

# Political Interests and the Common Goods in Public Religion

**Harris Usman Amin** Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

**Muhadjir Darwin** Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

**Hakimul Ikhwan** Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

**Siti Syamsiyatun** Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

## Abstract

This research explores the Gerakan Salat Subuh Berjamaah (GSSB)/Dawn Congregation Prayer Movement in the city government of Palembang. This policy using religious instruments has been implemented for approximately four years and has received recognition and appreciation from several parties for its benefits to the people and government of Palembang city. This research is qualitative research with a case study method, conducted for three months in Palembang City. The study results conclude that the GSSB policy created a public religion where religion enters the public sphere to fulfil the political actor's political interests (Mayor) and realize the "common goods" of Palembang city.

## Keywords

Politics; Government; Policy; Religion; Indonesia

## INTRODUCTION

The relationship between religion and state or government is still an interesting discussion among experts. There are three views related to the relationship between religion and state: first, the view considers religion and state as two different things and cannot be combined. This view includes secularism. Second, the argument that

considers religion and state as one unit operates based on religious law. Third, the thought that religion and the state need each other. The state needs faith, and religion also requires the state to develop (Majid, 2013; Simpson, 1999; Wahid, 2010). Of the three models of relations, Indonesia is included in the state's model that maintains and preserves religion in government so that religions and countries need each other (Ropi, 2017).

In the world history of religious dominance, it was an influential past, especially before secularism developed. In the past, religion and the state were one unit where religious institutions' role was huge in legitimizing governance. However, since modernity emerged in the 18th century, where

---

Harris Usman Amin is a PhD student at the Doctoral Program in Leadership and Policy Innovation, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia. Email correspondence: [harris.ua@gmail.com](mailto:harris.ua@gmail.com).

Muhadjir Darwin, Hakimul Ikhwan and Siti Syamsiyatun are lecturer at the Doctoral Program in Leadership and Policy Innovation, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia.

The authors are grateful to the Doctoral Program in Leadership and Policy Innovation, Universitas Gadjah Mada, and anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments.

science and ratio were the basis, religion began to be marginalized, and secularism began to develop throughout the world.

The development of secularism has not been able to eliminate the role of religion in the state. This is evident in Casanova's research that religion has reappeared in the public sphere. According to Casanova, three conditions cause religion to move into the public sphere or call the deprivatization of faith. First, religion enters the public sphere to defend traditional life from penetration of the country and markets. Second, religion enters the public space to maintain moral values and safeguard the state's goal of realizing "the common good". Third, faith enters the public sphere to fight modern individualist liberal theories, reducing the common good (Casanova, 2011).

The increase in the religious role is not only happening in Western countries, such as the data presented by Fox (2018), 183 countries in the world have policies related to religion. In Indonesia for 15 years, from 1999 to 2014, 443 Sharia Regulations appeared (BBC News, 2019). Evidence of the use of religion in local government instruments, among others, the emergence of congregational prayer policy issued by the Regional Head. Some of the local government that set the policy of congregational prayer are Rokan Hulu Regency Government that issued Regent Regulation (PERBUP) No. 18 of 2018, Batang Regency that issued SE No. 800/SE/2045/2015, Tojo Una Una Regency (Touna), Sukabumi Regency

that issued SE No. 451.11/3368-8K, and Banggai Regency (Said, 2017).

The use of religion in government has also occurred in Palembang's city government. Since 2015 the Mayor of Palembang has used religious instruments through the GSSB policy in running his government. This policy has reaped support and criticism since this policy was implemented in 2015 until it was legalized through the Palembang Mayor Regulation (Perwali) number 69 of 2018 and revised through Perwali number 3 of 2020, many have supported this policy, but some criticized it (BBC News, 2018).

Those who support this policy think that this policy can reform the bureaucracy and bring officials closer to the community so that people's aspirations can be better absorbed. From a critical point of view, this policy is only used as a medium for imaging and other political purposes. This policy is also considered to have crossed the bureaucratic boundaries because religion/prayer is deemed private, which is an individual matter with God.

The use of religion in government instruments involving bureaucracy and society is still considered a gray area. For some experts and activists, religious regulation is a threat to religious freedom, so the modern state is required to minimize involvement in religious life (Ropi, 2017). The status of the regional head who is a political position influences public perception of the dawn prayer policy in the congregation implemented since 2015. Political motives will automatically be related to the purpose of implementing this policy.

