Islamic Commodification in Representation of Political Development in Indonesia: (A Systematic Literature Review)

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Abstrak

Fenomena komodifikasi agama dalam politik, tidak hanya terjadi di Indonesia, tetapi di negara barat juga telah mengalami fase tersebut. Perkembangan kehidupan demokrasi Barat yang menekankan kebebasan individu dan membatasi peran negara dalam kegiatan keagamaan. Begitu pula dengan kehidupan beragama di negara-negara berkembang (baca Indonesia), ada anggapan bahwa agama bahkan menjadi tonggak berdirinya negara. Persatuan tokoh agama, misalnya, merupakan kekuatan yang dapat menggerakkan semangat persatuan dan kesatuan. Dalam praktik demokrasi di Indonesia, dukungan umat Islam Indonesia terhadap nilai-nilai demokrasi dapat dilihat dari perilaku Islamisme. Objek penelitian mengkaji secara kritis komodifikasi Islam dalam representasi perkembangan politik di Indonesia dari berbagai artikel terkait. Metode penelitian menggunakan kualitatif dengan pendekatan analisis isi pada artikel jurnal nasional dan internasional dari sembilan database yang dikelola. Tahapan penelitian ada tiga tahapan yaitu persiapan, penyaringan dan validasi data, dan review konten pada tiga puluh (30) artikel berbasis penelitian yang relevan dalam 10 tahun terakhir dari 2010 hingga 2020 yang dipilih dari Google Scholar, Taylor, Francis Outline, Springer Link, Emerald Insight, Science Direct, Sage Journal Online, dan Oxford Cambridge. Hasil penelitian meliputi: 1) nilai Islam dalam representasi pembangunan politik di Indonesia, 2) bentuk komodifikasi Islam dalam representasi pembangunan politik di Indonesia, 3) implikasi komodifikasi Islam dalam pembangunan politik di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Komodifikasi Agama, Perkembangan Politik, Representasi

Abstract

The phenomenon of the commodification of religion in politics does not only occur in Indonesia, but western countries have also already experienced that phase. This can be understood because of the development of western democratic life, which emphasizes individual freedom and limits the role of the state in religious activities. Likewise, with religious life in developing countries (read Indonesia), there is a notion saying that religion has even become a milestone for the establishment of the state. The unity of religious leaders, for example, is a force that can mobilize a spirit of unity and integrity. In the practice of democracy in Indonesia, the support of Indonesian Muslims for democratic values can then

be considered concerning the behavior of Islamism (Muslim worship). Thus, this study critically and qualitatively examines how the commodification of Islam in the representation of political development in Indonesia from various related articles. Based on these concerns, a systematic literature review was used as a method of analyzing national and international journal articles from nine managed databases. From the literature review, there were thirty (30) relevant research-based articles in the last 10 years from 2010 to 2020 selected from Google Scholar, Taylor, Francis Outline, Springer Link, Emerald Insight, Science Direct, Sage Journal Online, and Oxford Cambridge. Three stages are carried out: preparation, data screening and validation, and content review. The findings cover: 1) the value of Islam in the representation of political development in Indonesia, 2) the form of commodification of Islam in the representation of political development in Indonesia, 3) the implications of the commodification of Islam in political development in Indonesia.

Keywords: Comodification of Religion, Political Development, Representation

Introduction

The relationship between Islam and politics is always interesting to discuss along with the dynamics of socio-political development and the influence of political and economic digitization today. This era displays an intensification of the role of religion in politics. This reality is suspected as the era of the revival of "Political Islam", an era in which elements of Islamic society have wide opportunities to take part in state politics. The development of the relationship between Islam and politics cannot be separated from the changes in the political and electoral system in Indonesia after the New Order. As members of society who always interact with their social environment, the tarekats will certainly make a series of adaptations to their social environment. Concerning the adaptations carried out by the tarekat, the traditions and morals of the tarekat cannot be separated from the reflection of human social values. Therefore, the traditions and morals of the tarekat, apart from being eternal, also have a driving force in every change, reformation, and human progress (Umm Salamah, 2005). Meanwhile, as part of the study of socio-political movements, this study tries to understand the phenomenon of the commodification of religion (read Islam) in a political context to identify the role and political influence of religious groups.

The commodification of religion is the transformation of the value of religion which was originally a way of life and a source of normative values based on divine belief into an exchange value, using its functions adapted to human needs for religion. Malik et al., (2014) stated that the commodification of religion in political space is used as a means of political promotion, placing religious symbols on political banners, and using ulama as an instrument

to increase political electability. Thus, what is consumed in this case is not the essence of religion itself but the image of religion as a system of symbols as it works as a label. The image of religion as a label further clarifies the position of the commodification of religion, especially in the context of the ongoing democracy in Indonesia. Therefore, it can be understood that the commodification of religion is a discourse regarding the exchange of interests. It is found that religion and the symbols attached to it can be used as a commodity that can be exchanged to obtain benefits for the perpetrators. The issue of commodification of religion, especially Islam in Indonesia, is evident in various activities, Umaimah Wahid sees that the use of Islamic symbols as political commodities aims to gain positive public opinion and ultimately encourage voting during the General Election. Even though some cases of commodification have not been successful, the use of Islamic symbols is still used by candidates at important moments before or during political contestation (Wahid, n.d.). In line with that, in a democratic climate, the use of religious symbols in the political sphere is increasingly becoming more prominent and blatant. This can be observed in various political advertisements both displayed by political parties and political elites using religious symbols (Malik et al., 2014).

