

## **“POLITICS AS DA’WAH”**

# **A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF THE MEMBER DEVELOPMENT UNIT OF THE PROSPEROUS JUSTICE PARTY (PKS) IN CULTIVATING THE SPIRITUALITY OF ITS CADRES IN SUKOHARJO (1998–2020S)**

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### **Abstract**

Political parties are institutions that function as platforms to accommodate, organize, and channel public aspirations based on specific visions and missions. Within a democratic system, political parties play a crucial role both in the legislative process in parliament and in articulating public interests. One prominent political party is the Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*, PKS), which originates from the 'Tarbiyah da'wah movement and upholds an Islamic ideological framework aimed at achieving justice and social welfare.

PKS formulates its vision, mission, and strategic direction through its statutes and bylaws (*Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga*, AD/ART), which serve as guidelines for organizational governance, political education, and internal conflict resolution. The development of PKS is closely intertwined with the political dynamics following the 1998 Reformasi, which opened broader spaces for freedom of expression and organization, as well as with the tradition of campus-based da'wah that serves as its cadre recruitment base.

Through disciplined cadre formation, the *halaqah* system, and integrity-based leadership, PKS has established itself as a significant force in Islamic politics, both at the national and local levels, including in Sukoharjo. This study highlights the role of PKS as a representation of the transformation of a da'wah movement into a modern political institution rooted in Islamic values, while simultaneously adapting to Indonesia's democratic system.

**Keywords:** *Democracy; Halaqah; PKS; Tarbiyah Da'wah*

## Introduction

Political parties are institutional bodies that serve to represent and organize collective aspirations based on the visions and missions of particular groups united under a shared identity. They function as platforms for accommodating and organizing public aspirations in accordance with specific ideological orientations. Within a democratic system, political parties play a vital role both in parliamentary governance and in the broader public sphere. Without political parties, public aspirations risk being neglected, potentially leading to social dissatisfaction. Moreover, political parties play a crucial role in the legislative process, including formulating and proposing laws that reflect the interests of society (Budiardjo, 2015).

Political parties are driven by leaders who play a central role in shaping and developing their cadres in accordance with the party's vision and mission (Hendrarto, 2006). The Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) is a political entity that emerged from the aspiration of a group of individuals to improve themselves, their families, society, and the state. PKS seeks to integrate Islamic values into political practice with the aim of achieving justice and social welfare for all citizens. It grounds its political ideology in Islam while promoting a vision of Islam interpreted within the frameworks of democracy, justice, welfare, and truth (Bukhori, 2018).

The primary political objective of PKS is to realize Islamic ideals in both societal and state life. The party emphasizes the gradual implementation of sharia across various domains of life. Its vision and mission serve as the foundation for the formulation of its statutes and bylaws (Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga, AD/ART). These documents function as fundamental instruments that regulate the organization's structure and operations, particularly within the context of political parties in Indonesia. They include provisions regarding foundational principles and objectives; vision and mission; party name, symbols, and insignia; organizational structure; internal regulations and decision-making processes; political education; and party finances (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 2 of 2008).

The 1970s to the 1980s marked a challenging period for Islamic groups in Indonesia in conducting da'wah openly (Fuad, 2019). In *Sejarah Kebudayaan Islam: Intuisi dan Gerakan*, Azyumardi Azra highlights the role of intuition in the development of culture and social movements. Azra emphasizes that intuition is not merely an individual capacity for decision-making, but also a form of collective intellectual force capable of generating major social movements (Azra, n.d.).

In response to these constraints, students established campus-based da'wah organizations as a means of continuing religious outreach while avoiding direct confrontation with the state. At the time, the Indonesian government implemented strict policies to control Islamic political expression and restricted Muslim leaders from participating in public spheres such as political discussions and party formation (Azra, n.d.).

The political transformation following the fall of Suharto in 1998 marked the beginning of the Reformasi era, characterized by a more democratic environment in which freedom of expression and organization was increasingly recognized. This shift led to the revitalization of various Islamic groups, including the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and

Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah, which contributed to the emergence of new Islamic organizations (Jamhari & Jahroni, 2004).

