# Bamusi's Role in Rebranding PDI-P as a Nationalist-Religious Party

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**Abstract.** This study examines the strategic use of Baitul Muslimin Indonesia (Bamusi) by the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) to engage Muslim voters and reposition the party within Indonesia's political landscape. Through the lens of Dan Nimmo's theory of political communication and public opinion, this research delves into the mechanisms of political communication employed by Bamusi to alter PDI-P's image from being perceived as anti-Islam to a party that embodies nationalist-religious ideals. Employing qualitative analysis of Bamusi's religious activities, political communications, and engagement with Islamic figures, the study reveals how these strategies have successfully mitigated the party's anti-Islam stigma, thereby attracting a broader Muslim electorate. The results indicate a significant shift in public opinion, with the PDI-P now viewed as a middle-ground party that accommodates Muslim aspirations, thereby challenging the secular-nationalist label previously attributed to it. The implications of these findings suggest a transformation within PDI-P, marked by the inclusion of santri elements in party management and a redefinition of party identity to embody both nationalist and religious values. This strategic rebranding through Bamusi not only enhances PDI-P's electoral appeal but also reflects broader dynamics of identity politics in Indonesia.

Keyword : Influence, Muslim Voter, Political Communication

## 1  Introduction

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) has the stigma of being an anti-Islam party[1]. At least this happens before the General Election (Pemilu) which is held at the national level or held at the regional level. This is not without reason, PDI Perjuangan is a continuation of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) during the New Order era, PDI itself is a fusion party. (a combination) of the parties that existed during the Old Order, namely the Indonesian National Party (PNI), the Association of Supporters of Indonesian Independence (IPKI), and the Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo), as well as the Catholic Party, and also the Murba Party. There are two religious parties which are elements in the management of the PDI Perjuangan.

As a major party, in the 1999, 2014, 2019 elections becoming the winning party in the PDI Perjuangan election became the spotlight in the legislative process in the Legislative Institution, the pornography law became one of the public laws where the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle faction, in the view of the mini faction, in responding to the Pornography Bill stated that it rejected the ratification of the Draft Law (RUU) Pornography, this rejection was also followed by a walk out by all members of the PDI-P faction. [2]This attitude was then read as evidence that the PDI Perjuangan did not accommodate the aspirations of Muslims. In the 1999 elections, PDI Perjuangan was the winning party in the election, beating the Golongan Karya Party, which had been supporting the government for 32 (thirty two) years. One of the factors that was the reason PDI Perjuangan was chosen was as a form of empathy for what Megawati Soekarno Putri experienced during the New Order regime. Megawati is also a Ciganjur figure who pushed the wheels of reform. In the 2004 election, PDI Perjuangan was no longer the party that won the election, the Golkar Party, led by Akbar Tanjung, was the party that won the election.

Post-New Order, religious wing organizations grew rapidly within the party. Nationalist parties, for example, do not hesitate to embrace Muslim students.[3] As part of being an open party. Apart from eliminating the stigma of secular parties, another aim is to enlarge the voter segment in general elections.

The majority of large political parties based on nationalism tend to compete to form Islamic-style institutions. As an institutional group, wing organizations in Indonesia are an inseparable part of the party structure. PDI Perjuangan formed Baitul Muslimin Indonesia (Bamusi), as an interest group (institution) aimed at mobilizing support, energy and resources from its members. And, the ultimate goal is to increase support for votes in each election. [4]Bamusi's presence still raises suspicions, especially when Bamusi supports religious blasphemy. [5]

Bamusi's presence eliminates the dichotomy between Islam and Nationalism. Where the emergence of Islamic missionary platforms in the midst of nationalist parties reflects very significant changes within the party. Nationalist parties are experiencing changes in internal configuration, which in turn changes strategy and tactics and redesigns paradigms and long-term agendas. The establishment of wing organizations evidenced a change in the character of the party; from "secular-nationalist" to "religious-nationalist." The birth of these religious wing organizations not only changed the character of the party, but also changed the direction of the dynamics of the Islamic movement in Indonesia now and in the future.

PDI Perjuangan, through Bamusi as the party's wing organization, recruited Muslim students. In Bamusi's Articles of Association (AD), it is stated that all Muslim students, both traditionalists and modernists, in Indonesia have the same opportunity to become members and administrators of Bamusi. In Article 2, paragraphs 1 and 2, it is stated that all Indonesian citizens who are Muslim and are declared to meet the requirements can become members, including becoming administrators of Bamusi.

Through Bamusi the interests of Muslims can be accommodated. From a political perspective, the existence and activities of wing organizations are important for nationalist parties, because they can change the negative image or stigma attached to nationalist parties. So far, nationalist-based parties have been considered secular, abangan, liberal, non-religious, ignoring, and even distancing themselves from, religious activities, and other negative opinions that are unpleasant to hear and bear.

