



## **Political Da'wah Strategy of Islamic Parties in Indonesia**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*This study aims to map the problems and da'wah efforts in political fields that need to be done in Indonesia. The study uses qualitative analytical method. The data sources in this study come from books, research results, documents of political da'wah activities, and other literary sources gained from literary method and review. The data analysis is done using da'wah theory. The results of this study describe that Islamic da'wah in Indonesia faces some challenges, which are, firstly, facing the decline of society's trusts towards political institutions. Consequently, the state leadership's legitimacy decreases. Secondly, Indonesia is facing demographic bonus. Thirdly, in global context, there are threats of energy and food crisis, global warming, and others. Meanwhile, the political reality found in this study shows that various political approaches from each existing Islamic parties created obstacles in uniting steps and synergy in da'wah. Therefore, Islamic da'wah in political fields needs to be done by Islamic parties by doing various strategic political agendas. Firstly, it could be done by presenting strong legitimate leadership from society. Secondly, the strategy is by mapping the potential and problems as well as sharing roles and tasks among the existing state elements. Thirdly, it is by building a system that can unite the steps comprehensively in managing the state life. This da'wah needs to be done so that the state and nation life management runs systematically that could realize righteous and prosperous society's life.*

*Keywords: Da'wah; politics; leadership; righteous; prosperous.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Da'wah is an act of delivering Islamic teachings (values, norms, laws) to da'wah objects (individual, group, society) so they receive and practice the Islamic teachings, so that it creates a harmonious, peaceful, and prosperous life (Aziz, 2004; Rustandi, 2022). In a broader definition, da'wah is creating a condition and social order based on Islamic values. Through the order, it enables the society within to act according to the laws and religious

teachings. Therefore, the society can achieve happiness and prosperous life in the world and hereafter (Ishaq, 2016: 11).

Meanwhile, there are many problems that generally rise in the middle of a society. The problems rise in various aspects of life so it is quite difficult to be analyzed as it is such a vicious circle. In the context of da'wah material, many da'wah messages deliver supernatural things to explore the miracle of Al-Quran and the hujjah of Islam. Meanwhile, the da'wah exemplified by the Prophet and the companions related to the way of preparing and planning of Islam expansion is not, at least not yet, optimally done by the current da'i (Shihab, 2013: 59-61). In the social context, problems rise in terms of social disharmony, poverty, moral decadency, low education, environmental problems, natural resources, etc.

In political context, many new political parties are established. Some of the political parties are 'buried' in changes. Political party rivalries are like the rivalries of daily needs' companies. All the existing parties, seen from the vision and mission, aim to build the state and nation so it creates a righteous state and nation order as written in the Constitution of 1945. Political parties become state's elements to prepare the state's cadres that could build communication and manage the political state's concerns well (Pasaribu, 2017: 51-59).

The task is clearly not easy. The competition among political parties in the fields sometimes raises friction between political figures, particularly in gaining supports and sympathy from the society. This competition potentially leads to intolerance (Shaira, Nurida, Hidayat, 2021: 43-51). Meanwhile, various social problems rise among the society and they deserve attention such as the practice of human trafficking (Sulaksono, 2016: 111-140), conflicts between society, government, and private businesses (Irwandi, 2017: 24-41), as well as other conflicts related to religious problems (Fauzi, 2017: 126-134).

Da'wah that aims to build ideal social order, surely is inseparable from the social reality. Da'wah is demanded to touch the existing political problems. Then, the question is how da'wah should be done. Normatively, da'wah should be done wisely (hikmah), well-taught (mau'idhah hasanah), and well-discussed (mujadalah bi allatyi hiya ahsan). Those three are the basic methods. I frequently mention it as the grand method of da'wah because from those three could be developed into more specific and various methods (Ishaq, 2016: 111).

The three methods can be developed in various fields, such as

economics into sharia economics development and education can be developed into Islam education. In terms of culture, it can be developed into Islamic culture. While in politics, it can be formulated as Islamic politics.

