

# THE CONCRETE POLITICAL ECONOMY: A STRUGGLE OF SYMBOLISMS OF COMMUNITY AND POWER

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## **Abstract**

This article will discuss the reciprocal relationship between economic and political factors that influence the power structure that exist within a country through liberalization of democracy. The economic tendency as politics can be seen from the dynamics of the major political battles process which among them are the election for people's representatives from the government of a country. The emergence of political Islam groups which is the Indonesia's political oligarchy faction by carrying Islamic populism sentiment as a controversy tool for the political elite. The existence of maximizing usability process that obtained by individuals and the use of authority to achieve goals. It shows the existence of renewal in democratic process that makes democratic vehicle by carrying the symbolism of community. This article uses literature method as the writing method and also uses comparative studies from Islamic law literature studies. The purpose of this article is to give a comprehensive description of the relation between the efforts to realize the state's goals in political warfare process for the election of people's representatives. Wherein, the efforts to realize the goals of the state will not be separated from the problems of power, inter-class conflicts and resistance to change. The development concept to realize justice for all Indonesian people through policies issued by the government can truly be realized. Political warfare that uses Islamic populism with community symbol do not become pragmatism in maintaining power because of the demands of capital accumulation in gaining power.

**Key words:** Democracy, Community symbol, Political economy

## **Introduction**

The community ability towards the surveillance of development implementation is indispensable currently, especially the development that is able to anticipate and resist the external shocks. This development surveillance can be in the form of the achievement adequate growth rates and the distribution evenly of the community's struggle results. The state is as an activator of national development which is assumed to be a strategic function from the giving of responsibility for doing things to community.

Based on Guelermo O'Donnel's study that the state has emerged as a political power that is not only relatively independent dealing with their elite supporters factions of and civil community, which later became a dominant force that has a capable of overcoming both. The state make a strong surveillance towards civil community, especially in an effort to prevent the people masses involve in political outrageously active in order to the industrialization acceleration proces of won't be disturbed.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the state is required to be able to stimulate the economic activities through a series of sustainable

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<sup>1</sup>Muhammad AS Hikam, "Otoriter Birokratik dan Redemokratisasi: Sebuah Tinjauan Kritis dan Beberapa Studi Kasus", Political Science Journal No 8, Jakarta: AIPI-LIPI, 68.

deregulation policies for the achievement of bargaining that can support the development of political economy.

Actually, the attitude change from community will depend on the influence of the holders of the power themselves, as long as the types of state officials and a set of values that are considered as an inherent part in real democracy are still exist. As for democracy in Indonesia is highly depend on political elite's behavior of cultural structures, economic and ideology that become a model, especially the perspective to the political development

In political system of liberal democracy which originated from the edict of Vice President No. X on November 3, 1945. The position of political infrastructure vis-a-vis the political superstructure is relatively stronger, creating a figure of the bureau-nomia political system.<sup>2</sup> According to Martin Albrow, He According to Martin Albrow, he differentiates three basic positions about the functions of officials in democracy country, namely:

1. The officials who demand too much power and need to be returned to its original function;
2. The officials who have a real great authority and duty that getting bigger so that the position must be run wisely;
3. Authority is necessary for the officials so that it must be found the service methods that can be shared together. The problem that must be solved in order to be able to build and develop democracy is by placing a bureaucracy consistently within the political system.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, the collapse of democracy values cause by the existence of values contradiction that was done by authority holder itself which eventually will implicate to the community. The real democratic values are not only concern the goals of community that are determined by the majority decision. However, it also concerns with how the objectives of what the people desire can be applied through existing effective methods, not only on how the arrangements in democratically are implemented.

Nevertheless, the perspective about democracy from time to time will always run into development in line with the increasingly complex of relations between the citizens. Democracy is as *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, effective citizen control over government policy. In addition, democracy also implies the existence of civil liberties in politics, namely in the form of freedom of speaking up, publishing, gathering and having organization, which are needed for the political debate and the implementation of those election campaigns.<sup>4</sup>

The role of political parties effort as a political system of doing democracy in realizing community welfare, in fact face a struggle to be good behave or not being bad towards who and anything before taking an attitude that supports, defends, advances, damages, limits and even deadly attitudes. Regarding to the political and economic linkages in the democracy state system in development that the economy is the democracy

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<sup>2</sup>Moeljarto, Tjokrowinoto, *Pembangunan Dilema dan Tantangan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar Offset Press, 1996, 159.

