A New Perspective on Relations between Islam and Democracy in Indonesia

Muhammad Azhar[a], Ahmad Sahide[b], Mega Hidayati[c], Hasse. J[d],
[a,b,c,d]University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Email:
[a]muazar@yahoo.com, [b]ahmasahideumy@gmail.com,
[c]mega.hidayati@umy.ac.id, [d]praktisi_99@yahoo.com

Islam and Democracy are two debatable concepts in the Islamic field. Islam is interpreted as a transcendental divine concept, at the same time the concept of Democracy is secular-immanent. The dialectics of Islam and Democracy are interesting when Indonesian Muslims try to integrate it into the framework of the nation-state of the Republic of Indonesia. An integrative-compatible dialectic – no dichotomic between Islam and Democracy in Indonesia – becomes an interesting frame for democracy to be studied. It is interesting because it involves the future of the existence of Indonesia with the majority of Muslims. It is also an academic, religious and sociological evidence for the Islamic field in the other areas. In the first year, the research will be analysed with various schools of thought (madhab) and the development of the democracy concept and its relation to the Islamic religion. This research uses the scientific epistemology approach of Bayani (textual approach), Burhani (rational and empirical approach), and Irfani (spiritual or intuitive approach). This research aims to highlight the strengthening relations between Islam and democracy in Indonesia. Also, to inspire other Islamic countries about the possibilities of epistemology and axiological-psychological – the democracy concept implementation in Muslim countries.

Key words: *A New Perspective, Relationship, Islam and Democracy, Epistemology.*

Introduction
Background

Since the 1998 reform, Indonesia has been instated as amongst the biggest three of democratic countries in the world after India and the US. However, considering the age of political democracy in Indonesia, which has only been running for about a decade, the democratisation in Indonesia is certainly still far from the ideal format structurally and culturally. It cannot be denied that some political regulations in Indonesia could be described as democratic, but culturally, the implementation of the democratic system is lacking.

Culturally, democratic political openness is still under the power of political discourse which involves a violence aspect. This aspect has had an impact over a long period – 32 years of a repressive political culture under the pressure of the New Order, which put forward the concept of "unity – SARA" – while neglecting the emergence of a plurality of cultural expressions of the Indonesian people's aspirations from the past. Some social powers – the culture of NU and Muhammadiyah – have spread among people, however, the turning point of 1998 reform can only be saved by total national disintegration, as occurred in the Soviet Union.

One urgent agenda to be resolved is the relation between religions – especially Islam as the religion most widely adopted by the Indonesian people, and democracy in the frame of the ideology of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution and the Republic of Indonesia. This conceptual completion is important to reach a fundamental foundation in order to actualise the ideals of Indonesian development, which are religious, democratic, civilised, fair and prosperous.

The rejection of the democracy concept both implicit and explicit was also reflected in the research result of P3M UIN Jakarta that showed there were a number – a minority – of Muslims in Indonesia who 'rejected' the democracy concept. At the same time, it recorded a notion of the importance of Syariah implementation in some areas of Indonesia. It raised a polemic between idealistic Muslims and the secular-nationalist community.

It is known that the experience of Indonesia as a democratic country only occupies one decade, while the US has been implementing the democratic system for hundreds of years. However, some observers and prominent Muslims in the world prefer to be optimistic and support the realisation of the ideal relationship between Islam and Democracy in Indonesia (Fazlur Rahman, 1987). Therefore, this phenomenon is an interesting study: how far have the acceptability and actuality of democratic concepts come in the majority of Islamic countries, especially from the perspective of epistemology.

Problem Formulation

1. Are there dimensions of universality and locality in the concept of democracy?
2. To what extent is there the opportunity for the realisation of integration between democracy and Islam in Indonesia?
3. What is the epistemological framework of the concept of democracy in the context of Indonesia?

Literature Review

The context of the Islam and Democracy discourse in general and the context of Indonesia specifically can be known from the following literature.

First, The Relationship between Islam and Democracy
1. *In the book of Metode dan Alternatif Neomodernisme Islam*

Fazlur Rahman stated that one of the failures of Muslim fundamentalism is "they have decided the aim of developing – in some contexts were successful, the political power without creating a Muslim Community." Furthermore, the community of fundamentalism sees that if they have held the political power then, the entire community will be Muslims. This view is often experiencing failure (Fazlur Rahman, 1987; Prasad, 2017).

In addition, Rahman stated that in implementing the principle of egalitarianism (*al-musãwah*) among society, Islam supports Muslims to develop the principle of discussion in resolving problems. According to Rahman, the principle of *syûra* (discussion) needs to be implemented in entire aspects of the society, i.e., politics, religion, social, economic, etc. The concept of *syûra* is an effort to fulfil the egalitarian principle in society. Moreover, Rahman stated that "from the beginning, Muslims have been suffering because the leadership cannot protect the society from political autocrats."

