The Emergence of Gerakan Arah Baru Indonesia (Garbi) and Factionalism in Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)

HARDIANTO WIDYO PRIOHUTOMO*
KAMARUDIN**
SYAHRUL HIDAYAT***

The Presidential Staff Office
Jl. Veteran No. 16 Jakarta Pusat, 10110
Indonesia
Email: hardianto.widyo@gmail.com

ABSTRACT
This article discusses factionalism in Islamic political parties in contemporary Indonesian politics, especially within Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party). The factionalism inside the party has occurred since the 2004 elections due to differences in the party management between those who prefer an idealist approach and pragmatism. However, the differences between the proponents of each approach do not produce any friction leading to the emergence of a splinter group until the current

* The author is a member of the Presidential Staff Office’s Agrarian Conflict Settlement Expediting Team (TPPKA-KSP).
** The author is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University of Indonesia.
leadership. It is only after the commencement of the 2015–2020 PKS leadership has the factionalism finally given birth to a new organization, Garbi (Gerakan Arah Baru Indonesia or Indonesian New Direction Movement). This study will discuss the emergence of splinter groups in PKS by using Boucek’s factionalism theory. The case of Garbi shows that stages of factionalism in PKS tend to be cooperative and leading to competition. However, before the rise of Garbi itself, which is declared as a movement instead of a political party, the factionalism within PKS has yet entered the competitive stage. This study argues that the factionalism has been heavily influenced by deep-rooted doctrinal values among its cadres that may hinder any severe impacts of competitive or even degenerative factionalism. Therefore, even though the factionalism appears to move towards degeneration in the near future, PKS appears to have managed the impact of the process with relative smooth and is able to maintain its solidity at certain level.

Keywords: factionalism, dakwah, jamaah, Garbi, PKS

DOI: https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v5i1.222

BACKGROUND

The dynamics of factionalism within Partai Keadilan Sejahtera or Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) as an Islamic party in Indonesia in the modern era is a fascinating topic to discuss (Machmudi 2006; Permata 2008; Munandar 2011; Muhtadi 2012; Hidayat 2012). This is due to the status of PKS as a party that holds up its ideology. According to Bettcher (2005), political parties seek to gain votes to acquire a certain position and develop policies. In order to develop their stands and policies, political parties need a philosophical basis, either from ideology or religion, that are then translated into programs by its members. This shows that the existence of political parties is a result of the actors’ ideals within the parties. It can be concluded that interest (to seek political position) and standpoint (ideology, philosophy, or religion) are the foundations of political parties. Such a condition results in political parties being prone to factionalism because party members can act as free agents to create dominated internal structures as well as interpretations toward the party’s rule and ideology. The party itself is not a monolithic structure and consists of different entities that are competitive, divided and defiant (Boucek 2009, 455). Conflict occurs, even within ideological parties, due to different interpretations of the ideology itself and each tends to impose a specific interpretation towards others (Budge, Edrow, McDonald 2010, 792). In a party whose sole ideological interpretation
is relatively strong, such as PKS, conflicts to some extent can be minimized because the domination of an interpretation binds the elements within the party.

However, as an ideological party, PKS still suffers from division and tension in 2009 and 2019. In 2009, some of the party members expressed their discontent toward some of the party’s maneuvers and policies considered as violating the basic principles of Islam. This group was then known as FKP (Forum Kader Peduli – Forum of Caring Cadres). Although this group did not go further and eventually transformed into a splinter group, the party suffered a stagnation during the 2009 election and failed to emulate the success at the previous election (Hidayat 2010). Meanwhile, in early 2019, a group that called itself Garbi (Gerakan Arah Baru Indonesia – Indonesian New Direction Movement) emerged and started to criticize the current party leadership.\(^1\) Therefore, analyzing factionalism within PKS, with a dominant ideology, is intriguing and attracts many attentions.

PKS itself has been experiencing divisions and differences among its members and this has been noticed by several scholars. Machmudi (2006), for example, categorizes PKS’s internal differences into three groups, namely revivalists, traditionalists and modernists. The first group refers to the people who calls for a return to the teachings of the Holy Quran in conducting their daily lives. This group abides by the mechanisms of *ijtihad*, making their decisions based on the considerations of knowledge, understanding, and personal experiences that are in line with Islamic values. The second group believes that there should always be a space for discussion, which will put Islam and Western ideologies side by side in hopes that there will be mutual goals from interfaith dialogue. The last one thinks that religion is no longer relevant to be the reference for movements.

On the contrary, Permata (2008) sees there are two factions within PKS which are the idealist and realist groups. The former, also referred

---

\(^1\) Eventually, this group has gone further to establish a new party called itself Gelora (Gelombang Rakyat Indonesia – Indonesian People’s Wave Party) on 28 October 2019. However, for the purpose of this study, the analysis only focuses at the emergence of Garbi.
as party on the ground, has in a way similar definition as Machmudi’s revivalists, while the latter, also known as party in the public office, resembles the modernists. Munandar (2011) explains that the idealist group focuses on religious movements, while the realist group puts their attention to party movements. On the other hand, Muhtadi (2012) defines it as groups that are centered in harakah (members of a party) and hizb (the party itself).

Generally, the two factions were known as Faksi Keadilan (faction of justice) and Faksi Kesejahteraan (faction of welfare) and it has been a subject of discussion for years. The faction of justice consists of revivalists, idealists and harakah. This faction is generally home to the conservative elderly, such as Salim Segaf al-Jufri and M. Sohibul Iman, the current PKS leader. Meanwhile, the faction of welfare is for the modernists, realists and hizb. Younger and more innovative individuals like Anis Matta, Fahri Hamzah and Mahfudz Siddiq come together and join this group. However, it should be noticed that the factions within PKS seems to focus on the source of consciousness, not the people. Therefore, it is difficult identify the factions by looking at the members involved in each group as it is fluid. Understanding the meaning of faction as discussed later will clear this possible misperception.

In some occasions, the two factions are often engaged in heated arguments, such as during the 2008 National Assembly (Mukernas) in Bali. The faction of justice thinks that the convention was too extravagant and the choice of place, which was Bali, did not represent the image of PKS as an Islamic party because the place is famous for tourism and therefore prostitution practices are widespread. The friction between the two factions then triggered the emergence of FKP which was initiated by Tizar Zain. Those who gathered at FKP’s meetings and sermons, mainly at al-Hikmah Mosque in South Jakarta, expressed their disappointments because PKS was seen as becoming more pragmatic and moving away from its core values. The disappointment was also due to the lifestyle presented by Hilmi Aminuddin (the leader of Majelis Syura at that time) who always commuted in extravagant cars like a Toyota Alphard or Anis Mata who practiced hedonism by wear-
ing a Rolex watch and also polygamy (Munandar 2011, 82). Despite the frictions, the factionalism within PKS had considerably been taken care of and prevented from reaching the public due to its good conflict management, where all problems are solved through the halaqah (literally means circle) mechanism (Noor 2012) and the intentions of the FKP’s proponents to remain active in solitude.

