

# Islam and Crucial Issues in the Political Communication of the Partai Solidaritas Indonesia

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## Abstract

Social anxiety in Indonesia lately, such as corruption, intolerance, radicalism, terrorism, and various social problems, can be said to be a complex case. Social anxiety in Indonesia lately really needs a solution that can solve problems without certain religious schemes. The presence of the Partai Solidaritas Indonesia, chaired by Grace Natalie recently, which is known as a young Christian female political figure in the midst of the world's largest Muslim majority population, political battles in various attempts to gain public support, are the biggest challenges for the Partai Solidaritas Indonesia/PSI (Indonesian Solidarity Party). Several steps of the PSI have attracted debate and have been criticized by several Muslim groups for being considered to be making crucial narratives by not considering Indonesia's existing religious values in political narratives, such as the unconditional rejection of Sharia Law and rejecting polygamy as a social problem, thus inviting debate and getting serious reactions from some Indonesian Muslim groups. In this paper, it is an attempt to thoroughly dissect the various paradigms and narratives of the Indonesian Solidarity Party in political communication, analyze the principles of the concept of the State, and examine the Islamic concept in depth, comprehensively, and can answer the recent socio-political discourse.

## Keywords:

Partai Solidaritas Indonesia; Islam and Crucial Issues; Political Communication

## INTRODUCTION

The presence of Islam as a religion, with a mission encompassing various aspects of human life, has become an important spotlight for various parties in the world. Furthermore, Islam, with its universal characteristics and the laws and provisions possessed by Islamic sources, seems to be a threat that can make certain groups feel anxious about the rise of turmoil and violence. the spirit of establishing an Islamic State in the midst

of a State that is final in agreeing on the basis of the State Indonesia. If we look at the context of Indonesia in the past, the ideological struggle on the basis of the State becomes an important note about the turmoil of Islamic leaders who want Indonesia as an Islamic State to reap various serious debates and disputes from various parties, before actually reaching a final agreement (Wijaya, 2008: 84).

The birth of the Indonesian Solidarity Party loudly voiced opponents of intolerance, rejected sharia regulations or regulations affiliated with certain religions, so that rejecting polygamy as a social problem was believed by some to

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be a new spirit in returning politics to an honored place (PSI, 2020: 4). On a certain side, the narratives conveyed to the public experienced bias and invited serious debates, especially related to issues that in part were existences that should have been religious matters, but in arrogance, the PSI narratives continued to be forced as an ideology believed to be able to bridge various social problems, without really paying attention to the religious values that exist and are believed by the people of Indonesia.

In dismissing various issues and religious neutrality, PSI assumes that this party aims to place religion in a high and respectable place, but on the other hand, it has no clear parameters and does not at all pay attention to the religious values that exist, especially Islam, as the most embraced and believed religion in Indonesia. There is absolutely no particular consideration in exposing the values of all existing religions, so that the PSI struggle spirit seems only to be a forum for religious minority struggle and there is no visible spirit of neutrality in addressing various social and religious issues. Highlighting such horizontal political discourse, borrowing Zakiyuddin Baidhaway's view in his paper entitled *The Problem Of Multiculturalism: Radicalism Mainstreaming through Religious Preaching in Surakarta*, that religious plurality is a necessity as a social phenomenon that cannot be avoided (Zakiyuddin Baidawy, 2010: 274). Therefore, the values of religious

plurality in the social community should be an important reference for political parties to integrate their struggle ideas with existing religious values so as not to cause noise, suspicion, and create a new social dilemma in Indonesian society, which, incidentally, is a large nation that has a plurality of religions, races, ethnicities, and languages. More than that, the values of religion in Indonesia can be said to be the spirit of Pancasila as the basis of the State, which is really born from the principle of God.

#### **METHOD OF RESEARCH**

This research uses descriptive qualitative research. (Baidwawy, 2005, 36) Whereas this research is library research (Library Research). Research whose data is taken partially or completely from the library, for example, articles, reports, books, newspapers, and others. (Baidawy, 2005:36). The research procedure that will be carried out is first to collect literature about Ibn Khaldun, then, after being collected, the researcher sorts and chooses which one can be used for research related to the research theme to be raised. Then that's where the researchers began to collect data by means of documentation.

