

DISCOURSE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DAKWAH AND POLITICS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF CONTEMPORARY STUDY

Susanti Hasibuan

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri Mandailing Natal, Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
salsabilacey@gmail.com

Abstract

Contemporary da'wah is not only interpreted as the transformation of Islamic values through lectures between da'i and mad'u, more than that, da'wah must be a driver and motivator in a modernization movement as an antidote to negative access through political access. This study uses a literature review method by exploring various literature that examines da'wah studies, data obtained from books, journal articles, theses and papers. Data analysis is carried out by synthesizing information from various sources to form a comprehensive picture of the research topic. The results of the study show that da'wah must absorb various dimensions of life and all aspects related to society, including political activities. In the process, da'wah views that Islam cannot be separated from politics and is also a very complete religion in regulating all human life, including religion and state affairs. This is the joint of totality in Islam which in the practice of life must be applied. There is a moral responsibility carried by Islam when it appears as a religion that perfects previous religions. In addition, da'wah is a reconstruction of society by including values that are in accordance with Islamic teachings.

Keywords: *da'wah, politics, contemporary.*

Abstrak

Dakwah kontemporer tidak hanya diartikan sebagai transformasi nilai-nilai Islam melalui ceramah antara da'i dan mad'u, lebih dari itu, dakwah harus menjadi pendorong dan motivator dalam sebuah gerakan modernisasi sebagai penangkal akses negatif melalui akses politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kajian pustaka dengan mengeksplorasi berbagai literatur yang mengkaji kajian dakwah, data yang diperoleh dari buku, artikel jurnal, tesis dan makalah. Analisis data dilakukan dengan mensintesis informasi dari berbagai sumber untuk membentuk gambaran komprehensif mengenai topik penelitian. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa akwah harus menyerap berbagai dimensi kehidupan dan segala aspek yang berhubungan dengan masyarakat, termasuk aktivitas politik. Dalam prosesnya, dakwah memandang bahwa Islam tidak dapat dipisahkan dari politik dan juga merupakan agama yang sangat lengkap dalam mengatur seluruh kehidupan manusia, termasuk urusan agama dan kenegaraan. Inilah pengirisan totalitas dalam Islam yang dalam praktik kehidupan harus diaplikasikan. Ada tanggung jawab moral yang diemban oleh Islam ketika tampil sebagai agama yang menyempurnakan agama-agama sebelumnya. Di sisi lain, dakwah merupakan rekonstruksi masyarakat dengan memasukkan nilai-nilai yang sesuai dengan ajaran Islam.

Kata kunci: *dakwah, politik, kontemporer.*

INTRODUCTION

The development of Islamic civilization emerged as an acculturation with local culture. The process of blending Islam with local culture is a process of contextualization and even

indigenization between normative principles and indigenous culture (Zuhdi, 2017) . Islam is an interpretation of human civilization in which there is a strong struggle between religious messages and local cultural realities, because in fact religion is also part of a cultural compromise that becomes tradition. Through resistance, there is a meeting between two different traditions, trying to mutually interpret the two definitions, then adapting each other and finally forming an agreement in communication. This communication is further interpreted as da'wah, and through da'wah, Islam blends into a majority religion in Indonesia and becomes a process of transformation of religious ideology.

The word da'wah comes from the word *da' a-yad'u* which means to invite and call. In some interpretations, the word *da'a* is mentioned 155 times in the Koran and 70 of these words are interpreted as an invitation. Da'wah consists of five very important elements. The first element is da'i. In general, da'i is synonymous with individuals or individuals who give lectures or sermons on the pulpit to convey Islamic teachings, but this time specifically da'i has been taken over by the executive and legislative parties as transmitters of messages aimed at the community (Rasyidah, 2013) .

