Defense Factors of Islamic Political Parties in Election

(Comparative study of Malaysian Islamic Parties (PAS) in Malaysia 2013 and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) di Indonesia 2014)

Reztya Ridwan*, Kamarudin Kamarudin
Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Indonesia
Jakarta, Indonesia
*reztyari0712@gmail.com

Abstract—**The dominance of Muslims in a country does not guarantee that they can also dominate in political power. It indicates that political participation of Muslims has decreased, or secularism has become increasingly strong in the political arena in the country. In this problem there are factors that influence the low political vote of Muslims society in predominantly Muslim country. PAS and PKS grow in a country that has a large Islamic community base, but these two Islamic political parties can't prevail. Different systems of government and elections in Indonesia and Malaysia have no impact on the defeat of Islamic parties in both countries, because until the 2013 elections in Malaysia and 2014 in Indonesia, the existence of Islamic parties remained under nationalist parties. There are factors underlying the phenomenon, including internal and external factors from both parties.**

Keywords—Islamic party; Malaysia; Indonesia; political flow

I. INTRODUCTION

In majority Muslim Population Country, the vote for Islamic political parties in Malaysia and Indonesia has never dominated the election victory especially in the 2013 elections in Malaysia and 2014 in Indonesia. There are Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) in Malaysia and the Prosperous Prosperity Party (PKS) in Indonesia in each election were unable to defeat nationalist parties such as UMNO in Malaysia and PDIP in Indonesia.

Malaysian executive power is determined in a cabinet headed by the Prime Minister. Under the Malaysian state constitution, the Prime Minister must be a member of the People's Council, which according to the king will get the support of the majority in parliament [1]. Therefore according to Waris, political parties in Malaysia are considered as instruments of government for paving the way for political careers for their members [2]. Political parties means of aspiration and aggregation of the interests groups in Malaysia. Likewise with the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) as the only political party that represents the interests of Islamic community in Malaysia.

Legislative institutions in Indonesia are directly elected by the people through political parties. As in Malaysia, political parties in Indonesia also have an important role as a means of various interests groups through the legislative institutions. This includes the Islamic community as one of interest group who are members of Islamic political parties.

The Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in their movement gained influence from the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. According to Muthalib, the development of Islamic political parties in Malaysia and Indonesia is inseparable from Islam in the Middle East, with the increasing number of students who studied in Egypt and bringing their knowledge to their countries [3]. They has brought their understanding from the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt.

According to Yusuf Al Wa'I, the Muslim Brotherhood developed a Khilafah Theory, they required a country to implement sharia principles into nation and state [4]. The sharia principles in the state is also the beginning of PAS and PKS movements. Furkon sees that the Muslim Brotherhood claimed the relations of Islam and politic as a concept of tarbiyah which has purpose for prosperity. Tarbiyah in this concept is a substance in the context of the inseparable relationship between Islam and Politics [5]. The tarbiyah concept introduced by the Muslim Brotherhood is also applied in the PKS.

Muthalib in his research also revealed the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood on PAS, this is because some figures in PAS who had studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt who indirectly implemented the Muslim Brotherhood in PAS, therefore, PAS had considered a radical Islamic movement in Malaysia [3]. Like the Muslim Brotherhood, PAS carries the concept of khilafah.

Meanwhile, PKS still uses the tarbiyah concept, but PAS does not use it anymore. According to Abdullah, before the election in 1990, PAS turned into a more moderate party. PAS is no longer making the views of Islamic revival figures in the Muslim Brotherhood such as Abdul A'la Al-Maududi and Sayyid Quthb as the main references [6]. Even so, Abdullah

considered PAS still trying to create a country based on Islamic laws.

II. PAS AND PKS IN ELECTIONS

The emergence of PAS in 1951 as the existence of Muslim in Malaysian political fields originally called the Ulama Association in Malaysia, it was a religious division within UMNO party and decided to leave because there was a disagreement in looking the enforcement of Islamic laws in Malaysia. As explained by one of the PAS officials in Kelantan, Malaysia, Amaluddin Darus, in Arkib PAS stated that the ideals and principles of the PAS struggle are 'to realize a government based on the Qur'an and Al-Hadith and make Islam as a way of life [7].

