State, Religion, and Modernity: A Critical Analysis of the Relationship Between Political Islam and the State in the Context of Reform

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Article Info	Abstract
	This study examines the dynamics of Islamic politics in the process of forming a modern state, focusing on the relationship between religion and the state in the context of political modernization during the reform era. The main issue explored is how Islamic politics adapts to and interacts with the principles of a modern state and the impact of religion-state integration on democratization in post-reform Indonesia. This study aims to understand the role of Islamic politics in forming a modern state, identify the challenges and opportunities in integrating religion and the state, and assess the extent to which Islamic politics can contribute to stability and the sustainability of democracy. This research employs a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. Data is collected through literature reviews and document analysis related to political policies, legal regulations, and the development of Islamic politics in Indonesia. The findings indicate that Islamic politics has undergone significant changes in facing the challenges of the modern state. The integration between religion and the state remains a topic of debate between groups advocating Islam as the foundation of the state and those supporting secularism. However, compromises between Islamic values and democratic principles can be observed in legal regulations and government policies in the post-reform era. In conclusion, Islamic politics is crucial in forming a modern state. However, the integration of religion and the state must be balanced to avoid hindering the democratization process. Therefore, inclusive policies are needed to ensure that the role of Islam in politics remains in harmony with democratic principles and the diversity of Indonesian society.
Info Artikel	Abstrak
	Penelitian ini mengkaji dinamika politik Islam dalam proses pembentukan negara modern dengan fokus pada hubungan antara agama dan negara dalam konteks modernisasi politik pada era reformasi. Permasalahan utama yang diteliti adalah bagaimana politik Islam menyesuaikan diri dan berinteraksi dengan prinsip negara modern, serta dampak integrasi agama dan negara terhadap demokratisasi di Indonesia pasca-reformasi. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami peran politik Islam dalam pembentukan

negara modern, mengidentifikasi tantangan dan peluang dalam integrasi agama dan negara, serta menilai sejauh mana politik Islam dapat mendukung stabilitas dan kelangsungan demokrasi. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif. Data dikumpulkan melalui studi pustaka dan analisis dokumen yang berkaitan dengan kebijakan politik, regulasi hukum, serta perkembangan politik Islam di Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa politik Islam mengalami perubahan yang cukup signifikan dalam menghadapi tantangan negara modern. Integrasi antara agama dan negara tetap menjadi perdebatan antara kelompok yang menginginkan Islam sebagai dasar negara dan kelompok yang mendorong sekularisme. Namun, dalam praktiknya, kompromi antara nilai-nilai Islam dan prinsip demokrasi dapat ditemukan dalam regulasi hukum serta kebijakan pemerintahan pasca-reformasi. Sebagai kesimpulan, politik Islam memiliki peran krusial dalam pembentukan negara modern, tetapi integrasi agama dan negara harus dikelola dengan seimbang agar tidak menghambat proses demokratisasi. Oleh karena itu, diperlukan kebijakan yang inklusif agar peran Islam dalam politik tetap selaras dengan prinsip demokrasi dan keberagaman di Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Islamic politics plays a significant role in shaping policy directions and forming national identity in establishing a modern state. The relationship between Islam and the state is complex and varies depending on perspectives and contextual factors. (Mujani, 2007). In several Muslim-majority countries, Islam is designated as the official state religion, with the implementation of Sharia law as part of the national legal system. (Nasar, 2017). In Indonesia, Islam is not established as the foundation of the state; however, its values and legal principles continue to play a role in governance. (Abdillah, 2015). Indonesia is not an Islamic state, nor is it entirely secular in rejecting the involvement of religion in the public sphere. Pancasila, as the state ideology, represents a compromise between the concept of an Islamic state and a secular state. (Shaleh & Wisnaeni, 2019). Meanwhile, in Pakistan, the relationship between Islam and the state is integral, with Islam serving as the foundation of the state, thereby officially establishing the republic as an Islamic state (Rizwan et al., 2023; Herlina, 2023). Egypt designates Islam as the official state religion and recognizes Sharia law as one of the sources of positive law. Nevertheless, Egypt has adopted a social democracy system. Although it declares itself a democratic state, before the Arab Spring Revolution in 2010, Egypt had not fully met the criteria of a true democracy.