Under the current leadership of Muhammad Sohibul Iman (2015–2020), however, factionalism has been escalating in a way that, as an Islamic party with strong ideologies, factionalism within PKS has re-emerged. This condition is marked by the declaration of an organization named Garbi in October 2018 by some PKS members, including its former president, Anis Matta. One of the main differences with the previous internal division is that the initiators of Garbi refuses to be silent and stays active by having interviews with media or announcing the declaration of its branches across Indonesia. In this case, it is intriguing to look at how and why did factionalism within PKS changed under the leadership of Sohibul Iman after the well-managed previous friction.

This paper will employ the theory of factionalism in political parties initiated by Boucek to explain the possible factors of the emergence of factionalism as well as looking at its types. There are four sections that will be the main discussions of this paper. The first discussion will explain the changes in the elite level under the leadership of Sohibul Iman. The next section will focus on the organizational structure that is becoming more centralized. The third will be about the different understandings of ideologies that keep happening, triggering factionalism that results in disunity. The final discussion will explain the emergence of Garbi as a manifestation of changes of factionalism within PKS. This paper will close with a conclusion to summarize all the discussions to answer the research question.

THEORY OF FACTIONALISM IN POLITICAL PARTIES
The study of faction within political party is increasingly discussed in line with the development of political science (Zariski 1960; Rose 1964; Sartori 1976; Belloni dan Beller 1978; Bettcher 2005; Boucek
2009); although it is still far from becoming an important subject on the study of political party (Kollner and Basedau 2005). In Indonesia, the study of factionalism in political parties has started to grow as most of the parties in the country experience internal conflicts leading to the formation of new political parties (see for example Kamarudin 2008; Noor 2015; Sinulingga 2015; Budiarti 2018). Generally, there are two important elements of faction that need attention. The first one is that a faction is a sub-group of a bigger one. The second is that a faction is a sub-group that is held together by mutual identity and goals (Budiarti 2018). Other characteristics that can also be underlined is that faction exists for a certain period as a result of a common consciousness of a so-called group (Belloni and Beller 1978).

In the Indonesian context, the background of factionalism may be due to several factors, such as the pattern of elite’s leadership, the party’s organizational structure (Nuryanti 2018), the party’s ideology and sociological basis (Hanafi 2018), the influence of coalition (Romli 2018), as well as the system of general election and parties (Budiarti 2018). In this research, the authors will analyze the factionalization within PKS by underlining its internal issue based on the pattern of elite leadership, the party’s organizational structure and ideology that suits with the condition of PKS.

The patterns of elite leadership is a contributing factor to the emergence of factionalism within political parties in Indonesia in the post-reform era. This is an implication of the characteristics of post-reform parties that are pragmatic and short-term oriented, not ideology-based like in the 1955 general election. This pragmatism has led to a condition that the parties operate as a tool for their elite’s interest, rather than for the good of people in general. This condition traps the parties in the problems of personalization and oligarchy. Examples of personalized party in Indonesia can be found in PDI Perjuangan with Megawati Soekarnoputri, Partai Demokrat with Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Partai Gerindra with Prabowo Subianto (Nuryanti 2018, 92–94).

When oligarchies control a political party, they often act for the sake of their own interests. This condition triggers some factions to protest
due to a mutual feeling of under-appreciation. This protest can then lead to a conflict that will result in the factionalization of the political party. This kind of factionalization once happened with PPP, involving Suryadharma Ali and Romahurmuziy’s factions, as well as in Partai Hanura with Oesman Sapta Odang and Sarifuddin Suding’s factions (Nuryanti 2018, 99–100).

The party’s organizational structure is related to the party’s communication mechanism between the leaders at the top and the rest of the members. Therefore, communication mechanisms are vital to preserve the existence of a political party (LaPalombara and Weiner 1972). At this matter, a party’s organizational structure in Indonesia is influenced by the Law No. 31 of 2002 about Political Party and the Law No. 12 of 2002 about General Elections (Nuryanti 2018, 102). It is because of both Laws that political parties have become more centralized, where the party members possess full authority over the setup of the party’s policies.

The position of general leadership or leaders in the province level is very strategic because the individual leader will have full authority to decide who will run as district head or legislative candidate from the party. In most cases, members in the staff level will have to obey and follow all the decisions made by the leaders, although the decisions might be contradicting to their upheld values. If they refuse to do as they are told, a fine will be charged, or in extreme cases, a work termination will be in effect (Nuryanti 2018, 103–104).

The differences in understanding ideology and the emergence of conflicts among the elite can also be the source of disunity that will end in factionalism. This ideology-based problem is not only a result of frictions between two different ideologies inside a party, but also a result of different understandings and interpretations of the same ideology (Noor 2015). Different understandings of a party’s ideology certainly create tension among party members that can lead to division and disintegration (van Haute and Carty 2012). The difference in ideology can be seen in the Partai Sarekat Islam’s (PSI) case, where the SI Merah faction holds on to the Marxism-Leninism ideology, while the SI
Putih side’s belief is more Islamic (Korver 1985). An example of different interpretations of ideology is also reflected in the PKS’s case, which will be the case study of this research. The different interpretations come from Faksi Keadilan and Faksi Kesejahteraan, which occurred in many cases, which later will be discussed further in the analysis section.

Boucek (2009) believes that factions within a political party are not static entities. He further argues that they belong to a dynamic process of a sub-group, and this process can transform over time depending on the responses from the members of the sub-group itself. Moreover, factionalism will emerge in a different state depending on each political party’s experience. Boucek mentions three forms of factionalism, namely cooperative, competitive and degenerative. This theory of Boucek’s will serve as a foundation to explain the forms and changes of factionalism occurred in PKS, especially during the leadership of Sohibul Iman (2015–2020).

Cooperative factionalism refers to a condition where factions have the potential to unite the political party from within. In this form, factions can have differing opinions and choices on politics, but they will work together to build and unite the party they are in. This condition usually occurs in a party formed of different groups colliding to be a political party. Thus, in most of cases, this type of factionalism happens in the democratic political process.

The second type, competitive factionalism, happens when there is an inter-group misunderstanding due to different incentive schemes. Incentives for members of a political party is related to the distribution of positions within the party itself as well as strategic political posts at executive or legislative bodies both local and national. This kind of factionalism will likely pose negative effects on a political party as it will trigger inter-faction competition, causing internal conflicts, weakening the bond among factions and resulting in political fragmentations. Despite all the downsides, different opinions from factions can also help the leaders of the party to make the best decision from the available options.
When competition goes too far, degenerative factionalism may occur. It happens when there are too many factions within a political party competing to gain as much political patronage as possible. This condition, considering that each faction is trying to claim the maximum amount of group incentive, will lead to the fall of the political party or disunity. Boucek (2009, 473–480) shows that factionalism can change in forms, commonly from cooperative into competitive factionalism, and then later into degenerative factionalism. Degenerative factionalism as the final form that will tear the political party apart was showcased in Golkar’s case, which was divided into Hanura, Gerindra, PKPI and NasDem. These fractions of Golkar were once competing for incentives before finally breaking into different independent political parties.