Based on the description above, the main question formulated in this research is how is the political communication and public opinion of Baitul Muslimin Indonesia (Bamusi) of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan)? To help answer the major

questions, several minor questions will be presented: 1) What is the political communication of Baitul Muslimin Indonesia (Bamusi) PDI Perjuangan interpreted based on personal actions, interactions and transactions? 2) What kind of political communication does Baitul Muslimin Indonesia carry out? 3) Why does Bamusi communicate from a public opinion perspective?

The main purpose of Bamusi's existence tends to focus on political preaching rather than political preaching. In other words, when da'wah efforts are negotiated with practical political activities in Bamusi, the political aspect is more important than the da'wah aspect.[6]The researcher builds a hypothesis in the main statement that the Baitul Muslimin Indonesia religious wing of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is used as party branding, managing issues by recruiting Islamic figures, eliminating anti-Islam images, to control/reduce damage (negative issues), Bamusi is also a justification for the existence of identity politics . This is based on the fact that the PDI Perjuangan's vote in the Islamic community's vote base such as in West Sumatra and West Java is experiencing obstacles, Bamusi's presence is important for party branding. Bamusi's seminar activity stated that Puan Maharani was a Religious Nationalist Leader. Bamusi's presence can regulate issues by recruiting Islamic figures. Bamusi's management consists of figures from NU and Muhammadiyah mass organizations. Bamusi's activities remove his anti-Islam image. Bamusi, through its shop figures, can control/reduce damage (negative issues).

## 2  Literature Review

The majority of large political parties based on nationalism tend to compete to form Islamic-style institutions. As an institutional group, this wing organization in Indonesia appears to be a unit, because it is an inseparable part of the party structure. This is different from institutional groups in several developed countries, whose position is actually part of the government or professional groups that work closely with the government, such as the bureaucracy, military, teachers, doctors and accountants.

Post-New Order, religious wing organizations grew rapidly within the party. Nationalist parties, for example, do not hesitate to embrace Muslim students. This is also true among parties based on religion; they opened up to join forces with nationalist circles. Both nationalist parties and Islamic parties want to be open parties. Both of them are trying to move towards a moderate point that can be accepted by all levels of society." The post-New Order political phenomenon (1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014) shows that there is friction and thawing tension between nationalist parties and Islamic parties. Nationalist parties such as PDI Perjuangan, Golkar Party, Democratic Party, Gerindra Party, and Nasdem Party, have established religious wing organizations. For example, PDI Perjuangan formed Baitul Muslimim Indonesia (Bamusi), which was founded on March 29 2007 at the PDI Perjuangan DPP office. , Lenteng Agung, South Jakarta. The founding date was chosen on 11 Rabiul Awal 1428 Hijriah, the day before Muslims commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, which falls every 12 Rabiul Awal. The formation of Bamusi is actually nothing new within nationalist parties such as PDI Perjuangan. A similar wing organization existed during the Old Order, when the PNI founded Djamiatul Muslimin Indonesia (DMI-also called Jamusi). Jamusi reached out to Muslims outside the PNI. [7]After the PNI merged into the PDI during the New Order, Jamusi joined Golkar. PDI then formed the Indonesian Muslim Council (MMI).

The formation of Bamusi as a party wing organization that is religiously based and has a national perspective is strengthened by the text of the declaration signed by the Chairman of

the PDI Perjuangan DPP for the 2005-2010 term, Megawati Soekarnoputri and the Secretary General Ir. Pramono Anung Wibowo, MM The declaration of the formation of Bamusi was also strengthened by Decree of Appropriateness Number 050/TAP/DPP/V/2007 concerning Baitul Muslimin Indonesia as an Organization with the same Principles and Aspirations as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. This decree was issued on May 31 2007 and signed by Megawati and Pramono, two months after the declaration, with Prof. Hamka Haq.

Based on Prof.'s background. Dr. H. Hamka Haq has a santri family background with various Islamic organization affiliations such as NU, and Muhammadiyah, as well as other Islamic organizations such as Syarikat Islam, and also the local mass organization DDI (Daru Da'wah Wal Irsyad). His father, KH Abdul Qadir, has a structural position at NU as deputy chairman of the Barru Regency NU Rais Syuriah and is also a caretaker at the DDI Islamic boarding school (Madrasah). Meanwhile, his biological mother's family were members of Syarikat Islam, and some members of his father's family joined the Islamic organization Muhammadiyah. At one time, Hamka Haq's father's family took part in building the Madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah school, and his father, KH Abdul Qadir, was asked to be the supervisor. Hamka Haq himself studied at Muallimin. The name "Hamka" was given by KH Abdul Qadir to his son because of his admiration for Buya Prof. Dr. HAMKA, who had visited Barru during a tabligh akbar event, even though Buya Hamka was clearly a figure from Muhammadiyah. This religious institution takes on the role of maintaining the loyalty of party sympathizers and cadres and improving and maintaining a positive image or sigma in society. More important than that, this party wing organization is an effective medium for socializing the party's political programs and activities, apart from of course carrying out Islamic agendas. The existence of a forum for Islamic da'wah for Islamic students is also intended to influence public policy related to religious issues that are considered important for its members and the Muslim community as a whole [8]

