

**THE PROGRESSIVITY OF PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL  
DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIST GROUPS IN BANDUNG CITY:  
A STUDY ON THE EVALUATION OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE  
PARTAI KEADILAN SEJAHTERA (PKS) FOR THE 2018-2023 PERIOD**

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**Abstract**

As a party that dominates the government in Bandung City, from the executive aspect (before Oded M. Danial died in 2021) to the legislature, the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) is actually a public “hope” for how Islamist groups can successfully manage a region. After several regions such as Riau and Depok experienced stagnation, Bandung City became the spotlight on how PKS built the region with its vision as an Islamic party. The research focuses on the Islamist ideology approach applied in development policies, more specifically in the physical development sector, social development, and civil society involvement and response. Using qualitative methods based on primary and secondary data, this article shows that although some initiatives have been executed, there is also some stagnation that requires strategic improvement. PKS's experienced focus on empowering women and children has not brought significant changes at the smallest level such as the urban village. Even PKS failed in providing creative space for youth. Meanwhile, in the aspect of physical development, the leadership of the mayor carried by PKS tends to favor the construction of flyovers, which have not fully answered people's concerns in overcoming congestion and the need for public transportation.

*Keywords: Physical Development, Social Development, Islamism, Prosperous Justice Party.*

**A. INTRODUCTION**

As the center of government in West Java Province, Bandung City in the process of political mapping is a fairly strategic area, and the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), as a representation of contemporary Islamism, through a long process managed to dominate the area politically. This is quite reasonable, after Bandung City previously experienced development stagnation due to the corruption case that befell Dada Rosada, PKS, which was accompanied by Ridwan Kamil, successfully stole the attention of the people of Bandung City. In addition, PKS conducts bottom-up regeneration which is quite effective through recitation both to mothers and youth. Moreover, Bandung itself has a close relationship with Islam, which even goes back further, becoming the basis of a very strong anti-Soekarno area (Rosyad, 1995).

In the executive realm, after Ridwan Kamil swept into the position of West Java Governor, Ridwan Kamil's Vice Major before, who is an PKS cadre, Oded Danial, ran in the mayoral election contest. Oded is running against Nurul Arifin, a member of the House of Representatives and a former artist who is supported by the Golkar Party as the main party. Another challenger was Yossi Irianto, a former Regional Secretary who has experience in the Bandung City bureaucracy. As a result, Oded, accompanied by Yana Mulyana from Gerindra Party, won the Mayoral election contest. Oded's victory was followed by PKS gaining the most seats in the Bandung City Regional House of Representatives. These years then marked the absolute power of PKS in Bandung City, although later, Oded Danial passed away and

was replaced by his deputy, Yana Mulyana, and Yana later stumbled into a CCTV procurement corruption case.

For almost 5 years, PKS has focused on physical and social development. Some of its programs are quite thick with Islamic nuances, such as the development of mosque-based sharia cooperatives and halal certification for MSMEs. However, the leadership of PKS cadres also does not rule out other aspects. In terms of the environment, Oded formulated the KangPisMan movement. Namely the waste separation and utilization program through waste banks and the waste alms program. Then the youth creativity center (youth space) where youth are given facility space in each sub-district, to the flyover construction program and road construction to manage congestion problems. Not to forget, the Bandung City government also held a *tadarus* program for civil servants and a movement for certification of houses of worship, including the movement for morning prayer in congregation for ASN.

But what happened later, similar to what happened in Depok, development stagnation then also occurred in Bandung City. The situation was exacerbated by the continuous change of leadership after Oded's death. Starting from Yana, who was later arrested by the Corruption Eradication Commission/*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* (KPK) due to a corruption case, followed by the temporary Acting Mayor who replaced Yana, namely Ema Sumarna, the former Regional Secretary, who was also arrested by the KPK due to a corruption case. The instability of leadership had a profound effect on development. The city of Bandung, then, is stuck in an endless case of acute congestion. Endless flooding and high crime rates were accompanied by less innovative public services.

This article will explore the achievements of the PKS-controlled Bandung City government over the past five years, in terms of physical development and social development.

## B. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative method with a descriptive-analytical approach. Data collection was carried out through a literature study process, where before reaching the literature study, the researcher collected several articles related to this research, through manual collection through the Publish on Perish application, as well as searching for scopus articles through the elsevier site and Google Scholar which was limited through certain keywords. After the articles were collected and documented in a structured manner in the mendeley application, researchers then triangulated by utilizing secondary data collected from online and physical mass media, as well as Bandung City local government document reports, and combined with primary data obtained from the interview process with PKS cadres who were in ring 1 of the Bandung City government. Data analysis is then carried out periodically and structured to produce tested data validity.