Factionalism is supposedly taken care of effectively to contain problems among factions through the mechanism of conflict management. Darmawan (2018) believes that internal, informal approach by the party is more effective and impactful than formal approaches involving legal proceedings. However, the case of Golkar and PPP’s conflicts during Joko Widodo’s first term (2014–2019) shows that the informal approach came into effect only after the government interfered in the process, with the intervention deemed risky as it was based on certain political interests. At that time, the government was helping the factions that supported them, namely Romahurmuziy and Setya Novanto factions.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs the qualitative approach with the data collecting method from related documents and interviews. According to Creswell (2013, 17), qualitative research is a process of scientific research that aims to understand and explore a problem or phenomenon coming from human or social interactions. This paper will answer the question of why the change of factionalism resulting in disunity happened within PKS. To acquire information on the dynamics of factionalism change leading to the formation of Garbi, the study has conducted interviews with some central figures of both factions. Among the interviewees were Mahfudz Siddiq and Pipin Sopian. The list of interviewees was chosen
considering a balanced proportion of both factions, *Faksi Keadilan* and *Faksi Kesejahteraan*. Furthermore, the writer also interviewed scholars who had done research on PKS and followed the latest updates of the party, namely Arief Munandar and Firman Noor. The information collected from the interviewees was primary information, which will be used to analyze the problem in this paper. In addition, this research also uses secondary sources and literature study from former research discussing factionalism in PKS, as well as news from various media.

**PATTERNS OF ELITE’S LEADERSHIP IN PKS**

The patterns of elite’s leadership are analyzed based on the characteristics of a party, whether it is pragmatic and short-term oriented or idealistic and based on the ideologies believed. Elite leadership in PKS generally differs from that of other parties’ in Indonesia, where the chairman usually plays a vital role. In PKS, the chairman does not possess significant authority like any other chairmen from other political parties. Instead, this party has a division called *Majelis Syuro* that have the full authority to appoint candidates to run in the presidential election for example, or to select cadres to be proposed as ministers in the cabinet (Hidayat 2012, 165-166). This shows how PKS lacks charismatic figures and explains that PKS elite leaders are in the position of the chairman as well as in *Majelis Syuro*. In the party leadership before Salim Segaf al-Jufri and M. Sohibul Iman, the common pattern of party leadership tended to be accommodative. Anis Matta as the general secretary had the tendency to try to accommodate every part of the party in every situation, even in the critical situation happening then. This can be seen from some cases that went viral, such as the case of the imported meat bribery scandal involving Luthfi Hasan Ishaaq and the case of accessing and watching pornographic videos during a general meeting, involving Arifinto. Furthermore, the type of leadership during this era was not too strict, so that every action taken by the members of PKS, as long as it was still tolerable, will be pardoned by the elite as long as party members did not involve in activities against party leadership (Hidayat 2012). In other words, the tolerance given was much
flexible than that of in Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman eras. With such a leadership, factionalism was not given much concern.

However, according to Fahri Hamzah, the leadership of Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman matched the characteristics of feudalism and was not open to criticism (CNN Indonesia 2017). He himself experienced the strict authority when he and some other members got cut from the organizational structure. Meanwhile, DPP PKS (the Council of Central Leadership/National Party Board) believed that Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman were both trying to rebuild and refine the idea of *khittah* as an Islamic party. Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman were restoring the principles of the party that PKS should spread Islamic values through religious lectures and not only focusing on political endeavors. Pipin Sopian, on the other side, declared that Fahri Hamzah was fired because he rebelled and lied to the leaders, which makes Fahri Hamzah’s accusations towards PKS leadership no more than mere resentment (Interview with Pipin Sopian, April 5, 2019). Further, Sopian explained that, ‘When politics become the center of what we are doing, it is very likely that we will do anything at any cost, no matter how good or bad, to achieve our goals. Meanwhile, if we base our actions on the teaching of Islam, we are encouraging people to do good deeds’.

Pipin Sopian also denied that the leaders were not open to aspirations and critics from their cadres. Instead, it is during Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman’s leadership, young people become actively involved in the strategic decision making. Every Wednesday, they, who are part of the content creator team, would share their thoughts and discuss to establish programs that would be offered to the leaders for approval before socializing them to the public. These programs were tailored through academic processes, and when the results were supported by valid and reliable data, the leaders would approve.

Fahri Hamzah, who was among the founders of PKS, was cut off from the organizational structure, and his position as deputy leader of the House of Representatives was declared void on March 11, 2016 (DPP PKS 2016). This termination was the result of the fault he had committed related to article 11 No. 2 of the party’s Articles of Associa-
tion/Bylaws about actions that violate the decisions of Syuro, Tsawabit, party’s Articles of Association/Bylaws, including but not limited to: (a) violating undying oath as a member of the party; (b) violating the rules and decisions made by the party; (e) without valid reason not conferring with the results of the party’s discussion, not obeying the decisions made by the leader, not abiding by the policies and/or the party’s core values; (g) putting self, group or other party’s interests over that of the party’s (DPP PKS 2016).

PKS’s Articles of Associations Chapter XVIII article 26 No. (3) about Reward and Punishment states that, “The party will give an administrative sanction, charge, suspension, demotion and termination upon violating the syariat rules and/or organization rules, harming the party’s good standing or other actions that are against the values of the party’s Articles of Association/Bylaws or other policies (DPP PKS 2016). Based on this article, the party leadership had decided that Hamzah violated the directives to minimize conflict and had publicly exhibited bad behaviors in many occasions of media exposure.

Based on its action towards Hamzah’s case, PKS reinforced the party’s new direction that strengthened the aspects of cadre party and dakwah party. The consistency of this new direction of PKS was showcased by continuous process of fully implementing the party’s Articles of Association/Bylaws. It is different with what happened in the cases of Luthfi Hasan Ishaaq and Arifinto that were done as if they resigned their positions in the party instead of termination. At that point, PKS had proven to the public that they were trying to regain trust from the people in Islamic parties. This study concludes that PKS had realized that the actions conducted by party cadres were sometimes contradictory and created a grey area. This grey area rendered the people to be reluctant to vote for PKS because they thought that the situation within the party was not conducive. Therefore, the leader of Majelis Syuro and chairman on PKS urged all the cadres to act according to the teaching of Islam (Interview with Arief Munandar, February 14, 2019).

Aside from Fahri Hamzah’s case, PKS also treated Gamari Sutrisno, a member or Commission 1 of the House of Representatives, whose
case involve violating *syariat* values as equal. Gamari Sutrisno was offici-
ally terminated from PKS on April 8, 2016, after PKS had proposed for a recall (PAW) to the head of the House of Representative, the same time as the request for a recall for Fahri Hamzah. Regarding these work terminations, Pipin Sopian emphasizes that Fahri Hamzah and other cadres must accept the leader’s decisions because a political party has its own mechanism to deal with such cases. Pipin Sopian illustrates the leadership of PKS as a coach of a football team who has full authority to decide who will play in a game as the goalkeeper, striker or substitute, and who will not play at all (CNN Indonesia 2017).

