

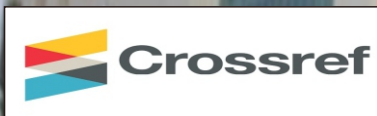
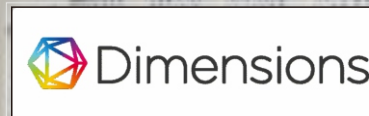


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THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTION AND THE POLITICS OF INCONCLUSIVE ELECTION IN NIGERIA: A REVIEW OF THE AFFECTED STATES

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Abstract

Elections are usually accompanied with controversies and irregularities in Nigeria emanating from several factors such as the procedures, regulations, nature of political culture and political gameplay in the country and elites' attitudes towards power. The 2019 Gubernatorial election in Nigeria was enshrouded in controversies, malpractices and inconsistencies because of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) guidelines for the conduct of election which provided for inconclusive elections in some circumstances. This study examined critically some states in Nigeria that are affected by the politics of inconclusive elections where the elections were extended for additional two weeks due to some issues that could not allow for the final declaration after the first date of the election. The inconclusive election heralded several problems and a setback to election in Nigeria because of recorded violence, malpractices, rigging and other related obstacles. The research employed a qualitative methodology of data collection and analysis. Both primary and secondary sources were used for data collection. The primary sources involved an in-depth interview, participant observation and reference to INEC's documented data. The secondary data used were books, journals, newspapers, internet sources and reports. The data collected were discussed using content analysis for analytical interpretations. The study discovered that the guideline for the conduct of the 2019 General Election which stipulated for the provision of inconclusive election created several inconclusive elections in some states like Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Kano, Plateau and Sokoto which later was followed by irregularities and violence. The work recommends among others that such criteria should be abandoned and declare any contestant that fulfill the minimum criteria as returned elected.

Keywords: 2019 General Election, Inconclusive Election, Nigeria; Politics, Review, States

Abstrak

Pemilu biasanya disertai dengan kontroversi dan penyimpangan di Nigeria yang bersumber dari beberapa faktor seperti prosedur, peraturan, sifat budaya politik dan alur politik di negara tersebut serta sikap elit terhadap kekuasaan. Pemilihan Gubernur 2019 di Nigeria diselimuti kontroversi, malpraktek, dan inkonsistensi karena pedoman Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nasional Independen (INEC) untuk pelaksanaan pemilihan yang mengatur pemilihan yang tidak meyakinkan dalam beberapa keadaan. Studi ini mengkaji secara kritis beberapa negara bagian di Nigeria yang terpengaruh oleh politik pemilihan yang tidak meyakinkan di mana pemilihan diperpanjang selama dua minggu tambahan karena beberapa masalah yang tidak memungkinkan untuk deklarasi akhir setelah tanggal pertama pemilihan. Pemilu yang tidak meyakinkan menandai beberapa masalah dan kemunduran pemilu di Nigeria karena rekaman kekerasan, malpraktek, kecurangan, dan hambatan terkait lainnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metodologi pengumpulan dan analisis data kualitatif. Sumber primer dan sekunder digunakan untuk pengumpulan data. Sumber primer meliputi wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipan dan referensi ke data terdokumentasi INEC. Data sekunder yang digunakan adalah buku, jurnal, surat kabar, sumber internet dan laporan. Data yang terkumpul didiskusikan menggunakan analisis isi untuk interpretasi analitik. Studi tersebut menemukan bahwa pedoman penyelenggaraan Pemilu 2019 yang mengatur tentang penyelenggaraan pemilu yang tidak konklusif menciptakan beberapa pemilu yang tidak meyakinkan

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di beberapa negara bagian seperti Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Kano, Plateau dan Sokoto yang kemudian diikuti oleh penyimpangan dan kekerasan. Karya tersebut merekomendasikan antara lain bahwa kriteria tersebut harus ditinggalkan dan menyatakan kontestan yang memenuhi kriteria minimum sebagai kembali terpilih.

Kata kunci: Pemilu 2019, Pemilihan yang Tidak Meyakinkan, Nigeria, Politik, Review, Serikat.

INTRODUCTION

Election is the nerve and brain of democratic system. It is the instrument and a procedure for choice of leadership in a liberal manner where the political leaders compete for power while the voters are allowed to exercise their rights (Smith, 2015). The world is contemporarily dominated by democratic governance and this has made an election a pivotal activity in nation-states ((Buttorff, 2019). Election is a periodic ritual depending on the constitutional modality that a particular state is operating. In United States of America and Nigeria, a four-year term of two tenures is stipulated in their constitutions for executive office holders while the same four-year term is enshrined in the law for lawmakers without a limit. In essence, election is a determinant factor in which political institutions and political actors display their choices, policy preferences, ideology, liberty, freedom and desire of who wants to rule and who is wanted to rule (Cole, 2017).

Africa is currently witnessing a rapid revolution and an explosion of democratic renewal as a result of the internal pressure from civil societies and external pressure from global key players who champion the cause of universal democratic governance (Adejumobi, 2010). Unfortunately, democracy is still facing hurdles and strangulation from the African power brokers because of subversion of the electoral process. Elections in Africa are heralded with controversies and violence that characterised most of them as unfair, incredible and not free (Mechkova et al., 2017). The developed democracies though, are neither spared too in controversies. The United States of America's 2016 Election was still enshrouded in the allegations of intrusion from Russia (Susskind, 2018). However, the African cases are more pronounced because most of the elections in the Continent are followed up by chaos and allegations of rigging and irregularities that affected their decency. Nigeria is the biggest democracy in Africa because it is the most populous state and the highest GDP. From 1999 to date, Nigeria was reset on the path of civilian rule for straight 20 years which signifies stability and 4a progress (LeVan, 2014). Unfortunately, elections are never pleasant in Nigeria since 1999 especially the 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2019 elections which recorded massive violence, manipulation, malpractices, disenfranchisement of voters, denial of electorates' will and a forceful imposition.

The 2019 General Election witnessed a retrogressive outcome in comparison with the 2015 General Election. The 2015 General Election was unanimously reported by domestic observers, international monitoring team, civil societies, ruling and opposition parties and voters as fair and credible (Nwangwu, 2015). Many Nigerians expected an improvement and a progress in a continuous building of a sound electoral process that will restore confidence and safeguard peoples' will and choice during voting. Unfortunately, a reversal took place. The electoral body, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) set a guideline for the conduct of the election including the use of smart card readers, ra-tech for e-collation, and the constitutional provision that a candidate vying for any electoral office must fulfill the criteria of winning with a simple majority in addition to securing at least 25% of the votes in 2/3 of his constituency (Sule, 2019). An additional guideline was set which indicates that for a candidate to be declared a winner, the total number of votes cancelled should not be more than the winning margin between the leading candidate and other competitors. Cancellation of votes in Nigerian election is a normal

culture because of the political culture of zero-sum game, violence, manipulations and logistics problem. Eventually, during the process of the electoral conduct in 2019 in gubernatorial election, the cases of cancellation emerged in some states which are Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Kano, Plateau and Sokoto. Elections in some states that did not experienced cancellation too were not what the Nigerians wish for such as Bayelsa and Kogi. The irregularities recorded in these states led to many condemnations and negative reports of the 2019 General Election by both local and international stakeholders (European Union, 2019).

This study is an examination of the politics behind the inconclusive elections in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Nigeria, the causes of the cancellation, the repercussions of the inconclusiveness of the elections studied and its overall implications on the credibility of the 2019 General Election and the future of elections and democracy in Nigeria if such a negative trend continues. While there are numerous studies conducted on 2019 General Election in Nigeria (Emodi, 2019; Sule et al., 2020; Taiwo et al., 2019) none of them paid a serious attention on the phenomenon of inconclusive election. This leaves a huge gap for contribution in the area of study. This is the justification for undertaking this study.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research used the qualitative case study approach. The study area which involves six states in the federation presents unique case of inconclusive election. The research attempted to answer the what, how and why of the phenomenon and that qualifies it to be regarded as a case study (Yin, 2018). A case study approach is important in examining a political phenomenon because it enables for a clear focus and a direction devoid of overburdening researches in the process (Gerring, 2006). Case studies are purposely used to provide a knowledge that is deriving towards the production of results that are useful to policymakers (Gerring, 2006). The research decided to use the case study approach because not all the gubernatorial elections in Nigeria witnessed the same issue. Only few states, six of them precisely, experienced the phenomenon. In doing so, primary and secondary sources of data were collected.

The primary sources of data consist of three major source. The first is participant observation where the researchers themselves participated actively in the process of the conduct of 2019 General Election as senior election officers; collation officers at ward levels in their respective states of origin. Although, the state of the researchers did not experience the inconclusive issue, it has occurred in several neighbouring states where their colleagues in the academia handled the election assignment and they were adequately consulted. The second source is the document from INEC based on the guideline for the conduct of election, Electoral Act, 1999 Nigerian Constitution and some results that were officially released by the electoral body. The third source is the use of an in-depth interview with some selected stakeholders who partook directly in the process of the electoral conduct in the states under study. In each of the six states, five stakeholders were selected and interviewed. Since the battle for governorship seat in all the six states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Kano, Plateau and Sokoto was a straight forward contest between the APC and PDP candidates, a party executive from the two parties each were identified for an interview making a total of 12 in the six states. One INEC official in each of the six states was interviewed giving a total of six in this category. In another category, university academic staff that participated as ad-hoc election officers were selected one from each state which totaled 6. A member of civil society one from each of the six states was identified and interviewed in the six states which made their total number six. The total number of informants selected is thus, thirty (30) from the five categories of APC party

executives, PDP party executives, INEC officials, academic staff who prompted as INEC ad-hoc staff and members of civil societies as presented in the table 1.

Table 1: Summary of Informants, their Categories and Frequencies

No.	Category	Frequency	Total
1.	APC party executive	6	6
2.	PDP party executive	6	12
3.	INEC officials	6	18
4.	Academic INEC ad-hoc officials	6	24
5.	Civil Societies	6	30
6.	Total	30	30

Source: Field Survey 2020

The secondary sources consist of documented sources such as books, journals, reports, newspapers and internet sources. The data collected were discussed and analysed using content analysis where the data were grouped, coded and interpreted using analytical thematic interpretations. The findings were discussed and interpreted together with the existing literature and the adopted framework of analysis was integrated.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The literature was reviewed according to thematic issues related to the subject matter and area of study. A critical review of issues was made which enabled for the exhaustion of the literature to espouse the contribution that is needed in scientific research of this nature. The issues raised in this segment consist of meaning and function of an election, election in Nigeria, criteria for electoral conduct in 2019 General Election and the 2019 General Election in perspective.

Meaning and Function of an Election

Election is a ritual in a democratic process which is hold periodically to determine how political leaders emerged . Modern system of ruling favours democratic rule because it has the alternative of providing the subjects with a liberty to choose who will lead. By extension, it also offers them the chance to willingly change leadership if they so wish. Election is a technical process which has regulations, guidelines, procedures, approach, system and timeline depending on countries' constitutions (Emerson, 2011). It is a structure that entails how politicians are allowed to compete for power by displaying their policy relevance and the strength of persuasion. An election is measured and evaluated by some certain standards. No election in the world can be totally free without encountering some insurmountable issues but it is adjudged credible and fair if the minimum criteria for its conduct is at least, satisfactory to all the stakeholders (Fredrickson, 2019). Such criteria involved peaceful conduct, fair play opportunity, an independent and a neutral electoral body, issue-based campaign free of hate speech and campaign of calumny, voters are freely allowed to vote for candidates of their choice without intimidation and in addition, contemporarily (Achen & Bartels, 2017), if the domestic and international observers are allowed to analyse and penetrate the process for inputs and report back towards future improvement (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019). Currently, most of the world countries are operating democracy in different forms and democracies are supported by healthy elections.

Election is performing several functions in a democratic system. One of such roles is a peaceful and legal opportunity for selection of leaders of choice (Wessels & Schmitt, 2012). The election enables for a constitutional change of leadership if the citizens are not satisfied with the current leadership. Election is a rational choice process which offers the voters the chance to vote for their leaders based on some certain considerations such as ethnic kinship, religious affiliation and economic benefit (Burlacu & Toka, 2014). Through election, voters achieve maximum utility in voting typical of political economy of consumer satisfaction. Election also enables for exercising duties and obligations of citizens in the state while providing an enabling environment for leaders to compete for power to actualise their ideology and policy preferences. Additionally, election performs the role of policy continuity or discontinuity depending on electorates' will and choice. Policies receive positive or negative response from voters on election day through support or opposition. This is done through the choice of continuation of leaders that initiate the policies or relieving them for a new set of leadership that promised alternatives (Burlacu & Toka, 2014).

Election in Nigeria

Election is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria and indeed, in Africa in general. Prior to the emergence of colonial rule in Africa, some societies took decisions through voting either by representation or through a general assembly. Before the emergence of British colonisers and the introduction of election through the Western political structure, organised political systems existed in the Nigerian territory according to various cultures, religion and politics (Coleman, 2015). The British introduced political participation in Nigeria in 1922 under the Clifford Constitution in 1922. Since that period, elections continue to take place in Nigeria until the final one in 1959 which ushered in political independence in 1960. Elections took place twice in the First Republic (1960-1966), twice in the Second Republic (1979-1983), once in the Aborted Third Republic (1990-1991) popularly called aborted because the military regime of Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida initiated a transition to civilian rule but the process was eventually halted when the final results of the Presidential Election was about to be declared in June 1991 (Adejumobi, 2015). Election took place in the Fourth Republic (1999-date) six uninterrupted times which signifies a new era in Nigerian democratisation.

Elections in Nigeria since independence are also characterised with irregularities, inconsistencies, allegations of massive rigging and manipulation, violence, subversion of electoral process, politics of zero-sum game and intimidation, lamentations of money politics such as vote buying, bribery and corruption, malpractices of the highest order including ballot stuffing, ballot thumping, ballot snatching and ballot boxes stealing and harassment of voters. Opposition always contested results in Nigeria after the election (Dudley, 1982). In most African countries, incumbents are reported to have been diverting the electoral process to favour their re-emergence at all cost to the extent of killing of innocent souls (Lindberg, 2006). Elections in Nigeria are believed by many scholars as the major causes of military and counter-military coups. In essence, electoral process in Nigeria is a decisive factor in relegating democratisation. Many Nigerians lost hope for a viable and credible election (Falola & Heaton, 2008). For instance, the former President Obasanjo was reported in the build up to 2007 General Election to have uttered that 'election is a do or die affair' meaning it is a war. Additionally, the Human Rights Watch (2007) in its report of 2007 General Election in Nigeria concluded that the Election was influenced and characterised by massive rigging, violence, manipulation which made it far from fair and credible. Furthermore, the Observer Book of Scandal (2010) reported the Nigerian 2003 and 2007 General Elections to be qualified as the third most scandalous election in the history of the world.

However, despite the negative trends that accompanied the Nigerian election, an improvement was recorded especially from 2011 upwards. While the results of the 2011 General Election was bitterly contested by the opposition Congress for Progressive Congress (CPC) and that led to post-election violence in various parts of the country particularly in the North, the observers noted that there was a significant achievement in the electoral process in the country. The 2015 General Election was adjudged fair and credible by most of the stakeholders because it has created a scenario where the opposition party, All Progressives Congress (APC) won the election against the ruling party, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) with a successful handover that took place without any violence or denial in a peaceful process (Sule, 2019c). Many pundits and voters started developing confidence in the process until the 2019 General Election especially the governorship election where violence and alleged rigging marred the process. Simply, the 2019 General Election is a retrogressive event that set the electoral process in Nigeria backward (Sule, 2019c).

Legal Provision for Electoral Conduct in Nigeria

The Constitution of Nigeria 1999 as Amended provides that INEC is the body responsible for the conduct of general election in Nigeria. Nigeria is a federal state with the central government in Federal Capital Territory Abuja (FCTA), six (6) geopolitical zones, 36 states and 774 local governments. The executive office consists of the President and his Deputy at the national level, Governor and his Deputy at the state level and Chairman and his Deputy at the local government level. The Nigerian National Assembly consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate comprises of 109 members with three (3) each from a state and FCTA. The House of Representatives is composed of 360 members drawn according to population of each state. The State Houses of Assemblies are elected from respective constituencies based on population at the state and the same is applicable for councilors at the local government level. For each four (4) years, Nigeria conducts election for these elected political offices in four (4) phases: Presidential Election, National Assembly election, gubernatorial election and state house of assembly elections (Global Legal Research Centre, 2011).

The Nigerian 1999 Constitution provides for freedom of association in Section 40 including the formation and belonging to a party as a member. Section 65 to Section 79 and their subsections make provisions for the age qualification and other mandatory requirements for electing an officer into the National Assembly including the tenure limit. Section 106 discloses those who are eligible to contest for National Assembly seats while Section 107 provides some conditions that will make somebody to be disqualified. Section 132 up to Section 139 and their sub-sections provide for the qualification and conditions for election of a President, disqualification, tenure, other terms related to illness and incapability as well as resignation. Section 142 provides for the same procedures for electing a Vice President in Nigeria. Sections 176 to 184 provides for the establishment of the Office of the Governor, qualification for election, disqualification, death, incapability and the process for the conduct of election with Section 187 providing the same for the Office of the Deputy Governor. Section 225 and Section 226 with their sub-sections provide for the legal regulations on financing of political parties, sources of income and expenditure, campaign spending limit and auditing of parties' finances (Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre, 2019).

The second legal document that provides regulations for the conduct of election in Nigeria is the Electoral Act 2010 as updated. The Electoral Act in Section 1 provides for the establishment of the body,

Section 2 provides its functions, Section 3 explains provision of the body's fund and Section 4 provides for the expenditure of the Commission. Section 9 and Section 10 with their sub-sections provide for the registration of voters and continuous registration while Section 12 provides the criteria for qualification to be registered and Section 13 provides for transfer of registration from one unit or constituency to another. Section 14 to Section 22 provide additional explanations on other issues related to voters' cards such as issuance, replacement, distribution and usage. Section 23 and Section 24 provide laws relating to offences on voters' registration and selling of voters' card. Section 25 up to Section 78 with their sub-sections provide for all the rules relating to the conduct of election involving party primaries, submission of candidates' list, replacement of candidates, nomination, contest, delineation of polling units, provision of election materials, appointment of election officials, custody of election materials, the voting proper, collation of results, announcing of results, declaration of winners, election petition tribunals and other matters arising (The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), 2010). Other guidelines are provided in the INEC's 2019 document for election conduct. The fundamental issue of analysis in this study is the aspect in the guideline which provides for the issue of inconclusive election. The criteria were analysed in the discussions and findings section and this need not arrest us here.

The 2019 General Election: A Review

The 2019 General Election was conducted in February and March in the same year. Some challenges were encountered by the electoral body in the process of the election which include delay in the release of fund for procuring of electoral materials. The delay led to the phenomenon of postponement of the election from 16th February 2019 to 23rd February 2019 for the Presidential and National Assembly Elections and from 28th February 2019 to March 9, 2019 for the gubernatorial and state house of assemblies' elections (Sule, 2019d). Other challenges encountered include the multiplicity of parties which made the process cumbersome and difficult in terms of logistics (Sule, 2019d), the politics of decamping, intra-party conflicts which resulted in court litigations and issues of political party financing which is a beast that is seemingly difficult to be tamed by the INEC owing to the nature of money politics, vote buying, excessive spending, bribery and corruption in addition to characterised violence.

Some statistics were presented in the preparation to the 2019 General Election which are vital for analysis here. The number of contestants according to INEC was 23, 000 candidates who contested for different elective offices from Presidency down to the level of state houses of assemblies (The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), 2019). A total number of 92 political parties were registered and cleared to contest for the election in different levels. In the Presidential Election, 73 parties or candidates competed together with their running mates. At the state level, 1, 064 candidates contested for governorship seat in 29 states which were earmarked for holding of the election at that period together with their running -mates. In the National Assembly, 1, 903 battled for Senate, 4, 703 scrambled for House of Representatives, 14, 643 competed for state house of assemblies, 105 contested for FCTA Chairperson and 701 struggled for the post of Councillorship (Centre for Democracy and Development, 2019).

A total number of registered voters in the 2019 General Election is 84, 004, 084 million. The voters' registration by gender indicated 44.4 (53%) million is male while 39.6 (47%) million is female. The age category of voters revealed that 51% fall within the age bracket of 18-30, 30% fall within the age category of 36-50, 15% is within the age bracket of 51-70 while 4% is from 70 years of age and above. The voters' distribution by occupation indicated that 22.3 million are students, 13.6 million are farmers and fishermen, 11.8 housewives, 10.8 million are businessmen, 7.6 million are traders, 5.0 are civil servants, 4.5 million

are artisans and 6.0 million others. The distribution of voters across the six (6) geopolitical zones disclosed that Northeast has 11.3 million, Northcentral 13.4 million, Northwest has 20.2 million, Southeast 10.1 million, Southsouth 12.8 million and Southwest 16.3 million (Budgit, 2019). The results of the elections disclosed that the two (2) major contending parties struggled to win at all levels as indicated by the statistics in table 2.

Table 2: Summary of the Results of 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria

S/No.	Parties	Votes Won	Percentage
1.	APC	15, 191, 847	55.69%
2.	PDP	11, 262, 978	41.28%
3.	Others	826, 419	3.03%
4.	Total	27, 281, 244	100%

Source: (Sule, 2019a).

In the National Assembly Elections, the following results were obtained in both the Senate and House of Representatives by table 3.

Table 3: Summary of the Seats Won by Parties in the National Assembly Elections in 2019

S/No.	Parties	Seats Won	Percentage
Senate			
1.	APC	65	59.63%
2.	PDP	43	39.45%
3.	Others	1	0.92%
4.	Total	109	100%
House of Representatives			
1.	APC	190	52.78%
2.	PDP	151	41.94%
3.	APGA	9	2.50%
4.	ADC	3	0.83%
5.	PRP	2	0.56%
6.	AA	2	0.56%
7.	SDP	1	0.28%
9.	ADP	1	0.28%
10.	LP	1	0.28%
11.	APM	1	0.28%
12.	Total	360	100%

Source: (Sule, 2019a).

In the Gubernatorial Election, the following results were reported in table 4.

Table 4: Summary of Governorship Election in 2019

S/No.	Party	Seats	Percentage
1.	APC	16	51.61%
2.	PDP	15	48.39%
3.	Total	31	100%

Source: (Sule, 2019a).

