi and KBB before the reformation were still filled and carried by the political dynamics in the city and regency of Bandung.

Bandung is an interesting case. Apart from being an area with the strongest anti-Soekarno movement at the end of the Old Order era, Bandung was also the epicenter of the *Harrahkah Islamiyah* movement or the Islamic organization movement. After the fall of Islamic State of Indonesia (Negara Islam Indonesia, NII, led by Kartosoewirjo) in the South Bandung area, Bandung has never been absent from the Islamic movement. At a time when other areas were sluggish due to the New Order government's oppression of all things Islamic, Bandung had a dynamic movement initiated by intellectual groups, where interestingly, these Islamic groups were generally driven not

by groups with traditional educational backgrounds such as *Pesantren*, but from higher education. This is evident from how the early Islamic groups of the New Order period in Bandung were initiated by *Syiar* groups in campus mosques, such as Bandung Institute of Technology (Institut Teknologi Bandung, ITB), Padjadjaran University (Universitas Padjadjaran, UNPAD), and University of Education Indonesia (Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, UPI) [8].

The movement, which called itself the *Tarbiyah* movement, in the process also helped to drive the reform movement, where one of its figures, Fahri Hamzah, was an alumnus of the Islamic *Harrah* movement. Not only that, the *Tarbiyyah* movement then formed a political platform called the Justice Party (Partai Keadilan). Having faltered in the 1999 elections, the Justice Party then merged (or metamorphosed) with or became the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) [9]. Even until this moment, the *da'wah* movement in large campus mosques also continues to breathe without leaving the slightest pause in the city of Bandung. Today, the *da'wah* movement is not even only centered on large campuses but has begun to spread its wings in the music scene and open spaces of creation belonging to the younger generation such as skate rinks and fashion. Hijrah Youth (Pemuda Hijrah), being one of the prominent movements in these circles [10]. In line with this movement, PKS in Bandung City is in fact very hegemonic. After the election of Ridwan Kamil paired with an PKS cadre named the late Oded Danial, PKS slowly began to dominate the parliament, where in the next election, Oded managed to win the Bandung Mayor election contest by defeating Nurul Arifin from the Golkar Party and Ayi Vivananda from PDI-P. After this victory, PKS officially dominated Bandung in both the executive and legislative spheres. There is no research that examines the relationship between the Hijrah Youth, the Islamic *Harrah* movement in large campus mosques, and the PKS victory in the Bandung City area, but at least, a fairly straight line is formed from these three phenomena.

The case is different in Bandung Regency. Although Bandung Regency (together with KBB before the reformation) is located in the south and directly adjacent to Bandung City, its political dynamics tend to be different. Since the New Order era, Bandung Regency has been a "banyan" or "yellow" area because it has always been a vote bank for the Golkar Party. After the reformation, there was no significant change. Obar Sobarna was elected as Bandung Regent for two terms (2000-2010) and became the first post-reform regent. Even after his term ended, his son-in-law, Dadang Naser, who despite running from an Independent route due to polemics within Golkar, still won the contestation, and also managed to serve for two terms until 2020. It was only in 2020 that Golkar's dominance in the executive collapsed after Dadang Supriatna (PKB) was elected as Regent with Sahrul Gunawan. Dadang Supriatna is also inseparable from Golkar because he was previously a member of the DPRD Golkar faction. DS, as he was called, announced his resignation from Golkar after Golkar Bandung Regency endorsed Dadang Naser's wife, Kurnia Agustina.

Golkar's hegemony in Bandung Regency was displaced by the Democratic Party in the 2009 elections, but this was more due to the figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) who was so dominant in the national contestation that it had an impact on the electability of the Democratic party in the regions including in Bandung Regency. But

after that, in the 2014 and 2019 elections, Golkar again controlled the legislative seats. Golkar's dominance was stopped again in the 2024 elections, because PKB won the Pileg contestation, and has the opportunity to dominate Bandung Regency if Dadang Supriatna is re-elected as Regent for the second term.