The wing organization formed by the party based on nationalism is based on the undeniable reality of life in Indonesia, namely that the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim. The Muslim population in Indonesia is the largest in the world, namely 86.9 percent of the total population.[9]The number of potential Muslim voters is of course contested by parties every time an election approaches. So every party in Indonesia, especially those based on nationalists, is called to establish an Islamic religious wing organization. Through the establishment of this Islamic wing organization, the party will have a political base among Muslims, especially among Muslim students. [10]

The entry of Muslim Islamic students into the membership and management of Bamusi signals that the PDI Perjuangan has a serious commitment to realizing its great ideals, namely positioning and opening itself as the Great House of the Nationalists. This determination to become a national mansion was actually part of one of the recommendations of the 1st National Working Meeting of the PDI Perjuangan DPP in Bali on 7-9 January 2007 and was reaffirmed at the 2nd National Working Meeting of the PDI Perjuangan DPP in Jakarta on 8 September of the same year. In her remarks at the PDI Perjuangan DPP II National Working Meeting, Megawati stated firmly: "PDI Perjuangan is open to healthy and productive political cooperation with various parties and community groups that have a common ground for struggle platforms. Since the National Working Meeting in Bali,

Bamusi aims to change the understanding of Islam as rahmatan lil 'alamin for the nation. They believe that Islam is a religion that adheres to the teachings of humanity and compassion. Bamusi's view emphasizes that the role of religion should provide broad political space and freedom, but still respect existing rules. Bamusi believes that religion must be free from state interference, because if it is involved in government or politics, religion will be misused as a

political tool by those who have certain interests. Therefore, they proposed a separation between world affairs and spiritual affairs, so that religion could become a driving force for development in the spirit of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in Indonesia. For Bamusi, religion is not a sharp weapon to destroy political opponents, rather, it becomes a strong driving force for development in achieving unity in diversity. They believe that religion is an eternal and complex phenomenon that always plays a role in human social, economic and political life, and cannot be replaced by changing times or social events. [11]

Bamusi was formed with the aim of revitalizing and actualizing the dimensions of Islamic thought and nationalism that were once initiated by Soekarno (Bung Karno). This is an effort to emphasize that the nationalist struggle carried out by the PDI-Perjuangan is an integral part of the wider struggle of Muslims in Indonesia.[12] Soekarno's political thinking was influenced by several factors including Nationalism, Javanese Traditionalism, Democratic Socialism, Islam, and Communism. In his writings, Soekarno considered Nationalism, Islam and Marxism as three families of ideologies that gave color to various political organizations in Indonesia. He uses this approach to deal with a diverse and pluralistic society[2]

The establishment of this wing organization is also urgent to maintain the loyalty of members, cadres and sympathizers to the party. Their loyalty needs to be maintained so that they are not easily tempted to move to another party. By maintaining and maintaining their loyalty to the party, they will later increase solidarity and solidity within the party's internal circles. Those who have previously joined the party will feel valued and respected. They will then participate more actively in every party activity.

A number of political parties, including Islamic political parties, political parties based on Islamic organizations, and political parties with nationalist ideologies, try to gain support and sympathy from Muslims. One of the methods they use is to establish Islamic organizations affiliated with these political parties. The aim is to attract attention and gain vote support from Muslims.[13] The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) has changed its strategy towards the center in an effort to gain maximum vote support. Since 2007, PDIP has deliberately established an Islam-based wing of the party called Baitul Muslimin Indonesia (Bamusi). The aim is to attract support from Islamic voter groups. Bamusi is a new step taken by PDI Perjuangan to change the negative perception that has been attached to the party. The Bamusi organization exists with the aim of improving the image of the PDI Perjuangan, which is often associated only as a party with a nationalist and religious basis. With Bamusi's presence, the party is trying to show a more positive and diverse side in an effort to build support from the community. [11]

This research uses the theory of political communicators and public opinion by Dan Nimmo as a basis for studying Baitul Muslimin Indonesia's political communication towards the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. This theory introduces three main concepts related to political communication and public opinion, namely human understanding, communication and politics, and the communication perspective on public opinion.

First, this theory describes three interpretations of human understanding, namely self-action, interaction, and transaction. Self-action includes motives, awareness, attitudes and drives within the individual. Interaction emphasizes that external factors such as social position, social roles and culture also shape human behavior. Meanwhile, transactions describe how human actions and meanings mutually influence each other, through a personal interpretive process.