The development of political parties in post-Reformasi Indonesia reflects significant pluralism. Various political parties have emerged, representing diverse ideologies ranging from Islamic to secular nationalist orientations. Coalitions and alliances among parties have become essential in forming parliamentary majorities and influencing state policies. The Justice Party (Partai Keadilan, PK) was born out of the euphoria of Reformasi following the fall of Suharto in 1998. This euphoria not only reflected public aspirations for change but also revealed the latent strength of long-suppressed social movements. PK can be understood as a manifestation of the Tarbiyah movement, inspired by the model of the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwanul Muslimin) in Egypt (Mawardi, 2013).

The Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia emerged through student-led da'wah activities on campuses, such as Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK) and KAMMI. This phenomenon is estimated to have involved around 10–15% of students in major public universities during the 1980s–1990s (Bubalo, 2012; Fuad, 2019). Initially, this community was known as usrah, a term adopted from the Muslim Brotherhood. Over time, the movement evolved by incorporating political education, guiding students to understand their socio-political rights (Bubalo, Fealy, & Mason, 2012).

Hasan al-Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 in Egypt with the mission of restoring the Qur'an and Hadith as the foundation of society. The movement actively engaged in community empowerment, education, and health services, enabling it to spread widely across Egypt (Yuniartin, 2018; Bubalo, 2012). The concept of tarbiyah adopted by PKS has a direct intellectual lineage with the Muslim Brotherhood through publications, lectures, and seminars (Bubalo, Fealy, & Mason, 2012). PKS also adopts five central slogans of the Muslim Brotherhood: "Allah is our goal, the Qur'an is our

constitution, the Prophet is our leader, jihad is our path, and martyrdom is our aspiration” (Yakin, 2016).

### **Research Scope and Problem Formulation**

Based on the background outlined above, this study focuses on the role of the Member Development Unit of the Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*, PKS) in Sukoharjo Regency. To ensure analytical clarity, the study defines its scope in accordance with historical research principles, encompassing spatial, temporal, and disciplinary dimensions (Kartodirjo, 1992).

The spatial scope of this research is limited to Sukoharjo Regency. The selection of this location is based on two main considerations. First, studies on PKS in Sukoharjo remain relatively limited, making this research an important contribution to the study of local political history. Second, Sukoharjo is a region with a predominantly Muslim population, rendering it a relevant site for examining the dynamics of Islamic politics (Ogara, 2020).

The temporal scope of the study covers the period from 1998 to the 2020s. The year 1998 is chosen as the starting point due to its significance as the Reformasi moment that led to the establishment of the Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan*, PK), which later transformed into PKS. This period also encompasses the development of PKS as an Islamic political party actively engaged in both local and national political dynamics (Budiardjo, 2002).

The disciplinary scope of this research lies within the field of political history, particularly Islamic politics. According to Budiardjo (2002), politics is inherently linked to dynamics of power, conflict, consensus-building, cadre recruitment, and political culture. Therefore, the case study of PKS in Sukoharjo can be understood through its transformation from the Justice Party into PKS, as well as through its cadre development processes conducted via *balaqah*. Based on these research parameters, the research questions are formulated as follows:

1. How have the dynamics of Islamic politics in Sukoharjo Regency evolved from 1998 to the 2020s?  
How did the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) emerge and develop?
2. What forms of cadre development are implemented by PKS in Sukoharjo, and what are the impacts of these processes?

### **Research Objectives and Significance**

The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To explain the dynamics of Islamic politics in Sukoharjo Regency during the period 1998–2020s, with a particular focus on the role of PKS in local political developments.
2. To identify the historical emergence of PKS, including the factors that contributed to its formation, the challenges it has faced, and its role in both local and national politics.
3. To describe the process of cadre development within PKS in Sukoharjo and to analyze its impact on the behavior of cadres in social and political life.

The significance of this study is both theoretical and practical. Theoretically, it contributes to enriching the literature on the history of Islamic politics in Indonesia, particularly concerning the role of PKS in local political contexts. The findings may also serve as a reference for studies in political science, sociology, and Islamic civilization. Practically, this study is expected to benefit PKS by providing insights for evaluating and improving its cadre development methods, thereby enhancing the contribution of its members in both social and political spheres.