#### **DISCUSSION AND RESULTS**

##### *Social Discourse and Polygamy*

This In addressing the problem of polygamy that is often voiced by PSI, as a social problem that should be political, believed to require a forum for struggle to stem the practice of polygamy in

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Indonesia, Aslihan Okan İbiloğlu's research effort carried out in the state area to assume that the rejection of polygamy in general is due to several factors such as the economy that is not capable of qualified polygamy in Indonesia, poor knowledge, so that it does not have a reasonable basis that causes the practice of polygamy (Okan İbiloğlu, 2018: 986).

Shifting to the Indonesian context, the political maneuvers carried out by the Indonesian Solidarity Party with its narrative have succeeded in attracting the attention of all parties and have even begun to become the focus of university groups in several countries, such as the Cambridge-like universities with Ella S. Prihatini's writings titled *Islam, Parties, and Women's Political Nominations in Indonesia* (Ella S. Prihatini, 2019). It can be said that the PSI's political maneuvers have really succeeded in seizing the attention of all parties, both sympathetic and those who are quite harsh in opposing the political maneuvers that were intensively carried out by the PSI.

The rejection of polygamy in a party reached its peak and became a bombing in various media in Indonesia when this maneuver was strengthened in the official Indonesian Solidarity Party congress in 2018 which was delivered directly by the chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party, Grace Natalie, which was broadcast live by Kompas Tv (TvOne News, 2020). In her remarks, Grace Natalie strengthened her political maneuver by presenting political arguments that referred to the results of

LBH Apik's research on polygamy. which concludes that, in general, the practice of polygamy causes injustice (Tvone News, 2020). In line with that, Ratna Batara Munti from LBH, in an interview published in *Tribun News*, stated that in essence, polygamy is the root of discrimination against women, and it has not become a public discourse for the government to prohibit the practice of polygamy in Indonesia (TvOne News, 2020).

In this condition, Islam, which has room for the practice of polygamy with the largest adherents among religions in Indonesia, received a hard blow from PSI political maneuvers even though Grace Natalie revealed that PSI did not bring religious issues and its view was purely due to social concerns, especially the discrimination of women who generally occur in the practice of polygamy. On the other hand, there is an Islamic voice that believes that polygamy is not something forbidden by God, and we are not allowed to prohibit and punish something that is not prohibited by God.

Universal rejection of polygamy without certain restrictions in PSI rejection of polygamy, only because it is based on indications of discrimination and injustice, without considering the values of religious teachings in Indonesia, has injured the face of PSI itself, which often voiced tolerance, but in reality the ideological arrogance seemed reluctant to compromise with the values of existing religion, especially Islam, as a religion that provides space for the practice of

polygamy under certain conditions and conditions.

Shifting further, if all parties highlight polygamy as a common problem and have seriousness in its resolution, without any background in certain religious skates, every community and political elite must be really willing to listen and discuss and can override ideological arrogance, the arrogance of PSI arrogance in addressing the issues of polygamy, it is seen from the clerics who do not want to talk about religion to create the impression that polygamy is a social problem, not a problem or religious affair. In fact, polygamy is a series of religious sacred activities that lead to marriage. And marriage is a religious problem, which cannot be solved in various aspects and practices without the role and responsibility of religion.

In the prospect of Islam, Nate Olsen in *Marriage and Divorce in Islam and Mormon Polygamy: A Legal Comparison* presents that in some states such as Arabic, that curbing the practice of polygamy cannot be done by necessarily banning without any restrictions because the Qur'an as a book Muslim holy does not forbid polygamy, but to overcome various possible problems of discrimination in the practice of polygamy is to limit and tighten certain conditions to the rules of the game in polygamy, so that polygamy becomes a practice that can not be done by people who are not committed and clear objectives in making decisions to practice polygamy (Nate Olsen, 2009: 92). If we

look at the law in Indonesia which regulates marriages, restrictions, and prerequisites of polygamy, it has been arranged quite tightly, although it does not rule out certain parts that need to be addressed. Furthermore, Amiur Nuruddin stated that polygamy in Islamic fiqh scholars' review in general had agreed on the acquisition of polygamy, while the debate that occurred among the scholars was only limited to the terms and conditions of the practice of polygamy (Nuruddin Amiur, 2004: 155).