But one thing that is hard to miss is the existence of PKS in Bandung Regency. Although PKS has never won a contestation, the progress of PKS votes should be taken into account. In the 2014 elections, PKS actually only won 6 seats, but in the 2019 Bandung Regency legislative elections, PKS pushed into second place with 10 seats. Although later, in the 2024 election, PKS seats fell again to a total of 7 seats, PKS still occupied the top 5 parties with the most votes in Bandung Regency. Not only that, every Regent carried by PKS, almost certainly won the battle starting from the Dadang Naser period to the last time Dadang Supriatna won. In 2024, PKS carried Sahrul Gunawan with "only" a coalition with Golkar against DS, who was carried by the majority of parties including PDIP, which 2024 did not nominate. However, the union of the two major forces is also worth taking into account.

Unlike the previous two regions, Cimahi City and West Bandung Regency were "red" (color from PDIP) or "bull" (mascot from PDIP) bases at the beginning of the reformation until several decades later. However, both have the same fate, namely the decline in public trust in PDIP due to regional leaders who come from PDIP (Ajay Muhammad Priatna in Cimahi and Abu Bakar in KBB). PKS cleverly managed to take advantage of the momentum, whereas of the 2019 election, PKS managed to control the legislature in the two regions. This means that, almost certainly, PKS controls the Greater Bandung area. This can be seen in the recapitulation of votes in the 2019 Greater Bandung legislative election as follows.

Table 1. PKS Vote Acquisition in the Greater Bandung area in the 2019 Election

District/City	Percentage of Party Vote	Number of Seats	Rating
Bandung City	20%	13 Seats	1
Bandung Regency	13.4%	10 Seats	2
Cimahi City	19.6 %	7 Seats	1
West Bandung Regency	15.2%	8 Seats	1

Source: KPU reprocessed by the author, 2024

3.2 The PKS Offensive Cadre Strategy Ahead of Simultaneous Election

PKS in principle has always been a hot debate in Islamic political discourse. Apart from PKS's ideological vacillation between being part of Islamism or post-islamism, PKS is also an interesting case. Because in addition to PKB and PAN, which are hesitant to show their Islamic identity (PKB, PAN, and several other parties claim to be nationalist-religious), PKS, along with the Bulan Bintang Party (PBB) and the Ummat Party, are parties that confidently claim to be Islamic parties. In fact, above the last two parties, PKS excels in the aspect of regeneration which, according to scholars' observations, actually has a mature, established and structured regeneration system.

However, the admiration of the experts began to fade, because, unlike the previous elections, where PKS utilized original cadres and went through a long and complicated process without leaving Islamic values, PKS today in fact tends to be more 'open'. If previously PKS encouraged its original cadres to advance in contestation with multiple qualifications, then ahead of the 2019 and 2024 elections, PKS is now more open to people outside PKS.

Prior to the Cadre stage of course the Prosperous Justice Party will conduct Recruitment first which aims to include people who have the potential and have the same understanding with the Prosperous Justice Party into the Party that will be Cadre, therefore in conducting the Recruitment the Prosperous Justice Party gives freedom to all members without exception allowed to conduct Recruitment, considering the Prosperous Justice Party is an Open Party.

Referring to the Chairman of the regeneration division of DPD PKS Bandung Regency:

"As we know that PKS is a party that has a form as a Da'wah Party according to the AD / ART owned by PKS. PKS will prioritize people who are deemed to have the same understanding in realizing PKS VISION-MISSION to be nominated in Election Contestation, then have good morals and potential in participating in Election Contestation. Apart from sorting and selecting from PKS Cadres to be included in the Election Contestation, PKS is also looking for people in the community from various walks of life, ranging from entrepreneurs, figures, or politicians. Of course, the person chosen must have the potential to contribute to society and of course have the same understanding as PKS, which will later be included by PKS to become a member and will be included in the 2024 Election Contestation."

