

Islam and Pancasila: Perspective of Indonesian Moslem Postgraduate Students

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Abstract

Pancasila as the basis of the state faces debates from nationalists and Islamic ideology followers in Indonesia. This is influenced by the development of theorizing about secularism, nationalism and theocracy. Considering the threat to the rise of communism and radicalism, this study aims to analyze the attitudes of Indonesian Moslem postgraduate students towards the principles of Pancasila. The number of samples in this study were 122 people from various Indonesian universities who were determined by random sampling. The data was distributed via Google Form and processed qualitatively descriptively. This study found that the majority of postgraduate Moslem students accepted affection, cognition and conation of each Pancasila precept. The level of respondent acceptance of Pancasila was 70-90%. There were some people who still do not accept Pancasila as an ideology but it was only in small number, 2.45% for those who strongly disagree and 7.42% who disagree. Pancasila is accepted by most Indonesian Moslem postgraduate students. The results of the research contribute in providing a new understanding of Pancasila as well as the young generation of Moslem. However, there is many limitation in this research in reaching bigger and wider respondents. Further research on this topic is very welcomed.

Abstrak

Pancasila sebagai dasar negara menghadapi perdebatan dari kaum nasionalis dan ideologi Islam di Indonesia. Hal ini dipengaruhi oleh perkembangan teorisisasi tentang sekularisme, nasionalisme, dan teokrasi. Mempertimbangkan ancaman terhadap bangkitnya komunisme dan radikalisme, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis sikap mahasiswa muslim pascasarjana Indonesia terhadap sila-sila Pancasila. Jumlah sampel dalam penelitian ini ialah 122 orang dari berbagai universitas Indonesia yang ditentukan secara random sampling. Data disebar melalui google form dan diolah secara kualitatif deskriptif. Dalam penelitian ini ditemukan bahwa mayoritas mahasiswa muslim pascasarjana menerima secara afeksi, kognisi, dan konasi setiap sila Pancasila. Tingkat penerimaan responden terhadap Pancasila sebesar 70-90%. Masih ada yang belum menerima Pancasila sebagai ideologi namun sangat kecil yakni jumlah rata-rata yang sangat tidak setuju 2,45%, tidak setuju 7,42%, Kesimpulan penelitian ini adalah Pancasila sejatinya sesuai dengan Islam bahkan dianggap objektivitas nilai-nilai Islam. Pancasila diterima oleh sebagian besar mahasiswa muslim Pascasarjana Indonesia. Hasil penelitian berkontribusi dalam memberikan pemahaman baru tentang Pancasila dan generasi muda Islam namun penelitian masih sangat terbatas dalam menjangkau responden sehingga perlu untuk diteliti dan diperluas kembali.

Keywords

Ideology, Indonesia, Islam, Pancasila, Theocracy

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Introduction

Religion and state have always been an interesting debate. The relationship between state and religion shows different responses and forms in each country. The union of religion and state created a dark impression and experience in the West. The separation of the two (secularization)

is a logical choice for modern civilization especially since the Protestant reforms and the wars between religions in the West (Casanova, 1994). Secularization in Western and Christian practices has not only been in social and political aspects but also gradually affected cultural aspects (Munawar & Rachman, 2011). Even so, the idea of secularism still needs to be debated again (Talal, 2003) and ignores the fact that Western countries actually cannot escape the influence of religion in the political life of countries in several European countries such as Britain, Italy, Ireland, Poland, the Netherlands and Spain albeit in various and complex forms (Ira M, 1956). Modern civilization adheres to the adage that modernity must be accompanied by a decline in the role of religion in the state (Delanty, 2000). Even if the thesis is considered a failure and untrue (Berger, 2012), it does not mean that secularism should be completely rejected (Bhargava in Alhoun, Mark Jergensmeyer, & AnAntwerpen, 2011).

The modern state has become very secular and separate from religious life. Religious life is considered to be entirely in the private sphere. The realm of religion is considered not a state affair (Blackford, 2012). This is because, in a secular state, citizens are members of the state and not members of a religion (Eugene, 1963). There is no legally and strictly prohibited religion because it is considered civil liberty but the state tries to show a neutral role in carrying out its functions. The state only functions for worldly reasons such as welfare, justice, freedom and property (Blackford, 2012: 91).