Secondly, *mad'u* , in this case is the Muslim community in Aceh as the recipient of the message. The three maddahs or messages that will be conveyed, in this case are defined as the rules or articles contained in the Qanun relating to regulations intended for the wider community which must be obeyed. The four methods in this case are defined as efforts or techniques and the process of implementing the Qanun, one of which is socialization with the aim that the articles contained in the Qanun can be widely understood by the public. The five wasilah are supporting facilities or instruments that help achieve the goals of da'wah. In this case, Qanun is understood as a means or container that accommodates articles that regulate society at large (Rasyidah, 2013) .

Apart from that, contemporary scholars and da'wah experts define da'wah with various linguistic meanings. Among them: Shaykh Musthafa Manshur in his book *Fiqh Da'wah* states that there is no other way to improve and change the current reality except by establishing an Islamic state that gives power to preach the religion of Allah. And make government one of its pillars (Mansyur, 2005) .

According to Ahmad Mahmud in his book entitled *Ad Dakwah ila Al-Islam* which was translated into Indonesian, he believes that da'wah is a struggle, and this struggle is to promote the Islamic State which must be a priority for humans (Mahmud, 2009) .

Meanwhile, according to Al-Qathani, da'wah is change whose orientation is more towards the development of Islamic society, by carrying out reforms and improvements (*islah*) in

aspects of human life, starting from individual improvement (*Islah Fard*), family improvement (*Islah al-Usrah*), improvement society (*Islah al Mujtama*), and improvement of government and the State (*Islah al Daulah*) (Ismail, 2006; Qutb, 2000) .

According to Amrullah Ahmad, Islamic da'wah is essentially the actualization of faith (theology) which is manifested in a system of human faith activities in the social sector which are carried out regularly for the sake of realizing Islamic teachings in all aspects of life (Khaeriyah, 2018) .

In his book, M. Amien Rais defines da'wah as the process of rebuilding a society that is still confined by elements of ignorance into an Islamic society. Da'wah also means the Islamization of all human existence. Da'wah also means a joint effort to overturn the status quo in various areas of life in order to realize the development of Islamic principles and the welfare of all mankind. (Badruttamam et al., 2005; Mawardi & Ruslan, 2021) .

Islamic da'wah, which is based on ideas of faith and pious deeds based on science, has become one of the options for appointing the Caliph as ruler of the earth, claims A. Hasjmy. This activity requires strength to carry it out, and da'wah is that strength (Hardian, 2018) . The power that makes it possible to force people to appear virtuous and prevent evil.

The concept of da'wah according to Sayyid Qutub in FI Zhilal's interpretation of the Qur'an is da'wah that uses force, falling into the category of harakah da'wah or movement da'wah. Apart from that, da'wah also means creating a movement that will lead people to the path of Islam, which includes jihad to realize Islam both now and in the future, as well as Islamic aqidah, world and country, mental and physical strength, civilization and humans, as well as culture and politics. , so that there is harmony between a Muslim's beliefs and reality, between his actions and conscience, and so that harmony is maintained among the people themselves. Trying to free Muslims from various political forces that oppress and shackle them is another aspect of da'wah (Ismail, 2006) .

Islam was introduced by da'wah as the best religion, the religion of rahmatan fil al aminn. Da'wah has the aim of making people know Islam well, believe in it and practice it as a way of life (Bachtiar, 2013) . Da'wah can also be interpreted as a process to invite people to work together towards a better life in a peaceful way, with noble ethics and good morals and to a society that respects each other (Bakti & Lecomte, 2015) .

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses the library *research method* by using literature from various media sources as the main research data. Library research, or literature research, is a method that relies on written sources to obtain relevant data and information (Sugiyono, 2022) . Data collection techniques are carried out by identifying relevant sources, such as books, journal articles, papers and others. Things that can be used as research sources in *library research* are references to obtain a theoretical basis, review of data, notes, reports and important notes that are related to the research theme. Next, these sources are evaluated based on their credibility, relevance, and quality to ensure the data obtained is valid and reliable. Data analysis is carried out by synthesizing information from various sources to form a comprehensive picture of the research topic, as well as making comparisons to see similarities and differences in findings or views. Interpretation of the data that has been collected aims to answer research questions or develop strong arguments (Siswanto, 2019) .