The phenomenon of the commodification of religion in politics does not only occur in Indonesia, but western countries have also already experienced that phase. This can be understood because of the development of western democratic life which emphasizes individual freedom and limits the role of the state in religious activities. Even so, issues surrounding religion are still in demand to be used in general election practice, for example in America, Germany, and France. Therefore, the authors see that in practice there is no single state that purely separates religious life from the state (politics). Likewise, with religious life in developing countries (read Indonesia), religion has even become a milestone for the establishment of the state. The unity of religious leaders, for example, is a force that can mobilize a spirit of unity and integrity. In the practice of democracy in Indonesia, the support of Indonesian Muslims for democratic values can then be considered concerning the behavior of Islamism (Muslim worship). Whereas if it is assumed, if someone is getting more Islamist, he is considered to reject democracy, while if someone is further away from Islamism, or secular, he will accept democracy. In fact, according to Mujani, Islamists in Indonesia do not necessarily reject the principles of democracy even though they provide a

very critical note about the practice of democracy in Indonesia which is said to be still flawed in democratic politics (John L. Esposito, 2008).

Recently, the commodification of religion in democratic political life seems to be getting stronger. This is, at least, marked by the strengthening of the position of religious groups in influencing political life in Indonesia. After the New Order, the Indonesian people were very enthusiastic about being involved or simply following debates and conversations about Indonesian politics which were very dynamic and open. The presence of new political parties after the New Order complements the political desires and channels of the people that were previously shackled by the New Order-style election mechanism. The strengthening of the role of society after the New Order and changing mechanisms for channeling political participation also influenced the ways and methods of political parties and elites with an interest in gathering public support including support from Islamic religious groups (Hasse Juba, 2017).

The use of religious symbols, especially Islam, is the starting point for how strong the party elites' efforts to use religious instruments (Islam) as a political tool to arouse the attention of Muslims are. Based on these reasons, this study seeks to understand and explain the rationality of the commodification of religion in this political space, both regarding the motivation and background for the occurrence of commodification, as well as the forms of commodification and their implications in the contemporary context. To achieve the research objectives, this study was driven by the following research questions:

RQ 1: How is the value of Islam in representing politics in Indonesia?

RQ 2: What are the forms of commodification of Islam in the representation of political development in Indonesia?

RQ3: What are the implications of the commodification of Islam in the representation of political development in Indonesia?

Research Method

This research adopts the work of Xiao and Watson (2017), während the framework used as a guideline for qualitative implementation of systematic reviews employed the thematic synthesis method (Thomas & Harden, 2008). The procedure consisted of three main stages: preparation, screening and validation, review of content, and synthesis and reporting. Each stage consisted of several steps as depicted in Fig. 1. In the first stage, literature

searches for published articles are carried out using very general keywords such as "research publication", "document type", and keywords related to "Political Islam, the commodification of Islam in politics, and a form of commodification of Islam in politics". The article was obtained from Google Scholar, Taylor, Francis Outline. Springer Link Emerald Insight Science Direct Sage Journal Online, Oxford, Cambridge with publication time from 2010-2020. Approximately 155 articles were obtained. The screening process and validation were then carried out by sorting out relevant articles from irrelevant articles based on their titles and keywords. 155 articles obtained were screened based on the year of publication which leads to 60 relevant articles. These 60 articles were then screened based on abstract and title resulting in 30 articles. Finally, 30 articles were screened based on the suitability of the topic, so that a total of 30 articles were analyzed in this study.

In this phase, the activities carried out are identifying or formulating problems, objective review, review of protocols. Thus, this review contains the following research questions. RQ 1: How is the value of Islam in representing politics in Indonesia? RQ 2: What are the forms of commodification of Islam in the representation of political development in Indonesia? RQ3: What are the implications of the commodification of Islam in the representation of political development in Indonesia? To ensure the breadth of the review, several common databases were used: Google Scholar, Taylor, Francis Outline, Springer Link, Emerald Insight, Science Direct, Sage Journal Online, Oxford, and Cambridge. Our searches use the keywords that match the topic of this research (see table 1). Searches are limited to the year 2010 - 2020. These groups are systematically aggregated and researched in the title-abstract-keywords of articles indexed in the database. Finally, potentially relevant research is included in the reference list of articles included in the systematic review.

Table 1. Selected Keywords in Different Groups

Group 1-Keywords related to islamic commodification in represantation politic	Commodification religion, politic, democracy
Group 2- Year of publications	The year 2010-2020
Group 3 - Document type	Conference journals and articles
Group 4- Language	English and Indonesian
The final search for the formula	Group 1-group 4

### Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The include and exclude criteria were developed by the research team. The include criteria used in our study are related to the year, the language used in the article, and the relevant theme of the article with the research topic (see table 2).