In Indonesia, the trajectory of Islamic politics has been ongoing since the country's early independence and has continued into the reform era. Political modernization during this period has significantly impacted the dynamics of the relationship between religion and the state. (Bakry et al., 2024). However, this change process has not always progressed linearly or continuously; conflicts and tensions among groups with diverse perspectives often accompany it. (Rana, 2018).

One of the factors influencing this dynamic is the Islamic concept that does not recognize an absolute separation between the sacred and the profane. Devout Muslims generally reject the dichotomy between religion and the state, making the discourse on the implementation of Islamic law (Sharia) a persistent debate. This debate emerged as early as the preparation for Indonesia's independence, particularly in discussions surrounding the Jakarta Charter, which reflected the tension between groups advocating for the formalization of Sharia within the state and those supporting the concept of a national state. The political changes following the fall of the New Order regime in 1998 further intensified this discourse. The emergence of various social movements in the post-reform era reignited discussions on the Jakarta Charter. It fueled demands to expand the role of Sharia in Indonesia's legal system and governance. (Aziz, 2011).

In Islamic political theory, the integralist paradigm views religion and the state as inseparable. This paradigm asserts that religion encompasses political and governmental aspects, with the state functioning as a political and religious institution. Within this system, the head of state holds authority in religious and political matters, and governance is based on divine sovereignty.

Adherents of the integralist paradigm believe that ultimate sovereignty originates from God, meaning that state law must be derived from religious law. This concept gives rise to the idea that Islam is not merely a belief system but also a system of governance (*al-Islam huwa ad-din wa ad-daulah*). Consequently, positive law within the state is perceived as identical to religious law, making obedience to the state equivalent to obedience to religion. Conversely, rebellion against the state is regarded as defiance against religion and God. (Wahid, 2014).

The formation of modern Indonesia was significantly influenced by various figures and organizations, including Mohammad Hatta, Sukarno, and Mohammad Natsir, as well as several Islamic scholars and activists. They sought to establish Indonesia as a state founded on Islamic values, albeit through different approaches. This process unfolded

within a complex political dynamic involving diverse groups with varying visions and objectives. According to Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), the acceptance of the nation-state concept based on Pancasila does not necessitate an absolute separation between religion and the state from an Islamic perspective. On the contrary, this concept allows for integrating Islamic values into governance without hindering the principle of equality among citizens, as taught in Islam (Hasim, 2018).

The ideological roots of integrating Islam and the state were not only developed in Indonesia but were also influenced by various global Islamic movements in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in Iran, Egypt, and Pakistan. However, this ideology also gained significant influence in Indonesia through the Masyumi Party and its key figures. As a modernist Islamic political party, Masyumi was known for its systematic political thought and well-structured organizational mechanisms. Unlike classical Sunni political doctrine, which tends to be accommodative toward rulers, Masyumi rejected the concept of obedience to despotic governments. This stance contradicted the views of several classical thinkers, such as Al-Mawardi and Ibn Taymiyyah, who emphasized political stability through obedience to rulers. For Masyumi, political ethics and the pursuit of democracy were integral to the ideals of Islamic politics, aligning with the principles of justice and welfare for all citizens (Maula, 2019).

Significant political changes occurred in Indonesia during the Reform Era, marked by the modernization of the political system and amendments to the 1945 Constitution. These amendments limited presidential authority and strengthened the multiparty system, allowing various political parties to play an active role in national political dynamics. The fall of the New Order surprised many, notably because it revived the multiparty system, which had been considered lost since the end of the Old Order. However, historical experience indicates that one of the main factors behind the failure of the multiparty system in the 1950s was the lack of awareness regarding the importance of building a stable coalition (Jainuddin, 2019).

Previous studies have examined the relationship between Islam and the state in forming modern nations. For example, research by Pepen Irpan Fauzan and Ahmad Khoirul Fata (2018) identifies three models of Sharia implementation in the modern Islamic world. The first model integrates religion (Islam) and the state, as practised in Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran. In this model, Sharia formally becomes part of the positive legal system. The second model is the secular state, where religion (including

Sharia) is entirely separated from state affairs. The best example of this model is the Republic of Turkey. The third model is the symbiotic-intersectional model applied in the Republic of Indonesia. This model occupies a middle ground between the two previous models, balancing religious influence within the state without fully integrating or excluding it (Fauzan & Fata, 2018),

Meanwhile, Anwar Ilmar (2017) studied *Development and Political Participation in post-New Order Indonesia.* His research findings indicate that post-New Order development has not fully reflected a people-centred model. This is evidenced by the widening economic gap and the continued concentration of political power in the hands of a small elite, similar to the conditions during the New Order era (Ilmar, 2017).

