

The Relationship of Islam and The State in Contemporary Islamic Political Discourse in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to relate the views in the context of Islamic politics in Indonesia, this article is intended to explore issues relating to relations between Islam and the state. This study was motivated by the desire to criticize the development and relationship between Islam and the state which is very dynamically coloring the political situation in "Islamic majority country" Indonesia. This article concludes that understanding the relationship between religion and state with an Islamic political approach is not meant to establish a religious state or an Islamic state of Indonesia but rather to fill the spaces that are functionally religion in order society, nation, and state., and secularistic relations.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The connection between Islam and country lots talked about in world Islam, And on century 19th draft nation-state which popularized by west in world international, including area Indonesia, become popular in circles resident Islam (Platzdasch & Saravanamuttu, 2014). Although draft nation-state introduced on beginning century 19th, Islam and country new in a manner general become issue international on year 1940s century 20th. Since Indonesia declare independence on year 1945 and accept confession international *de jure* And *de facto*, question about Islam And country has become material debate fierce since moment. However in a manner historical, that started even before independence (Sopyan, 2021).

On period post-independence, connection between discourse Islam and country in state administration organization and organization non-government, party, organization mass from level organization and institution small until institution tall country, and executive, in a manner formal discussed by parliament country part and justice (Sufi & Yasmin, 2022). Interesting For browse pattern

thinking political Islam around conflict post independence between Islam and country, which looked at part circles as attitude moderate people Islam Indonesia moment. Because that, lots party which see success para leader people Islam in realize base philosophy country, Pancasila, through declaration Charter Jakarta year 1945 (Yani et al., 2022). However must knowledged no a little also which see this as "failure" "from cleric or leader movement Islam in words final from Charter Jakarta, specifically which related with Pancasila first, delete nine say from order, that is piety and obligation for operate law Islam for that follower which then changed become four say, that is order believe me to God which Maha The considered one as order most important in teachings Islam (Anwar, 2021; Lestari, 2016). Because that, Aaron Nasution state that correct say para cleric and leader Indonesia that connection Islam and country currently crisis and exhausting for people Islam Indonesia post independence for face problem "connection Islam and country" (Latifah, 2013).

In development, idea country Islam appear after election parliament year 1955. Moment that, in condition democracy parliamentary which develop since year 1950, Constituent Assembly chance compile constitution new, according to figure main. among them Mohammed Natsir situation this can understood when movement Islam in Indonesia year 1950s feel ideas innovative which develop from values Islam (Dimiyati et al., 2021). Besides that, debate about Islam and country keep going develop rapidly in Indonesia until this moment. Development this no free from discourse which develop in world Islam international on century 18th, 19 And 20, especially in countries East Middle And Africa, India and Pakistan. Mohammed Husain Haikal (1888- 1948).), Ali Abdul Raziq (1888-1966), Thaha Husein (1889-1973), Ahmad Luthfi al-Shayyid (1872-1963), Abdul Hamid son Bades (1890-1940), Ash Al-A'la al-Mawdudi (1903-1979), sayyid Qutb (1906-1966), Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949), Fazlurrahman (1919-1988), Ali Shariati (1933-1977).explained that people Islam which carry out teachings Islam with God is people Pancasila which also carry out Pancasila with good.

Although traced more far to behind, root political Islam can traced return to Century Mid, can traced return to origin origin Charter Medina, period Khulafa al-Rashidin, period appearance conflict between class Mu'awiyah and Khawarij on year first Hijri, until Bani Umayyah (Azra, 2000). Government and Abbasids thinking characters Islam classic and modern in on enough influential and coloring thinking political Islam and political Islam each, especially in relation with connection Islam and country in Indonesia on century 20th - from conservative until fundamentalist, model modernist to socialist-secular. In side other, idea and practice Islam political Indonesia no free from effort adjustment thinking political, connection between religion and country, start from model liberalism, socialism, secularism, marxism, until democracy originates from West (Witro, 2020).