Since it's established, PAS votes in elections have decreased. Mulya explained, in the first election followed by PAS in 1955 in 11 states followed by 5 political parties, PAS was in third place with the largest vote base in the states of Kelantan and Perak [8]. Then in the 1959 elections PAS was able to occupy the second position of 7 parties in 11 states. Then in the 1978 elections PAS votes dropped dramatically to the third position of the four election participants. After that, until Malaysia's 13th election in 2013, PAS never won.

In Indonesia, since reformation gave birth to many Islamic parties, including the Indonesian Islamic Party (PSII), the Muslim Party (PUI), the New Masjumi Party, the Crescent Star Party (PBB), the Justice Party (PK), Nahdhatul Ummat Party (PNU), National Mandate Party (PAN), National Awakening Party (PKB) and others [9]. Reform had given a space for social development, law, press freedom and politics in Indonesia, likewise with the birth of Islamic parties.

Since it's established in 1998 PKS stated that this party is based on Islam with the aim of creating a just and prosperous society that is blessed by Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala, in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia [10]. According to Soekanto, the Justice Party since 1998 turned into PKS, is the survival party as the only Islamic party in Indonesia that succeeded in increasing the vote from its first election in 1999 to 2009 [11]. However, significant changes occurred in the elections in 2014 where PKS suffered a loss with a decrease in vote acquisition.

PKS has participated in elections since 1999. In the first election it won 7 seats, then in the 2004 elections it had 45 seats, the 2009 elections had 57 seats and the 2014 election dropped dramatically to 40 seats. Even so, Ilyas explained in the 2014 elections in Indonesia, Islamic political parties showed the defeat of nationalist and secular parties. In this election, PKB won the internal Islamic party with a vote of 9.31 percent, and in the second place was PAN with 7.49 percent, in the third position was PKS with of 6.99 percent and PPP with 6.7 percent [12]. Based on the quick count of the Kompas R & D, in the 2014 election PDI Perjuangan occupied the top position with 19.24 percent of the votes, and was followed by the Golkar party with 15.03 percent of votes, Gerindra party 11.75 percent and the Democratic Party 9.42 percent [13].

Malaysian elections use first-past-the-post system as also used in British elections. The winner in the electoral system is also called the winner takes all [14]. In the 2013 elections in Malaysia, were two large coalitions that are coalition supporters of incumbents BN (Barisan Nasional) and the opposition PR (Pakatan Rakyat). PAS is included in the PR coalition.

III. ACQUISITION OF PAS AND PKS IN ELECTIONS

The decrease in PAS acquisition in 2013 elections, based on data from the Malaysian Election Commission shows that PAS seats in parliament in 2008 as many as 23 seats, while in 2013 only 21 seats. The total number of opposition seats consisting of PAS, DAP, and PKR was 89 seats, while the incumbent BN (National Front) dominated with a total of 133 seats in 2013. The acquisition of parliamentary seats obtained by each Malaysian party in the 2013 election can be seen in the following table:

TABLE I.   THE RESULTS OF THE MALAYSIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Party Name	Seat Acquisition in 2008	Seat Acquisition in 2013
BN	*140*	*133*
UMNO	79	88
MCA	15	7
Gerakan	2	1
MIC	3	4
PPP	0	0
PBB	14	14
SUPP	6	1
PRS	6	6
SPDP	4	4
PBS	3	4
PBRS	1	1
UPKO	4	3
LDP	1	0
SAPP	2	0
PR	*82*	*89*
DAP	28	38
PKR	31	30
PAS	23	21
Independent	*0*	*0*

Source: Processed from News Straits Time (7 Mei 2013) and Malaysia Election Commission Komisi (www.spr.gov.sg).

PAS has a large base of ulamas, according to Ilyas, this can be triggered political flow polemic. In Malaysia the political flow polemic increased before 2013 elections. Meanwhile, according to Daulay, ethnicity has dominated political competition in Malaysia. Malay ethnicity is synonymous with Islam which is a major part of Malaysian politics. The Islamic political movement that developed in Malaysia was dominated by Malay people, the majority of whom were Muslims [15].