Hasan Husaini et al. (2023) examined the role of Islamic law in developing Indonesia's national legal system. Their research indicates that Islamic law significantly influences the formation of legal norms and values within the national legal framework. However, integrating Islamic law with national law faces various challenges and obstacles, including diverse interpretations, the need for stakeholder consensus, and a profound understanding of Islamic law within Indonesia's social context (Husaini et al., 2023).

Although numerous studies have explored the relationship between Islam and the state, research on the dynamics of Islamic politics in forming modern states—particularly in the context of political modernization during the Reform Era—has received relatively little attention. Most previous studies have focused more on historical and ideological aspects without specifically examining how political modernization has shaped new patterns of interaction between Islam and the state in Indonesia.

In reality, the integration of Islam into the political system in the post-Reform era is fraught with dynamics and challenges that extend beyond the ideological aspects of Islamic politics. It also involves transformations in governance, legal frameworks, and state policies. To date, there remains a lack of comprehensive studies analyzing how Islamic political parties adapt to the multiparty system and the strategies they employ to influence state policies within the framework of modern democracy.

Moreover, previous studies have predominantly taken a descriptive approach and have not sufficiently explored comparative aspects with other Muslim-majority countries. The integration models of Islam and the state vary across different Muslim nations, depending on their political systems, historical backgrounds, and constitutional frameworks. Therefore, this study aims to bridge this gap by providing a more in-depth

analysis of the dynamics of Islamic politics in the formation of modern states while exploring how the integration of religion and the state unfolds within the context of political modernization in Indonesia during the Reform Era.

RESEARCH METHOD

In this study, the researcher employs the literature review method, which is defined as a synthesis of various sources relevant to the research topic. The background explaining the preparation for data collection is typically presented in the literature review section of each survey and experimental study. Through recent studies, a literature review also serves to provide historical context. Additionally, it represents an analytical and synthetic process that focuses on key findings, summarizes the relevant information, and subsequently draws conclusions that support the research argument (Ridwan et al., 2021).

This research process is conducted meticulously on a specific object, aiming to discover true knowledge obtained through scientific methods. The findings of this study constitute valid knowledge, which is subsequently utilized to address specific problems and provide benefits for human life.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Islamic Political Dynamics

The relationship between Islam and the state in the modern context remains a crucial issue that, despite being a subject of discussion among Islamic thinkers for over a century, has yet to reach an entirely satisfactory resolution. Studies on the historical relationship between Islam, politics, and state systems reveal a rich and diverse legacy. For many traditional Muslim scholars, Islam is viewed as a belief system that closely integrates religion and politics. Consequently, the Islamic community encompasses both spiritual and worldly dimensions. Islam functions as a "church" and a state, offering a worldview and a framework of meaning for individuals and society, including politics (Hamzani & Aravik, 2021).

In the Islamic political governance system, a fundamental principle emphasizes the importance of upholding truth and avoiding error. This principle facilitates the application of law in various aspects of life. It necessitates the integration of political values with constitutional principles. It serves as a foundational pillar and reflects the character and identity of a faithful community. Efforts to implement this principle are regarded as part of

upholding the rights of Allah. The constitutional political values of Islam include deliberation (*shura*), justice ('*adl*), freedom (*hurriyah*), and equality (*musawah*) (Umar, 2021).

Consultation (Musyawarah)

In Islamic law, *musyawarah* is one of the fundamental elements in the decision-making process within the Islamic governance system. This principle must be grounded in a firm belief in the importance of consultation for determining just and wise decisions. Therefore, *musyawarah* is a foundational principle in the Islamic political system, as emphasized in the Qur'an, Surah Ash-Shura (42:36–39). These verses highlight that *musyawarah* is an integral part of faith in Allah, reliance on Him (*tawakkul*), avoidance of major sins, forgiveness, fulfilment of promises, establishment of prayer, giving of charity, and other virtuous acts. Thus, *musyawarah* is not merely a political instrument but also an essential part of Islamic teachings that reflect the values of faith and righteousness. (Sukring, 2019).