### **Conceptual and Theoretical Framework**

#### **The Concept of Islamic Politics**

The concept of Islamic politics positions political activity as an integral part of *da'wah*. From this perspective, politics is not merely a struggle for power, but rather an instrument for realizing Islamic

values within society. Politics is thus understood as an extension of *da'wah*, aimed at establishing a social order grounded in the principles of *sharia*.

Hasan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*) in Egypt, is a central figure in the development of this idea. According to al-Banna (1998), Islam is a comprehensive system encompassing spiritual, social, economic, and political dimensions. Therefore, the involvement of Muslims in politics is considered an obligation to uphold *sharia*. He emphasized that an Islamic state should implement Islamic law in order to create a just society. Al-Banna (1998) also argued that political participation serves as a strategic means to protect Muslims from the penetration of secular ideologies or foreign influences deemed incompatible with religious values. Thus, Islamic political movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood aim to strengthen *da'wah* through formal political arenas.

### **Dakwah Siyasah (Political Da'wah)**

*Dakwah siyasah* refers to an approach that integrates the mission of *da'wah* with political strategy. This approach emphasizes that participation in politics is not merely about acquiring power, but rather a means of upholding religious values. In practice, many Islamic movements establish political parties as vehicles for advancing religious aspirations through constitutional channels.

As explained by al-Banna (1997), political activity is part of religious obligation. It should be understood as an effort to promote the welfare (*maslahah*) of the Muslim community and to expand the reach of *da'wah* within society. Therefore, *dakwah siyasah* underscores the integration of religious values with practical political dynamics, positioning Muslim participation in politics as a form of religious devotion.

### **Islamization of Politics**

The Islamization of politics refers to the transformation of religious movements into organized political forces. This phenomenon is not limited to the Arab world but is also evident in Indonesia. The campus-based *da'wah* movement during the New Order era laid the foundation for the emergence of the Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan*, PK), which later transformed into the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) following the 1998 Reformasi. PKS represents a clear example of how a *da'wah*-based organization entered the realm of formal politics to influence state policies in accordance with Islamic principles.

Through participation in elections and parliamentary processes, PKS seeks to integrate Islamic values into public policy. This aligns with the theory of political Islamization, which posits that *da'wah* can expand its influence through political institutionalization (Barton, 2002). In this sense, politics becomes a broader instrument of *da'wah*, encompassing influence over legislation, governance, and the broader social life of society.

### Research Method

This study employs the historical method, defined by Notosusanto (1984) as a set of systematic principles and procedures for analyzing past events. The purpose of the historical method is to reconstruct the past through rigorous stages of inquiry (Kuntowijoyo, 2018).

The stages of historical research consist of five main steps. First, topic selection, which is based on the researcher's emotional and intellectual proximity to the subject of study (Kuntowijoyo, 2018). Second, heuristics, namely the collection of data from primary and secondary sources, including archives, interviews, and official documents such as the statutes and bylaws (AD/ART) of PKS that explain cadre development mechanisms through *balaqah*. Third, verification, which involves source criticism to assess both authenticity (external criticism) and credibility of content (internal



criticism) (Sjamsudin, 2007). Fourth, interpretation, referring to the analysis of collected facts to produce historical understanding (Abdurrahman, 1999). Fifth, historiography, which is the process of writing the reconstructed historical findings in the form of scholarly work.

## Findings

### **The Emergence of PKS: Reformasi Euphoria and the Campus Da'wah Base**

The emergence of the Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan*, PK) in 1998 cannot be separated from the context of Reformasi euphoria following the collapse of the New Order regime, as well as the dynamics of campus-based *da'wah* movements. The Tarbiyah movement, rooted in *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus* (LDK), served as the foundation for the emergence of a modern Islamic political organization later known as PK (PKS Sukoharjo, n.d.-a). This foundation enabled the party to position Islam not only as a moral identity but also as an instrument of political transformation within a democratic framework.