<sup>3</sup>Dara Aisyah, Relationship between Bureaucracy and Democracy, <http://library.usu.ac.id/download/fisip/admnegara-aisyah.pdf>, accessed on July 7, 2019. at 12: 35 UTC+7.

<sup>4</sup>Samuel P. Huntington, *Gelombang Demokratisasi Ketiga*, Jakarta: PT Intermedia Press, 1995, 6.

development basis, where democracy life will ease tensions due to political conflict,<sup>5</sup> but the fact is not always like that because it can bear authoritarianism as happened in South Korea, Taiwan and countries in Latin America. On the other hand there also an opinion that democracy is the basis for economic development, because through democracy the space for society freedom is opened without exception the rulers who have large capital must pay attention to the community desire.<sup>6</sup>

The high of cost amount of holding general elections has potential for political parties and politicians to do an authority consolidate to get funds for the general election capital. The Election System that uses the most votes cast mechanism also forces the legislative candidates to collect money. Power is used as an instrument to dredge profits. The massive authority of the House of Representatives regarding to budgeting makes this institution has a potential to manipulate it for personal gain. While the leader is not authorized to reprimand and punish the guilty member, because each members of the House of Representatives was an extension of the faction and while the faction became an extension of the political party. Furthermore, the broker process can be carried out by the legislative, executive and budget peeper who have no authority but close to politicians or officials at the ministry.<sup>7</sup>

Alignment between political systems and economic systems is needed in the elaboration of the values of economic democracy in the entire national economic system if not just a myth. Referring to Article 1 Section 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, then the people who have sovereignty in determining important decisions in the political field, this means that in Indonesia sovereignty is in the hands of the people, then political power is in the hands of the people.

Pursuing and using the authority remains to be an arena of people competition from generations. The struggle to get authority in obtaining political power is inevitable and even it becomes a human nature which has implications to the substantial life issue.<sup>8</sup> In Islam, power is a responsible to Allah and as a responsible it obligatory conveyed to those who have the right to receive it, it's mean that it's carried out and maintained in accordance with the principles of power in the Qur'an and Sunna. There is no one who has an absolute power, but that power is delegated to humans as representatives (caliphs) on earth who receive orders to uphold a fair government and realize a common prosperity.<sup>9</sup> Islam sees political power based on the might of Allah SWT and the power of Rasulllah SWT that reflects God's power.

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<sup>5</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, Baltimore Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1983, 31.

<sup>6</sup>Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

<sup>7</sup> <https://yappika-actionaid.or.id/cari-modal-pemilu-anggaran-digangsir>, accessed on July 8, 2019, at 06:08 UTC+7.

<sup>8</sup>Miriam Budiarto, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1977, 35.

<sup>9</sup>Usman Jafar, "Kekuasaan dalam Tradisi Pemikiran Politik Islam (Refleksi Atas Pemikiran Politik Islam)", *Jurnal Al-daulah*, Vol. 6 , No. 2, (December 2017), 1.

The population of Indonesia which is predominantly Muslim with a diversity of mazhab, a multireligious fact makes country political fight from Islamic politics a struggle of symbolism in reaching power in government. This will happen if Islamic political parties focus only on political issues which are reduced to internal party affairs solely to gain power in government, especially at the election of people representatives in the general election process that politicizing Islam. Nevertheless, there has never been a single political organization as a representation of the wishes of "ummah" or "people".<sup>10</sup> Political parties can be referred to as "general election participants" if they have fulfilled several stages, as follows:

1. Registering himself to the General Elections Commission accompanied by an application letter and documents of general and particular requirements;
2. Passing through the administrative and factual verification stage in the field to ensure the requirements to become a participant in the general election as regulated by the law;
3. Obtaining a decision from the KPU as a political party of general election participant.<sup>11</sup>

Righteously, Ideology politics is inseparable from Islam, politic and religions are interrelated. Politics without ideology cannot direct what they can fight for or vice versa. Ideology without politics won't be able to become practical, it will only be an abstraction that leads to utopia. When politics becomes the main tool for ideological debates, then each political party will indoctrinates their cadres with certain ideologies that can be a democracy, socialism or fascism. When politics comes into contact with economic liberalization, the basis of political parties that should be strengthened shifts to the desire of how to gather the masses as a means to achieve victory. The attitude of prioritizing politics rather than ideology which is more focus on practical matters only, caused a stretch and erode relationships between religion and politics, especially concerning for Islamic political parties in Indonesia that fighting for Islamic political aspirations.