Several scholars of tafsir limit *musyawarah* to worldly affairs and exclude religious matters. However, Al-Qurtubi argues that *musyawarah* plays a role in both domains. He asserts that in religious matters, consultation must be conducted by individuals with a deep understanding of Islamic knowledge. Meanwhile, advisors must possess wisdom and competence in worldly affairs to provide logical and beneficial recommendations. Thus, *musyawarah* encompasses religious matters that lack explicit rulings in Islamic legal sources, as well as worldly issues whose guidance is either general or continuously evolving in response to the dynamics of time (Saladin, 2018)

Sayyid Qutb argues that *musyawarah* should be applied to all aspects of life, not limited solely to governance. According to him, *musyawarah* is concerned with worldly affairs and includes religious matters that lack clear legal rulings from Allah and the Sunnah. However, the fundamental principles of Islam, which have been firmly established within religious teachings, do not require debate or deliberation. Thus, *musyawarah* in Islam serves as a mechanism for resolving issues that remain open to *ijtihad*, whether in social, political, or religious domains (Majid, 2020).

Justice

The Qur'an serves as a normative guide that provides direction for humanity in achieving happiness and well-being in this world and the hereafter. Its contents not only discuss acts of worship, including the relationship between humans and God, as well as among fellow human beings but also teach universal values of truth. These guidelines are

further developed and adhered to by Muslims in their pursuit of perfection. One of the universal values emphasized in the Qur'an is justice (Bazith, 2019).

Several verses of the Qur'an, including Surah An-Nisa (4:58), emphasize the importance of justice in the legal system. Allah commands Muslims to uphold justice and issues a stern warning in the form of severe punishment for those who violate it. In Islam, justice is a fundamental principle that asserts the equal status of all individuals within society. A leader who arbitrarily abuses power has transgressed the teachings of Islam, as such an act is equivalent to usurping the rights of others as vicegerents of Allah on earth. (Ahadiya, 2022).

Justice in Islam is comprehensive, encompassing economic, social, and political aspects. The principle of justice in Islam emphasizes a way of life based on compassion, mutual assistance, and responsibility, rather than a social system that pits one class against another. Human beings tend to prioritize personal interests due to their desires, often leading to injustice toward others. Therefore, the realization of social justice in Islam does not solely rely on implementing laws and regulations but must also be accompanied by self-restraint and discipline in controlling one's desires. (Almubarok, 2018).

Freedom

Freedom of expression is a fundamental right guaranteed and protected by the state. This right can be exercised in various forms, such as writing, books, discussions, or press activities. Every citizen has the full right to express their thoughts, which are often conveyed through storytelling or social media posts (Wahyuni & Desiandri, 2024). Freedom of expression is considered essential for four main reasons. First, it plays a crucial role in ensuring self-fulfilment and supporting individuals in achieving their maximum potential. Second, in the pursuit of truth and the advancement of knowledge, individuals must be able to hear diverse perspectives, consider all possibilities, test their opinions by comparing them with opposing views, and maximize the benefits of various thoughts. Third, freedom of expression allows individuals to participate in decision-making, particularly political affairs. Fourth, it enables society and the state to achieve stability and adaptability. (Nasution, 2020).

The Constitutional Court has addressed the issue of freedom of speech and expression in a judicial review of Articles 134, 136 bis, and 137 of the Indonesian Penal Code concerning insults against the President and Vice President. In its ruling, the Court

decided to annul these articles due to their potential to create legal uncertainty. This was primarily because of the possibility of diverse interpretations in distinguishing between criticism and insults directed at the President or Vice President. Moreover, applying criminal law to presidential insults could hinder the freedom to express opinions through speech, writing, or demonstrations. The Court determined that these provisions conflicted with Articles 28, 28D(1), 28E(2) and (3), and 28F of the 1945 Constitution, which guarantee the rights to freedom of speech, access to information, and communication (Marwandianto & Nasution, 2020).

Freedom can be simply defined as a prohibition against rulers acting arbitrarily toward their people. However, politicians and those in power often do not fully uphold this definition. In reality, the understanding of freedom among politicians frequently varies, depending on their respective interests. In a democratic system, freedom is understood as a guarantee for the people to exercise their rights without restrictions.

Equality

The principle of equality before the law is one of the fundamental tenets of the legal system. This principle serves as a benchmark for assessing the extent to which the law can be applied fairly to all members of society. Based on this principle, every citizen has the right to equal protection and justice within the legal process. This principle has evolved in various countries, including Indonesia. Equality before the law ensures everyone is treated equally without exceptions or special privileges. Additionally, this principle serves as a standard and form of protection for marginalized or minority groups within the legal system.