Table 2. List of Include and Exclude Criteria

Criteria	Include	Exclude
Period	2010-2020	Any study outside these years
Language	English and Indonesian	Non- English, and Indonesian
Study focus	Implementation of islamic commodification in represantation politic	Any study outside this focus

Based on the above criteria, after screening a total of 155 articles, it was obtained: From the 155 articles obtained, 60 articles passed the screening based on the year of publication. From the 60 articles obtained, 30 articles passed the screening based on abstracts and titles. That resulted in 30 articles analyzed in this study.

Figure 1. Data Collection and Analysis Procedure
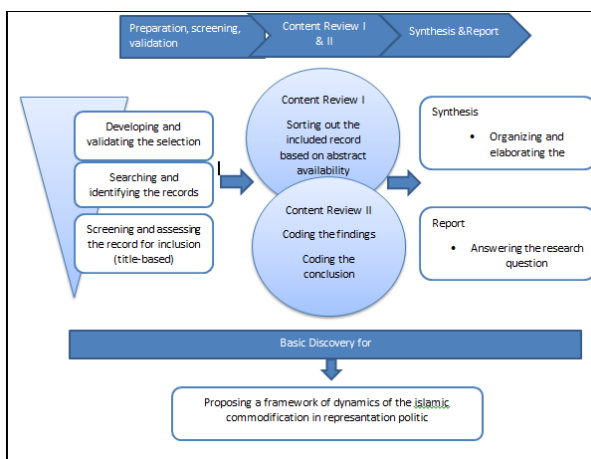
Content review II begins with reading the entire papers but focuses on the findings, discussion, and conclusions for the synthesis and reporting stages. First, the open coding technique is used based on the word-for-word meaning of the sentence. Then, the codes obtained were classified into several categories, which directly answered the research question. In the synthesis and reporting stages, the coherence of the information is projected in the code where each category is rechecked. The reexamination results are used to compile

the presentation of the findings so that the three focus themes of the discussion in this study can be obtained.

Research Finding

The results of the literature review contained 30 articles from the 2010-2020 period that were identified and relevant to the topics discussed in this literature. This section describes information about the commodification of Islam in the representation of political development in Indonesia. The three research questions as mentioned in the introductory section are discussed in sequence. The results of this literature review are presented in the following three focus themes: the value of Islam in presenting politics in Indonesia (N = 13), forms of commodification of Islam in politics in Indonesia (N = 10) and implications of commodification of Islam in representing political development in Indonesia. (N = 7). As shown in Figure 2 below. An overview of the content of the articles is presented based on the following categories: author, year, article keyword, article search code, and theme category according to this research (for example, Table 3).

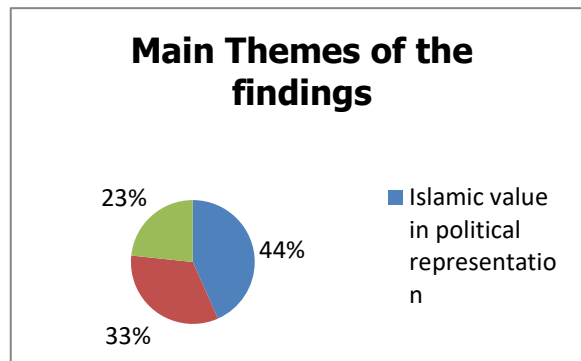*Figure 1. The Main Themes of The Findings*

Table 3. Sample of Coding and Categorization Results

Author, publication year	Key findings	Code	Theme
(Harold, 2015).	This form the provision of organizational means, such as bonds of personal loyalty initiated and strengthened, schools, religious political parties, and the exchange of advice that even organizes between religious leaders and their followers that can be mobilized for political interests.	Islamic politics	Islamic value in representing politics

The results of this literature review are presented in the following three focus themes: the value of Islam in representing politics in Indonesia (N = 13), the forms of commodification of Islam in politics in Indonesia (N = 10), the implications of commodification of Islam in representing political development in Indonesia. (N = 7).

How is The Value of Islam in Representing Politics in Indonesia?

Religion is a multilevel concept that takes shape through organizational structures that are often combined from recognized religions; collective individual and social beliefs, values, and practices; and symbols (or gestures) that people use in everyday communication. Religious actors can be ordinary citizens, scholars, organizational elites, and officials. Politics is an individual and collective commitment that results in government decision making; it is not just an exercise in the power of daily life but is more about the opinions that people have and the behavior that people and organizations do influence their interests through government (Djupe & Lewis, 2015). Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world, where 87% of the population is Muslim, especially in Java and Sumatra (Masuda & Yudhistira, 2020).

A good starting point to explore the relationship between religion and politics in Islam and to illustrate the point that religion is easily manipulated by all political actors in the first-century history of Islamic rule (Platteau, 2008). The theory of political and religious relations in Islam, among others, is interpreted as an integrated relationship between religion and the state, as conceptualized by al-Maududi, al-Afghan, Muhammad Abduh, Rasyid Ridha, and several other figures. From these figures' point of view, the religion and the state areas cannot be separated, the religion area also covers the territory of the state. Therefore, according to this paradigm, the state is both a political and religious institution. The state is a political vehicle for applying God's law. The role of Islam in modern government as a legal consideration related to dar ul-Islam or dar ul-harb or by other designations such as dar ul-aman (place of reservation), dar ul-'ahd, or dar ul-sulh (the place of the alliance or agreement) (Leonard, 2003) In this regard, the rise of Islam is a representation of al-Maududi in the political field which aims to implement sharia in the context of state life.

