

A Shift of political education to the market's needs: A criticism for the development of a value-based political education of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to understand the shifting of political education at Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperity and Justice Party (PKS)). I employ theory of social contract to analyze phenomena involving the elites and the rest of the Muslims. This research is a study of the literature complemented with an in-depth interview with those who involve in the political education either as the subjects or objects of it. The data, then, were analyzed by means of a method of critical discourse. The political education shifting, partly, is related to the shifting of conception on the relationship between Islam, as normative values, and Indonesia, as the context for its implementation. At first, PKS tends to produce a cadre who has strong characters such as a pious cadre and loyal to the party. Majority of the elite party failed to represent themselves at the Parliament. Then, they develop political education which produces activists who are capable of accommodating Islamic values to the political calculation. At last, PKS follows the market demand of middle class Muslims who aspire to produce the religious and modern young Muslim generation. By so doing, PKS is able to expand its political influence amongst the people, especially the Muslim

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Introduction

The percentage of political representatives at the Parliament is closely related to its success in its formulation and its implementation of political education (Matta, 1999). PKS has transformed its political education to accommodate the interests of Muslim and Indonesian masses in general. Accordingly, its representatives have increased in number significantly. In 1999 *Partai Keadilan* (PK, Justice Party), former PKS, just had seven legislators, but in 2004 its legislators multiplied into 45. It is a drastic increase of legislators, which reached to 500%.

Moreover, in 2009 PKS sent 57 legislators to the Parliament (Nasiwan, 2015). It is happened in line with the transformation of political education carried out by PKS. In his regard, PKS became more inclusive to Indonesian Muslims and left its ideological and normative approach to Islam and the state. Of course, this transformation was following the shifting in the composition of the elites. For analytical purposes, employ the concept of the social contract, especially in the context of the relationship between the elite and the mass at the democratic political system (Elahi, 2013).

PKS manifests from the transformation of Partai Keadilan, which fails to fulfill the electoral threshold 2% in 1999 as PK just obtains 1.3% of electorate voters, constituting 7 legislators at the Parliament. Since its establishment of Partai Keadilan, the transformation has happend from an unpolitical organization of *Gerakan Tarbiyah* (Islamic Education) (Machmudi, 2008). Accordingly, it

survives the authoritarian regime of Soeharto. The followers of Gerakan Tarbiyah tends to focus on Islamic spirit rather than to politic so that it becomes a part of Islamic movement. They are young Muslim generation, namely university students, who aspire to be religious and intellectual Muslim. In line with this, *Gerakan Tarbiyah* represents an elitist in its membership outreach. Accordingly, it is common to call Partai Keadilan, then PKS, as cadre party. Moreover, it firstly recruits its members from the existing religious activities through a cell model (hallaqah), which consists of 5-12. Accordingly, the transformation of Gerakan Tarbiyah into Partai Keadilan, and then PKS, left some issues around the model of its political education, which can attract Muslim electors and mass people generally (Fealy & Bubalo, 2007).

PKS has a burden to deliberate its identity to its electoral Muslim mass about its relationship and involvement with the global network of international Islamic awakening, especially with Ikhwanul Muslimin and Wahabi. To such extent, PKS can keep in the distance and protect its independence from Ikhwanul Muslimin and Wahabi? Its elaboration has explained its becoming more independence from both Ikhwanul Muslimin and Wahabi (Qordawi, 2001). It is also regarding PKS elite's changing understanding of Indonesian Muslims' identity, which is expressed in the models of political education. Each model represents a different response to the same issue of Indonesian Muslim. At the reverse, it receives different responses from the Indonesian Muslim and people generally mass, such as political support to PKS. Indeed, PKS is a part of Islamic awakening movement at 15th century, following the success of Islamic Revolution of Iran 1979 under leadership of Imam Khomeini. In 1989 with the fall of Berlin Wall as the symbol of communism, this Islamic awakening movement becomes more resounding so that instigates awakening movement of other religions. In line with this, the issue of religions and the state comes to front and instigates the tension of secular nationalism versus religious nationalism. To such extent PKS can resolve this issue of Islam and the Pancasila state?(Muhtadi, 2012).

Political party has an important role to socialize political education which would realize a good citizen, that is someone who has consciousness to support the existing political system and at the same time is critical to the it. Apart from this, PKS aspires Islamic values that become a specific character to party. On the other hand, it challenges its elites to formulate the durable relationship between Islamic norms and political realities. In line with this, the expansion of its electoral outreach is related to its expansion of the scope of its political education. Viewed from its development, the strategy of political education carried out by PKS can be categorized into several phases of development. The first phase is a political education strategy that tends to produce a cadre with strong characters, i.e., a pious cadre. The second phase of the political education strategy is oriented to produce activists. The third phase of the political education strategy is oriented to produce outputs that have characteristics following the needs of da'wah (Islamic missionary) customers. The political education strategy experimented by PKS can be interpreted that there has been a shift in its political education strategy, which tends to follow the development of society and adapt and compromise the dynamics of community development.