The analogy of a football team was present on a circular distributed by DPP PKS that instructed all cadres running in the legislative election to show their loyalty to the party. It can be done by filling out two forms and putting your signature on a stamp. The first form declares that the cadres are willing to be replaced at any time if instructed, while the second one is a resignation letter as a member of DPRD (Regional People’s Representative Council) with a blank on the date section. There were some cadres on the district level that resigned their position because they did not want to fill out the forms, and there were also some cadres that were fired for refusing to sign the forms. Among these cadres were leader of DPP PKS of Situbondo area Imam Anshori, leader of DPP PKS of Blitar, Ali Muhsin, and legislative candidate of South Sulawesi DPRD Taslim Tamang. They refused to fill out the forms because they thought that the decision DPP has made was irrational and believed that there were political intrigues, which were believed to serve as a mean to swipe off Anis Matta’s supporter from the party (Wijaya 2018).

These intrigues can also be seen from the boycott against an event in Bandung on April 21, 2018 where Anis Matta was about to be declared a presidential candidate from PKS. Mahfudz Siddiq thought the reason behind this boycott was because DPW PKS of West Java circulated a letter telling all cadres not to participate in the event, making Anis Matta and other presidential candidates from PKS powerless to do anything (Kresna 2018). On the contrary, Pipin Sopian said that
Anis Matta broke an internal rule stating that such socialization should not have been done to internal cadres because DPP PKS believed that all internal cadres had been well aware of the party’s decision on who were running for the presidential election; therefore, what should have been done was sensitizing this information to the public so that PKS could reach to wider audience throughout Indonesia (Interview with Pipin Sopian, April 5, 2019).

The issue regarding the termination of Anis Matta’s supporters happened during Salim Segaf’s regime, and Sohibul Iman disagreed with Anis’ endeavor to transform PKS into an open party that can adapt in a democratic country. These have proved that PKS elites during the era of Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman were strict about the cadres’ loyalty towards the party and would not think twice to take actions on rebelling cadres such as Fahri Hamzah. The condition of swiping off Anis Matta’s loyalists was heating up when a document entitled “Beware of Boycott Movements against PKS” explaining Anis Matta’s efforts in taking over PKS in 2020. The strategies mentioned in the article were:

1. Taking over PKS’ Majelis Syura,
2. Taking over legislative fractions in DPR RI, DPRD on the province level and DPRD on the district level,
3. Taking over the party’s organizational structure,
4. Recruiting core cadres,
5. Funding candidates for district head,
6. Massively utilizing social media,
7. Spreading Anis Matta’s propaganda through Gen Anis Matta Pemimpin Muda (AMPM) and Arah Baru Ikhwan (ABI),
8. Colliding with various wajiah (institutions or people with authority and strong influence),
9. Treating new recruits according to their levels,
10. Implementing “recruit or die” notion, where the recruitment process is done through saving the party’s agenda.

This coup d’état explained in the document was considered a crime for attempting to commit treason, rebellion, walk-out and subservience.
Mahfudz Siddiq denied that such actions happened and considered them as intelligence efforts to overthrow Anis Matta and his supporters (Interview with Mahfudz Siddiq, February 14, 2019). Mahfudz Siddiq analyzed the document and stated that the actions were systematically taken to shape the opinions within PKS so that cadres would accept and realize that a coup d’état was in place. He also stated that the document was made by a figure that possessed a personal problem with Anis Matta, not organizationally related problems, fikrah (point of view) or manhaj (strategy). He also believed that the over-anxiety suffered within PKS, especially the one making the document, was because of the fear of the 9 (nine) Dragons’ (sembilan naga) intervention as donators.

Furthermore, Mahfudz Siddiq saw that the field of regeneration had changed its function into framing opinions, spreading lies and slander issues. The BPDO (internal disciplinary body) and the Majelish Tahkim were used as instruments in punishing and firing cadres who were identified as osan (a term for Anis Matta’s supporters). In addition, the effort to kick out Anis Matta’s supporters was carried out by making the office of Wilda (dakwah area) the executioner for dismissal, replacement, and takeover of structural management in specific regions.

This example occurs in the DPD PKS of East Kalimantan. Arbitrary behavior has been carried out by the DPP PKS, according to the City and Regency DPD PKS throughout East Kalimantan. That was in response to the position of the DPP PKS who replaced the Head of East Kalimantan DPD from Masykur Sarmian to Ali Hamdi. In a statement written by the East Kalimantan DPD, the decision was considered unusual in the PKS tradition because it ignored the prevailing mechanism. The practice was considered an anti-deliberation consensus policy and was a form of democratic decline from PKS as a political party. Yet, according to the cadres, Masykur Sarmian’s performance in East Kalimantan was satisfying. This was evidenced by the achievements of 75% votes at the general local elections in 2015 in the districts and cities of East Kalimantan.

On the contrary, the decision of the DPP PKS represented by the Head of Dakwah Region in Kalimantan, Abu Bakar Al Habsyi, stated
that it was a rotation, not a dismissal. Masykur Sarmian was actually appointed to the rank of regional administrators in Kalimantan. His statement stated that political position means mandate and responsibility that must be fulfilled, not glory. Such rotation is common in organizations such as PKS, where each cadre must be prepared to be stationed anywhere, ready to work inside or outside the structure, whether or not given a position. Each cadre is said to win and raise PKS as an Islamic party.

The dismissal and rotation experienced by Fahri Hamzah and Masykur Sarmian made the affected cadres feel that the elite had committed arbitrariness when exercising their power. Therefore, from their perspectives, leaders are considered pragmatic and make decisions for short-term interests, not based on ideological aspects. On the other hand, for the DPP as expressed by Pipin Sopian and clarification from Abu Bakar Al Habsy regarding positional rotations in East Kalimantan PKS DPD, the leader’s attitude does not reflect arbitrariness. However, it is a step taken by the elite to restore PKS to its preaching as an Islamic party carrying out in the interests of the party. This shows that there have been differences between PKS cadres in interpreting PKS leadership patterns under Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman.

Academician Firman Noor believes that the elite leadership pattern under President Anis Matta (2013–2015) was indeed more flexible than the leadership of President Sohibul Iman as it is today. However, the main problem does not lie in whether the leadership pattern is flexible or rigid, but depends on their commitment to uphold the values believed by the party. This commitment is faced with pragmatic Indonesian political conditions (Interview with Firman Noor, April 8, 2019). Hence, it can be concluded that the leadership pattern that occurred during Salim Segaf’s regime in Majelis Syuro and PKS President Sohibul Iman was a pattern that sought to maintain the party’s ideological values, whereas cadres such as Fahri Hamzah argued that PKS must adapt to more modern conditions without leaving its ideological values.

