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JABIYAH

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Yaniah Wardani, Wiwi Siti Sajaroh, Suprapto

Developing Religious Moderation in State Islamic Religious College Indonesia: Text and Context-Based Understanding of Islam

Faiq Ainurrofiq, Ibnu Burdah, Munirul Ikhwan

الدفاع عن التفسير الديني المحافظ: قراءة في تصوير دور المرأة في كتب محمد متولي الشعر اوي في ضوء التحليل النقدي للخطاب

Muhammad Rafi'iy Rahim, Arifuddin Ahmad, Darsul S Puyu, La Ode Ismail Ahmad

Al-Albānī Methodology in Determining The Faith of Hadith: Study of The Book of Irwā Al-Galīl Fī Manār Al-Sabīl by Al-Albānī

Firdaus Muhammad, Jalaluddin. B, Khaerunnisa, Muh. Rezky Z., Irnawati

Political Populism in 2019 Presidential Election: Narrating Islamic Paradigm on Cultural Identity of Towani Tolotang Community

> Rukman Abdul Rahman Said, M. Ilham, Mikdar Rusdi, Muhammad Majdy Amiruddin

A Critical Review of Traditional Wisdom in The Quran: Exploring The Value of Siri' in Surah Yusuf

Ahmad Razak, Ahmad Yasser Mansyur, Tarmizi Thalib, Muhammadong

A Hajj Psychology Training Module Designed to Improve The Emotional Intelligence of Prospective Pilgrims

Irwanti Said

The Portrayal of Islamic Values and Perspective of Bugis – Makassar Culture in The Conception of Dowry for People in Bangkala Village, Makassar, South Sulawesi

Syamhari, Andi Miswar, Nasrum, Sardian Maharani AsnurThe Tradition of Reading Lontara Kutika of Datara Village Community,
Tompobulu District Gowa Regency (Appreciation of The Al-Qur'an
Verses)

Zuly Qodir, Hasse Jubba, Mega Hidayati Islamism and Contemporary Indonesian Islamic Politics





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Table of Contents

p-ISSN: 1412-6141 e-ISSN: 2548-7744

Yaniah Wardani, Wiwi Siti Sajaroh, Suprapto	1-18
Faiq Ainurrofiq, Ibnu Burdah, Munirul Ikhwan الدفاع عن التفسير الديني المحافظ: قراءة في تصوير دور المرأة في كتب محمد متولي الشعراوى في ضوء التحليل النقدى للخطاب	19-44
Muhammad Rafi'iy Rahim, Arifuddin Ahmad, Darsul S Puyu, La Ode Ismail Ahmad	45-69
Firdaus Muhammad, Jalaluddin B, Khaerunnisa, Muh. Rezky Z., Irnawati Political Populism in 2019 Presidential Election Narrating Islamic Paradigm on Cultural Identity of Towani Tolotang Community	70-87
Rukman Abdul Rahman Said, M. Ilham, Mikdar Rusdi, Muhammad Majdy Amiruddin A Critical Review of Traditional Wisdom in The Quran Exploring The Value of Siri' in Surah Yusuf	
Ahmad Razak, Ahmad Yasser Mansyur, Tarmizi Thalib, Muhammadong	113-126
Irwanti Said	127-139
Syamhari, Andi Miswar, Nasrum, Sardian Maharani Asnur	140-159
Zuly Qodir, Hasse Jubba, Mega Hidayati	160-176

POLITICAL POPULISM IN 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: NARRATING ISLAMIC PARADIGM ON CULTURAL IDENTITY OF *TOWANI TOLOTANG* COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This article examines Towani Tolotang's political reflections as a minority group during the 2019 Presidential Election campaign. Minority groups are frequently regarded idiosyncratically by the majority group and even the state, as evidenced by the limited narratives about them during the Presidential Election. This study is currently focused on Towani Tolotang's political reflection as a minority group in the 2019 Presidential Election, particularly in light of the democratic constitution and Islamic teachings. This study employs a qualitative method and Edmund Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology approach to analyze this phenomenon through an interview with an informant from their community named Uwa Jappi Pattedungi. Gathering information from informant, categorizing information, analyzing the categorization, and drawing conclusions are some of the stages used to examine the data obtained from the interview. According to Surah An-Nahl verse 90 and An-Nisa paragraph 135, the Towani Tolotang group's political reflection is founded on the value of their local wisdom in the form of tolerance, which turns out to be comparable with the substance of democracy, namely openness and equality, and the substance of Islamic teachings, namely justice. However, as a result of the polarization of political support, the potential for local wisdom has been reconstructed into a 'Political Populism' movement, particularly among groups more predisposed to an exclusivist political stance. To address this issue, it is essential to change institutions and belief systems, which can be seen in political communication that emphasizes the importance of equality in majorityminority relationships.

Keywords: Idiosyncratic; Local Wisdom; Minority Group; Political Populism; Towani Tolotang

ملخّص

تركز هذه الرسالة على الانعكاس السياسي لتواني تولوتانج كمجموعة أقلية في فترة حملة الانتخابات الرئاسية لعام ٢٠١٩. غالبًا ما يتم التعامل مع مجموعات الأقليات بشكل خاص من قبل مجموعة الأغلبية وحتى الدولة ، وهو ما يمكن