According to Moniruzzaman, political contestation between two major coalitions in Malaysia was clearly seen during the campaign period until the Election Day. Moniruzzaman mentioned issues that developed during the fifteen days of campaign period in Malaysia in 2013, including [16]:

First, the campaign is dominated by economic issues. The PR Coalition publishes its manifesto faster, called the People's Manifesto 2013 which is related to economic issues. In the manifesto PR promises about economic and social welfare. While the BN coalition as a ruling party elaborated on their achievements.

Second, the issue of the PR coalition strategy emerged by making party elites as candidates to get seats in Johor and the Federal Region which became BN's voter base as incumbent coalition. Racial problems began to emerge, in Johor. One of the PR coalition parties, that is the DAP, nominating Lim Kit Siang to compete with a long-standing incumbent, Johor Chief Minister Abdul Ghani Othman. The purpose of PR encouraged Lim Kit Siang to increase the voters in Johor, Sabah and Serawak areas, which has majority population of Chinese ethnic. PR as opposition hopes to get a majority and form a new government in the state.

According to Nurdin, another campaign issue facing PAS is about the implementation of hudud law (Islamic criminal law) [17]. PAS was considered to be implementing the hudud law if they succeeded in controlling the Federal State of Malaysia, but this was rejected by DAP. Internal conflicts about hudud in the PR coalition were quickly utilized by BN coalition parties, especially MCAs to attack DAP. The application of comprehensive Islamic rules cannot be applied in a pluralistic country like Malaysia.

Meanwhile, in response to political flow polemic in Malaysia, according to Ilyas, Muslims has increasingly rational choice, so that the problems of political flow will not become dominant from year to year [12]. On the other hand, nationalist political parties have a tendency shifting to the middle, as in Indonesia political parties such as PDIP, Gerindra, and Golkar already have Islamic organizations branch. Otherwise, Islamic parties such as PPP and PKS have often declared themselves as open parties. This phenomenon is in response to the political flow problems that re-emerged in 2014.

The defeat of PAS in the 2013 election was also triggered due to internal conflicts that occurred in PAS. Mohamed Nawab bin Mohamed Osman explained that the internal conflict occurred in PAS was one of the factors in PAS's defeat in the 2013 election [18]. Internal problems were triggered when the former PAS leader says not to support for parliamentary candidates who has Syi'sh background. According to Nawab, it's refers to the nomination of PAS Deputy President, Mohammed Sabu as a parliamentary candidate from PAS. In addition, some Ulama's of the Islamic school in Kedah were also disappointed with the leader in the state of Kedah, Azizah Abdul Rozak from PAS, in the end the ulamas preferred to support parliamentary candidates from UMNO.

Furthermore, according to Nawab, PAS found it difficult to get support in southern states such as Malacca, Johor and Negeri Sembilan. Because PAS is generally seen as a party that has ruled out the Islamization agenda, however, people in southern Malaysia still consider PAS as an Islamic party with an extreme Islamic outlook and still have an Islamization agenda in Malaysia. While in Johor, PAS was considered as a

conservative and unmoderate party, this led to very weak support for PAS in Johor.

Meanwhile, Indonesian electoral regulation has produced Law Number 11 in 2011 concerning Election Organizers and Law No. 8/2012 concerning the Election of the DPR, DPD and DPRD encourages participatory and transparent elections [19]. 2014 elections in Indonesia were the most participatory and open elections. In this election, PKS also experienced a large decrease in number of votes. This has impact on the acquisition number of seats in the central parliament which also declined from the previous elections in 2009. This is the acquisition of political parties that have successfully passed the Parliamentary Threshold in 2009 and 2014:

TABLE II.　　LEGISLATIVE ELECTION RESULT IN 2009

No	Political Parties	Number of Seats in the Central Parliament
1.	Demokrat	150
2.	Golkar	107
3.	PDIP	95
4.	PKS	57
5.	PAN	43
6.	PPP	37
7.	PKB	27
8.	Gerindra	26
9.	Hanura	18
	Total	**560**

TABLE III.　　LEGISLATIVE ELECTION RESULT IN 2014

No	Political Parties	Number of Seats in the Central Parliament
1.	PDIP	109
2.	Golkar	91
3.	Gerindra	73
4.	Demokrat	61
5.	PAN	49
6.	PKB	47
7.	PKS	40
8.	PPP	39
9.	NasDem	35
10.	Hanura	16
	Total	**575**

(Source: Processed from KPU in 2009 and 2014, www.kpu.go.id)

The decline in PKS occurred significantly from the beginning in the 2009 PKS elections which had 57 seats, in the 2014 election the PKS seats fell to 40 seats. As Nurdin said, the defeat in PAS and PKS was inseparable from the political issues that occurred in these two parties before the 2013 general election in Malaysia and 2014 in Indonesia [17].