Political thought views the relationship between religion and state as symbiotic, that is, they are mutually related and need each other. In this case, the state needs religion as a basis for moral strength so that it can be a control mechanism, while on the other hand religion requires the state as a means for the development of religion itself (Sayuti J

Pulungan, 1994). What is very prominent in the study of religio-politics in this discourse is the thought of al-Mawardi (974-1058). In al-Mawardi's view, state leadership (Imamat) is an instrument to carry on the prophetic mission to maintain religion and rule the world. The maintenance and organization of the world are two dimensions related symbiotically. Religious authorities and groups usually play this role as a buffer between the state and the people, often providing protection against violations of the authorities and acting as mediators to encourage negotiations with political opponents (Platteau, 2008). Furthermore, it has been explained that political thought views the relationship between religion and the state as secularistic. This view rejects relationships that are symbiotic or integrated. In 1925, Ali Abd Razi1 (1888-1966) wrote a controversial book entitled Al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukum (Islam and Principles of Government). Abd ar-Raziq argued that the task of the Prophet Muhammad was no more than carrying out the prophetic mandate (innaha nubuwwah la mulk) like the previous prophets. Worldly affairs by the prophet Muhammad were left to mankind, including political affairs (Sadzali, 1995).

In the Indonesian context, according to Adnan, the relationship between religion and state can be divided into three categories. First, the accommodative group, this group is pioneered by Nurcholish Madjid, who has the view that spiritual life is governed by the state and worldly life is governed by worldly logic. This thought seems to contain a "secularistic"element, that is the existence of an effort to separate religion from the world, even though it is, in fact, only a territorial distinction. Some areas are solely religious matters and others are solely worldly affairs. Second, the moderate group with figures from Amin Rais, Jalaluddin Rahmat, and Imaduddin Abdurrahim. This group is of the view that Islam is not only understood as a religion, but also as an ideology. Islam is a totalistic religion (kaffah) that regulates all aspects of life including social and political life. Third, the radical idealist group, this group thinks that Islam is above all ideologies so that to fight for it requires violent means and at the same time rejects the ideology of Pancasila as the only principle for the life of social organizations (New Order) and that religion must become an ideology to replace Pancasila.

After the New Order and in the development of Islam today, attention to Islam as an important force in national and local politics has increased (Sahri, 2011). In the context of Indonesia, history has proven that Islam is an influencing factor in politics. Deliar Noer is of the view that the concept of the state and Islam cannot be separated (Naufal, 2017). The

dynamics of the relationship between Islam and the state takes place in an instrumentalist context which is often accompanied by integrative and disintegrative potentials. With such a religious context in social life, humans have the legitimacy to make it an instrument of power. The issue of Islamic politics has attracted the attention of researchers globally. However, despite the widespread interest in Islamism, its identity is rarely a place of analysis. According to him, a comprehensive understanding of Islamism would be oversimplified if Islamism was understood as a religious package that was separate from its social context. It is believed that this new understanding of Islamism will open new spaces to rethink how Islamic identity in certain contexts can be studied. Since politics is a power struggle to assert certain identities, this article highlights the need to base Islamism in the field of political discourse analysis to provide narrative interpretations of ideas and situations that provide the context in which political identity is in the area. Islamism can be displayed and evaluated (Mellouki, 2015). On the other hand, Islam puts politics as a way of safeguarding the affairs of the ummah (ri'ayah syu-ÃQ al-ummah). Islam and politics should not be separated, because Islam without politics will create the constraints of Muslims who do not have the freedom to implement Islamic law. Likewise, politics without Islam will only give birth to a society that glorifies power, position, material, and worldliness, devoid of moral and spiritual aspects (Ridwan, 2017). In Sattar's (2013) research, it has been explained that pragmatists put religious values in the political relationship of the people. These are personal ties between the elite-mass that function effectively after receiving religious value contributions which can at times be transformed by local elites into political loyalties without any rational consideration.

Jackson argues that religion does not have a direct influence on the political behavior of religious groups. In religion, therefore, politics is a specialized set of spiritual symbols used to direct group actions that are tightly bound by other forms of social glue. According to Jackson, among the forms of glue is the provision of organizational means, personal loyalty ties initiated and strengthened, schools, religious political parties, and even organized exchange of advice between religious leaders and their followers that can be mobilized for political gain. (Harold, 2015). Therefore, what becomes a challenge of the relationship between religion and politics is developing a more independent means of political representation. Quoting Demos' survey, the main task of the state, in general, is to build civil-political organizations that have popular and representative roots (Törnquist, 2007).