The failure of PK to surpass the parliamentary threshold in the 1999 general election revealed the limitations of newly established Islamic parties in navigating a highly competitive multi-party system. However, the rebranding into the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in 2003 marked a turning point, reaffirming the party's commitment to cadre development, organizational consolidation, and the expansion of its electoral base (PKS Sukoharjo, n.d.-a).

### **Organizational Structure in Sukoharjo**

Organizationally, PKS has developed a hierarchical structure extending from the central to the local levels. The Regional Executive Board (*Dewan Pengurus Daerah*, DPD) of PKS in Sukoharjo represents the practical implementation of cadre-based politics at the local level. Party management functions not only administratively but also

ideologically, as reflected in the existence of cadre development divisions, advisory councils, and female representation, which indicate inclusive political participation (KPU, 2025).

From the perspective of cadre party theory, PKS emphasizes internal recruitment and intensive cadre development. This is evident in Sukoharjo, where the organizational structure operates in a top-down manner from the central leadership, while being reinforced by a strong cadre base at the village and sub-district levels. Thus, the DPD in Sukoharjo does not merely function as an extension of the central authority but also as a laboratory of Islamic politics that integrates party ideology with local social realities.

### **The Islamic Political Ideology of PKS**

PKS positions itself as an Islamic party that integrates *da'wah* and democracy. On the one hand, it adopts Islamic values as the ethical foundation of its political orientation; on the other, it accepts the framework of Pancasila democracy as the arena for political engagement. For instance, the vision and mission of PKS Sukoharjo emphasize the aspiration to build a civil society that is just, prosperous, and respectful of pluralism (PKS Sukoharjo, n.d. -b).

Analytically, PKS pursues a path of ideological moderation: it does not formally demand the establishment of an Islamic state, but instead seeks to internalize Islamic values within public policy. This *da'wah*-oriented political approach reflects PKS's strategy in bridging the ideological demands of Islamism with the realities of democratic pluralism in Indonesia.

### **Halaqah as an Instrument of Ideologization**

*Halaqah* serves as the primary instrument for cadre development within PKS. As a small and routine forum, it functions as a space for actualizing the party's vision and mission, strengthening spirituality, and exercising moral supervision over cadres. From the perspective of cadre party theory, *halaqah* can be understood as an effective mechanism for ideological internalization, as cadres are trained in a structured and measurable manner (Ogara, 2020).

The practice of *halaqah* also reflects a political pattern oriented toward the formation of collective identity. Through *halaqah*, cadres not only receive doctrinal material but also develop emotional bonds and social solidarity, which in turn reinforce loyalty to the party.

### **Principles of Cadre Development and the Role of the Murabbi**

The fundamental principles of cadre development within PKS are integrity, moral conduct (*akhlak*), and social responsibility. The *murabbi*, as a mentoring figure, plays a dual role: as an instructor of ideological content and as a moral exemplar. This function positions the *murabbi* not merely as an instructor, but as an agent of ideological transmission who connects cadres with Islamic values and the party's broader mission (Arrifqi, 2021).

From the perspective of political sociology, the *murabbi* can be understood as a gatekeeper who ensures that cadre development remains aligned with the party's ideological framework. This process of selection and supervision maintains internal cohesion while minimizing the potential for deviation from the party's ideological line.

### **The Impact of Halaqah on Cadres and Society**

Internally, the impact of *halaqah* is reflected in the militancy, integrity, and loyalty of cadres. Field studies indicate that PKS cadres tend to exhibit high levels of discipline, ideological commitment, and strong adherence to party directives (Ogara, 2020).

Externally, *halaqah* produces cadres who actively engage in community service, ranging from social initiatives and educational programs to disaster relief efforts. These activities simultaneously reinforce the public image of PKS as a clean and caring political party (Media Alkhairaat, 2021).

Thus, *halaqah* can be understood as an instrument that not only strengthens internal party cohesion but also expands PKS's social legitimacy within society. Within the framework of contemporary Islamic politics, PKS—through *halaqah*—has successfully developed

a model of cadre formation that integrates religious, ideological, and socio-practical dimensions.