If in the past PKS carried out the regeneration process by including Arabic-Middle Eastern terms such as *Halqa* and *Liqa*, ahead of the 2019 Election, PKS made reforms in the field of terminology. The term previously described began to be replaced, where PKS then formed a team called the Member Development Unit (Unit Pembinaan Anggota, UPA) which was tasked with recruitment. The initial term for recruitment itself was Networking, meaning that cadres netted several people who had potential and were felt to have an understanding that was in line with PKS. the process, the prospective cadre was visited by a team from PKS to approach and discuss the candidate's readiness to join and contribute to PKS.

The Member Development Unit itself in fact does not only carry out recruitment because the UPA itself has a tiered structure that is quite complicated. As conveyed by PKS Legislative members from Bandung City:

"So in PKS there is a so-called Member Development Unit, where every member is required to take part in coaching in the Member Development Unit, but the Member Development Unit has its own levels, such as for example for supporting members who will usually be directed to just be active in the party or routine party activities are enough, then increase to members of the Movers who are required to enter the Member Development Unit which will later be asked to foster members who have entered to be given an understanding of the Party including Vision and Mission, and others. the existence of the Member Development Unit is the beginning of how cadres are formed

to be more solid and loyal to the Party."

Then the results of the collection of these people will be included in the list of names that will be deliberated by the Shuro Council, this process itself is called Screening, which in the process is filtering the list of names from the previous screening process through deliberations ranging from DPC to the Center, and the deliberations will be led by 99 people from the *Shuro* Council to determine the final results of the screening process.

The above is in line with the statement of the Bandung Regency PKS DPD administrator as well as a member of the Bandung Regency PKS DPRD Electoral District 6 for the 2019-2024 period. According to him:

"In the process PKS will conduct deliberations for who will be included in the list of people who will be regenerated to be included in the contestation of elections, for the Regional Level through deliberations of people who are in the Regional Level Leadership Council (DPTD), for the Regional Level through the Regional Level Leadership Council (DPTW), for the Central level through the Central Level Leadership Council (DPTP), for the center itself there is the name Syuro Assembly which contains 99 members who will formulate who will enter based on input from structures from below, which will later go through the Screening process, Screening itself is the process of collecting the names of those who are deemed eligible to be included in the election contestation, which will then be carried out the Screening process, Screening itself has the aim of determining the final results in choosing people who will be included in the election contestation to be registered as candidates according to the results of the deliberations from the screening and screening process.... The one who has the right in the process is the Shuro Council, the Shuro Council itself is the highest Council in the PKS Party, usually the people who become members of the Shuro Council are people who have been tested from their knowledge and morals, such as Ahmad Herawan being a representative from West Java as a member of the Shuro Council "

From the above statement, it can be concluded that after the screening, the determination of candidates is determined by deliberative decisions at various levels, where the final result is then decided by the *Shuro* Council consisting of party officials.

One example of a case refers to an informant that the researcher interviewed, Mrs. Titi Rumsiti. She is an entrepreneur who is active in the Ciparay Subdistrict Women's Movement, Bandung Regency Women Farmers, and Bandung Regency MSME Movement because she is A successful meat-grinder (commonly known as 'abon') businesswoman in the East Bandung area. Mrs. Titi was then selected and nominated as a candidate for the Bandung Regency DPRD in Electoral District 6 in the 2024 election. As stated by her:

"At that time, I was visited by several people from PKS Bandung Regency, at that time I was invited to a discussion and asked to be willing to be nominated by PKS as a candidate for DPRD Electoral District 6, even at first I refused the invitation until I counted three times PKS came to me and held discussions with me about my readiness to be nominated by PKS, which in the end I accepted the invitation from PKS to be nominated as District DPRD Candidate Electoral District 6 and was asked for my availability to become a

member of the Bandung Regency PKS first before becoming a Candidate who would be nominated by PKS Bandung Regency, which then I was required to follow the programs in the Bandung Regency PKS Party and was required to take part in the Bandung Regency PKS Cadre activities while waiting for a decision from the Bandung Regency PKS to be registered with the KPU as a participant in the 2024 Election "

