

TA'AWUN SIYASI AND WINNING THE ELECTION *FIQH SIYASI* PERSPECTIVE AND POLITICAL PARTY ELITES

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Abstract: *This study explains the meaning of ta'awun siyasi (political cooperation) which is usually carried out by party elites ahead of executive elections. Party elites see ta'awun siyasi not just an election rule but part of a political strategy to boost party votes during elections. In fact, there is great hope from ta'awun siyasi, but the results sometimes don't go as desired because the impact of the coalition's tail coat is not worth the energy expended. On the other hand, there is a communication ethic that is sometimes overlooked in addition to neglected siyasi fiqh norms. The main problem of this research study is how to reconcile the essential meaning of ta'awun siyasi with the ethics of coalitionalism in the style of party elites while still upholding the principles of democracy and siyasi fiqh with the historical basis of the 2019 election coalition as a reference for the upcoming 2024 election. This study is a qualitative research that is descriptive in nature describing material objects with an analytical knife from the theory of democracy and fiqh siyasi. The main data sources are interviews, questionnaires and other documents. The results of the study found that the true meaning of ta'awun siyasi describes sincerity and sincerity, partiality for the good and benefit of the public even though sometimes political party elites are more entangled in purely pragmatic interests. The main principles of fiqh siyasi such as the concepts of siyasah 'adilah, haibah siyasasiyah, istishlah al-'ammah, siyasat al-*

dunya wa hirasat al-din must become a frame in building group communication.

المخلص: تركز هذه الدراسة عن المعنى للتعاون السياسي الذي تقوم به النخب الحزبية قبل الانتخابات التنفيذية. ترى النخب الحزبية أن التعاون السياسي ليس مجرد قاعدة انتخابية فحسب، ولكنه جزء من استراتيجية سياسية لتعزيز أصوات الأحزاب أثناء الانتخابات. كانت الأغراض والأهداف السياسية تدفعهم على تحقيق التعاون السياسي بين الأحزاب إلا أنها قد لا تجدي كثيرا ولا تكافي الجهود المبذولة لها. وفي ناحية أخرى، قد تهمل أخلاقيات التواصل السياسي وقواعد الفقه السياسي. تتمثل المشكلة الرئيسية لهذه الدراسة البحثية في كيفية التوفيق بين المعنى الأساسي للتعاون السياسي وأخلاقيات الائتلافية في أسلوب النخب الحزبية مع الاستمرار في التمسك بمبادئ الديمقراطية والفقه السياسي مع الأساس التاريخي للتحالف الانتخابي لعام ١٩٠٢ و مرجعا لانتخابات ٢٠٢٤ المقبلة. هذه الدراسة هي بحث نوعي وصفي بطبيعته يصف الأشياء المادية بسكين تحليلي من نظرية الديمقراطية والفقه السياسي. مصادر البيانات الرئيسية هي المقابلات والاستبيانات وغيرها من الوثائق. استنتجت الدراسة أن المعنى الحقيقي للتعاون السياسي يصف الصدق والإخلاص والتحيز لصالح الجمهور ومنفعته على الرغم من أن نخب الأحزاب السياسية في بعض الأحيان تكون متورطة أكثر في مصالح برلمانية بحتة. يجب أن تصح المبادئ الأساسية لفقه السياسي مثل مفاهيم السياسة العادلة، والهيبة السياسية، واستصلاح العامة، وسياسة الدنيا وحراسة الدين إطارًا في بناء التواصل الجماعي.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini menjelaskan tentang makna ta'awun siyasi (kerjasama politik) yang biasa dilakukan para elit partai menjelang pemilu eksekutif. Para elit partai memandang ta'awun siyasi bukan sekedar aturan pemilu tetapi bagian dari strategi politik guna mendongkrak suara partai saat pemilu. Faktanya, ada harapan besar dari ta'awun siyasi, tetapi hasil terkadang tidak sesuai keinginan karena dampak ekor jas koalisi tidak sebanding dengan energi yang dikeluarkan. Disisi lain, ada etika komunikasi yang terkadang dilangkahi selain norma fiqih siyasi yang terabaikan. Masalah utama kajian penelitian ini adalah bagaimana mempertemukan antara makna ta'awun siyasi yang hakiki dengan etika berkoalisi ala elit partai dengan tetap menjunjung tinggi prinsip demokrasi dan fiqih siyasi dengan landasan historis koalisi pemilu 2019 sebagai acuan untuk pemilu 2024 mendatang. Kajian ini merupakan penelitian

kualitatif yang bersifat deskriptif menggambarkan objek material dengan pisau analisis teori demokrasi dan fiqh siyasi. Sumber data utama adalah wawancara, angket dan dokumen lainnya. Hasil penelitian mendapati bahwa makna sejati ta'awun siyasi menggambarkan ketulusan dan keikhlasan, keberpihakan kepada kebaikan dan kemaslahatan publik walau terkadang elit parpol lebih banyak terjerat kepentingan pragmatis semata. Prinsip-prinsip utama fiqh siyasi seperti konsep siyasah 'adilah, haibah siyasasiyah, istishlah al-'ammah, siyasat al-dunya wa hirasat al-din harus menjadi bingkai dalam membangun komunikasi kelompok.

Keywords: party elites, ta'awun siyasi, coalitionalism, election, fiqh siyasi.