RESULTS

Contemporary da'wah is not only defined as the transformation of Islamic values through lectures between da'i and honey which are usually held at recitation events, maulidan, or other major Islamic events. More than that, da'wah must become a spur and motivator in a modernization movement as an antidote to negative access through political access and this makes its application easier. Da'wah must absorb various dimensions of life and all aspects related to society, including political activities (Syam, 2005) . Because in the process, da'wah considers that Islam cannot be separated from politics and is also a religion that is very complete in regulating the whole of human life, including matters of religion and state. This is the cornerstone of totality in Islam which in the practice of life must be applied. There are moral responsibilities carried by Islam when it emerged as a religion that perfects previous religions. Apart from that, da'wah is the reconstruction of society by incorporating values that are in accordance with Islamic teachings.

Da'wah, in another definition, is part of the instrument for achieving power by making politics the vehicle. Through da'wah, there is also the desire to create an Islamic society that has the values of justice and commitment to the constitution and law (Sukti et al., 2022; Tagor et al., 2017) . Meanwhile, politics can be interpreted as an effort to achieve power by inviting and influencing other people, and this is part of the characteristics of da'wah (Tuharie, nd) . The change in definition is due to cultural compromise from the disharmonious relationship between

Islam and the state. Apart from that, history has recorded that relations between the state and Islam have worsened.

With demands for the restoration of the Jakarta Charter, the state still does not respond because it is considered to have reopened the Pandora's box of horizontal conflict that has disrupted national integration. Apart from that, the ongoing stereotype of Islamic activists as part of anti-Pancasila activities has finally led to a process of deconstruction of politics and Islam in the context of openness. Within a certain time limit, there was success in carrying out legal unification, depoliticization of Islam and integration that separated political Islam from cultural Islam even though it was still at the level of pragmatism. At that time, the state was in a superior position and Islam was in an inferior area (Kamil & Bamualim, 2007) .

Secularists consider that Islam and the state are very different, because Islam emerged to fulfill human spiritual needs and its ultimate goal is the afterlife, while the state is in a position to regulate the survival of the nation and its orientation is the world (Effendy, 2009) . So with these two different orientations, when put together they will only create absolute power and tyranny which is full of tyranny and oppression (Hashemi, 2012) . More than that, the relationship between politics and da'wah stands alone without being related to each other, there are positive and negative values that attract each other. As a result, Islam has very limited space for movement in all its activities, making it difficult to appear more openly in public.

DISCUSSION

This research explores the transformation of da'wah in the contemporary context which has gone beyond its traditional limitations as delivering religious lectures, becoming an instrument that plays a role in modernization and politics. Contemporary da'wah must now become a driver and motivator of the modernization movement, absorbing it into various dimensions of community life, including political activities. Islam is seen as a comprehensive religion, regulating all aspects of life including religious and state issues. Da'wah functions as an instrument to achieve power by making politics its vehicle, aiming to create an Islamic society based on the values of justice and commitment to the constitution and law (Day, 2005) .

The disharmonious relationship between Islam and the state in the past influenced the perception and practice of da'wah. Conflicts such as demands for the restoration of the Jakarta Charter show that there are differences in views between Islamic activists and the state. Efforts to depoliticize Islam and integrate between political Islam and cultural Islam reflect pragmatism in national politics, even though Islam is often in an inferior position. Secularists argue that Islam and the state have different orientations, where Islam focuses on fulfilling human spiritual

needs with the aim of the afterlife, while the state regulates the survival of the nation with a worldly orientation. The union of the two is considered to produce absolute power and tyranny full of oppression and oppression (Rosa, 2014) .