رؤيته من خلال الروايات المحدودة عنها خلال الانتخابات الرئاسية بالأمس. في هذه النقطة ، يهدف هذا البحث إلى النظر إلى انعكاس تواني تولوتانغ السياسي كمجموعة أقلية في لحظة فترة الانتخابات الرئاسية لعام ٢٠١٩ ، خاصة من وجهة نظر الدستور الديمقراطي والتعاليم الإسلامية .تطبق هذه الدراسة نهج للظواهر المتعالية لفهم هذه الظاهرة من خلال مقابلة مع العميم يُدعى لتحليل البيانات التي تم .ibappi Pattedungi مخبر من مجتمعهم يُدعى العثور عليها من المقابلة ، تم اتخاذ عدة خطوات ، وهي جمع المعلومات من المخبرين ؛ تصنيف نتائج المعلومات ؛ تحليل التصنيف واستخلاص النتائج . المخبرين ؛ تصنيف نتائج المعلومات ؛ تحليل التصنيف واستخلاص النتائج . إلى قيمة حكمتهم المحلية في شكل قيمة التسامح .- سورة النحل) ٩٠ (و سورة النساء) ١٣٥ . (ولكن ، فقد أعيد بناء إمكانية الحكمة المحلية في حركة الشعبوية السياسية "نتيجة استقطاب الدعم السياسي ، خاصة تجاه " الجماعات التي تميل أكثر إلى موقف التفرد في السياسة . لإختمام هذه المشكلة ، من الضروري إصلاح المؤسسات والعقليات التي يمكن رؤيتها من خلال التواصل .السياسي الذي يركز أكثر على قيمة المساواة في العلاقة بين الأغلبية والأقلية .السياسي الذي يركز أكثر على قيمة المساواة في العلاقة بين الأغلبية والأقلية .السياسي الذي يركز أكثر على قيمة المساواة في العلاقة بين الأغلبية والأقلية .

الكلمات المفتاحية: مميز ;الثقافة المحلية؛ الأقليات؛ انعكاس سياسي

Abstrak

Tulisan ini fokus pada refleksi politik dari Towani Tolotang sebagai kelompok minoritas pada masa kampanye Pemilihan Presiden tahun 2019. Kelompok minoritas tidak jarang diperlakukan idiosinkratis oleh kelompok mayoritas bahkan negara sekalipun yang dapat dilihat dari terbatasnya narasi-narasi tentang mereka saat Pemilihan Presiden kemarin. Pada poin tersebut, penelitian ini ditujukan untuk melihat refleksi politik Towani Tolotang sebagai kelompok minoritas pada momen Pemilihan Presiden tahun 2019 terutama dari sudut pandang konstitusi demokrasi dan ajaran Islam. Jenis penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dan menerapkan pendekatan Fenomenologi Transenden Edmund Husserl untuk memahami fenomena tersebut melalui wawancara dengan salah seorang informan dari komunitas mereka bernama Uwa Jappi Pattedungi. Untuk menganalisis data temuan dari wawancara tersebut ditempuh beberapa langkah, yakni mengumpulkan informasi dari informan; mengkategorisasi temuan informasi; menganalisis kategorisasi tersebut; dan menarik kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian ini membuktikan bahwa refleksi politik kelompok Towani Tolotang didasari atas nilai kearifan lokal mereka berupa nilai toleransi yang ternyata hal tersebut sepadan dengan substansi berdemokrasi, yakni keterbukaan dan kesetaraan serta substansi ajaran Islam, yaitu keadilan yang

ditinjau dari surah An-Nahl ayat 90 dan An-Nisa ayat 135. Akan tetapi, potensi kearifan lokal tersebut mengalami rekonstruksi menjadi gerakan 'Populisme Politik' akibat dari polarisasi dukungan politik terutama terhadap kelompok yang lebih mengarah pada sikap eksklusivitas dalam berpolitik. Untuk menyelesaikan persoalan ini perlu melakukan reformasi kelembagaan dan pola pikir yang dapat dilihat lewat komunikasi politik yang lebih menitikberatkan pada nilai kesetaraan hubungan mayoritas dan minoritas.

Kata Kunci: Idiosinkratis; Kearifan Lokal; Kelompok Minorities; Politikal Populisme; Towani Tolotang.

A. Introduction

Political piety explains and validates dominance and inequality in access to political groups during the 2019 Presidential Elections. Even if a democratic system exists, it is difficult for the marginalized group or two-class society distant from piety icon (read: Islam) to find a platform to express their political interests. The democratic system requires equality. This system fostered a sense of community intimacy in all topics addressed. Using this system for comfort and exclusivity in favor of certain groups is an attempt to devalue equality. To put it another way, under this system, every individual or group has the same public access rights. If a specific group continues to hold this system in an idiosyncratic position, the system is just utopian. Democracy, as a governmental structure, ensures that all members of society are treated with humanity. This system is present not only as anti-authoritarian beliefs, but also as a non-illegal and arbitrary concept of freedom and political pluralism. Because of the uncertainty surrounding the implementation of democracy, the majority has had the opportunity to hear the main political sentiments of excluded groups. Political populism is one of the movement's political sentiments.

When viewed objectively, the 2019 presidential election is a sporadic fact of political activity that reveals only one side of a majority group. Both during the campaign and during the debate, the two presidential candidates had little experience with minority groups. This suggests that there is a gap in the Presidential Election agenda for public participation. This show clearly demonstrates how current presidential candidates frequently overlook the critical concept of a democratic system that includes not only the principle of equality, but also the virtue of public inclusion.

The *Towani Tolotang* community is one of the minority groups that feel excluded from the agenda of the recent presidential election. They are a community in the *Amparita* district of the *Sidrap* Regency with a turbulent history linked to their presence in the *Bugis-Makassar* lands. This community is easy to identify because they create religious conceptions of cultural identity that stand out in the community. Their shared identities and horrific experiences have strengthened and inspired their bond. According to Adinugroho¹, the presence of a certain group's identity and experience might encourage these groups in their activities, including politics.

¹ Indro Adinugroho, 'Psikologi Moral Dan Usaha Mencari Pemimpin Politik Yang Demokratis', *Journal of Buletin Psikologi*, 24.2 (2016), p. 72 https://doi.org/10.22146/buletinpsikologi.18067>.

According to the findings of this community study, there are not many studies that focus on micro-aspects or bottom-up relationships. Culla² and Nasruddin³ discuss the topic of democracy, identity politics, and political culture on a macro level and elitist that finally rests on contemplation of mind alone. It is obviously not incorrect, but there is a tendency to believe that it demonstrates the elitist and idiosyncratic nature of democracy's legal formalities. In other words, the non-elitist or micro component is vital to examine since it has become one completeness in a democratic system that requires the principle of inclusion and pluralism in its application. Thus, by exhibiting sociopolitical disorientation in a broad sense, the endeavor against the democratic norm, the interests of second-class citizens are kept in an equal political matter.⁴

Mainstream ideals of democracy, politics, and identity in the *Towani Tolotang* community are not so much a matter of liking or disliking as it is of raising awareness in the state system in order to accommodate all of the community's interests, particularly those of the marginalized. Egalitarianism is not a new concept in the Islamic paradigm. This lesson emphasizes the importance of political equality. It implies that allowing discriminatory behavior to be legal is against Allah swt's command. This may be seen in Allah swt's Al-Quran surah Ali-Imran verse 159 that leaders who are able to treat their people fairly and not arbitrarily are admired. As a manifestation of Allah swt's order in accordance with the mandate of democracy and the requirement of morality, the government must provide assurances and protection to all citizens to actively participate in any public affairs.