The gubernatorial election was not conducted in all the 36 states because some of the states have different time table for holding of their elections due to some circumstances that altered the process in those respective states. Initially, elections hold in 29 states on March 2019, 23 of them were declared with six of them reported as inconclusive. Two other states hold their election later in November 2019 making the tally 31. This is where the problems and issues emanated from because the gubernatorial elections in many states were bedeviled and enmeshed in violence, massive rigging, subversion of the process, irregularities and even killings in some of them as reported by European Union (2019), Centre for Democracy and Development (2019), International Republican Institute (2019) and National Democratic Institute (National Democratic Institute, 2019).

Framework of Analysis

The work adopted Game Theory to explain the rationale behind why some gubernatorial elections were declared inconclusive and why there were issues in them. The theory will help in understanding the context of the study, it will strengthen the literature and help in portraying the illustration in the findings. Election is considered by this study as a game that is played between two or more competitors who can go to any extent to secure victory at all cost especially in Nigerian context. Election is a struggle and a competition for power in a democratic system just like giant football teams who are competing for a golden cup in a tournament. Politicians compete intensely for elective offices like two rival football teams in a derby. In the game of football, players employ all techniques, strategies and approaches known and unknown to their rivals to win at all cost even if it's through other means. The same is obtainable in the game of politics and in Nigerian context specifically.

Game Theory is the mathematical and matrix of permutations and analyses which postulate the process of decision-making under intensive competition. In modern politics, competition for power is played like games. Game Theory can be used to depict the process of decision-making in domestic and international politics and by both state actors and organisations in a strategic situation. Election is a competition by parties and candidates to secure victory into political offices for the promotion of the ideology and interests of the competitors. The foundation of Game Theory can be traced to John Von Neumann and Oscar Morgenstern (1947). They established the mathematical and economic rules and combinations for understanding strategic competition and decision making to make both ends meet for the competitors.

The Theory assumes that in the process of competition, players adopt different techniques and strategies in the pursuance of their goal to outsmart other closer competitors. The Theory has some mathematical combinations used to illustrate its applicability and practicability such as zero-sum game, non-zero sum game, prisoners' dilemma, game of chicken, payoff and other terminologies that this work need not go into because it has a limit for adoption and applicability in this context. This study just examines the rudiments of the Theory's assumptions and how it is related to the context of study in practical terms.

Game Theory has five assumptions as follows: every game has two or more players who are closely competing for the same goal; there is a payoff based on the players' norms and preferences; there are set rules and regulations for players in playing the game; the competing players possess diverse information and data on their opponents' movements and strategies and competing movement interact in the game. In applying the Theory to this study, it can be easily linked with contestants for the post of governorship offices in some selected states under study as players where the case of inconclusive were recorded as

competitors who have the knowledge of the environment, they are aware of the rules of the game, they target the same goal, they employ different strategies to outsmart each other and possess a deep knowledge of what their rivals are preparing. At the end, those who were able to outsmart the opponents emerged victorious from the process even amidst the break-up of the rules of the game and irregularities. The main aim is victory at all cost and using violence and rigging to win served the purpose well so the game is normal to the winners.

The data obtained were grouped and discussed here under three main sub-headings or themes as follows: guideline for the conduct of 2019 General Election; the cases of inconclusive election in some states, an evaluation and effects of inconclusive election on the credibility of the 2019 General Election.

Guideline for the Conduct of 2019 General Election

The INEC in the build up to 2019 General Election released some guidelines that must be followed in conducting the election. While most of the provisions in the guidelines are obtainable in the 1999 Constitution and Electoral Act 2010, some of them were incorporated recently. This study presented these guidelines succinctly in a tabular form for easy illustration in table 5.

Table 5: Guideline for the Conduct of 2019 General Election in Nigeria

S/No.	Guideline	Application
1.	Who is affected by the regulations in general	President and Vice President, Governors and Deputy Governors, National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives, Chairmen and Vice Chairmen FCT Abuja and Councillors FCT Abuja.
2.	Regulations numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7	Provides for who can vote, where to vote, when to vote, appointment of polling unit officer and APOs.
3.	Regulations 8 to 26	Stipulated the process of accreditation and voting process which include accreditation of voters by 7:30 am, opening of poll, method of voting, mandatory use of smart card readers for accreditation and voting, issues of missing name in voting register, card failure, taking care of person with disability, accidental destruction of ballot paper, use of electronic devices in the polling units, close of voting, sorting and counting, recounting, pasting of results, transmission and reporting of cases of over voting or cancellation which declare those affected units' results as null and void.

4. Regulations 27 to 32
Present the criteria for collation of results, from registration area, local government area, state constituency and federal constituency, senatorial constituency, governorship and presidential election. Phone calls were prohibited during the collation process by officers. Various respective forms called forms ECs are filled up each in its designated area and pasted up to the final collation centre by the electoral workers.

5. Section 33 and its subsections
Supplementary elections can occur where the election is declared null and void in an area and it is believed that the result will affect the overall outcome. Where the total number of cancel votes are less than the margin of lead between leading candidate and contending candidates, the officer shall declare the results. Where the margin of lead between the two leading candidates is not in excess of the total number of voters registered in polling units where elections are not held or voided in line with Sections 2 and 53 of Electoral Act, the election is declared inconclusive and a new date is fixed for holding the supplementary election.

Source: (The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), 2010)

The above were brief review of some of the guidelines for the conduct of the 2019 General Election. Not all the provisions were presented in the table because the most important area of concern for this study needs to be covered while other sections may not be relevant in the analysis. The crux of the matter which is the phenomenon of inconclusive election was bolded to indicate that this is the section that the study pays much attention to. The section indicates that the margin of lead issue may lead to inconclusive election and the declaration of a supplementary election. The issue is that it is not a provision in the 1999 Nigerian Constitution neither in the Electoral Act 2010. It was introduced in 2018 during the gubernatorial election in Osun state which led to some loopholes that politicians identified as a means of escaping defeat in 2019 General Election as we shall see in the later section. For instance, if the leading candidate A leads with a margin of 5, 000 votes, and a polling unit or ward is cancelled which has a total registered voters of 8, 000, and the number of accredited voters on that particular day was 3, 000, the final verdict is 8, 000 is higher even though, only 3, 000 was accredited then the election is declared inconclusive and a new date is set for a supplementary election even when the leading candidate fulfilled other requirements of a simple majority and securing a 25% of votes in two-thirds of the constituency that he is contesting. It

sounds illogical in the perception of this study because even if the election is hold again, it would be difficult for the number of voters to be higher than the initial first day which means by logic, the leading candidate wins the election but if he is an opposition where he lacks the powers of incumbency, the supplementary election may turn the result against him as it happened in the case of this study in some areas.

Politicians will not hesitate to utilise all techniques to win the race of election at all cost. Inconclusive election was found to be convenient for restrategising by incumbents or ruling parties who were at the verge of losing to manipulate. Although it is constitutional since INEC provides such as part of the guideline for the conduct of the election, how politicians use legality and illegality to escape defeat and sanction is another matter differently. The Game Theory is practically visible in this perspective because the politicians found the loophole of inconclusive election as a strategy for make up towards victory. In some of the affected areas, the opposition party is winning until the declaration of inconclusiveness which saw another version of results later. Neither the ruling nor the opposition party is exonerated from the attempt at manipulation as observed by most of the informants. It is only the powers of incumbency and the use of force that determined who laughed last in the race.

The Cases of Inconclusive Election in Some States: An Evaluation

As earlier observed in the regulations and guidelines for the conduct of 2019 General Election, it eventually occurred that some elections in some states had to be declared inconclusive. An election took place in Osun state in 2018 which was the due date for holding of gubernatorial election in that state. INEC introduced as one of the requirements for returning a winner the issue of inconclusive election. Once the margin of lead between the leading candidates failed to be in excess of the cancelled votes which is considered to have been a sum of all the registered voters even if not all of them participate in the election in the first place. The Osun case was identified by many analysts and pundits in Nigerian electoral process as a preparatory ground for what to expect in the 2019 General Election in the gubernatorial election. After the PDP candidate succeeded in leading with a slight margin, the APC welcomed the declaration for an inconclusive election in Osun which was suspicious and an anticipated attempt at turning the result. The APC candidate polled 254, 345 and the PDP candidate scored 254, 698. A margin of 353 emerged with cancelled votes of 3, 498. On the supplementary election day in Osun, the PDP agents were ostracised from the polling units of the affected areas which enabled for the APC to returned a result of its wish. Additionally, thousands of security personnel amounting to 7, 000 were taken there and that has terrorised and drive away several voters from the polling units. The final results displayed that APC now scored 255, 505 and PDP 255, 023 which indicated a difference of 482 (Alagbe, 2019). A report declared that the INEC results presented from the supplementary election was valid but the process was not free of irregularities (Africa, 2018).

In the 2019 General Election, six states experienced the cases of inconclusive election. Adamawa and Bauchi states in the Northeast, Benue and Plateau in Northcentral and Kano and Sokoto in the Northwest. In the case of Adamawa, the opposition PDP candidate was leading with a margin against the incumbent APC candidate of but the total cancelled votes in some polling units were more than the margin of lead. The election was declared inconclusive (TVC News TV, 2019). All efforts to alter the result in the supplementary election was resisted by voters as narrated by the informants consulted in that state from this research. The opposition PDP won finally (SaharaReporters, 2019a). The election did not record violence which is commendable. In Bauchi State, the same scenario with that of Adamawa was obtainable. The opposition PDP candidate was leading against the ruling APC candidate with a margin that was less

than the total cancelled votes in some areas in Tafawa Balewa and other local governments (Olokor, F. & Bakari, 2019). Before the supplementary election day, the APC candidate rushed to court and asked the court to declare him a winner and to stop the conduct of the supplementary election. The court initially accepted his request but later the judgement was turned down after an appeal by the PDP candidate. The electoral officers were intimidated and threatened from exercising their responsibility by the ruling APC in the state as mentioned by some of them in this research. The supplementary election was finally conducted and the people of the affected areas resisted all attempt to manipulate the result. The opposition PDP win slightly (Edeh, 2019).

In Benue, an unfortunate incidence of violence and characterised rigging by the two leading contenders, APC and PDP resulted in the cancellation of many areas in the state by the returning officers. The incumbent PDP candidate was leading with a margin that was less than the total cancelled votes. A supplementary election was declared (TVC News TV, 2019). On the supplementary election day, an unfortunate incidence of violence was reported in several places including shooting of some electoral officials, burning of election materials and terrorising of voters who vacated the polling units for their safety. The PDP candidate was declared a winner after several reports of irregularities and manipulation (BBC News Pidgin, 2019). The informants consulted in this research five of them attested to that except the PDP party executive who denied any wrongdoing and confessed that both of the contending parties were actively involved in the rigging and violence but the media was bias in its reporting. In his view, the people voted massively for their party because of its performance in the past four years that is why the opposition was lamenting.

In Plateau, the ruling APC has its candidate leading after the first election against the opposition PDP candidate with a slight margin accompanied with cancellation in several places. The margin of lead failed short of the total cancelled votes and an inconclusive election was declared (SaharaReporters, 2019b). The supplementary election was not violent as it was conducted peacefully but the PDP candidate who lost the election to the ruling APC alleged massive rigging, irregularities and connivance with electoral officials to sway the result in favour of APC (Hamalai et al., 2017). Most of the informants contacted by the researchers disclosed that the supplementary election in Plateau was fair except that the election materials were supplied lately in some places which made the election to start behind schedule. The informants further revealed that money was heavily used in the supplementary election for vote buying but there was no violence except in some flashpoints which are inevitable due to its volatile nature. However, the PDP party executive alone lamented that what happened on the supplementary election day was a charade and not an election because the ruling APC wrote the result it wishes and announced. We have challenged the election result in election petition tribunal courts with factual evidences but justice was blocked by the ruling party. It was an injustice meted on us.

In the case of Kano which is the magnum opus of this section, unpleasant and a disappointing story was reported by the electoral officials, media, civil societies, domestic and international observers, voters and analysts. The Kano election should not have in the first place been reported as inconclusive because it was concluded. Out of the forty-four local governments, the results of forty-three local governments were collated and returned indicating a slight winning margin by the opposition candidate PDP, the finally awaited local government result in Nassarawa local government was declared inconclusive because the Deputy Governor of the ruling APC in the State and the Commissioner for special duties went to a ward called Gama and torn the result sheet which was already collated and declared. The consequences of the actions of the government's officials led to the declaration of Kano results as inconclusive. Kano state is the

most populous in Nigeria with an estimated population of over 20 million, politically versatile and dynamic and an important centre that no party could afford to lose (Alechenu, 2020).

On the supplementary election day, an unfortunate incidence which shattered the hope of voters and other genuine stakeholders occurred. In the early morning, the Commissioner of Police Mohammed Wakil, who is popularly known as the 'trustworthy' for his upright and honest standing in matters of security and politics was relieved deliberately by the Nigerian Police Force Headquarters and was replaced by an Assistant Inspector General (AIG) and two Deputy Inspector Generals (DIGs). This situation led many to suspect a sinister motive because the Commissioner was able to contain all upheavals in the previous election which affected the whole state how could he fail to maintain peace and security in just some few areas for the supplementary election to the extent that three superior officers were instructed to replace him on that fateful day? Many alleged an arrangement from top, the national level in which the ruling APC has an interest in holding Kano at all cost for its political interest. Some of the informants narrated this position. In addition, there were allegations according to one of the informants, that the Commissioner was bribed in hundreds of millions of Naira to allow for the ruling APC in the state to perpetrate violence and subvert the result through intimidation of voters and opposition but he stood firm his ground against it. This, according to another informant, as likely as true as it may seem, the opposition PDP was not spared in the act of violence and an attempted manipulation too.

Apart from the security breach by the ruling APC which gave it an edge on the supplementary election day, thugs were seen moving in the affected areas for the rerun especially in Gama Ward in Nassarawa local government area brandishing and unleashing menacing weapons. Once the accreditation for the election commenced, the thugs unleashed their weapons on voters, opposition party, civil societies, observers and media. Several media including Channel TV, TVC News, VOA Hausa and BBC Hausa as well as local radio stations reported that their reporters were chased away at the threat of death by the thugs. Most of the informants interviewed revealed that what happened in Kano was just a charade by some charlatans who are desperate at all cost to secure victory. The election according to several reports and observers was violent leading to death of many innocent souls, their corpses were displayed in the YouTube and were circulated in Facebook and WhatsApp as well. The media reported several mayhems, some electoral officers deserted their stations and ran away for their life. One of the electoral officials narrated his ordeal to the researchers that he was threatened by armed carrying thugs at the verge of his life to surrender all the voting materials both sensitive and non-sensitive including the electronic machine of card readers. Cases of ballot thumping, ballot stuffing, ballot boxes snatching and manufacturing of results were all reported according to one member of the civil society interviewed in Kano. He further added that what happened in Kano could not be called an election but rather something else be it imposition or mandate stealing or robbery. The result of the election was challenged up to supreme courts but all the courts unanimously upheld the election as valid.

In the case of Sokoto State, a close contest took place between the incumbent PDP candidate and the opposition APC. The results were so tight that the margin of lead was less than 4, 000 which the ruling PDP candidate was leading with. Cancellations in some areas led to declaration of the election as inconclusive (Onah & Chukwu, 2017). On the supplementary election day, no violence was recorded or attempt at subversion but a scenario of vote buying was reported more than any other state that were affected by the issue of inconclusive election. A single vote was bought by the APC and PDP candidates' agents at the cost between N10, 000 (\$27.78) or N15, 000 (\$41.67). voters were subjected to selling their votes and their rights to freedom of choosing a leader of their choice because of abject poverty with Sokoto being one of the poorest states in the country (Animashaun, 2010). The PDP candidate, who was the

incumbent finally won with a slight margin (BBC News Pidgin, 2019). The case was contested in courts up to supreme court but all the courts upheld the election. Most of the informants with the exception of the APC party executive revealed that the process was decent and fair only that the academic INEC ad-hoc staff rebuked INEC for failure to sanction the open use of money for vote buying which is illegal according to Electoral Act 2010.

In the theoretical perspective, the Game Theory is applicable here which assumes that political decision making and competition by key players is strategising towards victory using all available means. The inconclusive election may have emerged from a natural cause by cancellation in some places but the initial cancellation itself is the product of political manipulation since it is mostly associated with violence by supporters and members of the leading parties in their bid to win at all cost. Take Kano for instance, the inconclusive was purposely created as a game to prepare for winning the final battle at all cost. It was not a hidden agenda that the APC party chairman in Kano State was reported in a widely circulated YouTube video obtainable in this link (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zBSZr84u084&t=19s>) to have said that the election must be secured for the party at the verge of death, at all cost. The cost was killings of voters and electoral officials as it was unveiled later. This process exhibits how Nigerian politicians play the zero-sum game in their unflinching thirst for power.

One irony with the cases of inconclusive elections in the states reviewed above is that cancelled votes were always the reason behind the supplementary elections but all the elections that were later conducted could not surpassed the margin of leading except in few cases as indicated in the table 6.

Table 6: Summary of the Results of Inconclusive Election in Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Kano, Plateau and Sokoto.

State	APC	PDP	Margin	Cancelled Votes	Leading Party
Adamawa	334,995	364,471	32,476	40,988	PDP
Bauchi	465,453	469,512	4,059	45,312	PDP
Benue	329,022	410,576	81,554	121,019	PDP
Kano	987,819	1,014,474	26,655	128,572	PDP
Plateau	583,255	538,326	44,929	49,377	APC
Sokoto	486,145	489,558	3,413	75,403	PDP

Sources: (Alagbe, 2019; Alechenu, 2020; Olorok, F. & Bakari, 2019; SaharaReporters, 2019a; The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), 2019)

The supplementary elections in the above states indicated that the total votes were not up to the margin of lead in most of the states which questioned the rationality behind the inconclusive as presented in the table 7.

Table 7: Results of Supplementary Elections in the Inconclusive Elections in the Affected States

State	APC	PDP	Difference	Final Winner
Adamawa	1,391	10,480	9,089	PDP
Bauchi	5,117	6,376	1,259	PDP
Benue	16,133	23,897	7,764	PDP
Kano	45,876	10,239	35,637	APC
Plateau	12,327	8,487	3,840	APC
Sokoto	25,516	22,444	3,072	PDP

Source: (Alechenu, 2020; BBC News Pidgin, 2019; Edeh, 2019; SaharaReporters, 2019a; The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), 2019)

In Adamawa, Benue and Plateau, the supplementary election was less than the initial margin of lead which means that ideally, there should not be such election once the leading candidate fulfilled other criteria to avoid the violence and manipulation of electoral process which will weaken democracy and disempower voters in the process.

Effects of Inconclusive Election on the Credibility of the 2019 General Election

The Presidential and National Assembly Elections was conducted peacefully in most parts of the country and it was believed that the process was fair. However, the gubernatorial election in some of the states rendered the overall evaluation of the electoral process in 2019 by observers and civil societies and many stakeholders as unfair and far from being credible. This is because there are many issues that affected the election which are identified by this research and discussed below.

Violence: the inconclusive elections in some states led to a violence that set the Nigerian electoral process in retrogression and democratisation was relegated backward. many informants narrated that if the elections were successfully round up in the first day as it happened in many states, the politicians may not have the chance to unleash terror on the supplementary election day. Other informants opined that violence of great magnitude occurred in some states that witnessed supplementary elections because the politicians intentionally desired to use it to achieve their goal of victory at all cost. Many observers (Centre for Democracy and Development, 2019; European Union, 2019; International Republican Institute, 2019; National Democratic Institute, 2019; Sule, 2019c; Sule et al., 2020). reported the scale of violence and condemned the process of the supplementary elections especially in Benue and Kano. The United States has unequivocally warned all the politicians in Nigeria that are involved in the process of the violence in 2019 General Election that they would be ban from traveling to America because of the damaging effects of their actions on democracy. However, not only the inconclusive states that experiences violence in the 2019 gubernatorial elections. The negative success of the violence in the supplementary elections motivated the ruling APC to repeat worse than what happened in Kano on November 2019 during gubernatorial elections in Bayelsa and Kogi. There were gunshots, use of fake security to perpetrate violence and terror on voters and stakeholders, all supervised by the security personnel. Sophisticated weapons including AK-47 and machine guns were used by thugs in the Bayelsa and Kogi election to win the two governorship seats (European Union, 2019; SaharaReporters, 2019b). The Bayelsa seat was returned to the PDP but not on ground of rigging but for irregularities in the presentation of certificates by the Deputy Governor of APC. The Game Theory again surfaces here in practice.

Rigging: another effects of the inconclusive election in the states under study is rigging of the election. It was believed by many of the informants that the election process in the affected states was dragged purposely towards the stage of inconclusive to enable them prepare for the next line of action. One of the academics and an INEC ad-hoc member consulted in the interview revealed that immediately the Kano and Sokoto elections were declared inconclusive, I knew that the game is over. The PDP was winning in Kano and APC was winning in Sokoto but the table was turned when they bought enough time to strategise for the next election. Levitsky & Ziblatt (2018) believed that such action was what kills democracy across the globe. They argue that from unguarded utterances, the politicians move into action that actualise their threats which are inimical to democracy. To support this view, it was cited above how the Kano APC chairman was reported to have uttered that they must win the election even at the verge of death. His utterance was actualised actively on election day. The civil societies, observers and some studies (Centre for Democracy and Development, 2019; European Union, 2019; International Republican

Institute, 2019; National Democratic Institute, 2019; Sule, 2019c; Sule et al., 2020) reported the same situation in most of the inconclusive areas. Again, the Game Theory was applicable here because the politicians took the game as a process of manoeuvring their way into power by every available means to them.

Disenfranchisement of Voters and Subversion of Electoral Process: democracy and election are inter-related and peoples' choice and aspirations are what are considered as the beauty of democracy. Unfortunately, in the 2019 gubernatorial election in some states that experienced the phenomenon of inconclusive, the supplementary elections denied many voters from exercising their franchise or the right to vote. Reports available to this research indicated that in many places such as Benue and Kano, voters were chased away with menacing weapons which scared them from approaching their polling units to cast their votes. In other places like Sokoto, voters were systematically disenfranchised when their votes were bought at the cost of between N10, 000 and N15, 000. Sorensen (2018) argues that political actors choose democracy only when it favours them. Elections are in most cases incompatible with democracy especially in the weak states like Nigeria where democracy is operated because of elite domination. The dream of democracy, according to Susskind (2018) is to provide good governance and freedom of choice of leadership and policy but the future of democracy is threatened by the actions and decisions of politicians as in the case of the supplementary elections in some states in Nigeria. Sule (Sule, 2019b) reported in his investigation massive fraud and manipulation in some places in the 2019 General Election. Most of the informants consulted in this work narrated their unpleasant personal experiences on supplementary election day. One of them disclosed that he was attacked together with his team in one of the inconclusive states with guns and machetes. They quickly surrendered the sensitive election materials to the gang and ran for their life. He was about to report to his superior officers when he heard the announcement of the results over the media in his area of supervision when election did not hold at all. Another revealed that they were instructed by thugs and ruling party members in the state of his assignment to leave the place of their duty and come back later to receive the manufactured results. When they contested the results, the senior officers accepted and asked them to comply. This prove the supposition of Game Theory of winning a competition by politicians at all cost.

