

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.63332/joph.v5i6.2047>

The Transformation of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: The Study of Doctrine Interpretation and Political Symbols Alteration

Firman Noor¹, Warjio²

Abstract

This study aims to assess the extent of transformation within Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS). Despite its origins rooted in a somewhat "fundamentalist political" tradition, PKS is currently undergoing a significant transformation involving shifts in perspective and political attitudes, having been in existence for over 23 years. This article investigates the specific dimensions of PKS's transformation, namely party's doctrine and symbols, to provide insights into the current trajectory of the transformation and explores the potential for its future reinforcement. Employing qualitative research methods, particularly document analysis and in-depth interviews with key PKS officials who have played pivotal roles in the party's establishment and evolution, this research also benefits from the perspectives of scholars who specialize in observing Islamic political parties in Indonesia, with a particular focus on PKS. The findings of this study reveal a transformation encompassing multiple facets, including doctrine and symbols. In essence, the transformation within PKS reflects a growing trend toward a more moderate, substantial, and contextually adaptable Islamic political thought in Indonesia.

Keywords: Political Party, Transformation, Dakwah, Substansialism, Nationalism.

Introduction

Numerous researches have unveiled a discernible correlation between Ikhwanul Muslimin and PKS, signifying a substantial influence on the political and religious ideologies embraced by the latter. In fact, PKS has frequently been regarded as a distinct "offshoot" of Ikhwanul Muslimin within Indonesia. Yusuf Al-Qardhawi, for instance, observed that PKS, in its aspiration to emulate Ikhwanul Muslimin, ultimately rendered the two entities strikingly similar in appearance. Imadadun Rahmat, in a similar vein, characterized PKS as a party deliberately adopting the struggle doctrine of Ikhwanul Muslimin. Rahmat's comprehensive analysis, which underscores this affinity, concluded that PKS' commitment to Ikhwanul Muslimin's methods and ideals had engendered a degree of ambiguity when addressing pivotal subjects like the concept of a nation-state and democracy. This is primarily attributed to an overarching preoccupation with establishing a more comprehensive implementation of Islamic Sharia. Further examinations delving into the attitudes and perspectives of PKS party members tend to corroborate the party's ideological orientation, which leans towards fundamentalism or Islamism.

While certain studies acknowledge the Ikhwanul Muslimin's influence on PKS as inspirational rather than deterministic, they do not negate the presence of "ideological adoption" by PKS of Ikhwanul Muslimin's viewpoints and political stances. This assimilation is particularly evident

¹ BRIN (Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional), Jakarta, Indonesia.

² Department of Political Science, Universitas Sumatera Utara (USU), Medan, Indonesia, Email: warjio@usu.ac.id, (Corresponding Author)



during PKS' formative stages, notably when it emerged as a da'wah (Islamic propagation) movement across various campuses.

However, throughout its trajectory, PKS has witnessed various phenomena that signify an evolution within the party. While the party's proximity to fundamentalist ideologies, notably those of Al-Banna, doesn't inherently render PKS exclusive or immune from differentiation, certain instances underscore its departure from this perspective. A pivotal juncture in this transformation became evident in 2008 when PKS declared itself an "open party" during the National Working Conference (Mukernas) held in Bali. Following the public announcement of its status as an open party, PKS was perceived by some observers as having embraced a more moderate stance. This political shift can indeed be viewed as a transformative milestone. In contemporary times, this transformation has become even more pronounced, particularly under the leadership of Chairman of the Syuro Council, Salim Segaf Al-Jufri, and President Muhammad Sohbul Iman (2015-2020), a trend that has persisted until the present. This transformation is epitomized by the introduction of new taglines, logos, anthems, and party marches unveiled at the 2020 PKS National Conference (Munas). These elements collectively reflect a vision and disposition that are more inclusive and accommodating of diverse groups.

This study aims to comprehensively examine the extent and nature of the transformation within PKS. It seeks to address several key inquiries, including the mechanisms through which this transformation has unfolded. Specifically, it examines into whether this transformation encompasses all facets of the party, constituting a complete overhaul, or if it is confined to select dimensions. Furthermore, the study discerns whether the transformation signifies a profound and fundamental renewal of PKS or if it remains superficial, manifesting primarily on the surface level.

Numerous scholarly papers have examined various facets of PKS. Several articles have explored its origins, political stance, and its association with distinct themes. Some investigations have linked its inception to campus-based proselytization efforts and have scrutinized its ties with the Ikhwanul Muslimin movement. Notably, Damanik's examination of PKS's evolution from a religious movement rooted in campus activities illustrates the imprint of Ikhwanul Muslimin's influence within PKS. On a parallel note, Furkon's analysis showcases PKS's adeptness at navigating the intricate Indonesian political milieu, despite deviating from the political ideological underpinnings of Ikhwanul Muslimin. Similarly, Rathomy's research traces the historical underpinnings and intellectual tradition that underlie the emergence and development of this party.

Furthermore, a collection of studies has presented PKS's ideological stance, particularly its perspectives on Islamic Sharia, democracy, and the nation-state's existence. These investigations have sparked debates concerning the true nature and orientation of the party's political ideology. Burhanudin's analysis characterizes PKS as an "idealist-comprehensive" Islamic party, advocating for a holistic and adaptable interpretation of Islam as a guiding doctrine for all aspects of human existence, while simultaneously championing the flexible implementation of Islamic values. Woodward's research classifies PKS as an embodiment of "Islamic Modernism", a movement that aspires to establish an Islamic State through democratic means. In contrast, Romli perceives PKS as harboring fundamentalist inclinations, underpinned by its active pursuit of sharia implementation as a core political agenda.

Some studies contextualize this party within the broader Islamist movement on a global scale. Research by Bubalo and Fealy and Barton illustrates how PKS is aligned with the Ikhwanul

Muslimin movement and affiliations that are considered integral to fundamentalist circles. In contrast, Noor's analysis leans towards perceiving PKS as a variant of the "moderate-fundamentalism" faction. A particularly intriguing perspective is presented by Machmudi, who introduces the concept of "global santri." Despite PKS's close connections with Ikhwanul Muslimin, Machmudi suggests that it embodies a new Islamic political paradigm that defies easy categorization within traditionalist, modernist, or fundamentalist groupings. Hasan labels this party a "moderate Islamist party," a characterization that has led to skepticism among some, given the party's moderate and pro-democracy stance despite its foundation in the Ikhwanul Muslimin tradition. On a different note, Rahmat situates PKS as an adherent of Ikhwanul Muslimin, aligned with the political trajectory of "Islamic revivalism." Baswedan and Mujani and Liddle utilize the term "Islamist" to delineate and characterize the attributes of this party, primarily due to PKS's resolute commitment to the comprehensive implementation of Islamic ideals and symbols.

Concurrently, numerous studies have investigated the party's internal dynamics and circumstances across various dimensions. Several inquiries have focused on party development and the emergence of internal factional tendencies triggered by diverse factors. Parallel to the aforementioned studies, a recent examination connects PKS with the rise of a splinter movement called the Indonesian New Direction Movement (Garbi), which subsequently separated and played a pivotal role in establishing the Indonesian People's Wave Party (Gelora). Moreover, there exist more targeted inquiries, such as the comparison between PKS and Turkey's Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP), investigations into the party's cadre process, and the exploration of these parties' participation in local electoral contests or regional head elections.

Concerning the theme of transformation, a cluster of studies has examined this aspect as well. Ahmad-Norma Permata's exploration examined the moderation of PKS's stance over its initial decade of existence, drawing a connection between this moderation and the reinforcement of institutionalization in Indonesia. Hwang's study on the moderation of both PKS and the All-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) underscores PKS's transformation related to its ideological political strategy. This strategic shift was prompted by Indonesia's moderate political environment and served as an effort to garner support in electoral competitions. Hwang's study also illuminates that effecting this change proved intricate, as it engendered differences in attitudes among PKS cadres themselves. Buehler's research underscores the pivotal influence of the party's initial formation, shaped by the social composition of its founding elements, in determining PKS's moderate political disposition.

The existing body of research on the transformation of PKS has primarily concentrated on unraveling the underlying factors and catalysts that led to the party's shift towards a more open and moderate stance in practical politics. These studies, for the most part, have examined the party's ideological adaptations and political strategies, particularly during the early stages of the Reformation Era until 2009, encompassing the period following its declaration as an open party in 2008. However, these inquiries did not extensively look into the holistic development of PKS's transformation across various dimensions, spanning from its origins to the present contemporary landscape. While some studies have emerged that specifically probe into PKS's ongoing transformation, many of them center on facets such as party symbols, particularly in relation to efforts aimed at engaging the millennial generation.

