

## Pemenang pemilu Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) di Indonesia 1999-2009 dan Adaleet ve Kalkinma (AKP) di Turki 2002-2007 : studi perbandingan

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### Abstrak

#### <b>ABSTRAK</b><br>

Disertasi ini meneliti tentang pemenangan Pemilu Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) di Indonesia dan Adaleet ve Kalkinma Partisi (AKP) atau Partai Keadilan dan Pembangunan di Turki. PKS sebagai the survival party berhasil meningkatkan perolehan suara dari Pemilu ke Pemilu (1999-2009) sedangkan AKP di Turki merupakan the rulling party yang menang berturut-turut di dua Pemilu (2002 dan 2007). Penelitian ini mencari sebab-sebab keberhasilan kedua partai politik di dua negara yang berbeda tersebut.

Dengan merujuk pada konsep Sigmund Neumann dan Duverger mengenai unit-unit analisis yang diperbandingkan, penulis meneliti bagaimana faktor ideologi, organisasi, basis massa, sistem rekrutmen, kepemimpinan dan strategi PKS mempengaruhi keberhasilannya menjadi the survival party di tiga Pemilu (1999-2009). Disertasi ini juga meneliti bagaimana AKP yang lahir di 2001 mampu secara terus menerus menjadi partai pemenang Pemilu sejak 2002 hingga 2007. Demikian pula bagaimana aspek-aspek eksternal berupa situasi sosial, politik dan budaya kedua negara ikut mempengaruhi pemenangan Pemilu kedua partai tersebut. Lebih lanjut dalam disertasi ini diteliti pula apa yang menyebabkan adanya kesenjangan keberhasilan antara PKS dengan AKP.

Pisau analisis yang digunakan untuk meneliti adalah teori komparasi partai politik menurut Neumann dan Duverger yakni faktor ideologi, organisasi, basis massa, sistem rekrutmen anggota, kepemimpinan dan strategi. Teori Olivier Roy, Asef Bayat dan Greg Fealy digunakan untuk menganalisis ideologi. Selanjutnya teori organisasi Duverger, teori basis massa Martin Lipset, Vali Nasr dan Mehmet Altan, teori sistem rekrutmen Alan Ware dan Duverger, teori kepemimpinan Max Weber, Pareto dan Mosca serta teori strategi vernacular politics Jenny B. White juga digunakan. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah memadukan metode komparatif dengan metode kualitatif.

Dari hasil observasi dan wawancara mendalam baik dengan pendiri dan pengurus PKS di Indonesia yang kemudian dianalisis dengan teori yang digunakan maka ditemukan adanya inkompatibilitas antara transisi ideologi PKS ke Pos-Islamis dengan organisasi cell, basis massa middle class, sistem rekrutmen cell, kepemimpinan kolektif dan strategi vernacular politic PKS. Inkompatibilitas tersebut menyebabkan hambatan optimalisasi keenam aspek sehingga kurang berpengaruh bagi pemenangan Pemilu PKS (1999-2009) ditambah pula aspek-aspek sosial, politik dan budaya di Indonesia yang kurang mendukung.

Sebaliknya dengan metode yang sama penulis mendapatkan kesimpulan bahwa formula kemenangan AKP adalah kompatibilitas pilihan model organisasi branch, jenis basis massa middle class plus, sistem rekrutmen hybrid, tipe kepemimpinan kharismatis dan strategi vernacular politic plus dengan ideologi Pos-Islamis AKP

sejak awal berdirinya. Ditambah pula dengan aspek-aspek sosial, politik dan budaya di Turki yang kondusif karena memang dibutuhkan kondisi eksternal tertentu agar partai politik pos-Islamis berkembang dan menang.

Lebih lanjut dari penelitian ini didapatkan bahwa kesenjangan PKS dengan AKP di Turki disebabkan rendahnya tingkat pengaruh aspek-aspek ideologi, organisasi, basis massa, sistem rekrutmen anggota, kepemimpinan dan strategi PKS pada pemenangan Pemilu PKS. Demikian pula perbedaan aspek-aspek eksternal berupa lingkungan sosial, politik, ekonomi dan budaya Indonesia dan Turki turut menyebabkan adanya kesenjangan tersebut. Oleh karena itu penulis pun merekomendasikan bahwa karakteristik Pos-Islamis harus tercermin dalam semua sisi wajah PKS karena ideologi Pos-Islamis harus kompatibel dengan model organisasi, keragaman jenis basis massa, sistem rekrutmen, model kepemimpinan dan strategi yang digunakan agar berpengaruh signifikan bagi pemenangan Pemilu PKS.