Article 27, Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states that all citizens have equal standing before the law and the government and must comply with the law without exception. This provision is the foundation for ensuring that every citizen receives equal rights and status in legal and governmental affairs. Consequently, this regulation guarantees protection, ensuring that all citizens are treated fairly before the law and government (Kurniawan, 2021).

The concept of the rule of law, which has evolved within modern legal systems, carries logical implications, including the principle of equality before the law. This principle is also applied in Indonesia as one of the fundamental characteristics of a legal state.

Equality before the law requires that citizens receive fair treatment from law enforcement authorities and the government (Hutabarat, 1985).

Mardjono Reksodiputro, as cited by Muhammad Sunggara, stated that the principle of equality before the law is one of the fundamental principles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and has also been adopted in the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia. According to him, this principle ensures that every citizen has the right to equal legal protection. Furthermore, he emphasized that the core of this principle lies in the concept of protection (Kawuwung, 2023)

The principle of equality has been implemented since the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions, as recorded in the Qur'an and Hadith. From the Medina period to the development of Islamic governance, this principle faced various challenges, particularly concerning the deeply rooted tribal pride in Arab society before Islam. At that time, discrimination among Arab tribes was evident, with the Quraysh tribe in Mecca considering themselves superior, especially in performing the Hajj pilgrimage at the Ka'bah, which they conducted differently from other tribes (Halim, 2013)

The Formation of the Modern State

The formation of modern states is often closely linked to colonization and the development of modern nations in Europe. The 17th to 19th centuries were crucial periods for the emergence of modern states such as France, England, and the United States. Political revolutions and social changes played a significant role in shaping new states across various world regions. This process involved establishing new legitimacy for authority and power. The emerging political elites in these nations sought to transform or control family structures, ethnic relations, and religious authority while simultaneously constructing new identities associated with state power and public officials. Modern states organize and direct individual loyalties so that they exert influence over nearly every aspect of social and personal life, in contrast to traditional governance, which had a broader scope but lacked profound societal influence.

In addition to the significant expansion of governmental capabilities, modern states fundamentally differ from their predecessors in one crucial aspect: modern state authority is uniquely defined as governance operating within fixed geographical boundaries. Consequently, in studies that integrate international relations and comparative politics, a substantial body of literature emphasizes the territorial dimension of modern authority.

How did the concept of the sovereign territorial state replace universal authority structures in imperial ambitions, theocratic justifications (such as the efforts to unite Christian Europe), or purely market-based networks of trading cities? This territorial dimension is considered a foundational element preceding other characteristics of the modern state, such as rational administration, high fiscal capacity, and national loyalty. In fact, from a territorial perspective, modern states began taking shape centuries before the emergence of nation-states and modern governance with enhanced administrative capacities (Stokes, 2021).

One of the most renowned theories explaining the diverse historical development of modern states in Europe was proposed by Stein Rokkan, a Norwegian political scientist. He argued that the formation of modern states occurs through several stages, each closely linked to fundamental social conflicts. Rokkan distinguished between state formation and nation-building. State formation involves establishing institutions such as the armed forces, bureaucracy, and governance systems. In contrast, nation-building focuses on uniting citizens into a cohesive entity (the people) who share commonalities in language, religion, education, historical heritage, and culture. Rokkan identified four stages in the development of modern states: first, the emergence of a strong elite seeking to consolidate power and territorial autonomy; second, the process of nation-building; third, the transition to democracy; and fourth, the formation of the welfare state (Deth, 2021)

Hendrik Spruyt explores the significance of the institutional foundations and ideology of the modern nation-state within the field of comparative politics. He explains that recent research has expanded our understanding of how modern states assert sovereignty over specific territories and populations, replacing various pre-existing forms of governance. This transformation has been shaped by military technology advancements, commercial capitalism's growth, and new ideas regarding government legitimacy.

Spruyt also highlights key debates concerning the emergence of constitutional and administrative regimes characteristic of the modern era. While much of the research has focused on Europe, Spruyt notes that state formation outside Europe over the past few centuries cannot be fully explained through this framework. His analysis reveals that developments in the 20th century offer insights into how the international system, the global economy, and colonial legacies have influenced the spread of sovereignty and legitimacy across different regions.