Berger also sees the function of religion as legitimating social reality because religion connects the constructions of reality from empirical societies with sacred realities. This process of religious legitimacy takes place dialectically between religious activity and religious ideation in the practical affairs of everyday life (Peter L. Berger 1991). Likewise, religious legitimacy arises from human activity in a religious tradition and shows a meaningful relationship between religion and social solidarity. When people identify with a particular community or group, it is the function and fate of the group as a whole that counts and not the destiny of an individual (Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe 2004). Muslim groups are indeed associated with stronger support for political organizations (Verkuyten, 2017).

Religious community movements are symbols of their expression towards their environment. Religious communities operate following their respective visions and missions. According to Mutho'in (2015), religious symbols are often associated with abstract things that are associated with physical and non-physical religious activities. Religious symbols are often associated with abstract things that are related to the physical and non-physical aspects of religious activities. Friday sermons are a religious symbol that the elite can use as a political tool. Hakam et al. (2017) explain that commodification is taken from the theory developed by Marx which means transformation in social relations. If it is related to religion, then commodification is called a shift in the symbols of diversity. Each religion has its symbol as a form of identity for its adherents.

The politics of religiosity in Indonesia is always associated with political contestation in general elections. Islam is used as a means of politicizing personal power. Politics of religiosity is related to Islam as the majority religion so that it can be used as a means of legitimacy to gain leadership at both the national and local levels (Arie Setyaningrum, 2017). Therefore, Meddeb et al. (2017) explain that the relationship between religion-state causes changes and diversity in religion, pluralization in the religious field, religious individualism, and the occurrence of monopoly by the state on Islam.

Muslims are the largest population in Indonesia. It does not rule out that socio-religious symptoms will involve Muslims. Rozaki (2013) explains that the faces and expressions of Muslims in public spaces can be seen from two sides. On the one hand, Muslims are seen as intolerant and unfriendly. The active involvement of Islamic organizations in Indonesia such as Nahdhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah is a form of Nationalism that is not too rigid

against Islam. The strength of Islamic parties is also a form of Islamic conservatives who are actively involved in politics in Indonesia such as the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, and others, both at the national and regional levels (Bourchier, 2019). The politicization of religion in the political years was faced with election contestation both at the national and local levels. Prospective candidates wrap up their political campaigns using religious instruments (Islam as the majority) and use an elitist approach to religious figures who are expected to be able to mobilize support for the majority of the Muslim community itself and their groups (political parties).

What are The Forms of Commodification of Islam in The Representation of Political Development in Indonesia?

If the tarekat is considered important for a person, then the tarekat can influence the way it views and assesses aspects of life. The more important a person views the tarekat in life, the higher he views those aspects of life from the perspective of the religion he believes in (Muthoin, 2015). The magnet of power possessed by the tarekat is so great that it is often "used" by politicians to gain votes. Various tactics and political campaign strategies carried out by political parties usually do not forget the importance of the tarekat's role as the foremost "vote-getter" in collecting votes (Munandar, 2011). Therefore, the use of tarekat symbols is inevitable because it correlates with the popularity of parties and candidates in the eyes of the public.

The political reality in post-New Order Indonesia was marked by the political euphoria that plagued almost all levels of society. The management of power during the Soeharto era was considered to have ignored democratic principles which in turn became the root of the problems that clamped down on people's lives. The socio-political movement of the tarekat itself is not faded by these changes, but it can adapt and become part of the change. This is also supported by Mahfud MD's argument that two paths of Islamic political struggle, structural and cultural, always appear in the Muslim community (Amir, 2003). The socio-political movement of tarekat can fall into these two lines of struggle, both structural and cultural, especially in the post-New Order era of Indonesian democracy which prioritizes political systems and elections based on "popular votes". This is in line with research that has found that in general elections with opposition party candidates won from Muslim-dominated electoral districts in every election (Nath, 2015b, pp. 144–153). The Muslim community provides an opportunity to play a more active role in politics (Nath, 2019).

Therefore, political intersections involving majority votes are always an interesting subject to discuss. Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia also cannot be separated from this intersection, the symbol of Islam is a relatively in-demand political commodity, especially when politics requires greater public legitimacy. This is also explained by Kapur (2020) in his article explaining that the Islamic symbols are also used to limit Muslims as a certain group in a political context. The general election campaign as a manifestation of political communication is also heavily colored by religious symbols. Various political statements seem incomplete until they are complemented by scriptural arguments and delivered by religious figures. Islam emerged in political struggles in Indonesia, not only because of the demands of the historical journey that it was, is, and will go through but also at the same time Islam has values which its adherents believe as norms, limits, or even as ethics that normatively guide their involvement in political life.

The commodification of Islamic symbols in post-New Order politics is also inseparable from the existing political dynamics. The commodification of Islam in politics focuses on public support in the form of activities such as the use of religious symbols in political advertising and using ulama (clerics) as an instrument to increase political electability (Malik et al., 2014). The strong patronage relationship between gurus and students is seen as the main variable that has led to the increasing use of religious symbols in politics. In addition, the relationship between society and politicians tends to be based on patronage and clientelism rather than programmatic competition (Salim, 2013). This relationship is also suspected of fertilizing the practice of commodification of Islam in Indonesian politics today.