Must all of those da'wah fields be done? Definitely. This is because one da'wah and another are related and mutually strengthen each other, as well as in politics. At the moment, da'wah only focuses on the social, economics, and culture. Da'wah in terms of politics tends to be neglected.

Knowing that the area of da'wah is wide and complex, da'wah cannot be merely defined as a compulsory for certain parties. Da'wah becomes a compulsory for all muslims, surely based on their capacities. The da'wah that is compulsory for muslims is the obligation to praying, paying zakat, doing the right things, and being honest (Azis, 2004:43). In reality, da'wah is done merely by certain groups that have the awareness to deliver the Islamic values and teachings to general people. Consequently, da'wah is not yet done massively and comprehensively from various sides and parties. This includes in politics, showing that the awareness of politics as da'wah means is not yet done, so politics does not become a means for Islamic da'wah.

This study aims to map the parties' political efforts in Indonesia in order to realize a righteous and prosperous society. Da'wah is not merely delivering the Islamic teachings, but how to implement them. This needs political strengths, as in arranging the social regulation, economic, education, culture, and others through political ways. Then, how to create laws that are in line with the principals and Islamic teachings among the society with the agreed political system is by a unique representative (Syahrin & Safitri, 2020: 146-165). Therefore, how should political da'wah by the parties as a part and effort in realizing righteous and prosperous society become important to analyze and study further?

This study employs qualitative analytical method. The sources of the data are taken from books, research studies, documents of da'wah activities, and other literary sources gained from documentation method and literature review. Data was analyzed using da'wah theory and da'wah methods to understand the scheme, argumentation, and concept of da'wah in politics.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Problems of Political Da'wah in Indonesia

There are some problems identified that are related to da'wah politics. Firstly, the low public trust to political parties. Based on the data launched by Indikator survey institution, the survey results gained on 11-21 February 2022 show that political parties are the state institutions that have the lowest trust compared to others (Indikator.co.id, 2022).



Source: (Indikator.co.id, 2022).

Picture 1 The Survey Results of the Trust to State Institutions

In Indonesia, the role of political parties is very big, particularly on the leadership election both on the regional (regency/city), provincial, or national (presidential) level. Ideally, political parties become the institution that achieve the highest public trust. This is because the political parties are the institutions that are doing the socialization and political education to general people. Besides, political parties are the institutions that decide strategic decisions of state and nations' importance, starting from the decision of legislative candidates, regional head candidates, presidential candidates, and even executive supervision is in the hand of political parties through their representatives in The House of Representatives. The political parties should become the examples for other institutions. The low public trust towards political parties as the official political institutions that have enormous authority in this country surely becomes serious problems

in social dynamics and politics.

Secondly, the political decision is the strategic key of problem solving, change, and improvement of state condition. Social, economic, cultural, and educational problems that existed could be solved by political decisions. For example, the efforts to implement sharia banking as a way to minimize riba practice could be implemented because of political decision, that is because of sharia banking laws. The efforts to strengthen the education could run because of educational laws. The efforts to prevent illegal fee practices in various public affairs, in which in religion was believed as a riba practice, could run effectively because of the laws of corruption crime and so on.

Thirdly is the leadership quality. The birth of various laws that could be used as the stepping stone to improve public condition could not be separated from the leadership aspect. The good and bad sides of the law produced by the public through the government could not be separated from the leadership quality. The more quality a leadership of a nation has, the better the laws and social systems implemented. Furthermore, if the leadership system and laws are good, it gives positive influences to the quality of public life. Leadership becomes one of the key factors in creating public life.

Based on the data released by Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) from 2004 to 03 January 2022, as many as 22 governors and 148 regents/city mayors have been punished by the Corruption Eradication Commission (Nagara, et al., 2020: 65-74). The data stresses that the leadership in this country has problems.

However, this leadership factor does not stand alone. Leadership is closely related to some factors. Firstly, it is related to the understanding of religious values and religious spirit. Religious understanding of the public is actualized in the leadership system. Therefore, the pattern of muslims' thinking in a country is mirrored by the leadership system that they implement.