INTRODUCTION

Ta'awun siyasi or commonly referred to as political cooperation (coalition) is a process of cooperation between two or more parties, either between political parties or political groups to achieve a common goal. *Ta'awun siyasi* itself comes from the two syllables *ta'awun* and *siyasi*. *Ta'awun* (*ism masdar*) is taken from the verb in Arabic, namely *'awana*, then it is translated into the verb *isytirak ta'awana* which means helping each other, helping each other and cooperating.¹ The word *siyasi* is taken from the verb *sasa yasusu siyasatan* which means guiding animals, taking care of them including *sasa al-wali* if he guides his people.² Qal'aji added that *siyasa* is taken from the word *sasa an-nas* (to lead people) if he is good at managing other people's affairs, is loved by his people and is not only limited to the affairs of the people.³ From the brief explanation of the linguists above, it appears that *ta'awun siyasi* describes a process of cooperation between two or more parties, between one political party and another for the sole purpose of creating mutual benefit.

¹ Ibn Ahmad al-Khalil, *Kitab Al-'Ain*, vol. 2 (Saudi Arabia: Maktabah Hilal, 2016), 254.

² Muhammad al-Azdiy, *Jumhurat Al-Lughat*, Vol. 1 (Bacrut: Dar al-'Ilm Li al-Malayiin, 1987), 238.

³ Muhammad Rawwas Qal'aji, Hamid Sadiq Qunaibi, *Mu'jam Lughat Al-Fuqaha'*, 2nd ed. (Saudi Arabia: Al-Maktabah As-Syamillah, 2001), 3.

For a political party, elections are a democratic tool that not only carries out institutional obligations but also the determining phase for a political party to ensure its continuity on the Indonesian political scene. In the legislative election stage, each party will fight it out individually to escape the threat of the parliamentary threshold (4%). Meanwhile, the election for the executive, especially the election for the President and Vice-President, is a matter of morals and power, bearing in mind that high power and state administrators are in the hands of the President and his cabinet.

Based on the provisions of the election for President and Vice President according to Law Number 42 of 2008, Article 8 states “Candidates for President and Candidates for Vice President are proposed in 1 (one) pair by a Political Party or Joint Political Parties.” Article 9 states “Candidate pairs are proposed by political parties or coalitions of political parties participating in the election that meet the requirements for obtaining seats of at least 20% (twenty percent) of the number of seats in the DPR (The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia) or obtain 25% (twenty five percent) of the national valid votes in Election of members of the DPR, prior to the implementation of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election.⁴ This article is the main basis for a political party in nominating someone to become a candidate for President and Vice President when only 20% of the number of seats or 25% of the valid national votes are met. If a political party does not meet the number of seats or valid national votes above, the choice is to join another party so that these conditions can be exceeded. It was from here that constitutional ideas and solutions emerged in the form of a coalition of political parties. Then at the practical level, it is translated by means of political cooperation called coalitions, *ta’awun siyasi*, *tahaluf siyasi* etc.

The practice of coalitions in democratic historical records has actually been implemented in Indonesia for a long time, even since the first elections in 1955 until the Reform Order. During the Reformation period, the phenomenon of cooperation between political parties grew stronger, especially when no party won dominantly in elections. The practice of coalitions has strengthened

⁴ BPK, “UU No.42 Tahun 2008” (bk.go.id, 2008), 8, <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Home/Details/37655/uu-no-42-tahun-2008>.

since the Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections in 2004, 2009, 2014 and even the last 2019. In the 2014 and 2019 Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections, the coalition map became increasingly fierce, the campaign heated up and polarization emerged in society as a result of the fanaticism of supporters (*kampret* and *cebong*) between the two candidate camps running at that time.⁵

There are always questions that stir our *siyasi* hearts and minds when party elites are so eager to build *ta'awun siyasi* ahead of the presidential and vice-presidential elections, including the 2024 presidential election next year. At present it has been widely discussed in every corner of political discussion both on the virtual and conventional political stage. The question is, what exactly are the political party elites looking for when they form a coalition? Are the people's interests being fought for or are they just thinking about the house of power which cannot be empty or the coffers of wealth from a position which cannot be reduced? If it is indeed the people's true interests that are being fought for, then why are there anti-power and government voices here and there that arise as a result of being considered to have 'abandoned' the interests of the common people? If *ta'awun siyasi* is cooperation based on the principle of benefit and benefit of the people, why is the party carrying the coalition deemed inappropriate and violating political ethics when opposing the government policies, it supports because they are deemed not to be in favor of the people?

The practice of *ta'awun siyasi* which is often perceived as having to obey, participate in and not be in conflict with government policies. The sacred meaning of *ta'awun siyasi* should receive a holistic discussion so as not to cause confusion in thinking and undermine constructive political reasoning. The main problem that arises in this research is how to reconcile the essential meaning of *ta'awun siyasi* with the ethics of coalitionism in the style of party elites while upholding democratic principles and the *fiqh siyasi* doctrine with the historical basis of the 2019 election coalition as a reference for successful 2024 elections.