There are a view reasons why Indonesians decide not to choose Islamic parties. In his research, Nurdin saw, first, the Indonesian people doubted the capacity and ability of Islamic parties to solve the nation's problems, compared to secular political parties. For example in solving corruption problems. The involvement of the former PKS President, Lutfi Hasan

Ishak, in the corruption case of beef import quotas in 2013, has weaken PKS integrity in handling corruption.

Second, he considered that Islamic parties in Indonesia had financial problems. Based on survey conducted by LSI, there is 85% of respondents who believed that Islamic parties in Indonesia including PKS were very weak in financial resources compared to nationalist parties such as Golkar, PDIP, Hanura, Gerindra, and Nasdem.

Third, cases of radicalism in the name of religion in Indonesia also contribute to the decline in popularity of Islamic parties. Cases of violence committed by some individuals in the name of Islam also cause concern in society.

Fourth, secular or nationalist parties are considered more able to accommodate the aspirations of Muslim voters. The secular party has transformed into a secular-inclusive party to accommodate Muslim constituents. PKS is also considered not to have a character to be nominated as a presidential candidate to reach voters who are not PKS cadres, this is also the reason why political observers predict PKS defeat in the 2014 elections.

As in PAS, PKS also faced internal party problems with fractionalisation in internal PKS. According to the P2P LIPI research team, in the reform era, political parties are inseparable from internal conflict problems. Factions were increasingly formed until new groups of parties emerged. The level of party splits in Indonesia from 1999 to 2014 was very high. Almost all major parties experienced problems of internal conflict, including PDIP, Golkar Party, National Mandate Party (PAN), National Awakening Party (PKB), Democratic Party, United Development Party (PPP) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) [19].

The fractionalization in PKS formed after 2004 elections, there were factions of justice and welfare factions. The justice faction is filled by cadres who are perceived as more idealistic, while the welfare factions are more pragmatic. According to Munandar, the difference between the two lies in the views related to lifestyle, contribution and cause of party victory. In a lifestyle, for example, the justice faction believes that Islam teaches simplicity, while the welfare faction says that Islam does not forbid the ummah to live rich [20].

In 2007 one of the PKS factions formed an opposition movement in the internal party called FKP (Caring Cadre Forum) which produced LDKI (Islamic Da'wah Glory Institute) in 2013 [21]. However, in its movement LDKI was only at the level of Islamic propagation, and was not mixed with political interests.

According to Muhtadi, another case in the PKS was a conflict of thought regarding PKS as an open party in 2008-2010. PKS plans to become an open party, where non-Muslims can become party cadres. This open party policy is based on the view that PKS has plurality values as a reflection of commitment to inclusive Islam. However, this raises the pros and cons of internal PKS itself [22].

IV. CONCLUSION

Ideological factors become the main foundation in every movement of Islamic parties as PAS and PKS. According to Von Beyme, every political party has a different ideology and according to him only political parties based on ideology will succeed in building their party [23]. This is what Islamic political parties are trying to realize. PAS and PKS have an ideological base that is strongly influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood Islamic movement from Egypt. Both of them carry Islamic law as the basis of their movement.

There are also financial factors for political parties, where the corruption issues in the PKS is enough to influence voters in the 2014 election. The tricky factor of ethnicity strengthens in Malaysia and the political flow which dichotomizes political parties in Indonesia. Internal conflict factor and fractionalisation in PAS and PKS also influenced internal stability on PAS and PKS ahead of the 2013 elections in Malaysia and 2014 in Indonesia.

REFERENCES

[1] N. Zarnita, Perjuangan Anwar Ibrahim Bersama PKR (Partai Keadilan Rakyat) dalam Melaksanakan Reformasi Politik di Malaysia. Skripsi Fakultas Ada dan Humaniora. Padang: IAIN Imam Bonjol, 2013.