According to [Weber \(2017\)](#), religious action as a type of social action, to achieve an understanding of social action can be seen from the meaning of that action. According to [Weber \(2017\)](#), humans are influenced by religion-related to worldly hopes, namely the hope for a good life in this world. Therefore, religious action is goal-oriented and relatively rational. Therefore, this study aims to explore GSSB policy related to their background and motives. The policy that uses sacred instruments is the Mayor's choice is running the local government in Palembang City and answer questions from the public regarding the purpose and importance of this policy to be implemented.

Religion and politics have had a very close relationship in history. In the kingdom era, kings used religion to legitimize their leadership. The "descending" theory states that legitimacy is obtained from God is the main factor in the kings' legitimacy in the past. However, nowadays, the legitimacy of a leader is no longer obtained through the "descending" theory but by the "ascending" idea, namely the legitimacy obtained through recognition from the community that the leader can/is worthy of being followed or obeyed ([Fox, 2018](#)).

The use of religion by a leader can increase legitimacy but also decrease the legitimacy of a leader. According to [Gümüşay \(2016\)](#), using religion for a leader is like using a double-edged sword. Faith has several weaknesses. Namely, religion can first make leaders feel the most righteous because belief in

religion is too fanatical. Second, if the scriptures' commands are carried out by misinterpretation, it can lead to a wrong understanding, then leaders need to understand them correctly and can be applied correctly. Third, the use of religion enables the exclusivity of a religion compared to other religions. Fourth, the use of faith can make leaders tend to ignore worldly affairs and focus too much on religious matters ([Gümüşay, 2016](#)).

Previous research has studied the role of religion in a government ([Coşgel & Miceli, 2009](#); [Fox & Sandler, 2004](#); [Gumo, Akuloba & Omare, 2012](#); [Iannaccone & Berman, 2006](#)), as well as the relationship between religion and leadership ([Hage & Posner, 2015](#); [Fernando, 2005](#); [Gaitho, 2019](#); [Gümüşay, 2016](#)). However, researchers have not found any research in Indonesia that examines religious policies on political aspects and public interests manifested through congregational dawn prayers.

This research will contribute knowledge about the benefits of using religion for local government by performing the morning prayer in the congregation, which has received recognition and appreciation from several parties ([Inge, 2018](#)). The study will also contribute knowledge to religious and state relations in a policy that can provide legitimacy for leaders and governments.

In this article, the argument is that religion with the concept of practical policies can provide positive benefits, not only for the government and regional heads in a political context but

also to offer tangible benefits for the community.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative research with a case study method. The research was conducted in Palembang City for three months (January-March 2020). In this study, primary data was obtained through the interview method with three informants, namely the Mayor of Palembang, the Head of the Investment Service and One Stop Services (DPMPSP), and the Head of the Human Resources Empowerment Agency (BKPSDM). The two heads of offices were selected as informants because the two people were the officials closest to the Mayor when the GSSB policy began to be implemented. In addition to primary data, this research is also supported by secondary data obtained from reviewing print and online news archives.

Before conducting interviews, researchers completed the administrative requirements to research at the Palembang City National Unity and Political Service (Kesbangpol). After obtaining permission, the researcher contacted the protocol to get an interview scheduled with the Mayor. Meanwhile, for talks with the Head of BKPSDM and DPMPSP, the researchers made direct contact by making visits to their offices. For the validity and reliability of the data obtained from the Mayor, the researchers cross-checked the data with the data obtained from the head of BKPSDM and DPMPSP and printed and online news archives.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Previous research has found a strong link between religion and legitimacy. Religion becomes a tool for leaders to gain legitimacy from their followers (Dell'Aguzzo & Sigillò, 2017; Fox, 2018; Hassan et al., 2011). Religion also influences a leader's leadership in behaving and making decisions (Fernando, 2005; Gaitho, 2019; Parra, 2015). From the previous research, it can be argued that the GSSB Policy uses religion as a tool for the Mayor to increase his legitimacy, so that the GSSB Policy should also be able to convince the public that this policy is acceptable. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct research to find out the motives behind this GSSB policy and how it gets its legitimacy.

In the case of the congregational prayer policy implemented in the Rokan Hulu Riau Regency, the policy requires Muslim employees to Pray Zuhur and Ashar Prayer at the Great Mosque of Pasir Pengaraian. The obligation is reserved for employees who are based around the Islamic Center Mosque. This is different from the GSSB Policy, which requires all employees, without exception, to perform morning prayers in a congregation in the residential environment. From the research conducted by Rafita et al. (2014), there is a positive influence of congregational prayer's mandatory policy on Rokan Hulu District Employees' work ethic.