The comprehensive literature review highlights the extensive array of studies that have examined various facets of PKS, including its transformation. This study, however, offers unique

contributions and novel perspectives in two distinct ways. Firstly, this research aims to analyze the intricacies of PKS's transformation in a more comprehensive manner. It seeks to analyze the multifaceted dimensions that are currently undergoing transformation within the party. Secondly, the temporal focus of this study is particularly noteworthy. While prior studies have largely centered on earlier periods, this research uniquely centers its discussion on the contemporary landscape of PKS. By addressing the current situation and conditions of the party, the study adds a fresh layer of insight that has not been extensively explored in previous research.

This study employs a descriptive analytical approach, utilizing qualitative methods to ensure flexibility in data collection, information gathering, and interpretation development. This approach aligns with Denzin's assertion of "assembling images into a complete picture," allowing for nuanced insights based on experiential findings. The essence of qualitative research lies in its scientific exploration of human-centered and social phenomena. Data for this study is procured through in-depth interviews with a range of sources and comprehensive document analysis. Notably, key informants include central and regional administrators, specifically prioritizing long-standing party members who possess a deep understanding of the pertinent issues under investigation. The selection of these informants aims to facilitate a thorough grasp of the historical evolution of PKS over time, highlighting potential patterns of continuity or change, particularly with regards to PKS' transformative journey.

The interviews will incorporate the use of "open questions" and "informal probing techniques," as proposed by Fiona. This approach empowers research participants to openly express their beliefs, share information, and provide interpretations pertaining to specific issues or phenomena. Complementing these interviews, the research will also engage in a thorough document analysis to scrutinize relevant data and information indicative of any transformative developments within the political party in question. This document analysis encompasses official party documents like the Statutes and Bylaws (AD/ART), the Party Platform, official publications, and other forms of documentation that reflect party attitudes and viewpoints. The study encompasses literature such as books authored by party cadres, various scholarly papers, and popular writings from diverse sources that discuss the subject of interest, PKS.

The evolution undergone by PKS throughout its journey is evident from both the most abstract and the most emblematic perspectives. To assess and validate this evolution, it becomes imperative to scrutinize it across the doctrine and political symbols.

B. The Doctrinal Interpretation

1. From Islamic Dakwah to the Blessing to All Creation (Rahmatan Lil Alamin)

As an Islamic party, PKS holds the belief that Islam extends beyond being merely a personal religion. Guided by these diverse perspectives, PKS is dedicated to the advancement of an Islamic order characterized by a heightened manifestation of the Islamic spirit. In its early inception, the fervor to harmonize the essence of Islam with a moderate political approach materialized through the label "Da'wah Party." Embracing the principles of Islamic da'wah, PKS appears driven to steer Indonesian society towards an envisioned pinnacle – an arrangement that steadily becomes more infused with Islamic ideals. The forefront of their aspiration entails the construction of a societal framework or civilization that ultimately resonates with Islamic principles and Shari'a. This fervent drive to evolve into a guiding influence for the populace, directing them towards an increasingly Islamic milieu, remains remarkably potent.

Similarly, the determination to champion the "banner of Islam" remains resolute, as evidenced

by the party's anthem. PKS's unwavering belief in positioning Islam as a "civilizational alternative" found expression through diverse writings, ideologies, and the Islamic demeanor of its members. The tenet of engaging in a civilizational struggle also holds prominence as an intrinsic Islamic doctrine, distinct from matters centered on Islamic brotherhood. As the party evolved, these doctrines endured, and the ardor to function as a da'wah-oriented party persevered.

Nevertheless, a gradual evolution became evident with the unveiling of the "PKS Platform" in 2008. Marking its inception's 10-year anniversary, this platform presents an interpretation of the Islamic party doctrine that gravitates towards a more pragmatic commitment, tailored to the nation's requisites. According to Iman, within the "2008 PKS Platform," the envisioned Islam is one imbued with a contemporary and adaptive ethos (Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023). This becomes the bedrock of PKS's engaging with issues pertinent to the modern context within Indonesia. By embracing this essence, PKS's trajectory is increasingly directed towards fostering a civil society that gravitates towards a governance model is more closely aligned with Islamic principles. In recent times, PKS has adopted the term "Masyarakat Madani" or "civilized society" to encapsulate this aspiration. The "PKS Platform" further embodies an adaptive approach, underscored by its recognition of the presence of nationalism, democracy, and Pancasila as the foundational pillars of Indonesia.

However, despite the emergence of a more substantive dimension within PKS Platform, certain aspects have not undergone a complete transformation. PKS still retains elements of a party characterized by political attitudes and choices steeped in Islamic ideology. The utilization of jargon or terminologies bearing Arabic nuances remains apparent. Similarly, the inclination to maintain a position as a participant in the global Islamic sphere persists. The regional disposition of PKS continues to project an image of rigidity and exclusivity. The endeavors to establish stronger ties with key mass organizations, including the largest Islamic mass organization, NU, for instance, have not witnessed fervent engagement; this imperative appears to be underscored by a profound awareness. PKS continues to exhibit a measure of "confidence and comfort" in its identity as an Islamic party with a resolute Islamic agenda. Furthermore, the curriculum for party members has undergone limited alteration. Consequently, PKS has not fully transitioned to an entirely new stance on a broader scale. This sentiment is also mirrored in the public's perception of PKS, which still perceives the party as an entity inclined to maintain its distinctiveness. This has perpetuated the perception or stereotype of PKS as an integral component of the exclusive "Islamic Right" spectrum.

The endeavor to cultivate a more substantial and pragmatic party ethos gained momentum between 2015 and 2020. During this period, PKS doctrine underwent a reevaluation that increasingly emphasized substantial values and endeavors, embracing a more comprehensive acknowledgment of Indonesian identity. This strategic shift aims to augment the palpable impact and contribution of PKS across all segments of society, transcending beyond the Muslim population. In harmony with this fresh interpretation, PKS cadre members are presently guided to impart greater significance to their role as "Rahmatan Lil alamin" (blessing for the universe), an aspiration extended without exception. At the 2020 PKS National Conference, the party declared itself as the "Islamic Party that becomes Rahmatan Lil alamin". This policy emerges out of the agreement made by the Syuro Council which then gives a new direction for the party. PKS require all cadres to understand and implement this concept as Salim Segaf Al-Jufri emphasized: "We state that PKS, the Islamic party Rahmatan Lil Alamin, a mercy for the universe. This is not just rhetoric, not just a tagline, we must prove it."

Salim Segaf Al-Jufri expounded that "Rahmatan Lil alamin" serves as a fundamental principle within Islam, representing a religion characterized by tranquility, security, civility, and benevolence. This comprehensive ethos is envisioned to form the bedrock of the political measures undertaken by all PKS cadres. Within the Indonesian context, adopting the label "The Rahmatan Lil Alamiin Party" signifies a commitment to actively contribute within a broader Indonesian framework (Interview with Kholid, PKS Official Spokesperson, January 31st 2023; with Pipin Sopyan, Senior Cadre of PKS, February 2nd 2023; with Rahmat Soleh, General Secretary of PKS West Sumatra, January 26th 2023; with Hilmun Nabi', Head of PKS Bali Province, February 7Th 2023). Moreover, Almuzammil Yusuf noted that "Rahmatan Lil alamin" also conveys the notion of being more gentle, moderate, and capable of resonating with diverse groups (Interview with Almuzammil Yusuf, the Chair of PKS Political Department, January 25Th 2023). In a similar vein, Nabil emphasized that, for PKS, embodying "Rahmatan Lil alamin" translates to being a source of blessing for all, radiating a spirit that enlightens and benefits all parties without exception (Interview with Hilmun Nabi', The Head of PKS Bali Province, February 7Th 2023).