Retrogression to Electoral Process in Nigeria: the election in 2019 was generally evaluated as below that of 2015 in terms of fairness and credibility (Sule, 2019c; Taiwo et al., 2019). In the 2015 General Election, both the ruling and opposition parties were satisfied with the results although the former President Jonathan lamented that the process was manipulated (Jonathan, 2018). But civil societies, observers, voters and INEC all agreed that the 2015 General Election was fair, credible and satisfactory (Sule, Azizuddin & Mat, 2018). Many informants reported that the much euphoria that motivated the Nigerian voters to vote in 2019 General Election building from the success of the 2015 was dampened by the irregularities in the supplementary elections in 2019 in some inconclusive states. Other informants suggested that what happened in some states gubernatorial elections especially in the inconclusive states paved the way for the ruling party to replicate the same in other states such as Bayelsa and Kogi. It depicts a serious setback in the hard-earned electoral integrity of Nigeria in 2015. Again, some informants disclosed that many voters especially in the affected states lost hope in the electoral process and broke their voters' card swearing that they will never participate in the process again. It is also a setback to democracy and democratisation as observed by Sorensen (2018), Susskind (2018) and Levitsky & Ziblatt (2018). The International Federation for Electoral System (IFES) reported a trend of decline in the confidence and satisfaction of voters on the overall conduct and performance of 2019 General Election The Game Theory is also applicable here. Politicians in playing a game of competition pay little attention to

integrity or credibility of the process that brought them to power in the case of democracies like that of Nigeria (Le Van, 2011). This is the reason why they employ all techniques irrespective of the damaging effects of the situation.

CONCLUSION

The study concludes that the inconclusive elections in some states were uncalled for in the first place because of the aftermath of holding the election which were characterised with violence, rigging, disenfranchisement of voters and discrediting democratic process. Politicians manipulated that section in the guideline for electoral conduct in 2019 to win at all cost particularly in states where the opposition party was winning before the declaration. The effects of the phenomenon of inconclusive election led to the perception of the 2019 General Election as unfair and incredible. It was a retrogression of the success recorded in the 2015 General Election. In the process of supplementary elections, many losers manoeuvred their way into power through the use of all available means against the peoples' wish. The study also concludes that the whole process of inconclusive election is a negative development in the history of Nigerian election and a setback to democratisation. The study also concludes that the inconclusive election should not have occurred in the first place since there are leading candidates who fulfilled other criteria constitutionally in order to avert the disaster that took place in the supplementary election day in most of the affected states. In order to arrest this phenomenon.

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India-France Relations in the Post-Cold War Era

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Abstract

It is not easy to carry out international cooperative relations especially after the cold war era, India is one of the countries that started to rebuild its country by conducting international cooperation, this study aims to analyze the very close cooperation relationship between India and France in several fields, such as diplomatic, cultural, educational, security, technology and even nuclear development are forms of cooperation between the two countries. So that later this research can be useful for countries that want to improve international cooperation relations. This study uses qualitative research with triangulation analysis techniques and content analysis which results in the nature of India-French relations in the post-Cold War era is almost amicable. Post-Cold War India-French relations are moving in the right direction in a multidimensional and multi-layered orientation.

Keywords: French, India, War, Postcold War

Tidaklah mudah untuk melakukan hubungan kerjasama internasional apalagi setelah era perang dingin, India merupakan salah satu negara yang mulai membangun kembali negaranya dengan melakukan kerjasama internasional, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis sangat eratnya hubungan kerjasama antara India dan Perancis di beberapa negara. bidang-bidang, seperti diplomatik, budaya, pendidikan, keamanan, teknologi bahkan pengembangan nuklir merupakan bentuk kerjasama kedua negara. Sehingga nantinya penelitian ini dapat bermanfaat bagi negara-negara yang ingin meningkatkan hubungan kerjasama internasional. Penelitian ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif dengan teknik analisis triangulasi dan analisis isi yang mengakibatkan sifat hubungan India-Prancis pasca Perang Dingin hampir bersahabat. Hubungan India-Prancis pasca-Perang Dingin bergerak ke arah yang benar dalam orientasi multidimensi dan multi-lapis.

Kata kunci: Perancis, India, Perang, Perang Dingin

INTRODUCTION

Countries like humans will not be able to live well without cooperation, since the era after the cold war, the recovery of the country has been the focus of the affected countries (Mingst & Karns, 2019), including India. One of the efforts made by India to restore stability to the country is to open relations with other countries (Sandole, 2013). India-France relations in the post-Cold War era were very close. In 1980, relations between the two countries were getting stronger starting with the French who wanted to provide various forms of cooperative relations to be carried out with India. Relations between India and France have traditionally been close and friendly. With the establishment of the strategic partnership in 1998, there has been significant progress in all areas of bilateral cooperation through regular high-level exchanges at the Head of State / Head of Government level and increased cooperation and exchange including in special areas such as research cooperation beyond numbers, defense, education (Sheth, 1995).

Even France is a country that has collaborated with India in the field of civilian nuclear. In the post-Cold War era, India is facing many challenges. India is looking for a reliable Western partner to deal with common problems in the fields of international terrorism, global security, economic security and

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environmental disasters. Due to the same vision the relationship between the two countries is getting stronger and running well, many agreements have been made in the fields of trade, security, higher education and human contact. This research is interesting because it will discuss in depth the cooperation between the two countries (wikipedia, 2020).

As for previous research on Indian international relations such as research Mansingh (1994) on India and China relations, Chatterjee (2011) on India's international relations with China and the United States, Rekha (2017) on international relations between India and Russia and research by Ghosal (2016) on international relations between India and Israel, there has been no research that specifically looks at the international relations between India and France, the aim of the study is to find out what forms of international relations between India and France after the cold war which will be useful in studies cooperation in India later.

This research is very interesting because France is one country that is very close compared to the others, the relationships are all going well which will be very interesting to discuss and be used as a reference for other research and can even be a reference for other countries that want to start cooperation.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative research method (Bengtsson, 2016), where the researcher describes each data obtained in the form of narratives, with triangulation techniques and data analysis (Triangulation, 2014). The researcher analyzes the data obtained through literature studies and searches for data in Indian government archives.

This study focuses on the collaborative relationship between India and France, where the detailed relationship between researchers is divided into several parts to make it easier for researchers and readers to understand this research. The division of cooperation studied is in the fields of Diplomatic, Economics, Strategic Engagement, Science and Technology, Nuclear Energy, Defense, Cultural, Educational and Tourism Linkages.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Diplomatic Ties

Macron visits are believed to improve relations between the two countries. which is now for countries such as India and France to initiate an institutional narrative and become leaders. The arrival of the macron makes the India-France bilateral relationship bigger, and there are signs that the political leaders of both sides are exploiting it (Aliberti, 2018). India also has joined the United States, Australia and Japan as part of the "quad" initiative, a strong cooperative relationship between India and France that is growing and developing in the western Indian brothers. While China is starting to take advantage of India's geographic location in the Indian Ocean here India needs a strong partner such as France as a powerhouse in protecting its territories and France can continue to play its traditional role as a provider of national and regional security. On this view, cooperation to achieve the ultimate goal of an interoperative naval force that can use each other's naval facilities will inevitably result in a more effective security architecture in the India-Pacific.

The visit between the presidents has become a new determination for the two countries in forging a partnership, the visit of French president Francois Hollande in 2016 and President Macron afterwards,

and vice versa Prime Minister Narendra Modi also visited France, this strong diplomatic relationship is what makes the relations between the two countries quite close and the cooperation is running smoothly.

After the Nukti Trial in 1998 France became the main venue and the first country to dialogue with India, as well as the imposition of bilateral sanctions on India France provided support and provided a broader understanding of India's security obligations than any other country. In addition, France also helped establish a website called Sriharikota (Mukherjee & Biswas, 2005) and assisted in the development of hosting machines. After the Cold War France also decided that France's preferred partner in the Indian Ocean was India, which was stated in the 1998 strategic partnership agreement and the 2008 civilian nuclear agreement. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and subsequent liberalization reforms in India in the early 1990s opened new frontiers in view Indian foreign policy. The steady growth of the economy and the developing military modernization program should be recognized by the French establishment (Babar, 2019).

Important points in the French cooperation relations in the diplomatic field can be seen from 3 indicators, namely France supports India for a permanent seat on the UN security council, France supports India's membership in the Multilateral Export Control regime - NSG and MTCR and political cooperation begins with French support for India in limiting international sanctions on Delhi following the 1998 nuclear test.

Economic Relations

Due to India's confined economic policy India-France, trading relations could not grow during the Cold War period (S. Gupta, 2009). After opening-up, its market emphasizing the market economy in the early 1990s commercial linkages started to grow between the two. India's big and potential market and impressive growth of economy collectively abled to attract the various investors of France to invest in India. Bilateral trading relations increased gradually, but it is not satisfactory. France is the 9th largest investor in India. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows from France to India is very impressive. France is the ninth-largest foreign investor in India. France government and various MNCs have invested a good amount of money in India. Around 1000 French companies started business in India. Around 150 Indian companies have invested in France. French companies like Capgemini, Schneider Electric, Lafarge, Renault, Sanofi Aventis, Essilor, BNP Paribas, Louis Dreyfus, Armateurs, Alstom, Areva, Saint-Gobain, Onyx, Pernod Ricard, Alcatel-Lucent, Louis Vuitton, L'Oreal, GDF, Total, Danone, Air Liquide, Vici, Veolia, Vicat, etc. France companies have invested in various sectors like Chemicals, Cement and Gypsum Products, Services Sector, Fuels, Electrical Equipment, and automobile sector.

In terms of the economy, when viewed from April 2018 to March 2019, the economic relations between the two countries reached USD 11.89 billion, of which India's exports to France reached USD 5.23 billion, an increase of 6.78%. and French exports to India increased 2.17% in the same period to USD 6.66 billion. It's just that if the total overall trade relationship is still low, trade between India and France is only up to 1.41% of the international trade that is carried out (Embassy of India, 2020).

Both India and France have important bilateral investment and trade and commercial cooperation. The Joint Economic Committee exists at the Minister of Trade level from both sides. To increase bilateral trade several joint working groups have been formed in various fields, such as Information & Telecommunication Technology, Road Development, Sustainable Urban Development, Agriculture and Food Processing, Mineral Exploration and Development, Energy, etc.

Strategic Engagement

In the post-Cold War era, the entire has to face several new unconventional security challenges like a nuclear race among the states, terrorism, religious extremism, trafficking, growth of sea piracy, ethnic conflict, risk of biochemical weapons, pandemic diseases like HIV, Ebola, COVID-19, etc. These are posed a serious threat to all countries. To chase against the evil forces, joint actions are necessary. The nature strategy of a state is now multi-dimensional and collaborative. This can be called 'strategic interdependency'. India and France have made an inter-dependent strategic partnership. Both countries started joint naval exercises 'Varuna' in 1983. As the bilateral naval exercise, the 'Varuna 2019' held in two phases. The first phase was held in Goa and the second part of 'Varuna 19' held at the end of May in Djibouti, France (Scott, 2019).

Security cooperation is one of the issues of cooperation between the two countries in dealing with terrorists, starting with a naval exercise in 1983 called "Varuna" in 2001, this is a form of strategic cooperation between the two countries. growing together in the old complexity, this exercise can illustrate the close relationship between the two countries, which is in line with the vision of the two countries which was ratified by the signing between the two President Emmanuel Macron and Prime Minister Narendra Modi on a fresh visit in March 2018. This exercise was carried out with the intention of developing interoperability between the two naval forces and encouraging cooperation by way of direct practice together for a long time. which this exercise also aims to promote maritime security activities and demonstrate the same commitment and interests between the two countries.

France's early resistance to decolonization and its encampment with the US-led military alliances were in contradiction to India's anti-imperialist and Non-Alignment policies. India's preoccupation with its inward-looking domestic political economy offered little common ground for Paris to engage with New Delhi (A. Gupta, 2016). France is very much aware of the security challenges in the South Asian region and the growing Chinese influence in the India-Pacific region. France's wider security interests in the region, especially terrorism, and maritime security concerns in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) also call for enhanced cooperation with India (Swati, 2017:137). France has been one of the key partners of India's defense and security. France has been one of the major technology providers and joint defense equipment manufacturers of India. In the field of defense, the India-France relation is a buyer-seller in nature.

The geopolitical interests of France in South Asia are very much vested due to secure its sea-based trade routes in the Indian Ocean. India is the largest arms importer of the world during the period 2012-2016 (Times, 2017). The hard reality is that France is considering India as a very good client for selling arms and defense-equipment. India aims to be a global power insisting he strengthens its national security. As a part of it, India is purchasing more arms from France. This is one of the cases of the growing synergies between New Delhi and Paris. In 1998, the two countries had initiated 'Strategic Dialogue' for the convergence of their strategic perceptions. Strategically, India and France have made close ties. For France, "European Strategic Autonomy" is a continuation of its own concept of "National Strategic Autonomy" and this should be familiar to parts of India because India also applies a similar system (Petersen, 2019). It is also true that France did not fulfill all defense-related demands made by India. For Instance, French manufacturer would not stand for India's request to have over 100 of the 126 fighters constructed by Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) in India.

The main ongoing bilateral defense-related projects are as follows: Intergovernmental agreement for India's unsuccessful purchase of 36 Rafale jets in New Delhi on 23 September 2016 by India and France, Contract for six Scorpion submarines from M / s DCNS signed in October 2006, Multi-role and twin-engine fighters will meet important shortcomings in the armament of the Indian Air Force (IAF), New Delhi plans

to use the fighter as part of the "strategic air delivery system" for nuclear weapons and IAF also inducted the first domestically developed Tejas Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) earlier this year and a single-engine light fighter intended to replace the MiG-21 fleet.

India is looking for strategic space in the India-Pacific region. There is great potential in India-French collaboration in the Indian Ocean. While India is engaging the US, Japan and Australia as part of the "Quad" initiative, close bilateral partnerships with France are developing in the region, particularly in the western Indian Ocean.

Cooperation in Science and Technology

In the field of science and technology field, New Delhi and Paris did a lot of works together. Mainly, India and France science and technology cooperation based on 'space science'. India's relations with France in space science had commenced in 1964, based on French technological support. Since then, France has provided technical assistance to India for building and developing India's Space Research Centre. Until now, around fifty French technology-based indigenous rockets have been launched from the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS) that has contributed significantly to the foundational development of India's space programme (Lele, 2015). In 1972, the India-French Joint Commission for Space Research was established by ISRO to conduct a joint research programme for manufacturing satellites and satellite launcher vehicles. France has always been an important partner in the development of advanced technologies.

The major areas of cooperation in the field of science and technology are as follows—

1. India and France issued a "Joint Vision for Space Cooperation" during the visit of President Macron to India (March 2018) to establish a historic bonding in space science.
2. The two sides have jointly developed the Megha-Tropiques satellite providing valuable scientific data. ISRO and France Space Research Centre had launched a satellite-GSAT-11 in December 2018 from France.
3. The two countries are also cooperating in the training of medical support personnel for Indian astronauts, who will be part of India's manned space mission by 2022.
4. An Implementing Arrangement between ISRO and CNES France for Joint Maritime Domain Awareness was also signed during this visit. France is cooperating with ISRO for the last fifty years. The French Space Agency is conducting a joint research project with ISRO.
5. In 2015, Indian Prime Minister Modi and French President Francois Hollande has made a roadmap of new space project- Planetary Mars Orbiter Mission(MOM).

Nuclear Energy Cooperation

To ensure its energy security both countries have concluded several agreements. Civil nuclear cooperation for generating electricity is a very significant step towards mitigating the energy crisis of India. Nuclear Energy cooperation is another key issue of India-France bilateral relations. The civil nuclear cooperation between India and France got started in the early 1980s due to the stop of American fuel and technological supply to India's nuclear power plants. After Pokhran-I in 1974, the USA cut its supply chain. Following the American standpoint, other Western countries were also uninterested to help India to get a bailout from this situation. France agreed to do a collaboration with India in civil nuclear energy. Since then, France started to supply uranium fuel to India's first nuclear power plant.

An agreement on civil nuclear cooperation was signed between India and France on 30 September 2008 during the visit of then Prime Minister of India to France. India is not a signatory of NPT and CTBT.

The USA, Russia, UK, China, and other countries took a strong standpoint against India for not signing on non-proliferation treaties. But, France had a softening attitude towards looking to India's responsible nuclear research and use. France was very much supportive of the 'India-US Civil Nuclear Deal' (Sharma, 2005). France is also very much supportive of India's accession in NSG and Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). In 2010, France had agreed to set up two European Pressurised Reactors of 1665 MW each at Jaitapur, India. Some environmental issues raised in the construction of the nuclear breeders. However, the projects are smoothly going on. Under that framework, the French utility company EDF and NPCIL signed a (revised) MoU on 22 March 2016 for the construction of six EPR units at Jaitapur of 1650 MWe each.

In Defence of International Terrorism

India and France are determined to eliminate terrorism from the globe. Several joint initiatives have been taken by the two countries. After the 9/11 incident both India and France had agreed to fight against global terrorism collectively. Al Qaida and the Taliban were the deadliest terrorist groups in South Asia. Since 2014, ISI or IS has been the most dangerous terrorist group in the world. Through their networks with the help of their sister's concerns, they operated several terrorist attacks in Europe. France was also vehemently attacked. As per the data of the Institute for Economics and Peace, USA, the number of countries experiencing a terrorist attack in 2015 was one less than in 2014, with 92 countries recording an attack in 2015. This makes 2015 the first year to see a decrease in the number of countries attacked since 2010 and could highlight a changing trend (Index, 2015). In the face of terrorist crimes that are increasingly angry India and France will hold the 14th meeting which aims to establish a joint working group against terrorism in India in February. Each country in sending their confidants from India is led by Mahaveer, a joint secretary for counter terrorism at the Foreign Ministry, while France is led by David Bertolotti, an assistant minister of foreign affairs for strategic security and disarmament at the French and European Ministries of Foreign Affairs. Both of which agree to jointly strengthen the security against terrorism, which forms the basis of the strategic partnership between the two countries. As part of this initiative, India and France conducted joint counter-terrorism exercises under 'Exercise Shakti-2019' at the Mahajan shooting range in Rajasthan from 31 October to 13 November 2019.

Cultural, Educational and Tourism Linkages

Both India and France are culturally rich. Both are fond of art, culture, music, and creativity. Indian culture is very popular among the French people. Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) regularly send cultural troops to France to perform various cultural events. enjoys wide admiration among the people of France. Private troops and individual artists, singers, dancers, actors, and actresses are used to go to France on various occasions. Some occasions are organized by Indian communities in France. ICCR regularly sends Indian cultural troupes to France. Indian Government has decided to open a cultural center in Paris to popularize Indian culture in French society. An Indian Cultural Centre is proposed to be opened in Paris. On the honor of the visit of President Hollande to India in January 2016, ICCR presented the 'Namaste France' Cultural Festival in France from 15 September to 30 November 2016. The Embassy of France, New Delhi also organized a French cultural festival 'Bonjour India' in India from November 2017 to February 2018. The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) had organized a Regional Hindi Conference at Inalco University, Paris from 14-16 September 2016.

To promote bilateral cooperation in the field of Science and Technology, the India-French Centre for the Promotion of Advance Research (CEFIPRA) was formed in New Delhi in 1987. Joint research

projects have conducted this Centre on various serious innovation for mankind. Based on Joint India-French research projects several patents have been achieved. India has been the 'Country of Honour' for the 2020 edition of Livre Paris, the Paris international book fair. India will organize *Namasté France* again in 2021-2022. To promote Indian culture and Philosophy in France Vivekananda Cultural Centre, Paris has taken so many initiatives.

The twenty-first century is the century of knowledge. Following Foucault's famous line, 'knowledge is power' it is quite natural to enhance bilateral knowledge exchange programmes through education and technology. India and France have expanded educational cooperation in the field of science and technology, literature, management, business and finance, social sciences. Around 10000 Indian students are studying in France. Several leading universities and institutions of India are offering French language courses. During the visit of Prime Minister Modi to France in April 2015, the two sides decided to facilitate the professional experience for their students in both countries after the completion of their academic courses. Around 109,000 Indian community living in France. They are felicitating Indian history, heritage, Philosophy, and culture in France. There are more than 50 Indian community organizations active in France. Major communities constituting the Indian origin population originate from Puducherry and Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, and Punjab. The International Day of Yoga has been organized by the Embassy of India, Paris. Indian community and Indian Embassy of France has celebrated the 150th birth anniversary of Gandhi Ji. In 2018, 700 000 Indian tourists visited France, 17 % more than in 2017 and more than 250,000 French tourists visited India. Several tours and travel companies in India are conducting the package tour in Europe. Through tourism people to people, contact is not only enhancing, but both sides are also being economically benefiting.

CONCLUSION

The nature of India-France Relations in the post-Cold War era is almost cordial. In the post—Cold War India-France relations go in the right direction with multi-dimensional and multi-layered orientations. In the economic sector, so many positive steps have been taken by the two governments. Since the early 1990s, French business houses and enterprises have started to make strong linkages with the Indian economy and industry looking to India's rapid economic growth and potential market. Bilateral cultural and educational linkages are also immensely helped India in growing people-to-people contacts. Diplomatically, India has been supported by France on many issues. Indian Constitution has borrowed so many ideas from the French Constitution. The democratic values and liberal approach of the two countries create an opportunity to share a common standpoint in world politics.

France is very much supportive of India's desire for accession to the NSG. India and France have taken so many decisions regarding climate change and global warming. India and France have consistently condemned terrorism and have resolved to work together for the adoption of the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT) in the UN. After the Pulwama attacks, France had condemned Pakistan and supported India's immediate action. France also agreed with India to take punitive measures against the Pakistan-based 'global terrorist' Hafiz Saeed. Its, true on some issues both differed to each other, yet, it can be said New Delhi-Paris relations is less ambiguous in comparison to others.