Policies that use religious instruments also occur in the Turkish state. In a study conducted by Ahmad Junaidi (2017), through a political policy that applies Islamic values, the Turkish

state successfully developed from a country dubbed “The Sick Man in Europe” to a healthy and developed country. From these two examples, it can be concluded that political policies that use religious values provide positive benefits to the government. Therefore, this research will try to present the motives and objectives of the GSSB policy and the benefits obtained by the community.

### **Motives and Background of the GSSB Policy**

From the interviews with the three informants, it was revealed that there were three objectives: the motives for the GSSB Policy. First, to absorb people's aspirations. The Mayor believes that the person who performs the dawn prayers at the mosque is the chosen person, as mentioned in the hadith, so that what these people say is valid and accurate. Second, the GSSB policy can affect the popularity, electability, and public trust in the government and the Mayor. Third, the GSSB policy can improve the economy of the people. These three motives are also supported by data obtained from online news archives (Hidayatullah, 2019; Newshunter, 2017).

#### *Increase Popularity, Electability and Trust*

Political actors use religion because religion has a legitimate function. By using religion, political actors convince the public that they practice religious values and have good morality to be worthy and worthy of being supported (Fox, 2018). Previous research has shown a close relationship between religion's involvement in politics

(Gumo, Akuloba & Omare, 2012; Hurd, 1999; Ikhwan, 2018). The use of religion by political actors is also explained in a book written by Judson (2010) entitled “Religion and Government: Should They Mix?”. In the United States, religion is a commodity in regional head elections (mayors/governors) and even presidential elections in its political history. Religion is used to overthrow opponents and increase popularity and electability to gain votes

The use of religion by political actors in Indonesia is also not new. Almost every local election (Pilkada) in Indonesia always uses religion to attract public sympathy. In the case of the GSSB policy, the Mayor also uses religion as a political tool. The approach that was carried out starting in 2015 was able to convince the public to re-elect him in 2018. Although the Mayor denied this, his status as a political actor automatically linked each of his policies to politics.

#### *Absorbing People's Aspirations*

The GSSB policy is also used as a tool to absorb people's aspirations. The Mayor said that the reason why he uses the policy to absorb the aspirations of the community is that that he believes the people who carry out the dawn prayers in the congregation at the mosque are pious so that the aspirations conveyed are believed to be accurate and represent the aspirations of the community. By performing morning prayers in the congregation with the community, the Mayor can meet directly with religious and community leaders in the mosque. These religious figures

have an influence on social control in society. By conducting dialogue, the Mayor can find out the community's social conditions and, at the same time, know what the community expects from their leadership. Besides, the aim of absorbing the community aspires to meet the community's needs that the government has not facilitated.

With the ability to absorb community aspirations and fulfill community needs through the GSSB policy, religion's function as a social stability tool can be realized. The community's unmet needs, such as poor infrastructure, can cause political turmoil and instability due to the pressure to make changes.

#### *Improve the Economy of the People*

The GSSB policy is also a tool in improving the people's economy. Based on [Chang's \(2003\)](#) research entitled "Culture, state, and economic development in Singapore", it was found that Singapore could become a developed country because the state could combine western and local Culture into Singapore's culture. These cultural values include those derived from the religious values of the Protestant and Confucian spirits.

In the context of the relationship between religion and economy, according to research conducted by [Barro and McCleary \(2003\)](#) in 59 countries, it was found that positive economic growth (GDP) is related to religious views, especially the belief in heaven and hell. [Iannaccone and Berman \(2006\)](#) also conveyed the same thing, who state that individual

religious beliefs impact economic activity through relationships with various sects and denominations. In research conducted by [Noland \(2005\)](#) also concluded that religious affiliation (Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, and Orthodox) impacts the economic performance of a country.

Weber's relationship between religion and economy was also conveyed where, according to Weber, there was a connection between religious ideas and economic behavior. Puritan ideas influenced the development of capitalism. Weber defined the concept of "the spirit of capitalism" as the idea of hard work as a task that carries its intrinsic reward. In the doctrine of Calvinism, each individual is inspired to look for signs that a person is among the selected few. Such signs, most significantly, can be found in economic success ([Furseth, 2017](#)). With this protestant spirit, the spirit of capitalism emerged in European countries at the beginning of the industrial revolution era, which led to economic progress in European countries.