Second, this theory introduces political communication as an important process for understanding public opinion. Political communication means the transfer of information between a person and an audience, as well as sharing information, ideas or attitudes. Political

communicators use language and symbols to provide information and convince audiences, while creating and exchanging images through symbols. Mass media, such as television news and newspapers, play an important role in providing citizens with the raw materials to construct their political image.

Third, in a political context, this theory shows that politics involves discussion and interaction between groups and individuals. Public opinion is a collection of people's opinions regarding matters that influence or interest a community. The role of the news media in presenting political information plays an important role in shaping the political behavior of citizens.

## 3  Research Methodology

### 3.1 Research Approach

This research uses a qualitative approach. To quote Creswel[14] from Guba and Lincoln, with the constructivism paradigm and phenomenological strategy, a qualitative approach is used for research that considers subjective reality.Qualitative research can examine the lives, histories, behaviors, functions of organizations, social movements, or individual relationships.[15] Qualitative research can provide descriptive data about people's language, writing, and behavioral patterns,[16] through an inductive thinking process. The aim of this qualitative research is to understand the background that leads to a detailed and comprehensive description of conditions in the natural environment, and to understand what actually happens based on the actual conditions in the research field. Qualitative research is a suitable method for solving problems in this research, because qualitative methods are natural, and can be carried out directly between sources and interviewers in order to obtain the required data in detail and comprehensively.

Reality in qualitative research is measured based on the experiences, feelings and subjective views of Bamusi members. From an ontological perspective, subjects' participation in qualitative research is characterized by the fact that they actively shape and understand the reality they experience. In qualitative research, each individual becomes a participant or subject who collaborates to create an interpretation of reality. Epistemologically, qualitative research does not only focus on facts, but also on the values and value conclusions contained therein. The researcher acts as a "research tool" whose task is to process the data carefully and identify "themes" that emerge from the data. To ensure the validity of the findings,[15] In this research method, emotional closeness between the respondent and the interviewer is considered important, so that the resulting data is comprehensive and detailed. Information obtained through qualitative research is presented openly and transparently, without restrictions, so that it can be completely accessed by the public.

### 3.2  Data collection technique

To obtain research results that can be accounted for, data collection is carried out in several types as follows:

### 3.2.1 Documentation

The data used in this research was obtained through the documentation method by conducting observations at the DPP Bamusi office. Sources of social data and facts are often taken from various documents such as reports, letters, diaries and souvenirs. These documents become important sources for examining, interpreting, and even predicting research-related phenomena. The documentation method is used to collect secondary data by recording and compiling various documents relevant to the research subject. Apart from that, written sources such as literature, books, community magazines, brochures, photos of activities and other documents were also used as secondary data sources in this research. Scatman and Strauss even stated that historical documents are very important in the context of qualitative research.[17] Researchers may review historical documents and secondary sources as part of field methods.

### 3.2.2  StudiesLibrary/library

I also used various literature related to the Bamusi DPP, especially those that focus on political communication and public opinion, through scientific books, magazines, journals, newspapers and other written sources. Primary data or main data originating from official DPP Bamusi documents were also used in this research with this method. This approach really helps the author in digging up information from previous research and makes it easier to link various relevant information. The library study aims to collect data by looking at books that discuss elections and methods for getting a vote base. When research is written, books that are considered relevant will be used as references. Therefore, data triangulation will be more valid if combined with theoretical matters. [6]

### 3.3  Observation

Observations were carried out by visiting the office of the Bamusi Bamusi Central Leadership Council on Jl. Raya Pasar Minggu, Kalibata, South Jakarta. Apart from that, the author also made observations at the PDI Perjuangan Party, as a communication and coordination center, the researcher met with a Bamusi staff member named Asep Saifullah. In the initial introduction, we talked about the background of Bamusi's founding, the location of Bamusi's offices, which moved from the Bamusi office which was in the same building as the PDI Perjuangan DPP office, then moved to Tebet, South Jakarta and currently has an office on Jalan Raya Pasar Minggu. . When researchers made observations at the Bamusi head office, there was no Bamusi activity according to Asep Saifudin,

There are two main principles that describe observation techniques in the qualitative tradition. First, qualitative observers must remain neutral and not intervene in the affairs of the research subject. This principle is known as "non-inventionism" which is a characteristic of traditional qualitative observation. Second, qualitative observers must maintain the natural characteristics of the research subjects. Qualitative observations are fundamentally naturalistic, occur in the natural context of events, involve actors who are naturally involved in interactions, and follow the natural systems of everyday life. [18]