Sumbangan disertasi ini bagi ilmu politik adalah membuktikan bahwa politik aliran masih tetap relevan karena keberhasilan kelompok Islamis yang direpresentasikan oleh PKS di Indonesia dan AKP di Turki bertahan dalam sistem demokrasi. Lebih jauh lagi keberhasilan kedua partai politik Islam terutama AKP di Turki telah mematahkan tesis Olivier Roy di akhir 1990-an yang dipertegasnya lagi di 2006 bahwa Islam politik atau Islamis telah gagal dan mundur ke Neo-fundamentalis yang parsial dan apolitis. Sebab kedua partai politik tersebut alihalih mundur menjadi Neo-fundamentalis malah bertransformasi menjadi Pos-Islamis. Ideologi Pos-Islamis bahkan telah menyebabkan AKP menjadi the rulling party dan PKS sebagai the survival party dan keberhasilan kedua partai politik tersebut juga sekaligus membuktikan kompatibilitas Islam dengan Demokrasi.

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<b>ABSTRACT</b><br>

This dissertation is to examines the winning in the general elections of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia and Adalet ve Kalkinma Partitioning (AKP) or Justice and Development Party in Turkey. PKS successfully managed to improve the survival of votes from election to election (1999-2009) while the AKP in Turkey is now the rulling party that win in two consecutive elections (2002 and 2007). This research observes the causes of the success of both political parties in two different countries.

With reference to the concept of Sigmund Neumann and Duverger on the units of analysis that are compared, the authors examined how ideological factors, organizational structure, voters basis, the system of recruitment, leadership and success strategies of the PKS that affect the survival of the party in three consecutive general elections (1999-2009). This dissertation also examines how the AKP which was born in 2001 were able to triumph the the general elections from 2002 to 2007. To the same end we learned on how the external aspects of the social, political and cultural of the countries has influenced their winning in the general elections. Further, this dissertation observe also the different winning milestones between the PKS and the AKP.

Moreover, this dissertation also looks into rationales behind distinct success and achievements from both PKS in Indonesia and AKP in Turkey. It argues that the electoral underperformance of PKS is a direct result of its lower attainment in influencing areas such as ideology, organization, mass based support, member

recruitment, leadership and strategies. The present study discusses these 6 influencing internal factors from PKS and then compared with those of AKP. The analytical methodology used for the present study is the Neumann and Duverger's theoretical comparison of political party, which takes into account factors covering of ideology, organization, mass based support, member recruitment, leadership and strategy. In the ideological comparison, the studies performed by Oliver Roy Asef Bayat and Greg Fealy are presented. Furthermore, the organization theory by Michels and Duverger, the mass support theory of Martin Lipset, Vali Nasr and Mehmet Altan, the analysis of recruitment system by Alan Ware and Duverger, the leadership theory of Max Weber, Pareto and Mosca, as well as the political strategy of vernacular politics by Jenny B. White are presently adopted.

From the observations and direct conversations with the founders and members of the central governing boards from both the PKS in Indonesia and the AKP in Turkey and using the aforementioned analytical theories it is found that the central underlying problem lies in the incompatibilities between the evolutionary process of interpretation of ideology within the organization, mass based support, recruitment system, leadership and strategy implemented by both parties. The incoherence shown by the PKS in those influencing and determine factors reveals itself in distant reality from their counterpart AKP in Turkey. Moreover, Neuman and Duverger argues that the AKP's winning formula lies in its compatible choice of organization model, mass based support, recruitment system, leadership model and strategy following its transformation of ideology from Islamic to Post-Islamic movement. Therefore, the author recommends that PKS should adjust their characters in their Post-Islamic movement era and adopts a more compatible organization model, more variety of mass based support, more compatible recruitment system, leadership model and strategy if they want to increase their influences and triumph more significantly in the coming General Elections, and therefore become the anti-thesis of Oliver Roy.

This dissertation contributions for political study/science is proving/demonstrate that political currents remained of relevant following the success of Islamist groups in Indonesia as represented by the PKS and the AKP in Turkey that survive in a democratic system. Furthermore the success of both political parties, especially the Islamic AKP in Turkey has challenged and broken Olivier Roy thesis in the late 1990s as reaffirmed again in 2006 that the failure of Islamic political movements or Islamists has led it to the Neo-fundamentalists which are becoming apolitical movements. By fact both of the political parties rather than converted into neofundamentalists actually has transformed into the Post-Islamist. Post-Islamist ideology has even led the AKP became the rulling party and the PKS to survive in the democratic system and the successes of both political parties are also prove the compatibility of Islam with democracy.</i>