The penetration of religious symbols, especially visually, is increasingly spreading in public spaces with increasingly intense repetition. The public sphere here is considered as a space of contestation, space where everyone has the same opportunity to communicate, without restriction and regardless of social status. Public space is also understood as a space between the private (private) and the public (state). A "forum" or "arena" where the public can "have a voice" (Mujibur Rahman, 2018). This visual penetration of religion can be seen, for example, in city corners, on roadsides, on walls of houses, on bridges, in trees, and even on electric poles. Its contents vary, starting from economic products, to the faces of candidates, figures of certain organizations or parties, and political elites at various levels. The visualization of religion here is, for example, an invitation to use goods or service that

is related to religion, a claim to a certain area as an Islamic territory, or just a claim that "we have a certain religion" or always put forward a certain religion as a vision to a claim on the socio-political basis (Mujibur Rahman, 2018).

The commodification of Islam can be interpreted as the exchange of Islamic symbols for a specific purpose. Greg Fealy realizes this is prone to inviting debate because it seems that economic motivation is more of a bond than religious motivation. He also does not deny the existence of „pure" motivation in religious motivation. However, it cannot be denied that there is now an exchange of religious economic transactions, especially when the symbol of faith is used to market products associated with Islam. The development of technology, information, urbanization, and economic growth are driving factors for commodification and influencing the way individuals express their faith. Compared to the previous period, this commodification enables Muslims to express their faith through various commodities labeled Islam. In everyday life, for example, we see how people subscribe to prayer text messages, wear Muslim clothes, consume Islamic novels or films, save at Islamic banks, perform Umrah, attend ESQ and buy toothpaste with Islamic labels (Fealy & Sally, 2012). Among Indonesian Muslims, „religious commodification "appears in the form of mass consumption celebrations on religious holidays (such as during the fasting month/Ramadhan or Eid al-Fitr) and also the phenomenon of ulama (clerics) or ustadz or religious preachers who encourage people to be modest and forbear but instead, he is proud to be endorsed in advertisements for consumer products on television screens, banners, and billboards.

The commodification of religion can also be examined in the form of the commodification of zakat and the commodification of hajj which are used as a business to make profits for certain groups by utilizing the innocence and kindness of Muslims. Commodification itself can be assumed as a process of transforming goods and services from their use-value into commodities that are oriented towards their exchange rate in the market. Since exchange rates are related to markets and consumers, the process of commodification is changing goods/services to suit the wants and needs of consumers. Baradari-Robison, Scharffs, & Sewell, 2015). The forms of commodification in the political economy of the media according to Vincent Mosco are as follows:

1) The Commodification of Content is the process of changing messages from a collection of information into a meaning system in the form of marketable products. In another explanation, it is referred to as the process of changing messages in a set of data into a meaning system in such a way that they become marketable products.

2) The Commodification of Audience is a process of modifying the role of readers/audiences by media companies and advertisers, from their initial function as media consumers to audience consumers other than the media. In this process, the media company produces audiences through a program/impression which is then sold to advertisers. There is a mutually beneficial cooperation process between media companies and advertisers, in which media companies are used as a means to attract audiences, which are then sold to advertisers.

3) The Commodification of Labor is a transformation of the work process in capitalism, where the skills and working hours of workers are made into commodities and rewarded with a salary. Labor is the unitary concept of conception or invasion force, imagination, and work of design and execution, or the power to carry it out. In the process of commodification, the modal act is to separate the conception from execution and the skill from the ability to carry it out.

The relevance of Mosco's view to the commodification of Islam can be observed from the many social, economic, and political activities that use religious symbols for their respective interests (Amna, 2019). In the political aspect, the use of religious symbols in campaigns is still part of the democratization process in Indonesia (Juba & Hidayati, 2017). Although the commodification of religion does not dominate the political sector, the use of religious symbols is still used by candidates at important moments such as religious holidays and others (Pribadi & Ghufron, 2019). In line with that, in a democratic climate, the use of religious symbols in political space is increasingly emerging and continues to develop (Zainuddin, 2018). This can be observed in various political advertisements both displayed by political parties and political elites using religious symbols. (Malik & Batubara, 2014).

Then, the phenomenon of the commodification of religion in politics does not only occur in Indonesia, but western countries have also experienced that phase. It can be understood from the development of western democratic life which focuses on individual freedom and limits the role of the state in religious activities (Hakim, 2014). Even so, the issue of religion is still a study that is always used in general election practice (politics), for example in the United States (Lambert, 2017), Germany (Fischer & Mohrman, 2020), and France (Everett, 2018). Likewise, religious life in developing countries can be seen from the unity of religious leaders who can mobilize a spirit of unity and integrity, and become a

milestone for the establishment of the country (Jamil, 2012). The great role of religion in developing countries has institutionalized it into community groups and religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) which are recognized by the state with such a large and influential number of followers (Darajat, 2017).

The current political phenomenon emphasizes something contrary, where there is a tendency for religion and politics to exchange interests. Religion is considered by some political elites as an attractive instrument to be "sold" to the public to gain the masses, gain power, and other pragmatic political interests. This fact certainly shifts the function of religion which should be a guideline and source of ethics in politics itself (Malik & Batubara, 2014; Zainuddin, 2018). At present, the commodification of religion in democratic political life seems to be increasingly developing, this is indicated by the stronger position of religious groups in influencing political life in Indonesia (Rozaki, 2013).

