UTILIZATION OF ISLAMIC COMMUNICATION IN POLITICAL PARTY CAMPAIGNS DURING THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS (CASE STUDY: PKS)

A Thesis

Submitted to Fulfil the Requirements for Obtaining a bachelor's degree in Communication Studies at the Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Science

Universitas Islam Indonesia

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1. The research did not engage academic fraud of any type throughout the completion of this thesis research, such as plagiarism, involving others' help with the thesis, or any other infraction that violates the academic ethics highly upheld by Universitas Islam Indonesia.
2. Therefore, this thesis is entirely my scientific work, both as a student and researcher plagiarize or the work of others.
3. If this thesis is found to have strong indications of plagiarism or academic fraud after l have received my degree from the Faculty of Psychology and Social-Cultural Science at the Islamic University of Indonesia, I will be held accountable for all repercussions and academic sanctions imposed by the Universitas Islam Indonesia.

Thus, I truly agree with this remark.

Yogyakarta, 5 August 2024

Sincerely,



Muhammad Ghozi Al Faiz

MOTTO

You are the best community ever raised for humanity—you encourage good, forbid evil, and believe in Allah. Had the People of the Book believed, it would have been better for them. Some of them are faithful, but most are rebellious.

-*Ali Imran*: 110

How much we wish this person to know that they are dearer to us than ourselves, We expect nothing from men; don't expect material possessions or other rewards, not even popularity, let alone just a thank you.

Dakwah is love, and love will ask everything from you. Up to your mind. Until your attention. Walk, sit, and sleep. Even when you sleeping, your dream is about Da'wah. About the people (umat) you love.

-K.H. Rahmat Abdullah

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved parents, teachers, nation and religion. I can't reciprocate their eternal love. What I hope is the formation of a better Indonesia with dignity and goodness from Allah, the Creator of the universe.

FOREWARD

Alhamdulillahirabbil'alamin, In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. All praise be to Allah, the Lord of all worlds, for His endless grace, mercy, and blessings. May peace and blessings be upon Prophet Muhammad, the epitome of Islamic teachings and mercy for all mankind, enabling the researcher to complete this thesis titled "The Use of Islamic Communication in Party Campaign Activities in the 2019 Election: A Case Study of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)".

The journey of the researcher in completing this thesis has not been easy. There have been numerous challenges during the preparation of this thesis, which have drained both mental and financial resources. However, Allah, the Most Gracious, has always provided and facilitated the researcher to accomplish this final task, particularly by bringing forth many individuals who have assisted and motivated in various conditions.

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menginvestigasi penerapan prinsip komunikasi Islam dalam strategi kampanye Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) pada pemilu 2019. Latar belakang penelitian ini adalah signifikansinya PKS sebagai partai politik Islam di Indonesia dan pentingnya memahami bagaimana prinsip-prinsip Islam tercermin dalam strategi kampanye mereka. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis nilai-nilai Islam yang menjadi dasar strategi kampanye PKS, metode dan strategi kampanye yang digunakan, serta dampaknya pada pemilu 2019.

Metode penelitian yang digunakan meliputi observasi media untuk menganalisis strategi kampanye publik PKS, serta wawancara mendalam dengan Bagian Hubungan Masyarakat dan Tim Pemenangan PKS DIY. Data dianalisis dengan pendekatan kualitatif untuk memahami bagaimana prinsip-prinsip Islam tercermin dalam strategi kampanye PKS dan bagaimana strategi tersebut dipahami dan dijalankan oleh tim kampanye.

Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa PKS memegang teguh nilai-nilai Al-Qur'an, Sunnah, dan Ijtihad Ulama dalam melaksanakan strategi kampanye mereka. PKS menggunakan berbagai metode dan strategi kampanye, termasuk kampanye langsung dan digital, serta memiliki basis kerelawanan yang solid. PKS juga membawa empat program unggulan yang menekankan perlindungan ulama dan kesejahteraan masyarakat, serta menonjolkan nilai keislaman dan toleransi sebagai ciri khas kampanye mereka.

Dengan demikian, penelitian ini memberikan pemahaman yang lebih dalam tentang bagaimana prinsip-prinsip Islam tercermin dalam strategi kampanye PKS pada pemilu 2019, serta relevansinya dalam konteks politik Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Strategi kampanye, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, prinsip komunikasi Islam, pemilu 2019, nilai-nilai Islam.

ABSTRACT

This research investigates the application of Islamic communication principles in the campaign strategy of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in the 2019 elections. The background of this study lies in the significance of PKS as an Islamic political party in Indonesia and the importance of understanding how Islamic principles are reflected in their campaign strategy. The aim of this research is to analyze the Islamic values that serve as the foundation of PKS's campaign strategy, the methods and strategies employed in their campaign, and their impact on the 2019 elections.

The research methodology includes media observation to analyze PKS's public campaign strategies, as well as in-depth interviews with the Public Relations Division and the Election Campaign Team of PKS DIY. Data were analyzed using a qualitative approach to understand how Islamic principles are reflected in PKS's campaign strategy and how these strategies are understood and implemented by the campaign team.

The findings of this research indicate that PKS adheres firmly to the values of the Qur'an, Sunnah, and the Ijtihad of scholars in implementing their campaign strategy. PKS employs various campaign methods and strategies, including direct and digital campaigns, and has a solid volunteer base. PKS also champions four flagship programs that emphasize the protection of religious scholars and the welfare of society, while highlighting Islamic values and tolerance as their campaign's hallmark.

Thus, this research provides a deeper understanding of how Islamic principles are reflected in PKS's campaign strategy in the 2019 elections and their relevance in the Indonesian political context.

Keywords: **Campaign strategy, Prosperous Justice Party, Islamic communication principles, 2019 elections, Islamic values.**

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Study Background

According to Nidzom and Pradana (2022), Islamic communication involves effective communication with etiquette. Communication is deemed effective when the message is clear, concise, and touches the hearts of those delivering it. Adhering to etiquette in communication reduces the likelihood of misunderstanding messages and avoids using inappropriate language. Reliable references for this form of communication are the Quran and Hadith, serving as foundations for public speaking. Indonesia is a predominantly Islamic country where society prioritizes the Islamic faith. Therefore, all activities within it should reflect genuine Islamic values, particularly in communication. Consequently, Islamic ethics should be applied to political activities, business, social media, and other spheres.

The general issue regarding the presentation of the Quran in communication raises intriguing questions about how the Quran explains the principles of effective communication. Studies delving into this matter can be found in the terminology of communication and its various facets. For instance, terms that describe communication activities such as "qara'a" for reading, "baligh" for conveying, "basyir" for news, "qul" for speaking, "Da'a" for calling, "tawashau" for delivering a message, "sa'ala" for asking, and similar variations can be observed (Kusnadi, 2021).

To ensure human communication guidelines, the Quran equips us with key terms, including Al Bayan and Al-Qoul. From Al-Qoul, several concepts of good and correct speech can be derived. Ultimately, it can be concluded that there are six communication principles outlined in the Quran: Qaulan Sadidan (gentle words), Qaulan Ma'rufan (good words), Qaulan Baligha (truthful words), Qaulan Maysuran (easy words), Qaulan Layyina (soft words), and Qaulan Karima (noble words) (Muslimah, 2016; Taqiyuddin et al., 2021)

According to Detik.com's report (2019), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) welcomed the open campaign period of the 2019 elections. For PKS, the open campaign served as a moment to provide political education to the public. There is a principle within PKS's open campaign, namely to utilize the campaign as a means of political education, stated Secretary of PKS's Central Executive Board on Politics and Security, Suhud Alynudin, to reporters. Another approach involved using PKS cadres' engaging and entertaining activities, termed "freezemob" to captivate the public.

Another report from CNN Indonesia, "The Sweet Fruits of PKS's Steadfastness in Becoming the Opposition" (2019), highlighted the PKS increased vote acquisition in the 2019 Legislative Election compared to previous elections. Its steadfast position as an Islamic mass-based party and unique programs were deemed attractive.

During the 2019 Legislative Election, PKS secured the sixth position with a total of 11,493,663 votes (8.21 percent), according to the General Election Commission's (KPU) tally. Mardani Ali Sera, Chairman of the Central Leadership Council (DPP) of PKS, attributed this vote increase to his party's consistent support for presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair number 02, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. Consequently, the party experienced electoral success.

The application of programs by the PKS, such as the promise of lifetime Driving Licenses (SIM) and tax-free motorcycles, is claimed to have gained extensive public support. Mardani also stated that the dedication of PKS members and support from religious scholars played a crucial role in helping the party exceed the parliamentary threshold.

Political analyst from Al-Azhar University, Ujang Komarudin (2019), stated that PKS played well by relying on attractive campaign strategies, thereby minimizing the impact of internal division. It is known that several PKS elites established the GARBI organization (New Direction Movement Indonesia), including Anies Matta, Fahri Hamzah, and Mahfudz Siddiq. This development occurred after Sohibul Iman assumed leadership of PKS.

Ujang Komarudin (2019), also stated that PKS remained solid despite facing attacks from the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). Additionally, he added that PSI's conflicts regarding counter-ideology narratives did not affect the vote count. He argued that PSI's attacks instead unveiled PKS's intricacies. This increased public curiosity regarding the polemics between the two parties, prompting the public to 'examine' the programs offered by PKS.

Political analyst from the National Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, Adi Prayitno (2019), mentioned that Islamic voters in the Prabowo-Sandi camp tended to choose PKS over other parties in the Indonesian Coalition for Fair and Prosperous (Koalisi Adil Makmur Indonesia). PKS was considered more firm in its opposition than PAN and the Democratic Party. Additionally, PKS was acknowledged for its robust cadre system. Internal divisions and attacks from various sides, including PSI, did not have significant impacts.

Public communication campaigns refer to organized efforts to inform or influence a broad audience's behavior within a specific timeframe. These campaigns utilize various communication activities and messages mediated through diverse channels to yield non-commercial benefits for individuals and society (Rice & Atkin, 2009).