PKS underscores that its identity as the "Partai Rahmatan Lil alamin" signifies more than just a name; it encapsulates a profound transformative message. PKS cadre members acknowledge a shift in nuance from their previous designation as the "Da'wah Party" to the "Partai Rahmatan Lil alamin." According to these cadre members, the term "Da'wah Party" evokes an impression of the party as a dominant institution focused on advocacy, Islamic influence, and exclusivity (Interview with Rahmat Soleh, General Secretary of PKS West Sumatra, January 26th 2023; with Hilmun Nabi', Head of PKS Bali Province, February 7Th 2023). In contrast, "Partai Rahmatan Lil alamin" embodies connotations of equality, integration, and inclusivity. This alteration has laid the groundwork for a novel approach to PKS's struggle, accentuating to be more open and beneficial to all segments of society, thereby fostering PKS's presence within Indonesia's diverse and heterogeneous social fabric.

An intriguing parallel can be observed in the transformation of Ennahdah in Tunisia, which similarly transitioned from being a da'wah party to adopting a more open stance. The party, which once held leadership in the Tunisian Government from 2011 to 2013, underwent a change from an "Islamist"-associated Da'wah Party to a party exclusively advocating for democracy. Ennahdah's transformation extends beyond the mere separation of politics and da'wah; it represents a fundamental ideological shift, evolving from an Islamic party to a post-Islamic entity often characterized as "Muslim Democrats." This new identity centers on championing secular and liberal political values. However, distinctions remain between PKS and Ennahdah despite their shared transformational processes. While PKS asserts its transformation into the "Rahmatan Lil alamin Party," it hasn't positioned itself as a post-Islamist party akin to Ennahdah's evolution. PKS maintains its identity as an Islamic party, unequivocally opposing any form of secularism within the realm of politics.

2. Nation-State as the Final Stage

PKS adheres to the concept of distinct stages or orbits (*marhalah* or *mihwar*) in the process of Islamization. This framework was influenced by the da'wah methodology developed by the Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt and is considered foundational and imperative to implement. The identified phases encompass stages of individual fortification (*tandzimi*), societal presence (*sya'bi*), institutional establishment (*muassasi*), and governmental authority (*Daulah*), with some cadres interpreting the latter as a progression toward an Islamic government. In this phased

model, the trajectory of upholding a commitment to Islamic values or Islamization commences from individuals, extends to society, and culminates in the establishment of political and governmental structures. Throughout this phased progression, PKS has embarked on an extensive transformational journey, transitioning from an Islamic da'wah movement primarily targeting Muslims, towards a party that aspires to collaboratively engage with and lead all facets of the nation.

Within the context of the phased da'wah process, the initial stage is termed *Mihwar Tandzimi*, signifying the phase of organizing and reinforcing the structure. During this phase, PKS appears to prioritize the cultivation of cadre loyalty (Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023). This emphasis on loyalty has led to the perception of a rigid demeanor associated with the movement and its members (Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023). Subsequently, PKS proceeds to the subsequent stage, known as *Mihwar Syabi*, which focuses on societal presence and contribution. In this phase, the imperative is to extend outreach extensively into the community, engaging in direct interaction and offering Islamic-based solutions to a variety of challenges. The subsequent phase is the institutional stage, referred to as *Mihwar Muassasi*, wherein the presence within society evolves from an individual or personal level to encompass Islamic-oriented institutions. Concrete manifestations of this phase include the establishment of foundations, business enterprises, diverse forms of social services, and even political parties.

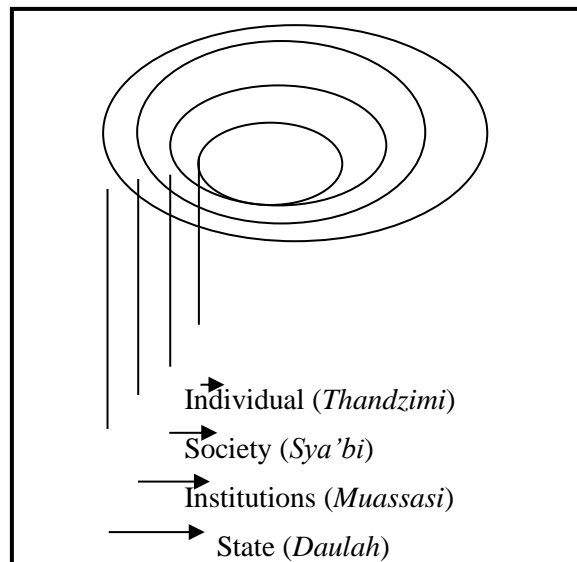


Figure 1. The Islamization Stages according to PKS

Source: Majelis Pertimbangan Pusat Partai Keadilan Sejahtera 2008, 51.

The formation of Partai Keadilan (PK) on July 20, 1998, emerged as a result of a consensus among cadre activists who were guided by their interpretation of the da'wah orbit. They recognized that the da'wah movement had reached a juncture necessitating a shift to a new stage, namely the phase of *muassasi*, or the reinforcement of political institutions. During the *muassasi* phase, the intention was for PKS cadres to become actively engaged within preexisting institutions, spanning domains such as education, social services, economics, culture, and

politics. The aspiration was for these cadres to imbue these institutions with an Islamic perspective, thereby influencing them over time. Within the political sphere, the objective was to secure positions within parliament, government, and the bureaucracy. The initiation of the political trajectory required adjustments and transformations to navigate the heightened complexity of the political arena and interactions with multiple parties.

Following its presence and contributions within the muassation stage, PKS advances into a subsequent and final phase termed the stage of state governance, or *Mihwar Daulah*. During this *Daulah* stage, the overarching objective is to foster a comprehensive process of Islamization at the state level, envisioning a state that is inherently aligned with the principles of Islamic values and law. The ultimate realization of this pursuit involves the authentic implementation of Islamic law within the state's framework. For PKS, the true fulfillment of Muslims' and society's well-being is contingent upon the establishment of Islamic Law. Within the party's cadre development, the *syumuliyah* doctrine is imparted, viewing Islam as a holistic way of life and a solution for the civilization's pertinent issues. This perspective extends beyond the realm of religion, extending its focus to encompass *ukhrawi* (hereafter) matters. According to PKS, the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith are comprehensive, encompassing not only concerns related to the afterlife but also providing a navigational guide within the intricate landscape of worldly existence.

Furthermore, PKS firmly asserts that the realm of politics constitutes a pivotal arena for the practical implementation of Islamic teachings, serving as a vehicle to benefit humanity. It is the duty of the Islamic Ummah to establish a political and civilizational framework rooted in Islamic teachings, aimed at permeating every facet of existence in alignment with Allah's divine plan. This obligation also arises from the necessity for a supportive structure capable of safeguarding the Muslim community as it earnestly fulfills its duties. As Ridha postulates, it is only through the Islamic system that every Muslim can effectively enact their intentions in harmony with Allah's intentions.

Such perspective aligns with the characteristic viewpoints often associated with fundamentalist ideologies, which are driven by a profound aspiration to establish a divine order (*illahiyyah*) on Earth. Rahmat's study highlights the significance of the stage's doctrine adopted by the *Ikhwanul Muslimun* movement as a pivotal framework for the party, ultimately leading to the establishment of a robust political order characterized by the application of Islamic law. This trajectory indicates a direction akin to the concept of *Daulah Islamiyah*. While PKS has not explicitly articulated this connection in a clear and detailed manner, Imdadun suggests that the absence of overt discourse or commitment to upholding Islamic Sharia on the surface doesn't negate its presence. PK or PKS fundamentally aspires to foster a political structure in which Islamic values flourish and are actualized, albeit not under the framework of an Islamic State or *Khilafah Islamiyah*. Rahmat highlights that during the initial phases of PKS's establishment, discussions regarding the advocacy of Islamic law, an Islamic State, and even aspirations for a transnational Islamic Caliphate, primarily in the context of enhancing the nation, were not outright discarded. Instead, these elements were discreetly "stored neatly in a drawer," implying a strategic shift in emphasis over time.

However, as time has progressed, the culmination of the Islamization process no longer necessarily equates to the establishment of a *Daulah Islamiyah*. New interpretation has appeared from the party's leaders. Presently, rather than concentrating on exhaustive examinations and endeavors to materialize a *Daulah Islamiyah*, PKS is increasingly oriented towards achieving

"substantial control" over the national state. Numerous official party documents and statements from PKS cadres indicate a concerted effort to align the party's strategic trajectory with the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). In this context, PKS perceives NKRI as the ultimate endpoint of the state progression.