## **Political Da'wah of PKS in Sukoharjo (1998–2025)**

### **The Emergence of PKS and the Foundation of Political Da'wah (1998–2004)**

The Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan*, PK) was established on July 20, 1998, amid the euphoria of Reformasi, which opened the gates for democracy and political freedom. PK emerged from the campus-based *da'wah* movement known as Tarbiyah, which had developed rapidly across Indonesian universities since the 1980s. This movement promoted Islam as a comprehensive solution to social, economic, and political issues (Machmudi, 2006).

In the 1999 general election, PK failed to surpass the parliamentary threshold; however, its *da'wah* orientation remained intact. In 2002, PK was rebranded as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), adopting a more accommodative approach to practical politics (Noor, 2012). During this early phase, PKS's political *da'wah* remained highly ideological, emphasizing the integration of Islam into all aspects of life.

### **Consolidation and Expansion of Political Da'wah (2004–2010)**

In the 2004 general election, PKS secured 7.34% of the national vote and successfully established its influence in several major cities. Its political *da'wah* began to shift from a strong emphasis on Islamist ideology toward broader public issues, such as anti-corruption efforts, public service, and bureaucratic reform (Hidayat, 2011).

PKS was no longer exclusively rooted in the Tarbiyah movement, but expanded its *da'wah* into the social sphere. Programs such as social services, education, healthcare, and mass religious gatherings became key instruments of its outreach. During this phase,

PKS sought to present itself as a “clean and caring” party that was professional and closely aligned with public aspirations.

### **PKS Da'wah in the Dynamics of National Politics (2010–2019)**

PKS's involvement in both government and opposition roles introduced new challenges. Corruption cases involving party elites tarnished its image as a *da'wah*-oriented party (Mujani, Liddle, & Ambardi, 2012). Nevertheless, its *da'wah* structure was maintained through *halaqah*, regular study circles, and social activities.

In addition, PKS became increasingly adaptive to the rise of identity politics in Indonesia. Its political *da'wah* extended beyond moral rhetoric to active engagement in issues affecting the Muslim community, including opposition to policies perceived as detrimental to the majority Muslim population. This period marks a significant phase in which PKS functioned as both a *da'wah* party and a critical opposition actor within the political system.

### **PKS Da'wah in the Contemporary Era (2019–2025)**

Amid shifting orientations among younger generations, which have become increasingly fluid, PKS has transformed by prioritizing universal issues such as social justice, health, environmental concerns, and healthy lifestyles. Political *da'wah* is no longer confined to religious study circles but is also conducted through inclusive and popular mediums.

For instance, on September 13, 2025, PKS Sukoharjo organized a 21-kilometer run to commemorate National Sports Day (*HAORNAS*). The head of the PKS Sukoharjo Regional Executive Board (DPD), Tito Setiyo Nugroho, emphasized that this event was not merely a sporting celebration but part of political *da'wah* aimed at encouraging a healthy lifestyle and strengthening social cohesion (KBRN, 2025). *Da'wah* through sports reflects a new face of PKS that adapts to the needs and preferences of younger generations.

### **Case Study: Local Da'wah Practices of PKS Sukoharjo**

PKS Sukoharjo provides a concrete example of how the party's political *da'wah* is translated at the local level. Routine activities include religious study sessions, social services, aid distribution, and cadre development through *halaqah*. All of these are framed within a model of social *da'wah* that emphasizes the integration of Islamic moral values, solidarity, and social responsibility.

The Regional Assembly (*Musyawarah Daerah*, Musda) held on September 14, 2025, marked an important moment to renew the collective commitment of cadres. Musda functions not only as a political forum but also as a *da'wah* platform that generates strategies for community service based on Islamic values (KBRN, 2025).

#### **6. Politics as Da'wah**

From its inception, PKS has conceptualized politics as an integral part of *da'wah*, inspired by the thought of Hasan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, who emphasized that Islam encompasses all aspects of life, including social, economic, and political domains (al-Banna, 2002). For PKS, politics is not merely a contest for power but a means of fulfilling the mandate of *da'wah* on a broader scale (Nuryanti, 2014).