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Persepsi Masyarakat Rural terhadap Profil Calon Presiden Dalam Pemilihan Presiden 2019

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ABSTRACT

The general election period is a period associated with a democratic party in which each voter determines the choice and many determinants are considered voting. In addition, the interference of the media in framing an election news also colored this 2019 election contestation. But does this apply in all societies? Whereas in the rural area, it seems that the influence of the media is not touched at all. So from that problem formulation in this research is how is the perception of rural communities towards the profile of presidential candidates in 2019? The method used is qualitative research with data collection techniques with in-depth interviews, observation and documentation. The final goal of this study is to find out how people's perceptions of the profile of presidential candidates in the 2019 presidential election. The conclusion of this study is that informants from all three age groups have and put great hopes on each candidate they will choose in the 2019 election. On one hand, the media will help raise the profile of the candidates who will compete in the general election, but on the other hand, the media will also be a weapon destroying the profile of a candidate if the aim is to spread hoax news related to the bad profile of the prospective leader.

Keywords: Election, Profile of Presidential Candidates, Perception, Rural Community

ABSTRAK

Pemilu selalu menyajikan fenomena yang menarik untuk diteliti terutama pemilu di Indonesia yang penuh dengan pergerakan politik. Masa pemilihan umum adalah masa yang dikaitkan dengan pesta demokrasi dimana setiap voters menentukan pilihan dan banyak penentu menjadi pertimbangan memilih. Selain itu, campur tangan media dalam membingkai sebuah berita pemilu juga ikut mewarnai kontestasi pemilu 2019 ini. Tetapi apakah hal ini berlaku di semua masyarakat? Sedangkan di wilayah rural (pedesaan) seolah tidak terjamah pengaruh media sama sekali. Maka dari itu rumusan masalah dalam penelitian ini adalah bagaimana persepsi masyarakat rural terhadap profil calon presiden tahun 2019? Metode yang digunakan adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data dengan wawancara mendalam, observasi serta dokumentasi. Tujuan akhir dari penelitian ini adalah mengetahui bagaimana persepsi masyarakat terhadap profil calon presiden dalam pilpres 2019. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini adalah informan dari ketiga golongan usia memiliki serta menaruh harapan besar kepada setiap calon yang akan mereka pilih pada pemilu 2019. Disatu sisi, media akan membantu mengangkat profil dari calon yang akan bertarung dalam pemilihan umum, tetapi disisi lain media juga akan menjadi senjata penghancur profil suatu calon jika tujuannya adalah menyebarkan berita hoax terkait dengan keburukan profil calon pemimpin tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Pemilu, Profil Calon Presiden, Persepsi, Masyarakat Rural

PENDAHULUAN

Sayfa Aulia mengatakan bahwa kemenangan Pilpres adalah keberhasilan menarik simpati publik secara langsung yang diperoleh dari pencitraan bersifat personal. Gaya muda, penampilan kasual, kemajuan karier politik, dan harapan kebaruan adalah gimmick politik yang pengaruhnya dengan cepat bisa membesar lewat media massa (televisi, cetak, dan media sosial). Pilihan politik per individu yang tertarik terhadap hal-hal semacam itu terkonversi langsung jadi pilihan atas sosok presiden (Achidsti,

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2018). Kekuatan para calon yang maju dalam pesta demokrasi ini patut mempertimbangkan beberapa hal diantaranya kekuatan media, kekuatan komunitas, dan antitesis gaya kepemimpinan. Ukuran kekuatan media melihat bagaimana elektabilitas capres dinaikkan melalui pencitraan. Popularitas capres adalah satu faktor di antara faktor lain, yaitu kekuatan parpol dan jaringannya sebagai kunci kekuatan politik (Achidsti, 2018).

Kegiatan besar yang bertajuk Reuni 212 yang dilaksanakan dikawasan monas Jakarta telah menjadi perhatian utama bagi BAWASLU ataupun calon Presiden yang maju dalam Pilpres 2019 (Fautanu, Buhori, & Gunawan, 2020). Hal ini karena masa Reuni 212 memiliki jumlah yang sangat besar dan pengerahan massa yang militan ini merupakan peluang besar bagi kedua calon yang maju sebagai penyumbang suara. Tetapi Reuni 212 telah menyatakan tidak akan ada unsur politik dalam kegiatan reuni 212 meskipun calon presiden nomor urut 2 yaitu Prabowo Subianto turut diundang disana tetap calon tersebut tidak diperbolehkan untuk berkampanye (Adiyanto, 2020). Seperti yang dikutip dari laman BBC bahwa kesempatan pidato yang diberikan kepada Prabowo Subianto selama 3 menit hanya berisi ucapan terimakasih karena telah diundang dalam acara reuni 212. (BBC, 2019) Acara besar seperti ini memang salah satu jalan masuk bagi calon untuk bisa membangun profil dimata masyarakat sehingga kekuatan militansi akan berimbas kepada besarnya suara yang didapatkan hal itu dapat digambarkan pada tabel 1.

Tabel 1. Hasil Survey dari Litbang Kompas dan Liputan 6

Survey	Hasil	Keterangan
Litbang Kompas	Elektabilitas Joko Widodo dan Ma'aruf Amin (52,6 %) Prabowo Subianto dan Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno (32,7) Belum Menentukan Pilihan (14,7)	Menurut Litbang Kompas, Total pemilih yang masih ragu terhadap pilihannya bisa mencapai 46,8%, yang mana membuat hasil akhir dari pemilihan masih sulit di tentukan. (Kuwado, 2018)
Liputan 6	Elektabilitas Joko Widodo dan Ma'aruf Amin (47,7 %) Prabowo Subianto dan Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno (35,5) Belum Menentukan Pilihan (16,8)	Survey ini dilaksanakan pada tanggal 4 sampai 16 November 2018, dengan peserta survey merupakan warga yang mempunyai hak pilih pada pemilihan presiden (Liputan6, 2018).

Sumber : Hasil Olah Peneliti 2020

Gambar. 1 Gambaran Suara Pemilihan



Sumber : Koran Sindo (Sindo, 2018)

Gambar diatas menjelaskan bagaimana kompleksitas pemegang suara tiap partai di beberapa provinsi di Indonesia. Dari gambar ini juga terlihat bagaimana perolehan suara dan kekuatan dari setiap partai yang ikut dalam pemilu 2019.

Usaha saling serang antara kedua kubu yang berlaga di Pilpres 2019 menjadi sajian yang sangat menarik karena hal itu juga secara tidak langsung akan mempengaruhi elektabilitas kedua calon. Seperti kasus hoak Ratna Sarumpaet yang notabene adalah relawan salah satu psangan calon presiden maka ini akan menjadi alat yang bagus bagi kubu lawan untuk menyerang dan tentu harapannya adalah menurunkan tingkat kepercayaan terhadap paslon tersebut. (Liputan6, 2018)

Menurut Sayfa Aulia (Dosen FISIP Universitas Sebelas Maret), pilpres 2014 adalah polarisasi keras antara gaya politik dua kelompok besar. Hasil Pilpres berlanjut hingga ke tahap “rivalitas intra-pemerintahan”. Konflik politik Koalisi Indonesia Hebat (KIH) dan Koalisi Merah-Putih (KMP) adalah contoh betapa kerasnya pertarungan yang berlanjut ke hulu proses demokrasi: DPR RI. Kubu yang satu boleh memenangkan kursi presiden (eksekutif), tetapi kubu lainnya mengunci fungsi perundangan dan anggaran (via legislatif). Kondisi semacam ini menunjukkan bagaimana masing-masing kelompok politik punya gaya politik yang khas. Ada banyak unsur dalam gaya politik, antara lain mesin ekonomi (kepemilikan sumber daya bisnis), mesin politik (jaringan dan konstituen), sampai brand yang ditanamkan pada publik (visi, janji, label figur, dan komunikasi politiknya). (Achidsti, 2018)

Ukuran kedua terkait cara parpol memaksimalkan jaringan politik lokal (basis massa) dan pengelolaan isu. Jika ditambah jumlah anggota dewan dan kepala daerah, gabungan parpol non-Jokowi relatif masih sama kuatnya dalam jaringan politik lokal. Asumsikan jika kekuatan ke bawah relatif sama,

maka pertarungannya adalah soal mengelola isu sehingga bisa mempengaruhi cara pandang publik dalam menentukan presiden yang pantas. Kekuatan ketiga adalah isu alternatif dimana hal ini akan menjadi faktor penting dalam siklus politik yang dalam konteks ini, Jokowi pada Pilpres 2014 dianggap semacam “antitesis” (kebalikan) dari kepemimpinan figur militer SBY (Achidsti, 2018).

Segala hiruk pikuk dari pemilihan umum ini tentu akan semakin marak di kota-kota dengan akses informasi yang mudah tetapi mungkin saja informasi yang cenderung terbatas seperti wilayah pedesaan tidak akan berlaku isu-isu ini dimana kecenderungan stigma yang melekat pada masyarakat pedesaan adalah identik dengan sikap yang kolot dan tradisional (Nasution, 2016, p. 36). Jika melihat dari beberapa literatur yang telah ada seperti diungkapkan Siska Sasmita dengan judul artikel “*Peran Informasi Politik Terhadap Partisipasi Pemilih Pemula dalam Pemilu/Pemilukada*” Artikel yang diterbitkan oleh Jurnal Ilmiah Administrasi Publik dan Pembangunan ini membahas tentang keterkaitan antara ketersediaan informasi publik terhadap siap pemilih pemula dalam menentukan pilihannya dalam pemilu. Kesimpulan dari artikel ilmiah ini adalah pemilih pemula masih dipengaruhi ikatan emosional dan komersial dalam menentukan pilihan politiknya. Kecenderungan irrasional dari pemilih pemula ini hendaknya dapat dihindari melalui pendidikan politik yang secara intensif dilakukan pemerintah dan partai politik. Pemerintah tidak bisa melepaskan tanggungjawab pelaksanaan pendidikan politik kepada LSM. Partai politik pun harus mampu membuktikan komitmennya kepada pemilih pemula hingga pemilih pemula tidak enggan berpartisipasi dalam kehidupan politik dan kenegaraan (Sasmita, 2011).

Beberapa penelitian terdahulu seperti penelitian oleh Sarbaini dalam artikelnya membahas tentang persepsi masyarakat pedesaan terhadap politik khususnya di Desa Tenantang dimana masyarakat Desa ternyata memiliki pandangan yang negative terhadap partai politik sehingga kesimpulan dari artikel ilmiah ini adalah Persepsi masyarakat terhadap partai politik di desa Terantang Kecamatan Mandastana Kabupaten Barito Kuala, yaitu masyarakat Desa Terantang dalam memandang partai politik mempunyai sikap yang Politis, Apatis, dan Logis. (Sarbaini, 2015). Selain itu, Ani Mustaghfiroh juga melakukan riset dengan fokus terhadap persepsi masyarakat terhadap kepala desa sebagai penggerak politik. Yang menghasilkan bahwa dengan keterlibatannya sebagai penggerak politik, telah memberi pengaruh pada persepsi tersendiri dalam masyarakat terhadap kepala desa (Mustaghfiroh, 2011).

Anna Dameria Turnip dalam artikelnya yang berjudul “Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Peranan Partai Politik Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah di Desa Branti Kecamatan Natar Kabupaten Lampung Selatan Tahun 2015” Menunjukkan masyarakat memiliki pemahaman, tanggapan dan harapan yang baik terhadap peran partai politik. Di desa branti lampungs selatan tahun 2015. Kelemahan dari tulisan ini adalah hanya melihat sejauh baik buruk tetapi tidak melihat secara mendalam tentang bagaimana pendapat masyarakat dan juga pandangan masyarakat terkait dengan partai politik itu sendiri sehingga hasil yang didapatkan masih sangat dangkal (Dameria, 2016).

Dengan melihat pemetaan literature yang telah ada tentang persepsi masyarakat rural tentang pemilihan presiden masih belum banyak didapati yang secara spesifik membahas diranah masyarakat rural sehingga penelitian ini akan menjadi pijakan pertama dalam case study ini. Selanjutnya jika kita melihat juga di beberapa literature diatas masih sebatas mendeskripsikan persepsi itu diranah yang paling dangkal yaitu di ranah baik dan buruk atau bahkan orang mengenal atau tidak saja tidak sampai bagaimana suatu profil calon atau profil partai politik akan mempengaruhi individu dan juga masuk menjadi harapan utama dalam sebuah pemilihan umum. Untuk melihat hal itu maka perlu dalam penelitian ini kembali membahas tentang pengertian dari Persepsi Masyarakat sehingga dapat memunculkan arti dan rah yang jelas dalam penelitian ini.

Berdasarkan latarbelakang diatas maka sangat menarik sekali ditengah terpaan pencitraan atau isu hoax ini bagaimana kita melihat lebih jauh tentang persepsi masyarakat rural (pinggiran) terhadap profil calon presiden pada pemilu 2019. Berdasarkan latarbelakang diatas maka sangat menarik sekali jika melihat lebih jauh tentang persepsi masyarakat rural (pinggiran) terhadap profil calon presiden pada pemilu 2019?

METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif untuk memperoleh gambaran yang bersifat komprehensif yang mendalam tentang persepsi masyarakat terhadap profil calon presiden dalam pemilu 2019. Hal ini sejalan dengan pendapat Bogdan dan Taylor yang menyatakan "metode kualitatif" sebagai prosedur penelitian yang menghasilkan data deskriptif berupa kata-kata tertulis atau lisan dari orang-orang dan perilaku yang dapat diamati. (Moleong, 2002, p. 3) Dengan demikian penelitian ini akan lebih sesuai dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, yaitu data yang dikumpulkan berdasarkan ungkapan, bahasa, cara berpikir dan pandangan masyarakat.

Teknik pengumpulan data dan informasi dari informan menggunakan metode observasi dan wawancara mendalam (*indepth interview*). Teknik analisis data dengan menggunakan azas kualitatif fenomenologis, yaitu dengan tahap-tahap : a) Mereduksi data, yaitu mengumpulkan dan menyajikan data-data yang diperoleh menjadi fakta-fakta yang bisa diamati, obyektif dan sesuai dengan kebutuhan; b) Interpretasi data, yaitu mengolah dan mencari hubungan diantara fakta-fakta yang telah terkumpul, mengembangkannya untuk mencari kesesuaian dengan hipotesa (rumusan masalah) yang sudah ada; dan c) Membuat kesimpulan berdasarkan hasil analisis dari tahap sebelumnya.

Penelitian tentang persepsi masyarakat terhadap profil calon presiden dalam pemilu 2019 ini akan bertempat di Kabupaten Ponorogo dan diambil sampel secara acak. Penentuan wilayah Kabupaten Ponorogo sangat penting mengingat daerah ini bukan merupakan pusat kota dengan background masyarakat yang beragam sehingga validitas dari hasil penelitian diharapkan bisa mewakili seluruh lapisan masyarakat.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Ada tiga faktor yang mempengaruhi persepsi masyarakat dimana menurut Simanjuntak yaitu: (Sarbaini, 2015, p. 738) yaitu : *Pelaku persepsi, Target atau objek dan Situasi*. Menurut Simanjuntak (Robbins, 2011:88) Persepsi dapat didefinisikan sebagai proses dengan mana individu-individu mengorganisasikan dan menafsirkan kesan indera mereka agar memberi makna kepada lingkungan mereka. Jadi pengertian persepsi masyarakat dapat disimpulkan sebagai tanggapan atau pengetahuan lingkungan dari kumpulan individu-individu yang saling bergaul dan berinteraksi karena mempunyai nilai-nilai, norma-norma, cara-cara dan prosedur merupakan kebutuhan bersama berupa suatu sistem adat istiadat tertentu yang bersifat terus menerus dan terikat oleh suatu identitas bersama yang diperoleh melalui interpretasi data indera. (Sarbaini, 2015, p. 737)

Menurut Sarbaini, persepsi sangat dipengaruhi oleh unsur subjektif orang yang mempersepsikan, sehingga persepsi selalu mengarah pada fakta spesifikasi pribadi. Oleh karena itu, penerimaan terhadap objek yang sama akan ditanggapi atau dipersepsi berbeda oleh kelompok yang satu dan lainnya atau orang yang satu dengan lainnya. (Sarbaini, 2015, p. 738)

Berdasarkan hasil wawancara informan usia 17-25 tahun dapat diketahui analisis profil calon presiden 2019, masing-masing profil pasangan calon memiliki latar belakang yang berbeda-beda sehingga masyarakat memiliki daya tarik tersendiri dari masing-masing pasangan calon. Pasangan calon no 1 memiliki profil dengan gayanya yang merakyat, sederhana dan jujur. Pasangan calon no 2 memiliki profil mantan jenderal militer yang mempunyai jiwa kepemimpinan yang cinta NKRI dan didukung oleh wakil yang berkompeten karena masih muda dan memiliki *track record* yang baik. Sedangkan sosok yang harus ada dalam seorang pemimpin adalah pemimpin yang tegas, merakyat, dan bijaksana dalam mengambil setiap keputusan, seorang pemimpin yang bisa memimpin dirinya sendiri dan memimpin orang banyak. Setiap profil dari seorang calon presiden itu penting dan berpengaruh dalam pengambilan keputusan siapa yang akan mereka pilih. Sehingga latar belakang masing-masing pasangan calon membuat masyarakat berkomitmen terhadap pilihannya sendiri sehingga mereka tidak berpengaruh dengan isu-isu negatif yang berkembang saat mendekati pemilu. Masyarakat tertarik dengan kedua calon yang memiliki visi dan misi serta janji-janji yang menarik dengan gaya masing-masing untuk memajukan bangsa Indonesia 5 tahun kedepan.

Menurut informasi dari informan diatas kita semakin tahu bahwa sekarang banyak pemilih-pemilih yang cerdas dengan tidak mudahnya terpengaruh dengan hoax-hoax yang beredar di media televisi maupun media sosial. Mereka memilih yakin dengan calon yang mereka yakini baik untuk Indonesia kedepannya. Saat ini media massa memang sangat berperan dalam menentukan kemenangan calon presiden tetapi sebagian informan juga mengatakan mereka tidak akan terpengaruh oleh isu-isu yang beredar karena mereka mempunyai keyakinan pribadi masing-masing.

Kemenangan calon presiden akan berpengaruh terhadap kehidupan masyarakat melalui kebijakan-kebijakan yang akan dibuat oleh pemerintahannya (Suhaimi, 2019). Masyarakat sangat mengharapkan janji-janji calon presiden terealisasi karena jika memang janji itu terealisasi akan sangat berpengaruh terhadap kehidupan masyarakat kepada kehidupan yang lebih baik lagi. Tak sedikit informan menganggap janji-janji hanya digunakan menarik simpati masyarakat agar calon terpilih, tetapi akan lupa dengan janji-janji itu ketika sudah terpilih sebagai Presiden.

Setelah data yang kami cantumkan dari informan usia 25-35 tahun dapat kami analisis bahwa Profil dari Capres dan Cawapres sangat menentukan hak pilih masyarakat hal ini senada dengan penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Juditha yang menyatakan peran profile dari masing – masing calon mempunyai pengaruh yang cukup kuat pada penentuan seorang pemegang hak suara untuk memilih calon tersebut (Juditha, 2014), karena kebanyakan masyarakat sangat tertarik terhadap profil dari kedua pasangan calon presiden dan calon wakil presiden. Adanya profil dari kedua paslon Capres dan Cawapres sangat membantu masyarakat untuk mengetahui visi misinya dan membantu masyarakat untuk menentukan pilihannya. Presiden dan Wakil presiden yang memiliki kepribadian yang jujur, bijaksana, adil, tegas, bertanggung jawab dan mampu mengayomi masyarakat kalangan bawah, dan yang terpenting harus mempunyai kepemimpinan yang baik yang masyarakat inginkan.

Peran media juga sangat penting dimasa-masa sekarang apalagi dimasa pemilu seperti ini (Jati, 2013). Karena banyak masyarakat yang melihat kampanye dan profil dari kedua pasangan calon Presiden dan calon Wakil Presiden dari media terutama dari televisi dan media internet seperti sosial media (instagram, whatsapp, line, facebook). Namun dengan adanya peran media di masa sekarang atau dimasa pemilu ini banyak sekali beredar isu-isu negatif yang diarahkan terhadap ke 2 pasangan calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden. Namun walaupun banyak isu-isu negatif yang ada di media yang diarahkan terhadap ke 2 pasangan calon Presiden dan calon Wakil Presiden masyarakat tidak sama sekali terpengaruh karena

mereka beranggapan bahwasanya isu-isu negatif tersebut belum tentu benar dan masyarakat tetap berpegangan pada keyakinan diri sendiri untuk menentukan pilihannya.

Masyarakat hanya berharap kepada presiden yang terpilih nanti agar mampu menajalankan janji-janjinya dan visi misinya ketika kampanye dari situ masyarakat juga berharap dari visi misi presiden yang terpilih nanti dapat berdampak pada masyarakat Indonesia khususnya masyarakat kalangan bawah dan masyarakat juga berharap presiden yang jadi nanti bisa membawa Indonesia lebih maju lagi.

Berdasarkan hasil wawancara yang telah dilakukan oleh peneliti kepada masyarakat yang berusia 38-50. Terkait persepsi masyarakat terhadap profil pasangan calon presiden 2019, mereka rata-rata berpendapat bahwa ada yang menarik perhatian mereka dari profil pasangan calon Presiden 2019. Sedangkan mengenai harapan terhadap sosok seorang presiden yang akan memimpin bangsa nantinya yaitu harus memimpin Indonesia ialah sosok yang bisa jujur, adil, berwibawa dan mampu mengayomi masyarakatnya. Mereka beranggapan pula bahwa profil dari calon presiden merupakan hal yang penting guna memenangkan pemilihan umum. Selain itu terkait isu negatif yang beredar terhadap kedua pasangan capres maupun cawapres masyarakat tidak merasa terpengaruh terhadap isu yang beredar karena mereka beranggapan isu-isu negatif yang beredar belum benar adanya. Mereka juga beranggapan jika calon yang mereka pilih dalam pemilu jika menang akan mempengaruhi kehidupan masyarakat.

Rata-rata masyarakat dalam menentukan pilihannya yaitu melalui keyakinan diri sendiri dengan mengakses media sebagai sumber informasi guna memantapkan keyakinan mereka terhadap pilihan calon presiden dan wakil presiden yang mereka akan pilih nantinya. Selanjutnya mengenai harapan jika capres dan cawapres yang akan dipilih nanti menang ialah lebih peduli dan mampu mengayomi masyarakat terutama masyarakat kalangan bawah. Sedangkan terkait janji-janji yang di ucapkan capres maupun cawapres mereka hanya berharap akan dilaksanakan. Terkait perubahan apa yang diharapkan setelah calonnya menang tentunya ialah memperhatikan janji-janji yang sudah di canangkan ketika pemilu.