With this perspective, PKS's contemporary objective revolves around fostering an environment within the Indonesian state that fosters the advancement of national and state values in harmony with the Islamic vision. This pursuit doesn't imply an intention to transform Indonesia into an entirely Islamic entity. Simultaneously, PKS recognizes that during this Daulah phase, the party must forge a deeper sense of unity with Indonesian identity. Within this Daulah phase, as described by Iman, the emphasis is on harmonizing the party's objectives with the realities and aspirations of the Indonesian nation. Iman said: "PKS must assimilate with this nation. Thus, we must participate in the various fundamental consensuses held by this nation" (Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023).

In response to these considerations, PKS is shifting its orientation from a historically exclusive stance observed in its early days towards a more comprehensive embodiment of Indonesian identity (Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023). Iman underlines that PKS envisions a future where it transforms into an Islamic party that substantially aligns with the post-Islamist category. He further emphasizes that if Islamic parties remain fixated on symbolic representation and exclusivity, they will encounter difficulties in their development (Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023). This perspective underscores that PKS's current trajectory extends beyond mere Islamic symbols and orientation, focusing instead on evolving as a political entity committed to national values. This standpoint not only guides the party's external manifestation but also serves as the bedrock for internal transformation. This internal transformation seeks to fortify the ongoing changes and expedite transformational processes that have yet to be fully implemented, particularly evident in the periods before the leadership of Salim Segaf Al-Jufri and Muhammad Sohibil Iman.

As a party that draws inspiration from Ikhwanul Muslimin and rooted in the principles of upholding Islamic teachings in a formal and all-encompassing manner, PKS has experienced a noteworthy transformation. The shift towards prioritizing substantive values, which fosters a more holistic appreciation for the nation-state and national identity, represents a significant indicator of this evolution. This evolving stance underscores a fundamental ideological transformation within PKS. This transformation can be perceived as a reflection of the da'wah movement's evolving and increasingly substantial ultimate objective.

3. Prioritizing Political Context

PKS was nurtured on the idealistic notion of presenting Islam as a viable alternative ideology capable of competing with other major ideologies such as liberalism, socialism, and communism. The genesis of this movement, later recognized as the da'wah tarbiyah movement, can be traced back to university-based Islamic activists who drew inspiration from various sources, including the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution. This revolution stood out as an exemplar of successful resistance against Western influence in the Islamic world, serving as a source of pride and reference for Islamic activists on campuses during the 1980s (Interview with Almuzammil Yusuf, the Chair of PKS Political Department, January 25Th 2023). In the spirit of this lofty idealism, the ultimate ambition was to construct a civilization grounded in Islam, serving as an alternative and viable civilization. This aspiration was augmented by the

incorporation of the political perspective of Ikhwanul Muslimin from Egypt, which was adopted by the leaders of the tarbiyah da'wah movement. The amalgamation of these two influences led to the development of a methodology or manhaj rooted in an Islamic political viewpoint, which sought to facilitate the efforts towards Islamic civilization or political order.

The concept of establishing an "alternative civilization" grounded in Islam gradually evolved into a doctrinal cornerstone widely embraced by early-generation figures and cadres within the movement. This doctrine subsequently informed the formulation of a strategic framework for the party's struggle and the cultivation of its cadre system. The da'wah movement's continuity, which persisted through PKS's formation, was fundamentally rooted in this phase-based belief system. Over the span of a decade, PKS's trajectory remained closely aligned with the pursuit of shaping an alternative civilization rooted in Islamic principles. While this aspiration occasionally intersected with Indonesian identity, the overarching focus was on establishing Islam as the primary pillar underpinning an ideal political order. Initially, national values and historical narratives were approached with limited emphasis, largely influenced by political strategic considerations. Concurrently, a comprehensive grasp of the essence of Indonesian Identity was primarily confined to specific circles within the elite (Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023).

In its initial stages, PKS doctrine remained closely aligned with the doctrine of a global da'wah movement, prioritizing Islamic concerns over matters of Indonesian identity. PKS's affiliation with international Islamic movements remained robust, largely due to its integration within the "global santri" network, a term coined by Machmudi. This network signifies a collective of Islamic circles spanning the global landscape. PKS's leadership, for instance, frequently engaged in discussions and dialogues with cadres from Ikhwanul Muslimin, exploring a range of topics. These interactions often broached the subject of potentially establishing a regional political entity, reflecting the conception of alternative civilizations in the form of an Islamic Daulah (state) and a caliphate (Interview with Almuzzammil Yusuf, the Chair of PKS Political Department, January 25Th 2023).

The world of Islam then serves as a significant arena for "struggle" or as a means of jihad, constituting a pivotal agenda for PKS. This stance has ultimately emerged as a distinctive hallmark of the party, setting it apart from other Islamic parties in Indonesia. Rooted in a deep-seated awareness of its role within the global da'wah movement aimed at constructing an Islamic civilization, coupled with a strong allegiance to leaders and the adoption of Ikhwanul Muslimin's model of da'wah methods, these principles are propagated and embraced even at the grassroots level. However, this steadfast commitment to these ideals can sometimes engender an impression of exclusivity, at times posing challenges in forging broader relationships with various entities.

As time has progressed, PKS has increasingly dedicated attention to comprehending the prevailing objective conditions within Indonesia. Benefiting from an enhanced political standing and growing political experience, the party's consciousness has evolved beyond solely seeking to grasp the essence of Indonesian identity. Instead, it has expanded its efforts to actively promote and propagate Indonesian values. The contemporary emphasis of PKS no longer centers on constructing an alternative civilization; rather, its focus has shifted towards integration within the nation.

In 2004, PKS's parliamentary elites took concrete steps to contribute to the implementation of the national agenda by actively participating in the dissemination of the four pillars of

nationality. Among a segment of PKS's elite cadre during that period, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and the concept of the nation-state were perceived as elements embodying a shared national consensus (Interview with Almuzzammil Yusuf, the Chair of PKS Political Department, January 25Th 2023; with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023). This highlights that prior to the formal declaration of PKS as an open party during the 2008 Bali Mukernas, a faction of PKS's leadership had already recognized the significance of acknowledging and embracing Indonesian identity within the political context.

The inclination towards embracing Indonesian values is also evidenced through various books, official party documents, and speeches delivered by party elites on numerous occasions. An illustrative instance of this inclination is found in the "PKS Platform" of 2008, a pivotal document that reflects the party's growing awareness towards prioritizing Indonesian Identity and offering solutions to its diverse challenges. This platform notably lacks explicit efforts to formally establish Islamic law or to make Islam the foundation of the state. Rather, the focal point of PKS Platform revolves around fostering a contemporary society as a prerequisite for the establishment of effective and civilized governance (*madaniah*). Additionally, the platform's essence is articulated as a blueprint rooted in the empirical realities of Indonesian identity, intended to benefit all members of society. In essence, the "PKS Platform" serves as an elaboration of the party's core doctrines, informed by a profound respect for the prevailing political context.

The evolution of the "PKS Platform" serves as a reflection of the party's commitment to interpreting Islam in harmony with contemporary and heretical perspectives Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023). Aminuddin asserts that the platform is an outcome of thought development aimed at addressing challenges, as well as offering solutions and aspirations not solely for Muslims, but for the entire nation and humanity. Subsequently, while the "PKS Platform" has remained consistent over time, it has undergone refinement and retained its role as a foundational guide for the party's agendas and policies.

As time progressed, PKS leadership recognized the necessity for all party cadres to be more attuned to the party's political positioning within the Indonesian context. This awareness stemmed from factors previously outlined. In response, PKS embarked on a cadre transformation initiative, aiming to enlighten cadres about the significance of Indonesian values. To operationalize this commitment, PKS actively conducts classes focused on topics related to national identity and Indonesian Identity. This includes the engagement of experts and instructors specializing in Pancasila ideology. In addition, PKS has introduced the subject of "Wawawan Kebangsaan" ("National Insight") within cadre activities. This thematic addition complements existing subjects like Islam and Entrepreneurship, and is integrated into the most recent Party Cadre Curriculum (KKP).

Within the latest KKP, PKS cadres receive comprehensive instruction on four core areas: (1) Religion, (2) Nationalism, (3) Party, and (4) Entrepreneurship. Specifically addressing nationality, the KKP incorporates specific achievement indicators to be met by cadres at each level. As cadres ascend through higher cadre levels, the curriculum progressively delves deeper into the subject of nationality. This approach ensures that cadres with elevated cadre status possess a more advanced and comprehensive understanding of Indonesian identity (See Table 1).