In Sukoharjo, this idea is manifested through cadre development, *halaqah*, and community service. Politics becomes a pathway for promoting social justice while simultaneously strengthening the religious identity of society.

### **Cultural Da'wah: Wayang Kulit as a Medium of Sympathetic Politics**

PKS's *da'wah* also extends into the cultural domain. On September 24, 2023, PKS Sukoharjo organized a *wayang kulit* performance featuring the story *Wahyu Makutharama*, performed by the puppeteer Ki Bagonk Darmono. The performance conveyed moral messages about leadership and responsibility, enriched by the humor of the character Gareng Tralala, which entertained hundreds of attendees (KBA News, 2023).

According to PKS Sukoharjo legislative candidate Tito Setiyo Nugroho, *wayang kulit* is not merely a form of entertainment but also a medium of cultural *da'wah* that integrates Islamic values with local wisdom. The involvement of PKS figures in such events reflects a strategy of sympathetic politics, in which *da'wah* is delivered through cultural forms familiar to the community. This performance demonstrates that PKS's *da'wah* is not rigid but flexible and contextual. Through this approach, PKS expands its base of public support while maintaining its social legitimacy.

Since 1998, the trajectory of PKS illustrates its evolution from an ideologically driven party rooted in the Tarbiyah movement into a *da'wah*-oriented party that adapts to public issues, identity politics, and cultural strategies. From the national to the local level, PKS consistently affirms that politics is *da'wah*, implemented through various mediums, including *halaqah* forums, social initiatives, sports activities, and traditional arts such as *wayang kulit*. This trajectory reflects the unique dynamics of PKS as an Islamic political party in Indonesia—ideological, adaptive, and cultural—continually seeking a balance between its *da'wah* mission and the realities of contemporary politics.

## Conclusion

First, this study demonstrates that political parties occupy a vital position within Indonesia's democratic system, functioning both as channels for public aspirations and as drivers of political education. PKS emerged from the Reformasi movement of 1998, bringing the spirit of Islamic *da'wah* into the realm of modern politics, thereby integrating religious, social, and political roles within a single entity.

Second, the trajectory of PKS from the Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan*) to the Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*) illustrates its capacity to adapt to the dynamics of national politics. Its failure in the 1999 general election was met with restructuring, rebranding, and the strengthening of its cadre base, which later

became a crucial foundation for party consolidation at both central and regional levels.

Third, PKS in Sukoharjo represents a localized expression of a modern Islamic party that integrates ideological commitments with the social realities of the community. Its organizational structure functions not merely as an administrative apparatus but also as a platform for cadre development and political *da'wah* that directly engages with societal needs.

Fourth, *halaqah* as the primary instrument of cadre development has proven to play a significant role in maintaining the militancy, loyalty, and moral integrity of cadres. It serves not only as a forum for ideological internalization but also as a social space that fosters solidarity and encourages tangible contributions to society.

Fifth, PKS's *da'wah* strategy has evolved from a predominantly ideological emphasis toward a more inclusive approach encompassing public issues, social services, and cultural expressions. Activities such as social service programs, sports events, and even *wayang kulit* performances demonstrate the party's flexibility in building public sympathy while maintaining relevance within a pluralistic society.

Sixth, despite facing challenges such as corruption cases that have at times tarnished its image, PKS has retained its distinctive identity as a *da'wah*-oriented party. Through adaptive strategies, it has been able to respond to contemporary issues while preserving its ideological foundation rooted in the thought of Hasan al-Banna and the Tarbiyah movement tradition.

Seventh, this study concludes that PKS represents a concrete example of the Islamization of politics in Indonesia, positioning politics as a vehicle for *da'wah*. From the national to the local level, PKS exhibits a unique dynamic: ideological yet adaptive, religious yet cultural, and consistently oriented toward using politics as an instrument to achieve social justice and public welfare. Thus, the experience of PKS in Sukoharjo provides a valuable model for



understanding the interaction between Islamic *da'wah* and democracy within the context of contemporary Indonesian politics.

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