Adaptation and compromise carried out by PKS is related to the interests of PKS to expand the support base in Indonesian society. These indications can be seen from the shift of its education strategy in which political education was oriented to produce a militant-pious cadre at the beginning of its growth while at the end its political education strategy has shifted to serve the needs of society in general by compromising and adapting to the values and Islamic understanding that live and develop in Indonesian society. The education strategy, then, follows the customer logic. If the political education model still applies strict cadre recruitment procedures such as required by the model adopted from Manhaj Tarbiyah Siyasah Ikhwanul Muslimun and *Manhaj Tarbiyah* 1421 H. The vision of political education, the requirements to take part in political education, and the material structure in political education at the stage of "religious activists" undergoes fundamental changes when

compared to the stage of the "religious man" and accordingly this *Manhaj Tarbiyah* 1421 was modified into *Manhaj Tarbiyah* 1427. Accordingly, the political influence PKS is greater than PAN who has political base from religious organization of Muhammadiyah. By so doing, PKS can attract support from the followers of either Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama and uslim generally (Kompas, 2009).

The political education performed by PKS in the next stage of its development is carried out through Integrated Islamic schools ranging from elementary to secondary level. The emergence of the Integrated Islamic School is to respond to the dynamics of the development of the Indonesian community, especially the Islamic followers from the Middle Class, which aspires with the new generations who are both religious and intellectual. The schools are not only for children from party cadres, but it is for other community members in general. Indications that the PKS political education strategy experienced a shift can be identified from the quality standards of graduates of the Integrated Islamic School known as SIT which fully adopted the Graduate Quality Standards issued by the Ministry of National Education as stipulated in the Minister of Education Decree No. 54 of 2013. In this case, the Integrated Islamic School Network considers that the National Education Standards issued by the Government have been comprehensive and accordingly SIT may use the standards. The specific standards of Integrated Islamic Schools can be applied along with National Education Standards in schooling activities (Integrated Islamic School Network, 2014).

Method

This research is qualitative research that tries to understand the object of the research target through the emic and ethic method. The research focuses on the social phenomena of the dynamic of behaviors of politician PKS in relation to their model of political education which changes to respond to the interest of Indonesian Muslim. Research data are collected through literature study for the purpose of finding documents, either in form of primer data or secondary data. For the purposes of validation as well as understanding the research object I have done interview to some elite's party as well as its followers. Researcher employs structural approach for the dialectical purpose between theory of conflict of Marxism and theory of functional of Talcott Parsons. In line with this the conflicts will find the new balancing. At first political education emphasizes on the text (Islam) and then it is modified to fulfill the interest of Indonesian Muslim.

Result and Discussion

1. Transformation from Islamic Education into Political Party

PKS can be considered as a result of transformation of Islamic missionary movement into a political party. In 1980s under Soeharto authoritarian regime, religious activities were the only media available to communicate in public. The founders of Gerakan Tarbiyah those who critical to the regime. M Natsir, a leader and one of the founders of DDII (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia), had an important role for the birth of Gerakan Tarbiyah and accordingly DDII can be considered as mother (Um ar-Rodho'ah) (N, 2011). The founders of Gerakan Tarbiyah were mostly Islam activists who graduated from Middle East, either from Egypt or Saudi Arabia. They were recommended by M. Natsir to socialize Islamic political thoughts with religious cover in campuses. Gerakan Tarbiyah secretly recruited its cadres from those who involved in Islamic activities by means of unit cell (*halaqah*). Gerakan Tarbiyah was able to recruit some university students who aspired with the identity of modern Muslim (Nasiwan, 2015). From the above information we understand that there had been a different mode of thought between its founders and its followers of students. The first tended to develop normative textual approach to Islam and the second tended to develop a modern thought of being activists. These two modes of thought influenced as well as developed a dialectical approach through the history of PKS.