The presence of religion is an inspiration for the democratic process. However, due to the tendency of the religious elite to be so quickly influenced by the interests of state power, it has an impact on the lack of religious power against visible injustices in the public sphere (Hasan, 2014). According to Amna (2019), the commodification of religion is an act of trading religious symbols that aims to achieve popularity in an interest. Then, Malik & Batubara (2014) explained that the commodification of religion is a discussion regarding the exchange of interests. Where religion and the symbols attached to it can be used as a commodity which is then exchanged to obtain various benefits for the perpetrators (Syah, 2013).

What are The Implications of The Commodification of Islam in The Representation of Political Development in Indonesia?

The democratic transition in Indonesia has encouraged the presence of Islamic symbols more prominently in the public sphere. These symbols have also accompanied the development of identity politics. Its presence is increasingly prominent along with the institutionalization of democracy and electoral politics which allows these symbols to be appropriated in political contestations that demand direct support from the public. Islamic symbols (read - tarekat) are not only transformed into important variables in the daily life of people who are increasingly eager to consume these symbols through their participation in recitation, tabligh akbar (great sermons), and various other religious events, but also develop

as attributes politics in the electoral contest. The penetration of religious symbols in politics certainly has an impact on political development in Indonesia.

Religion undoubtedly has a significant role in helping shape the political preferences of a person and/or society at large. However, in contrast to other social attributes such as education, employment, and income which are relatively easy to measure, the parameter for religiosity as a basis for political action is rather difficult to determine. One of the reasons is because religiosity, in contrast to others, is more about the inner world, not the outer world, therefore it is invisible to the eye and also "mysterious" to some extent. Arjon (2018) explains that the occurrence of religious sentiment in local politics is one of the socio-political phenomena that also affects the success of political campaigns at the local level today, especially in Muslim-majority societies. The encouragement to choose leaders of the same religion and faith or the prohibition of choosing leaders of different religions, so that it becomes a historical context, whether it is sentiment or experiences of inter-religious conflict is used as a political campaign by candidates in local political contestation today (Ramadlan & Masykuri, 2018).

The commodification of Islam does not always have a negative connotation. In certain aspects, there are positive things, especially since the process of commodification is an unintended consequence of an increase in the spirit of Islam among Muslims. This phenomenon is then facilitated by advances in technology, communication, and information that have made it possible to increase the commodification of Islam. The commodification of Islam is following Berger's (1999) desecularization thesis. He states that in the era of globalization, the role of religion does not diminish but increasingly exists in the public sphere. The role of religion does not necessarily standalone but is also related to other aspects such as social, economic, political, and culture. Therefore, discourse on religion needs to get attention in academic debates as well as in the public sphere in the future. According to Pribadi & Ghufron (2019), the commodification of tarekat as part of the commodification of Islam has colored the democratic transition process at the local level. In the development of the commodification of the tarekat, several impacts occur, especially about the charismatic authority of the tarekat teacher, those are:

First, the impact of the commodification of tarekat on the charismatic authority of tarekat gurus can be seen from the public expression that no longer sees the tarekat teacher as its socio-political patron. In addition, the shift in charismatic authority also has an impact

on the delegitimization of the tarekat gurus. The loyalty of the congregation to the tarekat gurus (murshid), which previously became non-negotiable and tended to be seen as an authority, will decrease along with the shifting of charismatic authority (Erawadi, 2019; Muzakir, 2015). The decline in the traditional value system has a clear correlation with the decline in charismatic authority by tarekat gurus as seen from their inability to represent previous tarekat gurus.

Second, the impact of commodification on the charismatic authority of tarekat gurus can be understood from the emergence of dualism in leadership contestation which results in prolonged disputes which often occur with mutual claims between tarekat gurus (murshid) (Bruinessen, 1992). Theoretically, leadership is an important component of organizational performance, wherein this case the tarekat gurus who are also religious leaders play an important role in the mobilization process to achieve organizational goals (Daswati, 2012; Sari et al., 2018). However, when there is a dualism of leadership in a tarekat group, it will result in the potential for conflict between the two. Although this conflict does not appear in the public sphere, this dualism will certainly leave space for mutual arguments between tarekat disciples between the two (Hidayat, 2019; Muzakir, 2015).

Third, the impact of the commodification of tarekat on the charismatic authority of tarekat gurus can also be seen from the weakening role of tarekat gurus in the practice of Zuhud life. According to Eliza (2013), it is explained that Zuhud is an approach that seeks to escape from all worldly luxuries that can control desire in all its forms. Based on this, of course, the lifestyle practices of the tarekat gurus with all worldly luxuries will conflict with the Zuhud life pattern which is known to the public. As a result, the lifestyle of the tarekat gurus, which had been famous for their impressive facilities such as houses, vehicles, and clothes, has become part of the weakening of the charismatic authority of these tarekat gurus. Furthermore, the followers of the tarekat also do not have an "ideal role model" in their spiritual life (Dahlan, 2015; Muzakir, 2015).