The representation of Islam that used in economic trends in politics is also unavoidable and will play an important role in Indonesian politics in embracing investors with Islamic culture in general elections. The symbolism of community in taking over power towards the state and economic resources is the interests for the one who feel that they were marginalized by poverty from the existing power structure. The existence of this condition makes Islam be politicized to gain power. For this reason, in this paper, we will discuss further the relationship between economic and concrete politics of efforts to realize the goals of the state in the process of fighting the election of representatives of the people.

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<sup>10</sup>Vedi R Hadiz, *Populisme Islam dan Kaum Oligarkis pada Pilpres 2019*, <https://www.suara.com/wawancara/2019/02/25/072000/vedi-r-hadiz-populisme-islam-dan-kaum-oligarkis-pada-pilpres-2019>, accessed on July 7,2019, at 16:00 UTC+7.

<sup>11</sup>Article 6A paragraph (5) 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. check the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Number 24 Year 2003 about Constitutional Court, 65.

The article uses the literature method as a writing method and also uses comparative studies from Islamic law literature studies. According to Sugiyono, literature studies are related to theoretical studies and other references that relating to values, culture and norms that develop in the social situation under study, besides that literature studies are very important in conducting research, this is because research will not be separated from scientific literature.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, by using literature techniques in an effort to collecting data of various materials that was found in the library space, such as newspapers, books, magazines, manuscripts, documents and so on that are relevant to the research,<sup>13</sup> including those sourced from the internet.

### **Community Symbol, Implementation of General Elections and Power**

In a democratic country, the relationship between the ruler and the people is not a power relationship but it based on a law that upholds human rights. According to Mahasin, there is no obstacle for religion to side by side with democracy, as long as the basic elements of democracy in an Islamic perspective include: *as-syura*, *al-musawah*, *al-'adalah*, *al-amanah*, *al-masuliyah* and *al-hurriyyah*.<sup>14</sup>

Democracy according to political science / government means sovereignty is in the hands of the people. Indonesia is a democratic country where political power is in the hands of the people, as stated in Article 1 Section 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and carried out according to the Constitution. Referring to Article 1 Section 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, then the people is the one who has sovereignty in determine important decisions in the political field.

The existence of emphasis that so focused on citizens or people then in democracy government always give attention to the citizens. The implications of such a perspective are on the laying of the democracy pillars which always prioritizes the citizen's interests. Those democracy pillars are:

- (a) People's sovereignty;
- (b) Government based on the agreement of the governed (people);
- (c) Majority power;
- (d) Minority rights;
- (e) Guarantee of human rights;
- (f) Free and honest elections;
- (g) Equality before the law;
- (h) Reasonable legal process;
- (i) Government restrictions in constitutional;
- (j) Pluralism of Social, economic and political, and;
- (k) Values of tolerance, pragmatism, cooperation and consensus.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif dan R&D*, Bandung : Alfabeta, 2012, 291.

<sup>13</sup>Koentjaraningrat, *Kamus Istilah Anhtropologi*. Language Training and Development Center. Jakarta : Depdikbud, 1983, 420.

<sup>14</sup>Aswab Mahasin in Imam Aziz, et.al., (ed)., *Agama, Demokrasi dan Keadilan*, Jakarta, Gramedia. 1999, 30.

<sup>15</sup>Diane Ravicth, *What Is Democracy?*, translation of Budi Pyaritno, Amerika: United States Information Agency, 1991,6.

Citizens or people (demos), in democracy always get attention, even focused on it. Therefore, the real role of citizens is always emphasized in the political process.<sup>16</sup> Democracy is built on two principles, namely self-government and the stipulation or direct constitution making by the people. The difficulty of enforcing the practice of democratization inside a country by the ruler, along with the complexity of the problems and the challenge its faces and more than that is concerning the commitment and morality of the ruler itself. The possibility for manipulation happen in order to get the power of authority will always be there, including through information media to legalize manipulation acts of political activities.