Liah Greenfeld and Jonathan Eastwood examine the ideological foundations of the modern state, emphasizing national identity as a secular understanding of the self and its social relationships. They define nationalism as a modern concept that emerged due to disruptions in traditional hierarchies. As old status structures began to collapse, individuals started to identify as part of a nation based on equality rather than inherited privilege. Greenfeld and Eastwood analyze how modern nationalism shapes the criteria for national membership and how societies perceive the relationship between the nation as a collective entity and the individuals within it (Stokes, 2021)

Analysis of the Integration of Religion and State

The relationship between religion and the state can be divided into three forms: integrated, separate, and pluralist. In an integrated form, religion and the state are combined in one system, as happened in Saudi Arabia and Iran, where Islam is made the state religion and Sharia becomes the law of the state. In a separate form, religion and state are separated, as in Turkey and Indonesia, where Islam is not explicitly recognized as the state religion. Meanwhile, in the pluralist form, religion and the state interact in a more complex way, such as in Indonesia, where religion is recognized in several provinces and citizens have the freedom to practice their religion and beliefs by article 29, paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution, which guarantees the freedom of every individual to embrace his religion and carry out worship according to his religion and beliefs (Effendi, 2009).

In several countries, including Indonesia, citizens are free to practice their religion and beliefs, with the state acting as a facilitator. However, the state does not have the authority to determine or legitimize the truth of any religious doctrine. In this context, the role of civil society and religious organizations is crucial. As the country with the world's largest Muslim population, Indonesia must recognize the significant contributions of its two major religious organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Without the support of these Islam-based organizations, the process of democratic transition and consolidation would have been highly challenging, if not impossible. According to Robert W. Hefner, these two most prominent Islamic organizations, often regarded as the main pillars of Civil Islam in Indonesia, played a vital role in supporting a peaceful democratic transition at the end of the 20th century (Salim, 2023)

From an Islamic perspective, religion provides ethical guidance for all aspects of life, including matters of state and politics. However, understandings of the relationship

between religion and the state in Islam vary widely. Political thought regarding this relationship remains a subject of intense debate among scholars. In countries that assert that religion is not the foundation of state policy, the prevailing ideology is often rooted in communism, as seen in North Korea, China, and Cuba.

Conversely, countries that establish Islam as the foundation of the state engage in a dialectical process in understanding Islamism as a central ideology in governance. On the other hand, countries with a history of the church as the official state religion—such as the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Greece—as well as European nations that are still or were once ruled by monarchies, experience tensions between right- and left-wing groups in efforts to bring religion into the public sphere. This is reflected in issues such as the removal of religious identity from national identification cards, the state's neutral stance toward specific religions, and multiculturalism campaigns.

Various forms of integration between religion and the state among Muslim-majority countries have led to political tensions in several nations. These tensions are often more pronounced in countries that fall into the intersectional and secular categories. Sudan, which declared Islam as the official religion and the foundation of its constitution in 1989, experienced prolonged conflict, ultimately dividing it into two separate states. Northern Sudan, where most of the population is Muslim, declared itself a secular state on March 28, 2021. Meanwhile, South Sudan, where most of the population is non-Muslim, gained independence on July 9, 2011. Several countries in Central Asia, which emerged from the dissolution of the Soviet Union, opted to become secular states, including Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan. Even though the majority of Tajikistan's population is Muslim, the country has imposed restrictions, such as banning women from wearing the hijab and prohibiting men from growing beards.

As practiced in the Western world, secularism does not entirely separate religion from the state. Instead, it operates on the principle of "twin toleration," whereby the state does not interfere in religious affairs, and religion does not impose its doctrines on the state. Europe remains vulnerable to difficulties in accepting diversity, as evidenced by the fragmentation of several countries along identity lines. The religious wars between Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists in Europe have left a lasting legacy of deep-seated rivalry. The European Union (EU)—established to foster a consensus of unity among European nations—continues to face challenges in managing this diversity (Khamdan, 2022)

The Context of Political Modernization in the Reform Era

The fall of the New Order regime and the emergence of the Reformation Era, which significantly promoted democracy, granted citizens greater freedom of expression and association as part of political participation, including the right to criticize and oppose the government. The opposition was considered incompatible with the state ideology during the New Order. However, in the Reformation Era, opposition was seen as a natural component of a democratic system, as the government must be constantly monitored to prevent errors and abuse of power. Nonetheless, opposition should not be destructive but rather loyal. Oppositionalism, which tends to be detrimental, assumes that every government policy is inherently flawed and must be opposed. In contrast, loyal and constructive opposition believes that policies aligning with political aspirations for social justice and public welfare should be supported.