From the dynamics above, it is quite clear that PKS suffered a tension between those who try to uphold Islamic values with less acknowl-
The emergence of pragmatic political consideration and those who think that a more flexible approach toward politics is necessary. Therefore, the uneasy relation between supporters of strict and relaxed application of Islamic values continues. The continuation of previous tensions when the FKP’s critics emerged last and the decision to apply tighter approach has led to the growing dissatisfaction of the later. Although it has to be underlined that many of the latter figures are in the position of party leadership when those in FKP started their criticisms toward the application of more flexible and pragmatic approach in politics.

Organizational Structure of a Party

The party structure is seen based on the party’s communication mechanism from the leaders at the top level and cadres at the lower level. As explained in the previous section, the elites in PKS with relatively more power are dominated by the Syuro Council (Majelis Syuro). The party’s strategic decisions are usually made through the Syuro Council deliberations.

In the period before the leadership of Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman, the party usually received criticism from two approaches, namely the soft and hard approach. A soft approach was carried out by placing cadres under certain conditions to increase their understanding of the party’s situation. The latter approach was more a way of dismissing cadres from their membership status (Hidayat 2012, 209). Different from the previous presidents, Anis Matta considered the soft approach as more appropriate during his turbulent leadership period. This tendency shows that there was an attempt at moderation done by PKS leaders at that time.² This soft approach, as will be explained in this section, is less likely to be employed by Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman.

During Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman’s regimes, there were two aspects that became a push for party change, namely the application of good governance party as an organizational culture that must be

---

² The relatively similar hard approach has already conducted during Luthfi Hasan Ishaq leadership. During his leadership before being caught by KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) in 2013, Anis Matta served the party as general secretary. See Hidayat (2012) for more details.
applied to all elements of the party and affirmation of structural and cultural propaganda that showed PKS’ efforts to show consistency of upheld ideological values.

Good governance party consists of two benchmarks, namely the enforcement of party discipline related to the attitude of the cadres and the rules regarding finance. The party’s discipline relates to the clean, caring and professional aspects that are used as a reference in party conduct. The terminology “clean” means that PKS maintains morality both as individuals and party members to family, relatives, neighbors, fellow Muslims, and to anyone. The word “caring” means that cadres must do good to the community, be sensitive to the situation that occurs around them, help others, and do good to the country. This is a collective and structured action. This attitude is in accordance with the vision of PKS, which is to serve people. The last one, “professional”, means that PKS will bring about extraordinary values when all cadres have the ability and capability of adequate performance. With these three values, PKS aims to become a strong and consistent party (Interview with Fahmi Alaydroes, April 28, 2016). Based on this, it can be concluded that, structurally, PKS wants to change the character of cadres so that they are clean, caring and professional.

Attention to financial aspects emerged as a response to cadres’ attitudes in the previous period. At that time, PKS cadres were considered less likely to maintain the “halal nature” of income sources. One of the cadres (identity kept secret) in the DPP PKS revealed that it happened because of pragmatism in which the state did not provide good financial assistance to political parties. He further said:

... Here is an analogy; there are entrepreneurs. This is a public official. In the middle of the two is a PKS cadre who knows both of them. This businessman needs a policy that is able to support the sustainability of his company. Well, the cadre is a bridge so that entrepreneurs and public officials can meet, can chat, so that both transactions occur. Then this cadre gets a fee from both of them which then is paid to the party. Now the member of the council
that I met said, “Well, that’s halal!” Now, this statement said by a religious figure makes me confused. I say this because this religious figure receives taujih [advise] directly from someone on the highest level. So, it is confirmed that it is very possible that the rewards related to the logic are very likely to be true. Some justify that the action is halal! Masha Allah! If it is said to be halal, how are the ones that are forbidden?! ... (Interview with a party cadre, April 28, 2016).

Regarding this matter, the Head of DPP PKS in the Politics Division, Pipin Sopian, revealed that fundraising through improper means is contrary to party principles. Therefore, according to him, PKS must return to its roots as an Islamic party that highly respects the existence of the people by not justifying any means to pursue interests (Interview with Pipin Sopian on April 5, 2019). In other words, the current party leadership intends to apply clearer guidance for every member of the party in dealing with financial matter.

One form of fundraising carried out in the era of President Anis Matta was by recruiting entrepreneurs who were willing to contribute to PKS even though their commitment was not too strong for PKS. By appearance and behavior, these businessmen do not represent themselves like other PKS cadres. This practice is an example of progressive activities carried out in the Hilmi Aminuddin and Anis Matta’s regimes, while in Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman’s eras it was not done because the party was more careful in choosing who would be accepted as a financial contributor to the party (Interview with Fiman Noor, April 8, 2019).

Dakwah refers to PKS’ efforts in strengthening militancy and spirituality of cadres (Soekamto in Matta 2014, vi). The previous leadership period was considered to only develop propaganda structurally. The structural dakwah being discussed was the dakwah carried out to invite the community to be part of PKS, increasing the number of cadres. One cadre at the DPC level said that the orientation in the period of 2010–2015 was indeed to expand the party (Interview with Iwan Setiawan, April 23, 2016).
In contrast to the above-mentioned _dakwah_, the _dakwah_ emphasized during the leadership of Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman is also directed at the quality of regeneration. These qualities were carried out through cultural propaganda. The cultural propaganda refers to _dakwah_ conducted in an informal manner such as exchanging ideas, discussions, or showing good attitudes and becoming role models, as well as showing high concern for the community (Interview with Amang Syafruddin, May 2, 2016). From this, it seems that the party tries to avoid the application of extravagance politics that requires financial donators as conducted by the previous leadership. One way to achieve this is by application of more disciplined leadership.

The purpose of this cultural propaganda was to attract the sympathy of people who were previously unfamiliar with PKS to become interested and choose PKS as their party. This may increase their reach for voters. Deputy General Secretary of PKS Mardani Ali Sera emphasized that this cultural preaching was a response from PKS cadres in big cities who were educated, meaning that if PKS wanted to become a big party, it had to have a large supporter. One was to carry out the cultural _dakwah_ by visiting surrounding villages in which uneducated groups such as rural communities lived. This was how PKS intended to make its audience and supporters bigger. The application of cultural propaganda is in line with the statement of Deliar Noor (1984) that a political party is a community organization that can gather people who have the same understanding or the same interests to be achieved. In addition, political parties can also channel this understanding and interests to a wider community. In other words, people do not need to be bound to these political parties. The positive impact of channeling the understanding and interests of PKS to the community can encourage the community to choose PKS (Interview with Mardani Ali Sera, April 13, 2016).

The party’s organizational structure under the leadership of Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman experienced a change, compared to the previous period. This change was shown by the demands of the leadership to make improvements by improving party governance (by improving party discipline and financial rules) and preaching which is not only
structurally but also culturally. The demand shows how the PKS communication mechanism under Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman’s regime was carried out. The mechanism is a centralized mechanism that requires cadres to implement it in order to improve the party from the previous period.