Subordinate groups get the right to participate actively and independently in the state's political affairs as a result of this egalitarian understanding. It provides primary alternative space even from the domination or 'selfishness' concept of an elite group of countries, as more people think about them. Minority groups, according to Abdurrahman et al.⁵, can be the catalysts for changing the majority group's viewpoints.

The fundamental thing that is not negotiable in this perspective is to reconstruct the country and the nation with a common identity, diversity, and pluralism. Because anything is possible with that identity. It also ensures the formation of a political action that is both equal and inclusive.

At the same time, the interdependence of state and religion has made Indonesia a country defined by Almighty God's religious precepts. This ideology legitimizes the state's acknowledgment of all citizens, regardless of their religious or philosophical beliefs. Political governance without prejudice is what recognition entails. The

² Adi Suryadi Culla, 'Demokrasi Dan Budaya Politik Indonesia', *Journal of Socia Polites: Majalah Ilmiah Sosial Politik*, 5.23 (2005) http://ejournal.uki.ac.id/index.php/sp/article/view/512.

³ Juhana Nasruddin and Ahmad Ali Nurdin, 'Politik Identitas Dan Representasi Politik (Studi Kasus Pada Pilkada DKI Periode 2018-2022)', *HANIFIYA: Journal of Studi Agama Agama*, 1.1 (2018), p. 122 https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15575/hanifiya.v1i1.4260.

⁴ Paisol Burlian, *Patologi Sosial* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2016), p. 15.

⁵ Abdurrahman, M. Husin Al-Banjari, and Muradi Muradi, 'Terpilihnya Figur Minoritas Dalam Masyarakat Majemuk Beloto Kabupaten Flores Timur: Tinjauan Perspektif Teori Pengaruh Minoritas Dan Teori Kontak', *Al-Ijtima'i: International Journal of Government and Social Science*, 4.2 (2019), 141–56 https://doi.org/10.22373/JAI.V4I2.454>.

agreement to acknowledge and accept the presence of other groups with diverse backgrounds is known as recognition. With this idea, the administration is able to prevent the primal political sentiment that gave birth to political populism or identity politics.

This research concentrates on the *Towani Tolotang* community's political experience during the 2019 Presidential Election. This study not only highlights the political populism caused by their community, but it also emphasizes the thoughts or character of a politician in establishing itself in the middle of society's plurality from the Islamic viewpoint, as reflected in the event-election in 2019. The failure of democracy has resulted in the rise of marginal and political populism, which is a manifestation of such conflict.

B. Method of Study

This type of study used a qualitative methodology. Researchers employed a qualitative technique to gain a better grasp of social or humanitarian concerned as a whole from the information provided by the informant. Creswell⁶ claimed that the essential key to a qualitative method was exhibiting and recognizing social issues or shared humanity as a whole, as well as the quality of the information provided by the informant.

The informant's experience was thought to be reflective of the community's difficulties. Why would you want to have an epic journey? It was because people believed that experience equaled knowledge, and that certain beliefs and principles served as a type of guidance in life. The community was made aware of what looked to be a fact. The qualitative technique was crucial in illuminating the reality that existed in the *Towani Tolotang* community, which was the subject of this study. Meanwhile, in this study, the phenomenological method was used to discuss political populism.

Phenomenology was a study approach that centred on the 'I' as a person who employed ratio to establish truth in himself (the subject) rather than outside of himself (the object).⁷ This 'I' as a subject could be identified through the individual's daily experiences. Experience was significant because it was the source of truth. In Sobur⁸, Edmund Husserl described the experience of a deliberate group of individuals as a substantive thing for them. Thus, Edmund Husserl's phenomenology was employed to comprehend the reality of this investigation in terms of the informant's reality.

An informant was a key person who was identified as a source of data for the problem statements that had been developed. Jappi Pattedunging, one of the *Towani Tolotang* community's chiefs, was the informant (33-year-old). He was singled out because he symbolized the entire faith community working toward a common objective. It denoted any trustworthy information as representing the community.

⁶ W. John Creswell, *Research Design Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches* (London: Sage Publications, 1994).

⁷ Helaluddin, *Mengenal Lebih Dekat Dengan Pendekatan Fenomenologi: Sebuah Penelitian Kualitatif* (New York, 2019) https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/stgfb>.

⁸ Alex Sobur, Filsafat Komunikasi Tradisi Dan Metode Fenimenologi (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2014).

The data was analysed using Colaizzi's⁹ phases of analysis, which included compiling information / data, creating categories of data / information, interpreting the data / information that had been categorized, and determining the essence or structure of the data / information that had been categorized. Table 1 showed a brief summary of Colaizzi's analysis, as follow:

Interview
and
Documentation

1) Compiling
information/data

2) Categorizing
data/information

3) Interpreting
(verstehen) the
categorizing data

4) Determining
conclusion

Table 1. Colaizzi's Analysis Method

Sources: Authors (2021)

C. Towani Tolotang: A Long Journey To Get Recognition

The presidential elections, which began in 2004 with parliamentary elections, are a historical reality in the development of Indonesia's political system and government. A history that not only depicts the transition from a totalitarian to a democratic political system, but also describes how, through this presidential election, all Indonesians can express their political goals without any political divisions or constitutional obstacles. The New Order regime, commanded by General Suharto at the time, had relatively limited influence over ambitions, which were particularly strong among minority communities. They are unable to communicate their group's ambitions or interests because they are a minority group.

