

## ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE FILM TJOKROAMINOTO THE NATION GURU

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### ABSTRACT

*This research aims to study the background of construction of Islamic leadership discourse by film director Garin Nugroho, revealing the film production system and socio-cultural condition of Indonesian leadership after the reformation in 1998. Data collection was done through text analysis, interviews and other supporting data. The collected data was analyzed using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method through micro, mezzo and macro analysis. The results showed that the representation of leadership discourse on the text of the film follows the construction of Islamic teachings as a religion of liberation which aims to humanize humans. Islam is interpreted as a religion that upholds the principle of diversity and as the basis of social development of civil society. In the film production system, the representation is described as being in line with the interests of the director's ideology of understanding and interpreting the Qur'anic verse about leadership. In the socio-cultural context, the representation indicates that the discourse of Indonesian leadership is dominated by male and Muslim leadership. This is contrary to the objective of the establishment of an Indonesian state initiated by the spiritual value of Islam as a religion that respects tolerance and diversity.*

Keywords: Representation, Islamic Leadership, Film Tjokroaminoto the Nation Guru, Civil Society.

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### INTRODUCTION

The socio-political conditions of the Indonesian nation post-reformation in 1998 was characterized by leadership discourse. This is a consequence of the change in the regulation of media governance with the approval of Law No. 40 of 1999 on freedom of the press, and Law No. 33 of 2009 on National Films that brought changes to the system of media democratization in Indonesia. Thus, the film is a national identity that comes from the culture of Indonesia and brings the spirit of reform as the main goal in shaping the character of the Indonesian nation. Film is the identity of a nation that displays the forms of cultural elements through the manifestation of art aspects contained in the system of production. Film is also a tool used to convey ideology to influence the audience. According to Pambudy (2010: 2-3), 'Identity is an arena of continuous competition for many people, but the process of attraction of interests, ideology, and others are continuous in the film'. The statement of the mass media as the founder of national identity was also expressed by Anderson (Alimi, 2004: 26).

The transformation of ideology through film in shaping national identity is also portrayed by the role of female filmmakers. Female filmmakers involved in the production system, whether as directors, actresses, and other film workers carry the ideological mission represented through the work of production. Film production themes produced by Indonesian women filmmakers are an explicit representation of their perspective on women's issues. Garin Nugroho and the national film discourse work in accordance with the dynamics of globalization and modernism that lead to changes in information technology and the digital age and the changes in the region of power, ideology, economy, politics and culture.

The relation of the construction of the film directors' thought and ideas manifested through the work of film production with the film text is ideological. The relationship includes the directors' personal ideology. In this research the film selected is Garin Nugroho's film with the reasons: the radical theme of Garin Nugroho's film which is loaded with the anthropology of Indonesian culture and able to penetrate the various film festivals in the world; Garin Nugroho's style and form of film that uses the system of signs of culture; the diversity of Garin Nugroho's perspective in photographing Indonesian issues through the theme of beliefs of Islam, Hinduism, Catholicism and other beliefs; the production system and funding of Garin Nugroho's film production are more founding, religious dues, foundations, and a small portion of the market industry funds.

### METHODS OF RESEARCH

#### Discourse and Social Praxis

The basic concept of discourse theory is to provide opportunities for the possibilities of human life organized in political and ideological legality. As Jurgen Habermas puts it, starting with a question, 'What are the conditions for the possibility of political co-existence in today's complex societies, after the ways of traditional political legitimacy, that are resistant to criticism, experience crisis?' (Hardiman 2016: 23). In Habermas's opinion, the complex society referred to is a society whose life is characterized by plurality, based on political means, as the legitimacy of truth, understood and believed to be the principle of life. The principle of legitimacy of truth needs review; an awareness of individuals living together in the complexity of society is a form of articulation of traditional concepts of life. The life of modern societies who cling to arguments and politically

constructed rules alienate society itself from a self-consciousness; the life they run is nothing more than the normative journey of normality and not the self-generated forms of consciousness.