2. *Arkoun in Nalar Islami dan Nalar Modern*

Arkoun stated the existence of experience of democratic-humanist civilisation, which is equal between Muslims and the Western community, reflected in the golden era of Islamic history. Democracy in Western countries is also the humanist heritage from the Islamic civilisation, as shown in the treasure of Ibn Rushd's thought, Avicenna, etc. Arkoun also mentioned that the existence of tension between Western countries and Islam is caused by the influence of the history of thought – both in the community of Islam and Western countries, that coming from the literature sourced from the polemical-apological medieval literature (Arkoun, 2000; Lawyer, 2017).

Moreover, Arkoun stated that intellectual discourse (*munazharah)* is the point of democracy. When society is talking, they will exchange opinions face to face (*munãzharah).* In Islam, *munãzharah* is the term for describing the exchange of opinions. There is no democracy without *munãzharah* because, in *munãzharah,* everybody is free to have opinions.

According to Kramer, that provision provided a wide space for social and political organisations. In this context, God will give a change to the ummah of Islam to decide the detail of political organisation that meets the need and developed aspirations. Even God did not deliver the leadership to the son of Prophet Muhammad. The teaching of Islam orders to do a consultation (*syũra),* then Islam is considered equal to modern parliamentary democracy.[101] Islam also gives freedom to choose, which is known as a democracy by the common people. Kramer recognised that "freedom" discloses the process of secularism, even though Islam does not want it. However, it depends on the political will of the interpreter of values and laws of Islam and also the political power they had.

In this context, Kramer sees the existence of "radical and militant Islam", which argued that there are no countries that can be claimed as Islam if they do not implement the Sharia exclusively. Those who are against the law of Allah – identified as Sharia – are considered as heretics *(bid'ah*) and are not considered part of Islamic society (*takfir).*

According to Kramer, most Islamic writers described *syũra* as binding and mandatory from the ruler. By *syũra,* the entire parties have to accept the majority decision as legitimate. Every interest needs to be ruled out from the process of *syũra* unless it is in the interests of Islamic society. The writer adds the thought pattern of the radical-militant-fundamentalist community in Islamic study, which tends to use the epistemology of *Bayani* (textual approach) (Abed, 2000; Karima, Izatunida, & Riska, 2017).

3. **Khaled Abou el-Fadl in *Islam dan Tantangan Demokrasi*,**
Khaled Abou el-Fadl stated that is it possible the rights of individuals and people's sovereignty can be based on the faith? In other words, is Islamic Sharia in line with democracy? Can Islam provide cultural support in democratic development? According to el-Fadl, democracy, especially constitutional democracy, covers the rights of the individual. It is correct governance to uphold the value of social politics which is in line with Islam. In this book, el-Fadl also disclosed the dialectic of God's sovereignty and the human caliphate. According to el-Fadl, most of the sharia material is not explicitly decided by God but interpreted from the actions of human beings as the subjects of productions and implementations (Khaled, 2004).

4. ***Hizbut Tahrir in Selamatkan Indonesia dengan Syariah, Seruan Kepada Wakil Rakyat dan Ummat***

The thought of Islamic politics in diametric when comparing Islam and Democracy is represented by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) brings the concept of Caliphate *vis a vis* with the system of the Republic of Indonesia. HTI compares the concept of the ummah and national state. The concept of caliphate stated by HTI also contributes pros and cons in the circle of Islamic politics (Hizbut Tahrir, 2002).

Second, the Meeting Point between Islam and Democracy in Indonesia

1. Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi Tentang Percaturan Dalam Konstituante* (Ahmad, 1985). This dissertation examined several of the struggles of Islamic political thought – between Islamic politicians and the secular-nationalist communities when Indonesia was still in the process of refinement of constitutional foundations in the era of the 1950s. This dissertation has also stated the uncertainty of the relationship between Islam and other countries in the context of nationalism.

2. Nurcholish Madjid in Anas Urbaningrum, *Islamo Demokrasi* (Anas, 2004), places more focus on the relationship between Islam and democracy, explaining that there is a positive relation. *Islamo Demokrasi* describes the concept of democracy without secularism but with Islam. Related to the Nurcholish Madjid is another research – that of Muhammad Hari Zamharir in *Agama dan Negara, Analisis Kritis Pemikiran Politik Nurcholish Madjid* (Muhammad, 2004). The researcher examined the political thought of Nurcholish Madjid and its relevance to the development of contemporary Indonesian politics. The main discussions are Islam and politics, the historical relationship of the Islamic movement in Indonesia and nationalism and the implications of Nurcholish Madjid versus the political culture of the Islamic community.

3. Masykur Abdullah, *Demokrasi di Persimpangan Makna: Respon Intelektual Muslim Indonesia terhadap Konsep Demokrasi* (1966-1993) (Masykuri, 1999). This study used a theology perspective in describing the intellectual response of Muslims in Indonesia toward the ideas of democracy according to Islamic teaching. In Indonesia, this study showed that the definitive concept of Pancasila democracy has never been formally clarified. Therefore, many interpretations both from government and intellectual figures – including Muslim intellectuals, are running randomly.