If we look at it in the Indonesian context, the government's efforts to limit polygamy can be said to be quite strict, so that the space for polygamy is only possible to be carried out by people who truly have a commitment and have clear objectives in carrying out polygamy so that it does not cause discrimination against women.

#### *Problems of Rejecting Sharia Regulations and Their Debates*

In understanding shari'ah as the characteristics and distinctiveness of Islam, Didin Hafhiduddin believed that the universality of Islam was reflected in its comprehensive uniqueness. As a religion that has a comprehensive characteristic referred to as Hafhiduddin, Islam has provisions and rules of play in various aspects of life, both regarding issues of spiritual worship and social issues that are an important part of the scope of Islamic sharia (Hafhiduddin, 2003). In his paper, Ahmad Fuad Fanani, wrote that in the context of Indonesia, the

application of sharia regulations in the autonomous regions in certain parts had a negative impact and seemed to contrast with the spirit of the neutral state of Indonesian religion (Fanani, 2007). If we look at the implementation of Islamic law that occurs in the practice of applying law in Malaysia, the freedom granted by the state to individual citizens has legal equality in the eyes of the court and law.

From the two reviews, it proves that exposing the context of the application of Islamic shari'a in certain regions cannot be used as a parameter for universalizing Islamic shari'ah globally. The efforts and stretching of the PSI lately, in rejecting the implementation of shari'a regulations in Indonesia, are considered by some circles to support as a form of concern for various problems in the practice of implementing shari'a regulations, and again, the PSI does not want to involve itself that the problems it touches are a matter of religion and claims the efforts made as a social problem.

Moving further, if we look at the application of sharia law in Indonesia which is applied in the province of Aceh, Hyder Gulam noted that Aceh introduced the concept and shari'a law starting in 1999, which aims to regulate various issues with the concept of sharia law (Ghulam, 2016). In his conclusion, Hyder assumes that, based on his observations on the application of shari'a law in several countries, such as Singapore and Indonesia, the application and implementation of shari'a law does not

require formal law, because the substance of shariah is an attempt to strengthen the unity of Muslims in accordance with the commands of Allah and the will of the Prophet Muhammad (Ghulam, 2016).

From some experiences and observations that exist about the application of sharia, especially in Indonesia, it almost shows that there is no indication that the application of shari'a law can cause discrimination against non-Muslim groups, because the application of sharia law is a special effort for people Muslim people. More than that, in the systematic legislation in Indonesia, it can be said that any law that is enforced in the autonomous region in Indonesia remains under central management and under the supervision of the government and does not affect the basic legal principles of the Republic of Indonesia.

The traumatic and excessive worries shown by the PSI in addressing the problems in the implementation of sharia regulations seem like being anti-anything with the smell of religion, without regard to the slightest positive values. As a party that claims to be a nationalist group, PSI can reflect on what is truly in accordance with the principle of state, which is the principle of divinity. Godliness in the Indonesian perspective means reflecting that Indonesian content is filled by people who have religion. Do not want to involve ideology with the principle of divinity? It will only show PSI as a secular community, which aims to separate the state from religion (Farid Shuaib, 2018).

Clearly, it is increasingly apparent that PSI's twisting is not showing that its presence is not a community that politicizes religion, but it is doubtful whether this is true because what we see is PSI as a political party that has a lot of advantages when making political narratives that smell like religion. Such as making opinions on intolerance, radicalism, terrorism, and polygamy, has led the Indonesian solidarity party to benefit in the form of stronger support and sympathy from groups of Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and even a small number of Muslims. The current position of PSI can be said to be the most successful group in history to embrace non-Muslim groups and place them as prima donnas. This situation is automatically unavoidable because this strategy shows that PSI is enjoying political maneuvers against political religion but at the same time earning benefits from this mission.