DIFFERENT IDEOLOGY INTERPRETATIONS AMONG FACTIONS

Differences in interpreting ideology are seen from the perspectives of the actors in the party in implementing the adopted ideology. Muhtadi (2012, 259) writes that PKS’s ideology is firmly rooted in the belief that Islam is *ad-diin, kaffah* or total, comprehensive, and covers all aspects of life in the absence of separation between *aqidah wa sharia* (faith and law), *diin wa dawlah* (religion and state), and *diin wa dunya* (religion and the world). PKS activists accuse secularism as the source of the problems that continue to plague Muslims in the world. For PKS, secular values adopted in Indonesia’s political platform, marked by the failure of the nation’s founders to apply the Jakarta Charter³, have contributed to the marginalization of Islamic politics in Indonesia. Thus, PKS offers the notion that “Islam is the solution” (al-Islam huwa al-hall).

PKS as an Islamic party attempts to spread Islamic principles in politics. PKS also fights for *sharia* principals in parliament, both nationally and regionally. At the local regulation level, for example, PKS cadres try to make regulations on the use of veils for residents and female students (Ramadhan 2014). However, there are different interpretations from the cadres to the Islamic ideology adopted by this party in term of its application in politics. The difference in interpretation is a manifestation of the existence of the Faksi Keadilan and Faksi Kesejahteraan which from the beginning were considered to have existed in PKS. The former faction consists of conservative members and tends to maintain the *status quo* to maintain its original worldview since they were active as an underground movement; while the latter faction is made up mainly

---

³ The Charter consists of 7 (seven) words that require Muslim in Indonesia to comply with Islamic law.
of young people that are progressive and revolutionary, and in favor of change.

Anis Matta, when he became President of PKS, made PKS more open. In the 2008 Mukernas in Bali, there was a friction due to PKS being declared an open party that accepted non-Muslim members by Anis Matta as general secretary. Progressive factions saw the intent for PKS to get a wider voter segment than just Muslim voters. This is what conservative factions saw as an action that had deviated from the original purpose of the party’s belief. PKS also witnessed a shocking accusation, albeit proven at the court, towards one of its cadres as governor of the Northern Sumatra Province that had bribed members of the local legislative. Therefore, Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman, who represent the interests of the conservative faction, sought to return PKS to its khittah as explained in the previous section. As expressed by Pipin Sopian, preaching is the commander, not politics. In this case, he clearly drew a line between the justice/conservative and welfare/progressive factions. Anis Matta’s leadership in the previous period then was considered to make politics the main focus.

During the leadership period of 2004 - 2015, PKS elites adopted the doctrine of Al Hizb Huwal Jamaah wal Jama’ah Hiyal Hizb, meaning Party is Jamaah, and Jamaah is Party (Sumandoyo 2018). The elites who were in the party’ organizational structure at that time intended to make the political party bigger by integrating its members into one solid structure and management. The target was for PKS to become one of the top three parties in Indonesian politics. The strategy used was to make PKS an open and inclusive party.

In addition, party policies in this period were considerably flexible. This can be seen from several things such as issues of lifestyle preferences, appearance, attitude and body language. Elites who were in the PKS’ structure and non-PKS’ structure would display a modern, young, and luxurious appearance. They are seen wearing jeans and suits, shoes and luxury watches, traveling in luxury cars, and choosing places to gather that were usually luxurious such as fancy coffee shops. Anis Matta was seen as the initiator of this approach and has tried to
apply this to the party as general secretary and later as president of the party. This attitude was deemed wrong and insensitive to the majority of PKS cadres, many of whom in fact belonged to the lower-middle group in terms of income. On the other hand, PKS itself still exercised a “joint-funding” mechanism for PKS’ activities including the major ones such as monthly, annual, national, and work meetings.

At the same time, PKS as an Islamic political party that introduces itself as a cadre party and a propaganda party has been interpreted by the community as an Islamic party. Thus, the hope of society is that all elements in PKS reflect a political party that implements the values and norms of Islam that apply in Indonesian society. Some examples of values and norms that apply in Indonesian Muslim societies are life simplicity, modest appearances, close relations between leaders and staff, and various things as described in the era of the leadership of the Prophet and his friends, the view symbolized by Ustadz Fahmi Alaydrus as Head of People’s Welfare Division:

... We are tens of thousands of people. It has a very diverse life. That may become a kind of over-expectation of the tarbiyah values ... how extraordinary life in the time of the Prophet’s friends ... what is often exemplified is life in the time of the Prophet and his friends to become Muslim moral standards in life... whereas in the era of dynasties, Islam still had a very big name and take ... then, there were also various patterns of life ... I mean it is natural that some parties do not reflect the tarbiyah values taught ... over-expectations towards the lifestyle that is very simple and puritanical... the reality is a bit different ... so there is a gap between values and reality here. (Interview with Fahmi Alaydroes, April 28, 2016).

The existence of ideology and identity differences with varying interpretations triggers confusion and criticism from both the internal structure and the wider community. Differences in community expectation standards and high expectations of the community towards PKS were not matched by the behavior exhibited by cadres. In addition, immoral cases committed by Arifinto (DPR-RI Member) in 2011 that was caught
watching pornographic videos by CCTV in a DPR general meeting, corruption cases that ensnared Luthfi Hasan Ishaq, who became a suspect in a beef gratification case in the Ministry of Agriculture, and Gatot Pujo Nugroho, following his bribery scandal with the legislative members as the North Sumatra Governor. Various cases and situations that occurred in the past have shown the dynamics of PKS both morally and legally. Such cases often portray PKS with an unfriendly and inconsistent face to the public. This was confirmed by Arief Munandar as a political observer as well as a cadre:

... image made in the community. One that we see is that PKS becomes a common enemy. Yes, right? Everywhere, people say PKS is a bit cynical. Relating everything to religion but how come the behavior is slightly different from other parties. How is this happening? ... How do members of an Islamic party not represent Islamic values? PKS is becoming a party that seems to be exclusive, as if it wants to walk alone, doing everything by its own rules. The coalition party used to act like an opposition. Siti Zuhro or Chusnul Mar’iyah, if I’m not mistaken, I forgot ... yes, Siti Zuhro! Yes, in the past she said, in several elections, PKS failed to form a coalition with other parties because many parties were disappointed and traumatized by PKS’s actions, for example the coalition between PKS and SBY which was not successful because PKS collided with SBY but acted as if it was SBY’s opponent. Not to mention the faces that we see are smile-less and impolite, which actually do not resemble PKS, right? Maybe some say it is a pragmatic face ... a face that does not obey public decency. But this is what becomes public consumption. Or sometimes an inconsistent face. One more thing, a PKS public official once he saves a position in the party, but he resigns because of a case. (Interview with Arief Munandar, February 14, 2019).

