



# Deconstructing Hegemony: The Internationalisation of Political Islam in the 21st Century

Syaflin<sup>1</sup> , Ismail<sup>2</sup> , Asasriwarni<sup>3</sup> 

<sup>123</sup> State Islamic University Sjeh M. Djamil Djambek, Bukittinggi, Indonesia

**Abstract.** In the intricate global political landscape of the 21st century, discussions surrounding Islam have become a significant focal point. This research delves into the multifaceted process of the internationalization of political Islam, exploring its implications for hegemonic structures in today's world. Employing a nuanced deconstructionist approach grounded in qualitative analysis, it navigates the diverse dimensions of political Islam's internationalization amid varied interpretations and practices worldwide. Central to this study is the unraveling of entrenched hegemonic narratives about Islam, meticulously dissecting them alongside the emergence of new movements, ideologies, and strategic maneuvers. Utilizing rigorous qualitative methods such as textual analysis and discourse examination, the research uncovers the underlying power dynamics and ideological shifts shaping the global discourse on political Islam. Furthermore, it underscores the significant role of technology and media in catalyzing the international spread of political Islam, offering insights into the mechanisms through which ideas are disseminated and contested in the digital age. Through a deconstructionist lens, this research emphasizes the complex web of dynamics shaping global politics, stressing the importance of ongoing scholarly inquiry and the acceptance of diverse interpretations of political Islam in contemporary contexts. Thus, it contributes to a deeper comprehension of the evolving global political landscape and the intricate interplay among its various forces.

**Keywords:** Deconstruction Hegemony; Political Islam; 21st Century

## 1. Introduction

Discussions regarding the relationship between religion and the state have once again gained prominence in the Muslim world, leading to the phenomenon termed as the repoliticization of Islam. This phenomenon denotes the utilization of religion as a foundation for political ideology, exerting a considerable influence on the domestic politics of predominantly Muslim nations. Bassam Tibi identifies at least two primary factors contributing to the global context of Islam's repoliticization. Firstly, Muslims across various nations are grappling with an identity crisis, while secondly, widespread socioeconomic crises and poverty have provided fertile ground for the emergence of religious ideologies offering promises of liberation. Conversely, the role of the state, or government, significantly shapes the development of religion within its jurisdiction. Policies concerning religious matters carry substantial implications for the formation of civil societies and shared aspirations. When state policies lean towards endorsing a particular religion, they inevitably foster conditions that are often inhospitable, leading to conflicts with sectarian elements (Wandri et al., 2023).

The relationship between religion and the state has emerged as a contentious subject in global historical discourse and political civilization (Altinordu, 2016). These discussions unveil varying perspectives on the relationship between religion and the state, igniting ideological and political tensions. This divergence can be attributed to extensive debates concerning the boundaries of state intervention in religious affairs (Kemper, 2019). This relationship underscores the autonomy and acknowledgment of religion as a fundamental right of individuals, entrusted to independent religious institutions. It illustrates the authority of individuals and groups within society to govern their worship practices in accordance with their beliefs, a topic of critical importance for study (Dafizki et al., 2023).

One inherent difficulty in the dynamics of religious thought is the tensions and conflicts that accompany the development of ideas (Hussain, 2019). On one hand, tensions arise from the necessity of maintaining doctrinal norms amidst a constantly changing world, while on the other hand, tensions emerge from sociological processes (Berger, 2016). If religion is narrowly understood, confined to formal ritual dimensions associated with its absolute transcendent aspect, the acceptance of new cosmological perspectives brought by modernization becomes challenging. There is a need for substantial reformulation of existing civilizations to better accommodate the new cultures present within the realm of modernity. These efforts are grounded in the strong argument that human life is dynamic, evolving, and changing, necessitating a new understanding that situates the dynamics of life in all its aspects as historical facts (Stolz & Voas, 2023). Recognizing the impact of modernization and external dynamics has clearly led to the revitalization and re-understanding of religious teachings, followed by efforts to reformulate religious doctrines (Jayusman et al., 2024).

Islamic traditionalism has entrenched itself deeply since the advent of Islam. Its notable trait of accommodating local traditions has played a crucial role in the gradual and evolutionary process of Islamization within societies, notably without resorting to violence (Armayanto et al., 2023). Considering the socioeconomic landscape of Muslim communities during its emergence, which predominantly comprised rural peasant populations, the conditions were unfavorable for the modern development of Islam (Prihatini, 2020). Consequently, traditionalism emphasized the importance of loyalty to religious authorities. Within this context, traditional Islamic thought encompasses ideas firmly tethered to the doctrines of jurists in fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), Hadith (Prophetic traditions), Sufism (Islamic mysticism), tafsir (Quranic exegesis), and tauhid (monotheism), which thrived from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries (Achilov, 2016).