On the other hand, political communication involves information exchange within the political system and occurs continuously at various levels among individuals and groups. As Nimmo (2014) describes, this encompasses political communicators, political messages, political persuasion, media, the political communication audience, and the consequences of political communication.

In the realm of political communication, public communication campaigns play a crucial role. These campaigns seek to influence and shape audience behavior, particularly regarding political issues and election choices. They convey political messages to shape public opinion, increase political participation, and influence voter decisions. Key aspects of public political communication campaigns ensure that the public receives accurate and up-to-date information about candidates, political parties, and debated issues. To achieve this goals, the campaigns use various communication channels such as political advertisements, speeches, debates, social media, and public meetings. Their main goal is to provide accurate and current information to voters, enabling them to make informed decisions.

Moreover, public political communication campaigns function to influence voter behavior and gain political support. These campaigns employ persuasive techniques to change voters' attitudes and beliefs, including through strong political rhetoric, emotional approaches, and effective campaign strategies. Voters are often influenced by messages conveyed through public political communication campaigns, both traditional and social media. These campaigns also have significant social and political impacts. They can increase political awareness among the public, encourage participation in the political process, and influence overall political dynamics. Through public political communication campaigns, political parties can gain greater public support, achieve their political goals, and influence political decisions in a country or region.

Taking a broader look at this issue, particularly concerning communication and Islam, Liow (2022) wrote an article stating that a significant shift has occurred in Indonesia and Malaysia, where Islamism has evolved from being a social movement to becoming an integral part of mainstream politics. How did this transformation occur, and what were its underlying

motivations? Utilizing social movement theory, this element explains the process by focusing on the main Islamic social movements in both countries.

Furthermore, according to Aliyu (2020), in his publication titled "Exposition of Islamic Ethics in Political Campaigns and Its Application in Nigeria," it is emphasized that political campaigns are permitted in Islam only if they adhere to Islamic political ethics. These ethics encompass aspects such as honesty, reasonable commitment, peaceful behavior, moderate spending, and emphasis on issue-based manifestos. Furthermore, the author argues that the principles of political campaign ethics in Islam can be applied in Nigeria's democratic system through several steps, including redefining leadership selection criteria, reforming political parties, evaluating screening procedures, and enforcing provisions outlined in election laws.

This research aims to analyze how the Communication Principles delineated in the Quran are applied by the PKS, one of Indonesia's major Islamic parties. In Islam, communication is considered effective when it is concise, clear, comprehensive, cohesive, and delivers accurate information. As an Islamic ideological party, PKS must be capable of implementing the communication principles found in the Quran. It is essential for PKS leaders to demonstrate wisdom in fostering active political communication with all layers of society and the state. Additionally, the party members represent the younger generation, differing from their predecessors, who had deeply rooted religious traditions influenced by organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah. However, as an Indonesian entity, PKS also has the opportunity to learn from heroic figures who shaped the nation (Purwosusanto, 2010).

The author has selected PKS (Prosperous Justice Party) as the focus of this study because it served as an opposition party during both the 2014-2019 and 2019-2024 terms. As discussed in the research introduction titled "What is Opposition Good For?" by Demirkaya (2017), governments elected through democratic processes may sometimes yield to the demands of extreme constituencies, resulting in the adoption of policies that do not align with the preferences of the average voter. This challenge is compounded by the voters' lack of information regarding the consequences of alternative policies. Opposition parties, in theory, can mitigate this issue by leveraging their prerogatives, such as participating in legislative debates and proposing bills, amendments, or motions of no confidence. However, in practice, opposition parties might have incentives to mislead voters for strategic or electoral gains. This study aims to investigate whether PKS, in its capacity as an opposition party, engaged in opinion manipulation or misinformation during the 2019 election campaign as described by

Demirkaya (2017), or whether it succeeded in applying Islamic communication principles in its campaign strategy.

B. Research Questions

The formulation of the problem in this research is how are Islamic communication principles applied in the PKS Party campaign strategy in the 2019 election?

C. Research Purpose

This research aims to analyze how the Communication Principles outlined in the Al-Qur'an / Islamic communication principles are applied by the PKS in the 2019 Election campaign strategy.

D. Research Benefits

1. Academic Benefits

This research can contribute to academic knowledge in political communication, especially in the context of the use of Islamic communication in political party campaigns. This research can help fill existing knowledge gaps and complement the existing literature on this topic.

This research can contribute to the research development methodology in the field of political communication, especially using a case study approach to analyze Islamic communication in political party campaigns.

2. Practical Benefits

The results of this research can provide practical guidance for political parties, including PKS, in designing campaign strategies based on Islamic communication. Research findings can help political parties understand the effectiveness and impact of using Islamic communication in achieving their campaign goals.

In addition, this research can also be used as a source of information and education for the general public. By publishing research findings widely, knowledge about the use of Islamic communication in political party campaigns can be disseminated to the public,

so that people can understand and criticize the political communication practices used by political parties.

E. Theoretical Framework

1. Previous Research

a. Communication from Islamic Perspective and Its Application In Selected Organizations (Jalil, 2016)

In the journal authored by Jalil titled "Communication in the Islamic Perspective and Its Application in Selected Organizations" (2016), it is concluded that Islam emphasizes communication. According to the Quran, Allah created humans with an innate ability to speak and comprehend. Communication stands at the core of every aspect of Islam, playing a crucial role in providing information, facilitating socialization, influencing individual attitudes, and much more. Within Islam, written communication is highly valued, particularly in preserving information for future generations. The Quran serves as the primary example of effectively preserving information for the world.

In Jalil's (2016) research, a survey and analysis were conducted on the ADCUM Organization, utilizing the principles of Islamic communication, specifically focusing on the concept of "qaulan," as its fundamental framework. The study written by Jalil (2016) shares a theoretical framework similar to this research, which centers on Islamic communication and describes its application within selected organizations.

b. Application of Islamic Communication Principles on Santri's Moral Development Nurul Azhar Islamic Boarding School in Talawe Village, Kab. Sidenreng Rappang (Fikruzzaman, and Arsyad, 2021)

In the research paper titled "Application of Islamic Communication Principles in Cultivating Morality of Students at Nurul Azhar Islamic Boarding School in Talawe Village, Sidenreng Rappang Regency" conducted by Fikruzzaman and Arsyad (2021), graduate students at the State Islamic Institute Parepare, the focus is on examining how Islamic communication principles are applied in guiding students at the Nurul Azhar Islamic Boarding School in Talawe Village. This study utilized a qualitative field

research approach and employed three data collection methods: observation, interviews, and documentation.

The research findings revealed the following points: 1) Initially, the moral behavior of students entering the Nurul Azhar Islamic Boarding School displayed negative traits, but over time, the majority showed improved behavior; 2) Boarding school supervisors utilized interpersonal and group communication methods, employing specific forms of communication such as qawlan layyina (gentle and soothing words), qawlan maisura (soft and courteous speech), and qawlan ma'rufan (discussing beneficial matters), among others; 3) By implementing Islamic communication principles with sincerity, students were taught to be honest, maintain cleanliness, speak positively, align words with actions, prioritize listening over speaking, and recognize that all human behavior is under the supervision of Allah SWT.

This research aligns with the analysis of Islamic communication utilization and adopts a qualitative methodology.

c. Political Campaign Strategy of Young PKS Politicians In Seeking Constituent Support (Irawan, 2022)

In the research paper titled "Political Campaign Strategies of Young Politicians from PKS Seeking Constituency Support" written by Enjang Pera Irawan (2022), it is emphasized that Indonesian politics is no longer solely dominated by senior politicians; young politicians are emerging and actively campaigning to secure public votes.

These young politicians emphasize their integrity and lack of involvement in past political mistakes. This research utilized a qualitative descriptive method to uncover the political campaign strategies employed by young PKS politicians in garnering constituency support during the 2019 Regional Representative Council (DPRD) elections. The study identified seven stages involved in the political campaign strategy of PKS politicians to gain constituency support.

Irawan's (2022) research shares several similarities with this study, such as focusing on examining PKS campaign strategies and utilizing a qualitative descriptive method.

2. Theoretical Framework

a. Islamic Communication

Scholars and communication researchers have explored various communication concepts from an Islamic perspective. Afifi and Suparno (2015) conducted a study on the ethical principles of communication found in the Quran, which serves as the primary source of Islamic teachings. These ethical principles encompass the sources of communication or communicator (sender), message receivers, and the messages themselves.

Regarding the communicator, the Quran highlights several key characteristics contributing to the communicator's credibility. These include honesty (verses Al-Quran An-Nisa: 69 and Al-Hadid: 19), justice (Al-An'am: 115 and 152), consistency (33:35), and eloquence (20:27-28). The Quran also emphasizes ethical principles for message receivers, such as the importance of accuracy or verification (Al-Hujurat: 6), open-mindedness (An-Nur: 12), active listening, obedience to the truth (An-Nur): 51), following good words (Az-Zumar: 55), avoiding useless speech (Al-Qasas: 55), and refraining from excessive questioning when trying to avoid the truth (Al-Baqarah: 61-67, 118).

Furthermore, the Quran presents various forms of verbal communication that serve as ethical guidelines in communication practices. These include Qaulan Sadidan (speaking truthfully) in verses An-Nisa: 9 and Al-Ahzab: 70, Qaulan Ma'rufan (speaking good) in verses An-Nisa: 5, An-Nisa: 8, Al-Baqarah: 235, Al-Baqarah: 263, Al-Ahzab: 32, and Muhammad: 21, Qaulan Maysuran (speaking softly) in Al-Isra: 28, Qaulan Kariman (speaking politely) in Al-Isra: 23, Qaulan Balighan (speaking persuasively) in An-Nisa: 63, and Qaulan Layyinan (speaking gently) in verses Al-Ahzab: 44 (Kurniawan, 2021).

Based on the communication principles derived from the Quran, the concept of Islamic communication can be summarized as follows:

1) Caution and Politeness: Islamic communication advocates caution in word choice, prioritizes honesty, and maintains politeness in communication. This principle emphasizes the importance of avoiding slander, gossip, or words that hurt others.
2) Truth and Justice: Islamic communication stresses the importance of conveying true and honest information. This also relates to justice in providing information,

considering various perspectives, and avoiding spreading fake news or information manipulation.