Fourth, the impact of the commodification of tarekat on the charismatic authority of tarekat gurus can also be seen from the emergence of the distance between the disciples and tarekat gurus. This is caused by the closeness that links the ruler and the tarekat gurus so that the position of the teacher (murshid) tends to be more elitist. In the process, there was an adequate gap between the disciples and the tarekat gurus causing them to lose trust and disobedience to the tarekat gurus as a result of the elitist lifestyle. Thus, it will remove the

doctrine believed by the disciples to remain obedient to the tarekat gurus as the spiritual leader of the group (Muzakir, 2015; Handoko et al., 2020).

The existence of the kyai (murshid) in the political realm is seen to be dominant in the public sphere, such as providing political support for the momentum of the democratic party to the contestants who are related to their interests. In practice, the behavioral symptoms of teachers who are active in the political sphere are more likely to be triggered by the weakness of the economic sector they have and the difficulty of covering the rising costs of developing pesantren (Islamic boarding schools). Then, the apathy and indifference of the local government to the difficulties faced by the pesantren has had a significant impact on the role of tarekat gurus (murshid) to tend to become involved in politics. This is where the momentum of the meeting of the political elite and tarekat gurus (murshid) is always carried out. Then, in the commodification of Islam several impacts occur on the institutionalization of tarekat politics, those are:

First, the commodification of tarekat will have an impact on the loss of authority of tarekat teachers. Where in the process, the tarekat gurus (murshid) who are directly involved in practical politics will reduce their authority. Because the gurus (murshid) will be judged to be "covered in mud" interests, their recommendations will not be followed by the community, and will no longer be considered role models, and will increasingly lose their disciples. The presence of tarekat gurus (murshids) in the political field will have an impact on the pesantren, santri (students), and culture, which is largely neglected because their role models have moved with political elites who are only based on interests. The Moral Politics of the tarekat gurus plays a variety of roles, such as religious leaders, social advisers, and politicians. As religious leaders, the tarekat gurus function as leaders of worship (prayer, zakat, fasting) and religious fatwas.

Second, the commodification of tarekat will have an impact on the strengthening of religion-based identity politics. Identity politics based on religious affiliation has become a dominant factor in regional leaders' elections in Indonesia, where it was seen to be very dominant between 2007 and 2014. During that time, religion was thought to influence voter action and there was a strong relationship between religious affiliation and the amount of support received (Abdallah, 2020). The degree of social relations in society can then be seen as an explanation of why religion is a big factor in political institutionalization. Here, social ties have two dimensions that are closely related to identity politics. Then, the

commodification of tarekat has resulted in a shift in the socio-political role of the tarekat, such as:

First, the commodification of tarekat will have an impact on support by political rulers to expand Islamic preaching. In cases such as in Java (post-Majapahit), Sumatra, and Malay kingdoms in general in Southeast Asia, the role of tarekat gurus was not only felt to be limited to the relationship of formal religious teaching, but also gained political support in strengthening the establishment of Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago. Then, these tarekat teachers and rulers maintained mutually reinforcing relationships on a sustainable basis, which was seen when both were active in some anti-colonial wars (Hajriansyah, 2018).

Second, the commodification of tarekat plays an important role in determining socio-political movements and religious-spiritual movements. In this case, the Tarekat has two objectives, those are to function as a spiritual-religious movement that carries individual moral messages to get closer to God and even to feel God's presence, as well as a socio-political sector to instill social piety to be always sensitive and responsive to social conditions. (Ni'am, 2016).

Conclusion

This paper reports as many as 30 articles reviewed according to the topic of study on the commodification of Islam in the penetration of political development in Indonesia. From the results of the study, as described in the previous chapters, it can be concluded as follows: first, there are two variants of the views of the Indonesian people about the meaning of the political tarekat. 1) they (small part) agree with tarekat involvement in politics. The reason is that being involved in politics will make it easier for him to carry out his main duties as a leader of the ummah and caregiver for the „surau suluk""". They will even have the political legitimacy to uphold the understanding of ahlussunah wal jamaa'ah, as the guideline for "nahdiyin" citizens. 2) most of them (majority) do not agree with the involvement of the tarekat gurus in politics since it will interfere with their main tasks.

However, the involvement of tarekat gurus (Kiai) in politics will result in some implications. 1) The tarekat gurus have experienced a degradation in character as a result of the decline in their Charisma. Its religious authority is also being eroded. 2) with the tarekat gurus (murshid) being involved in politics, his role as a bulwark for the morality of the people is at stake because after all when they meet into contact with politics, it means that he is „playing " with power. In this way, politics will tend to be used only as a medium to

gain power, and the title of being a role model for the ummah (al-usuwah al-hasanah) will of course be removed from the social legitimacy of society. Therefore, in the understanding of society, tarekat people who are political are not only interpreted in terms of power orientation but politics in the sense of political education, and this can be done through Islamic boarding schools. As an important note, because the strategic position of tarekat gurus (Kiai) is to guard morality or in its religious language „amar ma'ruf nahi munkar". Then, when involved in politics there is a tendency that the Kiai reduces their charisma. In this way, the kiai's strategic role model as the leader of the people will gradually be left by the people.

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