The *Towani Tolotang* community in *Amparita* Village, *Tellu Limpoe* District, *Sidenreng Rappang* (*Sidrap*) Regency, in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, benefited from the transition of the government system to a democratic system. The *Towani Tolotang* are a group of people who dwell in Amparita's southern region. The monarch of *Sidenreng* La Patiroi remarked, "To" means "people," and "Lotang" means "south," to enable communication with the *Towani Tolotang* and to identify their identity as a group of immigrants who fled from the *Wani* area, *Wajo* Regency, after resisting the king's demands to accept Islam at the time.

The entry of the *Towani Tolotang* community, also known as a *Towani Tolotang* belief, to *Sidenreng Rappang* (*Sidrap*), was followed by an agreement between King *Sidrap* and the *Towani Tolotang* community, which asserted: (1) *Sidenreng*'s custom must be respected and obeyed; (2) Decisions must be respected; (3) Promises must be kept; (4) A decision that has taken effect must be respected; and (5) Islam must be

⁹ Alex Sobur, Filsafat Komunikasi Tradisi Dan Metode Fenimenologi (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2014), pp.456-458.

glorified and This agreement was reached to make it easier for the *Towani Tolotang* community to dwell in *Sidrap*'s southern section.

In 1966, the *Towani Tolotang* community's political identity was put to the test once more when they were forced to choose between the official religion created and recognized by the state at the time. They must choose one of three religions: Islam, Christianity, or Hinduism in order to become citizens of the Republic of Indonesia. This is further supported by Dandim 14015 Number T 100/1966/27 September 1966 regulation regulating the necessity to have a state-recognized official religion. This law inadvertently causes them to abandon their religion or cease to accept it as a belief. According to Syamsurijal, the Regent and Dandim 14015 of *Sidrap* Regency have coordinated to preserve and oversee the laws that have been developed, so that the *Towani Tolotang* community takes a stand in choosing an official religion recognized by the state promptly.¹⁰

Nonetheless, the *Towani Tolotang* group eventually chose to embrace or be linked with Hinduism, as the Director General of Guidance for Bali Hinduism/Buddha No. 2 of 1966 about *Towani Tolotang* is a Hindu religious sect. This determination is inextricably linked to the intimidation of Islamic groups experienced as a result of the *Sidrap* Regent's policies, which aim to establish and mainstream Islamic teaching ideals in harsh and coercive ways. Rijal stated that the *Towani Tolotang* population had negative recollections and experiences with Muslims, which had been worsened by the Regent's rules at the time.¹¹



Sumber: https://lokadata.id/artikel/komunitas-hindu-tanpa-pura

Due to their significant historical experience and terrible impressions from the deportation of Wajo's King, which eventually settled in the southern region of Sidrap Regency, the *Towani Tolotang* tribe was able to create their perspective and behavior in everyday life. ¹² The *Towani Tolotang* community's political existence reflects this tragic

¹⁰ Zulfikarnain, 'Mengenal Towani Tolotang, Masyarakat Yang Terpaksa Memilih Hindu', *Oke News* (Jakarta, 18 September 2016) https://news.okezone.com/read/2016/09/18/340/1492054/mengenal-towani-tolotang-masyarakat-yang-terpaksa-memilih-hindu.

¹¹ Heru Prasetia, 'Catatan Singkat Tentang Sejarah Komunitas Towani Tolotang', *The Wordpress*, 2017 https://bangkitnyaagamaadatnusantara.wordpress.com/2017/01/07/catatan-singkat-tentang-sejarah-komunitas-tolotang/> [accessed 13 November 2020].

¹² Heru Prasetia, 'Catatan Singkat Tentang Sejarah Komunitas Towani Tolotang', *The Wordpress*, 2017 https://bangkitnyaagamaadatnusantara.wordpress.com/2017/01/07/catatan-singkat-tentang-sejarah-komunitas-tolotang/> [accessed 13 November 2020].

imprint and historical experience. Jappi Pattedunging (33-year-old), a *Towani Tolotang* informant and Uwa (religious/community leader), gave a political review of the recent presidential election, which was held with equal accessibility for the majority and minority groups.

This knowledge is congruent with the relevant customs system in a group of them. According to Jappi, "there is no barrier between majority and minority groups in our society's judicial system." Togetherness and equality were something that could not be kept out of every *Tolotang Towani* breath without taking into account the backgrounds of individuals or other groups.

Togetherness and likeness, or the so-called equality system (Asilempureng), which they feel is the push for the Towani Tolotang community to establish future political ideas without coercion from other groups during the past Presidential Election. "We have the right to know and choose who is worthy and deserving to lead our country in the future," Jappi, said emphatically. The Tolotang Towani community's courage in selecting their political stance without fear of intimidation is inextricably linked to their understanding of democracy, which they define as freedom from discrimination and dominance by any group, including the Islamic group as superior or majority.

Furthermore, Jappi stated, "Even though we are surrounded by Islamic populations, there is no concern that our political rights would be harmed because in a democracy, we are all equal." The *Towani Tolotang* community is depicted in the democratic narrative as a group that cannot be expelled from a democratic party (Presidential Election) since democracy guarantees equal rights to both the majority and the minority.

The *Towani Tolotang*'s democratic system and customary law system, which believe in equality, have provided a powerful guidance and basis for them to develop their opinions in electing Mr. Ir. Joko Widodo as the presidential candidate because, despite being a Muslim, he was seen as capable of embracing both the majority and minority groups at the time. Jappi stated that our community chose Mr. Jokowi early on because of his integrity and nationality, allowing him to embrace many majority and minority groups while being a Muslim.

Mr. Jokowi is seen as a nationalist politician capable of bridging the interests of many groups, as evidenced by the *Towani Tolotang*'s visit to *Sidrap* to build a dam that can be enjoyed by all farmers without exception, as well as his intensity in visiting the Papua region, which demonstrates his seriousness in developing the region rather than continuing to focus on the Java area. *Uwa* Jappi asserted emphatically that the construction of the *Passeloreng* dam for all *Sidrap* farmers, as well as the intensity of his journey to Papua, demonstrated his awareness of the need to establish this nation without prejudice.