Under Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman, the interpretation of the ideology actually puts forward various things aimed at returning the PKS identity into a cadre party and an Islamic party. Some of them rely on propaganda as an instrument, minimizing potential conflicts, and
tends to be accommodative. Accommodative here refers to a leadership that does not discriminate any faction. If people have the same vision as PKS, they are welcome to join and collaborate (Interview with Arief Munandar, February 14, 2019). Practically, PKS in the previous era only continued to look for votes without considering the ruhiyah (soul) of cadres and voters. He said:

... if you can go deeper, during the leadership period of Ustadz Sohibul Iman, there were many strategic programs that were indeed aimed at protecting the cadre ruhiyah while maintaining the PKS constituents. This can be seen from the solemn program for the people, the development of PKS solemn centers, and policies for accommodating tarbiyah in structural and non-structural aspects. The point is, there are tarbiyah people outside the party, such as civil servants. Now this is what the party is now embracing and paying attention to … (Interview with Arief Munandar, February 14, 2019).

As mentioned by the Head of Cadre Regeneration Division, Amang Syafrudin, PKS in 2015, under the leadership of Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman, focused on the regeneration of the party. He said that, “if it is said to be ignored or not paid attention to, it really is not, because the regeneration budget even becomes the envy from other fields. It is more appropriate to say there are aspects of strengthening in quality, so it does not always have to increase through quantity”.

This aspect of strengthening cadre formation is influenced by the situation in the previous period which, in practice, was focused more on directing the cadres to the party structure, especially when Luthfi Hasan Ishaq (sometimes known as LHI) had to deal with a case and replaced by Anis Matta as President of PKS. At that time, there were uncertainties about motivation and decreased electability, which made Anis Matta, as PKS qiyadah (leader), establish a policy to restrain the decline of PKS’s vote rate, as Fahmi Alaydrus said:

... but then there was this perception that Anis Matta put a lot of emphasis on political issues in my opinion, at the time when he re-
placed LHI, it was only natural! At that time, he replaced LHI when PKS experienced a sharp decline in electability and problems with the party’s image. It sure was a burden to lift the image of the party. It was natural if 70% -80% of his work was to refine the image of the party. The only problem was that we were an Islamic part; factions or politics were only a political vehicle for PKS. What needed to be considered was expanding, beautifying other storefronts such as social and other. (Interview with Fahmi Alaydroes, April 28, 2016).

If considered further, the current attitude of the party in an attempt to show the public that the new PKS is a PKS that is consistent with their identity as a cadre party as well as an Islamic party. It is in line with Arief Munandar’s following statement:

A new face is a face that is consistent with the face of PKS’s core values, a softer face, and so on. If I want a new face of PKS, I want it to appear more intellectual but if it can, it is only because PKS is the party that has the most PhD degrees; but, how come the people do not see PKS as having the maturity in opinion, argumentative intelligence, courage to argue. It does not look like that. One more, the new face of PKS is a face that is not discriminative towards women. We must admit that the Islamic party is often labeled anarchist because it is considered that the interpretation of Islamic leadership has never been soft. It has never been agreed to what extent women can lead. This is never soft, so often Islamic parties prefer traditional methods. Not to mention the incident, but this is not what the PKS wants, in the current period, PKS only has one female legislator. Yes, Mrs. Ledia. Only Mrs. Ledia. In the past there were many. But actually, this is not because PKS does not nominate women. It is just because PKS nominates them in the second and third ranking, and it is also because the vote rate for PKS was decreasing, leaving only choice number one can enter the legislative. It is going to change. We at PKS also understand the importance of equality towards women. That is why PKS provided Mrs. Ledia as Mr. Fahri’s replacement in DPR, which surprised many. There, I am as an ob-
server and as a cadre. I say that the current PKS leader is smart and clever. (Interview with Arief Munandar, February 14, 2019).

This attitude continues to be consistent with the number of female candidates in PKS ahead of the 2019 elections. Nationally, there were 212 women legislative candidates from PKS (Rachman 2018). In addition, the party tended to be assertive in making religious propaganda as a weapon by immediately giving warnings and directions to cadres who are indicated to deviate or are not in line with the party’s orientation, as Pipin Sopian’s statement as Head of DPP PKS in Politics that “If what is meant by reprimand is guidance and advice, yes we give it. Because we are firmly in accordance with Habib Salim’s mandate that PKS must strengthen the identity as a cadre party and an Islamic party and must serve the people. So, we also want the cadres to be serious about it. Guidance and advice exist, even in every political party.”

**THE EMERGENCE OF GARBI**

This article argues that the three factors that marked the changes within PKS mentioned above have resulted in an increase in factionalism in PKS. If, in the previous era, factionalism tended to be muted internally so that it did not go outside the party, during the leadership of Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman, factionalism expanded, marked with cases like that of Fahri Hamzah, resignations of legislative candidates and leadership rotations at the regional level, which was heated up with rejection. When referring to the factionalism theory explained by Boucek, it can be concluded that there has been a change in the form of factionalism in PKS.

Initially, factionalism in PKS was categorized as cooperative. In this case, the culture of harakah (movement) and the preachings of PKS became unifying factors for cadres despite differences at the elite level. These factions might have different political opinions and choices, but they managed to work together to build the party by uniting the factions within. PKS undergoes tensions up until 2015, but it has at least shown that they can unite, despite emerging issues such as Tizar Zein
who decided to form FKP out of a collective disappointment with the pragmatic and flexible maneuvers initiated by Anis Matta at that time.

The disappointment of some cadres who joined the FKP was due to the leadership of Anis Matta that has shifted the party to become increasingly moderate. The moderation of the party can be seen from the pragmatic tendency of the leadership as the party’s goal is was to get as many votes as possible in the general election. However, FKP members usually voice their criticisms through articles in online forums and alternative training. This shows how different the factions’ responses in PKS during Hilmi Aminuddin-Anis Matta and Salim Segaf-Sohibul Iman’s eras (Hidayat 2012, 209). FKP’s efforts failed in mobilizing the masses so factionalization could still be muted internally.

Then there was a change in the form of PKS factionalism from cooperative to competitive. According to Boucek, factionalism of this form can have a positive impact, but the leadership of PKS during Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman’s era often produces decisions which were opposed by cadres who were part of the prosperous or loyalist faction of Anis Matta, who later became members of Garbi. Some of these decisions were the dismissal or rotation of cadres both at central and regional levels, the requirement for legislative candidates from PKS to sign integrity pacts and blank letters stating they are ready to be dismissed at any time, or Anis Matta’s attitude which led to him being prohibited from campaigning even though he was the party’s presidential candidate which would be supported by PKS.

Although factionalism has existed for a long time, it appears that competitive factionalism emerged in the era of the Salim Segaf and Sohibul Iman in the context of PKS’ identity as an Islamic, cadre and ideological party. Thus, the differences that occurred were related to the interpretations of the party’s Islamic ideology. Other matters tended to be the same because the starting point used to see every phenomenon was the same, which was the Islamic ideology itself. Therefore, the differences emerged when each faction led with different characteristics. However, the decision to declare the foundation of Garbi by a progres-
sive faction can be understood as a form of competitive factionalism in PKS.