The discourse theory in Habermas's view is 'Directing his attention to the conditions of communication that enable a consensus-building praxis to be free and fair' (Hardiman 2016: 24). The view of the conditions of communication and the achievement of consensus is based on the conception of modern society disrupted by political rules. Discourse theory can direct humans as a whole to achieve a certain goal, by rearranging their lives to the purpose of living together. Discourse theory is not putting human beings to reach the goal but placing humans into how humans perform ways or procedures to achieve the desired goals together.

Hardiman's (2009: 23-24) view of the theory of discourse is 'Discourse theory offers a radicalization of political communication procedures to reach a basic consensus or to be called *grundconsens* that strengthens the integrity of society within a country'. The essence of the theory of discourse is to provide an overview of ways of radicalizing communication as a procedure to achieve human unity in the pursuit of goals, radicalization to reach mutual consent as the need for consensus. Epistemologi Habermas discourse theory expressed as communicative action, communicative action became the basis of all communication projects. It is the efforts to apply the principles of discourse to the politics of a democratic constitutional state. Discourse is understood as a procedure, and how this procedure can be applied to the process of achieving consensus over controversial norms.

Film as the discourse of act is a semiotic process that represents the social world. In this case, Garin Nugroho's film is a discourse of act constructed by Garin Nugroho addressed to Indonesian audiences through film medium by describing the socio-political situation that lends itself to the production system. The context of space and time and the surrounding socio-cultural situation need to be explored in more depth in order to know the construction of the ideological thought and perspective of the film director. The film by Garin Nugroho as a discourse of act is used to look at the situation and socio-cultural conditions of the Indonesian nation. The intended film is *Tjokroaminoto, the Nation's Guru* film produced after the 1998 reformation and the linkage between film production and Indonesian-language discourse that developed during the time of the film was produced, so that the purpose of film production with Indonesian discourse can be studied more deeply.

### **Discourse and Indonesian-ness**

The term nationality, statehood and so forth is an important issue to view the nation as a whole. The use of the term of Indonesia-ness refers to the nation and state as well as the pluralist and multiculturalist spirit. The pluralist spirit views various tribes, races, religions, beliefs and diverse values and belief systems. According to Ma'arif: 'Considering the nation of Indonesia on various issues, especially justice, humanity, diversity and tolerance embodied in the meaning of Indonesia' (Wahid, et al, 2015: 2). The formulation of Indonesia-ness meanings in Indonesian society is determined by the sense of justice and the values of humanity that form the basis of statehood. Indonesia-ness is defined as the accumulation of values of tolerance and mutual respect among men and upholds diversity. Indonesian diversity as a pluralist reality requires a fundamental paradigm shift, from an attitude that monopolizes the truth to an attitude that shares the truth.

'The truth in a round and whole human perspective, all ethnic groups and religions feel safe and comfortable living in Indonesia. The pillars of humanity can only be firmly established, if the principle of justice is not mocked by various reasons.' (Wahid, et al, 2015: 20-21). Re-understanding of Indonesia-ness to call the full humanity of nation and state does not need to apply the meaning and understanding of sect in social life. The presence of sectarian understanding in a nation and state gives birth to the reality of unbelief from one class to a particular group, or between individuals and certain individuals. The reality of the disbelief in the life of the nation and the state has entered the public space of the mass media, even without being matched by the filter of ethics and morality. The moral condition of the people who mutually disbelieve between one another endangers the continuity of state stability, so re-interpretation of the diversity framework in the life of nation and state is required.

Maarif's opinion "Indonesian-ness in the sense of Indonesian nationality should not be transformed into an expansive nationality of modern imperialism, both in the theory and practice of nationalism related to mesianism, expansionism, imperialism, and war" (2015: 30-31). The basic principle of Maarif's opinion is Sukarno's statement of the humanitarian value expressed in 'Just and Civilized Humanity' and Mahatma Gandhi's opinion on 'my nationalism is humanity'. The human perspective brings us to an understanding of our nation-state and state-based principles of divinity and humanity.