In other words, the relationship between religion and democracy in a social community involves many variables, including non-religion independent variables.<sup>17</sup> Theologically, the failure of many Islamic countries to develop democratic political mechanisms among others is due to the existence of legalistic and formalistic views in seeing the relationship between Islam and politics. Therefore, a substantialistic approach to Islamic teachings is needed in order to encourage the birth of synthesis that possible between Islam and democracy.<sup>18</sup>

The application of democracy in Indonesia shows that Indonesian Muslims are very accepting and positively related to the concept of democracy which has been considered contrary to Islamic teachings by some Islamic bachelor.<sup>19</sup> In other hand actually according to Saiful Mujani that there is no single element of Islam that has a negative correlation and significance with one of the democracy element.<sup>20</sup> If Islam arrives to conflict with certain democratic postulates that is because the general character as a religion ... involves many holy axioms".<sup>21</sup>

In reality democracy and Islam are often misused even though in reality they must complete each other. Not all countries including Arabic countries which majorities are Islamic countries can run their governments democratically based on Islamic. The problem is actually related to the power not with religion. In the implementation, government has the meaning of "authority" which refers to legitimacy claims; rights and justifications for perform power. Therefore it is important to monitor the balance between the two to avoid corrupt power. Supervision of society from the possibility of politicians that use religion and move public opinion in gaining political and financial benefits, or to get votes in the holding of elections for electing people's representatives.

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<sup>16</sup>Afan Gafar, *Politik Indonesia: Transisi Menuju Demokrasi*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2000, 6.

<sup>17</sup>Zainuddin, *Islam dan Demokrasi*, <https://www.uin-malang.ac.id/blog/post/read/131101/islam-dan-demokrasi.html>, accessed on July 5, 2019, Pukul 14:22 UTC+7.

<sup>18</sup>Bahtiar Effendy, "Islam dan Demokrasi: Mencari Sebuah Sintesa Yang Memungkinkan" in M. Nasir Tamara and Elza Peldi Taher (eds.), *Agama dan Dialog Antar Peradaban*, Jakarta: Mizan, 1996. 100.

<sup>19</sup>Kiki Muhamad Hakiki, *Islam dan demokrasi: Pandangan Intelektual Muslim dan Penerapannya di Indonesia*, *Journal of Insight* (1:1 January 2016), 1.

<sup>20</sup>Saeful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru* Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007, in Kiki Muhamad Hakiki, 15.

<sup>21</sup>Bassam Tibi, *Ancaman Fundamentalisme: Rajutan Politik Islam dan Kekacauan Dunia Baru*, Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2000, 325.

The phenomenon of making religion an instrument of gaining power or making political choice as if it were the choice of people towards the religion they believed in. Symbols become vehicles that deliver understanding (the vehicle of meaning), which according to Geertz, symbols are:

Assuming the symbols as the connecting lines between human thought with reality outside, which is where thinking must always be related or confronted; in this case human thought can be seen as "a form of traffic system in the form of significant symbols". Thus the symbols source is two, namely (1) which originate from outside reality which manifests as social and economic realities; and (2) which originates from within and which is realized through conceptions and social structures. In this case the symbols become the basic for the realization of the model part of concepts systems in the same manner with how the religion or the belief reflects and manifests the forms of social systems.<sup>22</sup>

The increasing number of the practice of using religious symbols as a tool to legitimize a political action presents the wishes of "the people" or "the people should be stopped". The religion symbol as a community symbol is used by the political elite to show power will forget the essence of religion itself and even it also can bring Indonesian community increasingly divided.

The utilization of religion as an issue and symbol to gain support or to attack political opponents has consequence of putting forward this sense, where debate about political does not prioritize dialectical reason or compete with ideas so that they lose substance, how to improve the quality of life of the community. In one hand, the society is more religious but on other hand religiosity does not correlate with its political choices. Its development, Islamic-based and mass-based Islamic parties will stay away from the themes of symbolic struggle.

The relations of Power assume an entity community or group has more power, occurs because of unequal power relations carried out by more powerful or authoritative parties to construct differences in power. In the implementation of General Election, the condition of this relationship is raised in the practices of certain religious symbolism which seems to be more important, noble, and honorable.

General Elections in Indonesia as one of the democratic parties held every 5 years. The holding of this Election is held as the alteration of power leadership with a democratic system. General Election in its implementation has three purposes, namely:

1. As a mechanism for selecting government leaders and alternative of public policy (public policy);
2. Elections are the transfer of conflict of interest from the community to the people's representatives councils through the elected representatives or the party that wins the seat so that the community integration is guaranteed;
3. Elections as a means of mobilize, motivate or accumulate the people support towards the state and government by participating in the political process.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> <http://digilib.unila.ac.id/3548/15/BAB%20II.pdf>, accessed on July 7, 2019, at 11:26 UTC+7.