The effect of the West has also touched the East, which from the beginning has practiced the unification of religion and state (theocracy). Arab Spring was a movement in the Eastern world where many countries demanded the democratization of Middle Eastern countries that had been less democratic (Yasmine, 2015; Sahide, Cipto, Muti'ah Setiawati, & Hadi, 2015). The Arab Spring was nothing but a symptom of secularization as if it were part of civilization as happened in the Western world.

In its early years, Indonesia experienced a long debate about the basis of the state that should be formed. There were two opposing opinions regarding an independent Indonesia, namely the Moslem and the national circles. According to Pranarka, there were three ideological streams, namely nationalism, Islam and secular Modern Western Ideology. The ideology of nationality was proposed by Muh. Yamin, Soepomo, Soekarno, and Agus Salim. The Islamic ideology was proposed by Wahid Hasyim and Hadikusomo, while the Modern Secular Western Ideology by Moh. Hatta etc. However, in the constituent debates of 1957-1959, the ideology of nationality and Islam were more contrasting because Modern Western ideology joined the national ideology (Pranarka, 1985). Meanwhile, according to Effendy, there were three ideological groups of Islam, Pancasila, and Socio-Economy, which in the end were more prominent between Islam and Pancasila (Bahtiar Effendy, 2011). Meanwhile, according to Ilyas and Wahyudin, there were 2 people who contributed to the formulation of Pancasila and the constitution, namely Islamic nationalism and secular nationalists (Ilyas, 2020; G, 2016).

Moslems said that Islam is the basis of the right and strong state for Indonesia. This is based on the historical fact that Islam was a source of value and the mobilization of the struggle for independence since long ago. Islam through the role of Kiai and ulama-ulama plays a central role. Not only politics, but Islam also played a role in advancing Indonesian society through Islamic education. A more solid reason is that Islam was a constant, solid, and unchanging source of values (Natsir, 2014).

On the other hand, National circles thought that taking the basis of the state from one religion among many religions in Indonesia was very inappropriate and potentially to cause division. So that there was no clear agreement and fair common ground on the debate (Boland, 1982) both at the PPKI and BPUPKI sessions. Soekarno as president took the policy of issuing the Decree of July 5, 1959, to end the debate by returning the constitution (UUD) to an earlier version of independence called the Proclamation Constitution.

After going through a process of ideological, constitutional and political debate, until now Pancasila has been the final basis of State. Pancasila consists of five precepts, namely Almighty Godhead, Just, and Civilized Humanity, Indonesian Unity, Democracy Led by Wisdom in Deliberation / Representation, and Social Justice for All Indonesians. The fourth paragraph of the 1945 Constitution contains the sound of Pancasila principles which are considered as an acknowledgment that Pancasila is the legal basis of the state at least based on the communist opinion at that time (Pranarka, 1985). Until finally it was strengthened by the MPR Decree (TAP MPR). XVIII / 1998 that the sound of the Pancasila principles in the Constitution is a manifestation and affirmation of Pancasila as the basis of the state.

The issue of Pancasila and Islam re-emerged in the Reformation era. Post-Suharto politics with religious identity played an important role (Hamdi, 2017). Religious circles that were quite radical and conservative were more open and frontal (Martin van Bruinessen, 2013). Radical and conservative were those who were so strong in expressing their religious opinions and ideas. The same thing was expressed by Effendy (2011). The post-Suharto era was marked by the birth of many new parties. It is estimated that there were around 181 political parties, 42 of which were Islamic. Effendy added, that situation raised speculation that there was a tendency, political fragmentation to re-politicize Islam or fight for Islamic values and interests (Bahtiar Effendy, 2011). Islam emerged as a political force and even an organization that firmly wanted to establish a caliphate state, namely a state-based entirely on Islam, namely Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) before being dissolved by the Jokowi Government (Suryadinata, 2018). In HTI's view, Islam is so universal that it must be implemented in total. So it is not Islam that adjusts to the development but the development that must be adapted to Islam. In terms of democracy, for example, it is not Islam that adapts to democracy but vice versa (Maksum, 2017). HTI was considered to spread an ideology that is harmful to the Indonesian people (Aswar et al., 2020).