For Jean Bethke Elshtain, in his paper *Religion and Democracy*, believes that the secularism movement's dealing with religious groups is a serious problem that determines the future of democracy. For Jean, the totalitarian historical experience of anti-Nazi Germany's

totalitarian religions has led to a variant of the movement from the religious community (Elshtain, 2019). The characteristics of secularism groups are aimed at stemming the religious movement in the political arena in a country (Elshtain, 2019). In seeing the incessant movement of secular groups in Indonesia, borrowing the views and concerns of Datoek A. Pachoer that in traditional society, religious norms play a very important role as a system of rules that governs various sectors or fields of life. Almost all activities of life are regulated, considered, and decided based on religious norms or rules, since small issues such as eating, drinking, working, dressing up to major issues involving national-scale policies, religious norms participate in it (Datoek, 2016).

The outbreak of the secularism movement in Indonesia, such as the great mission of the Indonesian Solidaritas Party, certainly has indications that it could disrupt the beliefs of traditional communities in various regions of Indonesia who are accustomed to religious values which always become a reference in addressing various aspects of social and state life.

**Table 1 shows a list of several Indonesian Solidarity Party communities on Facebook. 1st of February, 2020**

No	Group Account Name	Total Membership	Community Category
1	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia	3.057.336 Like	PSI Official Page
2	Sahabat PSI	32.000 Members	Investigators
3	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI)	46.000 Members	Investigators
4	Sahabat Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI)	28.000 Members	Investigators

Source: Observation, 2020.

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*Islamic Issues in the Middle of the Indonesian Solidarity Party Community*

As a party dominated by young people and women, the Indonesian Solidarity Party utilizes various facilities and public spaces to become a communication medium for Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Blogger, to use applications that can facilitate the party's way of conveying various political views other than as a media to share certain information. In our notes and observations, in highlighting the PSI communication media such as Facebook, the party sympathizers' community such as Friends of PSI has 32,000 members, PSI 46,000, and the Indonesian Solidarity Party friends, 28,000.

Not to mention the added provincial and regional communities and sympathizers are interpreted by millions of members and sympathizers who are members of the Indonesian Solidarity Party community. Below are some of the PSI communities and sympathizers who have the highest membership based on our observations and searches on social media accounts (Kanika Verma, 2020).

In the belief of the Indonesian Solidarity party, radicalism is a big problem for the Indonesian people. Some cases, such as the destruction of houses of worship in Indonesia, are caused by religious views that reflect

intolerant behavior. In line with that, some Indonesian Muslim scholars have warned that intolerance is a great danger that can block the progress of the Indonesian nation. It can be said that all religions consider tolerance as a common goal for the Indonesian nation, but on the other hand, religious symbols and identities are a noble heritage that cannot be ignored in social life, so it is not possible to implement tolerance only to the extent and substance of ignoring religious symbols and values believed by Indonesian people who, in fact, are pluralistic (Farid Shuaib, 2018).

The development of the current digital era by utilizing basic Internet and social media makes it possible for politicians to expand communication networks both internally and externally, including various efforts and strategies of the Indonesian Solidarity Party in utilizing Facebook as one of the social media favored by Indonesians. In their paper *Impact of Facebook on People and Society*, Kapil Chugh and Kanika Verma wrote that nearly 60% of Facebook users who shared posts with the public did so because they were interested and liked the information they shared. Kapil Chugh also concluded that Facebook was a strategic container for politicians in strengthening relationships with sympathizers, particularly among the youth community who use Facebook as

a medium of communication (Kanika Verma, 2020).