Secondly, it is related to the social and cultural system adopted by the public. This socio-cultural system intertwiningly influences the way the public think, including the religious thinking. This could be proved by the Islamic pattern and the public way of thinking. For example, the thinking and socio-cultural pattern of people in the northern coast of Java is different from the hinterland (southern). The socio cultural and way of thinking of the coastal community are more rational than those of the

hinterland. This is caused by the position of northern coast that is in the world trade route and it enables the community to understand the dialects faster with traders from around the world coming from different cultural backgrounds. Meanwhile, hinterland communities or those living in the southern of Java that are not of the trading part do not experience the thinking and culture as of experienced by the community in the northern coasts (Damayanti, 2020).

In social context, leadership becomes the strategical key in forming the people's dynamic. According to Imam Mawardi, to create the prosperity among people, nation is needed. Therefore, muslims are asked and ordered to build a nation to organize human's life based on religious values (Islam). To do that, the nation must be supported by some factors, namely the values and teachings of religion as guidance, leaders that are wise and authoritative, justice, security, and resources (Mastori, 2019: 154-186).

### **The Dynamics of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia.**

To understand the political efforts in Indonesia that aim to realize a righteous and prosperous society through politics, an analysis towards the history of Islamic political parties becomes one of the answers. The political parties that officially accommodate the aspiration and society's political votes become the indicator of how the political struggles have been acted out.

It could be highlighted the red thread of the Islamic political journey in Indonesia in the first general election in 1955 to 2019. Following are the data resulted from the whole votes of the political parties, either from the Islamic-based party that legally or factually makes Islam as the principal values of the parties, or from the non-Islamic-based political parties. The data were analyzed from the report of Statistic Center Institution about the poll votes on the general election from 1955 to 2019 (BPS, 2020).

Table 1. The Percentage of General Election

No	Year of General Election		% Party
1	1955	43,29	56,71
2	1971	27,1189674	72,88103262
3	1977	27,5	72,5
4	1982	25,8241758	74,17582418
5	1987	15,25	84,75

6	1992	15,6565657	84,34343434
7	1997	20,9411765	79,05882353
8	1999	36,2624049	63,73759508
9	2004	38,3359355	61,66406447
10	2009	27,5911036	72,40889643
11	2014	31,3751161	68,62488388
12	2019	30,0483667	69,95163327

Source: BPS data, 2022

The declining trend of Islamic political parties' vote at the moment surely correlated with the political direction. Even though the Islamic formalism in political parties is not always in line with the political parties' policy, the legality of Islamic formalism, at least, could be used as the base to formulate political parties' policy. At least, the formal legality could be used as the 'alarm' to establish a policy that is in line with the spirit and values of Islamic da'wah.

كُنْتُمْ خَيْرَ أُمَّةٍ أُخْرِجَتْ لِلنَّاسِ تَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَتَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَتُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ ۗ وَلَوْ آمَنَ أَهْلُ الْكِتَابِ لَكَانَ خَيْرًا لَّهُمْ ۚ مِنْهُمْ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَأَكْثَرُهُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ

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 (3); 110)

The question is why the current muslims do not have significant strength in national and global politics. It is no more than because of the stagnation of muslims' thought in various fields. Because of that, according to [Ali Muhammad Ash-Shalabi \(2006: 581\)](#) efforts are needed to establish Islamic government that is based on the Islamic teaching sources, pious leaders, good society (obedient, defending, giving advice, doing evaluation), and Islamic governmental system (discussing, fair, equal, and giving freedom).

In this context, when the muslims are ignorant with the politics, the people's problems cannot be solved. Islamic da'wah is just a rhetoric on the lectern. Meanwhile, social, political, economic, law, and environmental development in the modern community need da'wah touching, particularly in politics aso that the problems would slowly well-decomposed ([Ash-Shalabi, 2017: 602](#)). This also makes the function of a religion could be felt by its followers and the humankind in general. Therefore, political da'wah that could touch various people's problems is a must in the current modern era.