Paradigm political East Middle, India and pakistani, which reflect domination religion country in thinking political world West, give birth to a number of sect thinking Islam. Thinking political during century 20th, that is genre and understand conservatism, fundamentalism, modernism, secularism and liberalism, God based on color religion nor nation-state. Interesting also that forms chaos still there is as phenomenon public Muslim moment this (Boullata, 2021). Whereas, situation this experienced no only by people Islam in Indonesia, but by all country which populated Muslim. Matter this reflected as phenomenon world Islam in movement thinking political and action political, in where identity and function Islam in country no once still and clear (Islamy, 2021; Wahyuni, 2011). Objective article this is for study connection between Islam and country, specifically in context issues contemporary like Islam and content country like democracy, public civil, right basic man, gender and globalization, rationality political Islam. And objectivity country from rationality political Islam.

2. METHODS

This study uses qualitative research techniques with a descriptive approach. Qualitative research. It seeks to clearly understand and interpret the meaning of interaction events in human behavior. Situations based on the researcher's unique perspective. Studies using qualitative techniques aim to thoroughly understand the object under study. Data is collected using various methods, The so-called data collection techniques of qualitative research obtain data through interviews, observations, and documentation. Interviews are conducted by asking multiple interviewees questions about a research theme and answering questions. Questions related to the problem under study.

In qualitative research, taxonomies, conceptualizations, and explanations are developed. Based on "incidents" that occurred during fieldwork. Therefore, it is impossible to separate the activities. Collect and analyze data from each other. Noeng Muhajir of Rijari suggests this idea attempts to systematically retrieve and organize observation records" in data analysis, interviews, etc. to deepen the researcher's understanding of the research subject and present it. Pass on your knowledge to others. In the meantime, we need to continue our analysis to further this understanding. Trying to find meaning. There are some implications based on this understanding. It should be emphasized that (a) data research efforts are on-site processes that involve various advance preparations, (b) systematic organization of findings on-site, (c) presentation of results on-site, (d) Look for a meaning that runs continuously until there is no other reason to reject it (Effendy, 2011). Here we need to improve the understanding of events and cases for researchers.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Political Dynamics of Islam and the State

One of the problems faced by Islam is Kuntowijoyo's theory that religion (Islam) has many dimensions, while politics has one dimension, namely the rational dimension (Azizah, 2018). So change religion become political means in a manner massive reduce importance religion. In side other, affairs political country is affairs rational, whereas religion is return revelation. According to Kuntowijoyo, ummah must is at in line front form policy Islam which rational, because if no, so majority Muslim Indonesia only will become passenger and no driver because driver moment. This is country or non-Muslims. In between two entity this, ie Islam (religion) and country, there is payload political. Policy that then form theory Islam political and policy country (Donohue, 1995). Because that, separation and equalization religion (Islam) And country no case easy. In discussion political, second entity This always conflicted and the discussion always long.

Use term political Islam refers on paradigm which confess necessity public Muslim which function in a manner optimal for realize public Islam, and no intended for realize thinking and idea which want to it is built, namely the State Islam or Country Religion (Platzdasch & Saravanamuttu, 2014). Wrong one perspective which proper considered for convincing people Islam about rationality Islam is description Issa Boullata, which quote idea cleric Lebanese Hasan Sha'b that "Ijtihad with Spirit Islam and adaptation to change condition And need man", and that started with "dynamics creation Lord in Al-Qur'an". Sha'b in a manner normative presenting Islam as system belief with dynamics which still through Al-Qur'an and creativity intellectual reason Islam (Boullata, 2021).