### **Film**

Naratology is the theory of poststructuralism to call the film, the paradigm of pos-structuralisme is the latest way used to study the object of the film. Pos-structuralism is generally used to refer to contemporary visions of literature and art and other ideological works. The birth of post-structuralism is intended to anticipate the various distortions of semantic systems, so that artwork is beneficial to society. Film as a work of art and one form of mass media that has the dimensions of discourse built on the relationship of social context and ideology that influence it. The study of discourse in mass media especially film media that put ideological spaces in its shape is supported by the theme raised as narrative story and supported by modern technology to give benefit for society, both entertainment benefit and value transformation merits and other benefits. Film is a director's instrument (tool) to discuss discourse with people who have a purpose or vision for the life of modern human beings who are ideological. This view is in line with the study of art as the implementation of post-structuralism and postmodernism.

Pos-structuralism and postmodernism in the study of art is the implementation of artworks, especially audio-visual art that has become friendly to life of modern society which holds firm to a life with technology. According to Federico de Onis 'The word

post (postmodernism) is used in various fields such as audio-visual art, music, dance, film, philosophy, theology and literature' (Ratna 2009: 146). Naratology in postmodernism and post-structuralism is the consideration of the shift of culture, the tendency of rapidly evolving human civilization, and the text that developed into discourse, which is then put into the film media as a medium that has become a text and a discourse that developed dynamically in the era of postmodernism culture. The presence of discourse in postmodernism does not destroy the old discourse or earlier discourse, but the discourse that emerges as a new discourse becomes a dialogical instrument between the new world and the world of the past by which discourse interaction takes place.

According to Ratna, 'The text which is a text or an (art) work is an artifact, in which discourse or text manifests its identity' (2009: 243). The text becomes the basis for the contexts of the accompanying socio-political issues, that the text is the instrument of speech which is the instrument of a struggle toward the desired conditions. The text is aligned with the issues that roll in the midst of social life, that the text is a manifestation of the struggle for and toward a democratic state or condition. The text is a critique of a number of social issues.

The application of the above concept in this research is to trace useful text spaces contributing to a democratic political climate – the condition of the political climate that can give freedom for every citizen to be able to argue. The text of the film is a manifestation of the struggle in a political condition of a democratic state. That is, the (film) text is full of ideology. Therefore, the (film) text is directly related to the political conditions of power as well as the politics of domination, in which the text is produced. In this case, the text attempts to criticize the political power and dominance systems of the marginalized in the political dynamics of Indonesian power embodied in the context of other policies and political products produced by governments, councils and law enforcement and the jurisdiction of the reality of this nation.

According to Fairclough (2005: 159-16) on the subject of ideology, personal identity and social identity cannot be separated in the praxis of discourse as follows:

1. *Personal identity*, the construction of self-identity in the broad sense is the problem of the ability to assume the social role of their personal identity, done with *personal identity* in their own way.
2. *Social identity*, (personal) identity is reduced to social identity, which in part means identification is not a purely textual process and not just about language.
3. *Social characters*. Social character is the business process of cultural cultivation as the most important thing in the social system.
4. *Public space*. Effective dialogue through public spaces (themes).

Personal identity and social identity in the analysis of critical discourse cannot be separated; the area of analysis of textual statements and the compilers of texts in the discourse become an integral part. Discourse is also a social character in building the language through public spaces, including the media. The critical discourse analysis (CDA) has two models, i.e. the Norman Fairclough CDA model which sees the text (context) and the CDA of Ruth Wodak which assesses that the text (context) has a history' (Hamad, 2008: 17-20).

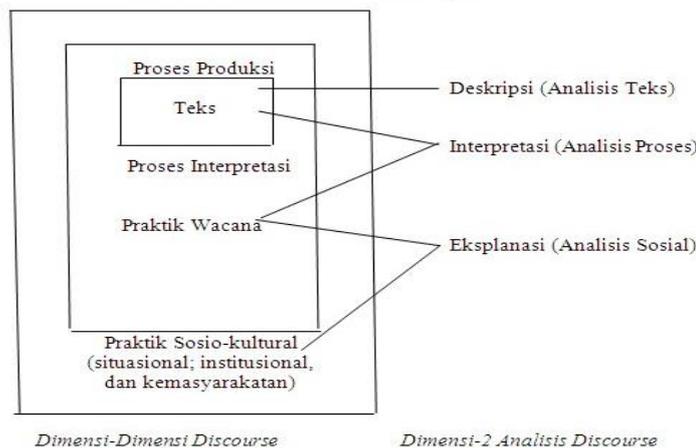


Fig. 3 CDA Norman Fairclough (Hamad, 2005: 228)