Pancasila ideology between Religion and State

Pancasila has a very important function in the civilization of the Indonesian nation. Pancasila has become the basis and differentiator of the Indonesian nation from other nations in the world. If the world is divided into two ideological poles, namely Liberal or Communist, Indonesia would introduce a relatively new and visionary concept called Pancasila. Therefore, Pancasila does not only contain local and traditional Indonesian values but also includes global and universal values in both contemporary humanistic and political concepts.

Internally in Indonesia, Pancasila is a value, basis and understanding that is believed to be able to unite at the same time all differences and political dynamics at the beginning of independence and now. The same thing was said by Latif (2015) that Pancasila is historical, the five Pancasila principles are a combination or synthesis of the diversity of beliefs and expectations that have developed in Indonesia. The first precept is a synthesis formula of all religious sects and beliefs. The second precept is a synthesis formulation of all transnational

humanitarian ideals and ideals. The third precept is a formulation of the synthesis of diversity or the aspirations of ethnic identity into national unity. The fourth precept is a synthesis formula of all understandings of sovereignty. The fifth precept is a synthesis formula of all notions of socio-economic justice.

Thus, Pancasila is considered the most appropriate ideology in Indonesia. Ideology according to Latif (2015) is the science of ideas or teachings about basic understanding. Ideology can also be interpreted as a political pattern or way of thinking. So that ideology can also be referred to as political science or political philosophy (Heywood, 2017).

Ideology was first introduced by Antoine Destutt de Tracy (Vincent, 2009; Eatwel, 1993). Even though there is no strict definition about the ideology. There are 4 ideological concepts introduced by Tracy, namely as knowledge ideas (science of ideas), referring to liberal republican, intellectual radical movements and political doctrine (Vincent, 2009).

If seen in the first principle of Pancasila, it is written the Almighty Godhead which is then reinforced in Article 29 paragraph (1) of the Constitution 1945 which reads "*The State is based on the One Godhead.*" So far, among Indonesian religions, only Islam recognizes the oneness of God. Even if some are revelatory or Abrahamic, there are differences of opinion. Not to mention other religions that also exist in Indonesia.

This seems to cause ambiguity. Before that, the forms of relations between religions and countries in the world were first stated. According to Hosen (1996), there are three interpretations of religion and state, namely the first that looks at the unification of religion and state, the second is the separation of religion and state, and the third is that state and religion are separate but still related to one another. The first theory is more commonly referred to as theocracy, the second is secularization, and the third is called the differentiation of religion and state.

Indonesia is not a religious state and not a secular state because Pancasila as the basis of the state is compromised with secularism,

"In Indonesia, Pancasila (the five pillars that eventually became the state foundation: Belief in one God, Humanitarianism, National Unity, Representative Democracy and Social Justice) is basically a compromise between secularism, where no single religion predominates in the state, and religiosity, where religion (especially Islam) becomes one of the important pillars of the state. An Islam-inspired agenda is welcome to the extent that it corresponds with, and does not contradict, Pancasila. In other words, it is a common belief that Indonesia is neither a secular nor an Islamic state." (Hosen, 1996: 424)

The same thing was said by Latif (2015) that Indonesia is not a secular country and not a religious state but rather a concept of differentiation. In the theory of the differentiation of the functions of religion and state, both of them can mutually optimize their roles in developing and nourishing the public, religion plays a role in developing a civilized civil society supported by the state, while the state functions to develop a civilized political life with the support of civilized society (Latif, 2015). It seems that this theory is a theory that attempts to bridge are secularization and theocracy. Pancasila is considered to exist in this position.