Islamic modernism primarily thrives in urban areas, where the populace tends to be more open to new ideologies (Dozono, 2023). Its focus on rejuvenation centers around institutional reforms in organizational and educational domains, managed in a contemporary manner to address the specific needs of the community (Achilov & Sen, 2017). This approach is seen as effective in combating societal ignorance and backwardness. Moreover, adherents of modernism perceive Western Christian culture as a significant challenge to their religious ethos. The diverse practices within Islam, historically dominated by traditional beliefs often considered laden with superstitions and innovations, contradict the essence of pure Islam and are seen as inadequate protection against Western cultural influences (Esposito, 2015). Consequently, a core tenet of modernism is the earnest effort to purge Islam of all traces of superstition and

innovation, transcending sectarian boundaries, and reviving the principles of *ijtihad* (independent legal reasoning) (March, 2015).

State intervention in religion poses multifaceted risks that extend beyond mere disintegration of national unity (Fossati, 2019).

## **2. Methods**

This research aims to explore the hegemony in the discourse surrounding the internationalisation of political Islam in the 21st century. Using the deconstruction method, this research seeks to identify and reveal biases and contradictions present in the dominant Western discourse on political Islam. A solid theoretical foundation will be built through a review of the literature on hegemony, political Islam, and deconstruction theory, allowing the researcher to gain a deep understanding of the analytical framework to be used in this study (Fitria, 2023).

The data collection process will involve selecting discourses for analysis, such as news articles, reports from think tanks, and Western academic literature on Islamic politics. Data selection will be done carefully to ensure representation of various viewpoints. Furthermore, the data will be analyzed using deconstruction methods to identify underlying assumptions, biased language use, contradictions, and interests behind the dominant discourse.

This research will employ a qualitative approach, conducting in-depth interviews with various stakeholders, including political leaders, civil society activists, and academics. These interviews will provide a clearer and more in-depth perspective on the dynamics of Islamic politics from a domestic viewpoint. The results of the analysis will be interpreted and discussed, emphasizing how the dominant discourse has shaped Western understandings of political Islam. The discussion will include an examination of biases and contradictions in the discourse, while considering alternative views from Muslim countries and Islamic political actors.

The research will present a summary of the main findings and the implications of deconstructing the discourse on the internationalization of Islamic politics. It aims to make an important contribution to deepening the understanding of Islamic politics, addressing bias and contradictions in Western discourse, and allowing space for alternative viewpoints on the phenomenon. Through this comprehensive approach, the research hopes to pave the way for a better response to the complexities of Islamic politics in an ever-changing global context.

## **3. Results and Discussion**

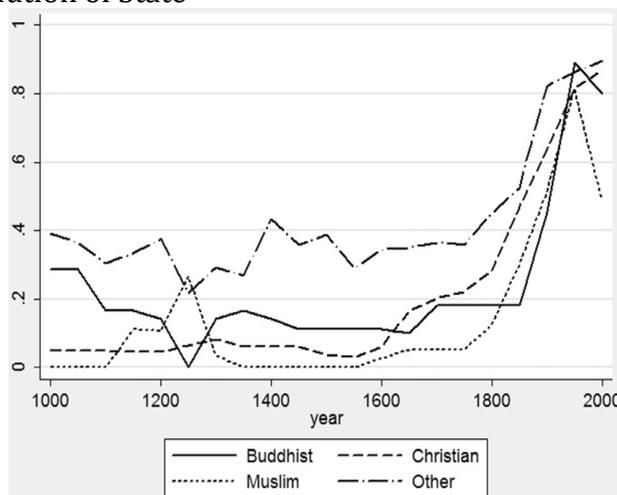
### *3.1 Principles of the Islamic State*

Throughout the trajectory of Islamic history, the relationship between religion and state in the political context has been the subject of complex and varied debate (Karagiannis, 2016). This debate arises from the dominant view that Islam is a comprehensive way of life, regulating not only spiritual matters but also political and social affairs. This perspective acknowledges that Islam does not sharply separate religion and state, especially reinforced by the dual role of Prophet Muhammad in Medina, where he served as both a religious and political leader simultaneously.

However, amidst this view, there is also a perspective asserting that Islam does not prescribe a specific system of governance but rather provides ethical guidelines for statehood. The dual position of Prophet Muhammad in Medina has been a topic of debate

among scholars, raising the fundamental question of whether Islam is synonymous with politics or explicitly leaves the concept of state form undefined (Gržinić, 2023).

**Figure 1.** The Evolution of State



*Source: Created by University of Connecticut*

The paradigm of Islamic political thought illustrates the relationship between religion and state worldwide through three distinct perspectives. First, the integrative paradigm views religion and state as inseparable, forming a unified entity. From this standpoint, the state functions as both a political and religious institution, governed by divine sovereignty. Advocates of this view include Shia groups like Hasan Al Banna, Sayyid Quthb, Syekh Muhammad Rasyid Ridha, and Abul A'la Al-Maududi, who advocate for an Islamic State where governance is grounded in religious principles.