\*Keywords for Fig. 3: production process, texts, interpretation process, Discourse practice, socio-cultural practice (situational, institutional, and societies), discourse dimensions – description (text analysis), Interpretation (process analysis), explanation (social analysis), discourse analysis dimensions

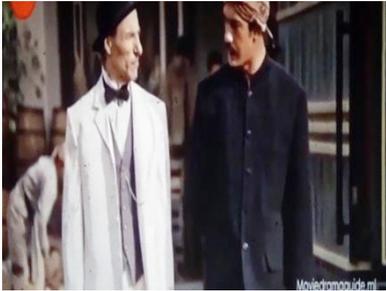
Discourse analysis according to Fairclough (2010: 74-75) includes:

1. Social structure based on semiotic system (languages)
2. Social practice, another discourse of discourse itself, namely the discourse production system and the purpose of discourse production.
3. Special events - types of speech or conversations that occur in a social system implemented for a specific purpose or agenda.

According to Fairclough, critical discourse analysis puts the level of text can be performed with a semiotic analysis approach with various variants of the analysis in accordance with the dimensions of the problems associated with the context and practices of discourse that surround it. This study uses discourse analysis and analyzes the text using semiotic analysis to examine the types of discourses oriented on discourse relationships between texts, pragmatic actions, representation, identification of meaning contained in Garin Nugroho's film texts, and the text relation with social context.

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

**Film Script Representation**

Scenario Text	Visual	Background Story	Representation
<p>Tjokro: I'm Oemar Siad Tjokroaminoto, a bumiputera muslim. The chairman of the United Islam association has 2 million members - the largest association in the East Indies.</p> <p>Understand your laws. I am the first Javanese to become a member of the Russian Vorskrad graduate. My grandfather is Tjokronegoro. I once served as duke of Ponorogo. My grandfather was from another party. Kiai Khasan Bhasari is a famous kiai who teaches life as a Javanese.</p>	<p>Kalisasak Prison Scene</p>  <p>Walking Scene</p>  <p>Traditional Market Scene</p> 	<p>Kalisasak Prison. Social class relation between the Natives and the Dutch</p> <p>Jalanan. Ethical Politics of the Dutch towards the Natives</p> <p>Traditional market. The market as a discussion area / freedom of speech</p> <p>Medical Institution: Institution as a discussion area / freedom of speech</p>	<p>A leader fighting against the dictatorship. Rebels dominating the Dutch as subordinates of the Natives</p> <p>The equality of roles between the Dutch and the Natives.</p> <p>A humble leader who stands for the people.</p> <p>A leader who cares about the foreigners.</p>

	<p>Medical Institution Scene</p>  <p>Clash between the Natives and the Chinese Scene</p>  <p>Working at the factory Scene</p>  <p>The speech of The United Islam Congress</p> 	<p>On a road. Clash between ethnicities</p> <p>At a factory. Standing against the owners for the laborers</p> <p>At a square. Speech of emancipation and fight against the colonialists</p>	<p>A leader who cares for the ethnical minority</p> <p>A leader who fights for those who are weak /laborers</p> <p>A leader who upholds enthusiasm in the struggle against the colonialists</p>
<p>Tjokro: I know the result, the Europeans came to find what they did not have.</p>	<p>Discussion with his wife Scene</p>	<p>At home: A man giving his wife freedom to state</p>	<p>A democratic leader</p>