<sup>23</sup> <http://repository.unpas.ac.id/13193/5/BAB%20II.pdf>, accessed on July 6, 2019, at 10:51 UTC+7,

The first general election was held in 1955 and after 2004 the election reforms the community was able to elect people's representatives directly, the President, the Vice President, the House of Representatives, the Regional Representative Council and the Regional House of People's Representatives (DPRD of Regency and City). In the fifth election after reform was the 2019 General election, it was held simultaneously on April 17, 2019. District / city general elections to elect regents and members of the Regency DPRD and members of the City DPRD which are carried out simultaneously at the respective levels of government in accordance with the state schedule set. In accordance with the ruling of the Constitutional Court, the legislative elections and the presidential election in 2019 are carried out simultaneously.

In harmony with its development, then implementation of general elections and the practice of political activities should have been idealized, namely more integrity with a more substantial foundation of political ethics (rule of ethics). The essence of general elections is as a means of democracy which is essentially to run a state government by, from, and for the people. Through general elections the people can choose the leader of the country or his representatives who are entitled to make a policy based on the will of the people which is outlined by the country leaders or those people's representatives.<sup>24</sup>

For this reason, it is particularly urgent to prioritize ethical considerations to perfect the legal logic for substantive justice. Thus, the quality of democracy must be demanded not only as formalistic procedural democracy, but democracy which is more substantial and has integrity. This is intended to ensure that the implementation of the functions of the power holders is not mixed up and does not create an interest conflict between the actors in one branch of power and the actors from the other branches of power. At present the quality of Indonesia's democracy is faced to the condition of the emergence of a wide potential conflict of interest between:

- (i) Market economy actors, with;
- (ii) The owners and media managers, with;
- (iii) Managers and Head of a non-governmental organization (NGO) and Civil society organizations(CSOS), and with;
- (iv) The officials of state organizer.<sup>25</sup>

These four interest conflicts in their development then can also be held by one hand. Those four branches of the power must be separate from each other, so that today's democracy can work in healthy and high quality because it is balanced by the justice (rule of law), both according to the rule of law as well as integrity according to the size of the modern ethical system (rule of ethics).<sup>26</sup> Democracy is closely related to the principle of administering a law state with a reason that in democratic literacy, the general election is

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<sup>24</sup>Ahmad Farhan Subhi, *Pengusulan Pasangan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Sebagai Peserta Pemilu Menurut Undang-Undang Pilpres*, Jurnal Cita Hukum, Vol. 3 No. 2 (December, 2015), 30.

<sup>25</sup>Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Pemilihan Umum Serentak dan Penguatan Sistem Pemerintahan*, [http://jimly.com/makalah/namafile/173/PEMILIHAN\\_UMUM\\_SERENTAK.pdf](http://jimly.com/makalah/namafile/173/PEMILIHAN_UMUM_SERENTAK.pdf), accessed July 6, 2019, at 09: 49 UTC+7.

<sup>26</sup> Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Simultaneous General Election ...*, 7.



one of the nine principles of the law state.<sup>27</sup> Democracy in Indonesia is a democracy that is framed by constitutional norms. Therefore, the implementation of democracy must be in accordance with the constitution which is obeyed in general election activities, the formation of rules and the implementation of the authority of state institutions.

### **The Relation of Concrete Political Economic of Islamic Populism in the Fight of Election of People's Representatives**

The position and power is one of the important things for humans. Humans only get the delegation of power from God as a representative (caliph) on earth to realize mutual benefit. Position and power can be a source of happiness when properly executed. For Muslims it's such happiness if the power possessed is carried out in accordance with the rules of Allah SWT.

Religion is the basis of politics or power, where between religion and politics are interdependent.<sup>28</sup> The power possessed by humans is the mandate of Allah the Almighty and that power is relative (nisbi). State power is a political instrument for continuing the prophetic mission to preserve religion and set the world.<sup>29</sup> This view gives religious legitimacy towards state institutions, namely the state is understood as a political institution with religious sanctions. Reduce the state as a means to adjust the law of God's or syariah whereas Syariah gets a central position as a source of legitimacy towards political reality.