Third, the Challenge of Democracy in Indonesia

1. Rusli Karim in his dissertation (Karim, 1999) found that the New Order regime has defeated the concept of Islamic politics, especially in the 1970-1980s. The New Order regime led by Soeharto accommodated technocrats, Christian intellectuals and Chinese descendants in addition to several nationalist generals. Through the ideology of developmentalism, the New Order regime carried out a process of political secularisation to break the functional links between religion and politics/state.
2. Shahabuddin, *Demokrasi Dalam Pandangan Abdul Kahar Mudzakkar* (Shahabuddin, 2006). This research contains the idea of the real democracy version of Abdul Kahar Mudzakkar, i.e., democracy is a political decision based on the majority of people obtained through the factual data on the statistics of religious involvement, not voting. This research also mentioned the issue of a federal-state version of Abdul Kahar Mudzakkar.
3. M. Syafii Anwar, *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia, Sebuah Kajian Politik tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde* Baru (Anwar, 1995). This political research discussed the political mapping and analyses against the relationship format between Islam and New Order bureaucracy from 1966 -1993. This research also described the thought of Muslims scholars in Indonesia that is divided into six typologies, i.e., formalistic, substantivity, transformation, totalistic, idealistic and realistic.

Theoretical Basis of Scientific Epistemology

Epistemology is the philosophical terminology that is focussing on the academic search regarding the sources of knowledge related to its approaches, theories, methods and technical matters. The idea of an epistemology perspective is started by the philosophical understanding of the nature of something to be studied. The philosophical understanding is known as the ontology aspect or related to the essence of a thing, or in Arabic *maa haqiqatu al-syai'*, i.e., the essence of the thing which is close to the essence of God, nature, human being, world, soul and others. For example, the nature of Islam and democracy in the context of this research.

The understanding of epistemology is very important because it will provide a fundamental understanding of the studied object. By the existence of epistemology, someone will be more understanding of the phenomenon of the studied object. The epistemology study will help to find out the main sources of a phenomenon and provide ease in understanding the sources, approach, method, and theory. The perspective of epistemology will also help the understanding of the nature of Islam and democracy and the relation between them.

In the context of this research, the researcher uses the epistemology model in the style of Muhammad 'Abid al-Jabiry' (*Bayani, Burhani, Irfani*). The description of each of these models will be applied in various figures' views. It's about Islam and democracy based on the three al-Jabiry epistemology models above.

Islam and Democracy in the Bayani Perspective

The Islamic theological views using the Bayani approach are among other: al-Mawardi (947-1058) with his work, *al-Ahkam al-Sulthaniyah*, *Qawain al-Wuzarah, Siyasah al-Malik*, which basically contains the view of the close relationship between Shari'ah and Imamat. The next is Al-Ghazali (1058-1111) with his work, *Ihya Ulum al-Din*, which stated religion as social-political order, and the ruler as the guardian. Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) with his work, al-*Siyasah al-Syar'iyah fi Islah al- Ra'i wa al-Ra'iyah* viewed that politics should be based on sharia (*siyasa Sharia*). And then, Ibn Khaldun with his work, *Muqaddimah* viewed that politics (*siyasa*) based on religion (*al-Din*) is beneficial to the world and the hereafter. From the various works above, a jargon appears that 'Islam is religion and the State' (*al-Islam Din wa Daulah)*.

In the later era, there is an emergence of Islamic political formalists such as Sayid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), Rasyid Ridla (1865-1935), Hasan al-Banna and several Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwanul Muslimin) figures, including Sayid Qutb from Egypt. In the Indian subcontinent, there were Syah Wali Allah (1703-1762), Sayid Ahmad Syahid (1787-1831), and Abu A'la Maududi (1903-1979). These thinkers are Islamic and do not separate the religion and the state. In Indonesia, Islamic political thinkers who can be categorised as using the Bayani perspective are among others: Agus Salim and Mohammad Natsir. These two figures set Islam as the basis of the State. This discourse of the formalistic paradigm, in Indonesia emerged during the revolutionary era (the mid-1940s), liberal (mid-1950s) and the New Order (late 1960s) (Bahtiar, 1998).

The representation of the organisation, such as HTI (the influence of Taqiudin an-Nabhani) viewed that the approach adopted by HTI is more inclined in Islamic scripturalism. According to HTI, Islamic lessons have two main elements, namely; *thought* and *method.* To the HTI, Islam is the complete (*kaffah)* religion and the most complete as a *way of life* of a human being. Therefore, HTI views Islam as the best alternative to Secularism, Liberalism, and Pluralism. Similar to the formalists of classical Islamic politics, HTI views that Islam includes an integrative concept between religion and state (*din wa daulah)*. This scripturalist view leads HTI to the importance of formalisation of Islam in various aspects of life especially in the political field, the implementation of Islamic sharia and leadership.

As a scripturalist-formalistic Islamic Revivalism movement, HTI refuses democracy – they are strongly anti-democracy. To the HTI, democracy is sourced from the secular-capitalistic thought prioritising people's voices and denies God's voice. This anti-democracy attitude has an implication to the HTI's refusal of the various political products from democracy such as elections, political parties, representative institutions, tolerance, gender equality, human rights and the like. Related to this, HTI can also be categorised as a group of Islamists that totally refuse democracy (Ali, 2012).