Using the media for dawn prayers in the congregation, the Mayor can see firsthand the condition of infrastructure in the community, such as damaged roads, no street lights, or bad drainage that can affect community activities in carrying out economic activities. By making improvements to the infrastructure, it can increase and influence the economic activities of the community. This is in line with previous research, which states that

infrastructure improvements affect a region's economy (Calderón & Servén, 2010).

### **The GSSB Policy in the Perspective of the Deprivatization of Religion**

In the theory of deprivatization of religion, Casanova (2011) mentions three forms of modern religion deprivatization. First, religious mobilization in defending traditional life from various forms of state or market penetration. Catholic mobilization against abortion can be seen as an example of this first deprivatization. By entering the public sphere and enlivening public debate or engaging on certain issues, it means that religions encourage modern society to reflect their normative structures' publicity and collectivity.

Second, a form of deprivatization that manifests in cases where religions enter the public domain of modern societies to question and contest the claims of the two major social systems, the state, and the market, to function according to their intrinsic functionalist norms. Regardless of extrinsic traditional moral norms. Here religion plays a role in reminding the state and its people of the importance of mankind to maintain morality and subordinate the logic of state formation to "the common good".

Third, the deprivatization of religion is related to the tireless insistence of traditional religion in fighting for the principle of "the common good" itself in the face of modern individualist liberal theories that would reduce the common good to the aggregate sum of individual choices.

From the above formulation, three main keys are an important part of the theory of deprivatization of religion, namely Morality, The Common Good, and the values/norms of traditional life. According to Casanova, these three points are what religious mobility strives for and causes religion to enter the public domain. The theory of deprivatization of religion has been used in previous research to analyze religion's emergence in the public sphere.

#### *Embody "The Common Good"*

The Indonesian language's common good is interpreted as goods of general needs/needs (dictionaries.com). The field of philosophy is defined as general welfare (kamuskbbi.id). Public interest in Law No. 2 of 2012 concerning Land Acquisition for development for the public interest, means "The interests of the nation, state, and society that must be realized by the government and used maximally for the prosperity of the people".

The GSSB policy that uses religious instruments enters the government system through its actor, namely the Mayor. From the data obtained, it is known that the GSSB policy becomes a "tool" for the Mayor in carrying out his duties as the head of the region to provide services to the community. This causes religion that was previously in the private sphere to become public because religion enters public areas such as the government and is involved in solving public problems that exist in society.

From this theory, it can be concluded that the entry of religion into the public domain is based on the function of religion itself, which contains values and norms, where morality and "the common good" are the principles championed by religious institutions. From the findings, it is known that the emergence of the GSSB policy was also motivated by the role of the function of religion. The Mayor uses religion as a tool in carrying out his duties as a regional head to provide services and to legitimize his leadership.

In contrast to the theory of religious deprivatization presented by Casanova. The emergence of public religion through the GSSB policy was not driven by religious institutions or figures fighting for morality and "the common good" but driven by political actors who hold government control, namely the regional head. This has a significant impact because of its position as a political actor. The public religion it promotes also has a political background. The background of increasing popularity, electability, and public trust arises in connection with the Mayor's efforts to participate in the Pilkada for the second period. The effort was successful with his re-election as Mayor for the second and final time.

Morality and "the common good" used as principles in public religion promoted by religious institutions and leaders in the theory of deprivatizing religion become political when political actors promote the public religion. In the GSSB policy, "the common good" is manifested in the Mayor's efforts to provide services by absorbing the

community's aspirations and improving the people's economy while also achieving political interests. By absorbing people's aspirations and improving the economy of the people, the common good, which is the principle of the emergence of public religion can be realized by the realization of moral and spiritual development through dawn prayers in congregation and physical development through infrastructure improvements such as aspirations conveyed by the community.

In the theory of deprivatization of religion, the emergence of religion in the public sphere is in the context of fighting for "the common good" or common interest. From the data obtained, the GSSB Policy has an interest in it, from these interests, there are two kinds of interests, namely personal interests (inside) and interests of the community (outside). Personal interests (inside) are interests that come from within and for personal interests or goals, personal interests in this GSSB policy, namely political interests to increase popularity in the community's eyes and ideological beliefs about the benefits of morning prayers congregation.