The government in the Reformation Era does not restrict public political participation; rather, it seeks to channel citizens' aspirations effectively by optimizing the role of political parties in political communication— including political socialization, as well as the articulation and aggregation of interests— and by empowering civil society organizations, which function as interest groups and pressure groups. Moreover, democratic political processes, such as general elections and public policymaking, are conducted in a free and open manner, aiming to manage and resolve conflicts civilly through legislative and judicial bodies. The elections held during the Reformation Era are generally considered fair and democratic, positioning Indonesia as the world's third-largest democracy. However, electoral implementation challenges include fraud, vote manipulation, money politics, and conflicts in national and local elections (Abdillah, 2015).

At the beginning of the Reformation Era, several prominent Muslim figures established new political parties. Among them was Abdurrahman Wahid, the leader of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), who founded the National Awakening Party (PKB); Amien Rais from Muhammadiyah, who established the National Mandate Party (PAN); Deliar Noer, who founded the Ummah Party (PUI); and Yusril Ihza Mahendra, who established the Crescent Star Party (PBB). The formation of these Islamic political parties sparked discussions and debates among leaders, Muslim intellectuals, political analysts, and politicians. Many supported the establishment of Islamic-based parties, arguing, as Yusril Ihza Mahendra stated, that in a democratic system, religious-based parties are legitimate

and constitutional as long as their objectives do not contradict the state's foundational principles and democratic values.

However, Kuntowijoyo opposed the establishment of Islamic political parties, fearing that it could hinder the mobility of Muslims, create divisions among them, and narrow their understanding of Islam. According to Kuntowijoyo, the formation of an Islamic political party should serve as a means to articulate the aspirations of the Muslim community—namely, to apply Islamic principles in societal and national life, enhance education and overall quality of life, and promote harmony and peace in both social and political spheres. Kuntowijoyo also viewed this initiative as a form of jihad to encourage goodness and combat injustice through political channels. However, he emphasized that Islamic parties must not exploit religion for personal or group political interests, nor should they slander or discredit others without clear justification or in ways that contradict authentic Islamic teachings (Dahtiar, 2024).

One of the legal reform agendas initiated by the government is legislative improvement. President Joko Widodo has repeatedly emphasized the importance of the House of Representatives (DPR) prioritizing quality over quantity in the law-making process. Formulating regulations within the national legal system plays a key role in developing Indonesia's legal framework. As stated by Lawrence M. Friedman, legal substance is a crucial element in legal system development. Additionally, two other equally important aspects are legal structure and legal culture.

The constitutional system's power to enact laws is vested in both the Legislative and Executive branches. These two institutions collaborate in the law-making process by Article 20(2) of the 1945 Constitution. In addition to participating in the legislative process, the executive branch also holds the authority to issue regulations and legal provisions. In practice, the number of regulations issued by the executive significantly exceeds the laws enacted by the DPR in collaboration with the government (Siswanto, 2019)

CONCLUSION

The modernization of politics in Indonesia during the Reform Era has had a significant impact on the dynamics of political Islam in the process of shaping a modern state. Although political secularization has occurred, Indonesia, within the framework of Pancasila, has not evolved into a purely secular state. The relationship between religion and the state is symbiotic-intersectional, meaning that both interact without being fully integrated or wholly separated. Post-reform democratization has led to the emergence of

Islam-based political parties, contributing to political pluralism. However, expanding political freedom has also introduced challenges, such as the potential for conflict and social polarization. In this context, religion should be positioned as an integrative element that fosters social harmony and preserves national unity. The ideological tensions between Islamic and secular nationalism continue to shape Indonesia's political landscape, as reflected in debates ranging from the Japanese occupation period to the Constitutional Assembly in the 1950s.

This study has several limitations that need to be acknowledged. One of the main constraints is its temporal scope, as the research primarily focuses on the development of political Islam during the Reform Era without deeply exploring how these dynamics evolved before and after this period. A broader understanding of the history of political Islam in Indonesia would provide a more comprehensive perspective on the patterns of interaction between religion and the state. To address this limitation, future research is recommended to adopt a comparative approach by examining how other Muslim-majority countries manage the relationship between Islam and the state within their political systems. This would offer a broader insight into the factors influencing various models of Islam-state relations across different nations.

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