Mr. Joko Widodo's political attitude from the start became a solid motivation for them to direct their political positions to Mr. Jokowi rather than the retired Lieutenant General Prabowo Subianto, who was seen as a radical Muslim figure. ¹³ Because of the presence of these two political figures, a schism has developed between extremist Islam

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¹³ S13, 'Haruskan Minoritas Takut Pilih Prabowo?', *The Pinterpolitik* (Jakarta, 21 August 2019) https://pinterpolitik.com/haruskah-minoritas-takut-pilih-prabowo>.

and Nusantara, or tolerant Islam. "The present presidential election is between extremist Islam and Nusantara Islam (tolerant)," *Uwa* Jappi said. A polarization that culminates in the development of a certain group's identities through both offering and receiving support for one of the candidates for President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 term.

Even though the presidential election at the time was controlled by the Muslim majority, the *Towani Tolotang* community's zeal for identifying and matching their group identification to the support group for one of the presidential candidates did not dampen their enthusiasm. The identity compatibility is distinguished by an emphasis on tolerance as a political expression for their group. Tolerance is the key to forming and connecting their groups within society. "The representation of one *Towani Tolotang* who sat in the provincial legislature in the 1990s is indicative of the tolerance that we preach to others," *Uwa* Jappi recognized. Tolerance is also a motivating factor in their selection of presidential candidates.

They will directly elect a president candidate who is capable of promoting tolerance principles in their political practice. *Uwa* Jappi said that we support a presidential candidate who can bring security, comfort, and the freedom to practice what we believe in since it is our political identity. This perception of tolerance should be a power that a country must hold in order to achieve unity and peace, because a country without tolerance will disintegrate. "Tolerance makes the country stronger," he added.

D. Politic and Democracy: Rebuilding Equality in The Polarity Society's Euphoria

In a democratic system, articulating politic involves the fulfilment of power or demands based on equal rights, identity equality, and open access to the common good. A democratic system is a system that provides equal opportunities to all parties to fulfil the desires of the people's power with facilities and control carried out by the government. The government does not limit the public's or people's interests, but it does provide opportunities for them to attend and vote for their political objectives without concern of becoming threatened by the state or other groups.

This is what it means when a democracy is said to be "of, by, and for the people." The imperative that democratic institutions provide everyone with equal procedural chances to influence political decisions is defined as political equality. State institutions such as the General Election Commission (KPU), the Election Supervisory Body (BAWASLU), and other state institutions dealing with general elections, notably the Presidential Election, must be able to dare to determine and enable accelerate spaces for all community groups to determine their political choices.

Unfortunately, the results of the 2019 Presidential Election proved the opposite. The data demonstrate that only the majority group decorated the stage of democracy at the time. The split of the Islamic masses between the Jokowi and Prabowo camps exemplifies how wide the divide between majority and minority groups is. The absence of equitable representation of minority groups in political debates is enough to demonstrate that their interests are still ignored in a democratic society. In a democratic

¹⁴ Charles R Beitz, *Political Equality An Essay in Democratic Theory* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989).

party, they are still regarded as an insecure group. Communities like the *Towani Tolotang* community and others are usually never included in an elite group's (party) strategic preparations for each election campaign.

While the essence of democracy promises an equality articulation or pronunciation to represent the interests of the entire community or group, this is certainly relevant for ethnic or religious minorities (religious adherents). The platform offered for presidential candidate forums rarely addresses the condition of ethnic groups. Another point of view is that political narratives in a democratic society will be regarded fair play if they would present variants of political entities and identities that do not idiosyncratically focus on a single object of political identity.

The purpose of re-enacting the events of the 2019 Presidential Election is not to remind the people of the political campaign at the time, which was rife with political piety plays, negative attitudes, hate speech, and hoaxes against political opponents. The replay of the occurrence, on the other hand, is designed to raise the public's eyes to the fact that a political event occurred disproportionately with the departure of the second class community group. This is worsened further when the political elite views them as a means of enhancing the political elite's image and self-esteem.¹⁵

This is particularly critical in today's democratic environment. When it is no longer discussed or dismissed, a democratic order has failed or democracy has died. In Rofii, ¹⁶ Daniel Ziblatt and Steven Levitsky argue that the democratic system might enable a leader to be authoritarian and use all of his authority for long-term political objectives of the party and himself.

The difficulty, if not outright refusal, of rulers or elite groups to discuss the presence of minorities has the ability to give rise to sentiment views towards certain groups, which are not impossible to foster fanaticism towards other groups that they acquire into their interests. As a result of this fanaticism, there may be an outbreak of conflict. As a result, there is no other option but to enhance the discussion of moderation of ethnicity, religion, or any belief in the public sphere, led and mobilized by authorities who are (maybe) somewhat capable of penetrating an egalitarian view in the sense of eroding the polarity view in society, as it is recognized and believed by the *Towani Tolotang* community in their legal system.

At this moment, the state and other democratic institutions should constantly be there to promote the idea of moderation or egalitarianism to the people¹⁷. Only with this concept can the state significantly restore democracy's function. In a democratic society, who is supposed to be a majority and who is said to be a minority should no longer be drawn because everything has melted away. Meanwhile, the legal system, which is the

¹⁵ Endang Sari, 'Kebangkitan Politik Identitas Islam Pada Arena Pemilihan Gubernur Jakarta', *KRITIS: Journal of Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Hasanuddin*, 2.2 (2016), p. 150 https://journal.unhas.ac.id/index.php/kritis/article/view/4164>.

M. Sya'roni Rofii, 'Agar Demokrasi Tidak Mati', in National Seminar Demokrasi Konstitusional Untuk Kesejahteraan Rakyat (Jawa: IAIN Pekalongan, 2019) https://www.researchgate.net/publication/337262238 Agar Demokrasi Tidak Mati>.

¹⁷ Usman Jafar, 'Muslims' Thoughts of Non-Muslims' Political Rights in Majority Muslim Areas in Makassar', *Jurnal Adabiyah*, 19.2 (2019), p. 206 < https://doi.org/10.24252/jad.v17i119i2a7>.