Referring to da'wah history of The Prophet Muhammad pbuh, many lessons are learned. Firstly, The Prophet's da'wah in Mecca focused on how to establish the conception of people's trust. Meccan verses give information and instill values of aqidah (tauhid/creed). This is the basic of people's religious attitudes. To build a community, concept and trust are the ultimate factors. At this phase, The Prophet faced extraordinary challenges because the Prophet brings new religious concept that is different from many of Arabs believe. On the other hand, The Prophet had not yet owned political strength that could be used as a weapon or hujjah to recruit the followers and suppress the opponents (Arnold, 1977: 17).

Secondly, The Prophet's da'wah in Medina. The moment The Prophet Muhammad pbuh came to Medina, the first thing he did was building a masjid as the center of da'wah. Then, The Prophet pbuh built a social system. He arranged the social structure. He united Ansar and Muhajirun. The Prophet Muhammad also united muslims with jews, christian, and magi within the city (Haekal, 1992: 208). Through 'Medina Certificate' The Prophet Muhammad built leadership in Medina, security system, defense, and Islamic da'wah development. With his leadership and political authority that he owned, The Prophet Muhammad pbuh placed the basics of politics, economics, and social. The Prophet also built social system among religious followers based on the values of humanity, help, respect, and regard among the religious followers (Syalabi, 1990:118-119). In the defense context, The Prophet Muhammad and companions did various wars to maintain Islamic teachings and oppressions of Quraish infidels (Syalabi, 1990: 151).

Studying the da'wah process done by the Prophet with companions, either when they were in Mecca or Medina, there is one important point in Islamic da'wah, which is how to unite strength. With that strength, Islamic da'wah can do its primary function that is amar maruf and nahiy munkar (Hasjmy, 1974: 294).

Allah swt. in Surah At-Tawbah verse 71 mentions:

وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ يَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَيُطِيعُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ أُولَئِكَ سَيَرْحَمُهُمُ اللَّهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ

The believers, both men and women, are guardians of one another. They encourage good and forbid evil, establish prayer and pay alms-tax, and obey Allah and His Messenger. It is they who will be shown Allah's mercy. Surely Allah is Almighty, All-Wise.



Sayyid Qutub, as quoted by [A. Ilyas Ismail \(2008: 147\)](#) states that Islamic da'wah in its principle is to build Islamic system, community, and government to enforce Islamic sharia. This is because Islam is not a religion that only teaches rites, but it is to manage the human being's life in various aspects of life.

Therefore, to build a political strength into an inevitability in Islamic da'wah, political strength is needed to effectuate *amr maruf and nahiy munkar* that is related to various community's problems. How could building this strength be done?

Da'wah development in Indonesia cannot be separated from the long history of independence' struggles. Indonesian muslims, since the era of Netherland colonialism have done various political efforts to gain independence. The establishment of religious-social organization such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Persatuan Islam (Islamic Association), Syarikat Islam (Islamic Company), and Islamic parties is the embodiment of political da'wah pioneered by the religious figures in the past ([Noer, 1979: 104-105](#)).

What is done by the independence warriors, such as the members of Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence (BPUPKI) and The Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) is a political effort to create a better society. It must be recognized that those efforts are part of Islamic da'wah in politics. Further, the debate between the politicians in the parliamentary, either after independence or the old order, new order, until reformation era, is none other than a political da'wah's effort aiming to create a better organization of nation and state's life based on religious values.

To realize all of these, it depends on the commitment of the muslims, da'i, and the politicians to build a social system that could encourage and manage the society to receive, understand, internalize, believe, and follow the Islamic teachings and values in daily life. According to [Toto Tasmara \(2010: 215\)](#), Islamic da'wah must be able to build a community's characters that include creed, commitment, confidence, courage, curiosity, creativity, spirit of change, communication skill, challenge, competitiveness, community, consistency and continuity, as well as culture.