Second, the symbiotic paradigm posits that religion and state are interconnected and mutually reliant. According to this perspective, religion flourishes with the support of the state, while the state depends on religion to guide moral and ethical standards. This idea is echoed in the works of Al-Mawardi, who suggests that state leadership serves to preserve religion and organize societal affairs, necessitating a symbiotic relationship between the two.

Third, the secular paradigm rejects both the integrative and symbiotic relationships between religion and state (Ali, 2020). Egyptian Muslim scholar Ali Abdul Raziq pioneered this view, asserting that Islam is solely a religious doctrine and not concerned with state matters (Hashemi, 2014). Raziq denies the Islamic foundation of the state and contends that Islam bears no connection to the caliphate governance system. He advocates for absolute freedom for Muslims to structure the state according to contemporary societal needs and conditions.

The progressive perspective on the concept of the Islamic state underscores the importance of embracing principles such as democracy, dignity, pluralism, and tolerance as the bedrock of an ideal state (Burnett & Richardson, 2021). Within this framework, the Islamic state is expected to uphold and safeguard human rights comprehensively, including the rights of women and minorities. This encompasses ensuring freedom of expression, political participation, economic opportunities, and other rights without discrimination based on gender, religion, or cultural background.

By embracing this progressive approach, the Islamic state is encouraged to foster an inclusive and equitable environment for all its citizens (Sulastri, 2019). This entails recognizing and celebrating the diversity inherent within society, thereby ensuring that every individual feels valued and respected in the process of nation-building and statehood. Through this inclusive stance, the Islamic state can cultivate an atmosphere conducive to the flourishing and active participation of all citizens, devoid of fear or prejudice.

Moreover, this approach aligns with universal humanitarian values while also acknowledging the diverse tapestry of Islamic society. It affords room for the coexistence of various perspectives and beliefs within a fair and inclusive state framework. As such, the progressive view of the Islamic state enriches the discourse on governance and fosters peace, harmony, and progress within diverse and multicultural societies.

### 3.2 The Future of the Islamic State

Efforts to delineate political concepts within Islam and to explore the relationship between Islam and the state necessitate analysis from a legalistic-rationalistic standpoint. With the emergence of new interpretations, Islamic political thought has evolved, embracing an adaptationist approach congruent with the societal level of civilization (Choudhury & Adenan, 2017).

The relationship between Islam and democracy warrants a nuanced perspective due to their disparate origins. Islam, rooted in revelation, is transcendent, while democracy, a product of human ingenuity, is profane. Despite shared values between Islam and democracy—given that Islam embodies principles espoused by democracy—their relationship remains incompletely understood.

**Table 1.** The New Face of Political Islam

No	Concept	Description
1	Legalistic-Rationalistic Analysis	Analyzing Islamic politics from a legalistic-rationalistic view
2	Evolution of Islamic Political Thought	Development of Islamic political thought in line with societal changes
3	Islam-Democracy Relationship	Understanding differences between Islam and democracy
4	Caliphate Institution	Examining the historical role of the caliphate
5	New Political Alternatives	Identifying political structures aligned with Islamic values

*Source: Created by authors based on data analysis*

Democracy primarily attends to material needs within worldly life, whereas Islam encompasses metaphysical considerations, including the pursuit of ultimate goals related to the afterlife. The establishment of the caliphate during the early era of Islamic governance was regarded as an exemplary form of administration that echoed the ethos of the Qur'an and its principles (Demichelis, 2021). The caliphate afforded extensive avenues for the longevity of nations and states, exhibiting a spirit akin to the democratic

framework, wherein policymaking direction is determined by the populace through parliament.

The presence of the caliphate institution emerged as an alternative political system for countries with Muslim-majority populations, sparking demands for democratization and socio-political change, alongside calls for decentralization of power. However, this esteemed institution has been susceptible to abuse by certain individuals seeking to impose their will through violence, thus violating Islamic principles. In response, various new alternatives have surfaced, including a locally-focused Islamic ideology emphasizing tolerance, hospitality, and respect for human dignity, exemplified by Islam Nusantara. This ideology advocates for Islamic practices that are attuned to the local context, drawing from robust local traditions, and serving as a departure from the historical burdens and controversies associated with the caliphate institution. According to Mohammed Arkoun, the Muslim community's stagnation and isolation have led to its lagging behind in various domains, including education, economy, and politics. In the realm of education, Muslims still trail Western civilization due to a traditional education system resistant to change, incapable of producing high-quality graduates equipped to compete in the era of globalization (Alkan Özcan, 2018).

The Muslim community continues to trail behind Western civilization in the economic sector, primarily due to the persistence of a feudalistic and inequitable economic system that fails to foster sustainable economic growth. Similarly, in the realm of politics, Muslims lag behind the West because of the prevalence of authoritarian and undemocratic political systems that disregard human rights and freedom of thought. To overcome this backwardness and isolation, Muslims must undertake fundamental changes. Embracing change is undoubtedly challenging, particularly when it requires challenging deeply ingrained values and traditions (Saber, 2016). However, with determination and perseverance, these changes are achievable. This process demands a willingness to learn, evolve, and adapt to the evolving environment. Embracing change sincerely also entails a concerted effort to deepen the understanding of religious teachings within the context of modern times (Rahman, 2020).