## C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 1. Physical Development: Initiatives and Program Realization

Development in the early days of the leadership of Oded M. Danial and Yana Mulyana, which was carried by PKS, actually received quite a dynamic test. Given, the first two years of Oded-Yana's leadership, both of them were faced with the covid-19 phenomenon, where the development budget was ultimately focused on the health sector, especially handling covid-19. But after that, the Bandung City Government made improvements. One of the physical developments built during the Oded-Yana leadership was the construction of two flyovers built on the Laswi-Pelajar Pejuang road section, and Jakarta-Supratman Street in 2021. The construction of the flyover is intended to unravel the congestion on the two roads, which is quite severe during office hour. The hope for flyover construction has even received a positive response from academics (Rahmah, 2021). Even the

evaluation can be said to be successful because the level of congestion and travel time is reduced (Syafriharti, 2020).

Unfortunately, the physical development that continues to be echoed as superior, is inversely proportional to other developments, especially in the ecological aspect. Because in fact, the air quality in the city of Bandung refers to the IKPLHD data for Bandung City in 2022 which shows a decrease, 116 rivers have a mild polluted status, there are still many people who do Open Defecation (BABS) as much as 30.99% due to the low construction of MCK, the absence of road drainage by 30% and has not been integrated from upstream to downstream, until the city of Bandung has not been released from the status of flood-prone areas where all of them depart from the decrease in the area of Green Open Space/*Ruang Terbuka Hijau* (RTH) and land use change. Muchtar et al. (2024), make physical development in the city of Bandung is still far from satisfactory, where these problems are actually the main complaints of the people of Bandung that have not yet been resolved. This is an anomaly, considering that the vision carried by the Oded-Yana pair when running for office, one of which is “Bandung Nyaman”, where the explanation is “basic human needs such as land, water, and air, must be fulfilled properly so that it is comfortable to live in”.

Another major problem in Bandung is the lack of optimal public transportation modes managed by the government. So far, the public has only taken advantage of the use of City Transport (Angkot) managed by the private sector and the use of online application-based transportation. The rest of the public is given the option to use Trans Metro Bandung (TMB) with limited corridors and units and unclear time certainty. The implication is that Bandung is ranked as the third most traffic-prone city in Indonesia after Jakarta and Bogor due to the increasing volume of private vehicles (Edie, 2019). In response, the Bandung City Government planned to add CCTV points for the ATCS (Automatic Traffic Control System) system and redevelop the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) transportation system. Unfortunately, these efforts were stalled after Yana Mulyana, who was previously Vice Mayor and then ascended as mayor to replace the late Oded, was arrested in a CCTV procurement corruption case, followed by Yana's acting mayor, Ema Sumarna, who was also arrested in the same case.

The pledoi from the DPD PKS Bandung City stated that after Oded died, the executive leadership was automatically taken over by Gerindra, represented by Yana Mulyana. So that development is directly commanded by Gerindra as stated by the Chairman of DPD PKS Bandung City:

“After the death of Oded as a central figure and then replaced by Teddy (Rusmawan), PKS is still influential in the city of Bandung. It is still significant to be a check and balances. But PKS is no longer a rolling party. The party that governs the executive is now Gerindra, now the party that is more dominant in providing policies in Bandung is Gerindra”. (Ayu et al., 2022).

Unfortunately, the chairman of DPD PKS Bandung City failed to mention that PKS, until the last election, was still the largest seat holder in the legislature. Plus, Gerindra and PKS have had an intimate relationship for years even since Ridwan Kamil was nominated as mayor in 2013. This means that every development is also part of PKS's responsibility as the ruling party because the legislature has a role to filter policy products and even remind the executive if there is development stagnation. This was confirmed by the chairman of the PKS faction in the Bandung City DPRD, according to him:

“Almost everything that has appeared is agreed upon, otherwise we reject it. And so far, we have never refused. First, there are regional regulations that are mandatory. There was the Job Creation Law yesterday, it changed many things which means it must be adjusted. That is not an option, it must be done. Then there are the results of

hearings from meetings that are initiative in nature, although until now the city of Bandung has no initiative local regulations from the DPRD". (Ayu et al., 2022).