This research is descriptive qualitative research that seeks to describe material objects in the form of the original concept of

⁵ Nadirsah Hawari, "Tahaluf Siyasi Dalam Praktik Politik Partai Islam Di Indonesia," *Miqot Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 43, no. 2 (2019): 231.

ta'awun siyasi (political cooperation) at the theoretical level of fiqh siyasi with formal objects of the elite style of political parties in coalitions. The main data sources for this study are in the form of questionnaires, interviews and other documentary sources, including books, journals and online news. Mainstream's style of thinking about *ta'awun siyasi* will be analyzed using Mclean's group communication theory. According to Mclean, communicants have different ways and styles of conveying their messages.⁶

There are at least two main currents in the literature review on political cooperation, *ta'awun siyasi* or coalitions. The first, overview of Abd. Hannan, Bushawi⁷ and Lili Romli who highlighted the political cooperation (coalition) of political parties which often creates conflicts within political parties, causing dual management and the emergence of new parties breaking off old parties. According to Hannan, the bad effects of coalitions sometimes also lead to conflicts within the coalition camp itself, while Romli also brought up the causes of conflicts due to differences in vision, party mission, ideology and political pragmatism of the parties themselves. Second, the overview of M. Yusrizal,⁸ Reja Pahlevi⁹ dan Thimoty.¹⁰ According to Yusrizal, the main target of the elite in joining the coalition is to get a Minister's share in the cabinet because ministerial appointments are a return from the coalition. Meanwhile, Reja was more concerned with the technical formulation of post-coalition cabinet composition between political parties or pure professionals. And Thimoty said the coalition is pragmatic in nature, has not been united by vision and mission and is temporary.

⁶ Poppy Ruliana Puji Lestari, *Teori Komunikasi* (Depok: PT Grafindo Persada, 2019), 131.

⁷ Bushawi, Abd Hannan, "Problem Politik Kabinet Koalisi; Konflik Kepentingan Hingga Konflik Internal Partai Politik," *Kabilah: Journal of Social Community* 6, no. 2 (2021): 49.

⁸ M. Yusrizal Adi Putra, "Koalisi Partai Politik Di Kabinet: Antara Penguatan Lembaga Kepresidenan Atau Politik Balas Budi," *Jurnal Megister Hukum Udayana*, 9, no. 1 (2020): 111.

⁹ Darul Huda Mustaqim Reja Pahlevi, "Kolaborasi Kabinet Zaken Dan Kabinet Koalisi Dalam Pembentukan Kabinet Efektif," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mimbar Demokrasi* 19, no. 2 (2020): 48.

¹⁰ Thimoty Pradhitya Isaliani, "Konsep Koalisi Partai Politik Dalam Sistem Presidensial Indonesia," *Res Publica* 4, no. 2 (2020): 222.

From the five previous researchers above, it seems that all of them agree that the current political cooperation, *ta'awun siyasi* (coalition) is built on the basis of pragmatism of power politics alone, so that it often creates internal conflicts within the parties and the coalition itself. It is alleged that the coalition is strongly concerned with party interests rather than social issues and the ethics of political communication of coalition parties which are often perceived as one voice and one rhythm in all the political policies of the rulers. From these facts, the researchers tried to reconcile *ta'awun siyasi* with elite interests while upholding the intrinsic value and philosophy of *siyasi fiqh*, namely *hirasat al-din* and *siyasat al-dunya*.

THE GLIMPSE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND THE MEANING OF TA'AWUN SIYASI

The premier of the Indonesian nation held simultaneous elections on April 17 2019. An election process to find the best representatives to fill seats in the central and regional legislatures as well as the President and Vice-President.¹¹ At that time, the presidential election was attended by two pairs of candidates, namely Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Solahuddin Uno. The two presidential candidates nominated their respective representatives after receiving political and tactical considerations from their supporting political parties.¹²

The gaze of the incumbent (Jokowi) on a religious figure is not surprising. In fact, since the emergence of political parties in Indonesia, this has been common. According to Fata, Indonesian politics always calculates the majority Islamic group, and continues to negotiate with Islamic groups that occupy a certain political structure. As a result, candidates often fight over the segmentation of prospective voters and continue to crystallize as the campaign process progresses and it is not impossible that it will further exacerbate polarization among political Muslims, especially *santri*.¹³ Saputro agrees with

¹¹ Muhammad Nadlir, "Ini Tahapan Dan Jadwal Pemilu- Lengkap- Pemilu 2019," <https://Nasional.Kompas.Com>, 2018, 12.

¹² Hasanuddin Ali, "Menakar Jumlah Jamaah NU Dan Muhammadiyah," <https://Hasanuddinali.Com>, 2019, 15.

¹³ Mohammad khoiril Fata, "Membaca Polarisasi Santri Dalam Kontestasi Pilpres 2019," *Jurnal Dinamika Penelitian: Media Komunikasi Sosial Keagamaan* 18, no. 2 (2018): 326.