According to Saifudin Zuhri, as quoted by Awaludin Pimay, politics has positive goals, that is, firstly, arrange the society with the base of *ahklak karimah* (good attitude); secondly, influence the people; thirdly, unify the people with brotherhood bond; fourthly, practice the justice, prosperity,

and help; fifthly, establish a leadership that is dedicative to the importance of muslims, as well as loving and be loved by the people; sixthly, organize a lawful and fair society; seventhly, uphold a human dignity to create peace and progress (Khaeriyah, 2018: 31-61).

### **The Goal of Righteous and Prosperous Indonesian Society**

One of the Islamic da'wah goals is the establishment of peaceful, safe, and serene world or what is frequently called by *baldatun thayyibatun wa rabbun ghafur*. In the Quran Surah al-Anbya it is mentioned:

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ

We have sent you 'O Prophet' only as a mercy for the whole world (Al-Anbya (21); 107).

The concept of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* is pictured by Allah swt in the Quran surah Saba verse 15 as follows:

لَقَدْ كَانَ لِسَبَإٍ فِي مَسْكَنِهِمْ آيَةٌ جَنَّتَيْنِ عَن يَمِينٍ وَشِمَالٍ ؕ كُلُّوَا مِنْ رَّزْقِ رَبِّكُمْ وَاشْكُرُوا لَهُ بَلْدَةٌ طَيِّبَةٌ وَرَبُّ غَفُورٌ

Indeed, there was a sign for 'the tribe of' Sheba in their homeland: two orchards—one to the right and the other to the left. 'They were told: "Eat from the provision of your Lord, and be grateful to Him. 'Yours is' a good land and a forgiving Lord.'" (Saba (34); 15).

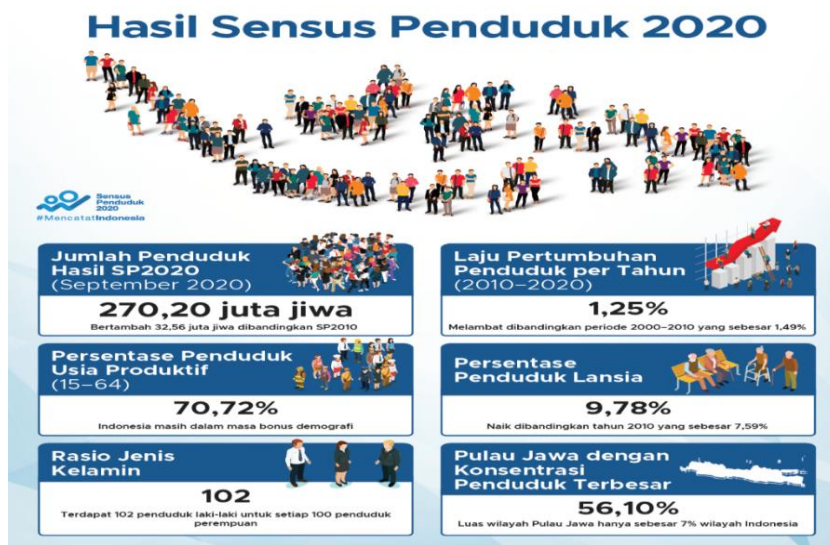
The tribe of Sheba pictured in the Quran has two gardens on the left and right side of the river and they become the sources of life for the people. They do not feel deficiency because of their fertile soil. A picture of an ideal and prosperous life and community is aspired by everyone, including what is aspired and asked by the Prophet Ibrahim As. to Allah Swt to make the country (Mecca) a safe and sound country, has enough even overflowed sustenance, and make the people believe in Allah (Al-Baqarah (2); 126).

To gain the ideal arasy needs an ideal leadership system. This is where the urgency of da'wah politics lies. An ideal community order needs political strength, either from individual or the implemented leadership system. Conceptually, there is no final decision of the leadership form and system and there is even no rule that it must be direct nor representative. Leadership can be implemented in the form of individual or collective leadership. The most important thing is that the politics is implemented by following the principle of discussion, democracy, avoiding ashabiyah attitudes, orienting to the order of people by implementing Islamic values and teachings. That governmental system is exemplified by the Prophet's

companions, that are Abu Bakr, Umar ibn Al-Khattab, Uthman ibn Affan, as well as Ali ibn Abu Talib. The governmental system of those caliphates is called as the term Khulafa ar-Rasyidin (Al-Maududi, 1990: 135-136; Ar-Rasyid, 2005).