The Prosperous Justice Party has the results of deliberations with the Shuro Council in making decisions regarding the screening of people to be regenerated, the Prosperous Justice Party of Bandung Regency will proceed to the next stage, namely Cadre, which in the process of each regeneration carried out by the Prosperous Justice Party will be followed by all members of the Prosperous Justice Party of Bandung Regency, starting from new members to old members from various levels, regeneration carried out by the Prosperous Justice Party has various routine programs ranging from weekly, monthly and annual.

The cadre generation carried out by the Prosperous Justice Party has various programs, such as the weekly routine program called Tarbiyah, the content of Tarbiyah itself is a meeting of members led by a Murabbi as a person who fosters its members, in its implementation Tarbiyah is carried out in the form of an association accompanied by recitation, discussion, providing material to members, and usually every Murabbi always provides a program or asks what programs have been carried out by each member in their contribution to society.

The Cadre program is carried out once a month or a maximum of three months, the Cadre is called the Ta'lim Party, the content of the Ta'lim party itself is starting from gathering all members spread across each district / city, including all Murabbi and their members from all regions in each district / city to gather in the same forum. The purpose of holding the program in one forum has a purpose, including friendship between all members, discussion, to provide material to all members, which of course holds the program in order to form attachments to all existing members and build the loyalty of each member to the Party.

Referring to the opinion of the Head of the West Bandung Regency PKS Cadre Division, that:

"In regeneration in PKS itself there are 3 levels of members based on the activeness and contribution of members / cadres. Starting from Supporting Members, Mover Members, and Pioneer Members. To go through each level, of course, cadres are required to follow the regeneration in PKS starting from once a week, once a month, and once a year through the Member Development Unit (UPA). which later the level of the cadres will be determined by their activeness in participating in various regeneration programs and the extent of their contribution to the PKS party. The content of the UPA coaching itself is more or less the same as PANCASILA. Starting with the 1st Precept, namely the ESA Godhead, where UPA provides material related to religion, then provides material on Nationality, material on parties, material on Society, and material on skills. which in UPA itself will place a murabbi to provide the material to each member "

In discussing the concept of Tarbiyah carried out by Murabbi, the researcher then

conducted an interview with one of the members of the Bandung Regency DPRD Electoral District 4 2019-2024 Period who was assigned by the Party to become Murabbi. The activities carried out referring to his opinion are as follows:

"The Tarbiyah that I do usually has the form of an association that is accompanied by a recitation, in the place of implementation it alternates every week according to the agreement of the members, usually in the homes of the members. in the Tarbiyah activities that I follow myself contain recitation, discussion, provision of material and usually at the end of the activity there is often an invitation from the murabbi to make a contribution as sincerely as possible to be used later in activities such as social services to the community."

From the data sequence above, it can be concluded that PKS is currently starting to carry out an open recruitment process. PKS no longer utilizes its cadres who they nurture from the level of students or students in extra-campus organizations such as the cadres of the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Unit (KAMMI), but PKS has begun to attract cadres who are 'finished', or in other words PKS decided to pick ripe fruit from other gardens rather than waiting for the seeds to be reaped to grow. However, although the recruitment process is open, PKS is actually still carrying out conventional party regeneration processes. Although the term is slowly starting to change, although not all (there are still terms tarbiyah and murabbi), PKS still carries out a tight regeneration process by involving the Shuro council as the final executor. With the hope that the new cadres will not deviate from the Islamic values that have been embraced by PKS.