3) Wisdom and Social Justice: The concept of Islamic communication advocates using wise words and messages to achieve positive goals. Islamic communication also emphasizes the importance of advocating for social justice and spreading messages that prioritize well-being and equality.
4) Empathy and Respect: Islamic communication teaches the importance of having empathy for others and respecting differences in opinions and beliefs. This principle emphasizes the importance of listening attentively, understanding others' perspectives, and maintaining harmonious relationships in communication.
5) Peace and Spreading Love: Islamic communication prioritizes peace, tolerance, and spreading love in communication. This includes using words that promote kindness, avoiding provocation or verbal conflict, and disseminating messages that build and strengthen relationships between individuals and communities.

Communication is seen as a process through which meaning is exchanged and shared. It is an essential resource for human survival, similar to basic needs like water, food, and shelter. Communication plays a significant role in society by serving as a source of information, facilitating socialization, and having the power to shape individual attitudes, among other functions.

Islam, as a comprehensive way of life, encompasses all aspects of human existence and provides guidance in various aspects of life (Bhat, 2014). It offers principles and methods of interpersonal communication, interactions between individuals, and relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, with the ultimate goal of achieving peace, equality, brotherhood, worldly prosperity, and Allah's satisfaction in the hereafter.

Prophet Muhammad (SAW) utilized both written and oral communication as needed. He used written communication when information needed to be recorded for future reference and oral communication when disseminating information was required. During the time of Prophet Muhammad (SAW), in his efforts to invite several rulers to embrace Islam, he used written communication as a medium to

convey messages to them. As it was not possible for him to meet everyone directly, he relied on written communication by sending letters through trusted individuals.

Communication has experienced rapid scientific advancements, including political communication (Firdaus Muhammad, 2012). The development of Islamic political communication has gained attention as a valuable aspect of the field. This highlights the importance of communication in human life, especially for political leaders in the context of Islam.

Effective communication skills are crucial for politicians to influence their constituents. Communication plays an important role in various aspects of life, emphasizing the significance of good communication, particularly in politics.
Here are some points that explain the concept of Islamic political communication:

1) Value-Based Messages: Islamic political communication emphasizes the importance of messages that align with the principles and values of Islam. These messages may include social justice, morality, cleanliness, economic justice, obedience to Allah, and the application of Islamic law. These messages are designed to attract attention and gain support from Muslim voters who identify with Islamic values.
2) Involvement of Religious Figures: Islamic political communication often involves religious leaders or scholars in political campaigns. The involvement of these religious figures aims to gain greater support and authority among Muslim voters. They can deliver sermons, issue political fatwas, or garner community support for candidates or political parties aligned with Islamic teachings.
3) Use of Religious Symbols: Islamic political communication often employs religious symbols to identify and build credibility. These symbols include the use of Islamic words or phrases, visual symbols such as Arabic calligraphy, hijab or Islamic attire, and depictions or references to religious figures.
4) Use of Communication Media: Islamic political communication utilizes various communication media, both traditional and digital, to convey its political messages. These includes lectures, speeches, campaign materials, advertisements, social media, websites, and more. These communication media are used to reach a wider audience and interact with potential voters.

5) Ethics and Respect in Communication: Islamic political communication emphasizes the importance of ethics and respect in political communication. This includes honesty, avoiding slander, respecting differences of opinion, and prioritizing goodness in conveying political messages. Islamic political communication strives to create a more polite ethical and political environment that upholds religious values.

b. Political Campaign

As stated in Regulation Number 23 of the Election Commission (KPU) in 2018, a campaign is an activity carried out by Election Participants or their representatives appointed to persuade voters by presenting the vision, mission, programs, and/or self-image of the Election Participant. Within the legal framework, several key aspects serve as the conceptual framework of this research, including:

1) Conducting campaigns based on the following principles:
   a. Honesty
   b. Transparency
   c. Dialogical approach

2) Campaign material includes:
   a. Vision, mission, programs, and/or self-image of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates for the Presidential Election Campaign.
   b. Vision, mission, programs, and/or self-image of Political Parties participating in the election for campaigns conducted by candidates for Regional Representative Council Members (DPRD).
   c. Vision, mission, programs, and/or self-image of Regional Representative Council (DPD) Candidate for individual campaigns conducted by DPD candidates.
   b) This campaign material can be presented orally or in writing to the public.

3) Campaign methods include:
   a) Limited meetings, where campaign activities involve specific groups of people with limited invitations, such as meetings with residents or specific groups or dialogues with the community.

b) Face-to-face meetings
c) Socialization of Election Campaign Materials to the Public
d) Installation of campaign props in public places
e) Utilization of social media platforms
f) Advertising through print media, electronic media, and online media
g) Public meetings, enabling direct interaction between election participants and voters in public events or open meetings
h) Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidate Debates for Presidential Election
i) Other activities that comply with the prohibition of Election Campaigns and provisions of statutory regulations.

4) Reporting and broadcasting of campaigns:

Reporting and broadcasting of campaigns can be campaigns can be reported and broadcast out through various channels, including print media, electronic media, online media, social media, and broadcasting institutions, in accordance with Election Law.

Reporting and writing aim to convey campaign messages and/or news about election campaign activities of election participants to the public.

Print media, electronic media, online media, social media, and broadcasting institutions must adhere to journalistic ethics, guidelines for online media reporting, broadcasting behavior guidelines, broadcasting program standards, and provisions of statutory regulations in reporting and broadcasting campaign messages and/or broadcasting institutions or news about campaign activities.

During the Quiet Period, print media, electronic media, online media, social media, and broadcasting institutions are prohibited from broadcasting news, advertisements, track records, self-images of election participants, or other content that may benefit or harm the interests of election contestants.

5) Campaign prohibitions

PKPU 23 of 2018 also includes several prohibitions related to the campaign. Some of these prohibitions include:

a) Prohibition of Campaigning in Places of Worship: Election participants are prohibited from campaigning in places of worship such as mosques, churches, temples, and other sacred places.
b) Prohibition of Campaigning in Educational Institutions: Campaigning is also prohibited in educational institutions such as schools, universities, and places directly related to educational activities.
c) Prohibition of Campaigning in Public Service Offices: Campaigning is not allowed in public service offices such as post offices, sub-district offices, village offices, and other government institutions.
d) Prohibition of Using SARA Issues: Election participants are prohibited from using issues related to ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group conflicts in their campaigns. This is done to prevent social conflicts and discrimination in the electoral process.
e) Prohibition of Involvement of Foreign Parties: Election participants are also prohibited from involving foreign parties in their campaigns to maintain the sovereignty and independence of domestic elections.

c. Political Marketing Management 5.0

Political marketing involves a series of planned, strategic, and tactical activities, encompassing both long-term and short-term dimensions, aimed at conveying political messages to voters. The evolution of democracy in Indonesia necessitates that representatives are elected directly by the people. In this digital era, targeted political marketing is essential. The internet, alongside traditional media such as radio and television, has become an effective medium for delivering political marketing messages.

The impact of the internet and social media, as part of communication technology, is seen as both desirable and direct. Consequently, digital technology has become integral to people's lives, and effective marketing requires strategies tailored to reach the intended audience.

In economics, the concept of the 4Ps—Product, Promotion, Price, and Place—along with segmentation and positioning, is widely recognized. These principles have also been applied in the political realm. Several political parties and figures have adopted digital media as a tool for political marketing by utilizing the 4Ps concept.

In political marketing, the 4Ps concept includes:

1. Product

The product offered by political institutions is complex, as voters experience it only after a party or candidate is elected. The political product offered by a party to prospective voters falls into three categories: first, the party's platform, which includes its concepts, ideological identity, and policy agenda; second, the party's past record, highlighting its achievements; and third, individual characteristics, focusing on the traits of a leader or candidate that shape the image, symbolism, and credibility of the political product.

2. Promotion

Not all media are suitable for promotional activities; the choice of media must be carefully considered to determine which is most effective in transmitting political messages. Political promotions should be aligned with the party's target audience.

3. Price

In political marketing, price encompasses a range of factors, including economic, psychological, and national image considerations.

4. Place

Placement relates to how a political institution engages with society, including its ability to communicate with voters or potential voters. Political campaigns must effectively reach all segments of society.

5. Segmentation and Positioning

In political marketing, mapping voter segments or campaign targets is crucial for designing strategies that penetrate specific societal areas with tools tailored to their conditions.

F. Research Methodology

a. Research Method and Approaches

This research uses qualitative research methods, which were chosen because they provide a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being studied. These methods are adapted to the subject and research objectives that aim to explore the application of Islamic communication in the PKS campaign.

As explained by Sugiyono (2009), qualitative research is rooted in positivist philosophy and used to study the condition of natural objects, with the researcher as the

main instrument and data sources chosen deliberately. Data analysis in qualitative research is inductive and qualitative, emphasizing on meaning interpretation rather than generalization.

b. Research Location

The location for collecting information and data for this research will be collected at the Yogyakarta Regional Executive Board (Dewan Pengurus Partai Tingkat Wilayah/DPTW) Office of the PKS. The location is accessible from the researcher's residence and domicile, making it easier for researchers to collect data.

c. Research Subject

The subject of this research is the PKS. In the next stage, to obtain truly valid data, researchers will also conduct interviews with the leadership or Public Relations section of the PKS, as representatives or sections directly responsible for the campaign program.

d. Research Informant

The primary data source is the research informant, selected through a deliberate process sampling approach or a sampling strategy that reflects the societal groups most capable of contributing information about the research. According to Mike Allen (2017), an individual with specialized knowledge or skills regarding a culture or specific group members is known as an informant. Informants should be familiar with the climate, culture, and organizational procedures. Insiders or gatekeepers of an organization are other terms for informants. The research informant in this study is Mr. Aditya Agung Irawan, Public Relations Staff of the Regional Executive Board of the PKS in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, serving as a continuous source of access, knowledge, and input throughout the research process in gathering and collecting data for analysis, thus ensuring that the researcher obtains accurate and precise data.

e. Data Source

The data sources in research refer to the subject or origin from which the data is obtained. In qualitative research, words and actions are considered primary data sources, while additional data can consist of documents and other literature (Lexy

Moleong, 2005). This study employs two main data sources for data collection, and the processed data includes:

1. Primary Data Source

   Primary data is collected directly by the researcher from its source without intermediaries. Data is obtained through interviews and direct observation of informants in the field. The words and actions of individuals observed or interviewed are considered primary data sources (Lexy Moleong, 2005). Primary data sources are obtained through direct engagement with respondents, recording primary data through interviews or observations involving seeing, hearing, and asking. This study will collect primary data through interviews with officials of the Public Relations Department of the PKS. Additionally, this research will analyze the official PKS website, social media platforms, and campaign materials.