The relationship between politics and da'wah has its own dynamics, with positive and negative values attracting each other. When politics and da'wah stand alone, the space for Islam to move becomes very limited, hampering the openness of Islam to the public and limiting its influence in state and social life. This research shows that contemporary da'wah not only functions as a dissemination of religious teachings but also as a tool of modernization and politics. In this context, da'wah seeks to integrate Islamic values in all aspects of society, including politics, to create a society that is just and committed to law (Khaeriyah, 2018) . Even though there are secularist views that reject this integration, da'wah still tries to play an important role in influencing politics and state life. The biggest challenge faced is how da'wah can adapt to modern political dynamics without losing its spiritual essence.

Allocative Da'wah

By definition, allocative da'wah is da'wah that incorporates the values contained in elements that develop in the local community to be poured directly into the political process that is being implemented, namely incorporating Islamic values into the process of political development based on the national ideology, namely Pancasila (Syamsuddin, 1995) . Allocative da'wah is a da'wah approach that aims to harmonize Islamic values with the political and development processes taking place in a society. This da'wah does not only focus on spreading religious teachings, but also seeks to influence public policies and government systems to reflect Islamic principles, but still within the framework of national ideologies such as Pancasila (Rohim, 2024) . This approach involves the integration of Islamic values in public policies and legislative processes, ensuring that the laws and regulations created reflect the justice, benefit and morality taught in Islam. In addition, allocative da'wah understands and adapts Islamic messages to the local social and cultural context, so that it is more easily accepted and practiced by the community (Sukayat, 2015) .

Allocative da'wah also encourages the active participation of Muslims in the political process through general elections, involvement in political parties, and contributions in policy making, ensuring that the voices of Muslims are heard in decision making. This approach emphasizes development based on Islamic values such as social justice, poverty alleviation, and protection of minority rights, ensuring that development not only pursues economic growth but also the spiritual and moral well-being of society. By being progressive and inclusive, allocative

da'wah creates harmonization between Islamic teachings and Pancasila values, accepts diversity and collaborates with various social and political groups to achieve common goals. Public education and awareness regarding the importance of Islamic values in national and state life is also an important part of this da'wah, through seminars, workshops, media, and formal and informal education. Allocative da'wah seeks to make Islam a positive force that is able to adapt and make constructive contributions in the national and state context (Syamsuddin, 1995) .

Structural Da'wah

Apart from allocative da'wah, there is also structural da'wah. Structural da'wah is da'wah which is indirectly inserted into several lines of political activity. Such as being involved in executive, judicial and legislative processes and power in social, economic, cultural and other elements, even more than that, including elements of da'wah in the State ideology (Muslimin, 2021) .

Apart from that, structural da'wah can also be interpreted with another meaning , namely da'wah that takes advantage of the position and position of the preacher or mad'u who has the power and authority to be used to transform Islamic values. With this authority, which is seen as higher in the social strata, groups or people within the scope of their authority will be more likely to follow the instructions given (Fatimah, 2009) . Apart from that, da'i who are included in the group of kyai or ulama, are also placed in their position as subject actors and practitioners of da'wah, and in its development, due to friction between orthodoxy, kyai are in the position of political practitioners (Sabarudin, 2018) . There are even special studies that differentiate the definitions between kyai and ulama. In this case, the ulama are engaged in the traditional scope of da'wah, while the Kyai are directly involved in the social and political world.

Its scope is not only limited to the object of spreading Islam through da'wah, but also as a political practitioner. In fact, kyai have an important position in the world of politics because they have political resources and are charismatic and are able to shape themselves into political preferences that can be considered, considering that kyai have a high social status in the eyes of society. Kyai are considered to have deep maturity in religious knowledge and are even considered experts in religious sciences. Kyai are also considered to be the generation of heirs to the prophet, which sometimes gives rise to blind faith in society. So any statement issued by a kyai is considered very sacred and cannot be disputed. Apart from that, through kyai it is hoped that they will be able to eliminate dirty political practices through an attitude of integrity based

on religion, kyai are also expected to be able to maintain the unity of the ummah so that it is not easily shaken by the interests of politicians (Goncing, 2015; Hidayatullah, 2012).