Another interpretation that Indonesia is a secular country. John L. Esposito identifies the types of countries that are predominantly Moslem into several types, namely secular countries, Islamic countries, and Muslim countries. A secular state is a state that separates religion and state totally. An Islamic state is a country that adopts Sharia as the basic law. A Moslem state is

a country that adopts a concept and model in the state system but still claims Islam as the state religion and a source of law. Based on this, Indonesia is a secular country because there is a separation of religion and state and Islam is not the state religion (Suryadinata, 2018). However, it is not entirely true that Indonesia is a secular country. If you look at the relations and praxis of religious life in Indonesia which are more or less influenced by state policies, it is difficult to say that Indonesia is a secular state.

Pancasila Today

Pancasila faces challenges both internally and externally. Pancasila has not been fully accepted internally. There are still points of debate that arise about the relation and praxis of religion and state relations. Externally, Pancasila faces challenges from outside ideologies that are not in accordance with the basic philosophy of Pancasila. According to the Alvira Research Center Survey, there is 17.8 percent of students and 18.4 percent agree with the Khilafah as the ideal form of the state (DHF, 2018). The same thing was released by the Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace (LaKIP) that 25% of students and 21% of teachers stated that Pancasila was no longer relevant. Meanwhile, 84.8% of students and 76.2% of teachers agree with the application of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia (Redaksi, 2016).

To anticipate this radicalism movement, in addition to militaristic and ideological approaches, Indonesia also introduced Islam Nusantara. Islam Nusantara is Islam introduced by Nahdlatul Ulama, one of the largest mass organizations in Indonesia with the concept of tolerance and accommodating local wisdom and multiculturalism (Burhani, 2018). Islam Nusantara is conceptualized to fight radicalization and fundamentalism in other forms such as Islam to be like Arabic.

In the view of Islam Nusantara, Islam can live and develop in accordance with local wisdom, especially in Indonesia. The legitimacy and existence of Pancasila are increasingly worrying. The Reformation Era was an era in which the most sensitive to the existence of Pancasila (Saidi, 2009). If the New Order was so strict and strong in indoctrinating Pancasila, the Reformation Era was so loose and open that it included voicing views or criticism of Pancasila. The rise of religious issues or radicalism has always been a political conversation. Post-reform terrorist movements that cause casualties, both civilians and security forces, were often associated with radicalism. According to Mubarak, terrorism is an "alternative" to radical Jihad by fighting the *kāfir* (West) as something religious and political that must be implemented (Mubarak, 2012). Not only from religious circles, the rise of communism is also a fear and threat to the Pancasila ideology.

Almost every year the issue of communist revival has become a public discussion. Pancasila has been increasingly being challenged. Pancasila as an ideology is increasingly being tested. This is a shared responsibility, especially the state in convincing the wider community that Pancasila is capable of standing and surviving Indonesia. Actually, not all Moslems reject Pancasila. Some figures are neutral or moderate who can bridge the two ideologies (Latif, 2013). Some argue that the Proclamation Constitution and the Constitution 1945 of the Republic of Indonesia are in accordance with Islamic principles (Hosen, 1996). Hosen argues that Article 29 in the Constitution is substantially in accordance with Islamic law. Therefore, there is no need for debate. Based on this phenomenon, it is a fundamental inquiry about how the relation, position, and substance of

Pancasila based on the perspective of Islam. Is Pancasila in accordance with the teachings of Islamic law?

Methods

This research is descriptive qualitative research. Data collected by survey method through questionnaires in the form of Google Form. The purpose of the research was to obtain and analyze the perspective of Indonesian Moslem postgraduate students towards the principles of Pancasila. This study used questionnaires with 15 validated questions and reliability tests on 30 graduate Moslem students using SPSS application. The scale used is Likert scale range 1-4, approval level in the form of options i.e. Strongly Agree (SS: Sangat Setuju), Agree (S: Setuju), Disagree (TS: Tidak Setuju), and Strongly Disagree (STS: Sangat Tidak Setuju). The Respondents were Graduate Moslem students from various universities in Indonesia totaling 122 people. Respondents were selected by random sampling from various universities in Indonesia. The data obtained was then described and deciphered.