3.3 PKS Defensive Cadre Strategy Ahead of Simultaneous Election

PKS's vote acquisition in Greater Bandung over the past 5 years should have been the party's best achievement during contesting the democratic party. This means that maintaining the condition of the highest achievement is a mandatory item that must be implemented regularly and continuously. For this reason, in terms of regeneration strategies, PKS then consolidated meetings ahead of the 2019 and 2024 simultaneous elections.

The consolidation process is, First, Cadre Consolidation which is carried out by civilizing all cadres owned by PKS. Second, Structural Consolidation is carried out starting from the Chairperson of the Branch Leadership Council (DPC, District level), Chairperson of the Branch Management Board (DPRa, RT and RW level administrators), Regional Coordinator (KorW) and Polling Station Coordinator (TPS). and Third, Consolidation of Candidates for Council Members (BCAD) which is carried out by cadres who become BCAD in order to maximize their role in winning election contestation in each Electoral District, and can maintain vote acquisition, or even increase.

In the Defensive Strategy carried out by the Prosperous Justice Party in the 2024 Simultaneous Election in Bandung Regency alone as an example, through regeneration, the Prosperous Justice Party of Bandung Regency will re-cadre cadres who were previously involved in the previous election contestation period to be re-engaged in the

2024 Election Contestation, this has the aim of maintaining the PKS voter mass base in each cadre from the previous election contestation period.

Members of the Prosperous Justice Party who have potential will be involved in the Screening and Selection process described earlier. Members who are selected to be included in the Election Contestation certainly have special specifications in order to be nominated as BCAD in the 2024 Election Contestation, cadres who will be involved in the Election Contestation are not measured by how long the cadre has been in the Party but the extent of the cadre's potential in their ability to get votes in order to maintain the Party's votes in other words the cadre must have a period, and of course still one goal, and one understanding with the Prosperous Justice Party of Bandung Regency.

In the 2024 elections, the Prosperous Justice Party of Bandung Regency re-nominated all members who were elected in the previous elections or the 2019 elections, in other words, the Prosperous Justice Party of Bandung Regency re-nominated its members who became the Bandung Regency DPRD for the 2019-2024 period from all Electoral District which amounted to 10 seats, thus the Prosperous Justice Party of Bandung Regency has certainly re-nominated the 10 people with the aim of maintaining their voter mass base.

Then, in contrast to other parties that do not pay much attention to regeneration from among mothers, PKS tends to have a stable focus on this group. PKS tends to routinely hold routine recitations even not only in large mosques in the Regency, but also began to enter the villages. PKS also takes another, more innovative route, which is to encourage mothers not only to recite the Koran in the mosque or go around from house to house, but also often do *tadabbur alam*, which is self-reflection through recitation activities carried out outside the mosque. PKS has succeeded in highlighting the needs of mothers who are tired of taking care of domestic affairs and need a picnic. And this activity was not only carried out ahead of the election, but even the day after the general election, PKS women cadres who formed a wing organization called *Salimah and Pos Wanita Keadilan*, had immediately gone to the field to conduct recitation. This conventional method is not abandoned by any PKS cadre in the Greater Bandung area.

4 Conclusion

PKS is in principle a cadre party that has a very tight regeneration system but is loosening along with increasingly pragmatic electoral needs. Triggered by the pragmatism of nationalist-religious parties that tend to take shortcuts in regeneration (recruiting public figures and even former corrupt prisoners) and tend to win, PKS then adapted its recruitment patterns but did not leave its old groove as a cadre party. PKS conducts open recruitment to regional figures who presumably have a role and contribution in community life, starting from MSME leaders and *Pesantren* owners. Interestingly, PKS is not at all tempted to recruit from among public figures. One thing that should be appreciated from PKS as a unified party entity that is not hasty in its efforts to capture electability gains. Although unfortunately, this also makes PKS unable to compete with other parties that aggressively recruit public figures, including

PDIP as one of the two remaining cadre parties in Indonesia besides PKS.

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