LEVEL	MATERIALS	INDICATOR
PRATAMA	Human Rights <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. International Declaration on Human Rights 2. Human Rights in the Islamic Perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding the Islamic view on human rights freedom
MUDA	Nusantara Outlook <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fundamental concepts of the archipelagic outlook 2. Character and culture of the Indonesian nation 3. Geopolitical strengths of Indonesia's resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grasping the fundamental concepts of the archipelagic outlook • Fostering pride as an Indonesian • Recognizing that Indonesia, as an equatorial tropical country, possesses highly strategic geopolitical resources that must be safeguarded
MADYA	Basic Concept of National Resilience <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Understanding national resilience 2. The astagatra approach in national resilience 3. Spectrum of threats to national resilience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comprehending the basic concept of national resilience
DEWASA	Nationalism and National Integration <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The essence of nationalism 2. The essence of national integration 3. Factors of national integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analyzing nationalism in preserving national integrity
UTAMA	Leadership and Statesmanship <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Essence of leadership 2. Characteristics of a statesman leader 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding the essence of leadership • Cultivating the character of a statesman leader

Table 1: "Indicators of Achievement and Nationalism Content
in the Party Cadre Curriculum "

In subsequent years, the curriculum on nationality underwent significant enrichment. At the Junior Level, cadres are introduced to materials encompassing democracy, the historical evolution of the 1945 Constitution, and Pancasila as the foundational principle of the state. Progressing to the Primary Level, emphasis is placed on the role of party members in safeguarding the nation. The Intermediate Level includes subjects such as the fundamental theories of Geopolitics and the perils of national disintegration. For the Adult Level, the curriculum covers the contemporary relevance of Pancasila in the era of globalization, as well as the concept and practical implementation of Pancasila within the struggle for justice, democracy, and the community welfare. The contents of the KKP serve as a testament to the resolute commitment towards fortifying the essence of the Indonesian political landscape within PKS's doctrinal framework. This evolution signifies a progressive shift for an Islamic party, as it necessitates its cadres' engagement with and understanding of national issues.

The evolution within this dimension has been previously initiated in various instances. Once again, this is a result of the phased da'wah process, necessitating the contextualization of the party's struggle doctrine. PKS has traversed a lengthy path and gained experiences, which are progressively propelling the grounding of Islamic values. However, it's worth noting that in recent years, this process has gained momentum due to the factors highlighted earlier. The uniqueness lies within the ongoing phase, which is now advancing to a higher level with broader and more nationalistic objectives. Furthermore, an unprecedented novelty has emerged, distinct from previous occurrences. This primarily pertains to the new Party Cadreization Curriculum (KKP). This particular matter not only underscores a heightened dedication to the essence of Islam but also introduces an unparalleled innovation. Thus, on the whole, the transformation within this doctrinal dimension exhibits a moderate-to-high significance.

C. Dimension of Symbols

A significant symbol of transformation within PKS materialized with the introduction of a new party emblem, anthem, and march during PKS V National Conference on November 29, 2020, held in Bandung. This momentous occasion marked a departure from the emblem that had been in use for over two decades. PKS Secretary General Habib Aboe Bakar Alhabsy characterized the launch of these elements as a tangible manifestation of the "new spirit of PKS" on the journey of nation and state. Alhabsy underscored, "This represents the new spirit of PKS, exemplifying PKS's unwavering commitment to fostering a close and heartfelt connection with all individuals, without exception."

1. Party Logo

In terms of the party symbol, PKS attributes specific meanings to its elements. The circular form within PKS emblem is interpreted to represent concepts of equality, order, harmony, unity, and concerted direction in the pursuit of justice and the well-being of the people within Indonesia, all rooted in the principles of Pancasila. Conversely, the crescent moon holds significance as a representation of the temporal dimension, embodying harmony, beauty, enlightenment, the nobility of Islamic values, and the preservation of equilibrium. The crescent moon symbolizes historical continuity, the nation's glory, and the uninterrupted flow of life's course for the country. The depiction of a sequence of 17 rice grains along a straight stem conveys notions of justice, brotherhood, determination, courage, disciplined task execution, and unwavering commitment to realizing justice and prosperity.



Figure 1: Old Logo PKS



Figure 2: New Logo PKS

Consequently, the revamped PKS symbol can be construed as embodying a resolute national ethos—an aspiration to propel the Indonesian nation forward guided by the principles of Pancasila. This symbol signifies a shift towards greater inclusivity, inviting people from all walks of life. The inclusion of shades of orange, frequently associated with millennials, further accentuates the party's receptiveness to the youth. This orange hue also symbolizes a progressive disposition in accordance with the demands of contemporary times. Notably, the new emblem omits the Kaaba symbol that was present in the previous party logo, signifying a heightened awareness not to overly accentuate symbols associated with Islamism. As noted by Muhammad in his study titled "The Meaning of Changes in the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Logo and Its Relationship with PKS Brand Image," the alteration of the party symbol represents an evolution in the party's identity, illustrating a transition from a predominantly religious and formal party to one characterized by neutrality, youthfulness, and dynamism.

This transition forms a pivotal component of the transformational blueprint for an Islamic party, emphasizing a departure from exclusively Islamic symbols in favor of amalgamating diverse symbols bearing more inclusive connotations. The novel party emblem captures the essence of Islam's core principles. Serving as a visual embodiment of the party's vision, the emblem signifies a commitment to rejuvenation and adaptation to contemporaneous trends and the prevailing context. In parallel, the AKP, as a manifestation of the rejuvenation spirit within the previous Islamic movement, has also veered away from traditional Islamic symbols like the Moon and Stars. Instead, the AKP has embraced a symbol of a shining light bulb paired with the slogan 'continual light.' This light bulb imagery symbolizes enlightenment, its radiance designed to reach all individuals indiscriminately. Hilmun Nabi' underscores the inspiration drawn from the AKP symbol, viewing it as inherently inclusive, signifying that goodness is light that should be universally accessible (Interview with Hilmun Nabi', The Head of PKS Bali Province,

2. March dan Hymn

The spirit of transformation finds expression within the new March and Hymn as well. A conspicuous alteration is observed in the revamped March, where the previous iteration underscored the elevation of the "Panji Allah" ("the Banner of Allah"), iterated multiple times. This repetition of the phrase "Panji Allah" exemplifies an orientation towards prioritizing the interests and values of the Islamic Ummah. In contrast, the revised PKS March places emphasis on the phrase "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" ("Unity in Diversity"), a sentiment commonly invoked to acknowledge and celebrate Indonesia's unity amidst its diverse primordial tapestry. Notably, the new march also incorporates the words "Soul of Pancasila," encapsulating the foundational ethos propelling PKS's political goals to foster harmony and foster national grandeur. This acknowledgment tangibly affirms Pancasila's integral role within PKS's pursuit.

PKS March (Before 2020)	PKS March (After 2020)
Kita berhimpun dalam barisan Lantangkan suara hati nurani Agar negeri ini berkeadilan Indonesia maju bukan hanya mimpi (3X)	Dalam Naungan Ridho Ilahi Marilah Kita terus Berjuang Dalam Bhineka Tunggal Ika Merajut Harmoni Bangsa
Partai keadilan sejahtera, Maju terus tanpa kenal lelah Partai keadilan sejahtera, Maju terus tanpa kenal lelah	Dalam Semangat untuk Berkiprah Menuju Cita cita yang Mulia Bagai Cahaya dalam Kegelapan Menyambut Datangnya Harapan
Kibarkan tinggi, panji Allah , Bangun Indonesia penuh berkah Kibarkan tinggi, panji Allah , Bangun Indonesia penuh berkah	<i>Reff</i> Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Hadir untuk Membela Rakyat Menata Ibu Pertiwi Mencipta Peradaban Mulia
Kita berhimpun dalam barisan Lantangkan suara hati nurani Lahirkan pemimpin adil sejati Dan cinta rakyat dan negeri ini (3X)	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Tak Lelah Terus Berjuang Dengan Jiwa Pancasila Menjayakan Negeri Kita
Partai keadilan sejahtera, Maju terus tanpa kenal lelah Partai keadilan sejahtera, Maju terus tanpa kenal lelah	Dalam Naungan Ridho Ilahi Marilah Kita terus Berjuang Dalam Bhineka Tunggal Ika Merajut Harmoni Bangsa
Kibarkan tinggi, panji Allah , Bangun Indonesia penuh berkah Kibarkan tinggi, panji Allah , Bangun Indonesia penuh berkah	Dalam Semangat untuk Berkiprah Menuju Cita cita yang Mulia Bagai Cahaya dalam Kegelapan Menyambut Datangnya Harapan