Known with draft Al-Qur'an and Hadith. Al-Qur'an with say "iqra" is order God for be read man And is revelation First Which lowered God to Prophet Mohammed SAW. Whereas through hadith, that is two word Prophet Muhammad, first: "No there is religion for they Which No use sense, sense and reason" (HR. Bukhari) and hadith in history preaching Mu'adh son mountain in Yemen, that is when Prophet give freedom to her for develop pattern ijthad or use reason wide on things which No there is in Al-Qur'an or hadith must found. Finally, on a functional level, it becomes more convincing when he coined the popular term al-Shahrastānī. Sha'ab also describes humans as God's tools on earth to sustain dynamism, creativity in freedom, love and justice (Harisudin, 2021). From two statement in on at least we can formulate that rationality Islam no need again questioned, Because Islam of course religion which rational. The problem is implementation reason Islam That Alone in face problems present throughout era, specifically in life people Islam Good as individual nor as group public micro and macro. Because That, understanding reason Islam, also in problem political Islam, Still need translations which reformed, so that no fixated on concepts normative ones only raises attitude static (Ma'afi, 2013).

Change which more realistic and urgent in build quality work that is Source Power Man (HR) Islamic. Source Power man which owned people Islam no proportional, even percentage very tall, compared to with suffering And problem which must resolved, Good as religion Which currently develop nor as religion Which own identity in world Which searching for by something country. Here it is focus conflict in body Islam, specifically in relation with political Islam, good in a manner theoretical nor practical (Effendy, 2011). Because along development people Islam, they Also try find teak himself alone, which aligned with values universality Islam. This long journey resulted in the abandonment of wa *lawḍ'i* (artificial man) which more known with law positive in one side, and law samawī (teaching Lord) in side other. Action clan rationalist Islam always questioned in context country in where they stay, although people Islam has give birth to discipline which called *fiqh al-siyasi* (law political), which on turn give birth to fatwa political. About jurisprudence political which coverage so wide in literature Islam, A Djazuli has simplify it again into three parts (Zaprulkhan, 2013):

Jurisprudence political, which discuss about connection between leader And people and often called as Dusturiyyah. Category That covers, for example, connection country And religion, law appointment leader, election leader, and old (taking oath). 2) Jurisprudence political, which discuss about connection between country or dawliyyah, like pattern connection between country, including connection with country non Muslim. Fugh political which discuss about treasure or maliyya.

During 14 century, people Islam has show thinking which different in respond problem new. Difference reaction people Islam to draft base they, that is Al-Qur'an and hadith, moment This leaving question which very important related situation people Islam in 10 century final, which no show change fundamental in construction which new. A building Civilization. However in fact, world Muslim not yet accept reality that people Islam Still very far even marginalized in world international compared to with world non-Muslims like countries Europe, America, Russia, Korea South, China, Japan, And Australian, fine in science; in field information, communication And technology as well as in field political and economy (Atmadja, Saputra, Tama, & Paranoan, 2021; Oktaviani, Alaidrus, & Siswanto, 2022). related with proposition in on, Indonesia as country and nation which populated majority religious Islam, make an effort answer questions problematic the. Response people Islam Indonesia in build And advance his people during This lead on effort reform in various field life social, nation and

patriotic, which in a manner historical can shared become four period, that is: Pre Independence, Post Independence, Order New and Post Reorganization (Nurfadilah, 2021).

As for the country in understanding now is country with elements region, power, people and sovereignty. Based on understanding in on, Indonesia as country is creation nation Indonesia alone, so that country in position object operate function in accordance with rule which set by ruler country. In here objectivity country realize his goal in various aspect life its creator, that is interest inhabitant his country, start from political, economy, education, culture, and religion (Hasan, 2015). Values teachings religion (including Islam), according to lots circle, represented in part big regulation legislation country, formalized Good in a manner normative nor legal by mandate people. with thereby, from corner view political, country react position religion (Islam) in constellation country to existence religion in Country Unity Republic Indonesia. which There is in side other. In side other, position religion, specifically Islam, offer his participation in draft country based Pancasila. nation-state is reality history which no can avoided by nation where even, including nation Indonesia (Kusumawardani, Akhwani, Nafiah, & Taufiq, 2021; Lestari, 2016).