SIMPULAN

Kesimpulan akhir dari penelitian ini adalah profil dari setiap calon pemimpin terutama pada pemilihan Presiden akan menjadi keutamaan dalam menentukan sikap pemilih. Ciri khas yang melekat dalam seriap calon menjadi penguat dari profil yang mereka miliki. Penguatan profil dari calon menurut penelitian ini sangat efektif jika dilakukan melalui media sosial ataupun melalui media elektornik lainnya. Tetapi kembali lagi bahwa profil asli dari seorang calon akan menentukan sikap pemilih dimana jika profil aslinya sesuai budaya dan pola masyarakat pada saat itu maka baik pula profil yang akan terbentuk. Selain itu, traumatik dari sebuah profil juga ikut menentukan sikap pemilih dimana jika rakyat Indonesia akan sangat trauma dengan pemimpin berlatar belakang militer karena traumatik dengan era orde baru dan mereka tidak ingin era itu terulang kembali dibawah kepemimpinan militer.

Disatu sisi, media akan membantu mengangkat profil dari calon yang akan bertarung dalam pemilihan umum, tetapi disisi lain, media juga akan menjadi senjata penghancur profil suatu calon jika tujuannya adalah menyebarkan berita hoax terkait dengan keburukan profil calon pemimpin tersebut. Permainan media oleh pihak-pihak yang tidak bertanggungjawab tersebut akan secara masif menggiring opini publik jika berita hoax tersebut diberitakan secara terus-menerus. Tetapi pada penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa dua range usia tidak terpengaruh dengan berita hoax tetapi di informan di usia tua terpengaruh terhadap berita yang masiv tersebut. Sebagai penutup dari kesimpulan ini, peneliti ingin menyimpulkan bahwa memang benar media memberikan pengaruh terhadap penggiringan opini publik

tetapi profil yang melekat pada seorang calon memang sangat sulit untuk ditumbangkan oleh media selama calon tetap menjaga profil tersebut sampai dengan hari pencoblosan. Sentimen terhadap profil calon pada akhirnya membawa pada pemilih untuk menjadikan mereka semakin militan.

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Advokasi Kebijakan dalam Kerjasama Smart City Bandung dan Seoul lewat Kemitraan Sister City tahun 2016-2019

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ABSTRACT

Liberalism welcomes the most possible way for non-state actors (national government) to be engaged in foreign affairs. Duchacek and Soldatos stresses this thesis in their respective articles about the strong role of federal state engaged in foreign affairs. This research is part of the implementation of smart city cooperation through sister city partnership between Bandung – Seoul municipality where Bandung City government is viewed as subnational actor having the opportunity to implement paradiplomacy practices as a form of activity that is related to foreign policy. Research focusses on policy advocacy during the cooperation. Policy transfer and policy diffusion are methods for understanding cross-border policy advocacy processes. This approach comes from a number of multidisciplinary measures such as comparative politics, Latin American regional politics and international relations. In addition, this approach has not been widely used to explain the efforts of sub-national governments in carrying out cooperation between local governments. This study uses the literature study method to obtain all secondary data consisting of news, reports, other important documents that are processed qualitatively to produce explanatory explanations. This research comes to the conclusion of the realization of paradiplomacy during the cooperation and policy collaboration between two municipalities help to realize efficient and innovative governance (smart city). That, Smart City cooperation is manifested in the Sister City partnership in building Smart LBEG: Smart Living, Smart Branding, Smart Environment and Smart Government.

Keywords: policy advocacy, policy diffusion, policy transfer, smart city, sister city, partnership

ABSTRAK

Liberalisme menyambut baik cara yang paling memungkinkan bagi aktor non-negara (pemerintah nasional) untuk terlibat dalam urusan luar negeri. Duchacek dan Soldatos menekankan tesis ini dalam artikelnya masing-masing tentang peran kuat negara federal yang terlibat dalam urusan luar negeri. Penelitian ini merupakan bagian dari implementasi kerjasama smart city melalui kemitraan sister city antara kota Bandung - Seoul dimana Pemerintah Kota Bandung dipandang sebagai aktor daerah yang memiliki peluang untuk melaksanakan praktek paradiplomasi sebagai salah satu bentuk kegiatan yang berkaitan dengan politik luar negeri. Fokus penelitian pada advokasi kebijakan selama kerjasama tahun 2016-2019. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi pustaka untuk memperoleh semua data sekunder yang terdiri dari berita, laporan, dokumen penting lainnya yang diolah secara kualitatif untuk menghasilkan penjelasan penjelasan. Penelitian ini sampai pada kesimpulan realisasi paradiplomasi selama kerjasama dan kolaborasi kebijakan antara dua kota membantu mewujudkan pemerintahan yang efisien dan inovatif (Smart City). Kerja sama Smart City diwujudkan dalam kemitraan Sister City dalam membangun Smart LBEG: Smart Living, Smart Branding, Smart Environment dan Smart Government.

Kata Kunci: advokasi kebijakan, difusi kebijakan, kemitraan, transfer kebijakan, smart city, sister city

PENDAHULUAN

Transformasi hubungan internasional telah bergeser dari isu yang bersifat high politics seperti isu keamanan, konflik dan peperangan yang cenderung mengedepankan hard power menuju isu-isu kerjasama (Morgan, 1973). Arus globalisasi mengalami peningkatan yang dapat dilihat dari interaksi dan kerjasama antar negara. Seluruh aspek dari negara diharapkan terus bergerak maju untuk menghadapi era globalisasi serta meningkatkan segmentasi yang cepat di berbagai bidang. Ini yang mendorong negara untuk mengoptimalkan potensi dan sumber daya dimiliki. Dalam sudut pandang liberalisme klasik Kantian, praktiknya kerjasama menjadi tool paling efektif guna mengkatalisasi kooperasi antarnegara. Sedangkan diplomasi menjadi kendaraan strategis untuk merealisasikannya (Jönsson & Hall, 2005).

Pemerintah telah menyadari diplomasi tak hanya bertumpu pada negara, melainkan aktor-aktor hubungan internasional lainnya seperti Pemerintah Daerah (Neumann & Wæver, 1997). Kissinger (1955) bahkan menyebut kondisi dalam negeri turut mempengaruhi pelaksanaan politik luar negeri setiap negara. Selain itu, sebutan subnational government yang merujuk pada pemerintah daerah (local government atau municipal) juga muncul dalam Soldatos sebagai penggagas utama paradiplomacy. Demi konsistensi, tulisan ini menggunakan literasi subnational government yang perannya menonjol dalam praktik kerjasama Sister City (Liu & Song, 2020).

Peran aktif pemerintah daerah sebagai subnational government lebih jauh diterangkan dalam kebijakan otonomi daerah dalam Undang Undang Nomor 32 tahun 2004 tentang Otonomi Daerah yang diperbarui dalam ketentuan Undang Undang Nomor 23 tahun 2014 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah, pada pasal 367 dan pasal 7. Undang undang tersebut mengakui kebutuhan pemerintah daerah demi menjamin pembangunan yang menyejahterakan masyarakat maka subnational government diijinkan untuk menjalin kerjasama dengan entitas luar negeri. Sementara kementerian luar negeri sebagai koordinator penyelenggaraan hubungan luar negeri dan pelaksanaan politik luar negeri hal ini dijelaskan dalam Undang Undang Nomor 23 tahun 2014 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah tahun 2014. Kehadiran Undang Undang tersebut memperkuat peran dan wewenang subnational government. Pemerintah daerah diakui sebagai perannya sebagai pelaku hubungan luar negeri (Pujayanti, 2018).

Dengan kewenangan yang dimilikinya, pemerintah kota juga dapat meluaskan akses kerjasama dengan lembaga dan/atau pemerintah daerah di luar negeri. Salah satu inisiasi kerjasama yang banyak dilakukan di berbagai subnational government lain yakni Sister City. Berdasarkan data yang diperoleh dari Sister City International, suatu organisasi internasional non-profit bidang kerjasama kota kembar yang dibentuk oleh Dwight Eisenhower 63 tahun yang lalu, setidaknya terdapat lebih dari seratus negara menjalin kerjasama Sister City satu sama lain (Sister City, 2019).

Kerjasama ini mengusung konsep menggandeng dua kota yang berbeda lokasi dan administrasi politik. Apa yang disebut oleh Duchacek dengan Global Paradiplomacy yang bertujuan menjalin hubungan budaya, ekonomi, dan kontak sosial antar penduduk secara berkelanjutan (Duchacek, 1986; Duchacek & Duchacek, 2019), Kerjasama Sister City pada umumnya memiliki persamaan (similarities) keadaan demografi dan masalah-masalah yang dihadapi (Kartini, 2014). Dalam konsep Sister City, ini yang disebut dengan prinsip similarities (Ogawa, 2012). Similarities ini menjadi prinsip penting yang mesti ada dalam menjalin kerjasama sister city (Sister City, 2019).

Konsep kerjasama dua kota ini juga pernah diteliti dalam tulisan "Diplomasi Kota dalam Mewujudkan Zhongguo Meng: Hubungan China Indonesia" yang ditinjau melalui kerja sama Kota Kembar antara Surabaya-Xiamen dan Semarang-Beihai (Bramastya & Septiarika, 2020). Policy transfer tidak dibahas sama sekali sebagai salah satu unit analisis penelitian. Sehingga, hal ini dapat menjadi salah

argumentasi upaya signifikan Pemerintah Kota Bandung untuk mengimplementasikan kerja sama smart city dalam bentuk kemitraan Sister City.

Pendekatan transfer dan difusi ini baru-baru ini menjadi sangat populer di negara-negara Amerika Latin yang diperkenalkan secara mendalam oleh Mattioli dan Rodrigues (2017). Pendekatan ini berasal dari sejumlah langkah multidisiplin seperti politik komparatif, politik regional Amerika Latin dan hubungan internasional. Pendekatan ini menurut Marsh & Sharman (Marsh & Sharman, 2009) sifatnya dapat sebagai pelengkap, sekaligus bermanfaat untuk membangun pola serta menemukan hubungan dialektis antara kebijakan yang diadopsi dan implementasi kebijakan di pemerintah daerah negara tujuan. Dolowitz & Marsh (2000) menambahkan bahwa pola yang dimaksud dapat berupa adanya tingkat pengetahuan tentang kebijakan, perumusan administrasi, institusi yang terlibat, serta ide penyusunan agenda secara politis yang diperlukan baik yang telah berjalan maupun yang akan dijalankan dalam perumusan kebijakan. Difusi dan transfer kebijakan bermanfaat juga untuk mengetahui kompleksitas dan interpretasi kebijakan dari negara origin ke negara host (Stone, 2012).

Penelitian tentang kerjasama Smart City Kota Bandung telah cukup banyak dilakukan seperti (Adibowo & Putri, 2016; Hasibuan & Sulaiman, 2019; Hidayat, 2016; Mursalim, 2017; Rahmadanita et al., 2018). Sejumlah penelitiannya memiliki kemiripan yang dalam unit eksplanasi, selain memiliki unit analisis yang sama. Hasil penelitian Hidayat misalnya sampai pada kesimpulan bahwa smart city dianggap sebagai alternatif solusi untuk mengatasi persoalan dengan menggunakan unit analisis yakni Empat pilar pembangunan smart city meliputi; Pilar pertama adalah people (pengguna) termasuk karakter dan akhlak, ketaatan terhadap kebijakan (compliance), Pilar kedua adalah mekanisme dan standar pelayanan, termasuk pola hubungan antar stakeholder, mekanisme integrasi layanan publik dan data. Pilar ketiga adalah infrastruktur ICT, untuk mengintegrasikan pelayanan dan data (informasi) untuk men-drive semua akses online, media otomatisasi seperti infrastruktur jaringan, broadband, data center/cloud, data sharing platform/big data, aplikasi, cctv, dan sebagainya. Pilar keempat adalah struktur kelembagaan smart city untuk melakukan analisator, integrator, evaluator, serta menyelaraskan IT Governance dengan bisnis proses (Hidayat, 2016). Di dalamnya belum menyebutkan bagaimana kebijakan dari kota mitra diadopsi (ditransfer) ke Kota Bandung. Musalim juga berpendapat serupa. Ia menilai Smart city adalah konsep kota cerdas yang dirancang guna membantu berbagai kegiatan masyarakat serta memberikan kemudahan mengakses informasi kepada masyarakat. Konsep ini menekankan pada tiga konsep, pertama, sebuah konsep yang diterapkan oleh sistem pemerintahan daerah dalam mengelola masyarakat perkotaan, kedua mensyaratkan pengelolaan daerah terhadap segala sumber daya dengan efektif dan efisien dan ketiga smart city diharapkan mampu menjalankan fungsi penyedia informasi secara tepat kepada masyarakat dan mampu mengantisipasi kejadian yang tak terduga. Fokus penelitian ini berada di Kota Bandung yang mana kota Bandung telah memenangkan ajang Smart City Award 2015 yang diadakan oleh majalah Asia's Tech Ecosystem. Mengingat bahwa konsep Smart City ini masih terus berkembang dalam proses pembangunan dan pengelolaan kota di Kota Bandung maka perlu dilakukan penelitian. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis deskriptif dengan melakukan wawancara dan studi literatur yang mana hasilnya dapat diketahui bahwa sosialisasi mengenai Smart City yang belum merata, infrastruktur yang belum memadai, kurangnya pemahaman aparatur mengenai Smart City dan Sistem Operasional Prosedur hanya mengacu pada Roadmap Walikota Bandung (Mursalim, 2017) sedangkan Adiwibowo menyoroti praktik paradiplomasi dalam kerjasama Smart City Kota Bandung (Adibowo & Putri, 2016). Sedangkan Rahmadanita menulis hasil penelitian yang menilai kerjasama lebih menekankan pada aspek kontekstual kebijakan saja daripada pada aspek implementasi kebijakan (Rahmadanita et al., 2018).

Selain itu, pendekatan ini belum banyak digunakan untuk menjelaskan upaya pemerintah daerah dalam melakukan kerjasama antar pemerintah daerah. Kerja sama antara dua kota telah menghasilkan pembangunan ekonomi perkotaan, tata kota, transportasi kota, e-government. Transfer kebijakan dan difusi kebijakan merupakan konsep penting dalam proses implementasi kerjasama yang melibatkan proses advokasi kebijakan. Proses transfer kebijakan ini terjadi pada institusi yang ditunjuk oleh Pemerintah Korea Selatan yang dikoordinasikan di bawah Kementerian Ekonomi dan Investasi Korea Selatan, program ini disebut Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP).

Kerjasama Sister City telah lama dijalankan di beberapa negara dengan sistem pemerintahan federal – negara bagian. Sistem federal ini memberi keleluasaan kepada subnational government dalam menjalankan aktivitas hubungan luar negeri (foreign relations) (Duchacek & Duchacek, 2019). Seiring dengan perkembangannya, Kota Bandung tercatat paling banyak menjalin kerjasama Sister City. Kota Bandung melakukan kerjasama Sister City dengan dua puluh lima kota di luar negeri, namun berdasarkan data Staff Ahli Bagian Kerjasama Pemerintah Kota Bandung kerjasama yang masih aktif hanya berjumlah empat belas kota di luar negeri (Aju, 2020; Mugia, 2020).

METODE PENELITIAN

Bagian tulisan ini dimulai dengan intisari pendekatan liberalisme yang tidak membatasi adanya aktor lain di luar aktor negara sebagai unitary actor (aktor tunggal) dalam hubungan internasional. Perdamaian dunia menurut liberalisme dapat diwujudkan dengan lebih mengedepankan kerjasama daripada konflik dan membuka ruang seluas-luasnya bagi aktor lain untuk juga terlibat dalam urusan luar negeri tidak hanya urusan domestik. Bagian tulisan ini mengajak untuk melihat Pemerintah Kota Bandung sebagai entitas subnational government yang diberi wewenang untuk melakukan urusan luar negeri seperti menjalin kerjasama. Konsep menjalankan wewenang untuk dapat melaksanakan fungsi urusan luar negeri yang diijinkan ini disebut dengan parallel diplomacy atau akrab dikenal dengan paradiplomasi (Duchacek, 1986; Soldatos, 1990). Pemerintah Kota Bandung menerapkan paradiplomacy untuk dapat membangun kerjasama smart city dalam kemitraan Sister City.

Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti melandaskan fokus penelitian pada misi yang akan dilaksanakan dalam kerjasama Pemerintah Kota Bandung dan Pemerintah Kota Seoul, yaitu advokasi kebijakan yang terjadi dalam proses pembangunan ekonomi perkotaan, perencanaan perkotaan, transportasi perkotaan, e-government. Manifestasi kerjasama ini mengambil wujud dalam dimensi kebijakan sebagai hasil transfer kebijakan atau policy transfer dan policy diffusion menurut Mattioli dan Rodrigues (2017).

Policy transfer dan policy diffusion merupakan konsep penting dalam proses implementasi kerjasama yang melibatkan proses advokasi kebijakan. Policy transfer dan policy diffusion merupakan pendekatan yang saat ini tengah populer untuk mengetahui proses konvergensi kebijakan dari negara origin ke negara host (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Marsh & Sharman, 2009; Rodrigues & Mattioli, 2017; Stone, 2012). Proses transfer kebijakan ini terjadi pada institusi yang ditunjuk oleh Pemerintah Korea Selatan yang dikoordinasikan di bawah Kementerian Perekonomian dan Investasi Korea Selatan, program ini dinamai dengan Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP). Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi literatur untuk mendapatkan seluruh data sekunder yang terdiri atas berita, laporan, dokumen penting lainnya yang diolah secara kualitatif sehingga menghasilkan penjelasan yang eksplanatoris.

Policy transfer dan policy diffusion merupakan metode untuk memahami proses advokasi kebijakan lintas negara. Pendekatan ini belakangan cukup populer di negara-negara amerika latin. Pendekatan ini berasal dari sejumlah multidisipliner seperti perbandingan politik, politik kawasan Amerika Latin dan hubungan internasional. Selain itu pendekatan ini belum banyak digunakan untuk

dapat menjelaskan upaya pemerintah subnational dalam menjalankan kerjasama antara local government (Rodrigues & Mattioli, 2017). Pendekatan ini meneliti bagaimana kebijakan publik disalurkan atau terdifusi dan mekanisme dalam prosesnya.

Marsh & Sharman (2009) ini berpendapat bahwa literatur tentang transfer kebijakan dan difusi kebijakan bersifat saling melengkapi, tetapi perlu lebih fokus pada lima isu utama yang menarik wawasan dari kedua literatur. Pertama, pekerjaan di setiap area dapat menghasilkan keuntungan dari fokus yang lebih besar pada interaksi yang berubah antara berbagai mekanisme yang terlibat dalam difusi / transfer. Kedua, adanya upaya mengistimewakan struktur, sedangkan literatur seputar transfer kebijakan cenderung mengistimewakan agensi, namun diperlukan suatu pendekatan yang mengakui hubungan dialektis antara keduanya. Ketiga, literatur difusi kebijakan berkonsentrasi pada penemuan pola, sedangkan literatur transfer kebijakan meneliti penelusuran proses, tetapi penjelasan lengkap tentang transfer / difusi perlu melakukan keduanya. Keempat, kedua literatur difusi dan transfer kebijakan mengalami pemilihan kasus linier dengan, khususnya, terlalu sedikit perhatian yang diberikan kepada negara-negara berkembang. Terakhir, meskipun kedua literatur perlu tertarik pada apakah difusi / transfer mungkin berhasil / tidak berhasil, keduanya tidak memuat kriteria yang mungkin digunakan untuk menetapkan keberhasilan dan kegagalan kebijakan.

Secara keseluruhan upaya yang dilakukan pemerintah dalam mewujudkan kerjasama Smart City dalam kemitraan Sister City, menggunakan konseptualisasi milik Dolowitz & Marsh (2000) bisa dikenali apakah terjadi melalui proses copying, emulation, dan combination. Copying adalah proses policy diffusion yang mana subnational government meniru seutuhnya tanpa melakukan perubahan maupun modifikasi pada kebijakan subnational government lain yang menjadi mitranya. Emulation adalah proses meniru kebijakan pada tataran ide saja yang dicanangkan oleh subnational government lain dengan melakukan sedikit perubahan dan modifikasi yang diperlukan. Combination adalah proses policy diffusion yang meniru kebijakan yang dilaksanakan oleh subnational government lain tetapi menghasilkan output yang berbeda daripada output awal yang diinginkan (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000).

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Policy Transfer

Marsh & Sharman (2009) menyatakan bahwa *policy transfer* dan *policy diffusion* menjadi bagian yang sama dalam prosesnya. Terdapat tiga proses yang terjadi dalam *policy transfer* yakni: *learning*, *competition* dan *coercion*. *Policy transfer learning* adalah proses ketika kebijakan dari suatu pemerintahan subnasional diizinkan digunakan secara sukarela untuk dijadikan pedoman atau panduan kebijakan pada pemerintahan subnasional lainnya. Dengan *policy transfer learning* ini maka ada proses advokasi kebijakan terjadi secara dan atas kemauan bersama atau memiliki *mutual will*.

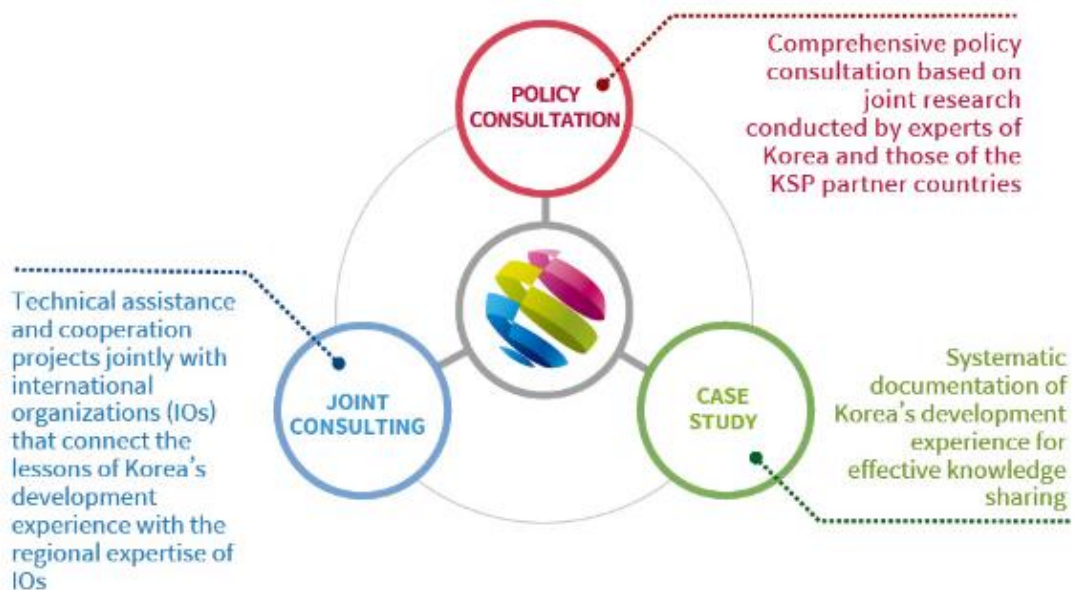
Policy transfer competition, menempatkan pemerintah Kota Bandung yang mendorong secara mandiri belajar kebijakan dan lebih proaktif dalam mendapatkan advokasi kebijakan dari pemerintah Seoul. Motivasi ini sebagian besar berasal dari keinginan agar dapat mendekati keunggulan Kota Seoul dan menjadikan Kota Bandung lebih baik daripada sebelumnya.