Towani Tolotang community's local wisdom that accompanies and aids people in establishing their political stance, is not only crucial for developing locality narratives, but also strengthens egalitarian topics as the essence of a democracy.

E. Linking Local Wisdom Ratio to Constitutional Ratio in Political Populism

The existence of local wisdom, which is frequently a sign of a society's or community's identity, is a value that is relatively colorizing political beliefs. Yusuf¹⁸ claims that under the era of regional autonomy, local cultural values impact the political style. In a political setting, it is difficult to dismiss the importance of local wisdom. The worth of this local expertise becomes a kind of key in identifying and judging a political policy, and it frequently spurs a political populism movement from a certain group or community.

A populist movement formed on the basis of collective awareness in order to escape being marginalized by the governmental elite is a political movement based on socio-cultural identity to be acknowledged, recognized, or realized its existence. Mudde, in Esser and Stromback¹⁹, explores populism as an ideology that views society is inevitably split into two homogeneous and adversarial groups, 'the pure people' and 'the corporate oligarchy,' and that considers politics should be an expression of the general will of the people. Also, according to Ar-Rasyid²⁰, populism asserts that the elites of a well-established state are not individuals who support the people.

The 2019 Presidential Election campaign portrays and discusses the problem of Islamic narratives. Traditional Islam, which is associated with Ir. Jokowi, and hard-line Islam, which is associated with Lt. Gen. TNI (Ret.) H. Prabowo Subianto, are defined as opposing poles in Islam. The unconditional support of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) citizens for Ir. Jokowi represents traditional Islam, while the backing of the Islamist group 212 for Prabowo Subianto represents hard-line Islam. Another example of Islam's polarization at the period was rural Islam and poor-line Islam, which was defined as Ir. Jokowi's stronghold, and urban or upper-middle class Islam, which was characterized by the H. Prabowo Subianto party.²¹ This portrayal of the Islamic narrative demonstrates that the country's elites make no attempt or have any agenda to offer a minority narrative in their political interests.

As a result of the 212 group's actions during the Jakarta gubernatorial race in 2017, the Islamic discourse was still prominent at the time. Leaving other groups, on the other hand, cannot be justified or legitimate for state elites. Separating different groups within a democratic party appears to be a betrayal of democracy. It is appropriate to

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^{, &}lt;sup>18</sup> A. M Yusuf, 'Assituruseng: Hegemoni Budaya Dalam Praktik Politik Dan Kekuasaan Di Belawa', *ETNOSIA: Journal of Etnografi Indonesia*, 2.1 (2018), p. 74 https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.31947/etnosia.v2i1.2956.

¹⁹ Frank Esser and Jesper Stromback, *Mediatization of Politics Understanding the Transformation of Western Democracies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

²⁰ Harun Ar-rasyid, 'Populisme, Politik Identitas, Dan Pemilu 2019', *The News Detik* (Jawa, 11 May 2019) https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-4545249/populisme-politik-identitas-dan-pemilu-2019>.

²¹ Tom Pepinsky, 'Pembelahan Agama Dan Etnis Dalam Pilpres 2019', *Tirto* (Jakarta Selatan, 13 June 2019) https://tirto.id/pembelahan-agama-dan-etnis-dalam-pilpres-2019-eamN>.

develop a narrative of plurality and inclusivism as a country that accepts the democratic system. This is significant since it is a part of the 1945 Constitution and *Pancasila*, particularly the second principle, "Just and Civilized Humanity." If this is not accomplished, those who are not intimately implicated in the presidential election at the time will organize their own political movement based on their socio-cultural identity, such as the *Towani Tolotang* group.

For the *Towani Tolotang* community, political populism entails using tolerance as a tool of socio-cultural identification as well as a weapon of fight against state elite groups that appear to overlook the existence of inferior communities. Tolerance is positioned as a reflecting and practical item that assists them in justifying the state elite who tend to endanger their status. They lack the political, economic, and military power to challenge the country's ruling class. As a result, they solely use tolerance as a validation method in defining their political stance. The attitude of these minorities should not be underestimated because, at times, their support has the capacity to influence the ultimate voting outcome.²²

In these circumstances, the state must be able to put democratic ideas of inclusion and tolerance into practice. With the *Towani Tolotang* community's tolerance ethic, it means committing to embrace pluralism in both vertical and horizontal interactions. With this idea, a society's 'political content' experiences a sensitive and open relationship between constitutional principles and the values of any local knowledge.

In a democratic society, tolerance is prized above everything else. At this moment, we have the ability to actively activate democracy, notably through association and social intimacy. Democratic parties frequently cause tensions or pose considerable social concerns, whether in presidential elections or other regional head elections. Intolerance against certain groups is caused by a lack of regard for or respect for other points of view. As a result, it is necessary to promote the development of a tolerance-based mentality as a result of a common political ethic. This implies that everyone is free to participate fully in the party without being distracted by opposing viewpoints. Equality and freedom can be fostered and cultivated in this culture. A stronger democracy, according to Dunn and Sigh²³, will have a major impact on tolerance's worth. To put it another way, mainstreaming tolerance has an impact on a country's integrity. Tolerance that develops in a democratic environment will become a culture as well as a genuine political ethic.

F. Politics and Islam: Empowering Statesmen with Justice and Morality Values

According to Bukhari and Muslim, the Prophet Muhammad reportedly mentioned that the Prophets looked after the Children of Israel (Siyasa). The prophet who has passed away will be replaced by another prophet. Although I will be the last Prophet,

²² S13.

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²³ Kris Dunn and Shane P. Singh, 'Pluralistic Conditioning: Social Tolerance and Effective Democracy', *Journal of White Rose Research Online*, 21.1 (2014) https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2012.697056>.

there will be caliphs after me.²⁴ Leaders have a responsibility to look for their people, and partiality is not acceptable. If they are capable of doing so, they are referred to be caliphs. The caliphate can be defined as the global responsibility of mankind to prosper the earth and its people.²⁵ As a result, a leader's sole task is to increase people's prosperity without regard for their social rank or identity. A leader should have no intention of discriminating against minority groups. Politics (prosperity) or *Siyasah* refers to this.