Results and Discussion

Attitude is an important part of accepting and implementing an ideology. Attitude is an individual's reaction or response to something that forms a behavioral tendency (Azwar, 2011). The response or tendency of individual behavior is formed or influenced by three components, namely cognition - *ideas and beliefs*, affection - *attitudes to reject and agree*, and conation - *desire or consent to act* (Mar'at, 2006). Aiken in Payne (1980) mentioned that the nature of these attitudes can be positive or negative in the form of a level of liking or dislike for certain concepts, situations, and/or objects (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). The three components are interrelated and cannot be separated in the formation of attitudes (Mawardi, 2019).

Based on the explanation above, attitudes towards Pancasila can be defined as a response or reaction to Pancasila or in other words the level of acceptance of Pancasila in terms of affection, cognition, and conation. The research instrument was arranged with the three domains of this attitude in each of the Pancasila principles. Each question in the research was divided into questions about Pancasila such as Divinity, Humanity, Unity, Democracy and justice. This question consisted of 15 items that are arranged based on the Pancasila principles. Data were analyzed descriptively using SPSS software. Data analysis was presented per item then grouped into each precept to see the level of agreement. The results of research on the acceptance rate of postgraduate Moslem students in Indonesia regarding the value and application of Pancasila are in the table 1.

Based on Table 1, it can be understood that the majority of Moslem postgraduate students agree with the values and principles of Pancasila. The average number of respondents who strongly disagreed 2.45%; disagree 7,42%; agree with 39.3%, and strongly agree 51.1%. The results of the research can be interpreted that Pancasila as an ideology and Islam as a religion does not substantially conflict. Even if there is, this is due to differences in point of view at the practical level, not in principle. This can be seen from question number 1 (Divine Precepts in accordance with Islamic values) the number of respondents agreed 21.3% and 76.2% strongly agreed. Likewise question no. 2 (I accept Pancasila as the basis of the State) 28.7% answered agree and 68.9% answered strongly agree. The majority of respondents chose to agree and strongly agree on each

Pancasila principle as can be seen in the table. Even though not all respondents answered between agreeing and strongly agreeing, the majority of respondents chose to agree and strongly agree on each of the Pancasila principles.

Even though it does not reach absolute, it can be used as evidence that the differentiation theory is suitable for application in Indonesia (Latif, 2015). Opposition or disagreement with Pancasila is logical. No ideology is fully accepted by the whole society. Relatively similar results can also be seen from Rofiq and Bhakti research (2018). By researching the Institute of Da'wah Campus Tidar University, researchers found that the four pillars of nationhood and state are accepted as something that is final and must be fought. The Campus Da'wah Institute also opposes attitudes or movements that want to change the ideology in Indonesia. (Rofiq & Bhakti, 2018).

Table 1. Perspective of Indonesian Moslem Postgraduate Students towards Pancasila

Variables		Answer/Aging Rate (%)			
		1	2	3	4
Deity	1	0	2,5	21,3	76,2
	2	0,8	1,6	28,7	68,9
	3	0	0,8	26,2	73,0
Humanity	4	0	1,6	23,8	74,6
	5	0	1,6	30,3	68,0
	6	13,1	20,5	43,4	23,0
Unity	7	9,8	25,4	38,5	26,2
	8	0	3,3	45,9	50,8
	9	4,1	9,8	44,3	41,8
Democracy	10	1,6	13,9	56,6	27,9
	11	0,8	9,8	59,0	30,3
	12	2,5	7,4	58,2	32,0
Justice	13	0,8	2,5	35,2	61,5
	14	0	0,8	28,7	70,5
	15	3,3	10,7	49,2	36,9

Questions:

The first precepts of Pancasila: (1) The Divine Precepts of Pancasila are in accordance with Islamic teachings; (2) I accept Pancasila as the basis of the State; and (3) I support religious values in Pancasila.

The Second Principle of Pancasila: (1) The principle of human rights is contained in Islamic values; (2) Everyone has the same rights and obligations in Indonesia; and (3) I respect others when people respect me.