In Indonesian context, the goal of righteous and prosperous society becomes the basic of independence's struggles. The Preamble of the 1945 Constitution mentions "realizing a social justice for all Indonesian society". The efforts are gained by establishing "The State of the Republic of Indonesia, with people's sovereignty based on the belief in One and Only God, just and civilized Humanity, the Unity of Indonesia and a Democratic Life guided by wisdom in Deliberation/Representation, and by realizing social Justice for all the people of Indonesia".

At the moment, Indonesia is facing a big problem, that is called as demographic bonus. The total population based on the census in 2020 reaches 270.20 million people with 70.72% population are between the productive age (AB, 2021). Many factors are related to the population growth, starting from the education, public facilities, jobs, social securities, to social system. All of those problems do not stand alone, but related and influenced each other; it could not be separated between one problem with another.



Source: <https://www.beritasatu.com/>, 2022

Picture 2. The Total of Indonesian Population

The census data results show that the big population of Indonesia is facing various problems. The high percentage of productive age population (70.72%) influences job availability. On the other hand, the problem faced by Indonesia and all people of the world is, firstly, energy crisis threat (Khadafi, 2022), that is the decrease of energy needed by the human beings. Secondly, it is the economic global crisis (Kusno, 2020: 114-122). The Covid-19 pandemic causes the collapse of the world economic. Thirdly, it is the food crisis (Jusriadi, Kamaluddin & Aljurida, 2020: 216-227), that is the decrease of food sources needed by the human beings all over the world. Fourthly, it is the existence of structural problems in terms of law enforcement that is related to natural sources and environment (Nagara, Amri, Patria, Andhika, 2020: 65-74).

The problems inevitably need the right solution. Among things needed is doing disaster mitigation, such as having purpose in finding the central problems and the ways to solve them. Political approach is needed to formulate the regulation of the complex problem solving so structurally it could be completely parsed. The initiation of problem solving would be effective if done by the government (Jusriadi, Kamaluddin & Aljurida, 2020: 216-227) because the government with all of its political domains that it has is able to dynamize the various social strengths that exist.

The results of the efforts of the current muslim politics could be depicted as follow. Firstly, the efforts for Islamic da'wah through political way at the moment are still done with various approaches. The different approaches create various religious typology. According to Ghozali (2020: 27-48), at least there are three Islamic typology movements in Indonesia, which are substantialism, formalism, and spiritualism. Within religious organization, the movements were covered in some various social religious organizations, but they have the same big goal that is realizing a life based on sharia.

Even so, it must be admitted that the different political approach creates constraints in building da'wah solidity in the political field. The prove is, the approaches raise differences in taking decision and sociologically have the potential to disrupt a community. Furthermore, according to Latief (2017: 1-24), there is a political secularization process in Indonesia, although it fails. The different approaches create various thoughts and political expressions such as integrative, secularistic, and symbiotic mutualism politics that place Islam only as a spirit of political movement (Jufri, 2018: 42-56). This reality, undeniably, hinders the pace of

da'wah in political fields.

Secondly, the efforts to organize the Islamic political strength cannot be optimally done yet. Islamic parties are not yet able to build political synergy. Worse, the political development in Indonesia is colored with the development of political identity (Lestari, 2018: 19-30). Whether it is by design or otherwise, needs deeper analysis. However, the rise of political identity issues sharpens the difference and even dangers the state and nation life and should be addressed wisely (Adam, 2022: 88-103). If we take the wrong decision, the issues do not only create disunity of Islamic parties in struggling for constituent areas, but also the society would split and harm the state and nation life.