Furthermore, as an alternative to the government system in this world, including the democratic system, HTI offers the Khilafah political concept as offered by Taqiudin an-Nabhani. It is to unite the Islamic world into an International government system led by *Khalifah* (Caliph), while the position under the khalifah consists of the *Amir*. For example, if the Caliph is in Saudi Arabia, all the Presidents or Kings and the Prime ministers of the Islamic world have a status of Amir, which politically is under the Caliph authority. This kind of thought is very utopian and less realistic, increasingly widespread in Muslim countries today (Ainur, 2012).

To end the description of the HTI view, there are three stages of method *siyasa da'wah* taken by HTI. The first is the stage of coaching and cadre *(marhalah at-tatsqif)*. The second is the stage of interaction with people *(marhalah tafa'ul ma'a al-ummah)*. The third is the stage of the taking over of power *(marhalah istilaam al-hukm)*.

From the paragraph above, it is clearly shown that in the Bayani way, HTI (origin HT) want to establish the concept of *Daulah Islamiyah* (Islamic government), and appoint a caliph as a manifestation of the Bayani textual reading of the classical Islamic political texts. This is, for HTI, part of the Sharia. The HTI formalistic view is different from the majority of Muslims (*jumhur*) – including MUI, Muhammadiyah, NU and dozens of other Indonesian Islamic organisations – which take the epistemologically rational-empirical approach (*Burhani)*, that the concept of Khilafah was merely a historical product or included in the area of fiqh (*design by Muslim scholar/ulama*), not something *given* (*Shariah an an sich*) by Allah (*design by Allah*) in a normative approach (*Bayani).*

In addition to HTI, in Indonesia there are also other Islamic organisations that are very persistent with the formalisation of Islamic law, namely FPI (*Front Pembela Islam*) through its figurehead, Habib Rizieq. The idea of formalisation of the Caliphate of FPI style is a little ambiguous because lately it is covered by the idea of "NKRI Bersyariah", or Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia Sharia (Habib, 2013).

Through his article, in the book "Selamat Datang Khilafah Islamiyah", (Habib, 2013), Rizieq Shihab wrote about the importance for Muslims to enforce *Khilafah Islamiyah*. The idea of

Rizieq about the urgency of the *Khilafah Islamiyah* departs from his concerns and criticisms toward the domination of Western-sponsored Global Capitalism, especially the United States and international Zionism. In his article, Rizieq criticised the term " International Society" which was popular in the post-World War II. This term was unilaterally claimed by the United Nations, controlled by the United States, China, Britain, Russia and France, in which the five countries have veto rights at the United Nations. Moreso, according to Rizieq, the United States is the most dominant nation in deciding UN policy in the fields of politics, security, economy, monetary policy, social, education, health and human rights.

According to Rizieq, the US is controlled by Zionist extremists and International Crusader Radicalism, in which US policies through the United Nations are detrimental to the Islamic world. The Islamic world protest movement has always been called a CRIME and TERRORISM act. Meanwhile, the US and UN efforts are often presented as POLICIES. In the name of "International Society", the US and its allies through the UN want to lead the world – including the Islamic world – to make all the UN policies as "World Life Guidelines" such as Human Rights, Democracy, Capitalism, Secularism, Pluralism, Liberalism, Gender Equality, Anti-Polygamy, Family Planning, Westernisation, and so on.

Rizieq's conclusion is as follows:
Thus, it is clear that International Society is the community limited to Zionist Extremists and International Radical Crusaders who rule the Western World and ride the UN institution to achieve the desire to enslave all the world societies in all of their sectors (Habib, 2013).

Based on the reality above, Rizieq told some of his proposals about the importance of *Khilafah Islamiyah* (Islamic Caliphate) by functioning the OIC (Organisation of Islamic Cooperation) as an embryo of *Khilafah Islam*. According to Rizieq, the Islamic world should erase a partition that has dichotomised the Islamic world for centuries.

Some concrete steps proposed for the realisation of the Khilafah include forming a parliament with the Islamic world, founding the Islamic world bank that unites the Islamic world currency system, establishing an Islamic economic society, building Islamic defence pacts as the world police, Islamic space centre, Arabic as the official language of the Islamic world and a compulsory curriculum throughout the Islamic world, an easy immigration system for Muslims and assimilation between Muslim citizens, Islamic nuclear centre for world peace, and making the city of Mecca and Medina an international holy city as well as the centre of Islamic world civilisation. The Amirs (leaders) of the Muslim country obey the caliph and still respect the social system (*urf*) of each Muslim country (Organisation of Islamic Cooperation). From the Rizieq Shihab critiques above, there are many positive critiques. However, to overcome those various critiques through the concept of *Khilafah Islamiyah*, it

was considered still Bayani-textual, utopian, and clearly irrelevant, even colliding with the concept of 'PBNU' (Pancasila, Bhinneka tunggal ika, NKRI, UUD 1945).