2. Secondary Data Source

   Secondary data sources are indirect sources that complement and support research data. In qualitative research, these sources can include literature studies using books and internet sources to aid analysis and discussion. Furthermore, data from relevant archives and photographs related to the research will be utilized. Incorporating various secondary data sources ensures the integrity and accountability of the research.

f. Data Collection

Qualitative research involves various data collection techniques such as observation, interviews, documentation, and field notes. Researchers adapt these techniques to the specific conditions at the research site. According to Sugiyono (2009), data collection techniques are crucial in research because their primary aim is to obtain data. Understanding the appropriate data collection techniques is essential to meet established data standards.

In this study, the researcher utilizes the following data collection techniques: observation, interviews, and documentation.

1. Observation

   Observation is a distinctive data collection technique with specific characteristics. According to Burhan Bungin (2012), there are two types of observation: indirect

observation and participant observation. Indirect observation involves observing activities and cultural objects without direct involvement with the community, often using tools such as cameras. In contrast, participant observation requires active involvement in the activities of the researched community. For this research, indirect observation is employed.

2. Interviews:

   Interviews involve gathering data about attitudes, behaviors, experiences, aspirations, and ambitions through question-and-answer sessions with respondents. In-depth interviews, as described by Burhan Bungin (2012), allow for exploring hidden thoughts or emotions regarding the past, present, or future. This study conducts in-depth interviews with leaders or the Public Relations department of PKS to obtain comprehensive insights.

3. Documentation

   Documentation refers to recording past events and can include written notes, photos, or significant works. In qualitative research, documentation serves as a complement to observation and interview techniques, enhancing the credibility and reliability of the collected data (Sugiyono, 2009). In this study, documentation includes photographs, images, and archives related to the researcher's activities in the field.

g. Data Analysis Technique

In this research, the researcher will utilize Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis model as a data analysis technique. According to Miles et al. (2014), qualitative data processing involves three main stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.

1. Data Reduction

   Due to the potential lack of standardization in qualitative data obtained from the field, unlike quantitative data, data reduction becomes necessary. This involves summarizing data, selecting key elements, focusing on important aspects, identifying themes and patterns, and eliminating irrelevant information.

2. Data Display

   After data reduction, the next step is to present or display it more coherently. This can be achieved through organized tables, clear graphics, charts, pictograms, and

similar visual representations. By presenting data in such formats, its structure and relationships can be better understood.

3. Conclusion Drawing/Verification

   The third stage in qualitative data analysis, as outlined by Miles and Huberman, involves drawing conclusions and verification. Initial conclusions are considered tentative and subject to change if further data collection uncovers convincing evidence. However, if the evidence proves valid and consistent after returning to the field for additional data collection, the conclusions obtained can be reliable and credible.

CHAPTER II
OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH OBJECT

A. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera

1. History and Development of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)



Figure 1 DPP PKS Office

The PKS was officially declared on April 20, 2002. The declaration took place at the Monas intersection field in Jakarta. In the same year, PKS was recognized as a legally established political party by the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights. PKS successfully passed the political party verification conducted by the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia, allowing it to participate in the 2004 General Election.

During the 2004 General Election, the PKS met the parliamentary threshold and gained the right to send its representatives as members of the legislative body in the Indonesian Parliament (DPR/MPR RI). Subsequently, in the following elections, PKS consistently qualified as a national political party in the Indonesian Parliament. During President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration, PKS sent some of its best cadres to serve as Ministers in the United Indonesia Cabinet I and II.

After the 2014 General Election and Presidential Election, the PKS remained outside President Joko Widodo's government to the present day. PKS has been a critical political party, consistently voicing policies in parliament that do not favor the people. Since participating in the General Elections from 2004 to 2019, the percentage of votes garnered by PKS has consistently increased, surpassing 7%. There was only a decline in 2014 to 6.79%, but in terms of total votes, there was an increase from the 2009 General Election, rising from 8,206,955 votes to 8,480,204 votes.

The author has selected PKS as the focus of this study because it served as an opposition party during both the 2014-2019 and 2019-2024 terms. In the book "Critical and Constructive Opposition: Preserving the NKRI and People's Sovereignty in Parliament" by Dr. H. Jazuli Juwaini, MA (Chair of the PKS Faction in the Indonesian House of Representatives), it is explained that opposition and coalition roles for PKS are issues of national role distribution, particularly in government administration. PKS continues to advocate for collaboration in the greater interest of the nation and state. The role of opposition does not impede PKS's collaborative spirit with all national elements, including the executive branch, as the shared goal is to advance the nation's objectives.

The PKS faction recognizes that both opposition and government coalition roles are standard in a democratic system, which distinguishes it from authoritarian regimes where power distribution is neither acknowledged nor implemented. In a democratic framework, power distribution implies acceptance of differing views and, to some extent, conflicts that remain within constitutional boundaries. PKS's opposition stance is not merely contrary for the sake of opposition; instead, it is critical and constructive. The faction is committed to correcting or rejecting policies that do not align with the people's and nation's interests while supporting policies that do. PKS provides perspectives and alternative solutions, thereby contributing to a more productive democracy with constructive ideas and proposals.

The researcher is keen to explore whether PKS could uphold its principles in its political campaigns despite its opposition role. As noted by Demirkaya (2017), democratic governments may sometimes adopt policies driven by extreme constituencies, which may not reflect the average voter's preferences and are compounded by voters' lack of information on policy consequences. While opposition parties are theoretically positioned to address this issue by participating in legislative processes and proposing reforms, they might also have incentives to mislead voters for strategic reasons. This study will investigate

whether PKS, as an opposition party, engaged in such manipulative practices during the 2019 election campaign or whether it successfully adhered to Islamic communication principles in its campaign strategies.

2. Vision and Mission of the PKS

a. Vision

Article 6 of the PKS Statute states that the Party's vision is to be a pioneering party in realizing the national aspirations of the Indonesian people, as outlined in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

b. Mission

Article 7 of the PKS Statute mentions that the Party's mission is to make the Party a means for the realization of a just, prosperous, and dignified civil society within the unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila.

3. Management Structure of the PKS Regional Management Board of Yogyakarta Special Region 2020-2025 Term of Service

1.	Ketua	M. Agus Mas'udi, ST
2.	Sekretaris	Muhammad Rosyidi
3.	Bendahara	Huda Tri Yudiana
Bidang Kaderisasi		
4.	Ketua	Ali Imron
Bidang Perempuan & Ketahanan Keluarga		
5.	Ketua	Dewi Nur Aini, S.I.P
Bidang Kepemudaan		
6.	Ketua	Ahda Sabila
Bidang Pemenangan Pemilu dan Pilkada		
7.	Ketua	Ardianto
Bidang Hubungan Masyarakat		
8.	Ketua	Muhammad Syafii
Bidang Seni Budaya		
9.	Ketua	Amir Syarifudin
Bidang Politik Hukum dan Keamanan		
10.	Ketua	Ir. Imam Taufik
Bidang Ekonomi Keuangan Industri Teknologi dan Lingkungan Hidup		
11.	Ketua	Ekantini Puji Basuki
Bidang Kesejahteraan Sosial		
12.	Ketua	Muh Ajrudin Akbar,S.Sos., I
Bidang Pembangunan Keumatan dan Dakwah		
13.	Ketua	Sofyan Setyo Darmawan, S.T.,M.Eng
Bidang Pemberdayaan Jaringan Usaha dan Ekonomi Kader		
14.	Ketua	Hj. Sumaryatin, S.Sos. MA
Bidang Ketenagakerjaan, Tani dan Nelayan		
15.	Ketua	Arif Wibowo, S.Pd.T

Bidang Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Desa		
16.	Ketua	Nur Sasmito,ST
Bidang Kepanduan		
17.	Ketua	Anang Darmawan

B. Principles, Characteristics, Position, and Attributes of the PKS

a. Principles

Article 2 of the PKS Statute states that the Party is based on Islamic principles.

b. Characteristics

Article 3 of the PKS Statute mentions that the Party is characterized by noble morality, innovation, patriotism, and service. The Party is nationalistic, independent, and open. It is committed to clean, caring, and professional values.

c. Position

Article 4 of the PKS Statute specifies that the Party's Central Board is located in the Capital City of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The Party forms its management structure within the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The Party may establish representations abroad for Indonesian Citizens in accordance with prevailing laws and regulations.

d. Attributes

Article 5 of the PKS Statute mentions that the Party possesses attributes such as a Name, Emblem, Flag, Anthem, and Hymn.

C. Public Relations in Political Parties

Public relations, or PR, facilitates two-way communication between an organization or company and its audience to establish mutual understanding (public understanding) and gain public support for the policies, initiatives, and actions of the organization or company. All of this aims to foster public goodwill and obtaining favorable public opinions or actions by creating cooperative relationships based on harmonious interactions with the public.

Every organization or company considers the presence of PR function in management as essential. PR fundamentally becomes the responsibility of the Top Management (senior

leadership). The PR function can be expected to act as the "eyes," "ears," and "right hand" of the top management of the company.