<p>Tjokro: Rubber, coffee, cloves, tobacco.. to meet their factory merchandise. They are also looking for warm harbors to collect our produce throughout the year. The Europeans here only became king a day.</p>	 <p>Carrying his child Scene</p>	<p>her opinions</p> <p>At home: A father who loves his children</p>	<p>A head of the household who is loving</p>
	 <p>Studying Islam Scene</p>	<p>Islamic Boarding House: A boy who understands the teachings and spiritual benefits of Islam</p>	<p>A religious leader</p>
	 <p>Punished by a teacher at the Dutch School</p>	<p>At School: A boy who is learning social studies</p>	<p>An educated leader</p>
			

The table above shows that the construction of Islamic leadership discourse is represented as a leader who calls for good, peace and rejects all forms of violence. Leaders who call for good and reject violence are:

1. Shidiq, which means true. True not only in word, but also in deed or behavior. The actions taken by Tjokroaminoto in opposing and fighting the violence, accusations and treatment of the Dutch.
2. Trust, which means trustworthy. The people gave their trust to Tjokroaminoto to disprove the Dutch accusation of the rebellion he committed.
3. Tabligh, which means calling the teachings of Islam as a true religion. Call for God's message brought by Prophet Muhammad as (Peace be upon Him) as the teachings of truth in civil society development.

4. Fathonah, which means smart. Tjokroaminoto's intelligence in building a strategy against the Dutch at the court table to prove the truth of the allegations as a riotous mastermind in various cities and integrating religious teachings as a spiritual Indonesian struggle for independence.

Construction of the discourse built in the text level of film Tjokroaminoto the Nation's Guru is a leadership trait that is emulated from the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him) embodied in the narrative story about the national leadership of the Indonesian nation in order to realize the ideals of building the nation.

The integration of Islamic leadership concept that is integral with Javanese culture shows that the concept of leadership in Islamic teachings with the concept of leadership in Javanese culture called *Satria Piningit* can be harmonized as rational knowledge. Knowledge of Indonesian leadership in the future as a leadership knowledge unearthed from the source of Islamic teachings and Indonesian culture.

#### **Production System**

Islam and leadership as a foundation in building the nation initiated by Tjokroaminoto become the main reason and spirit for the big family of HOS Tjokroaminoto to conduct research and deeper exploration about the relationship of Tjokroaminoto struggle with the teachings of Islam. The obstacles faced by the research team in collecting data on Tjokroaminoto's ideas are data scattered in various countries. The data is spread in the Netherlands, Portugal, England, Japan, Singapore, etc. These data include articles in the form of articles in various foreign media or pre-independence local newspapers stored in museums of various countries. This is because the figure of Tjokroaminoto is a figure who actively writes in various newspapers and has served as editor of the *Oetoesan Indies* newspaper in the pre-independence era.

The main purpose of research conducted by the family of HOS Tjokroaminoto is to collect and bring home the ideas of Tjokroaminoto to Indonesia in order to be composed as a book. This spirit is based on a lack of written references to Tjokroaminoto's struggle against colonialism. The selection of film media (cinema) was decided based on the Umayya proposal that considers the great ideas possessed by the nation's children in pre-independence era about leadership based on the spirit of Islam should be socialized and transformed to all people. The purpose of film production / cinema is not to make a profit but more to the family mission of HOS Tjokroaminoto and the Tjokroaminoto Family Foundation to provide information about Tjokroaminoto's ideas to the young generation of Indonesia. The decision to use the movie / cinema media was made after several meetings to discuss the right media to transform Tjokroaminoto's ideas about leadership; there was an agreement between the two, the wide-screen media agreement as the right medium for transforming the idea of Tjokroaminoto to the nation's youth.

The purpose of film production Tjokroaminoto the Nation Guru includes first, public awareness of Tjokroaminoto ideas; second, the message in the film can revive Tjokroaminoto's thinking about nationality; third, another interpretation of Tjokroaminoto's thinking can develop as a source of knowledge for the people of Indonesia.