Gerakan Tarbiyah which transformed into political party of Partai Keadilan, and then PKS, had an ideological relation with Islamic movement of Ikhwanul Muslimin (IM). Indeed, it is difficult to find organizational relationship with IM, but both had an identical Islamic political thought (Ridha, 2002). However, if we observe more deeply, we understand that PKS is more similar to the young generation of IM which left IM and established a party of *Hizb al-Wasat* (Fealy & Bubalo, 2007). In the Indonesian context has a positive contribution to the formulation of a more moderate mode of Islamic political thought. Furthermore, the students who become the target of Islamic political education come from different religious backgrounds. They were young Muslim generation obsessed with searching for political balances amongst the existing religious groups such as between IMM (Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah), the university students' organizational wing of Muhammadiyah, and PMII (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia), the university students' organizational wing of Nahdlatul Ulama.

Gerakan Tarbiyah became more pragmatic when it transformed into a political party to expand its political basis. In line with this, the founders of Partai Keadilan, then PKS, also recruited its membership through *intifa* that is made uses of the existing actors of Islamic movement. Accordingly, they did not receive a regular political education which is arranged hierarchical structurally. Their number were around 40% (Cahyadi Takariawan, 2010). At the second phase of political education, *Tarbiyah Movement* still uses a lot of *intifa* methods, namely utilizing existing institutions in the campus such as the Student Senate, BEM, and Islamic Spirituality Unit.

Under the leadership of those who graduate from the Middle East, Partai Keadilan pursues political education strategy which was characterized by "religious man" cadre profile. It was carried out under the leadership of Salim Assegaf al Jufri, a figure known as the *Tarbiyah Movement* figure. Salim al jufri is a figure of the first generation of *Tarbiyah Movement* and the founder of the *Tarbiyah Movement* with four other figures known as *empat serangkai* (Salman, 2006). During the first leadership of Salim Assegaf al jufri, the intention of political education is to produce militant cadres who have several prominent characteristics such as having strong faith (salimul aqidah); performing worship obediently (Sholhehul ibadah); having integrity (mathinul khuluq); having independence of economy (qosdu ala ma'isyah); and having sharpness and intelligence in thinking (tsaqofah fil fikr). To produce cadres who have the characters as mentioned above, the materials of political education curriculum are designed according to the strategy and goal of political education, which places more emphasis on cadre militancy. The discussion of material related to strengthening party's faith and ideology received serious attention.

2. Transformation from political education of indoctrinating cadre into adopting religious activists

Following the failure of Partai Keadilan to fulfill the requirement of 2.5% electoral threshold, the voice of the young Muslim generation became more articulated to direct political education to the next step. The second phase of the PKS education strategy is oriented towards the birth of "religious activists". Political education (*Tarbiyah Siyazah*) performed by the Partai Keadilan has passed through the early stage of Salim al Jufri generation which tends to foster the quality of militant cadre which is characterized by the recruitment of "religious man's inspired with Islamic political values". This stage is realized due to the need to expand the support base of the mass of *Jamaah tarbiyah*, a mass of PKS supporters. The expansion of the PKS mass support base may stagnate if political education model still applies strict cadre recruitments procedures as required by the model adopted from *Manhaj Tarbiyah Siyazah Ikhwanul Muslimun*. As described in the previous explanation, the vision of political education, the requirements to take part in political education, and the material structure in political education at the stage of "religious activists" undergoes fundamental changes when compared to the stage of the "religious man" (Sidiq, 2003).

Several factors encourage why the PKS political education strategy experiences a shift in the second phase. The first factor is PKS experiences a change in the leadership of the Tarbiyah Movement from Salim Assegaf al Jufri to Hilmi Aminudin, because Salim Asegaf Al Jufri take a study in Medina. The second factor is the need to expand the base of Tarbiyah da'wah support on campuses in Indonesia. PKS will find difficulties to expand the da'wah (Islamic missionary) to all campuses in Indonesia if its model of political education is not changed. In general, students who study on public and private campuses are very difficult to meet the criteria required by Manhaj Tarbiyah as da'wah cadres. Facing this complicated problem, the Tarbiyah Movement reduced its standard of recruitment and used preaching and recruitment procedures that were more acceptable to the campus community in Indonesia. The change took place since the leadership of Hilmi Aminudin continued until this research was conducted (in 2014). PKS still continued to maintain a strategy to expand the base of support for the Tarbiyah Movement. This development, then, also had been supported by Salim al-Jufri when he came back to the party upon finishing his study from Mecca (Machmudi, 2008).