In outside demands global, nation-state is draft country modern which promising solution for every nation for face reality pluralism, tolerance, and democracy. Because that, understanding which God about phenomenon country modern become important for every academics, thinker or practitioner country, because since birth draft country nation on century 19th, world Islam return deal with it. problem new which not once unimaginable. since beginning century 20th, when various movement nationality appear in context colonial, attention movement Islam the more directed on issues social, specifically education, enhancement social economy, And preaching in framework deployment Islam. Based on research by Hamzah Hasan, the Palopo State Islamic Institute of South Sulawesi in his journal entitled "Responding to Contemporary Islamic Political Discourse in Indonesia" states that the relationship between Islam and the state is still dominated by politics and the economy and Indonesia's political response to contemporary Islamic politics must be articulated. according to belief religion they (Rahardjo, 1999). Every organization business. country in understanding country national is idea modernity which most important. para leader business and scholar Indonesia try think as an effort to adjust the development of society in various aspects. On century 14th, Islam Still seldom, and no once submit draft statehood modern And implementation, because people Islam moment that no find draft model country nation, but model leadership caliphate. monarchy in form caliphate, amir, şulţan And *al-mamlakah* (Harahap, 1994).

About practice a number of country majority Muslim, it seems reflect reality symbolic formalistic Islam in government country the. Even, very impressed that symbolism formalist only used as tool cout d'etat, which in the practice precisely on the contrary. In context country modern, Indonesia and Pancasila is portrait country modern in formulation ideally as contained in opening Constitution 1945. Effort bring closer religion to level formal Country Islam Indonesia it seems fail Because considered contrary with ambition country modern. By Because that, here it is wrong one point important from Bahtiar Effendy about ideas nation-state contrary with draft *ummah*, that is public Islam which No know boundaries political or territorial. Idea model thinking Bahtiar Effendy lots used in countries which system and base the politics side on teachings Islam (Effendy, 2011).

About country modern and modernization Islam, M. Shafi'i Anwar state that modernization is issue which relatively new for people Islam so that reasonable If group Muslim which different raises answer And response which different also. A number of view in on awaken we that in country modern

not yet of course There is religion modern, in matter this Indonesia modern And Islam modern. Each from they must do reform which more real and dynamic for find identity modern they alone without must sacrifice country or religion where even. Connection functional Islam and country thinking political which put forward Islam since beginning until century 20th aim solely for give power meaning normative, that is how reach government or leadership which ideal and moral as well as form institutions power. the thing is, religion and country is two matter which no can with easy combined or separated. Mohammed Imarah, scholar Egypt which considered very critical in discussion political Islam or political Islam, argue that separation country and religion no possible done because religion no once embodied in room empty, but in thinking and behavior. from people in where they stay. Temporary Islam separate two term, that no separate they. According to Imarah, no consider religion as wrong one factor which influence public is error intellectual. religion considered violate spirit Islam. Because that, according to him, Islam separate community religion and community political.

Community religion run by people Islam which obey and community political by people which different religion. Emirates confess difference which made by Islam between religion in one side and politica affairs worldly in side other. In here religion and political no *al-phaṣl* or separation but *al-tamyiz* or separation which juxtaposed. typology thinking Emirates describe hope at a time challenge for people Islam (country) for respond traces political Islam in world international, including Indonesia. A vision which appear on century 15th after birth Islam, when face to face with system country modern, that is nation-state, which want exists thread red Which can define connection between Islam and country (Gunawan, 2016). In Indonesia, connection religion and country has been widely discussed in various study and study, especially in three decades final, that is from year 70s until 90s. Among them is Nurcholis madjid, Dawam Rahardjo, Ahmad Wow, John Effendy, Din Shamsuddin, Bahtiar Effendi, Fakhri Ali, M. Shafi'i Anwar, Marzuki Wahid, Rumadi. with thereby, can understood that connection between Islam And country is connection functional. In side other, they operate activity as body organization which inhabitant And territory is community which support majority Islam. Country Indonesia in a manner normative and legal has adopt principles religion which strong poured in Constitution And regulation government (Witro, 2020). Discourse connection functional between Islam and country divided in various form. first, paradigm integrated (paradigm integralist), that is that religion And country is One unity, and political which done on Name country is part from religion, and country is at a time institution political and institution religious. From perspective that, appear theory that Islam is *din* wow *daulah* (Islam is religion as well as country). As in return, term Country Religion or Country Islam appear.