Another Islamic organisation is MMI (*Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*), which has the same ideology with HTI and FPI of implementing Islamic sharia in Indonesia. As HTI and FPI, MMI also has a similar vision and mission, especially in the context of Islamic sharia in Indonesia. The difference is that HTI is more in the arena of *siyasa da'wah* at the state system level, while FPI is more into the practical efforts to combat all forms of immorality. Then, MMI is more focussed on the activities of the aspects of preparing and proposing the enactment of Sharia Regulations in various places in Indonesia. Generally, MMI tends to use the textual-Bayani approach in the Islamic Sharia Application in Indonesia as what is textually written *(lafzhiyyah-nashshiyyah)* in the Al-Qur'an and Al-Hadith.

Islam and Democracy in the *Burhani* Perspective

Empirically, the Burhani political paradigm began in the 1950's era, which went along with the formalistic Bayani. In the 1970's era, the Burhani political paradigm stood more with the efforts of some Indonesian Muslim intellectuals (which was initiated by Nurcholish Madjid) who did the theological/religious reforms, political/bureaucratic reforms, and social transformation. In the theological dimension, this new format of Islamic politics can receive the Pancasila because it is in accordance with Islam; there is no need for an Islamic state conception. The development of the Indonesian state system can be coloured with the common principals of the Islamic political value such as justice, deliberation, egalitarianism, and public participation.

This Burhani paradigm is also getting stronger in the practical politics area in Indonesia because the new order government is willing to accommodate the ratification of the National Education Law (*Undang-Undang Pendidikan Nasional (UUPN)*), which requires religious education in public and private schools (1988); and the enactment of the Law on Religious Courts (*Undang-Undang Peradilan Agama (UUPA)*) that takes care of cases – marriage, divorce, referral, inheritance, and endowments (1989). Also, there were some conditions that were the establishment of Association of Muslim Scholars (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim (ICMI)*) in 1990, compilation of Islamic law (1991), the establishment of BAZIS (1991), permission for female Muslim students to wear headscarves or *jilbab* (1991), the implementation of the Istiqlal Islamic Culture Festival (1991 and 1995), the establishment of Bank Muamalat Indonesia (BMI in 1992) and the abolition of the Prized Social Generous Benefit Donation or *Sumbangan Dermawan Sosial Berhadiah SDSB*) in 1993 (Effendi, 1998).

By way of religious organisations, MUI also generally are not really interested in the caliphate concept. The head of MUI, Maruf Amin, in his speech in front of the debriefing of Nasdem Party candidates, stated that the caliphate concept is the Islamic concept. However, the monarchy concept (Saudi Arabia, Brunei, etc.) and republic concept (such as Indonesia) are also Islamic. Maruf Amin continued that in accordance with the agreement, the Indonesian people had chosen the Republican State with the Pancasila ideology. So, the concept of Khilafah has been rejected in Indonesia, because it violates the agreement of the Indonesian people (Amin, 2006).

Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah since the very beginning of the establishment of Indonesia has received and even participated in formulating the concept of Pancasila through Muhammadiyah leader Ki Bagus Hadikusumo. At the 47th Muhammadiyah Conference in Makassar, August 3-7 2015, Muhammadiyah officially declared that the State of Pancasila as *Dar al-'Ahdi wa al-Syahadah* (Muhammadiyah, 2015). The same thought is true for NU that NKRI and Pancasila are ideologically the final forms of the State.

Islam and Democracy in the *Irfani* Perspective

The Irfani perspective is the political thought oriented in the ethical-spiritual as reflected in the thoughts of Mohammad Natsir and Boerhanoeddin Harahap who are oriented towards the **spirituality of democracy**. It stated that "The democratic system must be led and guided by moral values and high values of life." (Badruzzaman, 1989).

In Irfani's logical paradigm, the relation between Islam and Democracy places more emphasis on the aspects of ethics and the spirituality of democracy. Democratic spirituality is about ethics in politics. If in the current political world, it is known by the jargon of 'Law as the Commander'; in the context of Irfani's democracy there must be a higher level than law, namely 'Ethics as a Commander'. In Irfani's language, ethics is closely related to democratic spirituality, more so than legal aspects and procedures in a democratic country.

Today the concept of democracy is considered 'internationally *ijma* way' as the best concept, because in a democratic system there is a check and balance process in the process of finding the truth and determining the laws. Isn't that similar to the concept of shura in Islam?
In the concept of Irfani's approach, especially those concerning democratic culture and various issues concerning democracy, it is very important to understand and approach in an ethical-spiritual way. The point is that Irfani's approach is how to understand and practise the ethic-spiritual aspect in the journey of democracy in a nation, especially in Indonesia.

Islam and Democracy in the Interconnection version, Ideal Relational offer between Islam and Democracy in Indonesia

Examined epistemologically, three approaches are offered by al-Jabiry; the epistemological concepts of Bayani, Burhani, and Irfani generally still run separately. Ideally, in the future, there is a need for synergies or interconnections between the three approaches. Thus, the most relevant solution is how to integrate between Islamic and Democratic political thoughts from Bayani, Burhani and Irfani's perspectives. In accordance with the dynamics of future Islamic Studies, Islamic Studies (IS) must be enriched with the approach of social sciences (SS) and Humanities (H). The integration between SS and H is then applied in the realm of Islamic and Democratic political thought. The plurality of the Indonesian people (*SARA*) does not allow it to maintain the political thinking of Islam and Democracy of the Bayani perspective solely, as the textual politicians, such as HTI, FPI, MMI and the likes. The relation between Islam and Indonesia's future democracy must adopt various dynamics of Burhani in the socio-political field in Indonesia in order to avoid the clash between the ummah, as the ummah and as citizenship, which actually has the potential for national disintegration.