According to Broom and Sha (2008), Public Relations is divided into four categories within an organization, as follows:

1. Expert Prescriber, assisting the company or organization in finding solutions to issues with its audience.
2. Communication Facilitator, the Public Relations Officer (PRO), acts as a facilitator or mediator to assist management in understanding what the audience desires and expects.
3. Problem-solving process facilitator, aiding organizational leaders as advisers and making executive decisions in matters involving the public.
4. Communication technician, providing technical communication services, the execution of which depends on various levels or departments, ranging from leadership to subordinates.



Figure 2 Kantor DPTW PKS DIY

As organizations requiring support from the broader society, political parties greatly benefit from PR in achieving goals related to maintaining their image, shaping public opinion, changing attitudes, and ultimately winning in the increasingly competitive landscape among other parties. Hence, many parties have established PR departments within their organizational structure since the party's declaration.

The practice of public relations in socio-political organizations shows that public relations is considered a part that is quite helpful in the survival of political parties, especially in Indonesia, after the emergence of many political parties. However, only a few political parties are serious about their public relations department.

PKS is one of the parties concerned with the field of public relations. In fulfilling the mandate of Law Number 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Disclosure, PKS has established the Information and Documentation Management Officer (Pejabat Pengelola Informasi dan Dokumentasi - PPID) through Decree Number 117/SKEP/DPP-PKS/2021. The establishment of PPID aligns with the following vision and mission:

1. Optimizing the implementation of transparent and accountable Public Information Disclosure as mandated by Law Number 14 of 2014 concerning Public Information Disclosure.
2. Becoming an informative service center and a transparent, accountable, efficient, and effective public complaint center.
3. Building and developing a transparent and accountable information provision and service system.
4. Enhancing optimal information management and service for relevant stakeholders.

In a more focused context, for this research, the researcher interviewed the Head of the Public Relations Department at the Regional Executive Board (Dewan Pengurus Partai Tingkat Wilayah - DPTW) of PKS in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Mr. Muhammad Syafii, and a team of public relations practitioners who were involved in the PKS 2019 Election Campaign, led by Mr. Adit.

D. Indonesia General Elections 2019

The official website of the General Elections Commission (KPU) of Indonesia states that the simultaneous conduct of legislative and presidential elections, often referred to as "simultaneous elections" or "five-box elections," has drastically increased the scale of electoral administration. The 2019 elections marked the largest democratic event in

Indonesian history and were also the most extensive single-day elections globally. Notably, these elections were recognized as the most complex worldwide due to the simultaneous use of three different electoral systems: the open-list proportional system for electing members of the DPR, provincial DPRD, and district/city DPRD; the multi-member district system for DPD members; and the two-round majority system for the presidential and vice-presidential elections.



Figure 3 2019 Election Ballot Box

These five-box simultaneous elections were held following a Constitutional Court decision that reviewed Law No. 42/2008 on Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections. In Decision No. 14/PUU-XI/2013, issued on January 23, 2014, the Court ruled that holding presidential and vice-presidential elections after the general elections for DPR, DPD, and DPRD members was unconstitutional, as it violated the 1945 Constitution (KPU, 2019).

Maulana and Situngkir (2020) mention that, with such dynamics, many phenomena emerge. Their study explores the phenomenon of political polarization in the news consumption patterns of Twitter users during the 2019 Indonesian elections. Analyzing news consumption as a bipartite network between news outlets and Twitter users, they observed the formation of distinct media communities based on audience similarity. By evaluating each news outlet's political orientation, they uncovered a politically fragmented landscape within Indonesian news media, where each media community functions as a political echo chamber for its audience. Their findings emphasize the critical role of mainstream media in bridging information between political echo chambers in the social media environment.

Indonesia's national elections were held on April 17, 2019, following an eight-month period of political rivalry described by some as the most polarized election campaign in the country's history. This period was marked by populist rhetoric and identity politics, largely associated with the supporters of Prabowo Subianto, who was challenging the incumbent President Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo for the second time (Arifianto, 2019).

In light of these factors, the author is highly interested in the 2019 elections, which were marked by such dynamics. The author aims to explore whether PKS (Prosperous Justice Party) was able to implement Islamic communication principles in their political campaign strategies amidst the conflict-laden environment and societal polarization present during the 2019 elections.

E. The Universality of Islam and the History of Islamic Parties in Indonesia

The universality of Islam is a fundamental aspect of this Divine religion. Even non-believers recognize that Islam is enduring and not confined to any specific geographic region or ethnicity. Historical records and evidence demonstrate that the Noble Prophet sent letters to rulers of Persia, Byzantium, Rome, Egypt, Abyssinia, and other tribal leaders, inviting them to embrace this Divine faith. If Islam were not universal, and if the Prophet had not extended these invitations globally, other nations might have had grounds to reject it. Therefore, one cannot accept the validity of Islam without acknowledging its universal application and the implementation of its sacred law, a belief that is obligatory for all (Yazdi, 2022).

Throughout the history of Islamic political parties in Indonesia, there have been numerous dynamics in their efforts to apply the universal values of Islam. Following the establishment of Budi Utomo, several Islamic organizations emerged, such as Serikat Islam, Muhammadiyah, and NU, with their founding purposes spanning political nationalism, the people's welfare, religious propagation, and social outreach. The first Islamic organization to appear in Indonesian society was Serikat Islam, originally known as Serikat Dagang Islam, founded by H. Samanhudi in 1911 in Solo. Initially focused on economic goals, the organization aimed to rival the economic activities of Dutch colonizers and the Chinese community. As an organization based on Islamic principles, it sought to improve the economic conditions of the people. Under the leadership of H.O.S. Cokroaminoto in 1912, Serikat Islam quickly expanded and began to take on a political orientation. The focus of mass and political movements in Indonesia was to unite and peacefully oppose colonial rule,

influencing public education, national consciousness, and the cultivation of political and national awareness (Yasin, 2011).

According to Yasin (2011), political parties based on religious ideologies, whether Islamic, Christian, or other religious doctrines, have historically anchored their struggles in religious principles. Despite being the silent majority, the political influence of Indonesian Muslims has not been accurately studied, particularly why the majority Muslim population has never fully supported Islamic parties to achieve political victories in democratic elections. During the era of liberal democracy, Islamic parties such as Masyumi, PSII, Perti, and Partai NU, despite their numerical dominance, never gained a substantial foothold in Indonesia's national political landscape. This trend continued into the reform era, where parties with religious or Islamic ideological bases, including PPP, PK, PBB, PNU, Masyumi Baru, and PSII 1905, experienced a significant decline, with Islamic ideological parties ranking only third in legislative representation.



Figure 4 Masyumi Campaign in 1995 Election

The history of Islamic political parties shows that there were once inclusive parties, such as Masyumi in the 1950s, which engaged not only with NU but also with PNI, PSI, Parkindo, and the Catholic Party, reflecting a platform of modern democracy. However, by the 1960s, Masyumi became increasingly obsessed with the establishment of an Islamic state, becoming trapped in its own rhetoric of formalizing an Islamic state within the constitution. With this experience, having failed to establish an Islamic state, these parties

should have returned to the democratic successes of the 1950s, as demonstrated by the Natsir Cabinet, which was a model of true democracy. Today, pursuing the idea of an Islamic state is no longer feasible; instead, the focus should be on advocating for Islamic values. However, Islamic parties often present political ideas that do not fully align with the needs of the state, leading to suspicions between Islam-oriented politics and a nationalist government. To ease these suspicions, it is crucial to define Islam in Indonesia in a more inclusive manner, ensuring that Islamic symbols are open and understandable to all Muslims, both within and outside the government (Yasin, 2011).

The Islamic political movement is a manifestation of the teachings of Sharia. Although the Qur'an may not explicitly detail these directives, they can be inferred from its clear verses. Egyptian journalist Fahmi Huwaydi suggests that Islamic politics is synonymous with an Islamic state, identifying its characteristics as the integration of religion with state power. According to him, the hallmarks of Islamic politics include:

1. Power is held entirely by the "ummah" (community of believers).
2. Society participates in enjoining good and bears responsibility.
3. Truth is a right for everyone.
4. Equality among all people is upheld.
5. Different groups are granted legal recognition.
6. Absolute injustice is forbidden, and correcting it is mandatory.
7. The rule of law is paramount.

Through an analysis of PKS's campaign strategies, this study seeks to assess whether PKS aligns with the defining features of an Islamic political party, as described by Fahmi Huwaydi, which include the integration of religious principles with state governance. This evaluation will also explore whether PKS embodies the inclusive and universal values characteristic of an Islamic political party.

CHAPTER III
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Findings of Research

The research findings address the formulated questions. The data presented after observing various media aims to analyze the public campaign strategies utilized by the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) during the 2019 elections. The researcher conducted an in-depth interview with Mr. Adit, the Public Relations and Campaign Team Member of the PKS in the Special Region of Yogyakarta in 2019, to gain insights into the public relations activities executed within the PKS campaign strategy during the 2019 elections.

1. Principles of the Qur'an, Sunnah, and the Ulama's Ijtihad as the Basis of PKS in the 2019 Elections

The PKS, as a significant Islamic political party with substantial influence in Indonesia, adheres strictly to Islamic values, as stipulated in Article 2 of its Constitution. These Islamic values were further elucidated by Mr. Adit, a member of the PKS Public Relations and Campaign Team in the 2019 elections, which encompass the principles and laws derived from the Qur'an, Sunnah, Ijtihad Ulama Salafus Sholih, Contemporary Scholars, and the PKS Advisory Council (Majelis Syuro).

In a direct interview with Mr. Adit, the researcher asked him, "As the second-largest Islamic political party in Indonesia based on the 2019 election results, following PKB, what principles does the PKS uphold during the 2019 election campaign?" Mr. Adit responded, "Certainly, as the PKS is an Islamic-based party, it firmly adheres to the Qur'an, Sunnah, Ijtihad Ulama Salafus Sholih, Modern or Contemporary Scholars, and internal Ijtihad. Within the PKS, there is the concept of 'Majelis Syuro,' through which internal Ijtihad is conducted. The Majelis Syuro is where consensus is reached and discussed, especially concerning political strategies and problem-solving. The ultimate Ijtihad within the internal PKS, through the Majelis Syuro itself, will always align with the earlier principles, in accordance with the Qur'an, Sunnah, and the Ijtihad of the scholars." (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

From Mr. Adit's response, it is evident how firmly PKS holds to the principles and Islamic values. To implement the extensive values found in the Qur'an, PKS leverages the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad and the Ijtihad of the scholars. Moreover, to internalize

these values within PKS, a council conducts consultation and deliberation, ensuring the integration of Qur'anic and Sunnah values within the party.