Accommodative Da'wah

In the accommodative missionary movement, the Islamic religion is part of the state element, not to dominate and establish a religious state, but to stand equal together in facing all existing problems. Proportionately accommodating new thoughts in order to enrich the country's culture. In the accommodative da'wah process, it contains elements that make Islam a solution to a problem (Syamsuddin, 1995) . By appropriately accommodating the ideas that emerge from the universal Islamic movement, legalistic and formalistic are needed to accommodate the interests of society based on Islam. Furthermore, in the 1990s, the initiator of accommodative da'wah received authority which came from a decision in the formation of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI) (Liddle, 1996) .

Muslim organizations so that they join the ruling party such as Golkar as a forum for accommodating Muslim interests. Religion is very important for politicians because they legitimize the source of morals and decisions and policies for the people. With the fall of the New Order regime, the role of Muslim intellectuals was reduced . After Habibie's resignation as founder of ICMI, the reins of power shifted to Gus Dur, which at that time was considered a victory for structural da'wah. In its big agenda, the accommodative da'wah movement has two big dreams, namely the Islamization of the state and the Islamization of society (Ramage, 1996).

Politics and power are an important part of a country, as is religion, which is also used as the most important political institution in Pancasila. Through religion, politicians seek legitimacy as a source of moral firmness and policy for the people (Zamharir, 2003) . V. Fitzgerald believes that Islam is not only *a religion* but also *a political system* , both sides of which are interconnected and cannot be separated (Kamil & Bamualim, 2007) . Politics can be defined as power and efforts to gain power and the process of managing a country. Politics is a tool for da'wah, what is meant by da'wah politics is politics whose journey is in line with the vision of da'wah. Because politics is part of the reflection of national morality which is based on the value of monotheism. According to Shiddiq Al-Jawi, political-based da'wah is carrying out da'wah through political vehicles, and anything that is related to the public interest, whether related to power as a subject or the people as an object (Adibah, 2014) .

However, not all groups consider politics to be an integral part of da'wah, some even say that politics, da'wah and the state must be separated. Several groups do not agree with the existence of a correlation between state and religion, one of whom is Harvey Cox. Harvey Cox

claims that an important element is *disenchantment of nature* , which means breaking away from the constraints of religious belief to allow society to evolve and change freely. In order for change to occur, political declarations need to be made. Political desacralization means the elimination of the sacred legitimacy of authority and power. Political desacralization also refers to the restoration of a value system, which includes religious values, to free humans from absolute religious principles.

CONCLUSION

This research identifies that contemporary da'wah must be a spur and motivator for the modernization movement, as well as absorbing it into various dimensions of community life, including political activities. Islam is seen as a comprehensive religion, regulating all aspects of life including religious and state issues. Da'wah functions as an instrument to achieve power by making politics a vehicle, aiming to create an Islamic society based on the values of justice and commitment to the constitution and law. The disharmonious historical relationship between Islam and the state influences the perception and practice of da'wah. For example, demands for the restoration of the Jakarta Charter show that there are differences in views between Islamic activists and the state. Efforts to depoliticize Islam and integrate between political Islam and cultural Islam reflect pragmatism in national politics, even though Islam is often in an inferior position. Secularists argue that Islam and the state have different orientations, where Islam focuses on fulfilling spiritual needs with the aim of the afterlife, while the state regulates the survival of the nation with a worldly orientation. The unification of these two orientations is considered to produce absolute power and tyranny.