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On basically affairs statehood is part which no inseparable, "Intergreenend *deel*" Islam. The target is perfection implementation law deity and life man that alone, good as individual nor as member public." According to Dawam Rahardjo, paradigm integrity is paradigm which developed by characters nationalist like Supomo and Duda Hatta which use jargon integration country on meeting Body Preparation Independence Indonesia (BPUPKI). Tension tall in lower leadership Sukarno. Matter This can understandably remember nation Indonesia Still belong new in discussion connection functional countries. and happy face.

The face of the state's closeness to religion (particularly Islam) is due to its openness to freely establish political parties with little or no restrictions on religious practices. When tensions become apparent from the parties themselves, the state in turn intervenes in tensions between opposing parties

or disputes within the parties. In fact, Islam can be a humanizing and dehumanizing energy. Meanwhile, according to the symbiotic paradigm, that religion and the state are symbiotically related, meaning that the relationship is mutually beneficial and reciprocal. In other words, religion needs the state, and the state also needs religion. Religion needs a state because the state can be used as a means of developing religion,

The initiators of this symbiosis model paradigm are Husayn Haykal (1888-1956), Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), Fazlurrahman (1919-1988) and Qamaruddin Khan. Third, the secular paradigm (secular paradigm). This paradigm is a kind of rejection of the previous two paradigms. This concept expresses the idea of separation of religion and state (politics). Religion is not a national policy, religion is more of an individual problem. From the birth of the nation-state until now, supporters of this trend are dominated by Egyptian thinkers such as Ali Abdur Raziq (1888-1872), Thaha Husein (1889-1973), Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872-1872).). 1963), and the last one is Muhammad Sa'id Asymawi (1932). Ali Abdur Raziq stated that Islam is only a religion and does not involve state affairs. Meanwhile, Thaha Husein who was an active writer in the 1950s and 1980s thinks that for him religion is a matter between himself and God. In addition, he thinks that the concept of *waḥdat al-dīn* (religious unity), *waḥdat al-lughāt* (linguistic unity) and *waḥdat al-siyasī* (political unity) cannot be used as the basis and pillar of government for a long time. Harun Nasution criticized Thaha Husein's opinion on the grounds that the self-process that arises from religious commitment is called secularization and this process occurs not only in Western society but also in Islamic society.

Western secularization has caused religious followers to completely separate themselves from all religious ties so that people are no longer religious, whereas in Islam only certain religious ties are separated and people remain religious. In Islam, secularization does not reach the level where Muslims feel no longer bound by the fundamental and absolute teachings and leave the religion. Therefore, in Islam, secularization only occurs in the teachings of *ijtihad* learned, and this continues throughout the ages. From the three models of the paradigmatic relationship between Islam and the country above, it is not easy to decide whether the model of integrism, symbiosis, or secularism is suitable for Indonesian society. Because, as Bahtiar Effendy often stated, each of the three relational paradigms integralist, symbiosis, and secularist has advantages and disadvantages, meaning that the three paradigms complement each other in certain circumstances (Hasan, 2015).

Indeed, if you choose one of the three models or paradigms of the relationship between the state and Islam, for example the symbiosis-mutualism relationship model, then the possibility for politicians to negotiate the price of political goods with the price of religious goods is impossible. very high. possible and wide. opening therefore, attention should be paid in applying the paradigm of the relationship between Islam and the state, so that the state and religion do not become victims of a certain paradigm of idealism.