2. Methods, Strategies, and Content Production System of the PKS in the 2019 Election Campaign

To reach various segments of society and garner support for the PKS during the 2019 elections, the party employed several methods, strategies, and content production systems in its campaign.

PKS executed two campaign methods: direct (ground campaigns) and digital campaigns. Mr. Adit referred to these methods as "Ground Campaign" (direct campaigns) and "Air Campaign" (indirect campaigns through digital media).

"PKS broadly employs two campaign methods: ground and air campaigns. Ground campaigns involve physical, on-site campaigning. Conversely, air campaigns utilize technology, such as social media and digital platforms, including television, as we did in the past." (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

During ground campaigns, PKS strictly adhered to all regulations from the Indonesian Election Commission (KPU), from displaying campaign paraphernalia to organizing direct and mass campaigns. PKS aimed to embody peaceful Islamic values during the campaign, minimizing any disorderliness, maintaining public order, cleanliness, preserving public facilities, and avoiding disturbance to others.

"In 2019, our physical campaign involved erecting banners, displaying posters, flags, and streamers. Each political party was given a campaign schedule, and we conducted large-scale campaigns. During these physical campaigns, we upheld our values, minimized any disorderliness, ensured cleanliness, refrained from damaging public facilities, and made every effort not to disturb others, aiming to attract sympathizers from the public. We have always adhered to the rules set by the KPU and remained aligned with KPU regulations." (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

Additionally, PKS attempted a unique, creative, and contemporary approach to its ground campaign, employing a flash mob. This was an effort to engage and captivate the public creatively, aiming to break the outdated stigma associated with Islam and convey

messages of goodwill within the campaign rather than mere entertainment. The inspiration for the flash mob campaign stemmed from various communities expressing their views and support through flash mobs, like the environmental enthusiasts' community campaigning for environmental issues through this medium.

"In 2019, we also garnered sympathy through a creative flash mob campaign, steering clear of campaigns that might incite disorderliness. The flash mob aimed to stay current with the times and change the perception of Islam being antiquated and out-of-touch. We aimed to show that Islam evolves with the times. When flash mobs were trending, we saw it not just as an entertaining campaign but also as a platform, like the environmental enthusiasts expressing their love for the environment through flash mobs. This allowed us to bring forward the values and not merely indulge in amusement. From a principle perspective, this was in line with our principles and did not violate any rules." (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

Furthermore, in producing campaign content for the 2019 elections, PKS followed several stages: deliberation (syuro) to discuss the campaign content, selecting the media platform, whether ground or digital as previously mentioned, followed by the execution stage carried out by the campaign media team.

"We produce campaign content that embodies Islamic values. Initially, there is a 'syuro' or discussion process to decide the technical execution, and from the central policy perspective, the PKS has issued 'do and don't' regulations to ease technicalities. These rules always align with the Islamic values upheld during the campaign. (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

In executing the campaign content, PKS has regulations from its central committee that all members must adhere to. These central regulations are further detailed, adapting to the situation and conditions of the local community. In this case, the Yogyakarta Special Region PKS made adjustments reflecting the local community's situation and conditions.

"In this context, for instance, discussing the DIY Regional PKS, there are regional regulations, but the principle adheres to the central regulations. If the regional regulations conflict with the central ones, there will be a reprimand. At the regional level, they have freedom as long as they don't violate central regulations. For example, in Yogyakarta, with its four districts and municipalities, it's quite technical, and the central rules are

fundamental and general, so they adjust based on culture, demography, and youth in Yogyakarta." (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

Moreover, PKS has specific regulations concerning social media, emphasizing orderly conduct, preventing the spread of hoaxes, and maintaining harmony on social media platforms. These regulations align with the essence and implementation of various laws governing information technology, such as the ITE Law.

"As for the air campaign, we utilized social media and mainstream media like TV and radio. We were aware that the PKS, at the time, didn't have logistics as extensive as other parties. Therefore, we maximized and optimized cheaper yet powerful social media platforms like Instagram and Twitter. Eventually, PKS members were known to be diligent and adept at social media. This again ties back to the regulations where there are rules for members regarding social media, not just during campaigns but also in general, specifying what can and cannot be done, for instance, regarding the prohibition of spreading hoaxes on social media." (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

3. PKS Has a Voluntary Basis in Implementing Public Communication Strategies

The PKS has a solid volunteer base in implementing its public communication strategy. The PKS Public Relations Division forms volunteer communities for anyone in the community who wants to join PKS, whether they are members or sympathizers. These volunteer communities are divided into several sections, including:

a) PKS TV: PKS TV is intended for people who have a passion or desire to learn and play a role in videography for PKS.

b) PKS ART: PKS ART is intended for people who have a passion or desire to learn and play a role in the field of graphic design for PKS.

c) PKS FOTO: PKS FOTO is intended for people who have a passion or desire to learn and play a role in the field of photography for PKS.

d) LITERACY VOLUNTEERS: PKS TV is intended for people who have a passion or desire to learn and play a role in the field of digital literacy for PKS.

e) DIGITAL SCHOOL: PKS TV is intended for people who have a passion or desire to learn and play a role in the digital field, such as managing websites and the like for PKS.

"We have a team to manage social media, public relations has had a special team since 2014, because we saw opportunities that needed to be optimized on social media. So we formed a special campaign team. In Public Relations there is a volunteer system in the community, and it is divided into special communities according to their skills, so if there are people who like graphic design, copywriting, video, social media management, and photography, we group these volunteers based on their respective passions and specializations" (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

4. PKS Brings Four Flagship Programs related to the Protection of Ulama and Community Welfare

The PKS presented four flagship programs during the 2019 elections as its political promises. These promises were based on Human Rights issues, particularly the protection of religious figures, while others were centered around economic and societal welfare issues.

PKS's political promises during the 2019 election campaign included:

a) Protection of Religious Scholars, Figures, and Symbols

b) Tax Exemption for Small-Capacity Motorcycles

c) Lifetime Driver's License (SIM)

d) Tax-Free Monthly Income of Eight Million

"In relation to the campaign promises of 2019 or the issues and ideas we advocated, each had its background. Concerning the protection of religious scholars, it relates to the formation of laws, such as cases of religious blasphemy. PKS acknowledges that religious or ethnic issues are often exploited to create conflict. In this context, the protection of religious scholars, figures, and symbols is not exclusive to Islam but encompasses all religions.

"Regarding 'tax exemption for small-capacity vehicles,' lifetime driver's licenses, and tax-free income, if I am not mistaken, according to the regulations, incomes above five million are taxable. Therefore, the backgrounds of these three initiatives are economic and societal welfare.

"The lifetime driver's license is intriguing. Currently, ID cards are issued for life, whereas the risk of change lies with the ID card, easily altered due to address changes, status updates, or even street name changes. It complicates matters. Regarding the driver's license, it returns to economic factors. Every five years, we incur costs despite passing the driving test once, which should demonstrate competency. Why renew it? What if there are mid-term changes? That can be directly addressed. For instance, if someone violates the law, they'll be penalized by the police, potentially leading to revocation of the license. Such incidents are incidental and not routine. Not everyone does things that lead to license revocation, unlike ID cards, which are more prone to change. So, policy-wise, it seems reversed. For ID cards, the economic factor is not the concern, but the complicated administrative processes. However, for driver's licenses, the focus is on the economic aspect. Therefore, once again, the essence of these three campaign promises is primarily rooted in economic factors. We aim to reduce or eliminate things that burden people economically." (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

In this rather complex and comprehensive response regarding PKS's campaign promises and ideas during the 2019 elections, PKS is particularly attentive to the underlying issue often used as a trigger for division, which is ethnic or religious tensions. PKS strives for regulation ensuring equal standing and respect for all religions. Moreover, PKS sees numerous economic factors influencing societal well-being, backing three of its four main campaign promises. These promises are founded on economic factors, and PKS pledges to alleviate the economic burdens of the people, hoping to bring about overall societal welfare.

5. Islamic Values and Tolerance as Signature Features of the PKS Campaign in the 2019 General Election

Diving into the campaign strategies employed by both legislative candidates and presidential candidates during the 2019 elections, numerous attributes or distinctive characteristics were utilized. Some candidates showcased their Islamic identity through items such as songkok (traditional Muslim headgear for men) and hijab (veil) - particularly for PKS. Concerning these identity attributes, PKS ensured they aligned with Islamic principles and adhered to the state regulations. Within PKS, there were also numerous non-Muslim members or cadres, both men and women. There were no obligations or rules imposed on them to wear songkok or hijab. Instead, PKS adhered to the fundamental Islamic

principle of respecting differences. Similarly, state regulations did not rigidly govern these attributes in the campaign, allowing for the practice of Islamic values to respect diversity and uphold a sense of nationalism.

"As far as I know, there weren't any specific campaign regulations governing attire. The focus was on adhering to religious and state rules. For instance, within PKS, there are non-Muslim members or cadres. Therefore, it's not possible for non-Muslim women to suddenly wear a hijab because there's no rule that dictates it. The rule is to avoid violations and to abide by both religious and state regulations." (Interview, Mr. Adit, November 3, 2023)

B. Discussion

1. The values of the Al-Qur'an, Sunnah and Ulama Ijtihad are the PKS Principles in implementing the 2019 ELECTION

Scholars and communication researchers have explored various communication concepts from an Islamic perspective. Afifi and Suparno (2015) conducted a study on the ethical principles of communication found in the Quran, which is the primary source of Islamic teachings. These ethical principles encompass the sources of communication or communicators (senders), message recipients (receivers), and the messages themselves. In their research findings, the scholars discovered that the values of the Quran, Sunnah, and the scholarly ijtihad (interpretation) became guiding principles for PKS in executing the 2019 General Election (PEMILU 2019). These principles were present at the strategic stage, where PKS referred to it as "syuro" or consultation by the council of consultation to make political decisions, including decisions related to the implementation of the PEMILU 2019 campaign. Moreover, these principles were also applied at the technical level when executing the campaign itself.