Moving further, if we highlight a number of social media groups that are used by sympathizers of the Indonesian Solidarity Party, such as the group account named "Friends of the Indonesian Solidarity Party", with 28,000 members, are quite active and always updated every day with a variety of national issues, the region becomes an opinion that always gets thousands of likes and hundreds of comments that respond to information coming into the group account. From our observations of this account, it seems that Islam is an opinion that is discussed almost every day in this group, such as issues of veiling, the obligation to attend school, and the use of niqaf as a cultural threat to Islamic organizations such as FPI and its leaders, most of whom respondents consider radical Islamic figures (Farid Shuaib, 2018).

Correspondingly, some writers such as Dieqy Widhana consider that the Indonesian Solidarity Party is among political grudges against a political identity movement carried out by a part of the Muslim community in a series of 212 actions that led to the imprisonment of Basuki Tjahja Purnama as a defendant of Islamic religion. Religious Tolerance Narrative Turmoil in Political Communication Religion has a big part in building the nation's civilization,

especially as a social transformation that will help the authorities or the government in overcoming the problems that are being faced by a country. In the sociology of knowledge, the intellectuals are included as a new social class as a group that masters knowledge, and with this knowledge, it seems that the position of the intellectual community gets its own attention from the wider community, because it is believed to be able to convey an objective and neutral view when providing views on a problem in society.

Because of that, intellectuals have the ability to educate and answer social problems critically, either through speaking or through writing, in the public sphere, in order to be known by the wider community, an important role and have strategic potential in fixing social problems. Among others, religious leaders, pioneers, and scholars have a great responsibility for the conditions and conditions of a harmonious society, both in religion and in the state.

From a broader range of aspects, social change towards a more positive direction is largely determined by the important role of religion, be it in the fields of education, economy, humanity, morals and so on, as a social practice that makes all aspects impossible to be left to the state. In the history of Indonesia, the contribution of Islamic boarding schools, for example, in participating in



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educating the Indonesian people, has been recorded since the 15th century, and it has become an important record that religion participates in building civilization through education. However, we deeply regret that the function of religion, which can be used as social information, becomes a tool only to legitimize the interests of certain groups (Kanika Verma, 2020).

Another understanding of conflict is the view of Kartono, who understands conflict as an antagonistic social process where a situation cannot be harmonized because the two groups have different goals, attitudes, and structural values that are reflected in various forms of resistance, whether subtle, controlled, hidden, indirect, camouflaged, or open in the form of violence. The hectic talk and anxiety of the government towards radicalism lately has become a topic that has always been discussed in various media. In the dark history of Indonesia in 1998, there was a case of persecution and the killing of Wahidin Nurlate, a Muslim, by a Marxist Jesuit student who used Forkot (City Forum) as an umbrella group. The movement of this group was supported by the *gareja* by providing logistical assistance to mobilize the Jesuit Marxist movement so as to get a reaction from Muslims (Bard, 2007).

Religious education should be a social priority, not just in formal institutions that conduct education,

because after teaching at school, children still need additional knowledge and skills in the community. This is an implementation of the concept of lifelong education that integrates family education, formal education, as well as education outside the school that is directed properly to foster a spirit of diversity in the midst of racial, ethnic, religious and cultural diversity (Hamka, 2015).

In sociological phenomena, the lack of a spirit of diversity and commitment in the nation to coexist will give birth to social conditions that are prone to division and provoke a reaction of conflicts between groups in society. Citing the expression of Prof. Dr. Hamka in his work, social justice in Islam, Hamka passionately tells the series of history and Islamic political turmoil that ended with the decline of Islam in holding power (Hamka, 2015).

Therefore, as a nation, we can study that, in fact, fanaticism and identity politics within the framework of nation and state is of no avail. More vividly, Hamka said that the outbreak of the crusade a few centuries ago and the influx of Turkish Constantinople, the departure of Islamic power from Spain, had nothing to do with the Islamic population of Indonesia, or Christianity of the Indonesian population (Hamka, 2015).