This necessitates a critical examination of these teachings to integrate religious values with societal changes. It's crucial for Muslims to embrace constructive dialogue and discussion, fostering an environment that values understanding and respects diverse opinions. Through such dialogue, they can cultivate an atmosphere conducive to growth and positive transformation. By embracing these changes, Muslims can lay the foundation for a promising and prosperous future. This entails active engagement in community and personal development, as well as participation in various spheres of life. An adaptable, open, and critical society is better equipped to confront contemporary challenges, paving the way for sustainable progress and prosperity (Saber, 2016).

To navigate the ever-changing challenges of the modern era, it's imperative to cultivate a critical and open-minded mindset. The contemporary landscape is marked by significant shifts in technology, society, and culture. Through a critical lens, Muslims can judiciously evaluate the impact and consequences of these changes on their lives. Simultaneously, an open-minded approach enables them to embrace the diversity inherent in society, fostering inclusivity and acceptance of differing perspectives and beliefs. Moreover, a critical stance aids Muslims in delving deeper into their religious teachings. Through questioning, analysis, and reflection, they can contextualize these teachings, integrating religious values into their daily lives more meaningfully (Sanjeev

Kumar H.M., 2018). Embracing an open-minded outlook creates room for tolerance and mutual respect, nurturing a harmonious and peaceful environment amidst societal diversity.

In light of advancements in science and technology, fostering an open-minded attitude allows Muslims to seamlessly integrate religious values with these progressions, mitigating potential conflicts. This approach empowers them to make constructive contributions to society, actively participate in development initiatives, and serve as catalysts for positive change within themselves and their communities (Touzani & Hirschman, 2019). Cultivating critical and open-minded attitudes is pivotal in cultivating a Muslim community that not only upholds strong religious beliefs but also adeptly navigates and flourishes within the ever-evolving dynamics of contemporary times.

Muslims should strive to establish a democratic and just society as a manifestation of Islamic values within the social and political sphere. Such a democratic framework offers a platform that safeguards human rights, fosters active citizen involvement, and underscores principles of social justice. Within this framework, human rights, encompassing freedoms of thought and religion, are paramount and upheld within a structure that respects pluralism. Citizen participation in decision-making processes holds significance within a democratic system. Muslims can actively engage in policy formulation and elect leaders who uphold values consistent with religious teachings (Özkan, 2019).

The principle of justice extends to the equitable distribution of resources and opportunities, fostering a fair and inclusive society. Diversity and freedom of thought are upheld, enabling Muslims to practice their faith and express opinions without fear of coercion or prejudice. A democratic society further legitimizes governance through popular consent, establishing a stable political framework and averting the risk of authoritarianism (Seto, 2020). Democratic systems facilitate peaceful conflict resolution through negotiation and consultation, thereby promoting security and stability. By integrating the values of democracy and justice, Muslims can cultivate a society grounded in Islamic principles, where fairness, tolerance, and equality serve as pillars for harmonious and prosperous future development.

### 3.3 Internationalisation of the Islamic State

Internationalization involves the dissemination of scientific disciplines, philosophies, and theories from one country to others, achieved through the sharing of ideas, research, or ways of thinking, as well as through collaborative efforts among experts from various countries. This collaborative process aims to generate new, broader, and more comprehensive ideas than those achievable by individual countries alone. The objective of internationalization is to enhance the application and validation of research findings and perspectives across borders, thereby promoting comprehensive scientific knowledge. Additionally, it increases global accessibility to information and facilitates the formation of broader networks of thought across different disciplines. Internationalization also seeks to establish new platforms for education, research, and innovation beyond the constraints of the scientific status quo.

**Table 2.** Internationalization of Islamic Values

No	Criteria	Description
1	Goal	Share & develop Islamic knowledge globally
2	Process	Integrate Islam with modern advancements, adapt to changing environments, renew interpretations.
3	Key Feature	Share local concepts, unify diverse research, synthesize perspectives, develop values in new contexts

*Source: Created by authors based on data analysis*

This implies that studying a topic can extend beyond traditional disciplines, enabling research from different locations and disciplines to converge or fostering the synthesis of old and new ideas. It also facilitates the sharing of locally based concepts among scientists, leading to the generation of useful ideas for all involved. Islamic internationalization fundamentally seeks to integrate Islam's understanding and norms with modern advancements in science and technology, democracy, and human rights principles. This integration is crucial given the numerous differences between religious traditions and modern resources.

Applying a critical and comprehensive approach intensifies Islam as an inseparable part of identity in the international arena. Islamic internationalization seeks to synthesize Western perspectives, such as romanticism and humanism, with Islamic intellectual and spiritual traditions. This endeavor aims to foster harmony between religion and science by striking a balance between the two. By uniting the foundations of religion and science, it promotes equality and consensus among people.