Fata, according to him “like it or not” identity politics in Indonesia is still very much in demand by the political elite to win the competition and its main core is religion. After the appointment of Jokowi-Maruf Amin, Jokowi’s electability decreased among non-Muslim voters and experienced an increase among Muslim voters. However, nationally, Jokowi’s electability has increased due to the increasing number of Muslim voters, especially from the santri community. In August 2018, it was recorded at 52.2%, October increased to 52.6% and early November 54.1%.¹⁴ Saputro and Fata’s analysis was also agreed by a senior researcher from LIPI, Siti Zuhro. According to Zuhro, there are three main factors that influence the democratization process in Indonesia, including; political culture, behavior or political actors, and political forces that exist and can determine a candidate’s victory.¹⁵

The glances of representatives at religious figures, affiliated with certain Islamic mass organizations seem to be able to strengthen allegations of identity politics in the presidential election. Nada said that the meaning of identity politics as a source and means of politics in the struggle for political power is very possible and increasingly surfaced in daily political practice.¹⁶ The big wagon for the 2019 presidential election not only targets and transports political parties into the mainstream but also makes soft penetration of Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah. This was acknowledged by Ma’ruf Amin, NU’s role in the 2019 presidential election was extraordinary. For NU, electing a leader is not just a constitutional right of the citizens but rather a religious obligation because the state is the umbrella and ground for upholding divine values.¹⁷

Likewise in Muhammadiyah mass organizations, where Muhammadiyah Youth Chairman, Dahnil Sumanjatak (former) actually became the spokesperson for the Prabowo-Sandi Team

¹⁴ Agus Saputro, “Agama Dan Negara: Politik Identitas Menuju Pilpres 2019,” *Asketik* 2, no. 2 (2018): 116. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30762/ask.v2i2.912>

¹⁵ Siti Zuhro, “Demokrasi dan Pemilu Presiden 2019,” *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* 16, no. 1 (2019): 70. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14203/jpp.v16i1.782>

¹⁶ Nada Oktavia Hairul Dharma Widagdo, “Politik Identitas: Konstruksi Pemikiran Amy Gutmann Dalam Menyikapi Pesta Politik Tahun 2019,” *Jurnal LoroNG* 7, no. 1 (2018): 14.

¹⁷ Havid Al-Vizki, “Kiai Ma’ruf Sebut Peran NU Luar Biasa Pada Pemilu 2019,” <https://Nasional.Republika.Com>, 2019, 9.

plus Amin Rais became the field mover, intensively campaigning and inviting Muhammadiyah members to vote for Prabowo-Sandi.¹⁸ However, the Amin Rais movement was finally neutralized by the general chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, Haidar Nasir, who firmly stated that this was not an institution and a political attitude of Muhammadiyah. The political sphere developed by Muhammadiyah is a political sphere that is always in favor of values, including the *mustadh'afin*.¹⁹

Every event that accompanies the process and stages of the presidential elections, including the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, both before and after, there have always been surprises and political maneuvers by the elites. For the winning party, the calculation of the share of power and important posts has begun to be carefully calculated, trying to lock other parties out so as to reduce their share. On the other hand, for the losing parties (Gerindra, PKS, Demokrat, PAN, and the Berkarya Party) to recalculate profit and loss if they are inside or remain outside as the opposition, the period is a heavy test and full of temptations like the 2014 presidential election where the Golkar party, PAN and PPP then joined the Jokowi-JK camp.

In the course of the coalition and opposition after the 2019 presidential election, the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Gerindra Party actually joined the KIM coalition and received ministerial rations.²⁰ This further obscures the meaning of *ta'awun siyasi* (political cooperation) itself because it is clearly seen here that political cooperation (*ta'awun siyasi*) barely takes into account ethics, mass psychology and loyalty in cooperation. David Apter said

¹⁸ Aqwamit Torik, "Amien Rais Dan Haedar Nashir 'Beda Pendapat' Tentang Pilpres 2019, Ini Sikap PW Muhammadiyah Jatim," *Tribun Surabaya*, 2018, 27, <https://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2018/11/27>.

¹⁹ Ali Ridho, "Ara Politik Muhammadiyah Dalam Pilpres 2019 (Analisis Framing Model Robert N. Entman Dalam Media Online Republika.Co. Id, Kumparan. Com, Dan Tribunnews.Com)," *Kalijaga Journal of Communication* 1, no. 1 (2019): 2. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/kjc.11.01.2019>

²⁰ Ilham Safutra, "Membaca-Koalisi-Prabowo-Sandi-Setelah-Pilpres," <https://www.jawapos.com/Nasional/Politik/28/04/2019/Membaca-Koalisi-Prabowo-Sandi-Setelah-Pilpres/>, 2019, 13.

that the coalition could disband and split by itself if the goal has been achieved or the distribution of positions is unequal.²¹

TA'AWUN SIYASI PERSPECTIVE OF POLITICAL PARTY ELITES

For a politician, every person or colleague even an enemy is a partner in work. There are no eternal enemies and friends because sometimes momentary interests are prioritized for the sake of certain political goals. Endah Ekowati emphasized that pragmatism is mostly practiced by political parties (elites) in terms of cooperation to build coalitions. Coalitions are fluid and random, regardless of the ideologies of opposing parties. This is considered a more effective strategy for the success of the regional elections.²² Esty's research also confirms Endah's conclusion. Esty claims that political parties have a tendency of political pragmatism, where the need to obtain political positions such as ministerial seats and leadership in parliament. Pragmatism which ultimately makes party ideology not a binding factor in building a coalition. In fact, ideally a coalition is built on the basis of the same ideology or the same policies or programs.²³

Unlike Lidya, she does not fully blame political party elites for cultivating bad traditions in building political cooperation (*ta'awun siyasi*). This is also supported by the existing electoral system so that the elite cannot get out of pragmatic interests, aiming for important positions in the government cabinet, far from the idealism of the vision and mission of political parties and sometimes even far from the interests of the people they represent. This condition will get worse when the coalition elite pressures the President to smooth over his ministerial appointments so that the President's progressive rights can be tarnished by bad *ta'awun siyasi* practices like this.²⁴

²¹ Heri CS, "Dinamika Koalisi Capres-Cawapres Jelang Pilpres 2019-Benarkah Koalisi Tanpa Pijakan?" *Https://Www.Radioidola.Com/2018*, 2018, 17.