[2] Waris, PAS dan Cita – Cita Islam Malaysia, Skripsi Fakultas Syari'ah dan Hukum. Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2010, p. 5.

[3] H. Mutalib, "Islam In Malalysia dalam Mutalib," Hussin and Taj ul-Islam HAsmi (Ed.). Islam, Muslims and the Modern State. Case Studies of Muslims un Thirteen Countries Macmillan Press LTD, Houndmils, Basingstoke and London: 1996.

[4] Yusuf Al Wa'I, Al Fikr As Syiasy lil Ikhwan, Dar Risalah, Mesir, 2000.

[5] A.M. Furkon and A. Muhamad, "Pengaruh Pemikiran Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimin Terhadap Gerakan Politik Islam Indonesia (1980-2000): Studi Kasus Partai Keadilan," Tesis Pascasarjana Ilmu Politik, Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 2003.

[6] A. Rahman bin Haji Abdullah, Pemikiran Islam di Malaysia, Sejarah dan Aliran. Jakarta: GemaInsani Press, 1997.

[7] www.kelantan.pas.org.my [Online] diakses pada 18 Oktober 2018.

[8] A.A.A. Mulya, Peran Parti Islam Se-Malaysia Dalam Upaya Penegakan Syariat Islam di Kelantan 1978-1990, Skripsi Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya. Depok: Universitas Inndoesia, 2011.

[9] Y. Armansyah, "Dinamika Perkembangan Islam Politik di Nusantara: Dari Masa Tradisional hingga Indonesia Modern," Fokus: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman dan Kemasyarakatan, p. 43.

[10] Soekanto, Sitaresmi, .Pemenangan Pemilu Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) di Indonesia 1999-2009 dan Adelet Ve Kalkinma (AKP) di Turki 2002-2007: Studi Perbandingan. Disertasi Pascasarjana Ilmu Politik, Depok: Universitas Indonesia, 2012.

[11] Ilyas, Kekalahan Partai Islam dalam Pemilu 2014. Tesis, Pascasarjana Ilmu Politik, Depok: Universitas Indonesia, 2015.

[12] Hasil Quick count yanag dilakukan Litbang Harian Kompas pada 10 April 2014.

[13] https://kumparan.com/@kumparannews/qna-yuk-memahami-pemilu-malaysia [Online] Diakses pada 12 desember 2018.

[14] H. Daulay, "Persaingan Strategi UMNO dan PAS di Malaysia (dari Wacana Islam Hingga Konsep Islam Hadhari)," Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah dan Hukum, vol. 47, no. 1, 2013.

[15] M. Moniruzzaman, "The 13th Malaysian General Election: Uncertainties and Expectation," Intelectual Discourse, vol. 21, no. 1, 2013.

[16] A.A. Nurdin, "Partai Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) dan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Sebagai Partai Islam Pendukung Demokrasi PKS dalam Pemilu," Jurnal UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, vol. 5, no. 1, juni 2015.

[17] M. Nawab bin Mohamed Osman, "Islam, Ethnicity and Political Power: Malay Voting Pattern in the 13th Malaysian Election," RSIS Monograph, The 13th Malaysian Election: Issues, Trends, and Future Trajectories, no. 30, 2014.

[18] http://rappler.com/world/regions/asia-pacific/indonesia/80065-pemilu-2014-berkah-partisipasi-dan-keterbukaan [Online] diakses pada 12 Desember 2018

[19] Tim Peneliti P2P LIPI, "Resume Penelitian Faksi dan Konflik Internal Partai – Partai Politik di Indonesia Era Reformasi," Jurnal Penelitian Politik, vol. 14, no. 2, Desember 2017.

[20] A. Munandar, Antara Jamaah dan Partai Politik: Dinamika Habitus Kader Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) dalam Arena Politik Indonesia Pasca Pemilu 2004. Disertasi, Program Pascasarjana Sosiologi, Fisip UI, 2011.

[21] http://www.portal-islam.id/2018/01/kultur-syuro-pks-zaman-now.html [Online] diakses pada 17 November 2018.

[22] B. Muhtadi, Dilema PKS: Suara dan Syariah. .Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2002.

[23] K.V. Beyme, Political Parties in Western Democracies. Aldershot: Gower, 1985.