In the social classification contest, Indonesian politics today, exactly as described by Arta Wijaya in his dilemma, the majority of each group consists of several components, so that in political classification, some tend to look like nationalists, some are religious, and some are secular-looking. In the midst of freedom and the development of information technology, all things are open and accessible to anyone. Quoting from a social media account in the name of the Friends of PSI, far from the outline of PSI as a party that always shouted tolerance, with a membership of more than 28,000, seems to be a place of privacy for this group to publish various thoughts, which often appear to be a forum that heavily targets Islam by herding various issues, so that such social media groups can threaten unity and unity without coaching and education. From the two sides of this social phenomenon, every religious community and nation should realize that social interests are more important than just fighting for the desires of certain groups of interests (Wijaya, 2008).

In addressing the concept of humanity, David Little in his work on freedom of religion and human rights, quotes the view of Fazlur Rahman that the goal of Islamic ideology contained in the Muslim holy book is to create a just society and uphold the concept of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. Then all of this

should open up a shared awareness for every Muslim that this task is burdened on all people (Little, 2007).

In the international forum, the United Nations is very fiercely fighting for human rights with the principle that the dignity and equality inherent in all humans, and that all member states have pledged to themselves to be together and spread cooperative action with the organization in order to advance and encourage all member organizations of the United Nations. In Islam, violence and rebellion in political struggles is not the essence of Islamic teachings, and this is where the role of each community leader is responsible for providing true understanding to members of their respective communities. Jhon.L Esposito, in his work on *Actual Islam*, seeks to answer the political history of Islam that seems to have used violence in the past, and current Muslim rulers and governments have used religion to justify and mobilize support for political expansion and occupation (Esposito, 2005).

Religious extremists from early groups such as the Khawarij and contemporary movements such as Egyptian Islamic Jihad and al-Qaeda have used radical theological views, based on interpreted scriptures and doctrines, to justify violence and terrorism against their own communities and the international community. Citing

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the writings of Bustanudin Agus that show that religious approaches are the most effective way of shaping personality and culture, Bustanudin seeks to present examples of some of the roles of religion, such as the dominance of Roman Catholic *gareja* in the Middle Ages. Causing Europe to sink into the Dark Ages, was opposed by the Renaissance movement at the beginning of the 14th century (Agus, 2005). This movement cannot be swayed by the scientific movement or various thoughts.

So as to say, bustanudin, the Protestant theological resistance continued with armed resistance from the Protestants in various European empires, which took a century from the 16th century to the mid-17th century, which was generally ended by the agreement on religious tolerance (Agus, 2005).

## CONCLUSION

From some of the reviews that the author presented in the previous points, we can simply summarize the results of an analysis of the social discourse that occurred between Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia and the PSI, First concerning the narrative and maneuvering of the PSI rejecting polygamy as a problem socially, can injure a sense of justice for Muslims. The PSI only refers to social problems without regard to the values of religion

in Indonesia, especially Islam, as a religion that allows the practice of polygamy.

Furthermore, the narrative and mission of the PSI in broad outline can be said to be a new problem in the social, political and religious dynamics of Indonesia which has a basic principle in the state of being God. Relief for the Indonesian people, namely by embracing a particular religion as a special freedom which is legitimized by the state. Regarding polygamy as a practice permitted by Islam by sharing strict terms and conditions, narratives PSI does not reflect on the basis of the principle of state based on Pancasila. Furthermore, the unwillingness of the Solidarity Party to expose something without considering the value of existing religion can be said as a form of a secular movement that seeks to change the direction and principles of democracy, which at first as a state of divinity that cannot be separated from religion, into a secular state that aims to separate the problems of the problems of the.

Secondly, in exposing the discourse of unconditional rejection of the PSI to the application of sharia regulations in the unitary territory of the Republic of Indonesia, it is seen as a form of political resistance and reflects the Islamophobia attitude with its arrogance of ideology.

Regarding the characteristics and characteristics of the Indonesian Solidarity Party, which assumes a movement against radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia, until now it has only been a political symbol that does not have harmony with the party that is in discourse and raises new problems in the social and political dynamics of Indonesia. Recent social inequality is largely determined by the policy of the Indonesian government in exposing various movements and community symbols that raise the issue as a mobilizer against intolerance but have become a substantial new dilemma.

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