Islamic internationalization involves importing Islamic values from abroad and refining them. Consequently, the process entails contemplating Islam and encompasses endeavors to advance, modernize, and propagate Islamic perspectives. Simultaneously, it underscores the capacity to adjust to shifts in social, political, and cultural landscapes. This ongoing process aims to rejuvenate, enrich, and evolve diverse interpretations of religious values and practices. It manifests in the adoption of new values or the modification of traditional ones to align with evolving societal norms.

Islamic internationalization offers benefits in enhancing understanding of Islamic history and fostering unity in Islamic identity on a universal scale while adhering to Sharia principles. This entails cultivating a more compassionate, tolerant, and equitable Islamic culture. Such efforts contribute to advocacy for human rights and the mitigation of ethnic and religious tensions. Moreover, it facilitates global appreciation of Islamic values and standards, enriching global perspectives on religion. Additionally, it enhances interfaith dialogue by fostering inclusivity and peace.

The emergence of Islamic internationalization has captured significant attention from both academic and governmental circles since the 1990s. This heightened interest can be attributed to a surge in the enrollment of Muslim students in foreign educational institutions and an increased global political consciousness, which has facilitated greater opportunities for engagement with Islamic thought on an international scale. Additionally, interactions and exchanges of ideas between citizens, scholars, politicians, and global activists have played a pivotal role in fostering the advancement of Islam.

Much of the discourse and research in this realm revolves around pan-Islamic concepts or draws from the broader intellectual heritage of Islam. For instance, topics such as reforming Islamic thought and exploring democratic models, deconstructing Islamic principles in the context of human rights, modern interpretations of *ijtihad*, and progressive approaches to the reinterpretation of the Quran are commonly studied and referenced.

#### **4. Discussion**

##### **4.1 Deconstructing the Medina Charter**

The transformation initiated by Prophet Muhammad in Medina brought about significant changes across various aspects of community life. Bearing heavy responsibilities, he adeptly addressed prevailing social and economic issues, fostering the emergence of a robust and unified society. Through these endeavors, Medina flourished into a hub of peaceful coexistence, harmony, and prosperity. This transformational process instilled high moral values and fostered a deep sense of brotherhood among Medina's populace, laying a sturdy groundwork for the progression of the Muslim community. By organizing the city's structure, instituting a constitution, and mediating conflicts among Arab tribes, Prophet Muhammad successfully cultivated an inclusive and equitable environment for all residents, regardless of religious affiliation (Bartal, 2020). The triumph of Medina's transformation serves as palpable evidence of Prophet Muhammad's unwavering perseverance and commitment to realizing the Islamic vision of fostering peace, fraternity, and justice. As Muslims, we can draw inspiration from his spirit and endeavors to cultivate a dignified and prosperous society that upholds humanitarian values and justice in all facets of life.

##### **4.2 Critical Thinking and Islamic State Reform**

While Islam, as the religion of Allah and deemed absolute truth, garners widespread acceptance among people, elucidating Islamic teachings post its societal implementation throughout history presents challenges. Certain perspectives assert that Islamic teachings solely emanate from the Holy Quran and the Hadith of the Prophet, hence positioning Islam as normative. Conversely, an alternate viewpoint posits that Islam transcends mere normativity, encompassing its historical dimension, which suggests that Islam as practiced by adherents over time is intricately intertwined with temporal and cultural evolution (Falco & Rotondi, 2016).

The relationship between religion and the state has been a focal point of polemics and debates since the early years of this century, with roots traced back to the Young Turks revolution led by Mustafa Kemal in the 1920s. This movement culminated in Turkey with the abolition of the caliphate, the elimination of Islam as the state's official religion, and the discontinuation of Sharia as the primary legal source. Consequently, Turkey transitioned into a secular republic that distinctly segregates religious matters from state affairs.

Around the time of the revolution in Turkey, Sheikh Ali Abd al-Raziq, a judge of the Sharia Court in Egypt, authored a book titled "al-Islam wa Usul al-hukmi" (Islam and the Principles of Governance), which stirred controversy among scholars at al-Azhar and also garnered attention in Indonesia. The crux of his study suggested that Islam does not actually endorse the institution of the caliphate as traditionally understood by Muslims. According to him, the caliphate is not inherently linked to religious teachings but rather a political matter separate from religion. Religion neither prohibits nor mandates such

institutions; rather, their existence is left to human judgment based on reason, experience, and prevailing political principles (Shabana, 2020).

The ideas of Ali Abd al-Raziq seemed to find support among secular nationalist groups, particularly evident in the writings of Ir. Soekarno. However, this perspective encountered opposition from modernist Muslims, notably from Muhammad Natsir, who viewed Raziq's ideology as a form of secularism in state governance contradicting Islamic principles. Nevertheless, Hamka acknowledged studying Raziq's book in 1926 under his father's guidance, Dr. Abdul Karim Amrullah, yet he only commented on the book in the 1970s after it was copied by M. Tgk Ide and serialized by the newspaper Waspada in Medan. According to Philipus M. Hadjon in one of his writings, the state's law typically revolves around two primary pillars: the state organization and its citizens. The state organization outlines the state's form, government system, and distribution of state power. Meanwhile, Jimly Asshiddiqie in his book "Fundamentals of Indonesian State Law Post-Reform" mentions that state law comprises mandatory and optional components (Williams, 2017).