Policy transfer coercion, menempatkan Pemerintah subnasional – pemerintah Kota Bandung untuk mendapatkan advokasi kebijakan dari Kota Seoul didasarkan atas tuntutan sebagai bagian dari suatu organisasi internasional atau anggota dari organisasi internasional. Pemerintah Kota Bandung telah menjadi anggota dari organisasi non-profit Sister City International (SCI).

Melalui bagian tulisan ini, bagian tulisan ini akan membedah bagaimana upaya pemerintah Kota Bandung mengimplementasikan kerjasama *smart city* dalam kemitraan *sister city* lewat *policy transfer*. Ilustrasi tentang *policy transfer* yang ditemukan dalam sumber sekunder dijabarkan dalam bagian tulisan di bawah ini ("Support for the Establishment of Bus System Reform Strategy in Bandung," 2018). The Seoul Institute, Intelligent Transport Society of Korea, Dongil Eng. Consultants ditunjuk untuk memaparkan kebijakan. Kebijakan ini dipaparkan dalam beberapa fase yakni : *Launching Seminar and High-level Meeting* (16-19 Oktober 2017 di Bandung), tahap kedua proses *Policy Seminar and in-depth Study* (tidak ada informasi waktu dan venue kegiatan), tahap ketiga proses *Interim Reporting Workshop and Practitioners' Workshop* (25-31 Maret 2018), dan fase keempat adalah fase terakhir berisi *Senior Policy Dialogue and Final Reporting Workshop*. Advokasi kebijakan ini menjadi satu-satunya informasi lengkap yang dapat diperoleh dan berguna untuk memberi gambaran tahapan proses advokasi kebijakan.

Pemerintah Kota Bandung, lewat Departemen Transportasi Kota Bandung meminta advokasi kebijakan dalam forum yang diselenggarakan oleh KSP (*Knowledge Sharing Program*) di bawah Koordinasi Kementerian Ekonomi dan Keuangan (*Ministry of Economy and Finance Korea*) Pemerintah Korea Selatan. Advokasi kebijakan ini berjalan kurang lebih selama setahun sejak 2017-2018 dapat dilihat pada gambar 1.

Gambar 1. Proses Policy Transfer dalam Knowledge Sharing Program



Fase advokasi kebijakan dalam KSP dibagi menjadi tiga. KSP memfasilitasi adanya konsultasi kebijakan, mengangkat studi kasus, dan memfasilitasi dialog bersama dengan mitra. Dalam fase konsultasi kebijakan, KSP mewadahi forum yang secara komprehensif memfasilitasi konsultasi berdasarkan pada riset bersama yang diselenggarakan oleh tenaga ahli terpilih dari Korea Selatan dengan negara mitra KSP. Hal ini bisa dikenali adanya komunikasi antara konsultan yang ditunjuk oleh pemerintah Kota Bandung yakni LAPI ITB. LAPI ITB adalah badan usaha milik Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB), didirikan untuk menunjang kegiatan akademik ITB melalui kegiatan usaha di bidang konsultansi, pelatihan dan

pengembangan teknologi tepat guna. Dalam menjalankan tugasnya, PT. LAPI ITB didukung oleh ITB (Tentang LAPI ITB, 2020).

Proses advokasi kebijakan KSP juga mengangkat studi kasus yang berisi dokumentasi ilmiah dari pengalaman kemajuan dan perkembangan Korea Selatan secara efektif dan efisien. Studi kasus yang diangkat salah satunya adalah “*Support for the Establishment of Bus System Reform Strategy in Bandung 2017/2018*”.

Fase ketiga disebut dengan konsultasi bersama atau “*joint consulting*” yang berisi bantuan teknis terhadap proyek kerjasama bersama dengan berbagai organisasi internasional yang menghubungkan praktik dan pengalaman Korea Selatan dengan tenaga ahli dari berbagai organisasi internasional.

Secara umum, proses advokasi kebijakan lewat KSP yang dapat dikenali dalam berbagai kerjasama Kota Bandung dan Seoul melalui tahapan sebagai berikut:

1. Pertemuan awal (*Preliminary Meeting*) dengan venue di negara mitra
2. *Launching Seminar & High-Level Meeting* dengan venue di negara mitra
3. Seminar Kebijakan dan Studi Mendalam dengan venue di negara mitra
4. Laporan antara dan *Workshop* Praktisi Kebijakan dengan venue di Korea Selatan
5. Dialog Kebijakan dan *Workshop* Laporan Akhir dengan venue di negara mitra
6. Konferensi Diseminasi dengan venue di Korea Selatan

Kerjasama *Smart City* Kota Bandung dan Kota Seoul melalui serangkaian proses di atas. Pemerintah Kota Bandung melalui keanggotaannya dalam SCI (*Sister City International*). Menggunakan konsep dari Pedoman *Smart City* menurut SCI, maka peninjauan yang di dalamnya terdapat komunikasi dan kunjungan personil Pemerintah Kota Bandung – meskipun dalam beberapa kali kesempatan Walikota Bandung Ridwan Kamil hadir secara langsung, menjadi momen dari fase Proses Perencanaan (Sistercity, 2020).

Dalam proses ini juga, pemerintah Kota Bandung menunjuk konsultan LAPI ITB pada tahun 2013 untuk kemudian merancang Rencana Induk Pengembangan *Smart City* Kota Bandung. Penunjukan ini merupakan penunjukan langsung mengingat ITB melalui LAPI ITB telah memiliki sejumlah tenaga ahli. Salah satu contoh tenaga yang ahli di bidangnya adalah Prof. Dr. Ir. Suhono Harso Supangkat yang telah memiliki publikasi sebanyak 95 publikasi yang sebagian besar berbasis implementasi inovasi dan teknologi *smart city* (ITB, 2020).

Melalui KSP, pemerintah Kota Bandung mendapatkan *fresh outlook* (sudut pandang baru) terkait isu kebijakan melalui *mutual learning* (Information on Knowledge Sharing, 2020) Praktisi ahli Korea Selatan melakukan *profiling*. *Profiling* adalah metode riset kebijakan yang bermanfaat untuk memetakan tantangan dan peluang suatu persoalan yang bermanfaat untuk merumuskan solusi (Osborne & Brown, 2012, p. 25). KSP mengundang dan mengizinkan pemerintah Kota Bandung untuk mendapatkan pengetahuan mengenai praktik baik secara efisien dan efektif yang diperoleh dari pengalaman Korea Selatan menjadi negara maju.

KSP juga memfasilitasi Pemerintah Kota Bandung sebagai mitra untuk memetakan tantangan yang dimiliki. Tantangan ini dirumuskan oleh tenaga ahli yang bekerja bersama berbagi pengalaman dan praktik untuk memformulasikan dan mengembangkan inisiatif kebijakan baru. Kebijakan yang diformulasikan pun disesuaikan dan diadaptasikan agar menghasilkan luaran dan timbal balik yang dapat praktis dan dapat diterapkan (Information on Knowledge Sharing, 2020). Dalam proses ini, Pemerintah Kota Bandung mengundang para tenaga ahli KSP untuk melakukan observasi langsung guna dapat merumuskan *profiling* yang secara akurat dapat memetakan peluang, tantangan, masalah yang ada sehingga dapat menghasilkan rumusan kebijakan yang lebih emulative dan adaptif.

KSP juga memfasilitasi adanya pengembangan kapasitas (*capacity building*). Pengembangan kapasitas merupakan tujuan kunci dalam transformasi kebijakan ke suatu aksi nyata (Information on Knowledge Sharing, 2020). KSP menawarkan sejumlah mekanisme transformasi kebijakan ke suatu aksi kebijakan. Ini dapat dikenali pada masa advokasi kebijakan “*Establishment of Bus System Reform Strategy in Bandung 2017/2018*”. Pemerintah Kota Bandung menghadiri sesi akhir dari laporan akhir advokasi kebijakan pada tanggal 6-9 Mei 2019 di Bandung.

Undangan yang hadir terdiri dari seluruh perwakilan Satuan Kerja Pemerintah Kota Bandung (SKPD) terkait mulai dari Dinas Komunikasi dan Informatika Kota Bandung, Dinas Pekerjaan Umum dan Perumahan Rakyat, Dinas Transportasi Kota Bandung, dan Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah Litbang Bandung. Sejak adanya Rencana Induk Pengembangan *Smart City*, telah ada komunikasi dan koordinasi lintas SKPD di lingkungan pemerintah Kota Bandung. Koordinasi dan komunikasi secara intensif dilakukan antara Dinas Komunikasi dan Informatika Kota Bandung, Dinas Pekerjaan Umum dan Perumahan Rakyat, bagian Pembangunan Pemerintahan Kota Bandung, serta Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah dan Litbang Kota Bandung. Dinas-dinas yang melakukan komunikasi domestik dan koordinasi agar Kota Bandung dapat mewujudkan *smart city*. Kesemuanya merupakan upaya yang dilakukan pemerintah Kota Bandung di awal perumusan kerjasama bagian peninjauan menurut (Saputra & Supangkat (2019).

Selain itu pemetaan peluang dan tantangan juga tertuang dalam Rencana Induk Pengembangan Smart City yang dihasilkan oleh LAPI ITB. Rencana Induk mengurai tantangan yang dirangkum dalam tabel 1 :

Tabel 1 Advokasi Kebijakan Pengembangan Smart City oleh LAPI ITB lewat Rencana Induk 2018

Kondisi Kota Bandung Saat ini	Bandung Smart City
1. Transportasi penuh kemacetan dan kurang memudahkan masyarakat sebagai pengguna	1. Kelancaran, ketertiban, dan kemudahan dalam sistem transportasi perkotaan
2. Pelayanan kesehatan yang belum terintegrasi dan data base yang tidak diperbarui	2. Kemudahan layanan kesehatan masyarakat Kota Bandung yang terintegrasi dengan suatu sistem layanan
3. Lingkungan yang kurang mendukung inovasi masyarakat kota	3. Terciptanya lingkungan yang ramah untuk mendukung efektivitas dan efisiensi kota (menciptakan masyarakat inovatif)
4. Pendidikan yang tidak terintegrasi	4. Sistem pendidikan yang terintegrasi antar orang tua, siswa dan tenaga pendidik (ekosistem pendidikan)

Sumber: (Tentang LAPI ITB, 2020)

Rencana induk tersebut memuat problem yang dialami oleh Kota Bandung, dan solusi yang ditawarkan. Transportasi penuh kemacetan, misalnya, telah menempatkan mobilitas penduduk dalam situasi yang tidak menguntungkan. Banyak tempat yang harus ditempuh lebih lama menggunakan kendaraan roda empat meskipun jaraknya hanya beberapa kilometer saja. Kemacetan ini bukan hal yang sulit ditemukan di Kota Bandung.

Pelayanan kesehatan juga dinilai belum terintegrasi. Data base kesehatan bahkan tidak diperbaharui secara sistemik dan periodik. Ini mengakibatkan sulit untuk mendapatkan data yang benar-benar mencerminkan kondisi dan profil kesehatan Kota Bandung. Untuk mengatasi hal ini maka,

pemerintah Kota Bandung dihimbau untuk membangun sistem informasi kesehatan yang terpadu dan pelayanan satu sistem.

Lingkungan adalah hal yang juga menjadi pertimbangan. Menurut rencana induk ini, lingkungan dianggap kurang mendukung masyarakat kota untuk berinovasi. Masih sedikit, ketika rencana induk pengembangan smart city disusun, ruang publik yang nyaman dan mendukung inovasi masyarakat. Inovasi yang dimaksud misalnya memungkinkan anak mudah Bandung yang memiliki pandangan visioner tentang fashion dan edukasi memiliki ruang publik untuk mengekspresikan diri. Adapun saran yang tertuang ialah pemerintah Kota Bandung perlu menciptakan lingkungan yang ramah guna mendukung efektivitas dan efisiensi kota sehingga masyarakat dapat berkembang secara progresif dan inovatif.

Policy Diffusion

Policy diffusion mengandung arti dimana suatu pemerintahan subnational membuat keputusan untuk mengadopsi inovasi kebijakan yang dipengaruhi oleh pilihan-pilihan yang dibuat oleh pemerintahan subnational di negara lain (Rodrigues & Mattioli, 2017).

Untuk mengetahui proses kerjasama Smart City dalam kemitraan Sister City dalam proses ini tidak mudah dikenali. Hal ini disebabkan Kota Seoul memiliki karakteristik yang cukup berbeda dengan Kota Bandung. Kota Seoul adalah ibukota negara sekaligus pusat seluruh kegiatan bisnis, ekonomi, hiburan, pariwisata dan lainnya yang membuatnya memiliki preferensi tinggi untuk dapat menjadi kota yang nyaman sekaligus inovatif. Dengan tuntutan itu, Kota Seoul berkembang lebih progresif di bidang penerapan inovasi dan teknologi. Sehingga rumusan kebijakan yang diimplementasikan Kota Seoul cukup canggih atau dengan kata lain state of the art. Melihat situasi demikian, maka penelitian ini menyimpulkan proses difusi yang terjadi yang mana kategorinya jatuh pada copying, emulation, dan combination membutuhkan suatu penilaian cermat.

Berdasarkan informasi yang berhasil dihimpun dari sumber sekunder dan primer, Pemerintah Kota Bandung berpedoman dengan visi dan misi walikota terpilih memiliki peta jalan dan master plan menjadi kota yang visioner dan bermartabat – mengutip dari motto Kota Bandung sendiri (Mugia, 2020). Kebijakan yang diterapkan oleh Kota Bandung, belum dapat dinilai apakah sudah terpengaruh secara langsung oleh setiap kebijakan yang diimplementasikan oleh Kota Seoul. Yang menjadi motivasi utama Pemerintah Kota Bandung untuk bermitra dengan Seoul dalam implementasi Smart City tidak lepas dari capaian Kota Seoul sebagai kota inovatif dan berbasis teknologi. Tren ini sedang semakin menguat sebagai paradigma pembangunan kota di Indonesia. Kota Bandung, menjadi salah satu pionirnya dan sedang melakukan pembangunan secara berkelanjutan agar dapat mewujudkan kota yang lebih baik.

Motivasi lain yang mendorong Pemerintah Kota Bandung melakukan mengadopsi kebijakan Seoul terutama di bidang tata kelola kota, perencanaan kota, dan e-government adalah ingin mengkatalisasi konsep pembangunan yang lebih berkelanjutan. Kota Bandung juga memiliki visi dapat meningkatkan kualitas hidup warganya, memajukan literasi pengetahuan dan menanamkan praktik pembangunan berkelanjutan dengan tujuan-tujuan jangka panjang yang lebih visibel.

Terdapat sejumlah persoalan struktural yang ditemukan, persoalan tersebut terletak pada tingkat partisipasi masyarakat yang tidak sepenuhnya bergerak secara digital. Masyarakat juga tidak bergerak secara fleksibel sehingga pergerakan manusia masih cukup terbatas. Hal ini juga dikarenakan profil Kota Bandung yang tidak setara dengan profil suatu ibukota. Sebagai tambahan, Kota Bandung hanyalah ibukota provinsi dan tidak menjadi ibu kota suatu negara. Dengan demikian proses copying, tidak benar-

benar terjadi dan belum memiliki bukti fisik yang mendukung. Namun demikian, bukan berarti policy diffusion tidak terjadi. Perkembangan Kota Seoul sebagai Sister City Kota Bandung tetap menginspirasi Kota Bandung. Inspirasi ini berasal dari keinginan Kota Bandung untuk memiliki Light Rapid Transportation meskipun Kota Seoul bukan satu-satunya yang memiliki LRT. Kota Seoul diundang dalam memberikan advokasi kebijakan dan masukan secara profesional pengembangan LRT Kota Bandung di masa depan. Akan tetapi, wujud kerjasama ini masih belum diperbaharui lagi meskipun walikota telah membuka ruang agar Korea Selatan dapat berpartisipasi dalam lelang pembangunan LRT di tahun-tahun ke depannya ("Korsel Siap Bantu Wujudkan Bandung Smart City," 2017). Berdasarkan paparan di atas, maka penulis menyimpulkan jenis policy diffusion yang terjadi dalam proses advokasi kebijakan dengan Seoul, adalah tipe diffusion, combination dan emulation lebih daripada copying.

Proses combination dan emulation ini dapat terjadi jika meneliti kasus per kasus inovasi. Pemerintah Indonesia, belakangan ini sejak masa pemerintahan Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono telah membangun jalan akan pengenalan inovasi dan electronic government. Sama halnya dengan pemerintahan di negara maju yang semua tata kelola saat ini telah terintegrasi secara utuh secara lintas kementerian, departemen dan pemerintah daerah secara seamlessly. Menyimpulkan tentang ini, jadi upaya pemerintah Kota Bandung sebagian besar adalah melakukan kombinasi kebijakan yang idenya berasal dari advokasi kebijakan yang diperoleh dari Seoul melalui institusi yang ditunjuk misalnya KOFICE dan KSP. Sebagai catatan, dalam perumusan transportasi terpadu rute bus KSP menjadi institusi advokasi kebijakan yang paling berperan aktif. Tidak hanya di tingkat subnational government, KSP juga memberikan rekomendasi-rekomendasi kebijakan kepada pemerintahan Indonesia tentang sejumlah kajian yang diperlukan (III, 2018).

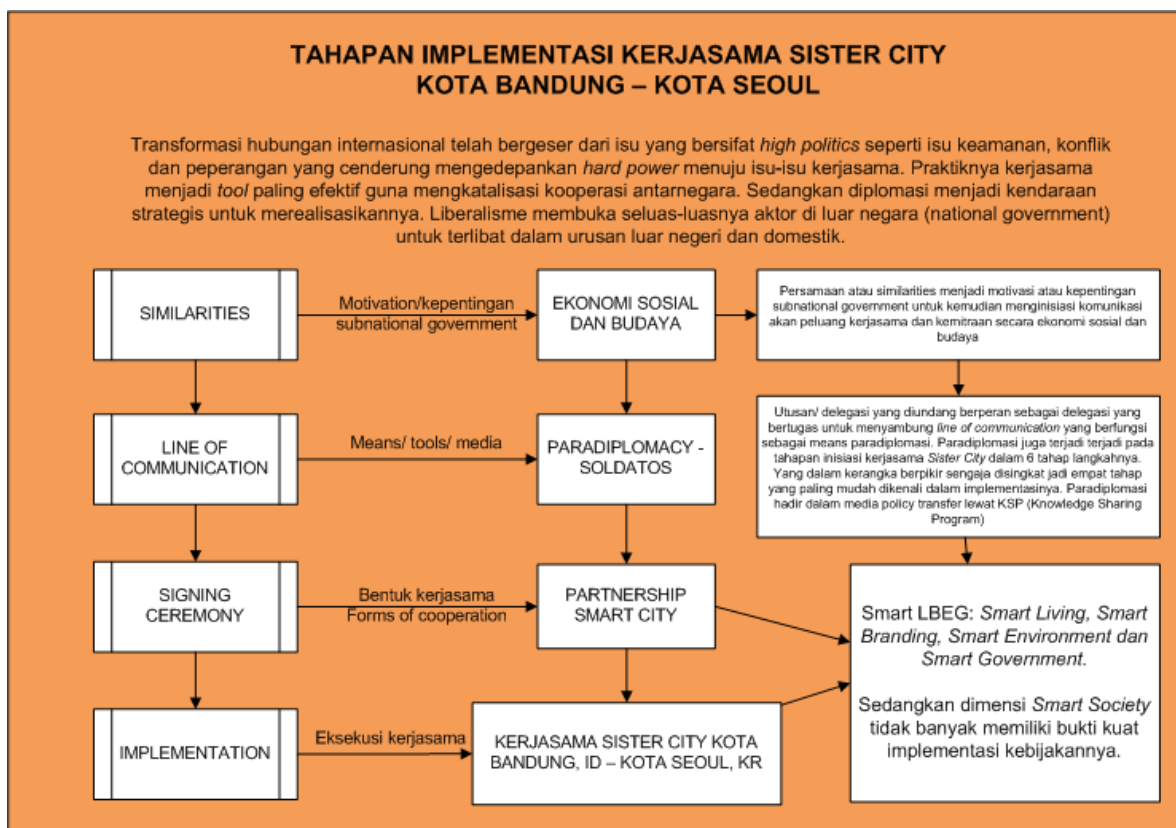
Berdasarkan tipe luaran, juga terdapat kebijakan pemerintah Kota Bandung yang terinspirasi dan menerapkan perubahan inovasi yang diperoleh dari advokasi KSP, namun demikian banyak kebijakan ini memiliki luaran berbeda dari rumusan masukan di awal. Salah satunya adalah kebijakan ketika revitalisasi sungai di Kota Bandung dilakukan. Idenya ingin mewujudkan inovasi bagaimana pemerintah Kota Seoul merubah sungai yang melintas di tengah Kota Seoul menjadi pusat destinasi jalan-jalan yang menarik. Hal ini telah disampaikan pada bagian tulisan yang menyoroti wajah Sungai Chong Gye Cheon sebelum dan sesudah restorasi.

Dalam advokasi kebijakan, juga penting untuk tetap mempertahankan prinsip-prinsip kerjasama Smart City.