Conclusion and Findings

1. There is an opposite view (vis a vis) about the relationship between Islam and democracy, but Indonesia more accommodates the 'accepting each other' (*acceptance*) between Islamic insights and democracy.
2. Islam and parallel democracy (on their way) are impressed apolitically because it contradicts the reality of the practice of shura in the majority of Islamic organisations and the culture of deliberation in Indonesian society that has been going on for a long time.
3. Islam and Democracy which accommodate each other:
a. The results of this research are expected to produce more detailed epistemological formulations in the future, by using other epistemological offers outside of Mohammed Abed al-Jabiri's perspective.
b. The belief of the concept of Islam and Democracy includes the field of interpretation (there is a similarity of universal value, but there is also a specific-particular value). There are opportunities for change and development according to the existing contextual dynamics.
c. There are the Objective Islam and Democracy (O), and there is also the Subjective (S).
d. Islam and democracy are in the area of value (*high politics*), there is also an ideological-political view *(low politics)*, and there is full interest or political content.
e. The relevance of Islam and democracy refers to general principles about humanity or *maqashid al-sharia.* The form of the particularity of religious democracy can be adjusted to every dynamic of the age.

f. According to the epistemological review, the relevant concept of Islam and democracy in Indonesia is the integrative-interconnected Islam version of al-Jabiri (the integration between Bayani-Burhani-Irfani), it is not a secular-western democracy, nor is it understood by religious fundamentalist militants such as in some other countries (which are very Bayani in their perspective).

g. It is necessary to reinterpret religious texts such as the Koran and Hadith and the books of the scholars of the Siyasa field to support the realisation of the new Siyasa epistemology, which is characterised by religious democracy as examined in this research.

h. This concept of religious democracy needs to be tested in Indonesia through education, internalisation, advocacy, training, new text writing related to religious democracy as well as a comprehensive evaluation of the laws, central and regional regulations (such as Sharia Local Regulations), and so on.

i. For the next period, there needs to be an academic dialogue on the results of this research with prominent Muslim and secular nationalist politicians about religious democracy. This involves psychological discipline, especially related to the beliefs and understanding of the Islamic political thinkers and activists in Indonesia.

j. In-depth research on the problems of democracy is needed in Indonesia, which will be a challenge that gives solutions to the realisation of religious democracy in the future (Kompas Newspaper, 2018).

REFERENCES

Abdillah, M (1999). Demokrasi di Persimpangan Makna : Respon Intelektual Muslim Indonesia terhadap Konsep Demokrasi (1966-1993). Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.

Abdullah, A. (2006). Islamic Studies di Perguruan Tinggi, Pendekatan Integratif-Interkonektif. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Abdurrahman,W. (1999). Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia: Pemikiran Neo Modernisme Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib dan Abdur rahman Wahid", Jakarta: Paramadina-Pustaka Antara.

Abed, M. Al-Jabiri. (2000). Post Tradisionalisme Islam. Ahmad BasoYogyakarta: LKiS.

Abou, E. F. K. (2004). Islam dan Tantangan Demokrasi. Jakarta: Ufuk Press.

Abu, R. (2004). Karakteristik Politik Islam. Bandung: Syaamil Cipta Media.

Adnan, B. N. (1992). The Aspiration for Constitutional Government in Indonesia: A Socio-legal Study of the Indonesian Konstituante 1956-1959. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.

Ahmad, M. (1986). Masalah-masalah Teori Politik Islam, terj. Ena Hadi, Bandung: Mizan.

Ahmad, S. M, (1985). Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi Tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante, Jakarta.

Ahmad, S. M. (1983). Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante", Jakarta: LP3ES.

Ahmed, G. (2000). Panji Masyarakat. Jakarta, Indonesia

Ainur, R. A. (2012). Membongkar Proyek Khilafah, Ala Hizbut Tahrir di Indonesia, Yogyakarta: LKiS.

Aksin, W. (2014). Satu Islam Ragam Epistemologi, Dari Epistemologi Teosentrisme ke Antroposentrisme, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Ali, M. (2012). Diskursus Islam dan Demokrasi, Sebuah Studi Critical Discourse Analysis terhadap Pemikiran Jaringan Islam Liberal dan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Surabaya, IAIN Sunan Ampel Press.

Amien, R. (1983). Aspirasi Umat Islam Indonesia. Jakarta: Leppenas.

Amin, A. (2006). Islamic Studies di Perguruan Tinggi, Pendekatan Integratif-Interkonektif, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Anas, U. (2004). Islamo-Demokrasi, Pemikiran Nurcholish Madjid, Jakarta: Republika-KATALIS.

Anwar, M. S. (1995). Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia, Sebuah Kajian Politik tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde Baru. Jakarta: Paramadina.

Arkoun, L. (2000). Nalar Islami. Jakarta, Indonesia.