Thoughts and debates concerning the relationship between religion, particularly Islam, and the state are intricate and continually evolving. Within this context, a multitude of perspectives from scholars and religious figures have emerged, reflecting variances in viewpoints and interpretations of Islamic teachings alongside the social and political realities (Arik, 2018). The notion suggesting a disconnect between Islam and the institution of the caliphate has triggered diverse reactions and debates among Muslims. While it garners support from secular nationalist groups, this standpoint encounters challenges from modernist Muslims who perceive it as a form of secularism conflicting with Islamic values. It is imperative to emphasize that in navigating these debates, Muslims must uphold the values of humanity, justice, and peace inherent in their religion. Despite disparities in interpreting Islamic teachings, foundational principles like tolerance, justice, and mutual respect ought to be prioritized (Hissouf, 2016). By embracing various perspectives and fostering constructive dialogue, it is hoped that Muslim communities can attain a deeper comprehension of the relationship between religion and the state, ultimately finding solutions that harmonize with religious principles and contemporary needs.

A state that practices the concept of social democracy is mandated to provide social protection to its citizens to prevent potential violations of human rights. Additionally, the state must ensure that its citizens have access to and can enjoy adequate educational facilities. This enables members of society not only to acquire skills but also to participate in the broader cultural dynamics of life (Emre Erkoç, 2019). Equally crucial for a state adhering to the concept of social democracy is the obligation to uphold the dignity of its citizens in economic and social contexts. Therefore, the state must be capable of managing and controlling the dominance of capitalist climates to operate in a manner that does not disadvantage its citizens (Arkilic & Gurcan, 2021). Moreover, the state must optimize and empower public spaces as instruments for citizens to express their aspirations.

The concept of social democracy necessitates that any state practicing it must consistently ensure comprehensive social security for its citizens. This social security should encompass protection for the fundamental rights inherent to every individual as citizens. The state is duty-bound to maintain a fair distribution of life opportunities (Joffé, 2019). Furthermore, it must ensure the success of economic growth, social cohesion, and

political stability. In instances of social, political, and economic instability, the state must mitigate these disruptions to prevent prolonged upheavals. The state should safeguard its citizens from disempowerment caused by the dominance of capitalist market systems. Additionally, for the optimal implementation of the concept of social democracy in a country, the state must provide a minimum income for individuals and families, as well as offer effective protection against illness, old-age poverty, and unemployment (Abdullah, 2018). It is required to provide various social services such as childcare and elderly care.

In advanced countries, social democracy takes shape in three primary types: universal social states following the Scandinavian pattern, conservative social states in continental Europe, and liberal social model states in Anglo-Saxon countries. These variations are discernible based on the depth and commitment of the state to safeguard and institutionalize social citizenship rights (Gomez-Perez, 2017). One crucial parameter for assessing the state's commitment to implementing social democracy is the presence of legal assurances in its constitution regarding social citizenship rights services. While liberal social states might include provisions for poverty alleviation, the absence of legal certainty to ensure the actual implementation of these provisions among the recipient populations would fall short of meeting the criteria of social democracy. Conversely, the other two types have clearly established guarantees for the implementation of their social citizenship rights (Winkler, 2017). The success of implementing social democracy in a country is not solely reliant on its government.

Citizens also bear certain obligations that complement their fundamental rights. They should not merely wait to receive their social citizenship rights but should also actively participate in taking responsibility for their own lives. Each citizen is obliged to seek assistance only when their own efforts to secure income have genuinely failed (Jong & Ali, 2023). This requirement is essential for maintaining the integrity of the entire social security system. In the practice of social democracy, every government is expected to commit to ensuring equality of opportunity and justice for all its citizens. This commitment to equality and justice extends beyond the political realm to encompass social and economic spheres. The state must guarantee the availability of basic opportunities in the lives of its citizens (Chin, 2022). To achieve these objectives, the state must have legal certainty in the form of laws enabling it to genuinely provide welfare guarantees based on the rights of its citizens. This represents the political responsibility of a democratic state capable of meeting the essential needs of its citizens.

## 5. Conclusions

The findings of this study represent a significant step forward in comprehending Islamic politics in the contemporary era. Utilizing qualitative methods, the research effectively uncovered hegemony within Islamic political discourse, shedding light on inconsistencies and biases in Western perspectives on the subject. The study offers a clear depiction of how prevailing discourses can shape the overarching understanding of Islamic politics. Through a rigorous process of deconstruction, the research exposes complexities within the dynamics of Islamic politics, thereby enhancing our comprehension of this subject within an ever-evolving global landscape. Furthermore, this study contributes significantly by offering recommendations for future research. Firstly, broadening the geographical scope of analysis to include case studies from diverse regions would present a more comprehensive view of Islamic politics on a global scale.