In observations or observations, researchers are directly involved in the field in actual situations. There are several reasons why this observation is necessary: 1). Gain direct experience: Direct observation allows researchers to feel and experience the situation or event being observed directly, without any distance or intermediary. 2). Viewing and recording actual behavior and events: Observation allows researchers to observe and record in detail the behavior

and events that occur in real circumstances, without influence or manipulation from other parties. 3). Recording events: Through observation, researchers can record and record various events or occurrences that are relevant to research accurately and objectively[19]

## 3.4  Interview

I have conducted interviews with members of the Bamusi board directly. In this interview, the author asked a number of questions that had been prepared previously as a guide. The interview took place in a flexible and non-binding manner, allowing for the emergence of new questions related to Bamusi's existence. I conducted an interview with Prof. Dr. H, Hamka Haq. M.A. And Dr. Faozan Amar, S.Ag., MM, Head of the Bamusi DPP cadre and training division.

Interviews were conducted both online and offline to look at conditions that made it easier for informants to provide information related to the research. The researcher created a grid of questions that had been prepared to facilitate the interview process and would be developed based on the conditions at the time the interview was conducted. This type of interview model is also called a semi-structured interview. Semi-structured interviews look at the informant's condition and this model can be flexible according to the informant's condition and can be more comfortable so that more information can be extracted. [20]

## 4  Results

### 4. 1 Understanding humans in the concept of self-action, interaction and transactions

Bamusi was founded as a response to the demands of the currently recognized democratic system, which focuses on absorbing the aspirations and representation of the people through general elections. The principle of "one person, one vote" became the philosophical basis of "the rule of the people," representing a collective agreement to determine their own future. Bamusi acts as a forum that aims to accommodate various groups in society and provide a channel for them to be represented in the democratic process.

What is the background to joining Bamusi, the public hopes that Bamusi's existence will not only stop as a party wing that is used as a short-term and pragmatic "campaign tool", but will also play a real role in the progress of the people, nation and state. As a channel for the aspirations of Muslims, Bamusi must not be trapped in momentary and destructive politicization of religion, but must instead contribute to preventing the politicization of religion. In the future, Bamusi must take part in campaigning for Islam as rahmatan lil alamin. Bamusi not only needs to take reform steps, but also steps to strengthen national awareness and give the image of Islam to the PDI Perjuangan by preparing concepts that lead to cultural transformation. Bamusi's existence does not repeat the history of mistakes. past, When Jamusi was founded by the PNI, which was like a mental development center (pusbintal) within the party, this mistake should not happen again, because the political stakes were very big. If that happens, PDI Perjuangan could be considered to have failed in building a wing organization. Therefore, Bamusi's tough task is to bridge and transcend dichotomies that are primordial centralized in nature into a higher awareness of increasing the spirit of Islam, not adding to the waving of Islamic flags. Besides also providing a religious (Islamic) style to the PDI Perjuangan ideology. Bamusi's tough task is to bridge and transcend primordial centralized dichotomies into a higher awareness of

increasing the spirit of Islam, not increasing the waving of Islamic flags. Besides also providing a religious (Islamic) style to the PDI Perjuangan ideology. Bamusi's tough task is to bridge and transcend primordial centralized dichotomies into a higher awareness of increasing the spirit of Islam, not increasing the waving of Islamic flags. Besides also providing a religious (Islamic) style to the PDI Perjuangan ideology.

Bamusi not only poured Islam into the midst of a society with extraordinary cultural diversity in Indonesia, which of course was different from pouring Islam into the desert regions of the Middle East. Religious activities held by Bamusi should not be temporary, but over a continuous period. If the activities are only held every legislative or presidential or local election event, then the public will easily judge that the formation of Bamusi is merely for political interests and image.

Through the religious-based organization Bamusi, the party's activities are not solely political, but also religious activities that can act as a bond between abangan nationalists and Muslim santri within the PDI Perjuangan. In the future, Bamusi can provide education and training related to religious issues. The formation of Bamusi responded to the perception that had developed over time, that secular-abangan circles usually gathered in nationalist parties and santri circles in Islamic parties. Bamusi reduces and eliminates discordant and slanted voices that the PDI Perjuangan is home to secular groups, non-Muslims, communists or left-leaning people, and thugs with tattoos. The formation of Bamusi shows that PDI Perjuangan is a nationalist party that is not anti-Islam.

Bamusi political communication, which is based on the interpretation of self-action driven by the desire to create a moderate Islam, interactions in Bamusi are influenced by social position, economics and social roles and political communication transactions in Bamusi, creating meaning that continues to develop during the interaction process. In the process of interaction there are differences, "Of course there are differences, but conflicts do not occur, in matters of religion usually the abangan follow the santri."