Armstrong, K. (2001). Islam, A Short History. London.

Assyaukanie, L. (2007). Islam Benar versus Islam Salah. Depok: KataKita

Azhar, M. (2001). Islam dan Sekularisasi Politik. Jurnal Ilmiah Mukaddimah, 3(2), 45-50.

Azhar, M. (2015). The concept of religious democracy as a new political philosophy for countries with Moslem predominant. Journal of Advances in Humanities and Social Sciences, 1(1), 19-28.

Azyumardi, A. (2009). Demokrasi Lokal. Jakarta, Indonesia.

Badruzzaman, B. (1989). Boerhanoeddin Harahap, Pilar Demokrasi, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.

Bahtiar, E. (1998). Islam dan Negara, Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia, Jakarta : Paramadina.

Bahtiar, E. (1998). Islam dan Negara, Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia, Jakarta: Paramdina.

Baidhawy, Z. M. T. (2005). Reinvensi Islam Multikultural. Solo: PSB-PS UMS.

Bellah, R. N. (n.d). Beyond Belief, Essays on Religion a Post-Traditional World. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row Publishers.

Bila, N. (1989). Bertentangankah Pancasila dengan Al-Qur'an, Hikma. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1989.

Budiardjo, M. (1986). Pendekatan-pendekatan dalam Ilmu Politik. Jurnal Ilmu Politik, 1(1), 45-60.

Buyung, N. A & Adnan, B. N. (1992). The Aspiration for Constitutional Government in Indonesia: A Socio-legal Study of the Indonesian Konstituante 1956-1959. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.

Crone, P., and Martin, H. (1986). God's Caliph, Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eric, C., George, A. A., & Lisa, B. (2012). Democratic Change in the Arab World. Past and Brookings Institution Press.

Esposito, J. L. (1996). Ancaman Islam, Mitos Atau Realitas? Terj. Alwiyah Abdurrahman dan MISSI. Bandung: Mizan.

Esposito, J. L. (1996). Islam, and Democracy. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fauzi, I. A. (1989). Refleksi Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam, 70 Tahun Harun Nasution. Jakarta: LSAF, l989.

Fazlur, R. (2002). Islam dan Barat, Demokrasi dalam Masyarakat Islam", Jakarta: Paramadina.

Habib, R. (2013). Hancurkan Liberalisme Tegakkan Syariat Islam, Jakarta: Islam Press.

Hakim, L.E. (1955). Konstitusi Negara-negara Islam. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.

Hassouna, H. A. (2001). Arab Democracy: The Hope. World Policy Journal, 18(3), 49-52.

Hefner, R. W. (2000). Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Hefner, R. W. (2007). Politik Multikulturalisme, Menggugat Realitas Kebangsaan. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

Held, D. (2006). Models of Democracy. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hizbut, T. (2002). Selamatkan Indonesia dengan Syariah, Seruan Kepada Wakil Rakyat dan Ummat. HTI.

Huntington, S. P. (1996). Prospek Demokrasi, Dalam Perbandingan Politik, edisi keenam. Roy C. Macridis (penyunting), Jakarta: Erlangga.

Hwang, J. C. (2011). Umat Bergeak, Mobilisasi Damai Kaum Islamis di Indonesia, Malaysia, dan Turki. Terj. Samsudin Berlian. Jakarta: Freedom Institute.

Imam, K. (2002). Sistem Pemerintahan Islam. Jakarta: Pustaka Zahra.

Karima, A., Izatunida, D., & Riska, U. I. M. (2017). Gerontology concept: Toward ego integrity through Taman Pendidikan Al-Quran (TPA) in order to second demographic bonus 2035. Journal of Advanced Research in Social Sciences and Humanities, 2(2), 125-130.

Khaled, A. E. F. (2004). Islam dan Tantanan Demokrasi, Jakarta: Ufuk Press.

Kim, H. (2016). Political correctness on David Mamet's Oleanna. Journal of Advances in Humanities and Social Sciences, 2(3), 195-203.

Kompas Newspaper. (2018). Paradise Papers dan Perpajakan" and "Islam Moderat.

Kurdi, S. (2007). Peranan Elit Ulama di Negeri Para Mulah, Studi Pemikiran Khomeini tentang Wilayatul Faqih. Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner Hermeneia, 6(1), 56-70.

Kurzman, C. (1998). Liberal Islam, A Sourcebook. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Latif, Y. (2017). Negara Paripurna: Historisitas, Rasionalitas. Dan Aktualitas. Jakarta: Gramedia.

Lawyer, L. A. (2017). The Changing Character of Democracy in the Pre and Post Colonial Cameroon: An Old Practice, A New Word. Journal of Advanced Research in Social Sciences and Humanities, 2(1), 43-53.

Lijphart, A. (2008). Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule of Theory and Practice. London: Routdledge.

Maarif, A. S. (1985). Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan : Studi Tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante. Jakarta: LP3ES.

Mamduh, A. Z. (2005). Confessions of an Economic Hit Man", Jakarta: Abdi Tandur.

Maswadi R. (1986). Ciri-ciri Teori Pembangunan Politik: Kasus Partisipasi Politik. Jurnal Ilmu Politik, 9(10), 45-70.