Bangun Indonesia penuh berkah... Bangun Indonesia penuh berkah.....	<i>Reff</i> Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Hadir untuk Membela Rakyat Menata Ibu Pertiwi Mencipta Peradaban Mulia		
	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Tak Lelah terus Berjuang Dengan Jiwa Pancasila Menjayakan Negeri Kita Membangun Indonesia Bersama Partai Keadilan Sejahtera		

Table 3: The Lyrics of Old and New PKS March before and after 2020

Within the previous PKS Hymn, the essence revolved more around the aspiration to construct a civilization grounded in the teachings of the Al-Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet. While the term "country" was present, the notion of Indonesian Identity was not overtly articulated or encompassed. In contrast, the revised PKS Hymn not only references the Al-Quran and Sunnah as guiding principles but also incorporates Pancasila as the foundational philosophy of the state. This gesture signifies a recognition of Pancasila's paramount role as a guiding force in politics, as well as in the broader context of the nation and state. Moreover, the targets of PKS's are now explicitly articulated, centering on the welfare of the Indonesian state. This transformation underscores a more contextually attuned commitment, highlighted by the heightened emphasis on the pivotal roles of Pancasila and Indonesia as the pivotal aspirations driving the party's pursuit.

PKS Hymn (Before 2020)	PKS Hymn (After 2020)
Berbekal Al-Qur'an dan sunnah Kita melangkah Membangun peradaban mulia Di bumi persada Dengan semangat perjuangan Tegakkan keadilan Wujudkan masyarakat makmur Adil sejahtera Tersenyumlah negeriku, Hapus rasa pilu Keadilan datang Terwujud kesejahteraan Menggapai cita - cita Harapan	Keadilan Kan terwujud Dengan semangat pejuang bangun peradaban Al-Qur'an dan sunnah Jadi pedoman Tuk majukan bumi persada Indonesia Reff Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Harapan bagi kita bersama Lahirkan pemimpin adil sejati Wujudkan rakyat adil sejahtera

bersama Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	Pancasila	
Berbekal Al-Qur'an dan sunnah	Panduan	Bangsa
Kita melangkah Membangun	Falsafah di bumi pertiwi Indonesia	
peradaban mulia Di bumi persada	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	
Dengan semangat perjuangan	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	
Tegakkan keadilan	Harapan bagi kita bersama	
Wujudkan masyarakat	Lahirkan pemimpin adil sehati	
makmur Adil sejahtera	Wujudkan rakyat adil sejahtera	
Tersenyumlah negeriku	Pancasila	
Hapus rasa pilu	Panduan	Bangsa
Keadilan datang	Falsafah di bumi pertiwi Indonesia	
Terwujud kesejahteraan	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	
Menggapai cita - cita Harapan bersama		
Partai Keadilan Sejahtera		
Partai Keadilan Sejahtera...		

Table 4: The Lyrics of Old and New PKS Hymns before and after 2020

PKS cadres acknowledge that both the former party marches and hymns carried undertones and orientations of struggle or jihad. The focal point of the endeavor leaned towards championing the interests of the Muslim Ummah (Interview with Mardani Ali Sera, Member of Parliament from PKS, January 23th 2023; with Rahmat Saleh, General Secretary of PKS West Sumatra Province, January 26th 2023). Given that Muslims constitute a significant element embodying Indonesia, this perspective was understandably prominent. However, in the newly composed march and hymn, a deeper Indonesian essence takes center stage. This is evident in the incorporation of the term Pancasila or Pancasila Soul. Furthermore, an inclusive dimension is introduced, signifying a collective collaboration with and for all segments of society. For Sohibil Iman, the individual responsible for crafting the lyrics of the March and PKS Hymns, the motivation and intention behind the lyrics are as follows: “The PKS anthem and hymn reflect the essence and vision of PKS. As an Islamic party 'Rahmatan Lil Alamin', the PKS anthem and hymn encompass three core spirits: Religious (Islamic), Nationalistic (Indonesian), and Humanitarian (Civilization). These spirits infuse the struggle of PKS on Indonesian soil.”

3. Garuda Pancasila Symbol at DPP PKS

Another noteworthy facet contributing to the transformation of PKS is the prominent display of the Garuda Pancasila emblem within the premises of the Central Executive Board (DPP) office or PKS headquarters. Positioned conspicuously in the waiting area, the emblem of the nation and state commands attention. This emblem's prominence greets all visitors upon entering PKS DPP Building, underscoring the resonance of the national symbol within this context. While PKS remains an Islamic party, the significant presence of the Garuda Pancasila emblem in the PKS DPP building, combined with the absence of Islamic symbols in the waiting room, might initially convey the impression of PKS as a party aligned with national interests. It's noteworthy that few parties, even within the realm of national parties, adorn their headquarters with the Garuda Pancasila emblem to such a notable extent. In comparison, the PKB DPP office features

a prominent image of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), one of the founders of PKB, prominently displayed in the foyer of the PKB DPP office, offering a point of contrast.



Figure 3: Garuda Pancasila Symbol at DPP PKS

In earlier times, the waiting room housing the prominent Garuda Pancasila emblem also served as a congregational prayer space. Whenever PKS cadres happened to be at PKS DPP office during prayer times, they would utilize this area for their prayers. This inclusion of a prayer room contributed to an Islamic atmosphere, as visitors often engaged in prayer upon entering the building.

The conspicuous presence of the Garuda Pancasila emblem within PKS DPP Building signifies PKS's acknowledgment of the Pancasila ideology and sends a message to all visitors that PKS is not opposed to Pancasila. This symbolic gesture underscores PKS's unwavering commitment to Pancasila's significance. Considering that PKS previously leaned towards the influence of Hasan Al-Banna's ideas in striving for Islam as a prominent alternative ideology, the current situation represents a remarkable shift. This shift is not only due to the absence of any precedent but also because of the truly groundbreaking nature that sets it apart from PKS's established symbols. Moreover, the magnitude of this transformation is underscored by the deep-rooted commitment it represents and the departure it signifies from the past. The substantial reformation, aligned with the essence of Islam and Indonesian Identity, further amplifies the novelty and, consequently, enhances the substantial weight of this transformational efforts within the symbolic dimension.

D. The Tendency of PKS' Transformational Direction

The transformation direction of a political party can exhibit variability. Parties might undergo character consolidation, shifting towards greater fundamentalism or conservatism. Conversely, they may experience moderation or a shift towards greater contextual adaptation. Considering the types of transformations and their underlying rationales, the prevailing tendency in the transformation of PKS is towards a heightened manifestation of Islam, characterized by the principles of Islamic-nationalism and contextualism.

1. Islamic-Nationalism

PKS has undergone a transformation aimed at gaining greater acceptance within the Indonesian political landscape. Regarding the concept of a nation-state, PKS views it as the appropriate framework for accommodating the inherent primordial diversity within the country. The existence of a nation-state represents a historical reality that has been tested over the course of the nation's development. Within the Indonesian context, this notion of a nation-state finds expression in the form of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, a culmination of the extensive process of da'wah or Islamization that PKS is presently engaged in. Notably, PKS deliberately distances itself from involvement in the establishment of a Khilafah Islamiyah. Conversely, both doctrinally and symbolically, PKS emphasizes its alignment and political stance as a national entity dedicated to advancing the welfare of Indonesia.

Moreover, the process of transformation that transpired increasingly exhibited reverence for Pancasila. Within the framework of honoring the context, PKS also leads to the acknowledgment that Pancasila constitutes an ideology that harmonizes with the essence of Indonesian Identity. PKS does not aim to construct an Islamic ideology for Indonesia with the intention of supplanting the role of Pancasila. Currently, PKS actively advocates for the concept of the "Rahmatan Lil alamin" party, a concept substantially congruent with the ethos of pluralism. There are resemblances between the "Rahmatan Lil alamin" principle and the pluralistic ethos of Pancasila, where the core of pluralism itself stands as a cardinal tenet in Pancasila. One such resemblance pertains to the disposition of deference toward minorities, exemplified by the diverse professional and religious backgrounds of administrators at the regional level. Furthermore, the act of demonstrating respect and acknowledgment for the significance of Pancasila is also evidenced through the incorporation of teachings related to Pancasila as an integral component of the national curriculum for cadres.