²² Endah Yuli Ekowati, "Pragmatisme Politik: Antara Koalisi, Pencalonan, Dan Calon Tunggal Dalam Pilkada," *Jurnal Transformative* 5, no. 1 (2019): 32.

²³ Esty Ekawati, "Peta Koalisi Partai Politik di Indonesia Pada Pemilihan Presiden Era Reformasi," *JPPUMA: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Sosial Politik UMA* 7, no. 2 (2019): 170.

²⁴ Lidya Chritina Wardhani, "PENGARUH KOALISI PARTAI POLITIK TERHADAP PELAKSANAAN SISTEM PRESIDENSIAL DI INDONESIA Lidya Christina Wardhani," *JUSTITIA JURNAL HUKUM* 3, no. 2 (n.d.): 226.

It is difficult for political party elites to be able to firmly uphold the principle of *ta'awun siyasi* in the practice of democracy in Indonesia. This is due to the difficulty in ascertaining the electoral impact of the legislature on their party, even though they have struggled to win the supported presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The political reality on the election stage proves that there are several parties whose vote acquisition has actually decreased even though they have won the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. For Lampung Province, for example, the KPUD recapitulation results for Lampung Province determined that the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair won in 12 regencies/cities, namely Mesuji, Way Kanan, Pringsewu, Metro, West Tulangbawang, Pesawaran, East Lampung, Central Lampung, South Lampung, West Coast, Tulang Bawang, and West Lampung. Meanwhile, the Prabowo-Sandi pair only won in three regencies/cities, namely Bandar Lampung, Tanggamus and North Lampung.²⁵

Expectations of electoral overflow from an idealistic *ta'awun siyasi* built by supporting parties and political party elites are not directly proportional to the electoral reality obtained on the ground. This can be seen from the two election data recaps, both legislative elections for the DPR-RI and for the Provincial DPRD.

Table.1

Recapitulation of votes and seats in Provincial DPRD					
No	Party Name	Number of votes 2014	Number of Seats 2014	Total Votes 2019	Number of Seats 2019
1	PDIP	793.830	17	912.618	19
2	Gerindra	538.643	10	529.921	11
3	Golkar	449.226	10	468.651	10
4	Demokrat	484.152	11	405.507	10
5	Nasdem	306.796	8	425.345	9
6	PKB	321.516	7	394.718	9
7	PKS	391.266	8	391.730	9
8	PAN	389.358	8	325.999	7
9	PPP	169.362	4	113.569	1
10	Hanura	182.496	2	35.229	0
11	PBB	50.191	0	18.757	0

²⁵ ACW, "Pleno KPU Lampung Selesai, Ini Perolehan Suara Pilpres 2019," <https://Harianmomentum.Com/Read/15505/Pleno-Kpu-Lampung-Selesai-Ini-Perolehan-Suara-Pilpres-2019>, 2019, 7.

12	PKPI	38.315	0	0	0
TOTAL			85 seats		85 seats

Data were obtained from KPUD recap of Lampung Province

The results of the data analysis above concluded that parties supporting the coalition for the President and Vice President in both the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo-Sandi camps received additional electoral votes and some did not. For the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin camp, PDIP, Nasdem and PKB were electoral blessings while Golkar, PPP and Hanura remained or decreased. In the Prabowo-Sandi camp, the Gerindra and PKS parties received electoral gains while the Demokrat and PAN actually experienced a decrease in electoral results.

Then what about the hopes of the political party elites for the electoral overflow (coattail effect) from the *ta'awun siyasi* that they built to achieve legislative election results at the DPRRI national level? For example, the Lampung electoral area (2 electoral areas) data can be seen in the table below.

Table.2

Recapitulation of votes and seats' DPR-RI for the Lampung electoral area

No	Party Name	2014 election (Million/%)	Seats	2019 election (Million/%)	Seats
1	PDIP	711.346	3	887.416	4
2	Gerindra	538.643	3	488.838	2
3	Demokrat	470.776	2	491.786	2
4	Golkar	464.318	2	509.014	3
5	PAN	421.454	2	336.788	2
6	PKS	352.971	2	340.867	2
7	PKB	333.767	2	433.087	2
8	Nasdem	304.419	1	365.723	2
9	Hanura	232.196	1	40.637	0
10	PPP	148.105	0	112.108	0
11	PBB	45.482	0	15.522	0

The data display above shows that the electoral additions for the coalition supporting parties to the results of the legislative election for parties supporting the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin camp were obtained by PDIP, Golkar and Nasdem only while PKB, PPP and Hanura did

not receive any additional seats at all. The Prabowo-Sandi camp did not provide additional seats at all, both the Gerindra, Demokrat, PKS and PAN parties, even Gerindra as Prabowo-Sandi's main party, actually experienced a decrease in the number of seats.