Responding to current and future Islamic politics, the challenges facing Muslim countries are many and complex. However, the hope that Islam can become the basis of the nation-state cannot and should not be ignored. As explained earlier, Indonesia should be understood historically as Indonesia that began its intellectual contact with the Western world through Portuguese and Dutch colonialism, so that the negative effects of foreign colonialism dominated the minds of the Indonesian population at that time (Abdullah, 2014; Muluk, Hudiñana, & Shadiqi, 2018). On the other hand, when Indonesia made intellectual contact with the Arab world (and India) with religious beliefs that brought Islam to Indonesian territory. The rich history of the relationship between Islam and the country of Indonesia

should be an inspiration and a valuable lesson to organize the attitude to face challenges in the future (Aprilianto, Rofiq, Sirojuddin, Muchtar, & Mumtahana, 2023).

New ideas about political Islam or political Islam should be developed, which are expected to express democracy, human rights, justice and law enforcement, openness, gender equality, pluralism, civil society and tolerance (Bakry, Ilham, Musyahid, Mundzir, & Ramli, 2022). These issues become mainstream in Islamic political thought and action. Nurcholis Madjid stated that in this reform, Indonesian Islam is actually on the side of the realization of its civilizational values, which were realized during the time of Islamic piety and the first four caliphs (Tambak, Amril, & Sukenti, 2021). He believes that Indonesian Islamic values form modern knowledge in Indonesia. A typology of Indonesian Islamic political thought that has developed formally, substantively, transformatively, totalitarian, idealistic and realistic, and has been developed by Indonesian Islamic scholars which is considered a positive reaction (Chande, 2023). In the end, it is hoped that this process of renewal of thought can help resolve issues related to Islam, politics and the country within the framework of the Indonesian nation and nation. and in the future. In addition, the emergence of horizontal conflicts such as religious or other identity conflicts can be avoided. There are different views on how to deal with different identities, namely:

The original look. This group views genetic differences, including ethnicity, race and religion, as the main cause of conflicts of ethnic and religious interests. Instrumental perspective. According to them, ethnicity, religion, and other identities such as parties, mass organizations, etc. seen as a tool used by individuals or groups to achieve a larger goal in both tangible and intangible forms. Politicians and elites use the term more broadly to gain support from identity groups. For example, if you shout "Islam", you wish all Muslims to unite to represent their political interests. Therefore, from the point of view of the instrumentalists, as long as they are willing to give in to the preferences desired by the elite, clashes between group identities can be avoided and cannot reach them (Machouche & Bensaid, 2015).

Constructivists who believe that group identity is not as rigid as imagined by the primitives, or not as easy to manipulate by the elite as the instrumentalists see it. Constructivist ethnic groups can be treated as networks of socio-political relations. Therefore, ethnicity and other forms of diversity are a separate source of wealth needed by people to know each other and enrich culture. For them, equality is a gift and difference is a blessing. Islamic state relations must deal with dynamic issues both at the religious and state levels, such as: Criminal and civil law, the bureaucratic system, KKN, poverty and unemployment, in addition to international issues such as globalization, human rights, pluralism, gender equality, phenomenon of terrorism etc.

4. CONCLUSION

Some important conclusions that can be drawn from the discussion above are as follows: 1) Islam and the state as a discourse dominated by political and economic issues, both state and religion, can be studied using different approaches. The goal of Islamic political theory is not to establish a religious state or an Islamic state in Indonesia but to fill religious spaces that become functional in the order of life in society, nation, and state. 2) The relationship between Islam and the state can be integrated into the functional lines of the two terms, which both aspire to nobility. That the pattern of integral, symbiotic, and secular relations must be seen as complementary forms. 3) The response of Indonesian Islamic politics in modern times must be expressed as an effort to always adapt to the development of society from various perspectives of globalization of the world economy, politics,

science and technology, developments on issues of democracy, gender, human rights, pluralism, nationally and internationally.

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