This research also highlights several approaches to da'wah, namely allocative da'wah, structural da'wah, and accommodative da'wah. This approach aims to align Islamic values with political and development processes taking place in society, reflecting Islamic principles in public policies and government systems, but still within the framework of national ideologies such as Pancasila. Utilizing the position and standing of da'i or mad'u who have the power to transform Islamic values into various lines of political activity, including the executive, judiciary and legislative. As well as accommodating new thoughts to enrich the country's culture and make Islam a solution to existing problems, without establishing a religious state but standing on an equal footing with other elements of the state. In general, contemporary da'wah not only functions as a dissemination of religious teachings but also as a tool of modernization and politics. Da'wah seeks to integrate Islamic values in all aspects of society, including politics,

to create a society that is just and committed to the law. Even though there are secularist views that reject this integration, da'wah still tries to play an important role in influencing politics and state life. The biggest challenge faced is how da'wah can adapt to modern political dynamics without losing its spiritual essence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adibah, I. Z. (2014). Islam, Muslim dan Perilaku Politik (Konsep Nation State di Dunia Islam Kontemporer). *Madaniyah*, 4(1), 1–19. [https://journal.stitpemalang.ac.id/index.php/madaniyah/article/view/20%0Ahttp://files/2092/Adibah - 2014 - Islam, Muslim dan Perilaku Politik.pdf](https://journal.stitpemalang.ac.id/index.php/madaniyah/article/view/20%0Ahttp://files/2092/Adibah-2014-Islam,Muslim%20dan%20Perilaku%20Politik.pdf)
- Bachtiar, M. A. (2013). Dakwah Kolaboratif: Model Alternatif Komunikasi Islam Kontemporer. *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam*, 03(1), 152–167.
- Badruttamam, N., Taher, T., & Sucipto, E. (2005). *Dakwah Kolaboratif Tarmizi Taher*. Grafindo.
- Bakti, A. F., & Lecomte, I. (2015). The Integration of Dakwah in Jourenalisme. *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam*, 5(01), 1–19.
- Day, S. B. (2005). Hubungan Politik dan dakwah. *Mediator*, 6(1).
- Effendy, B. (2009). *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia* (Cetakan II). Graha Paramadina.
- Fatimah, S. (2009). Dakwah Struktural: Studi Kasus Perjanjian Hudaibiyah. *Jurnal Dakwah*, X(1), 67–84. [https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/8383/1/Siti Fatimah Dakwah Struktural Studi Kasus Perjanjian Hudaibiyah.pdf](https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/8383/1/Siti%20Fatimah%20Dakwah%20Struktural%20Studi%20Kasus%20Perjanjian%20Hudaibiyah.pdf)
- Gonceng, N. (2015). Nahdatul Ulama Politics and the New Order Era. *The POLITICS: Jurnal Magister Ilmu Politik Universitas Hasanuddin*, 1(1), 61–74.
- Hardian, N. (2018). Dakwah Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an Dan Hadits. *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Ilmu Komunikasi*, 5(1), 42–52. <https://doi.org/10.15548/al-hikmah.v0i0.92>
- Hashemi, N. (2012). Islam, Secularism and Liberal Democracy: Toward a Democratic Theory for Muslims. *Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 12(2).
- Hidayatullah, S. (2012). The Consolidation of the Islamic Traditionalism: a Case Study of the Nahdatul ULama. *Prosiding The 4th International Conference on Indonesian Studies:*

“Unity, Diversity and Future, 934–943.