Figure 5 Declaration of Presidential Candidate Resulting from the Decision of the PKS Shura Council 2019

During the campaign implementation on the field, PKS adhered to the foundational Islamic principles that align with the study by Afifi and Suparno (2015) on the ethical principles of communication found in the Quran:

a. Honesty

Qaulan Sadidan (speaking truthfully) as mentioned in verses An-Nisa: 9 and Al-Ahzab: 70. This honesty can be observed in how the PKS formulates campaign ideas and materials based on genuine data and societal concerns. Even in media regulations, PKS not only complies with existing regulations stipulated by the law but also maintains rules from the central to regional levels regarding the ethical use of social media for its cadre/members of PKS.

b. Good, Gentle, and Persuasive Speech

Qaulan Ma'rufan (speaking good) in verses An-Nisa: 5, An-Nisa: 8, Al-Baqarah: 235, Al-Baqarah: 263, Al-Ahzab: 32, and Muhammad: 21, Qaulan Maysuran (speaking gently) in Al-Isra: 28, and Qaulan Balighan (speaking persuasively) in An-Nisa: 63, serve as principles for PKS in selecting campaign methods. PKS attempted to identify positive trends in 2019, during the prevalent trend of "flash mobs." This trend was also being used by environmental activists to campaign on environmental issues. Inspired by this flash mob trend, PKS employed this method for its political campaign to convey ideas and campaign promises. PKS perceives that political campaigns are not solely about entertainment or revelry; instead, they view them as platforms for political parties to educate the public. PKS considers the flash mob method as a form

of direct political campaigning that brings essential, trendy, non-disruptive, environmentally friendly values, and is also public-friendly.



Figure 6 Flashmob PKS 2019

2. Methods, Strategies and Content Production Systems for the PKS in the 2019 ELECTION Campaign

Various campaign methods carried out by the PKS during the 2019 General Election aligned with the principles of conducting campaigns as per Regulation Number 23 of 2018 by the General Election Commission (KPU). These principles encompass honesty, transparency, and a dialogic approach. Broadly, PKS employed two campaign methods: direct campaigns and digital campaigns. These approaches were in accordance with Regulation Number 23 of 2018 regarding political campaign methods, including:

a. Limited meetings involving specific groups with restricted invitations, such as meetings with citizens, specific groups, or dialogues with the community.

b. Face-to-face meetings

PKS implemented face-to-face meeting methods in various ways, ranging from flash mob and direct visit to the community, to providing free health check-ups, as described in interviews and researcher findings.



Figure 7 Street and Open Space Flash Mob PKS 2019

c. Socializing Election Campaign Material to the Public

PKS conducted socialization related to campaign materials and PKS's ideas directly to the public and through online platforms.

d. Installation of campaign materials in public places

PKS installed various campaign materials like billboards, banners, flags, etc., at strategic locations while adhering to KPU regulations to ensure orderly placement that does not damage public facilities or the environment.

e. Utilization of social media platforms

PKS extensively utilized online social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. PKS emphasized that its members were active on social media, employing community-based volunteer strategies for content production. Volunteers

engaged in graphic design, photography, videography, copywriting, and social media management, each with well-structured leadership and professional training.

f. Advertisements through print, electronic, and online media

PKS carried out a ground campaign by printing brochures, sample ballot papers, and merchandise to introduce legislative candidates and the party to the public. Additionally, PKS conducted campaigns through electronic media, such as TV advertisements and radio broadcasts.

g. Public Meetings

PKS organized various public events, including mass gatherings like large-scale preaching (tabligh akbar) and grand campaigns involving speeches and political education for the community, which were conducted extensively in several major cities, including Yogyakarta.



Figure 8 Logistic Preparation Campaign Truck for PKS Grand Campaign DIY 2019

3. PKS Has a Voluntary Basis for Implementing Public Communication Strategies and Political Marketing Management 5.0

In the context of the fourth function, namely communication technician, PKS provides technical communication services in the form of PKS campaign volunteer communities tailored to the interests and capabilities of the volunteers, including:

a) PKS TV: PKS TV is intended for individuals passionate about or interested in learning about and performing roles in videography for PKS.

b) PKS ART: PKS ART is intended for individuals passionate about or interested in learning about and performing roles in graphic design for PKS.

c) PKS FOTO: PKS FOTO is intended for individuals passionate about or interested in learning about and performing roles in photography for PKS.

d) LITERACY VOLUNTEERS: LITERACY VOLUNTEERS is intended for individuals passionate about or interested in learning about and performing roles in digital literacy for PKS.

e) DIGITAL SCHOOL: DIGITAL SCHOOL is intended for individuals passionate about or interested in learning about and performing roles in digital fields such as website management and similar tasks for PKS.



Figure 9 Consolidation of PKS Public Relations and Digital Volunteers throughout the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY)

As with the communication elements, the key components in political communication are the source (communicator), message, media channel, receiver, and effect. In the context of political communication processes, these five elements are interrelated. Each element influences the success or achievement of the goals of a political communication activity. If any of these elements fail to function effectively, it is almost certain that the goals of a political communication activity will not be achieved satisfactorily. In the practice of political communication strategy, the message delivery process is typically carried out by political elites to the public in a reciprocal manner to elicit the desired response, such as through democratic decision-making processes, transparency, and accountability.

However, volunteers now play a crucial role in political communication strategies. Groups of individuals who volunteer their efforts often coordinate centralized activities to disseminate knowledge to various stakeholders, ultimately garnering support in future elections. Typically, as elections draw nearer, volunteer-led campaigns become more prevalent. These campaigns extend beyond direct activities; volunteers also utilize social media and the internet to disseminate their activities and messages to persuade the public to support their favored candidates (Lees-Marshment & Pettitt, 2014). PKS is one of the parties that employed this volunteer-based political



Figure 10 Training on Writing E-Books for Literacy Volunteers (RELI) of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY)

communication strategy in the 2019 general elections. Volunteers are organized into interest-based communities according to their interests and skills, ranging from photography and videography to copywriting.

PKS volunteers utilized organizational communication, mass communication, and social media in their political communication strategy to make PKS victorious in the 2019 general elections. While organizational communication was employed for internal communication among volunteers, mass communication served as a channel to disseminate information about the PKS to the wider public, focusing specifically on the party's legislative and presidential candidates. Social media was leveraged to communicate with potential voters and the general public. This approach aligns with the political marketing management theory encompassing the 4Ps—Product, Promotion, Price, and Place—along with segmentation and positioning, as described by Noor (2023). Penerapan political marketing management oleh PKS antara lain:

1. Product: PKS's products consist of its flagship programs outlined in the 2019 political promises, developed based on field surveys and discussed within PKS's "Majelis Syuro" (Consultative Council). These promises include the Protection of Ulama (religious scholars), Figures, and Religious Symbols; Small-engine Motorcycles Tax Exemption; Lifetime Driving License; and an Eight Million Rupiah Monthly Tax-Free Income.
2. Promotion: PKS promotes its agenda through two primary channels widely used by the public: direct campaigning and leveraging social media.
3. Price: PKS employs a unique approach to minimize campaign costs while maximizing effectiveness. This is achieved by building a grassroots base through digital volunteer programs. PKS trains volunteers who then actively campaign according to their individual passions.
4. Place: PKS engages with the community by addressing basic needs, particularly in healthcare. The party organizes free health check-ups and positions itself as a servant of the people.
5. Segmentation and Positioning: PKS positions itself as a party dedicated to serving the community. This is evident in their health initiatives, such as free health screenings, and in their efforts to educate the public on information technology developments. Through these educational efforts, PKS has been

able to form digital volunteer bases tailored to various interests, such as photography, videography, and copywriting.

Furthermore, other findings revealed the significance of meetings and training sessions to build bonding among volunteers and enhance their capacities and skills. This ensured that the performance delivered was maximized, proving to be a crucial factor in PKS's victory. These findings underscore the vital role played by volunteers in PKS's political communication strategy, leading to success in the 2019 general elections.

4. PKS Introduces Four Flagship Programs Emphasizing Islamic Values Concerning the Protection of Religious Scholars and the Welfare of Society in the 2019 Election Campaign

In the 2019 General Election, the PKS presented approximately four flagship programs as part of their campaign promises to declare PKS's commitment to the people and as a form of political communication. These four campaign promises were:

a. Protection of Ulama (religious scholars), Figures, and Religious Symbols

b. Small-engine Motorcycles Tax Exemption

c. Lifetime Driving License (SIM Seumur Hidup)

d. Eight Million Monthly Tax-Free Income



Figure 11 PKS's Political Promises in the 2019 Election Campaign

As seen in Figure 9, the PKS campaign promises are prominently displayed, complete with a brief rationale. This aligns with one of the Islamic communication principles. According to Firdaus Muhammad (2012), the development of Islamic political communication has been recognized as a valuable aspect of communication science. Effective communication skills are crucial for politicians to influence their constituents. The campaign promises made by PKS align with two points of the concept of Islamic political communication, including:

a. Message based on Islamic values

In the four campaign promises made by PKS in the 2019 General Election, two fundamental aspects are central to their message delivery. Firstly, concerning the promise that if PKS were to win, they would create and enact laws related to the Protection of Ulama, Figures, and Religious Symbols. In this case, PKS aims to convey a message and commitment to defending the rights of religious scholars and the rights of all believers to ensure the safety of their figures and symbols guaranteed by the state. The message in this campaign is heavily based on Islamic values, particularly justice (Al-An'am: 115 and 152) for all religious communities.