What worries Romli, Esty and Maswadi Rauf about political idealism in the practice of *ta'awun siyasi* is not just a fantasy. The fact is that the impact of the tail of the electoral jacket is not significant, even the Gerindra Party has proven it directly. Indeed, it is difficult to agree on the meaning of the word win in an election contest because loyal election participants can give their own interpretation. Yusa said there are two main indicators of the success of a political party in running its organizational wheels. First, internal solidity which is reflected in the upholding of laws and regulations within political parties. Second, the achievement of political targets in every democratic contestation, both legislative elections, local elections and presidential elections with the minimum achievement of passing the parliamentary threshold.²⁶ If we agree with Yusa's idea, winning and losing in a coalition is very relative, even though the minimalist target is to pass parliament because everything is determined by the mood of the people in choosing political parties, which is very relative and unstable. In addition, it depends on the supporting and driving factors. Moreover, according to Lindawati, people are not interested in parties and candidates because of the weak alignment of political parties towards the people.²⁷ Not only that, political parties are considered by the public to be busier with parties than with the people.²⁸

It is indeed difficult to avoid the public's perception that any coalition in practical political calculations in the current reform era is still full of pragmatic interests. Economic and altruistic motives are always opposite in this matter. For those who prioritize altruistic principles, the political stage is the stage of service and dedication to

²⁶ Yusa Djujandi, *Pengantar Ilmu Politik*, Edisi 2 (Depok: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2017), 158–59.

²⁷ Debora Sanur Lindawati, "Strategi Partai Politik Dalam Menghadapi Pemilu 2014," *Jurnal Politica* 4, no. 2 (2013): 288. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v4i2.316>

²⁸ Erfina Nurussa'adah Suwandi Sumartias, "Komunikasi Politik Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Dalam Keterbukaan Ideologi," *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi* 5, no. 1 (2017): 44.

the people, while the political economy motive is a life opportunity to get out of life's narrowness.²⁹

TA'AWUN SIYASI: FIQH SIYASI PERSPECTIVE

Ta'awun siyasi (political cooperation) is not just calculating profits and losses as well as political benefits to be gained from a cooperation or agreement. For Islam, cooperation, agreement is an agreement that must be based on aspects of honesty, benefit, religious norms and ethics. In Islam, a promise is a debt, and a promise must be fulfilled, but if the promise leads to an evil, then the promise cannot be fulfilled.

At the practical level, *ta'awun siyasi* is people who have agreed in a political collaboration (*ta'awun siyasi*) who are perceived by the morals of the coalition itself not to back down, clash, and side with the opposition or any party not included in the coalition. The current trend of coalitions is towards uniformity of all attitudes and political choices of coalition parties. Differences of opinion and political choices by parties in coalitions are considered defiance, disgrace. But those are not in accordance with the ethics of *fiqh siyasi walhal*, everything must be seen proportionally and professionally. Ayatullah Hadi in his research in NTB found that when political party elites have the same agenda, side with the people's economy, even nationalist and religious parties can ignore the word coalition camp for one noble goal, namely the welfare of the people.³⁰

Agreeing on one matter including politics does not mean one voice and rhythm in every decision, especially when dealing with religious and legal norms. In this case, Rasulullah SAW said: "Power is the shade of Allah on earth, whoever glorifies him, Allah glorifies him and whoever humiliates him, Allah will humiliate him. From his explanation above, it is clear how important an objective attitude and scientific reasoning are especially for a power group such as a political party.

Sa'di Abu Habib in his writings emphasizes that the orientation of power in Islamic politics cannot be separated from Islamic values

²⁹ Nadirsah Hawari, "Tarsyih Kepemimpinan Dalam Perspektif Tafsir Dan Undang-Undang Pemilu Nomor 7 Tahun 2017," *Jurnal Tapis* 15, no. 1 (2019): 30. <https://doi.org/10.24042/tps.v15i1.4304>

³⁰ Ayatullah Hadi Muhammad Ali dkk, "Pola Koalisi Partai Politik Dalam Pembahasan Perda Nomor 2 Tahun 2016 Tentang Pariwisata Halal Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mandala Education (JIME)* 8, no. 1 (2022): 999.

themselves.³¹ According to Sa'di, at the normative level of fiqh siyasi, power must comply with sharia norms because the essence of politics is to continue the prophetic mission by safeguarding religious affairs and managing world affairs, as conveyed by Imam al-Mawardi.³² *Ta'awun* on the basis of goodness and avoiding evil is the main principle in the concept of fiqh siyasi as explained in the Qur'an. Power must indeed be tied to religious values because power is usually far from religion and often violates norms. This is in line with the view of 'Alawi who cites Ibn Taimiyah's view of the concept of *siyasa 'adilah* (political justice).³³ Likewise Munir Muhammad Ghadban who discussed at length about *tahaluf siyasi*. According to Ghadban, *tahaluf siyasi* (political cooperation) cannot be separated from the principle of advising and doing good and away from doing bad. If this principle is not carried out in a political cooperation, it means that it is a cooperation of lies and betrayal.³⁴

In detail, Imam al-Juwaini, a classical Islamic theological thinker, argued that the essence of politics and power is *istishlah al-'ammah* (presenting public benefit), *tamhid al-'umum* (facilitating public affairs) and *sadd al-tsughur* (covering the weakness of the ruler in front of the enemy).³⁵ Likewise Imam Ghazali, he highlighted the importance of just power, had a good religious scientific basis and sided with the truth. Leaders must have *haibah siyasiyah* (political authority) because otherwise the country will perish.³⁶

From the explanation of the Islamic political experts above, it can be concluded that *ta'awun siyasi* (political cooperation) is not just gathering for a common goal but goes further than that. Cooperation should be based on the principle of *ta'awun 'ala al-birr* (cooperation on the basis of holistic goodness) and not just uniformity in every

³¹ Sa'di Abu Habib, *Dirasah Fi Minhaj Al-Islam al-Siyasi* (Bairut: Muassasah al-Risalah, 1985), 118.

³² Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam al-Sulthaniyah Wa al-Wilayah al-Diniyah* (Bairut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1985), 2.

³³ Alawi al-Saqqaf, *Al-Muntakhab Min Kutub Syaikh al-Islam Ibn Taimiyah* (Riyadh: Dar al-Huda, 1998), 107.

³⁴ Munir Muhammad al-Ghadban, *Al-Tahaluf al-Siyasi Fi al-Islam* (Yordania: Maktabah al-manar, 1982), 99.

³⁵ Abu al-Ma'ali al-Juwaini, *Ghiyats Al-Umam Fi Iltiyats al-Zhulam*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabah Imam al-Haramaian, 1401), 175.

³⁶ Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali, *Al-Tibr al-Masbuk Fi Nasihat al-Muluk* (Libanon: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1988), 62.

attitude and political policy taken. *Siyasa 'adilah, haibah siyasih, istishlah al-'ammah, tamhid al-'agem, siyosat al-dunya, and hirasat al-din* are the main keywords in the political principles of the siyasi fiqh perspective

TA'AWUN SIYASI, ELITE INTERESTS AND FIQH SIYASI

An explanation of the true meaning of ta'awun siyasi (political cooperation) which has been explained by the scholars and reflected in democratic norms in Indonesia needs to get a touch of in-depth discussion so that the word cooperation is not just gathering and agreeing for a purely pragmatic political goal. *Ta'awun siyasi* must be placed in a noble place as an instrument or democratic software so that it can become a solution to the political problems that often arise on the Indonesian political stage today.

Agreeing to achieve common goals, setting political targets within a coalition framework is permissible for anyone, including political parties led by party elites. However, it should also be remembered that political decisions taken by coalition groups are not always directly in favor of the people, and sometimes even more in favor of the interests of the elites themselves. For example, the government coalition party's decision to increase fuel prices in the midst of a society's difficult condition, the decision to move the National Capital (IKN) to Kalimantan, the issuance of the Job Creation Law which caused a lot of public rejection including the issuance of the Minerba Law which was considered inconsistent with the noble values of the UUD 45.

The several cases above illustrate how coalitions often position all parties to be in the same decision even though they are sometimes considered to be far from the interests of the people. In contrast to when political parties are faced with the life and death of the party itself. Currently, the political parties participating in the 2024 election are jointly opposing the closed proportional electoral system discourse proposed by PDIP and rejected by 8 other parties. The rejection of the Golkar, Nasdem, Gerindra, PKB and PPP parties which are clearly part of the grand coalition of government parties along with PDIP illustrates that the coalition does not have to always be the same. Does this difference concern the life and death fate of the party itself and so they dare to express a difference in attitude

and not for anything else? Will this difference be a good lesson in the practice of ta'awun siyasi in Indonesia in the future? Kunkunrat said that the people's hope is that there will be checks and balances so that the minority government will be controlled by the opposition together with the people.

Coalition practices are sometimes shown by party elites and are often judged to be inconsistent, pragmatic and not wholehearted. For example, several coalition parties of the Prabowo-Sandi camp moved to the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin camp, even the main party itself joined the move, leaving Demokrats and PKS. PAN and Gerindra joined Jokowi II's Cabinet from the government coalition and received ministerial seats.³⁷ It is not easy to start something ideal in the political stage, but we must not be apathetic and hopeless. Munadi's analysis, the dynamics of coalitions in democracy will always be found, tug-of-war between coalitions and opposition will always exist. Maswadi Rauf agreed that the political conflict was caused by three main factors; first, there are political interests that have no common ground, second, policy directions that cannot cover many parties, and third, political views that often differ.³⁸ The target for the coattail effect is not absolute and the price is fixed because empirical facts show that the figure is very low. Firdaus' research found that there is what is known as cannibalism between political parties because the party platforms are similar to one another.³⁹

Political analyst from Exposit Strategic, Arif Susanto said, with elections taking place simultaneously like next year, political parties (Parpol) hope for an electoral impact from their support for the figures of presidential candidates and vice-presidential candidates (Capres-Cawapres). To overcome these various problems, simultaneously political parties must have their own strategies to deal with increasingly tight political contestation. It is time for each political party to develop a firmer ideological identity, reduce dependence on elite personalities and strengthen political institutions,

³⁷ Kunkunrat Ade Priangani, "PARTAI POLITIK DAN INKONSISTENSI KOALISI DALAM PEMILU 2014 DAN 2019 Kunkunrat1 & Ade Priangani," *Polistaat* 2, no. 2 (2019): 79–80.