The concept of modern power tends to lay the state or the politics leadership with a variety of constitutional powers that massive in the region of law and constitution. As for the process of selecting people's representatives in government is a process of transition of power inside the state. The basic character of state power is the power that political power has. The state's strength is basically based on phenomena:

1. The internal phenomenon of state power is its power towards the individual and the territory of the country;
2. External phenomena are the state freedom to regulate foreign affairs and relations with other countries, freedom to make an agreement with other countries and the right to declare war and neutrality.<sup>30</sup>

Based on the two basic phenomena of state power mentioned above, it is clear that the state in the concept of legislation is the owner of power, while the government is the executor of power in the name of state. Power is built on the basic of the country's political system, where the existence of the highest political power is in the people hands. The state has gained power since the people entrust the public power to the state as the owner of the power.

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<sup>27</sup>Ali Masykur Musa, *Sistem Pemilu: Proporsional Terbuka Setengah Hati*, Jakarta: Pustaka Indonesia Satu (PIS) collaboration Parliamentary Support and Public Participation, 2003,162.

<sup>28</sup>Suyuti Pulungan, *Fiqh Siyasa: Ajaran, Sejarah, Pemikiran*, Jakarta: RajaGrafindoPersada, 2002, 237.

<sup>29</sup>M. Din Samsuddin, *Politik demi Tuhan: Nasionalisme Religius di Indonesia*, Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999, 46-47.

<sup>30</sup> Samir Aliyah, *Sistem Pemerintahan, Peradilan dan Adat dalam Islam*, Jakarta: Khalifa, 2004, 88.

In the end, the power was aimed to human self, especially the power of government in the state.<sup>31</sup> In Islam, the mean and purpose of power is:

1. Maintaining religion, especially for the Caliph who is responsible for maintaining the Islamic faith. In this case, it is done by optimizing the authority that has been given by Syara to him. the state is the only one that have a right to kill one who apostates and warn anyone who deviates from the state;
2. Arranging community affairs by applying Syara' law to them without discriminating between individuals and others;
3. Maintaining the state and community from people who undermine the state. The way is by protecting regional boundaries, preparing solid military forces and sophisticated weapons to fight the enemy;
4. Spread the Islamic preaching to all humans, namely by way of jihad as did by Prophet SWA on several battles, such as the conquest of Mecca and the war of Tabuk;
5. Eliminating conflicts and disputes among community members by full justice. This is done by imposing sanctions on those who commit despotic act, showing a justice towards those who are oppressed according to the law which is ordered by Allah SWT.<sup>32</sup>

The mean and purpose of this power is in harmony with the principles of power in Islam, namely:

1. Principle of brotherhood and unity;
2. Principle of equality;
3. Principle of mutual aid and defend the weak;
4. Principle of peace;
5. Principle of enforcing legal certainty and justice;
6. Principle of deliberation,
7. Principle of economy and trade;
8. Principle of defending country;
9. Principle of human right;
10. Principle in determining the officials and execution of an affairs;
11. Principle of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar.<sup>33</sup>

Noting the principles in Islamic power where as mentioned above, according to Al-Ghazali that there are two values in the principles of Islamic power namely (1) justice and (2) trustworthy (honesty). To carry out justice, the government must be strong-handed to prevent despotism both from the government officials as well as within the community.<sup>34</sup> Justice is related to the trust value of power, therefore the fair ruler must also perceive

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<sup>31</sup>Inu Kencana Syafii, *Al-Quran dan Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1996, 90.

<sup>32</sup>M. Husain Abdullah, *Studi Dasar-Dasar Pemikiran Islam*, Bogor: Pustaka Thariqul Izzah, 2002, 121.

<sup>33</sup>Suyuti Pulungan, *Fiqh Siyasah: Ajaran, Sejarah, Pemikiran*, Jakarta: RajaGrafindoPersada, 2002, 6.

<sup>34</sup>Imam Abu Muhammad Al-Ghazali, *Etika Berkuasa: Nasihat-Nasihat Imam Al-Ghazhali*, Translator, Arief B. Iskandar, Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1988, 103.

power as a trust, if most of the despotic ruler is unfair and untrusted, then the world will collapse.<sup>35</sup>

Therefore, political morals are urgently needed in the battle process of the power transition in the election of people's representatives. The best basic of moral politics of the fight of the power struggle in the political system is religion. The moral demanding to the happiness even though the happiness is not the basic of morality and the only one of the best for morality as well as happiness, which is aimed by morality, is religion.<sup>36</sup> The enforcement of political orders which arranged by Islamic norms is not the aimed itself but it is the way to do a kindness through the creation of a social environment which encourages spiritual practices through the application of the God's rules.<sup>37</sup>

Islam has increased the political ethics and power from meaning of humane and the legal towards understanding a servitude which religious, Islam connects between the advantages of moral and the respect to the law and the obedience to Shariah.<sup>38</sup> The government power is expected to be able to regulate all aspects of life, both community and individuals, with rules that meet the objectives of the religious ethics of community.