#### **Movie Director Determination**

In the production stage of film Tjokroaminoto the Nation's Guru, the selection of the director becomes the most selective stage conducted by the production house of Mandiri Sejahtera Utama (MSH) Production and Pik(c)lock Production. The selection stage of the director took a very long time and involved many of Indonesia's best film directors. After conducting a rehearsal with several directors and having long discussions conducted by the producer, Garin Nugroho was finally selected as a person capable of representing and transforming Tjokroaminoto thoughts through film media. Garin Nugroho was chosen by both producers with consideration, thought and love of Garin Nugroho towards Indonesian culture as well as the quality of Garin Nugroho films that are capable of penetrating film festivals in the world. These reasons are in line with the vision and mission of the Tjokroaminoto family who wants to transform Tjokroaminoto's great ideas as a national and world figure, considering the data on Tjokroaminoto's thinking is more in a number of overseas museums.

The election of Nugroho as a director of film Tjokroaminoto the Nation Guru was based on Garin Nugroho's ability to build the spirit of Indonesian history and culture in Tjokroaminoto's great thoughts. In line with the ultimate goal of the large family of HOS Tjokroaminoto, the great ideas of Tjokroaminoto can be understood by all levels of Indonesian society. The producer also gives interpretation to the director of Tjokroaminoto's thinking to the film production process. This is because the reason the producer gives freedom of interpretation to the director so that thought Tjokroaminoto can be understood and constructed contextually with the social condition of Indonesian society today. The purpose of giving freedom to the director is that the director is able to translate the thoughts of Tjokroaminoto in the present and can be accepted by all layers of the audience.

#### **Socio-Cultural Context**

Islam and leadership in Indonesia has always been an interesting topic for the development of this nation and has become a discourse that colors the journey of the nation of Indonesia, since, for the majority of the country, it is the most important factor for Muslims in the determination of political attitudes in every social change, politics, culture and other national values. The fundamental thing that is the main concern of the political condition of Muslims in this country is how religious understanding is brought under conditions of political identity, as well as the aspirations of Muslims to political parties in determining the nation's leadership. Its homogeneous nature precisely determines the heterogeneity of Muslim voters in determining modern Indonesian leadership, so that the political manners of Muslims continue to experience the development of situations in the diversity region to determine political attitudes in its participation in the direct election of the president.

The position of Moslems that is strategic and the majority party makes the religious social power in the political state and establishes a political system based on belief in determining the direction of Indonesia's future development in search of social

and political support, especially post-reformation. In 2014, the leadership discourse always questioned the national figure who was born by the majority in the direct presidential election. This becomes an indicator and a determinant factor for the political journey and open democracy, considering that the constituents possessed by major religion / Islam provide opportunities in order to be able to create a national leadership.

The reform era marked by the birth of Islamic based parties in liberal democracy as outlined by B.J. Habibie in the post-reformasi Indonesia leadership has given rise to radical Islamic organizations that established political parties, and at the same time carry figures in them as national figures. Many radical Islamic organizations are taking advantage of post-reform policy opportunities that provide the widest opportunity for people to establish political, religious, ethnic, professional, and other party-based political organizations. Nevertheless, the failure of an Islamic party to win elections and presidential elections in the post-reform era has had a significant impact on leaders and leaders of Islamic parties hopes to hold national leadership controls have been unrealized. This hope gave birth to a central axis in the 1999 presidential election to dispel B.J. Habibie and Megawati Sukaroputri from Golkar and PDI-P. The formation of the central axis brought Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) as an Islamic figure supported by a coalition of Islamic parties as an alternative presidential candidate, and led Abdurrahman to be elected president on October 20, 1999. The success of the Islamic party coalition did not last long. The conflict within the coalition that led to Gus Dur being ousted by the MPR through a special session of 2001. The impeachment movement was driven by the central axis with PDI-P and Golkar.

The future challenge undertaken by Islamic parties and Islamic leadership in Indonesia is how to capitalize on the advancement of technological globalization for the progress of the nation. Religious sectoral issues with a mission to build an Islamic state, Islamic society, Islamic Shariah, the reference of the Jakarta Charter and other issues based on Islam are no longer the social issue of Islamic parties worthy of sale to constituents. However, over time, the Islamic leadership of Islamic political parties is obliged to formulate a national strategic vision and national values to win the sympathy of the majority constituents of Islam. Islamic parties must be able and provide solutions to issues of poverty, public policy oriented to the interests of the people such as free education, health and social security, agriculture, maritime issues, fishermen fate and so forth.