The community's interests (outside) are the community's interests to get services and convey their aspirations and the interests of the community to have a decent life. In the GSSB policy, these interests are the factors behind the emergence of this policy. These interests are referred to as "the common good" of the GSSB policy, namely the common interests that are fought for through public religion.



### *The Role of Actors and Political Interests*

In Casanova's theory of deprivatization of religion, public religion emerges through religious institutions' power, both from religious leaders and from religious organizations that fight for religious norms and principles in the state and modern life. What happens in the public religion GSSB policy appears precisely from within the state or government, namely from the Mayor who is a political actor. Political interests also underlie the background of this policy's emergence to increase popularity, electability, and trust. The Mayor chooses to use religious media. However, not only political interests but also public interests can also be manifested in this policy which is summarized in the common good.

As a political actor who issues the GSSB policy, the Mayor is influenced by factors that are within and outside/around him. To analyze these factors, the theory of social practice was used by Pierre Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, human action is influenced by habitus, capital, and realm (field). According to Bourdieu, habitus is a system through a combination of objective structure and personal history, long-lasting, and changing dispositions that serve as a generative basis for objectively structured and integrated practices. Habitus is a historical product formed after humans were born and interacted with society in a certain space and time. Habitus is not innate or natural but is the result of learning through nurturing and socializing in

society. The learning process is very subtle, unconscious, and appears natural (Rey, 2013; Siregar, 2016).

In the case of the GSSB policy, the Mayor's habitus plays a role in shaping the mayor's decision-making. The Mayor's habitus can be seen from his biography, where he comes from a rural area (Tanjung Sakti) and a family that still adheres to religious values. His political skills began with taking a lecture at the Social Politics Faculty, majoring in state administration, Bandar Lampung University (UBL), then joining a political party in 2003 joining the Democratic Party. In 2004 and 2009, he was elected as a council member (DPRD) Palembang City and became Chairman of the council (DPRD) Palembang in the 2004-2009 period.

In 2013 the Mayor (Harnojoyo) won the election (Pilkada) of Palembang City as Deputy Mayor paired with RH (initial name). Due to the Constitutional Court (MK) judge's bribery case, which caused RH to be imprisoned, in 2015 Harnojoyo was appointed Mayor after previously serving as Acting Mayor. When he was Mayor, Harnojoyo appointed government officials to help him work. One of the appointed officials, namely Mr. AM (name initial), was appointed Head of Public Relations and Protocol. AM is known as a religious person who during his education at university served as the Head of the Islamic Spirituality Service (Student Organization). Also, the Mayor appointed Mr. RF (name initial) to be the Head of Welfare Unit (Kesra), where RF was previously a lecturer at the Islamic University and also known as Ustad

(priest). These two people were the officials known to be closest to Harnojoyo, especially when the GSSB policy started in 2015 to date.

From the explanation above, it can be seen that the Mayor has a habit that is close to religion and politics, so this has an influence on his life principles in making decisions and leading. Apart from *Habitus*, the environment or arena (field) has a role in influencing the Mayor in deciding the GSSB Policy. Arena/field is a space where actors/social agents compete with each other to get various material resources or symbolic power (Siregar, 2016). In the GSSB policy, from the data obtained in 2015, Harnojoyo was in a state of government that was under pressure due to the bribery case of the Constitutional Court judge who caught previous Mayor RH (Irwanto, 2014).

The pressure did not only come from a group of people but also came from Civil servants (ASN) who were the political victims of the *Pilkada*. The government led by Harnojoyo is considered an unclean government where there is an element of bribery in the process of determining the winner at the Constitutional Court. Therefore, Harnojoyo is required to prove that the government he leads is a government that deserves to be supported by the public and ASN.

The combination of *habitus* and field encourages Harnojoyo to create a movement that can give him legitimacy as a leader who is free from elements of KKN, especially with the background/background of the problematic *Pilkada* process. The choice

to carry out the dawn prayer in the congregation is a form of *habitus* which is indeed from a religious family and village environment. Besides that, Harnojoyo also has an environment that is officially surrounded by religious people, such as Mr. RF, who has a background as a lecturer and priest and Mr. AM, also known as a religious figure.

### **Effectiveness of GSSB Policy in Realizing the Common Good**

From interviews and data obtained from online news archives. It is obtained that GSSB policy is effective in realizing the aspirations of the community and the public interest. In the online news, Inge (2017) mentioned that the community's aspirations delivered in the implementation of GSSB policy could be followed up quickly by the Government of Palembang.