Secondly, integrating mixed methods that combine qualitative and quantitative approaches can enrich our understanding of this phenomenon. Thirdly, future research should delve into the social, economic, and cultural impacts of Islamic politics within local communities, as well as explore the role of social media in shaping public opinion on Islamic politics. This study not only provides profound insights into Islamic politics but also lays the groundwork for further research that is more extensive and pertinent. By continuously exploring and comprehending the dynamics of Islamic politics, we can better grasp its role and implications in an evolving global context.

### Acknowledgements

I extend my deepest gratitude to my supervisor for their invaluable guidance throughout this research journey. Special thanks are due to the participants for generously sharing their insights, and I sincerely appreciate their support. My heartfelt thanks also go to my friends and family for their unwavering encouragement every step of the way. Lastly, I am grateful to the Almighty for His strength and inspiration, as every contribution has profoundly impacted this research.

### References

- Arkilic, A., & Gurcan, A. E. (2021). The political participation of Alevis: A comparative analysis of the Turkish Alevi Opening and the German Islam Conference. *Nationalities Papers*, 49(5), 949–966.
- Armayanto, H., Suntoro, A. F., Basyari, Z. A. S., & Zain, N. A. M. (2023). Snouck Hurgronje and the Tradition of Orientalism in Indonesia. *Tasfiah: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, 7(2), 263–287.
- Asadzade, P. (2019). Faith or ideology? Religiosity, political Islam, and anti-Americanism in Iran. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 4(4), 545–559.
- Bartal, S. (2020). Rached Ghannouchi's test: Political Islam and democracy in Tunisia. *African Studies*, 79(1), 110–124.
- Berger, L. (2016). Local, national and global Islam: Religious guidance and European Muslim public opinion on political radicalism and social conservatism. *West European Politics*, 39(2), 205–228.
- Bonino, S. (2018). Violent and non-violent political Islam in a global context. *Political Studies Review*, 16(1), 46–59.
- Burnett, S., & Richardson, J. E. (2021). 'Breeders for race and nation': gender, sexuality and fecundity in post-war British fascist discourse. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 55(4), 331–356.
- Chande, A. (2023). Global Politics of Knowledge Production: The Challenges of Islamization of Knowledge in The Light of Tradition Vs Secular Modernity Debate. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 6(2), 271–289.
- Chin, J. (2022). Racism towards the Chinese Minority in Malaysia: political Islam and institutional barriers. *The Political Quarterly*, 93(3), 451–459.
- Choudhury, M. A., & Adenan, F. (2017). Political economy of conflict and conflict resolution between Islam, the Arab World, and the west. *World Futures*, 73(6), 376–395.
- Dafizki, A. M., Rosman, E., & Busyro, B. (2023). Tradisi Budendo Pelaku Nikah Sumbang Perspektif Sosiologi Hukum Islam. *USRATY: Journal of Islamic Family Law*, 1(2),

- 140–147.
- Dalgaard, N. T. (2016). The impact of Islam and the public and political portrayals of Islam on child-rearing practices—Discursive analyses of parental accounts among Muslims living in Denmark. *Culture & Psychology, 22*(1), 65–79.
- Demichelis, M. (2021). Quranic Christology in Late Antiquity. 'Isa ibn Maryam and His Divine Power (Energeia) in the Islamic Revelation. *Religions, 12*(11), 979.
- Dozono, T. (2023). Eugenic ideology and the world history curriculum: How eugenic beliefs structure narratives of development and modernity. *Theory & Research in Social Education, 51*(3), 408–437.
- Dafizki, A. M., Rosman, E., & Busyro, B. (2023). Tradisi Budendo Pelaku Nikah Sumbang Perspektif Sosiologi Hukum Islam. *USRATY: Journal of Islamic Family Law, 1*(2), 140–147.
- Erkoc, T. E. (2020). Islam and economics in the political sphere: a critical evaluation of the AKP era in Turkey. In *Islam, Populism and Regime Change in Turkey* (pp. 137–152). Routledge.
- Esposito, J. L. (2015). Islam and political violence. *Religions, 6*(3), 1067–1081.
- Falco, C., & Rotondi, V. (2016). Political islam, internet use and willingness to migrate: Evidence from the arab barometer. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy, 22*(1), 73–95.
- Ferrero, M. (2018). Why the Arab Spring turned Islamic: the political economy of Islam. *Constitutional Political Economy, 29*(2), 230–251.
- Fitria, M. (2023). Operasi Plastik dan Selaput Dara (Antara Kebutuhan dan Keinginan) dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam. *USRATY: Journal of Islamic Family Law, 1*(1), 12–22.
- Fossati, D. (2019). The resurgence of ideology in Indonesia: Political Islam, Aliran and political behaviour. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 38*(2), 119–148.
- Gomez-Perez, M. (2017). “Political” Islam in Senegal and Burkina Faso: contrasting approaches to mobilization since the 1990s. *Mediterranean Politics, 22*(1), 176–195.
- Gržinić, M. (2023). The Body in the Field of Tensions between Biopolitics and Necropolitics: Analyzing the Future of the Prosthetic Body in the 21st Century. *Filozofski Vestnik, 44*(2), 19–52.
- Hajjaj, B. (2022). Myths of nationhood: Cultural nationalism, political Islam, and the movement against sculptures in Bangladesh. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics, 7*(4), 757–771.
- Hashemi, N. (2014). Rethinking religion and political legitimacy across the Islam–West divide. *Philosophy & Social Criticism, 40*(4–5), 439–447.
- Hashemi, N. (2023). Political Islam: a 40-year retrospective. In *Handbook of Middle East Politics* (pp. 25–42). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Hissouf, A. (2016). The Moroccan monarchy and the Islam-oriented PJD: Pragmatic cohabitation and the need for Islamic political secularism. *All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace, 5*(1), 43–56.
- HM, S. K. (2018). ISIS and the Sectarian Political Ontology: Radical Islam, Violent Jihadism and the Claims for Revival of the Caliphate. *India Quarterly, 74*(2), 119–137.
- Hussain, G. (2019). Understanding hegemony of caste in political Islam and Sufism in Sindh, Pakistan. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 54*(5), 716–745.
- Jayusman, Efrinaldi, Shafra, Nasution, A. S., & Yarmunida, M. (2024). Mubadalah's