Masykuri, A. (1999). Demokrasi di Persimpangan Makna : Respon Intelektual Muslim Indonesia terhadap Konsep Demokrasi (1966-1993), Yogyakarta : Tiara Wacana.

Misrawi, Z. (2013). Masa Depan Demokrasi di Mesir. Dalam buku Trias Kuncahyono, Tahrir Square, Jantung Revolusi Mesir. Jakarta: Kompas.

Muhammad, H. Z. (2004). Agama dan Negara, Analisis Kritis Pemikiran Politik Nurcholish Madjid. Jakarta: PT Rajagrafindo Persada.

Muhammadiyah, P.P. (2015). Tanfidz Keputusan Muktamar Muhammadiyah ke-47 Makassar, Gerakan Pencerahan Menuju Indonesia Berkemajuan. Jakarta, Indonesia.

Mujani, S. (2007). Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Mulia, M. (2001). Negara Islam, Pemikiran Politik Husain Haikal. Jakarta: Paramadina.

Munawir, S. (1990). Islam dan Tatanegara: Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran", Jakarta: UI Press.

Munawir, S. (1993). Islam dan Tatanegara, Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran, Jakarta: UI-Press.

Musdah, M. (2001). Negara Islam, Pemikiran Politik Husain Haikal, Jakarta: Paramadina.

Noer, D. (1983). Pengantar ke Pemikiran Politik. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.

Nurcholish, M. (2004). Doktrin dan Peradaban, Jakarta: Paramadina, 1992. "Dialog Keterbukaan: Artikulasi Nilai Islam dalam Wacana Sosial Politik Kontemporer", Jakarta: Paramadina.

OIC (Organization of Islamic Cooperation). OKI or OIC has 53 countries as its members.

Perkins, J. (2005). Confessions of an Economic Hit Man. Jakarta: Abdi Tandur.

Pickles, D. (1991). Pengantar Ilmu Politik, terj. oleh Sahat Simamora. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1991.

Plato. (2000). Republika. New Dehli, India.

Prasad, L. S. (2017). Political network can more influential than other networks for economic awareness: A case study of Nepalese village. International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, 3 (6), 249-263.

Pulungan, J. S. (1994). Prinsip-prinsip Pemerintahan dalam Piagam Madinah Ditinjau dari Pandangan al_Qur'an, Jakarta: LSIK-Rajawali Pers.

Qaradawi, Y. (1997). Fiqih Daulah dalam Perspektif Al-Quran dan Sunnah. Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar.

Ramadan, T. (2012). Islam, and the Arab Awakening. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rasul, B. R. (2015). Politics in Pakistan Today: the Challenge of Securing Democracy. Indian International Centre Quarterly, 41(3/4), 104-116.

Rusli, M. K. (1999). Negara dan Peminggiran Islam Politik, Suatu Kajian Mengenai Implikasi Kebijakan Pembangunan Bagi Keberadaan "Islam Politik" di Indonesia Era 1970-an dan 1980-an, Yogyakarta : Tiara Wacana.

Saahar, S., Sualman, I., Hashim, M. A., & Mohamed, W. A. W. (2017). Political advertising and young voter's information needs. International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, 3(5), 215-222.

Samsuri, M. (1957). Politik Islam Anti Komunis, Pergumulan Masyumi dan PKI di Arena Demokrasi Liberal. Komunis Indonesia.

Siwach, K. M., & Singh, M. K. (2018). Tweetology: Ideological discourse analysis of the tweets of the key twitter users politicians of India with special reference to Shashi Tharoor and Subramanian Swamy. International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, 4(2), 65-75.

Soleh, A. K. (2018). Epistemologi Islam, Integrasi Agama, Filsafat, dan Sains Dalam Perspektif Al-Farabi dan Ibn Rusyd. Yogyakarta: Arruz-Media.

Suyuthi, J. P. (1994). Prinsip-prinsip Pemerintahan dalam Piagam Madinah Ditinjau dari Pandangan al_Qur'an, Jakarta: LSIK-Rajawali Pers, 1994.

Syafii, M. A. (1995). Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia, Sebuah Kajian Politik tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde Baru, Jakarta : Paramadina.

Syahabuddin, M. (2006). Demokrasi dalam Pandangan Abdul Kahar Mudzakkar disertasi Pascasarjana. UIN Yogyakarta.

Syamsuddin, M. D. (2001). Islam dan Politik Era Orde Baru. Jakarta : Logos.

Ulil, A. A. (2002). Islam dan Barat, Demokrasi dalam Masyarakat Islam. Jakarta: Paramadina.

Wijaya, A. (2014). Satu Islam Ragam Epistemologi, Dari Epistemologi Teosentrisme ke Antroposentrisme. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Yahabuddin, S. (2006). Demokrasi dalam Pandangan Abdul Kahar Mudzakkar (Unpublished disertasi). Pascasarjana UIN Yogyakarta.

Zubi, A. (2004). Mamduh, Amerika di Ambang Keruntuhan, Suatu Tinjauan Futuristik. Jakarta: Robbani Press.