The history of parties in Indonesia also records that not only religious institutions were founded, but also other social institutions, religious institutions were created to accommodate the aspirations of certain religions, because the majority were Muslims, so it was natural that every political organization also formed a religious institution. In general, these forums, whether religious or social in nature, are formed for certain purposes, such as the hope of being able to expand the area of support of the existing mass base and reach a larger number of voters in order to win the election. The lead up to the 1955 election, for example, was marked by the rise of social organizations affiliated with parties. Likewise, the development of subordinate organizations (onderbouw) or mantles established by some of the parties participating in the 1955 election.

Since its founding until this writing in 2023, Hamka Haq has served as Chairman of Bamusi. Since childhood, Hamka Haq showed his love for Bung Karno. He read diligently and almost memorized all of Bung Karno's speeches in the 60s. In his youth, Hamka Haq lived with a deputy sub-district head who had a collection of Bung Karno's speeches at his residence. Apart from that, when taking free drawing lessons at school, Hamka Haq often drew Bung Karno's face, showing his admiration for this character. He also enthusiastically read books such as "Bung Karno Connecting the Tongue of the Indonesian People" by Cindy Adams, as well as "Under the Banner of Revolution" (old version). All of this is not surprising because Hamka Haq really idolized Bung Karno.

The entry of Islamic mass organization figures into the structure of Bamusi's affairs cannot be separated from the role of Taufiq Kiemas, who is often friendly and clever in embracing them. Taufiq's figure is an important factor in Bamusi's existence. In the future, it is

hoped that Bamusi's presence as a party wing organization that operates in the field of da'wah will truly bring real benefits to Indonesian society, especially for PDI Perjuangan supporters who are Muslim. These benefits will be increasingly felt if Bamusi carries out more social and religious activities filled with enthusiasm and determination to build strong national unity and unity. According to Syafii Maarif, Bamusi's religious activities should bring benefits to the community, nation and people.

After Taufiq's death, there were no more party figures who brought PDI Perjuangan closer to Islamic figures and mass organizations. Moreover, the General Chair of PP Bamusi, Hamka Haq, was also unknown in the world of mass organizations or Islamic figures. He never appeared and met with Islamic figures.

## 4.2  Political communication carried out by Baitul Muslimin Indonesia

Communication in the sense of the process of conveying information is carried out by Bamusi in various forms of activities, conveying the directions of the party chairman, Puan's discourse as a nationalist-religious leader, which is conveyed through the Islamic Institute, Islamic figures who are members of Bamusi. Bamusi uses channels to communicate every direction and decision of the party. PDI Perjuangan, a political party that has long been known as a forum for the aspirations of the abangan, is now trying to change its image by declaring itself as an open political vehicle to accommodate the interests of the Islamic boarding school, and trying to eliminate the dichotomy between nationalist and secularistic that is attached to it.

Political communication has an important role in influencing the views and attitudes of society and the government in a political system[21]. This happens through the process of political discussion or conveying political messages both verbally and non-verbally.[22] One of the things that is being discussed in politics according to Faozan Amar is regarding women leaders, PDI Perjuangan firmly stated, "The state is obliged to present political policies and gender mainstreaming budget policies to encourage economic and social empowerment and access for women. This political attitude is strengthened by the publication "Charter for Women's Leadership." Faozan also mentioned QS. al-Naml (27): 22-44 which tells the story of Queen Balqis, who finally believed after Prophet Solomon enlightened him. Even though she runs a monarchical government, Queen Balqis always prioritizes deliberation with her officials when facing problems, as depicted in the story in this verse of the Koran. Because she prioritizes deliberation, Allah praised Queen Balqis as a strong female leader. This praise from Allah SWT proves that female leaders are halal. According to PDI Perjuangan, Islam prohibits women from becoming leaders if certain conditions are not met. These conditions are usually more likely to be implemented in a constitutional government according to the political triad theory. The tasks of power are limited to three: executive (executing laws), judiciary (supervising the implementation of laws), and legislature/parliament (lawmakers/people's representatives). For PDI Perjuangan, it is not haram for women to become leaders in constitutional government, such as being president, governor and regent/mayor.

> "Supporting female leaders, because the status of men and women is the same according to Bamusi's Islamic views. "Moreover, in history, the Prophet Muhammad SAW was also led by a female conglomerate, Khadijah, when he was Khadijah's corporate agent, before marrying her."

With the presence of figures from various Indonesian Islamic organizations, Bamusi hopes to provide a new nuance in a diverse national context. And it can grow into a community institution that cares more about the people and is more focused on empowering the people. As a religious-based, democratic, nationalist, open social organization, according to Hamka Haq

from Bamusi, it is "rahmah Islam which is full of brotherhood and mutual cooperation." And "so far there has been no rejection of Bamusi's values, only people usually see that Bamusi is a PDI Perjuangan mass organization."

### 4.3 Bamusi communicates from the perspective of public opinionin

order to win the Presidential, DPR RI, DPRD1 and DPRD2 elections, with the existence of an Islamic faction in the PDI Perjuangan, on the one hand it provides benefits for the PDI Perjuangan and gets support from Islamic circles. For Muhammadiyah or NU or other mass organizations it also provides benefits, because they can voice their political interests through the PDI Perjuangan.