The idea of *Arah Baru Indonesia* (Indonesia’s New Direction) emerged after the 2009 elections. At the time, Anis Matta, together with Fahri Hamzah and Mahfudz Siddiq, had held numerous discussions on the idea, which would later be made into books. *Arah Baru Indonesia* was planned to be written as a trilogy. However, only one book has been successfully completed and published. The delay in completing the second and third books was caused by the case of Luthfi Hasan Ishaaq in 2013 (Interview with Mahfudz Siddiq, February 14, 2019).

The book talks about the idea of Indonesia’s future political direction by analyzing the situations that occurred in the past and the present. It appeared in a book about the third wave of Indonesia written by Anis Matta. Later, the discussions on *Arah Baru Indonesia* gained traction among the regional management cadres when Anis Matta became president of PKS in 2013. However, it was held back when the emergence of LHI case was great enough to seize the attention of PKS cadres to ensure PKS did not lose votes ahead of the 2014 election.

Discussions resurfaced when Anis Matta emerged as one of the presidential candidates promoted by PKS. At the same time, PKS did not want the idea of *Arah Baru Indonesia* to further develop internally in PKS. Knowing the existence of internal contradictions regarding the notion, Anis Matta, together with Mahfudz Siddiq and Fahri Hamzah, formed Garbi as a vessel to discuss and develop the idea of *Arah Baru Indonesia*. Aware of the existence of Garbi, PKS then gave a warning to the cadres who joined Garbi. So, the cadres who felt more suited to the interpretation of Garbi’s ideology chose to resign from PKS and joined Garbi (Interview with Firman Noor, April 8, 2019).

The formation of Garbi with elements from PKS is considered by Firman Noor as a case of splintering. Firman Noor viewed that what happened to PKS and Garbi was likely caused by differences in ideological interpretations and the direction of the party. Firman Noor refers to these two camps as conservative and progressive groups. The con-
servative group was represented by Sohibul Iman while the progressive group was represented by Anis Matta.

Naturally, every leader of an organization or institution tends to try to enlarge their institutions, including political parties. In the case of PKS, the conservative and progressive groups have different styles of leadership. During his era, Anis Matta tended to be flexible in applying the parameters of the political party. His leadership from 1999 to 2014 undeniably brought PKS up from a lower party to a middle party. During that time, PKS became very developed. The development of PKS was inseparable from the characteristics of Anis Matta who thought very far beyond his time. Anis Matta used to be flexible in applying the parameters of political party movements, especially in the financial aspect. According to Firman Noor, this cannot be separated from the extremely brutal and pragmatic political situation in Indonesia, especially in the context of political parties. Anis Matta’s attitude can be understood as part of his instinct to raise PKS during these periods.

In contrast to Hilmi Aminuddin-Anis Matta’s era, Salim Segaf-Sohibul Iman’s leadership is more assertive in implementing values and norms that became the parameters of the political party in their movements. The leadership period of Salim Segaf-Sohibul Iman once again strengthened its identity as a cadre party and an Islamic party. Thus, the strategies of moving as applied by Anis Matta are no longer relevant to be applied at this time. As a result, the attitude of Anis Matta who chose to form a new organization and influence some cadres becomes intolerable in the current PKS movement.

On the other hand, Anis Matta has extraordinarily vast resources. They were obtained when he served as the General Secretary of PKS for three terms. Anis Matta’s leadership as General Secretary brought great influence. Unlike Sohibul Iman, he would think according to his background as an academician. Therefore, in leading the party, Sohibul Iman tends to be rigid and very considerate of various aspects before making decisions. The majority of PKS outsiders considered this a non-flexible and feudal attitude (Interview with Pipin Sopian, April 5, 2019).
Salim Segaf, as Chair of the 2015–2020 Majelis Syuro, tends to be very soft and delicate. Such attitude eventually prompts progressives like Fahri Hamzah to use the situation to maneuver for his interests. Firman Noor observes that Salim Segaf’s tenderness should still be responded well by the cadres because of Salim Segaf’s position as chairman of Majelis Syuro. This agreement has become a value and norm that must be obeyed and applied by PKS cadres.

CONCLUSION

Factionalism is inevitable for a political party. The conflict management mechanism in the party will determine the form of factionalism, whether cooperative, competitive or degenerative. This research shows that factionalism of political parties, especially an ideological party, can change from cooperative to competitive if there are underlying factors. These factors include an exclusive elite leadership pattern, a centralized party structure, and an ongoing and changing or even competitive interpretation of party’s ideology. The manifestation of competitive factionalization is the formation of an organization that is separated from the party and can be considered a splinter group.

The case of Garbi’s formation is a manifestation of competitive factionalism that took place in PKS during the Sohibul Iman era. It happened because there was a change in elite leadership, party structure, and ideological interpretation. In the previous era, specifically Anis Matta’s, elite leadership was more accommodating, whereas during Sohibul Iman’s the prosperous group tightens its grip in the party leadership and becomes less pragmatic. Furthermore, in the previous era, the party structure tended to be more lenient towards cadres who were against the leadership but then centralized during the Sohibul Iman era. Meanwhile, different interpretations of the party’s ideology that occurred laid differences in attitudes between the factions before and during the Sohibul Iman era. The factions of the era before Sohibul Iman preferred writing articles and acted silently to show their criticism, while the factions during the Sohibul Iman era tends to be impatient
and encouraged to look for new channels to express the views they had. This is what caused Garbi to appear.

In the case of PKS, the emergence of a splinter group is relatively new, although it has experienced factionalism ever since its establishment. At some point, ideology plays a great role in shaping the loyalty and discipline of party members and the tendency of the current leadership to underline its approach to uphold Islamic identity has achieved its success internally and externally. Internally, members have a relatively clearer interpretation towards ideology and, externally, the party has been more successful in elections than its previous leadership by obtaining more voters. The continuation of current leadership and its approach is inevitable following the electoral success in 2019 under the shadow of Garbi’s criticism. Its new manifestation as political party will be more challenging for PKS in the next election. However, as Garbi is formed with less ideological basis, it is PKS that has more ground to authenticate as an ideological party than Garbi’s successor in electoral politics

REFERENCES


Interview with Amang Syafruddin (Head of Cadre Regeneration Division, DPP PKS). May 2, 2016.

Interview with Arief Munandar (Researcher). February 14, 2019.

Interview with Fahmi Alaydroes (Head of People’s Welfare Division, DPP PKS, and PKS Legislative Candidate). April 28, 2016.

Interview with Firman Noor (Researcher at Indonesian Institute of Sciences). April 8, 2019.
Interview with Iwan Setiawan (Member of PKS West Jakarta). April 23, 2016.
Interview with Mardani Ali Sera (Head of DPP PKS). April 13, 2016.
Interview with Pipin Sopian (Head of Politics Division, DPP PKS). April 5, 2019.