### Organizing Political Strength

From the political map depiction above, urgent things that needed immediate consideration and action are how to organize the Islamic political movements in Indonesia. These movements do not merely aim to gain power, but are ethically oriented to the noble goal, that is the realization of society that is *baladun thayyibatun wa rabbun ghafur*. To build prosperous society needs various powers. Here da'wah politics is needed.

Firstly, it is done by creating a legitimate leadership, which is a leadership that is approved and obeyed by the community. A recognized leader will be followed by the community and becomes an asset and effort to build Islamic social system. Without legitimate leadership, the effort to build a good social system would be hard to achieve.

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ رَّسُولٍ إِلَّا لِيُطَاعَ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَلَوْ أَنَّهُمْ إِذْ ظَلَمُوا أَنفُسَهُمْ جَاءُوكَ فَاسْتَغْفَرُوا اللَّهَ  
وَاسْتَغْفَرَ لَهُمُ الرَّسُولُ لَوَجَدُوا اللَّهَ تَوَّابًا رَحِيمًا

We only sent messengers to be obeyed by Allah's Will. If only those 'hypocrites' came to you 'O Prophet'—after wronging themselves—seeking Allah's forgiveness and the Messenger prayed for their forgiveness, they would have certainly found Allah ever Accepting of Repentance, Most Merciful (An-Nisa (4); 64)

Sayyid Qutub (Ismail, 2008: 163) defines the above verse as a highlight that The Prophet is not only a religious leader (preacher) that ignores whether the preach is accepted or not. The verse stresses that the political strength in da'wah is an absolute must.

General election, for example the executive election (election of regents/city mayors/governors) that is done directly is basically meant to elect leaders that are trustful, best, and have awareness towards the electors'

problems. Therefore, the elected leaders are the results of society's choice and have strong legitimate politics from the society (Sinaga, 2018: 17-25). A legitimate leader will have the strength to enforce the community to gain an aspired order. It includes the order based on religious values and teachings. If a divine and aspired goal is not supported by a strong leadership, the effort to gain the goal would not run well. It is even possible that the aspired goal would fail to be achieved. There are many examples that could be used as references about the importance of legitimate leadership as a way to achieve goal. The new order succeeded in improving the economy because of the strong legitimate leadership. Leaders are very influential in deciding the organization they lead because they have the legitimacy to decide the policy and decision (Citraningsih, 2022: 73-86).

The complexity of problem faced by the community sometimes places general people to experience hard situation and even undergoes psychological stress that they need guidance, motivation, accompaniment, and orientation. This is where the function of leadership becomes crucial (Munir & Ilahi, 2009: 211).

Therefore, leaders are demanded to have some criteria. Generally, the leaders' criteria are having faith or believing in the truth of religious teachings (Islam), righteous and trustful, as well as having attitudes such as the prophet's (Hamzah, 2018: 13-28). According to the millennial generation, at the current digital era, the figures who are able to interact with the people well and have orientation only for the prosperity of people are the ideal figures that would be the public leaders (Kadiyono & Gunawan: 2020: 31-38).

Secondly, it is mapping the problem and various tasks. Islamic da'wah with its goal to achieve happiness in the world and hereafter covers various human life's problems. Therefore, Islamic da'wah is demanded to solve the community's problems. In this context, problem mapping and task distribution are absolute must. This can only be done if the existing leadership has strong legitimacy. Further, the task distribution could build da'wah strength. This is because da'wah is done by all of the existing and available resources according to its own capability.

وَمَا كَانَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لِيَنْفِرُوا كَافَّةً فَلَوْلَا نَفَرَ مِنْ كُلِّ فِرْقَةٍ مِّنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ لِّيَتَفَقَّهُوا فِي الدِّينِ وَلِيُنذِرُوا قَوْمَهُمْ إِذَا رَجَعُوا إِلَيْهِمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَحْذَرُونَ □

"However," it is not necessary for the believers to march forth all at once. Only a party from each group should march forth, leaving the rest to gain religious knowledge then enlighten their people when

they return to them, so that they 'too' may beware 'of evil (At-Tawbah (9); 122).