At the second stage of political education, PKS tries to position its identity of being a synthetic form of the existing religious thoughts. This can be inferred from my analysis of the IMM survey in corporation with Sugeng Saryadi Syndicate. This informs that 68.7% of its followers come from Muhammadiyah (AMM, n.a. 2). Why do they not support PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional), a political party whose rise is facilitated by Muhammadiyah? This may be that they do not come from the elites of Muhammadiyah. There is indication that they join to Muhammadiyah lately from the rural areas as the result of the expansion of Muhammadiyah missionaries. This can be inferred from their modes of religious thought which is syncretic such as that of NU. For example, PKS adopts method of hilal (seeing the moon) for deciding the beginnings of fasting (Ramadhan month) and of celebration (Syawal month), something which is contradictory to tradition of Muhammadiyah. Accordingly, Muhammadiyah elites accuse PKS of doing politicization of religion, namely Islam (Nashir, 2006).

Political thought stream of young Muslim generation which is more pragmatic become stronger following the success of PKS in 2004 and 2009 general elections, a part of the core of elite party is on the hand of religious men. These Muslim activists have a stronger influence to direct the course of political education. At this second phase the Tarbiyah Movement still uses a lot of *intifa* methods, namely utilizing existing institutions, especially in the campus such as Student Senate, BEM, Islamic Spirituality Unit. PKS more focuses on recruiting followers than providing a depth religious education ((Aziz, 1989).

3. Transformation from religious activists into religious and modern men

The third phase of the PKS education strategy is oriented to the principle of religious dakwah customer. In the third phase, Tarbiyah Movement has started establishing its own educational institutions in the form of the Integrated Islamic School ranging from elementary to secondary level. The emergence of the Integrated Islamic School, an integral part of expanding the PKS mass support, is due to various influencing factors both internal and external factors. In regard with the external factor, the dynamics of the development of the Indonesian community, especially the Islamic followers from the Middle Class, which aspires with the new generations who are both religious and intellectual. They believe that Islam does not separate religious and secular affairs, such as in the case of Islam and state (Rochmat, 2018). The schools are not only for children from party cadres, but it is for other community members in general. Recently the political influence PKS is greater than PAN who has political base from religious organization of Muhammadiyah. By so doing, PKS is able to attract support from the followers of either Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama as well as Muslim generally]

Some important points of the orientation and output profile of the Integrated Islamic School (which has similarity of ideas to the thoughts of the Islamic Movement). First, the Integrated Islamic School Competency Standards states that the schools have many standardized goals, for instance having a strong faith (*Aqeedah*) which is elaborated into being happy to receive all God's decision (*rihda to qodho* and *Qodar*), being optimistic to face the future, being able to distinguish karomah and supra natural. Another example is able to perform worship properly which is elaborated into keeping ablution, being accustomed to read the Koran, being accustomed to read al ma'surat and performing *wirid* (dhikr) after prayer, being accustomed to performing *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (Enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong). In the aspect of mature personality and morality, the school has specific orientation. For example, graduates are expected to understand the concept correctly and able to behave well, be accustomed to being brave, be accustomed to think positively to others, be accustomed to glorifying guests which are elaborated in the details into being accustomed to respect the diversity of religions, cultures, ethnicities, races, and socio-economic groups in the life of the nation and the state. Also, graduates are enhanced in order to become a driving force in promoting green living (go green).

The point stated above that the orientation of Integrated Islamic Schools graduates are expected to respect differences in religion, race and class is interesting. This idea places the importance of respecting differences since Indonesia is a plural country. There has been a shift in the ideological style of the Integrated Islamic School which was exclusively militant in the 1980s and it changed into inclusive - moderate. The graduate competence of respecting diversity, according to researchers, is not easy realized. This is because the idea of respecting differences is still debatable in the tarbiyah movement. In other words, not all cadres could accept the idea. Such conditions happen partly due to the historical factors of the Tarbiyah Movement itself which initially developed militant Islamic thought.

If we look at the quality standards of graduates in other aspects, the strategy to develop graduates who have militant attitudes and high Islamic values still gets attention. This is indicated by in the aspect of "Having a Serious Personality, Discipline and Ability to Resist His Desires". There are some details that require attention, for example Graduates of the Integrated Islamic School are expected to be accustomed to use foreign languages in speaking and writing, be accustomed to follow daily educational news both national and international including the Islamic world. In the *Muwashofat* aspect, having the ability to read, memorize, and understand the Qur'an well, indicate that graduates of the Integrated Islamic School were expected to have the competence to associate the Koran with the reality of life in accordance with their stages of development (Mahmud, 2004).

The *muwashofat* (ideal characteristics of Muslims) assumption of "having a wide range of insights" is indicated to have correlated, or some kind of duplication, with the Islamic tarbiyah movement's thinking patterns, for example Integrated Islamic School graduates for high school levels are expected to know *shiroh nabawiyah* (prophetic biography), understand 25 prophets and history of Islamic *da'wah*, understand the preaching strategies of the Muhammad Prophet in building people, know the conditions of the present Islamic world, able to implement the concepts of leadership and organization by understanding the principles of Jama'i charity and understand ideologies that contradict to Islam.