³⁸ Maswadi Rauf, "Koalisi Dan Konflik Internal Partai Politik Pada Era Reformasi," *Politica* 8, no. 2 (2017): 96. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v8i2.1138>

³⁹ Firdaus Ayu Palestina, "Kanibalisme Partai Politik Islam Di Kota Surabaya Pada Pemilu 2014," *Jurnal Review Politik* 5, no. 2 (2015): 227.

as well as create a rational political communication with the voting public.” These unconventional methods can have an impact on party modernization and bring parties closer to preferences voters rather than being constantly dictated by elite interests.⁴⁰

The feud between Islamic groups and Islamic parties will always adorn every election in Indonesia because from the beginning it has been related to the history of Indonesia’s independence itself. This is as revealed by Ali Akbar. On the other hand, there is a bad stigma about political parties in front of the public which is often considered to be involved in KKN practices, apart from the stigma that it is difficult to defeat incumbent candidates, the chances of losing to incumbents are very small.⁴¹

Where is the position of idealistic *ta’awun siyasi*, attractive to all parties, brings benefit to society and does not only benefit political party elites? In the opinion of the researchers, the firm political stance of most of the government coalition parties (Golkar, Gerindra, Nasdem, PKB, PPP and PAN) which firmly reject the big ideas of the main coalition parties (PDIP) are good role models in addressing various issues that faced by the Indonesian nation in the future. The public’s hope is that the elegant attitude of the majority political party in the government coalition which is at odds with the political attitude of the PDI-P is natural and should not only be limited to talking about the interests of political parties and elites. In the future, the attitudes and political decisions of coalition political parties must prioritize the aspect of *istishlah ‘ammah*, realizing *haibah siyasa*, so that the big agenda of politics and power is purely for managing state affairs and aligning them with universal religious values (*siyasad dunya wa hirasat al-din*). According to Eid al-Rishan, the composition of the coalition in the future should not be too large and dominant so that compromising accommodative politics does not occur between the legislature and the executive,

⁴⁰ <https://www.beritasatu.com/politik/522560-pengamat-coattail-effect-kecil-pengaruhnya-bagi-parpol-koalisi>

⁴¹ Gunawan Arry Bainus Carolina Paskarina, “STRATEGI POLITIK KOALISI PARTAI DALAM PEMENANGAN PASLON KEPALA DAERAH: STUDI KASUS PADA PILKADA KABUPATEN NAGAN RAYA TAHUN 2017 GUNAWAN, ARRY BAINUS, DAN CAROLINE PASKARINA,” *POLITEA: Jurnal Politik Islam* 3, no. 1 (2020): 155.

causing the DPR's control and oversight functions to become weak.⁴² Political parties and elites should not be rigid and good at adapting. In addition, political pragmatism must be based on the interests of the state and society. Even if not, coalitions can be large but political party elites must remain objective, moreover the issues being faced are common issues without distinguishing between the ruling party or the opposition. The story of a supporter of the caliph Abu Bakr al-Shiddiq who emphatically stated his support for his leadership but still gave a signal with his sword if there was a deviation in the future.

Finally, Mclean's group communication theory⁴³ emphasizes that each communicant has a variety of different ways and styles in conveying his message, which must be bound by the principles of *fiqh siyasi*, including in political cooperation communication that puts forward the principles of *siyasa 'adilah, haibah siyasiyah, istishlah al-'ammah, tamhid al-'age, siyasat al-dunya wa hirasat al-din* so that every communicant continues to uphold the noble values of religious and legal norms.

CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation and analysis of the data above, it can be concluded that the true meaning of ta'awun siyasi (political cooperation) describes a sacred and loyal, sincere, selfless agreement for the greater interest and concerns the need to live together. Qo'aji's explanation of the meaning of ta'awun siyasi which is synonymous with taking sides with the people so that it gives birth to support and love. Because a sacrifice must be a dividing line from the general meaning of a coalition which has so far been understood and explained by the behavior of politicians and elites.

In fact, we are also aware that political parties as an instrument of democracy require great energy and strong political power to always ensure that their steps and sustainability are maintained on the stage of democracy. However, in a country that adheres to a multi-party presidential democratic system, it is certainly not just talking about political support and impact because the party is the mouthpiece of

⁴² Idul Rishan, "Risiko Koalisi Gemuk Dalam Sistem Presidensial di Indonesia," *Jurnal Hukum IUS QUIA IUSTUM* 2, no. 2 (2020): 236.

⁴³ Poppy Ruliana Puji Lestari, *Teori Komunikasi* (Depok: PT Grafindo Persada, 2019), 131.

the people and members of the DPR are representatives of the people themselves. Therefore, political parties and elites still have to think about the fate of the people in every political decision. Whatever form of attitude and political decisions are taken, including *ta'awun siyasi* in the context of winning the simultaneous election with the 2024 presidential election, it must still be within a pragmatic proportionalist frame which still provides space for the interests of the people and not merely the interests of political parties.

Signs of *fiqh siyasi* in establishing political cooperation with the Ibn Taimiyah's concept *siyasa 'adilah*, Imam Juwaini's concept *haibah siyasah*, *istishlah 'ammah*, *tamhid al-'agem*, *sadd al-tsughur* such as, Mawardi's concept *siyasat al-dunya*, *wa hirasat al-din*, the principle of promise is debt, *ta'awunu 'ala al-birr wa al-taqwa*, *wala ta'awanu 'ala al-istm wa al-'udwan* which is the main principle in coalitions in the perspective of *fiqh siyasi* must be put forward especially by Islamic political party.

What has been shown by the government coalition political parties regarding the closed electoral system discourse, which emphatically states a different attitude from the majority party PDIP and other political forces deserves a thumbs up and becomes a role model in future *ta'awun siyasi* practices.

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