The people of Palembang also feel that GSSB policy effectively solves problems related to infrastructure. The competence of the apparatus that can respond to community requests quickly becomes one factor of the realization of legitimacy (Levi, Sacks, & Tyler, 2009; Roos & Lidström, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). GSSB policy gets legitimacy from the community with the rapid response given in following up on the community's problems in the implementation of GSSB policies.

Aside from the community, the GSSB policy's effectiveness also received recognition and appreciation from the Muslim Choice Award 2018. This policy is considered to inspire Muslims with

their benefits for the people of Palembang (Inge, 2018).

## CONCLUSION

From the research results, it can be concluded that the GSSB policy is a policy aimed at realizing the political interests of political actors, namely the Mayor. However, it turns out that the use of religion and realizing political interests also realize "the common good" which is a community need that is the government's obligation.

The use of religion in the GSSB policy has proven to be of benefit to leaders as well as for society. The pitfalls of using religion as conveyed by Gümüşay (2016) can be avoided by involving the community in these activities, such as absorbing people's aspirations through dialogue after dawn prayers in the congregation.

The deprivatization of religion in the GSSB policy is in line with Casanova's theory of deprivatization of religion (2011) where religion enters the public space to realize "the common good", but it is different from the case presented by Casanova where religion appears in the public space through the movement/mobilization of institutions or religious figures, in the policy. The GSSB of religion is driven by political actors and political motives within.

From this research, it can be concluded that the relationship between religion and politics is a symbiotic relationship of mutualism, where the political goals of a leader can be achieved through religious activities. Meanwhile, through the politicization of religion, religion can develop and

provide benefits to society. As for the suggestions for leaders who want to use religion from the research results, the results show that first, a leader must be consistent in implementing these religious policies so that negative prejudices from the community who think only image policies can be eliminated. Second, the religious policy must have the values of objectification of religion so that it is not only felt by one religious group but all people of all religions. Third, religious policies do not only carry out religious rituals/activities but must be followed by public service activities to the community.

## REFERENCES

- Barro, R. J., & McCleary, R. (2003). *Religion and economic growth*. National Bureau of Economic Research. [Google Scholar](#)
- BBC News. (2018). PNS Palembang wajib salat Subuh berjamaah; tugas pemkot 'bukan mengadministrasi kesalehan individu'. *BBC News Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-45588344>.
- BBC News. (2019). Perda syariah di Indonesia: Antara kearifan lokal, politik elektoral dan ancaman terhadap kebhinekaan. *BBC News Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-49332135>.
- Calderón, C., & Servén, L. (2010). Infrastructure and economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of African Economies*, 19(1), 13-87. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)

- Casanova, J. (2011). *Public Religions in the Modern World*. University of Chicago Press. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Chang, J. H. Y. (2003). Culture, state and economic development in Singapore. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 33(1), 85-105. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Coşgel, M., & Miceli, T. J. (2009). State and religion. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 37(3), 402-416. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Dell'Aguzzo, L., & Sigillò, E. (2017). Political legitimacy and variations in state-religion relations in Tunisia. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 22(4), 511-535. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Fernando, M. (2005). Religion' s Influence on Leaders: Case Evidence from Sri Lanka Religion' s Influence on Leaders. *Faculty of Business*, 1-12. [Google Scholar](#)
- Fox, J. (2018). An Introduction to Religion and Politics Theory and Practice. *Critical Sociology*. Routledge. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Fox, J., & Sandler, S. (2004). Bringing Religion into International Relations. *Culture and religion in international relations*. Palgrave Macmillan. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Furseth, I. (2017). An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion. *Classical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Routledge. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Gaitho, P. R. (2019). Influence of Religion on Leadership Styles and Leadership Roles: A Critical Literature Review. *Scientific & Academic Publishing* 7(1), 8-11. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Gumo, S., Akuloba, A., & Omare, S. G. (2012). Religion and Politics in the Contemporary Kenya. *European Scientific Journal*, 18(1995), 29-41. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Gümüşay, A. A. (2016). *Religion & Leadership: Ancient wisdom for a modern world?*. Lead Research Series. [Google Scholar](#)
- Hage, J., & Posner, B. Z. (2015). Religion, religiosity, and leadership practices. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Hassan, M. E. M., Muhamad, N., Abdullah, N. A., & Adham, K. A. (2011). Islamic values, leadership legitimacy and organizational sustainability. *International Journal of Economics, Management and Accounting*, 19(2). [Google Scholar](#)
- Hidayatullah, W. (2019). Melalui Safari Subuh, Wali Kota Palembang Serap Aspirasi Masyarakat. *InfoPublik*. Retrieved from <http://infopublik.id/kategori/nusantara/340340/melalui-safari-subuh-wali-kota-palembang-serap-aspirasi-masyarakat>.
- Hurd, I. (1999). Legitimacy and authority in international politics. *International Organization*, 53(2), 379-408. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Iannaccone, L. R., & Berman, E. (2006). Religious extremism: The good, the bad, and the deadly. *Public choice*, 128(1-2), 109-129. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)