The combination of politics and religion which is a direct result of the essence of Islamic theology is also revealed in the area of constitutional theory.<sup>39</sup> Under pretext that scholar act as a supervisor of "constitutionality", then the rules of government and the administrators in order to convince community that the rules do not violate the texts or the spirit of Shariah.<sup>40</sup>

Seeing power does not stand alone with many relations, when power is understood oppressing heading in the direction of the power to produce righteousness which allows actions and policies which made as if they were true. The power of the power holder can influence others to follow certain desires both in small groups and large groups. This allows the position of the power holders to become a competition for the political elite to get it.

The emergence of practical politics that is done by political elites is the most important part as a forum that uses political power to carry out political actions. Political battles of political elites in holding general elections, show the existence of competition and struggle in relations or interactions where later on will emerge the winner that persist, which gives birth to the concept of political contestation in holding general elections,

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<sup>35</sup>Imam Abu Muhammad Al-Ghazali, *Etika Berkuasa: Nasihat-Nasihat Imam Al-Ghazhali*, Translator, Arief B. Iskandar, Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1988, 78.

<sup>36</sup>Zainal Abidin Ahmad, *Ilmu Politik Islam II: Konsep Politik dan Ideologi Islam*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 57.

<sup>37</sup>Zainal Abidin Ahmad, *Ilmu Politik Islam II: Konsep Politik dan Ideologi Islam*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 163.

<sup>38</sup>Siti Komariyah, *Konsep Kekuasaan dalam Islam*, Skripsi, Jakarta: Fakultas Syariah dan HuKum UIN Syarif Hidayatula, 2007. 67.

<sup>39</sup>Usman Jafar, *Kekuasaan dalam Tradisi Pemikiran Politik Islam (Refleksi Atas Pemikiran Politik Islam)*, Jurnal Al-daulah, Vol. 6 , No. 2 ,(Desember 2017), 353.

<sup>40</sup>Ibnu Taimiyah, *al-Fatawa al-Kubra*, jiid 5, h. 17

henceforth in that contestation there are several parties with different interests that give rise to competition naturally.

Religious pluralism which is owned by Indonesian people as a religious symbol can be manipulated by political elites who indirectly use to describe identity to gain support and gain power. Islamic populism as an Islamic mass base which is reduced as the political power of religious symbolism of the majority of religions in Indonesia which is a mass base with grass roots that represents the repressed class so that it becomes a particular political force.<sup>41</sup>

The beginning of the emergence of Islam as a political power was a transformation of the community economic power that was aimed to against the hegemony of China's and colonial economic power in local market.<sup>42</sup> As for the existence of Islamic populism reaction is the realization of a grassroots mass base from the political power which is reduced in the holding of general elections. Furthermore, this condition is influenced by political economy in countering the oligarchic capital hegemony and is reinforced from the unavoidable condition of a class approach with the state is unavoidable because economic gap will cause

1. Relationship of dependence and oppression;
2. Inhumane work relation; and
3. Possible understanding of the political rights of citizens which different.<sup>43</sup>

The democratization of the Indonesian political system is indeed running, but Indonesian politics economy is still remains of clientelistic, patrimonial, and neoliberalistic with the idea of the corporation (market) as the main actor. As a result, the political appearance of the capital owners that makes politics as an arena to reinforce their business hegemony which manifests itself as an oligarchy.<sup>44</sup> The power of capital owners is become the most important part of the oligarchy that is trying to be built between the government, the elite of capital owners, and the mass media.

In its development, Islamic and political relations or Islam and the state, are not merely manifestations of religious normative views, or merely reactionary responses towards the strength outside of Islam, but also the part of the transformation of Indonesian society itself.<sup>45</sup> Even so, in Indonesia, the chances of Islam being involved in politics are enormous, because however this situation is not avoided as a result of a wider economic political change.