In the Charter of Struggle published by the PDI Perjuangan, it is stated that the party which is historically connected to the PNI emphasizes that it has the ideology of Pancasila and is characterized by nationalism, democracy and social justice. The confirmation of this ideology is made clear in the PDI Perjuangan's Popular Nationalism Manifesto that since its inception and after going through the dialectic history of its development, the PDI Perjuangan has placed and solidified popular nationalism as its main ideology. To provide a common understanding and create public opinion, Bamusi provides good information in the form of one-stop guidance by publishing a book of articles with the title National Islamic Thought. This book contains nine articles from internal Bamusi management writers and one article by Sukarno, which was actually published in the Friday Bulletin which was also published by Bamusi. Most of the articles contained in this book discuss Islamic and national issues in the local Indonesian context, discussing the role of Bamusi who is determined to uphold and glorify the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) while still respecting pluralism within the boundaries of*Islamic>*.

## 5  Discussion

Bamusi political communication, which is based on the interpretation of self-action driven by the desire to create a moderate Islam, interactions in Bamusi are influenced by social position, economics and social roles and political communication transactions in Bamusi, creating meaning that continues to develop during the interaction process. Baitul Muslimin Indonesia must rely on the appreciation of national insight, a high sense of nationalism, based on Pancasila, respect for pluralism and love for the homeland, the aim of which refers to the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The discourse developed by Bamusi was in accordance with Madjid's thoughts which did not support the formation of an Islamic state, for which reason it had no basis in the Koran. Madjid is not against democracy and deliberation. Madjid and Paramadina seem to involve the development of inherited Islamic culture. Society, in Madjid's understanding, remains part of communitarianism.[23] By promoting the image of moderate Islam and prioritizing the value of pluralism, Bamusi succeeded in attracting the attention and gaining support from various religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah which is considered "modernist," tends to get strong support in urban areas, and NU which is considered a "traditional" group which has influence. widespread in rural areas it seems that Bamusi is targeting the moderate Islamic voter segment to expand a larger mass base and increase the electability level of the PDI-P, as according to Aoron Cicourel, humans do not exist apart from their motives and goals. [24]

Bamusi's presence attracted the attention of many people because many figures from the largest Islamic mass organizations, such as Muhammadiyah and NU, joined this organization. As a result, the public gave mixed responses to Bamusi's presence. Although Bamusi describes itself as a da'wah-oriented Islamic organization, the responses generally have political overtones. This happened because of the strong connection between Bamusi as an Islamic mass organization and its status as an organizational wing of the PDI Perjuangan. Bamusi's activities, even though they had a missionary motive, also had a political dimension as the religious wing of the PDI Perjuangan. In every activity, Bamusi always voices the spirit and identity of the PDI Perjuangan, which aims to support the party. The main aim of this approach is to change the public's negative perception of the PDI Perjuangan, so that they no longer have a negative view of the party. A person's response and view of Bamusi activities is not only based on the action directly, but is also influenced by the "meaning" attributed to the action. In social interactions, the use of symbols, interpretation, and giving meaning to other people's actions becomes important. Each individual selects, examines, and groups meanings according to the situation and his action tendencies, as proposed by Blumer's social theory. A person's response and view of Bamusi activities is not only based on the action directly, but is also influenced by the "meaning" attributed to the action. In social interactions, the use of symbols, interpretation, and giving meaning to other people's actions becomes important. Each individual selects, examines, and groups meanings according to the situation and his action tendencies, as proposed by Blumer's social theory. A person's response and view of Bamusi activities is not only based on the action directly, but is also influenced by the "meaning" attributed to the action. In social interactions, the use of symbols, interpretation, and giving meaning to other people's actions becomes important. Each individual selects, examines, and groups meanings according to the situation and his action tendencies, as proposed by Blumer's social theory.[25]By using and carrying the flag in every Bamusi activity, the public will convey the meaning that PDI Perjuangan is close to Muslims so that it can erase the negative stigma of PDI Perjuangan being an anti-Islam party. [26]