- Ikhwan, H. (2018). Fitted sharia in democratizing Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 12(1), 17-44. [Crossref](#)
- Inge, N. (2017). Salat Subuh Jadi Ruang Aspirasi Warga Palembang. *Liputan6*. Retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/3186030/salat-subuh-jadi-ruang-aspirasi-warga-palembang>.
- Inge, N. (2018). Gerakan Subuh Berjamaah Palembang Raih Moeslim Choice Award. *Liputan6*. Retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/3808088/gerakan-subuh-berjamaah-palembang-raih-moeslim-choice-award>.
- Irwanto. (2014). Ratusan PNS demo minta Wali Kota Palembang segera dicopot. *Merdeka.com*. Retrieved from <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/ratusan-pns-demo-minta-wali-kota-palembang-segera-dicopot.html>.
- Judson, K. (2010). *Religion and Government: Should They Mix?*. Cavendish Square Publishing.
- Junaidi, A. (2017). Kebijakan Politik Recep Tayyib Erdogan dan Islamisme Turki Kontemporer. *IN RIGHT: Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azazi Manusia*, 6(1), 142-200. [Google Scholar](#)
- Levi, M., Sacks, A., & Tyler, T. (2009). Conceptualizing Legitimacy, measuring legitimating beliefs. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(3), 354-375. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Majid, N. (2013). *Islam Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan*. PT. Mizan Pustaka. [Google Scholar](#)
- Newshunter. (2017). Harnojoyo: Jamaah Sholat Subuh Harus Seperti Sholat Jumat. *Newshunter*. Retrieved from <https://www.newshunter.com/2017/12/29/harnojoyo-jamaah-sholat-subuh-harus-seperti-sholat-jumat>.
- Noland, M. (2005). Religion and economic performance. *World Development*, 33(8), 1215-1232. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Parra, A. (2015). *The Influence of Leadership on Policy Implementation: A Comparative Analysis Between Pakistan and South Korea*. Universiteit Leiden: MSC Public Administration Master Thesis. [Google Scholar](#)
- Rafita, Y., Agustin, W. S., Adhiputra, R., Wulandya, S. A., & Sanaky, H. A. H. (2014). Pengaruh Kebijakan Wajib Salat Berjamaah Terhadap Etos Kerja Pegawai Daerah Kabupaten Rokan Hulu. *Millah*, 14(1), 21-38. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Rey, T. (2013). Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy. *Sociology of Religion*, 71(1). [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Roos, K., & Lidström, A. (2014). Local policies and local government legitimacy. The Swedish case. *Urban Research and Practice*, 7(2), 137-152. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Ropi, I. (2017). *Religion and regulation in Indonesia*. Palgrave Macmillan. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Said, S. M. (2017). 5 Kepala Daerah Berprestasi yang Mewajibkan Pegawainya Salat Berjamaah. *Sindo*

- News*. Retrieved from <https://daerah.sindonews.com/berita/1268354/29/5-kepala-daerah-berprestasi-yang-mewajibkan-pegawainya-salat-berjamaah>.
- Simpson, P. L. P. (1999). Religion and Contemporary Liberalism. *Faith and Philosophy*, 16(2), 264–269. [Crossref](#)
- Siregar, M. (2016). Teori Gado-gado Pierre-Felix Bourdieu. *Jurnal Studi Kultural*, 1(2), 79-82. [Google Scholar](#)
- Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing. *Law and Society Review*, 37(3), 513-548. [Crossref](#) | [Google Scholar](#)
- Wahid, A. (2010). *Menjawab Perubahan Zaman*. PT. Kompas Media Nusantara. [Google Scholar](#)
- Weber, M. (2017). *Max Weber: a biography*. Routledge. [Google Scholar](#)