The importance of understanding the development of the Islamic world, the principles of religious charity and attention to ideologies that are contrary to Islam have similarities to the issues and patterns of religious thought promoted by the Tarbiyah Islamic Movement which become the basis for the growth of the PKS.

In the *muwashofat* of life skills aspects, it is stated that the graduates of the Integrated Islamic School are expected to have the competence to be accustomed to eating halal-labeled and non-

labeled foods based on the needs of the body. A more interesting thing is the details on the Self Development Program item. Integrated Islamic School graduates are expected to be able to run modern organizations and become pioneers (activists) of official organizations and problem propaganda (promote goodness), solve problems and lead groups. Also, they are expected to mainstream social care activities in the midst of the community massively and mainstream the social care activities of the Islamic world in the midst of the macro community. With regard to the development of lifestyle patterns and the pride in Islam, it is stated that the graduates of the Integrated Islamic School are expected to perform Tarbiyah-based mentoring management. Moreover, for junior high school level, students should meet Ar Rasyad and early muayyid curriculum, while for High school levels, the students should meet the qowwiy muayyid curriculum (Ridha, 2002).

The terminology used by the Integrated Islamic School such as jama'i charity, Islamic world care activities, mentoring based on tarbiyah, early muayyid, muayyid qowiy, and etc are commonly used in the life of the activists of the Tarbiyah Movement. Those terms and concepts indicate that the standard of the graduate of the Integrated Islamic School have a correlation with the Tarbiyah Movement. Based on the content of the text stated in the graduates quality standard of the Integrated Islamic School as explained above, the researcher can draw a conclusion that the Integrated Islamic School ideas has a connection with the Tarbiyah Movement, which is an integral part of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)

With regard to the objectives formulated in the graduate's quality standard of the Integrated Islamic School, the thinking and strategy of political education has changed i.e., being opened to receive all points of graduate quality standards formulated by the Ministry of National Education but at the same time the school integrates and synergize the quality standards of graduates which are formulated by the school.

The adaptation and shift of the thinking style and strategy of political education carried out by the Tarbiyah Movement in the case of Integrated Islamic Schools is a necessity of a militant Islamic Movement which has undergone institutional transformation. Based on the researcher's analysis, there are only a few options for the Tarbiyah Movement to survive and exert in the constellation of political life in Indonesia. The alternative strategies available for the Tarbiyah Movement is often not an easy to go through. The choice of strategy that must be taken by the Tarbiyah Movement often fosters pros and cons in the internal body of the Tarbiyah Movement.

In this context, the choice to change the strategy of political education is a choice that spends a lot of energy because this choice has led to a long debate. The choice of political education that pays more attention to the da'wah customer factor can change the PKS into an Opened Party for all Indonesian citizens regardless of their religions and groups. The two ideas since being rolled out in 2008 to 2014, the year in which the Legislative Elections and Presidential Elections were held, have not been accepted voluntarily by all PKS cadres and supporters. The idea of PKS as an Opened Party still leaves questions and problems that cannot yet be answered thoroughly by PKS.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion in this paper about the strategy of PKS political education in the era of democracy, the conclusions are as follows: Democratic political system becomes a catalyst for transformation of a structure, namely Islamic political party of PKS, which has transformed its political education because of its willingness to attract the masses. At first Partai Keadilan develop a model of political education which is normative-exclusive-textual and then, it is modified to fit with the Indonesian context. At nature, most supporters of Gerakan Tarbiyah were university students who aspired to unify Indonesian Muslim from different Islamic organizations. In line with this, they tried

to synthesize religious understanding of different Islamic organizations with the risk of being accused of religion's politicization.

PKS's modification of political education has transformed 3 stages: religious cadres, religious activists, and religious-intellectual Muslims. *First*, viewed from the historical side, the orientation of political education carried out by the PKS has shifted from an Islamic Movement which was known to be militant-exclusive to an open political party. *Second*, the orientation shift of political education performed by the PKS was carried out to adapt the manhaj tarbiyah siyasah to the dynamics of the political life development in Indonesia which enter the era of democracy. Third, the shifting and transformation of political education in the PKS body to choose political education strategies that are oriented to the public, by following and accommodating public aspirations, is a difficult choice that PKS must take to maintain the existence of the Tarbiyah Movement due to the dilemma of maintaining the purity of the ideology of the movement or expanding the base of support by following the logic of democracy.

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