Secondly, related to the political promises of Tax Exemption for Small-engine Motorcycles, Lifetime Driving License, and Eight Million Monthly Tax-Free Income, these promises are based on the economic issues faced by the people. PKS aims to convey a message and show support for the ordinary people by seeking regulatory changes concerning motorcycle taxes, income, and lifetime driving licenses to alleviate the economic burden on the populace. PKS believes that the extension of driver's licenses, tax exemptions for small-engine motorcycles, and tax exemptions for incomes below eight million are regulations that are no longer relevant to the current socio-economic conditions. This aligns with the message based on Islamic values, specifically open-mindedness (An-Nur: 12) and economic justice (Al-An'am: 115 and 152).

b. Involvement of Religious Figures

Closely related to PKS's campaign promises in the 2019 General Election, in formulating these flagship issues or ideas, PKS involved experts in their respective fields to ensure the fundamental basis of these ideas. The four campaign promises of PKS were formulated through "syuro" or consultation within the PKS Syuro Council, which consists of party leaders with extensive expertise, including religious figures such as Habib Salim Assegaf, who actively participated in formulating various programs and flagship ideas that PKS brought to the 2019 General Election.

5. The Universality of Islam and Inclusivity in the Visual Representation and Campaign Strategy of PKS during the 2019 Election

Islam, as a comprehensive way of life, encompasses all aspects of human existence and provides guidance in various spheres of life (Bhat, 2014). It offers principles and methods for interpersonal communication, interactions between individuals, and relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims, with the ultimate goal of achieving peace, equality, brotherhood, worldly prosperity, and Allah's contentment in the afterlife. The field of communication has seen rapid advancements in knowledge, including political communication (Firdaus Muhammad, 2012). The development of Islamic political communication has received attention as a valuable aspect of communication science, highlighting the significance of communication in human life, particularly for political leaders within the Islamic context.

PKS, as the second-largest Islamic political party in Indonesia based on the 2019 election results (Farisa, 2022), exhibits distinctive characteristics in conducting its political campaigns, which also represent a form of Islamic political communication practiced by PKS. Some aspects practiced by PKS in conducting Islamic political communication during the 2019 General Election include:

a. Use of Religious Symbols

Islamic political communication often utilizes religious symbols to identify itself and build credibility. In this regard, it was observed during the 2019 General Election that many legislative candidates from PKS prominently wore religious symbols such as the kufi (skullcap) for men and hijab for women. In an interview with the PKS DIY Public Relations representative, Mr. Adit stated that the use of kufi and hijab was fundamentally the right of each candidate to freely express themselves while adhering to religious commands to cover the aura with the hijab for female legislative candidates. Additionally, this was not regulated in the provisions of the 2019 General Election, meaning no rules were violated. Moreover, PKS aims to adhere to religious rules mandating the use of hijab as a form of covering. Nonetheless, Mr. Adit emphasized that PKS is an open party for anyone, even non-Muslims, thus ensuring fairness by granting rights to its members and not demanding non-Muslim female members to wear the hijab.

One interesting news finding from the 2019 elections was the viral social media sensation surrounding one of PKS's candidates from Electoral District 5, Gamping-Mlati, Sleman, DIY, named Fransisca Santa Clause. According to an interview conducted by Detik, Fransisca responded with, "Just smile, whatever the name is, what matters is faith," during a conversation at the Grand Pacific Hall Sleman amidst Prabowo Subianto's campaign on Wednesday (27/2/2018). She also admitted to feeling down when registering as a PKS candidate. "I felt down at first, but now, God willing, I am determined. My family and the party support me," Fransisca said.

Observing this news, it is evident that the PKS allows its candidates to express themselves while adhering to Islamic values and promoting tolerance in societal interactions.



Figure 12 Photo of Fransisca Santa Clause's Campaign Props as a PKS Candidate in the DIY Region for the 2019 Election

b. Ethics and Respect in Communication

The concept of Islamic political communication emphasizes the importance of ethics and respect in political communication. This includes honesty, avoiding slander, respecting differences of opinion, and prioritizing goodwill in conveying political messages. Islamic political communication endeavors to create a more polite, ethical, and religiously grounded political environment. In this context, PKS genuinely adheres to existing regulations within the country, both in campaigning and on social media. Furthermore, PKS has specific regulations concerning the use of social media for all its members/cadres, serving as a testament to the party's firmness and the commitment of its members to use social media appropriately, provide accurate information, and refrain from dividing society by spreading hoaxes and slander.

c. Klasifikasi PKS telah cukup memenuhi ciri-ciri partai politik islam sama dengan ciri-ciri terintegrasinya agama dengan kekuasaan negara.

Melalui temuan dari Interview yang dilakukan oleh peneliti, PKS memenuhi klasifikasi partai politik islam sama dengan ciri-ciri terintegrasinya agama dengan kekuasaan negara seperti yang disebutkan oleh Fahmi Huwaydi (1996), antara lain:

1. Power is held entirely by the "ummah" (community of believers)

   PKS participates in elections constitutionally to gain governmental power, being directly elected by the people, reflecting the highest sovereignty of the

populace. PKS refrains from any attempts at subversion or coup and avoids unconstitutional means to seize power.

2. Society participates in enjoining good and bears responsibility

From the outset of the campaign, PKS has facilitated public engagement by offering training programs based on information technology. This initiative not only benefits PKS by recruiting volunteers but also equips the community with knowledge and skills in information technology through PKS's digital volunteer programs.

3. Truth is a right for everyone

PKS does not engage in black campaigning or manipulate public opinion. Despite the polarized nature of the 2019 election, PKS focuses on promoting its flagship programs rather than exaggerating the merits of the party or its candidates, ensuring that all individuals receive accurate information.

4. Equality among all people is upheld.

According to Pak Adit, PKS is open to everyone regardless of ethnicity or religion. A concrete example is the inclusion of non-Muslim members in Papua, who are not required to wear the hijab, while Muslim members are ensured the right to observe modest dress during the campaign.

5. Different groups are granted legal recognition

PKS acknowledges and welcomes anyone who wishes to join the party, regardless of ethnicity, race, or religion, granting recognition even if their beliefs differ from those of the majority.

6. Absolute injustice is forbidden, and correcting it is mandatory

PKS adheres to all regulations for the 2019 election campaign and upholds the principle of conducting environmentally friendly and publicly acceptable campaigns.

7. The rule of law is paramount

PKS's vision is clearly aligned with the goal of becoming a leading party in realizing the national aspirations of the Indonesian people, as outlined in the

Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. A simple example is compliance with the applicable campaign regulations, which PKS strictly follows.

BAB IV
CONCLUSION

A. Summary

Based on the findings and discussions in this research, it has been found that the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) implemented Islamic communication principles in their campaign strategy during the 2019 elections. These principles are reflected in the values of the Qur'an, Sunnah, and the Ijtihad of scholars, which serve as the foundation for PKS's policies and actions. In conducting their campaign, PKS employs various methods and strategies, including both direct and digital campaigns, and has a solid volunteer base to support their public communication. Additionally, PKS emphasizes four flagship programs that emphasize the protection of religious scholars and the welfare of society while highlighting Islamic values and tolerance as their campaign's hallmark.

This research has uncovered several significant findings regarding the implementation of Islamic communication principles in the campaign strategy of the PKS during the 2019 elections. These findings include:

a) Implementation of Islamic Values: PKS consistently applies Islamic values as the primary principle in conducting election campaigns. These values are primarily derived from the Qur'an, Sunnah, and the Ijtihad of righteous scholars, guided by the interpretations of contemporary scholars and the Consultative Council of PKS. This reflects PKS's commitment to maintaining the identity and principles of Islam in every aspect of its political activities.
b) Campaign Methods and Strategies: PKS employs an integrated approach between direct (ground) and digital (air) campaigns to reach various layers of society. This strategy reflects PKS's efforts to leverage modern technology while maintaining direct interaction with voters.
c) Solid Volunteer Base: PKS has strong support from a volunteer base in carrying out its public communication strategy. Through the formation of volunteer communities, PKS can actively engage the public in campaigns and other party activities.
d) Flagship Programs and Commitment to Welfare: PKS carried four flagship programs in the 2019 elections that emphasize the protection of religious scholars, human

rights, and community welfare. This reflects PKS's commitment to advocating for issues relevant to the needs and interests of the wider community.

e) Islamic Values and Tolerance: In conducting their campaign, PKS maintains a firm adherence to Islamic values while also demonstrating tolerance toward differences. Although PKS emphasizes its Islamic identity in the campaign, they also respect diversity within the party and society.

The campaign strategy of PKS in the 2019 elections reflects an effort to integrate Islamic values with the modern political context of Indonesia. PKS not only focuses on winning votes but also on shaping an image consistent with Islamic values and the spirit of nationalism that values diversity. However, PKS also acknowledges and appreciates diversity within the party, including non-Islamic members or cadres who are not forced to adhere to Islamic identity in the campaign.

Overall, this research indicates that PKS has a cohesive and integrated approach to implementing Islamic communication principles in the modern political context. However, there are several limitations that need to be considered in this research.

B. Research Limitations

Despite its strengths, the PKS campaign also faces several challenges and limitations. One such challenge is the need to balance its Islamic identity with the diverse socio-political landscape in Indonesia. While PKS emphasizes its Islamic values, it must also navigate the complexities of a pluralistic society and appeal to a broad spectrum of voters. Additionally, the reliance on volunteer-driven campaigns poses logistical and organizational challenges, requiring effective coordination and management to ensure consistency and coherence in messaging and activities.

C. Recommendations

There are several areas for future research and development within the context of PKS's campaign strategy. Firstly, a longitudinal study could track the evolution of PKS's campaign approach over multiple election cycles, providing insights into the party's adaptive capacity and responsiveness to changing political dynamics. Secondly,

a comparative analysis could examine the effectiveness of PKS's campaign strategy relative to other political parties, shedding light on the factors contributing to electoral success or failure. Lastly, qualitative research methods such as focus groups or participant observation could offer a deeper understanding of voter perceptions and attitudes toward PKS and its campaign messaging.

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