The above statement confirms the author's presumption that the DPRD, as a legislative body, is not optimally performing the function of checks and balances even though they occupy the most seats in the Bandung City DPRD. As a result, the stagnation of Bandung's development that has emerged is increasingly answered.

## **2. Social Development: The Realization of a Religious Bandung City**

Social development has principally been an aspect of Oded-Yana's leadership since 2018. The reason is, the Bandung City Government under their leadership tends to aggressively boost Islamic programs as an implementation of its vision to make Bandung a "religious" city. Therefore, several programs pursued by the Bandung City government began to target mosques.

One of the government's flagship programs carried by PKS Bandung City during 2018-2023 is the development of Mosque-Based Sharia Cooperatives (KSBM). Although the development of Mosque-Based Sharia Cooperatives (KSBM) in Bandung city has been implemented since 2007, the realization of cooperative development faces obstacles in management, where around 50% of cooperatives report difficulties in obtaining active members. In addition, not all cooperatives have legal entities that are officially recognized by the government.

The Bandung City Government also launched several programs related to improving the quality of 'morals' such as the *Tadarus* of Civil Servant (ASN) every Friday, as well as the morning prayer in congregation which is also intended for the ASN. The Bandung City Government also pays attention to youth groups by building a youth space program in each sub-district as a center for youth creativity, and the Bandung City Government pays attention to women and children through the Women's Service and Empowerment Center program and the Children's Service and Creativity Center.

Unfortunately, these symbolic programs have not responded optimally to the needs of the community. In fact, the corruption cases experienced by the city government leaders have actually reduced public trust in the credibility of the government, including later giving birth to apathy towards religious programs. The religious image is slowly fading because the real leaders do not set a good example. Even the provision of youth space, does not necessarily reduce the level of crime committed by youth where cases in Bandung refer to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) have never been less than 2000 cases every year. (Iman, 2023). Bandung as the center of youth culture, especially music, has completely lost its space for expression after the closure of the Saparua Sports Hall since 2003. So that the energy of many youths is channelled into other things as an implication of the lack of space. The city government has not highlighted this potential.

PKS's obvious superiority can be seen from its rigid and neatly structured regeneration process (Nuraeni & Ade, 2019). This should be quite helpful for the Bandung City Government program under Oded's leadership when the Government formulates programs on women and children. PKS is known to have an intense regeneration pattern for women (Adiwilaga, 2023). Therefore, the programs run by the Bandung City Government are quite assisted by the system that is already running. Unfortunately, the program has many shortcomings, both in terms of resources (minimal budget) which affects the limited activities. In addition, many administrators at the lowest level are inactive, resulting in the program stagnating (Febrian & Sagita, 2023).

In Bandung City, violence and sexual harassment against children show alarming numbers. In 2023, based on data from the Online Information System for the Protection of Women and Children (Simfoni PPA), Bandung City had the third highest number of cases of

violence in West Java, after Depok and Bogor. In early 2023 alone, there were around 37 reports of violence, and in 2022, the total reached 423 cases. The most common cases of violence are physical, psychological, sexual, and neglect. Women and children are the most vulnerable groups, with children aged 6-12 years being the most exposed to violence. (Fadhillah, 2023).

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

Mutual abdication of responsibility is a necessity in political dynamics, especially when political subjects are in power. This is what happened in the political dynamics of Bandung City. PKS's claim that it is no longer the absolute ruler after the passing of the late Oded because Gerindra's representative then rose, became a pledoi or defense that the stagnation of Bandung's development was due to the transfer of power. However, the existence of PKS as the legislative ruler should be an indicator that this party still has strong hegemony in the government. This means that every policy, both successful and failed, actually has direct PKS involvement.

Unfortunately, the author sees that PKS tends to argue from the stagnant development in Bandung City. PKS's focus on making Bandung City a Religious City tends to run less optimally due to legislative negligence in supervising the mayor who turns to commit corruption crimes. As for the potential PKS has with its experience in empowering women and children, in fact it is less than optimal because the rate of violence against children and women is still relatively high. The provision of youthspace is only running normatively as an image as if the government is concerned about youth. But in fact, the stretching of youth dynamics ranging from music to fashion tends to be sluggish. Creative industry activists tend to run independently without involving the government in survival. So that the decade of PKS power in Bandung City ultimately only continued the status quo of stagnation in the previous leadership (Ridwan Kamil) who benefited through the effectiveness of cosmetic politics after the previous Mayor (also) was involved in a corruption scandal resulting in neglect of development.

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