Similarities merupakan salah satu prinsip penting dari implementasi kerjasama Smart City. Tulisan ini menggunakan pedoman implementasi kerjasama Smart City. Prinsip-prinsip lainnya antara lain: (1) Similarities (adanya kesamaan bersama); (2) Exchanges (adanya potensi pertukaran atau transfer dalam segi budaya, edukasi, rekreasi, ataupun ekonomi); (3) Berorientasi pada masyarakat (adanya kepemimpinan yang aktif, serta keterlibatan dan dukungan oleh masyarakat, melalui organisasi atau bisnis-bisnis yang sudah ada untuk membangun dan memelihara hubungan yang sudah ada); (4) Hubungan timbal-balik (pertukaran yang sifatnya positif dan berjalan dari dua arah); (5) Manfaat strategis (manfaat jangka pendek dan jangka panjang yang di dapat dari hubungan melebihi biaya publik yang harus dikeluarkan untuk menjalin ataupun memelihara hubungan yang sudah ada); (6) Eksklusivitas dan kedekatan (tidak memiliki hubungan Sister City dengan kota lainnya di negara yang sama atau lokasi yang berdekatan dari lokasi calon Sister City); (7) Kestabilan politik (kondisi politik yang stabil di negara tempat Sister City berada, sesuai dengan hasil pengumuman dari pemerintah pusat) (Nuralam, 2018). Menggunakan kerangka tersebut, maka implementasi kerjasama Smart City harus mengandung prinsip

di atas. Untuk menyederhanakan bagaimana prinsip tersebut ditemukan dalam skema kerjasama, disusub pada bagan 1:

Bagan 1 Tahapan Implementasi Kerjasama Sister City Kota Bandung-Kota Seoul



Sumber: diolah dari berbagai sumber oleh peneliti

Pemerintah Kota Bandung melakukan city profiling dengan meminta bantuan konsultan yang ditunjuk. Pekerjaan konsultan ini menghasilkan suatu rancangan induk pengembangan smart city. Selain itu pemerintah Kota Bandung juga berulang kali mengirim delegasi/ utusan untuk berkunjung ke kota seoul sekaligus melakukan observasi langsung terhadap peluang kerjasama dan kemitraan yang dapat dibangun oleh dua kota. Hal ini terwujud dalam pengiriman utusan untuk menghadiri ASEAN Connectivity Forum, berbagai summit dengan KOFICE dan KSP. Pemerintah Kota Bandung dan Seoul juga sepakat untuk membangun representasi kearifan kota di wilayah administrasi masing-masing.

Pemerintah Kota Bandung terlibat aktif untuk menjalin komunikasi dengan menghadiri berbagai festival yang mana Kota Seoul mengundang perwakilan pemerintah Kota Bandung (FA et al., 2020). Hal yang sama juga dilakukan oleh Kota Bandung hal ini sesuai dengan prinsip resiprositas yang menjadi salah satu prinsip dalam kemitraan Sister City. Pelajar Kota Bandung, misalnya, berpartisipasi dalam acara festival budaya yang dilaksanakan Kota Seoul untuk menunjukkan kesenian khas Kota Bandung, yakni Kesenian Sunda (FA et al., 2020). Selain itu juga terdapat pertukaran pelajar tingkat SMA – Mahasiswa untuk mengikuti program summer school berkolaborasi dengan sekolah dan universitas Kota Bandung (FA et al., 2020). Tidak hanya pertukaran pelajar, pertukaran staf di lingkungan Pemerintah Kota Bandung juga dilakukan. Aparatur Sipil Negara (ASN) di lingkungan Pemerintah Kota Bandung mendapat

kesempatan untuk mempelajari sistem pemerintahan dan mengikuti workshop Tax Department Seoul (FA et al., 2020). Upaya yang lain adalah dengan melakukan perjanjian kesepahaman atau MOU yang dilanjutkan dengan sejumlah perjanjian. Perjanjian ini antara lain perjanjian investasi membangun proyek LRT dengan nilai 37 juta USD. Kerjasama lain adalah dengan perusahaan swasta yang berasal dari Korea Selatan yaitu PT Total Solution Intelligent.

Hasil dari advokasi kebijakan tersebut melahirkan program sebagai hasil dari kerjasama Smart City. Program tersebut dapat dirangkum dalam tabel 2:

Tabel 2. Hasil Advokasi

Dimensi Kerjasama	Implementasi Kerjasama
Smart Government	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Lokasi Wi-Fi Taman Dan Area Publik Di Seluruh Kota Bandung Mulai Dari Taman Flexi Hingga Taman Film Di Jalan Layang Pasupati2. Mobil Pemberi Layanan Keliling Atau (MEPELING) Yang Diikuti Dengan Rencana Ke Depan Berubah Berupa Pelayanan Publik Yang Lebih Terintegrasi Atau Single Sign In.3. Kerjasama Yang Dilakukan Antara Tax Department Seoul Dengan BPPD Kota Bandung4. Bandung Planning Gallery5. E-Planning Dan E-Budgeting
Smart Branding	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Bandung Techno Polis2. Business Lounge And Investment3. Little Seoul Atau Korea Street4. Little Bandung In Seoul
Smart Living	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Kunjungan Dari Delegasi Korean Exim Bank Bersama Tim KSP Dessemination Seminar.2. Kemitraan Dan Investasi Posco Steel Korea 21,5 Miliar3. Pemerintah Kota Bandung Mendapatkan Anggaran Tambahan Dari Perusahaan Swasta Yang Berasal Dari Korea Selatan Yaitu PT Total Solution Intelligent4. Pertemuan ASEAN Connectivity Forum Bersama Korea Selatan, Tercantum Bahwa Pihak Pengusaha Korea Selatan Tertarik Untuk Berinvestasi Dalam Pembangunan Proyek LRT Dengan Jumlah Sebesar 37 Juta USD (ASEAN Korea Centre, 2017)
Smart Environment	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Tata Kota Berkelanjutan Ramah Lingkungan Dan Ramah Community (Bisnis Dan Masyarakat)2. Revitalisasi Sungai Cikapundung

Sumber : Diolah Peneliti 2020

SIMPULAN

Kerja sama antara dua kota telah menghasilkan pembangunan ekonomi perkotaan, tata kota, transportasi kota, e-government. Kesemua pembangunan ekonomi tersebut dapat dikenali dalam kemitraan Sister City dalam dimensi Smart LBEG: *Smart Living, Smart Branding, Smart Environment* dan *Smart Government*. sTransfer kebijakan dan difusi kebijakan memainkan proses penting dalam mewujudkan implementasi kerjasama. Proses ini ditunjukkan melalui keterlibatan institusi yang ditunjuk oleh dua *subnational government*. Pemerintah Korea Selatan yang dikoordinasikan di bawah Kementerian Ekonomi dan Investasi Korea Selatan (MoEF Korea), program ini disebut *Knowledge Sharing Program* (KSP). Sedangkan pemerintah Indonesia melalui pemerintah Kota Bandung tidak didampingi oleh lembaga independen dengan fungsi serupa. Akhirnya Pemerintah Kota Bandung menunjuk LAPI ITB sebagai *advocates kebijakan* yang berfungsi memberi pengetahuan dasar diperlukan untuk merumuskan program dalam pengembangan *Smart City*. Baik LAPI ITB dan seluruh Satuan Kerja Pemerintah Daerah (SKPD) Kota Bandung terlibat dalam proses dan enam tahapan implementasi kerjasama *Smart City*.

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Studi Penggunaan Analisis Pendekatan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial dalam Penelitian Hadis Metode Syarah

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Abstract

The purpose of making this scientific article template is to provide general guidance for students of the UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Postgraduate Program in presenting the results of their research and / or ideas in scientific work. The method of presentation in scientific articles should follow the general pattern commonly used in reputable journals, making it easier for authors to submit articles in these journals; writing scientific papers also needs to be adjusted to the scientific discipline that is the author's field of expertise. Journal articles usually use a systematic method consisting of: abstracts, keywords, introduction, methodology, results and discussion, conclusions, acknowledgments, and references. Specifically for abstracts it must contain elements: objectives, methodology, important results / findings, and conclusions; if possible narration / information can be added about the boundaries of research, practical implications, and social implications. Generally the presentation of abstract does not exceed 300 words. With cambrian font 9 and 1 space. Also made abstract in the form of English at the top before abstracting Indonesian.

Keywords: Scientific Articles, Systematics, Citation

Abstrak

Tujuan penelitian ini yaitu membahas penggunaan analisis dalam penelitian hadis melalui metode syarah dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan jenis penelitian kualitatif melalui studi pustaka dengan menerapkan analisis isi. Hasil dan pembahasan penelitian ini meliputi hadis sebagai subjek penelitian, pengembangan metode syarah hadis, dan penelitian hadis dengan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa penggunaan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial sangat terbuka lebar penerapannya dalam penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan pentingnya perumusan model analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial dalam penelitian hadis secara lebih luas melalui asosiasi ilmu hadis Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: *Metode syarah hadis, Hadis sosial, Pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial, Penelitian hadis*

PENDAHULUAN

Ada ruang pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial dalam analisis penelitian metode syarah hadis. Berdasarkan catatan sejarah, rumpun ilmu sosial berkembang di dunia Barat (Hardiyati, 2020). Sedangkan penelitian hadis metode syarah dalam lingkup *'ulum al-hadits* (ilmu hadis) merupakan khazanah keilmuan Islam yang berkembang sejak di masa klasik Islam (Sagir, 2017). Sebagaimana dukungannya terhadap keilmuan Islam secara umum (Adibah, 2017), pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial telah berperan menguatkan analisis dalam penelitian metode syarah (Muhtador, 2016). Sungguhpun kenyataan ini telah menandai perkembangan penelitian hadis di Indonesia (Anggoro, 2019), namun masih terdapat beberapa pertanyaan dari kalangan peminat ilmu hadis. Dalam hal ini mereka mempertanyakan masa depan penelitian hadis (Abbas, 2019), khususnya di Nusantara (Wahid, 2017), peran pendidikan tinggi Islam (Wahid & Masri, 2018) dalam menyikapi ragam penelitian hadis (Muhammad Alfatih

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Suryadilaga, 2015), pola penelitian hadis (Adriansyah, 2018), dan orientasi penelitian hadis (N. Huda & Pahrudin, 2018), termasuk profil Jurusan Ilmu Hadis (Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2016). Hal ini menuntut penjelasan mulai dari paradigma (Wendry et al., 2018), epistemologi (Taufik, 2020a), dan metodologi (Burhanuddin, 2018) pemahaman hadis dalam konteks kekinian (Muhsin, 2015), yakni berkenaan dengan penelitian hadis metode syarah di pendidikan tinggi Islam (Taufik, 2020b), yaitu dengan menerapkan analisis dari pendekatan dari ilmu-ilmu sosial (Afwadzi, 2016), di mana hal ini dipandang sebagai manifestasi dari keserjanaan Barat (M. Zuhri, 2015).

Ditemukan sejumlah penelitian terdahulu berkenaan dengan penelitian hadis melalui pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial. Antara lain penelitian tentang perkembangan penelitian hadis sejak masa klasik hingga masa kontemporer (Wahid & Masri, 2019). Di era kontemporer ini, penelitian hadis mulai dilakukan secara multidisipliner dengan menerapkan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial (Afwadzi, 2016). Beberapa peneliti menganjurkan penelitian hadis dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial sebagai keniscayaan perkembangan dari ilmu-ilmu sosial yang pasti berimplikasi terhadap kemajuan keilmuan Islam termasuk ilmu hadis (Afwadzi, 2017). Penelitian hadis dengan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu sosial dipandang mampu mengembangkan perspektif hadis menjadi kontekstual (Aw, 2011) dan transformatif (Taufik, 2020a). Dari anjuran-anjuran ke arah kontekstualisasi dan transformasi tersebut, berkembanglah pelaksanaan penelitian hadis dengan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial (Afwadzi, 2016). Penelitian hadis metode syarah diakui sebagai pintu masuk yang paling akomodatif dalam penerapan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial (Taufik, 2020b). Analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial dalam penelitian hadis metode syarah dilakukan oleh berbagai jenjang keserjanaan bidang ilmu hadis yang mencakup jenjang sarjana, magister, dan doktor (Lukman, 2017). Meskipun demikian, ada peneliti yang mengkhawatirkan tergerusnya metode syarah hadis era klasik oleh kemajuan ilmu-ilmu lain yang berkembang di era kontemporer (Kurniati, 2020), yang *nota bene* merupakan manifestasi dari keserjanaan Barat (M. Zuhri, 2015). Ada pula yang mengkhawatirkan terbukanya gelombang liberalisasi dari maraknya penelitian *living* hadis yang syarat dengan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial (Salleh et al., 2019). Akan tetapi, arah kebijakan pendidikan tinggi Islam di Indonesia menetapkan pengaturan (*regulation*) untuk dilakukan pengembangan penelitian transformatif (Tim Penyusun, 2018c). Justru secara spesifik penelitian hadis diarahkan untuk mengembangkan jenis penelitian *living* hadis (Tim Penyusun, 2018c) dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial secara kontekstual (S. Zuhri & Dewi, 2018). Bahkan, kebijakan pendidikan tinggi Islam mengarahkan pelaksanaan integrasi ilmu antara ilmu agama dan ilmu umum (Tim Penyusun, 2019b), termasuk integrasi (M Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2007). Penelitian ini berusaha melakukan sistesis dari berbagai pandangan seputar penelitian hadis untuk menegaskan analisis metode syarah dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial.

Berbagai rujukan dari penelitian terdahulu bermanfaat bagi penyusunan kerangka berpikir penelitian ini. Bagian pembahasan penelitian ini diawali dengan mengemukakan pandangan hadis sebagai subjek penelitian (Soetari, 1994). Secara paradigmatis (Wendry et al., 2018), hadis Nabi Saw. merupakan sumber Islam kedua setelah al-Qur'an (Sy, 2017). Sedangkan secara epistemologis (Taufik, 2020a), hadis Nabi Saw. merupakan subjek pengembangan ilmu hadis (Soetari, 2005). Adapun secara metodologis (Hariono, 2019), ilmu hadis menyangkut perkembangan berbagai metode penelitian hadis (Burhanuddin, 2018), di antaranya *takhrij* hadis (Qomarullah, 2016) dan syarah hadis (Soetari, 2015). Metode *takhrij* hadis berperan untuk mengetahui otentisitas hadis apakah *sahih* (otentik) atau *dhaif* (tersisolir) dalam posisinya sebagai sumber ajaran Islam (Wazna, 2018). Sedangkan metode syarah hadis (Sulaemang, 2016) berfungsi untuk menjelaskan teks hadis (*matan*) dalam posisinya sebagai *bayan* (penjelas) al-Qur'an (Musa, 2010). Penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah telah berlangsung sejak masa klasik Islam

(Santosa, 2016). Sebagai sebuah analisis, penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah dibutuhkan suatu analisis secara interdisipliner, multidisipliner, dan bahkan transdisipliner (Taufik, 2020a). Penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah di era klasik telah menerapkan pendekatan interdisipliner secara terbatas (Sy, 2017), hal ini dilakukan melalui metode *ijmali*, *tahlili*, dan *muqaran* (Kurniati, 2020). Adapun penelitian hadis metode syarah dengan pendekatan multidisipliner dari ilmu-ilmu sosial merupakan perkembangan yang berlangsung di era modern (Taufik, 2020b). Bahkan, peminat ilmu hadis diarahkan untuk melaksanakan penelitian dengan pendekatan transdisipliner dalam upaya integrasi ilmu (Afwadzi, 2017). Penguatan analisis dalam penelitian hadis metode syarah dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial diharapkan menguatkan masa depan penelitian hadis (Abbas, 2019), khususnya di Nusantara (Wahid, 2017), peran pendidikan tinggi Islam (Wahid & Masri, 2018) dalam menyikapi ragam penelitian hadis (Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2015), pola penelitian hadis (Adriansyah, 2018), dan orientasi penelitian hadis (N. Huda & Pahrudin, 2018) di Jurusan Ilmu Hadis (Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2016).

Berdasarkan paparan di atas, penelitian ini berusaha menyusun formula penelitian, yakni rumusan masalah, pertanyaan penelitian, dan tujuan penelitian (Darmalaksana, 2020a). Rumusan masalah penelitian ini adalah, terdapat penggunaan analisis dalam penelitian hadis melalui metode syarah dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial. Pertanyaan penelitian ini ialah, bagaimana penggunaan analisis dalam penelitian hadis melalui metode syarah dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial. Tujuan penelitian ini yaitu membahas penggunaan analisis dalam penelitian hadis melalui metode syarah dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial. Penelitian ini diharapkan memiliki implikasi manfaat khususnya bagi para peminat bidang ilmu hadis dalam pelaksanaan penelitian hadis melalui metode syarah dengan menggunakan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial.

METODE PENELITIAN

Metode penelitian ini menggunakan jenis penelitian kualitatif melalui studi pustaka (Darmalaksana, 2020c). Adapun interpretasi data untuk menghasilkan kesimpulan digunakan analisis isi (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005)..

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Hadis dan ilmu hadis merupakan sebuah paradigma. Paradigma hadis dan ilmu hadis dibangun di atas pemikiran Islam (Wendry et al., 2018). Hadis dan ilmu hadis juga merupakan epistemologi. Epistemologi hadis dan ilmu hadis dikonstruksi di atas keilmuan Islam (Taufik, 2020a). Hadis dan ilmu hadis pun diakui sebagai kerangka metodologi yang berperan mengembangkan ilmu hadis beserta cabang-cabangnya (Soetari, 2005).

Secara istilah, hadis dipahami sebagai apapun yang berasal dari Nabi Saw. (Darmalaksana, 2020b), yang meliputi perkataan (*qaul*), perbuatan (*amal*), pernyataan (*taqrir*), dan lain-lain (Soetari, 1994). Hadis dari perspektif Islam disepakati sebagai sumber ajaran Islam kedua setelah al-Qur'an (Darmalaksana et al., 2017). Dari sisi fungsinya, hadis Nabi Saw. dipahami sebagai penjelas (*bayan*) al-Qur'an (Adriansyah, 2018). Sebagai ditegaskan pandangan ulama, ayat-ayat al-Qur'an, yang umumnya bersifat *mujmal* (global), dibutuhkan penjelasan dari hadis yang lebih bersifat konkrit (Thantowi, 1994).

Hadis merupakan subjek ilmu hadis, hal ini dalam pengkajiannya telah mendorong perkembangan ilmu hadis sejak masa klasik Islam (Nufus, 2018). Sejarah perkembangan keilmuan Islam dibagi beberapa tahap (Andariati, 2020), yaitu masa klasik abad 5-6 M., masa pertengahan abad 12-19 M., dan masa modern dari abad 19 M. (Anshori, 2017). Ilmu hadis sendiri adalah ilmu tentang hadis (Soetari, 1994).

Ilmu hadis dalam pengertian umum disebut *musthalah al-hadits*, yang dibagi dua, yaitu ilmu *riwayah* dan ilmu *dirayah* (Soetari, 2005). Ilmu *riwayah* membahas sejarah periwayatan hadis mulai disabdakan dari Nabi Saw., disampaikan dari orang ke orang, dan dibukukan dalam kitab-kitab hadis (Soetari, 1994). Adapun ilmu *dirayah* membahas otentisitas hadis apakah benar berasal dari Nabi Saw. atukah bukan berasal dari Nabi Saw. (Soetari, 1994). Hingga hadis diketahui statusnya apakah otentik (*shahih*) atukah terisolir (*dhaif*). Apabila *shahih* maka hadis diterima (*maqbul*) sebagai amalan Islam, dan bila *dhaif* maka ia ditolak (*mardud*) untuk dijadikan amalan Islam (Soetari, 1994). Ilmu hadis mengalami perkembangan menjadi kompleks hingga melahirkan cabang-cabang ilmu hadis (Husnaini, n.d.). Kompleksitas ilmu hadis di antaranya kaidah keilmuan hadis yang menyatakan bahwa hadis *dhaif* dapat diterima menjadi amalan Islam bila hadis tersebut ditopang oleh *syahid* dan *mutabi* (Soetari, 1994). *Syahid* adalah teks hadis (*matan*) lain yang menguatkan, sedangkan *mutabi* ialah *sanad* (mata-rantai periwayat) lain yang menguatkan dari teks hadis (*matan*) dimaksud (Mardiana & Darmalaksana, 2020).

Bagian ini tidak membahas kompleksitas ilmu hadis, tetapi sebagai penegasan tentang perkembangan ilmu hadis. Diketahui ilmu hadis mengalami perkembangan sejak masa klasik Islam (Muhtador, 2016). Di antara perkembangan metodologi ilmu hadis ialah metode *takhrij* hadis (Soetari, 2015). Suatu metodologi keilmuan hadis untuk meneliti kesahihan (otentisitas) hadis dengan cara mengeluarkan hadis dari *mashadir ashliyah* yang merupakan kitab-kitab induk hadis (Darmalaksana, 2020d). Penelitian *takhrij* meliputi kualitas kepribadian (*ke-adil-an*) dan kapasitas keilmuan (*ke-dhabit-an*) periwayat hadis (Qomarullah, 2016). Penelitian kebersambungan (*mutasil*) dan keterputusan (*munfasil*) mata-rantai periwayatan hadis (*sanad*). Juga penelitian *ke-gharib-an* dan kecacatan teks hadis. Melalui penelitian hadis dengan metode *takhrij* maka diketahui kategori hadis sebagai *sahih*, *hasan*, dan *dhaif* (Soetari, 2015).

Selain metode *takhrij* hadis (Qomarullah, 2016), berkembang pula metode syarah hadis (Sagir, 2017). Metode ini berkembang dengan fungsi untuk memberikan penjelasan terhadap makna dari kandungan teks hadis (Muhtador, 2016). Di masa klasik berkembang metode syarah hadis (Kurniati, 2020) dengan pendekatan *ijmali* (global), *tahlili* (kritis), dan *muqaran* (komparatif). Dalam penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah digunakan pula penelitian internal teks hadis dan penelitian eksternal teks hadis (Sumarna, 2016). Digunakan pula penelitian *asbab al-wurud* (sebab turun hadis) dalam meneliti konteks dari tekstual hadis (Muin, 2015). Konsekuensinya, di samping hadis dibahas secara tekstual dengan menggunakan ilmu-ilmu kebahasaan, seperti *mufradat* (kosa kata), mantik, sematik, dan *balaghah*, juga hadis dibahas secara kontekstual dengan menerapkan pendekatan *sebab wurud al-hadis* (Sulaemang, 2016). Di era kontemporer, penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah mulai menerapkan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial (Taufik, 2020a). Berbagai metode penelitian hadis berkembang sejalan dengan posisi hadis sebagai subjek penelitian.