Islamic constituents are logical with issues sold by political parties in the run up to the election; moreover, before the presidential election, work programs and vision of the candidate's presidential and realistic missions need to be acceptable to Islamic constituencies, and not just issues of formality and Islamic discourse and Islamic symbols accepted by the people. The Islamic Parties also have not dared to take on minority groups, nor protecting minority rights in the nation and the state. This issue becomes the most important issue in the life of the nation, where minority rights are the main factor to reach minority sympathy for Islamic parties. In addition, this becomes a major issue for Muslim constituents who uphold the values of nationalism in the nation and state.

#### **Civil Society**

As stated by Din Syamsudin (Republika, 2016) 'Muslims are facing problems especially in terms of leadership. In the world of politics that is an integral part of Islamic teachings, Muslims have a demographic gap with political realities'. The vote of Islamic parties brings implications in various national and state situations. The issue of majority leadership in the nation actually provides the potential for Muslims to become the dominant element of Indonesian society. The potential for realizing the leadership of Islam to the present, in the post-reform era, has not been realized properly. The liberal system of politics in Indonesia did not create the majority of leadership based on religion factors, and ethnics – Java became the dominant national leadership. This means that the quantity of Muslim population in Indonesia has not been able to bear national leadership that is able to bring this nation to civil society.

In addition, Muslims must strengthen the political role in the liberalization of democracy to give birth to the national leadership born of Muslims. It means that Islamic political parties become the main pillar in shaping the national leadership personality that has integrity both in the nation and in the state. The issue of Islamic formalities before the presidential election is not the main issue to generate the national leadership of Muslims. However, how the issues of the nation and the state in the perspective of Indonesian-ness are able to be in line with the concept of Islamic leadership as the majority of the population of this nation. The issue of the nation is an attitude to the fulfillment of the constituent aspirations of Muslims and the Indonesian political regulation and the policy of state administration in a post-reform democracy open system.

Leadership in an Islamic perspective includes:

- a. Attitudes toward the Islamic group, which can accommodate the interests of various Islamic groups in Indonesia, such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama as the largest community organization in this country of course, can embrace the other groups.
- b. The attitude of fellow Muslims who have justice and honesty is in line with religious values for the common good.
- c. Attitudes as leaders of the nation which is implemented in the form of trust for all groups, tribes, races, religions and others to create a civil society.

Civil society in the discourse of Islam in national politics is a socio-political change characterized by economic growth and development, and the emergence of a significant middle class as an indicator of poverty alleviation, and the rise of Islam that generates a leadership capable of protecting all minority groups, democratization system that makes public desires fulfilled in various fields of life, in which the values of citizenship and life becoming its main orientation. Along with the establishment of a system of political openness, information disclosure, the emergence of a political party based on Islam, the role of a large Islamic

community organization in state policy must be accompanied by Islamic political expression that can show acceptance of all levels of society with a vision and mission agenda that is acceptable to all.

## CONCLUSION

Believing contextual Islam (cultural Islam) as an effort of earthing / planting Islamic teachings (Al Qur'an) on the social system of the Indonesian nation, Islam can be understood as the teachings of the Shari'a that are accepted in descending down through cultural ways without losing the substantive values of their own Islamic teachings. Interpreting the Qur'anic verses about leadership based on the sociocultural context (Indonesian-ness) with the principle of human nature as Caliph and rejecting the interpretation of leadership verse based on the tradition of priestly leadership (faith) oriented to men.

Internalization of plurality values as the essence of Islamic teachings is understood as the teaching of liberation in the life of nation and state. The spirit of plurality is understood as the recognition of differences and their respective religious identities to minimize / eliminate conflict of differences between pluralistic principles based on the primacy and the uniqueness of the Indonesian nation, i.e. instilling the process of rational thinking as the spirit of Islamic thought (iqra ') in realizing the system of social development or civil society, building the rationalization of Islam as a point of balance, justice and security for the creation of peace, manifestation of Islamic teachings as a doctrine that gives justice for all people, and upholding the principle of humanity so that tolerance can be realized in the life of nation and state.

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