Politics, or *Siyasah*, is how we demonstrate fair and equal behavior to the community²⁶. Leaders who are unable to behave properly and equally do not deserve to be called politicians or statesmen. Those who can uphold the concepts of justice and equality are highly regarded in the Quran. People, even marginalized groups, can find their identity and dignity as creatures created by God Almighty with that worth. As a result, in a political event, this group can establish their own attitudes and decisions. This indicates that there is a humanitarian movement in the administration of justice. Allah swt. declares that:

The Meaning:

"Allah swt. forbids wicked deeds, evil, and animosity, and Allah swt. commands (you) to conduct justice and good, to give to relatives. He teaches you so that you might teach others".

This scripture plainly commands humans, particularly leaders, to be fair and equal in their treatment of various groups.

The Prophet Muhammad witnessed and imparted his speech that there are three occupants of heaven, one of whom is a just ruler, in Muslim history.²⁷ Fairness is the awareness of not surpassing or diminishing, not choosing sides or making impartial decisions based on ability, position, or level, and not being arbitrary in making decisions and treating others.²⁸ Even if there are those who are loathed or ignored, fair behavior must be maintained because it is near to morality. "And do not let your hatred of a

²⁴ Abdullah Zawawi, 'Politik Dalam Pandangan Islam', *Journal of Ummul Qura*, 5.11 (2019), p. 89 http://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/pantura/index.php/qura/article/view/2204>.

²⁵ Muhammad Shodiq and Mauidlotun Nisa, 'Integrasi Interpretasi Makna Khalifah: Respon Terhadap Gerakan Hizbuttahrir Di Indonesia', *Journal of Buletin Al-Turas*, 5.2 (2019), p. 245 https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15408/bat.v25i2.13089.

²⁶ Bob Jessop, Territory, Politics, Governance, and Multispatial Metagovernance', *Territory, Politics, Governance Journal*, 4.1 (2016), p.14. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2015.1123173.

²⁷ Makmur, 'Pandangan Al-Quran Dalam Politik', *MANHAJ: Journal of Penelitian Dan Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 8.1 (2019), p. 59 https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.29300/mjppm.v4i1.2374>.

Nurdin, 'Konsep Keadilan Dan Kedaulatan Dalam Perspektif Islam Dan Barat', Media Syari'ah: Journal of Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam Dan Pranata Sosial, 13.1 (2011) https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/jms.v13i1.1747.

people incite you to act unfairly," said Allah swt. (Q.S. Al-Maidah verse 8). Another verse states, "Do not follow your passions rather than maintaining justice" (Q.S. An-Nisa: 135). These two passages declare unequivocally that if a leader is unable to behave fairly in his or her role as a leader, the leader has breached his or her morality as a leader or statesman.

It has been established that acts of prejudice against minority communities have occurred since the start of the 2019 Presidential Election yesterday. The dominance of Muslim narratives at the time demonstrated how strong, despite their divisions, these people were in reality. To put it another way, at the time, the minority narrative was well embedded in the Democratic Party. This is demonstrated by the formation of a discourse of political piety by the two presidential candidates, both of Jokowi and Prabowo camps, which has become a kind of supremacy of political image.²⁹ Once again, the political piety narrative does not afford symbolic space for religious groups or adherents, including the *Towani Tolotang* community.

Political affairs and authority have been institutionalized in this stance as being only the domain of elite groups or the majority of votes, rather than those considered marginal or second-class. They are, however, thought to be incapable of sufficiently contributing to the triumph of a candidate for head of state or regional leader. Furthermore, they are still thought to be incapable of becoming the major vehicle in hooking the voices of other constituents, so that these political elites reject their existence.

The appearance of the democratic system in Indonesia in this manner demonstrates that it has not yet been fully realized. Differences in social status and identity that should have been allowed to fade away become even more pronounced. As a result, democracy has been weakened, and the Indonesian people have fallen far behind in a civilization defined as civil or civil society.

Democracy and civil society are symmetrical in nature, forming an inter-objective relationship. Civil society arises as a result of democracy, and democracy as a result of people's civic awareness. The relationship develops not only as a result of the support system, but also as a result of the mind's or awareness's ability to do so.

Unfortunately, the democratic system in Indonesia remains a phantom, with the government just paying lip service to it. The ethical deficiency is caused by a democratic deficit. The absence of participation of minorities in every Democratic Party exemplifies this.³⁰ Their absence from every edition of the Democratic Party seems to correspond with a lack of political ambitions or interests in the future government.³¹ As a result, people frequently have difficulty exercising their rights and advancing in their communities.

²⁹ Mulyo Sunyoto, 'Kesalehan Sosial Elite Politik', *The Antaranews* (Jakarta, 10 February 2019) https://www.antaranews.com/berita/802956/kesalehan-sosial-elite-politik.

³⁰ Ghita Intan, 'BPS: Indeks Demokrasi Indonesia 2018 Tergolong Kategori Sedang', *The Voaindonesia*, 2019 https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/bps-indeks-demokrasi-indonesia-2018-tergolong-kategori-sedang-/5019765.html [accessed 3 February 2021].

³¹ Antonio Pradjasto, 'Perlindungan Hak-Hak Minoritas Dan Demokrasi', *ELSAM: Lembaga Studi Dan Advokasi Masyarakat*, 2014 https://referensi.elsam.or.id/2014/12/perlindungan-hak-hak-minoritas-dan-demokrasi/ [accessed 3 February 2021].

Democracy and political populism are related in some way³². This signifies that a democracy that can follow its constitution's course can avoid the emergence of political populism movements. The *Towani Tolotang* is a perfect illustration of a victim of democracy that differs significantly from its constitution. They have no choice, but to shape their political attitude based on their impulses or instincts of personality, not on their critical reasoning. These desires are then directed toward people who can facilitate and realize all of their rights as citizens.

Non-Muslims' rights, particularly political rights, are strongly recognized in Islamic teachings³³. Recognizing their rights is the same as upholding the ideals of justice, freedom, and human equality in front of other people. The Prophet Muhammad led the Medina Charter as a state constitution. He demonstrates that Muslims and non-Muslims are identical. To put it another way, in the viewpoint of law and politics, all citizens at the period had the same rights and positions. According to Badruzaman³⁴, the inclusion of a Medina charter or constitution empowers non-Muslims with equal rights and even the right to be elected as a leader if necessary.