This demonstrates the current earnestness of PKS in delving deeper into the study of Pancasila. It signifies that PKS has progressed beyond the phase of merely acknowledging, in principle, that Pancasila does not contradict Islamic values, as has been previously asserted, and has instead embarked on a more profound exploration. The expression of respect for Pancasila is also evident through symbolic gestures. Notably, the prominent display of the Garuda Pancasila Emblem in a sizable format at PKS Headquarters serves as a conspicuous testament to PKS' acknowledgement and esteem for Pancasila. Similarly, the inclusion of Pancasila in the party anthems and processions underscores the interconnection between this political party and Pancasila. Given these multifaceted circumstances, it becomes challenging to refute the assertion that PKS aligns itself with parties that uphold Pancasila as the foundational philosophy of the state and as a symbol of nationalism and patriotism.

Nevertheless, this leaning towards nationalism should not be misconstrued as an indication that PKS is evolving into a purely nationalistic party, much less one embracing secular tendencies. Party members continue to firmly uphold the conviction that Islamic principles must form the foundational bedrock of PKS's existence. The contention between PKS and the Garbi faction was also ignited by the debate over whether PKS should ultimately transform into a national party or retain its identity as an Islamic party. The outcome of the internal discord underscored that a majority of PKS members were resolute in their desire for the party to retain its Islamic character. For this faction, being an Islamic party is entirely harmonious with national values and can even complement and fortify them. In light of these circumstances and the aforementioned considerations, PKS can aptly be characterized as an "Islamic-Nationalism"

party – signifying an Islamic party that is attuned to or aligned with both Pancasila and national values.

2. Substantialism

Several observable transformations within PKS underscore a proclivity for elevating Islamic values or essence in the realm of politics, as opposed to a mere formalized manifestation of Islam. The progressive stages of Islamization undertaken by PKS also reflect a deliberate emphasis on a gradual process, whereby both individual and institutional preparedness precede the establishment of a state grounded in Islamic principles. Throughout its evolution, PKS ideology has grown more receptive to the substance of Islam, with a pronounced focus on the notion of constructing a nation-state that draws inspiration from Islamic teachings. This diverges from the pursuit of an Islamic Daulah, which would position Islam as the foundational cornerstone and enshrine Islamic Sharia as the primary legal framework. As mentioned by Muhammad Sohiful Iman: "The direction of PKS's struggle is focused on substance. It is a struggle concerning the Maqasid Shariah. We discuss and advocate for Shariah, but from its substantive perspective, or the application of its substance" (Interview with Muhammad S. Iman, PKS President (2015-2020), February 11Th 2023).

The perspective held by Iman underscores the current stance of PKS's political ideology, prioritizing the substantive embodiment of Islam over formalistic enforcement. This viewpoint places less emphasis on the structural or procedural aspects of governance, focusing instead on the vitality and progression of Islamic values. Islamic Sharia is envisioned to find its prominence through its embodiment as values or essence, rather than strict legal regulations. Conversely, these perspectives and attitudes come into conflict with proponents of a formalistic Islamic approach or fundamentalists who advocate for a swift and even revolutionary establishment of a governance system grounded in Islam as its foundation. Notably, the HTI community remains steadfast in their pursuit of the immediate implementation of the Khilafah Islamiyah, viewing it as an imperative solution to various challenges. In contrast, PKS is more oriented towards cultivating a civil society while preserving the structure of a nation-state infused with the Indonesian ethos. This distinction is evident, among other instances, within the party's platform.

The "PKS Platform" can be seen as a manifestation of the party's substantialist standpoint, serving as a reflection of PKS's cognizance of the Indonesian milieu and its works to harmonize that context within the party's tangible initiatives. Notably absent from the platform is any articulation advocating the literal imposition of Islamic Sharia, let alone the establishment of an Islamic Khilafah. Within the pages of the "PKS Platform," a myriad of issues spanning various facets of national and state affairs are broached. The discourse extends beyond mere outlines, delving into pragmatic solutions that hold potential for implementation within the Indonesian context.

This orientation towards substantialism is also evident in PKS's reserved approach towards employing national symbols, such as the Garuda Pancasila emblem, within its Central Executive Board (DPP) office. Notably, Islamic symbols do not prominently feature in the party's offices either. This deliberate stance showcases that the aims and objectives of PKS are not geared towards supplanting established collective agreements, including the foundational principles of the state. There is no intention to replace the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with alternative constructs. Rather, PKS's interests lie in fortifying the essence of the nation and state, aligning them more closely with Islamic values encompassing justice, well-being, and thoughtful discourse.

PKS' stance fundamentally resonates with the prevailing state of the Indonesian Muslim community, wherein political convictions and perspectives gravitate towards reinforcing the core of Islam. The extensive trajectory of the Islamic political endeavor in Indonesia appears to have cultivated a sense of maturity, deterring fixation on mere Islamic symbols or romanticizing the pursuit of formalized Islam. This growing emphasis on substance within PKS aligns more closely with the tenets of the post-Islamist paradigm, as opposed to veering towards a trajectory of escalating fundamentalism.

E. Concluding Remark

In summary, the discussion reveals that PKS has indeed undergone a transformation, a process that commenced in its embryonic or initial phase, notably around 2008, approximately a decade after its inception. A more robust momentum for transformation emerged during the subsequent decade, marked by the leadership of Al-Jufri and Iman within PKS. This occurred due to the complete fulfillment of conditions conducive to political party transformation. This transformation appears to be more substantial and comprehensive, encompassing not only doctrinal interpretation and conceptual formulation but also extending to matters of symbols. Moreover, as an ideological entity, this situation underscores the elite's skill in interpreting ideology in line with current needs while remaining rooted in the faith.

Furthermore, when considering the overarching trajectory of transformation, PKS retains its identity as an Islamic party. Despite its increased openness and the adoption of a contextual and substantive approach in various aspects, it has not fully transitioned towards the attributes associated with Post-Islamism. This is evident in its inability to completely shed its Islamic character and become a purely national or secular party. This parallels the case of the Partnership and Rescue Party in Jordan, which displays symptoms of post-Islamism but remains entwined with religious or pro-Islamist agendas, despite its inclusive and progressive image (Bozkurt & Unalmis, 2022).

While PKS demonstrates respect for national values and democracy, this does not alter its fundamental identity as a party grounded in Islamic principles. The party appears to lean more towards an Islamic orientation that increasingly accentuates national values in significant domains. It prioritizes substantive matters over formalistic considerations and places greater emphasis on context through a stance of openness and collaboration. This positioning characterizes PKS as an Islamic party that aligns itself with a national focus—a trend observed among Islamic parties in contemporary Indonesia. Moreover, the foregoing exposition underscores that PKS's evolution into an Islamic party that increasingly upholds national values and emphasizes substance and context is not a result of transient opportunistic motivations. Rather, it stems from a deep-rooted and enduring fidelity to its core ideological principles.

References

- Aidulsyah, Fachri, "Membaca Dinamika Ideologi PKS: Studi Genealogis Terhadap Dinamika dan Tantangan Perubahan Aktivis Dakwah Kampus di Setiap Mihwar Jamaah Tarbiyah", Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2015.
- Al-Qardhawi, Yusuf, *Umat Islam menyongsong abad ke-21 sebuah catatan akhir abad: evaluasi perjalanan umat abad ke-20 dan proyeksi abad ke-21*, Solo: Era Intermedia, 2001.
- Aminuddin, Hilmi, "Kata Pengantar Ketua Majelis Syuro", in *Memperjuangkan masyarakat madani: falsafah dasar perjuangan dan platform kebijakan pembangunan PK Sejahtera*, ed. by MPP PKS, Jakarta: Majelis Pertimbangan Pusat, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera., 2008.