Baitul Muslimin Indonesia (Bamusi) carries out political communication through various activities aimed at conveying information. This process includes directions from the party chairman and harmonious interaction between organizational members. Proportional communication between leaders and members is very important to maintain harmony and avoid conflict in the organization. The formation of Bamusi has two strategic objectives, namely internal and external. Internally, as a wing of the PDI Perjuangan, Bamusi must be in harmony with the goals of the PDI Perjuangan and reflect the characteristics of the party, such as appreciation of national insight, a high sense of nationalism, based on Pancasila, and love and loyalty to the homeland. Bamusi also plays a role in promoting moderate Islam and pluralism, which is in accordance with the development of Islamic society in Indonesia. During the early 1970s, the socio-political situation in Indonesia influenced contemporary Muslim attitudes, but since then, religious pluralism has developed and cooperation between religious adherents has increased. Intellectual forums with a focus on this goal have also increasingly developed in the last 30 years. Even though the MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council) issued a ban on the Trilogy of Reform in 2005, this decision was considered too late because at that time, the trilogy had become a social and political reality in Indonesia. Secularism, liberalism and pluralism continue to operate and influence various aspects of people's lives. Even so, this trilogy still sparked controversy and received challenges from Islamic movements and orthodox Islamic understanding who challenged its existence. Devotion highlighting the importance of Islamic concepts as mediators or solutions in overcoming conservative and liberal views which often cause high tension in intercultural communication in society. Meeting people from different

backgrounds can make a positive contribution to social integration, but differences also have the potential to cause conflict if not managed well. Therefore, cross-cultural communication plays an important role in building better understanding and reducing potential conflicts.

Bamusi in an effort to build internal political communication, provides internal communication channels aimed at creating group identity, strengthening togetherness and unity, building integrity, increasing loyalty, coordinating activities and managing feedback. Through the various types of activities he carries out, Bamusi tries to build a strong and well-established identity within his group. By becoming the religious wing of the PDI Perjuangan and focusing on the Moderate Islam campaign, Bamusi had an important role in helping the PDI Perjuangan achieve victory in the elections. However, this success raised questions from Assyaukanie regarding the failure of Islamic parties in the previous three elections. This invites consideration of the political strategies and approaches that Islamic parties must take to gain wider support from society. Even though there are many reasons that influence changes in the political attitudes of Islamic boarding school students, the role of the state, especially during the Soeharto New Order era, is one of the main factors that is widely discussed in writing. During his reign, Soeharto implemented repressive policies towards Islam, which slowly influenced the political attitudes and mindset of the Indonesian Muslim community. Apart from Suharto's role and contribution, Assyaukanie also mentioned the existence of "secularization from outside" and the process of "secularization from within" which contributed to changes in the political attitudes of Muslims in Indonesia.

Bamusi uses communication from a public opinion perspective as part of a strategy to win the General Election. PDI Perjuangan emphasized popular nationalism as the party's main ideology, and Bamusi attempted to spread the same understanding and create public opinion that supported this ideology. Views and perceptions regarding the formation and existence of Baitul Muslimin Indonesia cannot be separated from the role played by the press and mass media In preparation for the 2019 presidential election which coincides with the legislative election, Bamusi is trying to build a positive image and gain support from the public by expressing his support for Jokowi. Despite taking part in legislative elections, Bamusi's focus was more on winning the party as a whole rather than individual wins in legislative elections. PDI Perjuangan has a weak point in its political agenda because some groups consider the party's program to be secular. Bamusi's presence is considered an attempt to spread and indoctrinate ideology through a spiritualistic approach to society. With this approach, Bamusi attempted to gain support from Islamist circles. Bamusi carried out various campaign activities by visiting constituent bases spread across remote areas and also making visits to Islamic boarding schools. Islamic boarding schools are considered one of the strategic places for campaigns. This is because Islamic boarding schools have a significant influence in society, so they are an important target in efforts to gain support and expand the reach of Bamusi's political messages.

With Bamusi's presence, there was a change in the PDI Perjuangan organizational structure which showed a strengthening of political identity and political representation. This is a consequence of the increasingly open and increasing political participation since the reform era until now. These changes also reflect the identity political struggle between indigenous and non-indigenous communities, as well as between Muslim and non-Muslim groups, as expressed by Bakti. If not managed well, Bamusi becomes a source of conflict between communication actors due to differences in views and encouragement from groups and individuals within the organization. Organizational behavior is influenced by the interests and ambitions of the various parties involved in Bamusi, that represents a particular identity. On the other hand, identity politics which prioritizes religious identity is becoming increasingly thickened, this is becoming a huge threat to the integrity of the nation. very ironic, like the 2019 Election and 2014 Election

which caused polarization. Identity politics destroys the foundations of national life and even goes against human values and justice.

## 6  Conclusion

The strategic engagement of Bamusi by the PDI-P signifies a pivotal shift in the party's political communication strategy, aiming to reshape its public image and electoral appeal among Muslim voters in Indonesia. The findings underscore the effectiveness of incorporating religious figures and engaging in religious activities to alter negative perceptions and rebrand a political party. This approach has not only facilitated PDI-P's penetration into the Muslim voter base but also contributed to a redefined party identity that harmonizes nationalist and religious elements. The implications of this study highlight the evolving nature of political identity within Indonesian politics, suggesting further research on the long-term impacts of such strategies on electoral outcomes and party dynamics.

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