The role of leaders that is strategical in forming and developing the community enforces the leaders to have abilities (competencies) that enable them to do their tasks and responsibility well. According to [Ilyas Ismail](#), legitimate leaders come from four main factors, that are knowledge, skill, attitude, and spiritual power. Those abilities are not only creating society's trust towards the leaders themselves but also deciding the leadership and social system, even the society's peace and prosperity were born from those factors. The abilities are gained by a leader, either through formal or personal ways ([Ismail, 2011: 77](#)).

Thirdly, it is by building a system that could unite da'wah steps to organize the state and nation comprehensively. Islamic da'wah in its principle is a process of solving community's problems. Frequently, the problems that need to be solved is complicated that it could not be simply done and needs various approaches and comprehensive solving. According to Sayid Qutub, da'wah in its principle is to build an Islamic system (teachings) in daily life reality. Therefore, Islamic government is needed to establish an Islamic system as well. With Islamic system, it would create Islamic society ([Ismail, 2008: 147-164](#)).

Since Islamic da'wah covers various complex problems, it needs harmonious and united steps, so one pillar of da'wah to another could be in synergy, completing and perfecting each other as pictured by Allah in the Quran surah Ash-Shaf verse 4:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ صَفًّا كَانَهُمْ بُيُوتًا مَرْصُورًا

“Surely Allah loves those who fight in His cause in 'solid' ranks as if they were one concrete structure.”

A united steps, synergy, and collaboration becomes important in Islamic da'wah. Allah swt. highlights the importance of collaboration, helping each other in goodness and piety (QS. Al-Maidah: 2) because it is impossible for human to work alone, and so is Islamic da'wah. Da'wah could be done and would achieve its goal if the da'i work together. The problem that becomes the constraint is the disunity among the muslims itself (firqah). Regarding the disunity that becomes the muslims' challenges, [Hamam Abdurrahim Said \(2013: 178\)](#) stresses that disunity could be divided in two, which are the aqidah and furu'. Hopefully, the disunity in terms of furu' such as the difference of mazhab, the difference of ijihad ways, on others that are not principal could be avoided and did not become

the reason for disunity.

Those three (legitimate leadership, mapping, and role sharing, as well as system that could unite the steps in building the state) become the politic roles that should be played out by the politicians. It is related to the roles of political parties in enforcing the establishment of general election system that is democratic and aspirational (Muslih, Perdana, & Kurnia, 2021: 180-202), and how they take part in establishing laws based on Pancasila (Anggono, 2019: 695-720).

## CONCLUSION

Da'wah politics in Indonesia faces two quite serious factors. Firstly, it is the declining of society's trust towards the political institutions, including the political parties. Particularly, Islamic political parties' votes are decreasing. The decrease of society's trust towards political institutions creates consequences in the decrease of state leaders' legitimacy. Secondly, Indonesia is facing a demographic bonus. The census data of Indonesian population in 2020 show that 70.72% of Indonesian population are in the productive age. This demands the state leaders to anticipate and solve the various problems that rise. Thirdly, in the global context, the threat of energy and food crises, global warming, and other global threats potentially become big problems for the state and nation life. Meanwhile, the political reality found in this study shows that the varied political approaches from each Islamic parties that exist create constraints in uniting steps and synergy in da'wah. The issue development of political identity raises political dynamics that danger the state's life.

Those state challenges demand betterment and more serious political organization. There are political agendas that need to be acted out as part of Islamic da'wah. Firstly, it is by establishing leadership that has strong legitimacy from the society. Secondly, it is by mapping the potential and the problems together as well as sharing roles in organizing the state and nation. Thirdly, it is by building a system that unites the step comprehensively in organizing the state. These steps are needed so the agendas for state problems' organization could be systematically done that it creates a righteous and prosperous society's life. In this framework, another thing needed to be done is how to establish a collaboration among the existing political elements by prioritizing the importance of the state and nation.



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