The Third Principle of Pancasila: (1) Unity in diversity is a necessity; (2) the precepts for the unity of Indonesia in accordance with the conditions of Indonesia; and (3) I consider ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group (SARA) in friendship.

The Fourth Precept of Pancasila: (1) Democracy in accordance with Islamic values; (2) Democracy is appropriate to be applied in Indonesia; and (3) I should be active in participating in political activities, for example in elections.

The Fifth Principles of Pancasila: (1) The Principle of Justice in accordance with Islamic values; (2) Precepts of Justice are not only for one religion; (3) I don't always have to be fair.

Students agree with Pancasila as the basis of the state, the principles of human rights, tolerance for diversity, democracy and elections and the concept of justice. Pancasila is considered

in accordance with Islamic law (Hosen, 1996) or other words Pancasila is the objectivity of Islam itself (Kuntowijoyo, 1997).

The debate that occurred was regarding Pancasila as the basis of the state. However, the results of this study indicated that respondents accept Pancasila as the basis of the state. Likewise, the respondents accepted the principles of human rights. According to Madjid (2018), the understanding of the Only Godhead causes humans to gain true freedom, free from all servitude to fellow humans. This is in line with human rights principles.

The principle of unity is also considered in accordance with Islamic values. Islam is very tolerant and open to diversity. This has been exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad in the Medina Charter, which reinforces the spirit of pluralism and pluralism (Madjid, 2018). This is consistent with the Indonesian context which is culturally, religiously, and racially diverse. Islam as the majority religion is open and tolerant of other religions. So that the issues of radicalism are not properly considered as a representation of the whole Moslem community.

Democracy and social justice are also not against the spirit of Islam. Islam is quite open to various political systems, this is because both the Koran and the prophet do not settle into the theoretical pattern of the country where the principles of Shura (deliberation) are carried out and respected (Maarif, 2006). Indonesia is a country that is included in the optimistic category of seeing democracy and Islam (Elshtain, 2009). This can be seen in the absence of a refusal to participate in democratic party activities. Some parties even claim to represent the Moslem ummah.

The debates that still exist are not really a problem as long as the debate is in open and scientific discussion. Pancasila as an ideology will always be tested for consistency, coherence, correspondence, and as a filter both vertically and horizontally (Kuntowijoyo, 1997). This is logical considering that Pancasila as an ideology must always be open, actual, and responsive to the dynamics of time and life. The affirmation, rejection, or criticism of Pancasila is very natural as long as it is articulated through formal and constitutional channels.

Therefore, it can be said that Pancasila is the most appropriate ideology for Indonesia. So far, Pancasila has been able to maintain Indonesia's traditional traditions, can overcome basic problems, and even provides a national framework (Dharmaputra, 1987). This is because Pancasila is not purely the result of contemplation, ideas, and logic alone, it must be admitted that the conceptualization of Pancasila is the result of stove or consensus. Furthermore, Pancasila in the Indonesian concept is lifted from cultural values, customs, and religious values that are scattered in the archipelago (Kaelan, 2016). Therefore, Pancasila is not just an idea. Pancasila operates or, more precisely, embodies the values of Indonesian society (Dharmaputra, 1988). Pancasila also has noble values that can be applied in daily life (Mutiani, 2016).

Conclusion

Pancasila as the basis of the State is final and accepted by all Indonesian people. Discussions or debates that arise are more due to different points of view in a practical, not a principle framework. The theory of secularization or theocracy is not fully applicable in Indonesia. Moreover, the theory of state and religious differentiation is acceptable and appropriate to be applied in Indonesia. Pancasila as ideology and religion as theology can work together and mutually reinforce each other. Substantial and internal debates are no bigger than externally influencing political interests. The debate between theocracy and the separation of religion and state is no

longer relevant when faced with Pancasila in the Indonesian context. Islam as the majority religion of the Indonesian population is open and in accordance with Pancasila and the concept of differentiation. The Pancasila ideology has provided formulations that have proven successful in regulating the relationships and dynamics of religion and the state. Nevertheless, for further research, the themes and respondents of this study need to be broadened and deepened so that the empirical data is broader and reaches all groups.

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