- Barton, Greg, *Indonesia's Struggle: Jemaah Islamiyah and the Soul of Islam*, UNSW Press, 2004.
- Baswedan, Anies Rasyid, "Political Islam in Indonesia: Present and Future Trajectory", *Asian Survey*, vol. 44, no. 5, 2004, pp. 669–90 [<https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2004.44.5.669>].
- Bubalo, Anthony and Greg Fealy, *Joining the Caravan? The Middle East, Islamism and Indonesia*, Double Bay, New South Wales: Longueville Media, 2005.
- Buehler, Michael, "Revisiting the inclusion-moderation thesis in the context of decentralized institutions: The behavior of Indonesia's Prosperous Justice Party in national and local politics", *Party Politics*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2013, pp. 210–29 [<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068812462933>].
- Burhanudin, Nandang, *Penegakan syariat Islam menurut Partai Keadilan*, Jakarta: Al-Jannah, 2004.
- Creswell, John W. and J. David Creswell, *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*, 4th edition, Newbury Park: SAGE Publications, 2017.
- Damanik, Ali Said, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: transformasi 20 tahun gerakan tarbiyah di Indonesia*, Bandung: Teraju, 2002.
- Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *Handbook of qualitative research*, Second edition, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2000.
- DPP PKS, "PKS Luncurkan Lambang Baru, Ini Makna dan Filosofinya", *Dewan Pengurus Pusat Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*, 29 Nov 2020, <https://pks.id/content/pks-luncurkan-lambang-baru-ini-makna-dan-filosofinya>, accessed 17 Jan 2023.
- Fiona, Devine, "Qualitative Methods", in *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, ed. by David Marsh and Gerry Stocker, Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1995.
- Furkon, Aay Muhammad, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: ideologi dan praksis politik kaum muda Muslim Indonesia kontemporer*, Bandung: Teraju, 2004.
- Hariyanto, "Warna Baru untuk Melayani Rakyat", 2 Dec 2020, <https://pks.id/content/warna-baru-untuk-melayani-rakyat>.
- Hasan, Noorhadi, *Islamist Party, Electoral Politics and Da'wa Mobilization among Youth: The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia* - RSIS, no. WP184, Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2009.
- Hidayat, Syahrul, "Managing Moderation: the AKP in Turkey and the PKS in Indonesia", *Doctoral Thesis*, Exeter: University of Exeter, 2012.
- Humas Fraksi PKS, "Habib Salim Ungkap 3 Cara Agar PKS Jadi Partai Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin", *Fraksi PKS*, 29 Nov 2020, <https://fraksi.pks.id/2020/11/29/habib-salim-ungkap-3-cara-agar-pks-jadi-partai-islam-rahmatan-lil-alam/>, accessed 25 Feb 2023.
- Hurriyah, "Sistem kaderisasi Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (1993-2003)", *Bachelor Thesis*, Depok: University of Indonesia, 2004.
- Hwang, Julie Chernov, "When Parties Swing: Islamist Parties and Institutional Moderation in Malaysia and Indonesia", *South East Asia Research*, vol. 18, no. 4, 2010, pp. 635–74 [<https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2010.0016>].
- Iman, Mohamad Sohibul, "Mars n Hymne PKS mencerminkan jati diri n visi PKS. Sbg partai Islam yg rahmatan lil alamin, Mars n Hymne tsb berisi 3 spirit penting yaitu Keagamaan (Keislaman), Kebangsaan (Keindonesiaan), n Kemanusiaan (Peradaban). Spirit2 ini yg menjiwai perjuangan PKS di bumi Indonesia. Tks. [@msi_sohibuliman]", *Twitter*, 30 Nov 2020, https://twitter.com/msi_sohibuliman/status/1333234559660408833, accessed 24 Feb 2023.
- Machmudi, Yon, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: wajah baru Islam politik Indonesia*, Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing, 2005.
- Matta, Muhammad Anis, *Menikmati demokrasi: strategi dakwah meraih kemenangan*, Jakarta: Pustaka Saksi, 2002.

- Mecham, R. Quinn, "From the Ashes of Virtue, a Promise of Light: The Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey", *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2004, pp. 339–58.
- Merone, Fabio, "Post-Islamism Politics in Tunisia: Ennahda's Evolution since the Revolution", in *A Fledgling Democracy: Tunisia in the Aftermath of the Arab Uprisings*, ed. by Mohamed Zayani, Oxford University Press, 2023, p. 0 [<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197661635.003.0004>].
- MPP PKS, *Memperjuangkan masyarakat madani: falsafah dasar perjuangan dan platform kebijakan pembangunan PK Sejahtera*, Jakarta: Majelis Pertimbangan Pusat, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera., 2008, <https://lib.ui.ac.id>.
- Muhammad, Ben Isa, "Makna Perubahan Logo Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) dan Hubungannya dengan Brand Image PKS", *Jurnal Bahasa Rupa*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2021, pp. 146–58 [<https://doi.org/10.31598/bahasarupa.v4i2.809>].
- Muhtadi, Burhanuddin, *Dilema PKS: Suara dan Syariah*, Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2013.
- Mujani, Saiful and R. William Liddle, "Indonesia's Approaching Elections: Politics, Islam, and Public Opinion", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2004, pp. 109–23.
- Munandar, Arief, "Antara Jemaah dan Partai Politik: Dinamika Habitus Kader Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Dalam Arena Politik Indonesia Pasca Pemilu 2004", Doctoral Dissertation, Depok: University of Indonesia, 2011.
- Noor, Firman, "Moderate Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia : a study of political thinking and behaviour of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), 1998-2005", Master Thesis, Canberra: Australian National University, 2006.
- , "Institutionalising Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia: A Study of Internal Fragmentation and Cohesion in the Post-Soeharto Era (1998-2008)", Exeter: University of Exeter, 2012.
- Permata, Ahmad-Norma, "Islamist Party and Democratic Participation: Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia 1998 - 2006", Münster: University of Münster, 2008.
- Permata, Ahmad-Norma and Najib Kailani, *Islam and the 2009 Indonesian Elections, Political and Cultural Issues: The Case of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*, Bangkok: Institut de Recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est Contemporaine, 2010.
- Priohutomo, Hardianto Widyo, "Faktor-faktor perubahan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera pada kepengurusan periode 2015-2020", Bachelor Thesis, Depok: University of Indonesia, 2016.
- Rahmat, M. Imdadun, *Ideologi Politik PKS : Dari Masjid Kampus ke Gedung Parlemen*, Yogyakarta: LKis Yogyakarta, 2009.
- Rathomy, Sigit Pamungkas, *PKS dan HTI : Genealogi dan Pemikiran Demokrasi*, Yogyakarta: Laboratorium Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan UGM, 2007.
- Ridha, Abu, *Negara-negara dan cita-cita politik*, Bandung: PT. Syaami Cipta Media, 2004.
- Romli, Lili, "Partai politik islam era reformasi dan piagam jakarta dalam sidang tahunan mpr 2000", Master Thesis, Depok: University of Indonesia, 2001.
- Shihab, Najwa and Yanuar Nugroho, "The Ties that Bind: Law, Islamisation and Indonesia's Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)", *Australian Journal of Asian Law*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2008, pp. 233–67.
- Sulistiyono, Seno T., "Ketua Majelis Syura Habib Salim Segaf Al-Jufri Sebut PKS Partai Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin", *Tribunnews.com*, 29 Nov 2020, <https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2020/11/29/ketua-majelis-syura-habib-salim-segaf-al-jufri-sebut-pks-partai-islam-rahmatan-lil-alamin>, accessed 21 Feb 2023.
- Sutjipto, Vera Wijayanti et al., "Citra Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Mengenai Perubahan Lambang Partai bagi Generasi Muda", *Jurnal Komunikasi*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2021, pp. 157–68 [<https://doi.org/10.21107/ilkom.v15i2.11986>].
- Syaikh, Ahmad, *Politik PKS 2024*, Jakarta: DPP PKS, 2022.

- Wahid, Hidayat Nur, "Menerapkan Syariat Islam dalam Bidang Sosial Budaya dan Pendidikan", in Penerapan Syariat Islam Di Indonesia : Antara Peluang dan Tantangan, ed. by Bukhori Yusuf and Iman Santoso, Jakarta: Globalmedia Cipta Publishing dan Pusat Konsultasi Syariah, 2004.
- Widyo Priohutomo, Hardianto, Kamarudin Kamarudin, and Syahrul Hidayat, "The Emergence of Gerakan Arah Baru Indonesia (Garbi) and Factionalism in Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)", *Jurnal Politik*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2019, p. 29 [<https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v5i1.222>].
- Woodward, Mark R., "Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy", *SAIS Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2001, pp. 29–37.
- Yusra, Amri, Lili Romli, and Firman Noor, "Seleksi Kandidat dalam Kontestasi Elektoral: Studi Kasus Pencalonan Walikota dan Wakil Walikota Depok oleh Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Tahun 2005 dan Tahun 2020", *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2022, pp. 41–50 [<https://doi.org/10.14203/jpp.v19i1.1132>].