- Perspective on Nusyuz in Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia. *RI-PFH : Raden Intan: Proceedings on Family and Humanity*, 1(1), 56–70. <https://doi.org/10.24235/mahkamah.v4i1.3436>
- Joffé, G. (2019). Party dualities: Where does political Islam go now? *Mediterranean Politics*, 24(2), 218–236.
- Jong, A., & Ali, R. (2023). Political Islam as an incomplete and contested category: A post-foundationalist revision. *Religions*, 14(8), 980.
- Juergensmeyer, M. (2019). Religious nationalism in a global world. *Religions*, 10(2), 97.
- Karagiannis, E. (2016). The new face of political Islam in Central Asia: The rise of Islamo-democrats. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 36(2), 267–281.
- Kemper, M. (2020). Open Access: Religious political technology: Damir Mukhetdinov's 'Russian Islam.' In *The Image of Islam in Russia* (pp. 41–60). Routledge.
- March, A. F. (2015). Political Islam: Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18, 103–123.
- Mawardi, A. I., & Riza, A. K. (2019). Why did Kompilasi Hukum Islam succeed while its counter legal draft failed? A political context and legal arguments of the codification of Islamic law for religious courts in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 13(2), 421–453.
- Merone, F. (2015). Enduring class struggle in Tunisia: The fight for identity beyond political Islam. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 42(1), 74–87.
- Nafis, C. (2003). *Piagam madinah dan deklarasi ham studi historis dan konseptual atas nilai-nilai pluralisme beragama*.
- Özkan, B. (2019). Relations between Turkey and Syria in the 1980's and 1990's: political islam, muslim brotherhood and intelligence wars. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 16(62), 5–25.
- Prihatini, E. S. (2020). Islam, parties, and women's political nomination in Indonesia. *Politics & Gender*, 16(3), 637–659.
- Rahbari, L. (2021). When gender turns right: racializing Islam and femonationalism in online political discourses in Belgium. *Contemporary Politics*, 27(1), 41–57.
- Rahman, M. M. (2020). Linguistic diversity and social justice in (Bangla) desh: a socio-historical and language ideological perspective. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 41(4), 289–304.
- Saber, D. (2016). From pan-Arab nationalism to political Islam: A Ricoeurian reading of Al Jazeera's coverage of the '6th Arab-Israeli war' in Lebanon. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 9(1), 81–98.
- Seto, A. (2020). Beyond consumption: value transformation and the affordance of political Islam in Indonesia. *Contemporary Islam*, 14(3), 227–247.
- Shabana, I. (2020). Crusaders in Reverse? The Emergence of Political Islam in the Middle East and the Reactions of British Foreign Policy, 1978–1990. *Religions*, 11(4), 196.
- Sigillò, E. (2022). Islamism and the rise of Islamic charities in post-revolutionary Tunisia: claiming political Islam through other means? *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 49(5), 811–829.
- Sözeri, S., Altinyelken, H. K., & Volman, M. (2019). Training imams in the Netherlands: the failure of a post-secular endeavour. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 41(4), 435–445.
- Thomas, M. (2017). Who killed Article 2 (4)? or: Changing norms governing the use of

force by States. In *The Use of Force in International Law* (pp. 119–147).  
Routledge.

Wandri, A., Aarsal, A., Rahmiati, R., & Imran, M. (2023). Cryptocurrency As A Means of Investment and Payment on Islamic Law Perspective. *Al Hurriyah: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 8(1), 30–43.