- Ismail, I. (2006). *Paradigma Dakwah Sayyid Quthub: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Dakwah Harakah*. Penamadani.
- Kamil, S., & Bamualim, C. S. (2007). *Syariah Islam dan Ham, Dampak Perda Syariah Terhadap Kebebasan Sipil, Hak-Hak Perempuan dan Non-Muslim*. CSRC.
- Khaeriyah, H. (2018). Dakwah Dalam Bingkai Politik. *TASAMUH: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 10(1), 31–64. <https://doi.org/10.47945/tasamuh.v10i1.64>
- Liddle, R. W. (1996). The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 55(3), 613–634. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2646448>
- Mahmud, A. (2009). *Ad-dakwah Ila Al-Islam*. Pustaka Thariqul Izzah.
- Mansyur, S. M. (2005). *Fiqh Dakwah*. Al-Ittishom Cahaya Ummat.
- Mawardi, & Ruslan, I. (2021). Konsep Pluralisme Dan Mediasi Dakwah Tarmizi Taher Dalam Membina Kerukunan Beragama. *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam*, 17(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.24042/tps.v17i1.9278>
- Muslimin. (2021). Dakwah Struktural Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II. *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam Dan Kehumasan (JKPI)*, 5(1), 13–29. <https://doi.org/10.19109/jkpi.v5i1.9028>
- Quthb, S. (2000). *Tafsir Fi Zhilalil Qur'an Di Bawah Naungan Al Qur'an*. Gema Insani.
- Ramage, D. E. (1996). Indonesia at 50: Islam, Nationalism (and Democracy?). *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 147–165.
- Rasyidah. (2013). *Strategi Pelaksanaan Dakwah di Aceh*. Bandar Publisng.
- Rohim, A. (2024). Dakwah Islam Moderat dan Realitas Politik di Indonesia. *Ad-Da'wah: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, 22(1), 17–33. <https://doi.org/10.59109/addawah.v22i1.60>
- Rosa, A. (2014). Politik Dakwah Dan Dakwah Politik Di Era Reformasi Indonesia. *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 22(1), 57. <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.2014.22.1.259>
- Sabarudin. (2018). *Pesantren Dan Nilai-Nilai Demokrasi*. Fakultas ilmu Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.
- Siswanto, dkk. (2019). *Metodologi Penelitian Kombinasi Kualitatif-Kuantitatif Kedokteran & Kesehatan: Pedoman Penyusunan Disertasi, Tesis & Skripsi Klaten: Boss Script*, .

- Sugiyono. (2022). *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan, Pendekatan kuantitatif, kualitatif, R&D* (Cetakan ke). Alfabeta.
- Sukayat, T. (2015). Internalisasi Nilai Islam Melalui Kebijakan Publik (Studi terhadap Dakwah Struktural Program Bandung Agamis). *Jurnal Dakwah*, 16(1), 79–102. [http://download.garuda.kemdikbud.go.id/article.php?article=1110075&val=8731&title=Internalisasi Nilai Islam Melalui Kebijakan Publik Studi terhadap Dakwah Struktural Program Bandung Agamis](http://download.garuda.kemdikbud.go.id/article.php?article=1110075&val=8731&title=Internalisasi%20Nilai%20Islam%20Melalui%20Kebijakan%20Publik%20Studi%20terhadap%20Dakwah%20Struktural%20Program%20Bandung%20Agamis)
- Sukti, S., Warsito, T., Qodir, Z., & Jubba, H. (2022). Political Dynamics of Islamic Law in the Reform Era: A Study of the Response of Muhammadiyah Cadres in Central Kalimantan. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 6(2), 1022–1045. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v6i2.12415>
- Syam, N. K. (2005). Dakwah dalam Perspektif Modernisme Antisipasi menuju Postmodernisme. *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 6(1), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.29313/mediator.v6i1.1170>
- Syamsuddin, M. D. (1995). The Muhammadiyah Da'wah and Allocative Politics in the New Orde Indonesia. *Studi Islamika*, 2(2).
- Tagor, T., Hasyimasyah, H., & ... (2017). The Political Behaviors Of Muhammadiyah Elite Of North Sumatera In 1995-2005, Medan, Indonesia. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities and Social Science*, 22(5), 40–45. <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-2205114045>
- Tuharie, S. (n.d.). *Dakwah dan Politik Alokatif Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Analisis Terhadap Kebijakan Dakwah dan Politik MUI Masa Orde Baru) Tesis Nur Hidayat*. Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah.
- Zamharir, M. H. (2003). *Agama dan Negara, Analisis Kritis Pemikiran dan Politik Nurcholis Madjid*. Murai Kencana.
- Zuhdi, M. H. (2017). Dakwah Dan Dialektika Akulturasi Budaya. *Religia*, 15(1). <https://doi.org/10.28918/religia.v15i1.122>