The Islamic view of political practice requires that there be no sort of discrimination in any political agenda. Political manifestations like as justice, freedom, and equality must be realized. In politics, everyone has the same rights, especially in a democratic system that guarantees this. The *Towani Tolotang*, as well as other marginalized people, should not be overlooked in any political agenda at this time. Not political piety, but political warmth for all citizens.

G. Conclusion

This study discovered that minorities' identities, such as the *Towani Tolotang* community's, appear to be more inclusive in their representation of political concerns. Tolerance and equality are essential to them. Both tolerance and egalitarianism are too vital for them due to they are concerned with social cohesion, identity, and a fighting instrument in opposing those aristocracies who never fight for inclusivity principles. Every political decision they make is based on local wisdom that are rooted from tolerance and equality. Despite the fact that the value of this local wisdom does not appear to be a mainstream or popular decision, they have vowed not to abandon it. The fact that they are a minority group has had a significant impact on the evolution of their political stance.

³² Kurt Sengul, 'Populism, Democracy, Political Style and Post-Truth: Issues for Communication Research', *Communication Research and Practice*, 5.1 (2019), pp. 8-9

https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2019.1561399

³³ Muhammad Saleh Tajuddin, 'The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Creating Islamic Post-Traditionalist Paradigm in Indonesia', *Jurnal Adabiyah*, 19.2 (2019), pp. 163-164.

< https://doi.org/10.24252/jad.v17i119i2a4>.

³⁴ Dudi Badruzaman, 'Hak-Hak Warga Negara Non-Muslim Sebagai Pemimpin Dalam Pandangan Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Positif', *SUPREMASI: Journal of Ilmiah Ilmu Hukum*, 9.1 (2019), pp. 19–20 https://doi.org/10.35457/supremasi.v9i1.575.

The *Towani Tolotang* community's case of local wisdom cannot be evaluated piecemeal. This has demonstrated that their local wisdom in the shape of tolerance ideals is reasonably consistent with constitutional democratic and even Islamic teachings. Tolerance is essential for democracy. It is unethical without it. Meanwhile, in Islam, tolerance can be paired with the concept of justice, specifically equality. In Surah An-Nisa verse 135 and An-Nahl verse 90 of the Al-Quran, it is commanded to be fair to one's fellow human beings and to grant them their rights. *Towani Tolotang* of constellation of local wisdom values shared by democracy and Islam demonstrates that the three have a parallel relationship. In other words, dismissing the importance of local wisdom or, more broadly, minority communities suggests impropriety in democracy and religion, or unexpectedly proposes the '*Political Populism*' movement.

The task ahead is to actively involve minorities in all political agendas without discrimination. Their active participation is measured not only by their occasion to vote in elections for the head of state or president, or other regional head elections, but also by policymakers' internal awareness of the need to expand their presence in the community, whether through political policy or other administrative government initiatives. In other words, reform of state institutions and attitudes must be approached with caution and seriousness in order to portray a just and balanced socio-political system within the context of the relationship between majority and minority groups. As a result, systematic measures to limit idiosyncratic attitudes toward minority groups, as well as the development of a political communication inclusivity model to reach them, are required.

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Example in footnotes:

¹Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 8 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), h. 18.

²Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: One World Publications, 1991), h. 190.

³Syeikh Ja'far Subhānī, *Mafāhim Al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Mu'assasah Al-Tarīkh Al-'Arabī, 2010)., Juz 5, h. 231.

⁴Syeikh Ja'far Subhānī, *Mafāhim Al-Qur'ān*, h. 8-9.

Example in bibliography:

Subhānī, Syeikh Ja'far. Mafāhim Al-Qur'ān. Beirut: Mu'assasah Al-Tarīkh Al-'Arabī, 2010.

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Detail informations of the footnotes:

1. Holy book

Al-Our'ân, Al-Bagarah/2: 185.

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2. Qur'anic translation

¹Departemen Agama RI, al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya (Jakarta: Darus Sunnah, 2005), h. 55.

3. Book

¹Muḥammad 'Ajjaj al-Khaṭib, *Uṣl al-Ḥadith: 'Ulumuh wa Muṣṭalaḥuh* (Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr, 1989), h. 57.

4. Translation Books

¹Toshihiko Izutsu, *Relasi Tuhan dan Manusia: Pendekatan Semantik terhadap al-Qur'an*, terj. Agus Fahri Husein dkk (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003), h. 14.

5. Voluminous book

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¹Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukharī, *al-Jami*' *al-Şaḥīḥ*, Vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilm<u>i</u>yah, 1999), h. 77.

6. Article in book

¹Sahiron Syamsuddin, "Metode Intratekstualitas Muhammad Shahrur dalam Penafsiran al-Qur'an" dalam Abdul Mustaqim dan Sahiron Syamsuddin (eds.), *Studi al-Qur'an Kontemporer: Wacana Baru Berbagai Metodologi Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2002), h. 139.

7. Article in encyclopaedia

¹M. Th. Houtsma, "Kufr" dalam A. J. Wensinck, at al. (ed.), *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 6 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), h. 244.

8. Article in journal

¹Muhammad Adlin Sila, "The Festivity of *Maulid Nabi* in Cikoang, South Sulawesi: Between Remembering and Exaggerating the Spirit of Prophet", *Studia Islamika 8*, no. 3 (2001): h. 9.

9. Article in mass media

¹Masdar F. Mas'udi, "Hubungan Agama dan Negara", Kompas, 7 Agustus 2002.

10. Article in Internet

¹Muḥammad Shaḥrūr, "Reading the Religious Teks: a New Approach" dalam http://www.shahrour.org/25 Februari 2010/diakses 5 Juni 2010.

11. Thesis or dissertation

¹Syahruddin Usman, "*Kinerja* Guru Penddikan Agama Islam pada SMAN dan SMKN Kota Makassar", *Disertasi* (Makassar: PPs UIN Alauddin, 2010), h. 200.

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