The role of political parties has given a significant contribution for the national political matters system, especially in the life of a dynamic and changing Indonesian

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<sup>41</sup>Vedi R. Hadiz, "Political Islam in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia", CRISE, Working paper, Vol. 2. (February 2010), 1.

<sup>42</sup>Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar, "Melacak Akar Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia", Journal of Social and Political Science, Vol. 14, Number 2, (November 2010), 174.

<sup>43</sup>Thomas Meyer und Nicole Breyer (Mitarbeit), *Die Zukunft der Sozialen Demokratie*, Bonn. 2005, 14.

<sup>44</sup>Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar, *Melacak Akar Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia*, Journal of Social and Political Science, Vol. 14, Number 2, (November 2010), 179.

<sup>45</sup>Epistémé, Vol. 11, No. 1, Juni 2016, 40.

community. In its position as democracy pillar, the role of political parties in the national political matters system is a forum for selection of national and regional leadership.

This political institutionalization has invited a very high political participation in various political activities such as campaigns, general elections and critical attitudes of the community in monitoring the running of the government and the development process. If the practice of people democracy through the general election is not more than just a fulfillment of the ruler political legitimacy, becoming a chosen of people's representatives in the government who succeed won the general election, then need supervision to see further the efforts of the elected representatives in the effort to achieve the people's collective goals in general.

The important of institutionalizing of political parties in the development process of post-general election politic. Institutionalization of parties can be seen from how the parties strengthen themselves in terms of rooting, legitimacy strengthening, making rules of the game, and increasing competitiveness. This is intended to maximize the functions which are possessed by political parties, both the functions of political parties towards the state and the functions of political parties towards the people. The political parties' functions towards the state among others are creating the effective governance and existence of political participation towards the ruling government. Whereas the functions of political parties towards the people among others are fighting for interests, aspirations and values in community and providing protection and security. Most political parties at this time have not fully provided political education and carried out the process to make someone become cadres and political recruitment which effective to result leader cadres who have political abilities.<sup>46</sup>

The implementation of general election gives an influence with people's political participation towards the turn of the old political elite to the new political elite. The political elite in Indonesia are the solidarity maker and the administrator. The solidarity maker can be seen from the ability to keep the national in unity while the administrator can be seen from the ability to plan and implement development programs.

Thus, it is expected that the people's democracy practice through general election is not more than fulfill of the ruler political legitimacy. Implementation of general election also demands the community critical attitude in monitoring the running of the government and the process of sustainable development. The sustainable development is "development that meets current needs, without taking a risk that the next generation must be able to meet their needs".<sup>47</sup> Therefore, every country extremely needs to make efforts to rebuild integration. In other words, public political culture that is participatory and populist as social capital is expected to bear and be able to form a civil society that enhances people's welfare fairly and evenly. The integrity and unity of the nation can survive from the forms of political conflicts that will might still occur for later can be resolved correctly.

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<sup>46</sup><http://ditjenpp.kemenkumham.go.id/htn-dan-puu/507-peran-partai-politik-dalam-enyelenggaraan-pemilu-yang-aspiratif-dan-demokratis.html>, accessed on 9 July 2019, at 09:21 UTC+7.

<sup>47</sup>Volker Hauff (Hg.) 1987, *Unsere gemeinsame Zukunft: der Brundtland-Bericht der Weltkommission für Umwelt und Entwicklung*, Greven,46.

## Conclusion

Democracy in Indonesia is a democracy that is framed by constitutional norms. The voter turnout level in general elections will determine the maturity in democracy of Indonesian community which dynamic and being changing. The existence of political economy influence in countering oligarchic capital hegemony and be strengthened from the condition of a class approach with the state cannot make pragmatism in maintaining power because of the demands of capital accumulation in gaining power.

The relation of Islam and politics or Islam and state is not merely the embodiment of a religious normative view, as well as the part of community transformation itself. The economic political changes that more widespread from the reciprocal relationship between economic and political factors in democracy liberalization will be affected to the power structure. The tendency of economic as a politic appears in the election battle processes of people's representatives in the government.

Political fight that uses Islamic populism with community symbolism as a means of controversy for the political elite is influence on the extremely high political participation in various political activities. However, the people's political culture in the people's democracy practice on general election process cannot only as the fulfillment of the political legitimacy of the ruler. The general election implementation demands the community critical attitude to be able to supervise the running of the government and the process of the sustainable development.

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