Syarah Hadis Pembuka Pendekatan Sosial

Perkembangan penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah telah membuka pintu penerapan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial (Taufik, 2020a). Tidak terlalu salah bila dikatakan bahwa perkembangan ilmu hadis di masa klasik Islam ditopang oleh kebutuhan ilmu fiqih (Darmalaksana, 2004). Ilmu fiqih merupakan ilmu pengamalan syariat Islam dari pondasi utama al-Qur'an (Bahammam, 2013). Untuk hal-hal yang tidak ditemukan ketentuannya di dalam al-Qur'an, maka digunakan hadis sebagai sumber kedua setelah al-Qur'an. Para ahli fiqih ketika menentukan aturan Islam, bila tidak menemukan penjelasan dari al-Qur'an dan tidak pula ditemukan penjelasan dari hadis, maka mereka menerapkan ijtihad, sebagai formulasi pemikiran dalam menjelaskan syariat Islam (Sy, 2017). Namun demikian, bila suatu perkara

tidak ditemukan penjelasannya dari al-Qur'an, sebelum para ahli fiqih mengoptimalkan ijtihad, maka mereka lebih terpaku pada hadis (Hosen & Musyafiq, n.d.). Kebutuhan para ahli fiqih terhadap hadis telah mendorong berkembangnya ilmu hadis (Rodliyana, 2012), khususnya metode syarah hadis (Jannah, 2017). Nanti di era kontemporer, analisis dari ilmu-ilmu sosial tampak meramalkan pendekatan penelitian hadis metode syarah (Sagir, 2017).

Mula-mula ilmu hadis seakan tidak dapat dipisahkan dari ilmu fiqih (Hosen & Musyafiq, n.d.). Sebab, faktanya, di masa klasik, setiap ahli fiqih pasti ahli hadis (Rodliyana, 2012). Hal ini tidak dipungkiri karena puncak kejayaan Islam pada masa klasik disebut-sebut sebagai peradaban fiqih (Darmalaksana, 2004). Sehingga berbagai keilmuan Islam seakan direntang untuk kemajuan keilmuan fiqih (Rodliyana, 2012), terutama ilmu hadis. Akan tetapi, keberadaan hadis pada kenyataannya dibutuhkan oleh ilmu-ilmu keislaman lain. Secara interdisipliner, pembahasan hadis ditemukan dalam kajian ilmu tauhid, ilmu ahlak, dan sebagainya (Syafii, 2017). Interdisipliner ialah pengkajian bidang ilmu dengan pendekatan ilmu lain yang serumpun (Rohmatika, 2019). Rumpun keilmuan Islam meliputi filsafat Islam, ilmu tauhid, ilmu fiqih, ilmu ahlak, ilmu al-Qur'an, ilmu hadis, dan lain-lain. Dalam pengertian sekarang ini rumpun keilmuan Islam dikenal dengan filsafat Islam, teologi Islam, tasawuf (Raharusun, 2016), dan lain-lain (Bakri, 2016). Sejak di masa klasik, terutama di masa pertengahan Islam, dan hingga ke masa modern, disebut-sebut bahwa ilmu fiqih terlalu menghegemoni ilmu hadis (Rodliyana, 2012).

Pada era modern di abad ke 18 M. (Hardiyati, 2020), ilmu-ilmu sosial mengalami perkembangan di dunia Barat (Agus, 1999). Pada era modern di dunia Barat berlangsung *renaissance* yang berusaha mengembangkan ilmu pengetahuan tidak dari postulat ilmu agama (Menčik, 2020), tetapi dari penalaran akal melalui pemikiran logis (Saifullah, 2014). Dari *renaissance* ini berkembanglah ilmu-ilmu pengetahuan sosial, seperti fenomenologi (Hasbiansyah, 2008), antropologi (Chaer, 2014), sosiologi (Lubis, 2017), psikologi, dan lain-lain (Maliki, 2018). Berikutnya, berkembang pesat sains dan teknologi (Ariyanto, 2018) dengan landasan empirisme, keilmuan objektif, observasi, dan validitas dalam kerangka filsafat ilmu Barat (Adib, 2011). Psikologi dikenal sebagai ilmu sosial yang mula pertama mengikuti pola penelitian saintifik (Effendy, 2009). Pada era kontemporer, perkembangan ilmu-ilmu sosial (Ramah, 2019) dan terlebih kemajuan pesat sains dan teknologi memberikan dampak metodologis terhadap keilmuan lainnya (Ibrahim et al., 2018), termasuk berdampak pada keilmuan Islam (Mahyudi, 2016).

Pada masa klasik telah berlangsung penelitian pendekatan interdisipliner ilmu hadis dengan rumpun ilmu-ilmu keislaman lain. Hal ini sebagaimana terlihat dalam penelitian dengan menggunakan metode syarah hadis (Zahrah, 2020). Antara lain timbul metode syarah hadis dengan penjelasan secara global (*ijmali*), sehingga melahirkan kitab-kitab syarah hadis yang memuat penjelasan hadis-hadis secara global pula (Muhtador, 2016). Timbul pula metode syarah hadis yang berusaha menjelaskan hadis secara kritis (*tahlili*), di mana hal ini melahirkan kitab-kitab spesifik dalam bentuk kitab fiqih, kitab tauhid, dan kitab ahlak (Muhtador, 2016). Selebihnya, muncul kitab-kitab komparatif yang dihasilkan dari penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah pendekatan *muqaran* (Muhtador, 2016). Sehingga pada dasarnya sejak di masa klasik Islam telah lazim dilakukan penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah melalui pendekatan interdisipliner dari ilmu-ilmu rumpun Islam.

Baru pada era modern, para tokoh intelektual muslim mulai mengarahkan penelitian Islam dengan pendekatan dari ilmu-ilmu yang berkembang di era modern. Di antaranya tokoh yang terkenal ialah, Fazlur Rahman, intelektual muslim asal Pakistan. Ia meluncurkan sejumlah gagasan, seperti Islam autentik (Panjwani, 2012), Islam dan modernitas (Rahman, 1984), tema-tema utama al-Qur'an (Rahman, 2009), dan lain-lain. Tokoh serupa ini di era modern menawarkan pengkajian teks Suci, al-Qur'an dan hadis, tidak secara tekstual tetapi kontekstual (Irawan, 2019). Praktis, penelitian hadis tidak cukup hanya pendekatan

kebahasaan secara tekstual (Faiqoh, 2017), dan tidak cukup pula hanya menerapkan pendekatan sebab *wurud al-hadits* dalam penelitian kontekstual hadis (Aw, 2011), halnya juga kontekstualisasi al-Qur'an (Solahudin, 2016). Arahan dari tokoh-tokoh muslim kesarjanaan Barat modern (M. Zuhri, 2015) kenyataannya menghendaki penelitian hadis dianalisis dengan pendekatan ilmu kesejarahan (Rokhzi, 2015) dan ilmu-ilmu sosial lainnya (M. D. Huda, 2016). Arahan ini langsung ataupun tidak langsung telah mendorong pesatnya penelitian *living* hadis di Indonesia (Salleh et al., 2020). Sebuah metode penelitian yang berusaha menganalisis nilai-nilai hadis yang hidup dalam tradisi dan budaya masyarakat Islam (Darmalaksana et al., 2019) dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial, seperti antropologi (umi Rosidah, 2011), sosiologi (Dewi, 2017), genealogi (Qudsy, 2016), dan lain-lain. Dewasa ini penelitian *living* hadis dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial (M Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2006), bukan saja dilakukan pada penelitian disertasi jenjang doktor dan penelitian tesis jenjang magister, melainkan bahkan ramai diterapkan dalam penelitian skripsi jejang sarjana di kalangan peminat ilmu hadis (Darmalaksana et al., 2019).

Tidak heran bila kemudian ada kalangan peminat bidang hadis yang merasa khawatir tergerusnya metode syarah masa klasik dengan digunakannya secara maksimal pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial (Kurniati, 2020). Ada pula yang menilai penggunaan metode *living* hadis sebagai bentuk pergeseran ilmu hadis menuju liberalisasi pengetahuan Islam (Salleh et al., 2019). Di satu sisi pandangan semacam ini perlu mendapat respon dalam mendudukan penelitian hadis secara proporsional, dan di sisi lain perlu dilakukan pembahasan prinsip serta operasional metode syarah hadis dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial dalam pengembangan ilmu hadis. Pastinya, melalui penelitian hadis metode syarah inilah analisis dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial terbuka pintunya.

Penelitian Metode Syarah Hadis Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial

Hadis merupakan subjek penelitian ilmu hadis. Sebagai ilmu yang dituntut untuk berkembang seusai dengan kemajuan zamannya (Bistara, 2020), ilmu hadis telah dikembangkan mulai dari *takhrij* hadis (Qomarullah, 2016), syarah hadis (Jannah, 2017), dan kemudian syarah hadis dengan analisis dari pendekatan berbagai ilmu (Hariono, 2019), baik interdisipliner maupun multidisipliner (Taufik, 2020b). Secara interdisipliner, hadis diteliti dengan pendekatan rumpun ilmu-ilmu keislaman, seperti filsafat Islam, teologi Islam, tasawuf, dan syariat Islam (Arifin, 2014). Secara multidisipliner, hadis mulai diteliti dengan menerapkan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial, seperti antropologi (Rohmana, 2015), sosiologi (Assagaf, 2015), genealogi (Qudsy, 2016), dan lain-lain. Bahkan, arah kebijakan menetapkan mandat integrasi ilmu (Tim Penyusun, 2019b), berarti hal ini menghendaki integrasi ilmu hadis dengan ilmu-ilmu umum (Afwadzi, 2017). Semua ini pada dasarnya sangat mungkin dilakukan ketika hadis dipandang sebagai subjek penelitian dalam upaya pengembangan ilmu hadis (Darmalaksana, 2020e).

Jika materi ilmu dipetakan ke dalam materi dasar dan materi terapan (Bentley et al., 2015), ilmu hadis pada dasarnya merupakan khazanah keilmuan Islam kategori materi dasar. Secara garis besar, tuntutan penelitian materi dasar terbagi tiga, yaitu menjelaskan, menganalisis, dan melahirkan postulat baru (Tim Penyusun, 2019a). Upaya menjelaskan diarahkan untuk penelitian skripsi untuk jenjang sarjana bidang ilmu dasar. Analisis diarahkan untuk penelitian tesis jenjang magister bidang ilmu dasar. Adapun penemuan postulat baru diarahkan untuk penelitian disertasi jenjang doktor bidang ilmu dasar. Akan tetapi, kebijakan mengarahkan agar materi dasar ilmu-ilmu keislaman diupayakan mampu merambah ke penerapan (Tim Penyusun, 2018c). Secara garis besar, tuntutan penelitian materi terapan dibagi tiga, yakni indentifikasi masalah, pembentukan model penyelesaian masalah, dan solusi permasalahan (Tim Penyusun, 2019a). Identifikasi masalah diarahkan untuk penelitian skripsi jenjang sarjana bidang ilmu terapan. Pembentukan model untuk penyelesaian masalah diarahkan untuk

penelitian tesis jenjang magister bidang ilmu terapan. Terakhir, solusi atas permasalahan diarahkan untuk penelitian disertasi jenjang doktor bidang ilmu terapan.

Arah kebijakan di pendidikan tinggi Islam telah menetapkan pengaturan (*regulation*) untuk lulusan jenjang sarjana, magister, dan doktor bidang ilmu hadis. Jenjang sarjana diarahkan mampu menjelaskan makna dari kandungan hadis (Tim Penyusun, 2018a). Jenjang magister diarahkan untuk mampu melakukan penelitian hadis dengan pendekatan interdisipliner (Tim Penyusun, 2018b). Adapun jenjang doktor diarahkan untuk mampu melakukan penelitian hadis dengan pendekatan transdisipliner (Tim Penyusun, 2018b). Dengan demikian, pada dasarnya penjelasan hadis dengan analisis melalui pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial belumlah ditekankan bagi jenjang sarjana dalam penelitian skripsi. Sebab, jenjang sarjana dipandang belum mumpuni dari teori-teori ilmu sosial untuk dijadikan analisis dan pendekatan dalam syarah hadis. Dalam hal ini, jenjang sarjana lebih diarahkan untuk menerapkan metode syarah hadis dengan pendekatan dari masa klasik, seperti *ijmali*, *tahlili*, dan *muqaran* (Kurniati, 2020). Sedangkan jenjang magister pada penelitian tesis telah diarahkan untuk mampu melakukan penelitian hadis dengan pendekatan dari ilmu-ilmu Islam yang serumpun dan sekaligus dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu lain meskipun tidak serumpun (M Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2007), yang dalam hal ini ilmu-ilmu sosial (M Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2006), dan bahkan, pendekatan sains dan teknologi (Ismail, 2016). Adapun jenjang doktor untuk penelitian disertasi telah diarahkan untuk mampu melakukan integrasi ilmu antara ilmu hadis dan ilmu umum (Firdaus & Suryadilaga, 2019), sebagai upaya mengakhiri dikotomi ilmu (Bisryi, 2009).

Belum dibebankannya pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial dalam penelitian skripsi, maka kebijakan ini merupakan hal yang logis. *Pertama*, jenjang sarjana belum menguasai ilmu-ilmu sosial untuk dijadikan analisis dan pendekatan dalam penelitian hadis. *Kedua*, jenjang sarjana lebih diarahkan untuk menguasai metode-metode syarah dari era klasik dalam penelitian hadis (Kurniati, 2020). *Ketiga*, penerapan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial secara sekaligus dengan penerapan metode-metode syarah dari era klasik Islam pada penelitian skripsi bisa mengakibatkan hasil penelitian yang setengah-setengah. Padahal, keutuhan dan kedalaman metode-metode dari masa klasik Islam sangat dibutuhkan di satu sisi (Abbas, 2019), dan ketajaman analisis melalui pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial merupakan kebutuhan pula di sisi lain (Anggoro, 2019). Sehingga dibutuhkan rekonstruksi pendekatan dari metode-metode syarah hadis masa klasik untuk penelitian skripsi (Salleh et al., 2019).

Berbeda dengan penelitian skripsi, penelitian tesis dan disertasi justru diarahkan untuk mampu menerapkan penelitian hadis dengan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu lain. Hal ini karena bagi jenjang magister dan doktor telah disajikan teori-teori dari berbagai ilmu, khususnya teori ilmu-ilmu sosial. Tentu penyajian teori-teori ini dimaksudkan agar jenjang magister dan doktor bidang ilmu hadis dituntut mampu menguasai teori-teori ilmu bidang lain (Muhsin, 2015) yang pada gilirannya mampu menerapkan pendekatan multidisipliner pada tesis, dan pendekatan transdisipliner pada penelitian disertasi (Afwadzi, 2017). Terlebih, peminat ilmu hadis jenjang magister diarahkan mampu merambah penelitian terapan untuk melakukan identifikasi masalah dan sekaligus pembuatan model untukantisipasi masalah. Terlebih lagi, peminat ilmu hadis jenjang doktor diarahkan selain mampu menghasilkan postulat baru di bidang materi dasar, juga diarahkan untuk mampu menemukan solusi permasalahan sebagai konsekuensi dari penerapan ilmu pengetahuan dalam kerangka integrasi ilmu, termasuk ilmu hadis (Lukman, 2017).

Penguatan analisis dalam penelitian hadis metode syarah dengan pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial dipastikan dapat menguatkan masa depan penelitian hadis (Abbas, 2019) di Nusantara (Wahid, 2017). Pendidikan tinggi Islam dapat berperan proporsional (Wahid & Masri, 2018) dalam menyikapi ragam penelitian hadis (Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2015), pola penelitian hadis (Adriansyah, 2018), dan

orientasi penelitian hadis (N. Huda & Pahrudin, 2018) melalui rencana implementasi penelitian hadis pada jenjang sarjana, magister, dan doktor (Darmalaksana, 2020e). Jurusan Ilmu Hadis (Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2016) berperan sentral dalam pengembangan ilmu hadis melalui penelitian hadis dengan menggunakan analisis dalam metode syarah dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial.

SIMPULAN

Penelitian hadis dengan menerapkan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial merupakan subjek yang sangat diarahkan dalam kebijakan pengembangan keilmuan Islam pada pendidikan tinggi keagamaan Islam di Indonesia. Analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial sangat terbuka lebar peluangnya dalam penelitian hadis metode syarah. Hanya saja hal ini belum dibebankan pada penelitian skripsi jenjang sarjana, sebab mereka dipandang belum mumpuni dalam penguasaan teori-teori ilmu sosial. Sebaliknya, pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial sangat ditekankan bagi penelitian tesis dan disertasi. Jenjang magister dan doktor bidang ilmu hadis telah diarahkan penguasaan teori-teori berbagai ilmu untuk dijadikan analisis dan pendekatan dalam penelitian hadis. Bahkan, jejang doktor bidang ilmu hadis diarahkan mampu melakukan integrasi ilmu dalam penelitian hadis, baik ilmu-ilmu sosial maupun sains dan teknologi. Penelitian ini diharapkan memiliki implikasi manfaat khususnya bagi para peminat bidang ilmu hadis dalam pelaksanaan penelitian hadis melalui metode syarah dengan menggunakan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial, seperti antropologi, sosiologi, dan arkeologi. Penelitian ini memiliki keterbatasan hanya membahas penerapan analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial dalam penelitian hadis dengan metode syarah, sehingga perlu dilakukan penelitian lebih luas lagi dalam optimalisasi penerapan ilmu-ilmu sosial pada keilmuan hadis. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan untuk perumusan model analisis dari pendekatan ilmu-ilmu sosial dalam penelitian hadis melalui asosiasi ilmu hadis Indonesia.

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Political Ethics by Sheikh Hasina And Khaleda Zia's Government from 2009 to Present: A Research on Literature Review

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Abstract

The principal motive of this research is to analyze the status of ethical, democratic government and Public Services in Bangladesh. This paper examines the state of democratic governance in various rulers of Bangladesh, especially during Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia's governmental from 2009 to present. With qualitative method, this paper begins with a conceptual analysis of democratic governance and then identifies several vital problems. This article explains the status of ethical, democratic public services in Bangladesh in terms of some critical elements/elements of democratic governance, including the development of democratic institutions. Furthermore, processes, strengthening electoral and law enforcement systems, improving access to justice through freedom to the division of power, and encouraging citizen participation. Answer promoting tolerance, transparency, promoting democratic values and respect of liberty in public services with good governance and ethics, which are very infrequent in current Bangladesh politics.

Keywords: Ethical- Politics; Public-Service; Political habit- in Bangladesh, Dominant-favoritism.

Abstrak

Motif utama dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis status pemerintahan yang etis, demokratis dan Pelayanan Publik di Bangladesh. Makalah ini mengkaji keadaan pemerintahan demokratis di berbagai penguasa Bangladesh, terutama selama periode pemerintahan Sheikh Hasina dan Khaleda Zia dari tahun 2009 hingga sekarang. Dengan Metode kualitatif Makalah ini dimulai dengan analisis konseptual dari pemerintahan demokratis dan kemudian mengidentifikasi beberapa masalah penting. Artikel ini menjelaskan status layanan publik yang etis dan demokratis di Bangladesh dalam kaitannya dengan beberapa elemen penting / elemen pemerintahan demokratis, termasuk pengembangan lembaga demokrasi. Selanjutnya, proses, penguatan sistem pemilu dan penegakan hukum, peningkatan akses keadilan melalui kebebasan pembagian kekuasaan, dan mendorong partisipasi warga. Menjawab mempromosikan toleransi, transparansi, mempromosikan nilai-nilai demokrasi, dan menghormati kebebasan dalam layanan publik dengan tata kelola dan etika yang baik, yang sangat jarang terjadi dalam politik Bangladesh saat ini.

Kata kunci: Etis- Politik; Pelayanan publik, Kebiasaan politik- di Bangladesh, Favoritisme yang dominan

INTRODUCTION

The public sector is crucial for a government to establish their good governance in the state by practicing the freedom of public services. In a democracy, people are considered as the source of all energy. They hope that the government will meet all their needs and needs through companies or agencies (Lewis, 2017). They also hope that the government will prove its constitutional obligations are not only in the

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public interest but also in the hands of the people. The exercise of this power for the people is subject to the authority of the Constitution and will only be practical. This study is focusing on the public policy and practice in Bangladesh via content analysis of other research papers that studied on the ethical public administration by political leaders of Bangladesh (Alam, 2017). **The first question of this research paper is why the public sectors are not free mood in Bangladesh?**

By contrast, Bangladesh's most of the public sectors facing the dominant forces from the higher authority such as political pressure. In an undemocratic society, power originates from the ruler, not from the people. The question of accountability for his actions does not arise; as a result, the regime becomes authoritarian. Authoritarianism is about to end democratic practices, including the rule of law, electoral choice, the political bargaining, free speech and free speech of political demand (TALIBA. YOUNISIQBAL M.D. MOSTAFA, 2018). **The second research question is, what are the reasons for the failure of governance in Bangladesh till today?** This study will make a comparison analytical review of the tow government rulers of Bangladesh from 2000 to the present Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina. This paper will try to find out the solution to this problem that mentioned above regarding the implication of the freedom of Public services with ethically and democratically in Bangladesh.

In addition, polls in Bangladesh are conducted and administered by an autonomous body known as the Election Commission (EC), which is constitutionally authorized and empowered. Legally, the EC must maintain neutrality in its election-related responsibilities, for or against the ruling or opposition parties (Shukla, 2018). However, since 1991, the EC has become a highly political and controversial institution. Since it has absolute power in determining district boundaries, nominating, and electing, distributing ballot boxes, and counting votes, the ruling parties tend to use conventional institutions in their favour by appointing gay or biased commissioners. Opposition parties, aware of this fact, have taken it seriously in the mid-1990s and late 1990s, leading to severe opposition government movements and national political crises (M. A. Islam et al, 2017).

Thus, the appointment of an Election Commissioner is an essential consideration of a present government. Over the past decade, this has become a norm in favour of government elections, as voices and influence of opposition parties wholly diminished through an autocratic elected government. Since 1995, the seven chief election commissioners have been considered highly controversial and highly biased because their decisions and actions supported the government's priorities. The most infamous Chief EC was the 11th Commissioner (2012-2017) when the 2014 National and 201 Union Councils elections were the most controversial and disastrous for the ruling party (Moniruzzaman M, 2016).

As for previous research on the government of Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia's as in Mohiuddin (2008) which discusses the military side of the government of Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia's, Khondker (2017) on Politics, personality and policies Sheikh Hasina and Chakma (Chakma, 2015) which discusses Analyze the sources of the Sheikh Hasina government's India-positive foreign policy approach from theoretical and empirical standpoints. From several previous studies, there is still no one that really focuses research on Political Ethics by Sheikh Hasina And Khaleda Zia's Government.

.In short, we need educated expert administrators and a team of intense political and ethical leaders committed to preventing corruption, accountability, transparency, and inefficiency. Enforcing the rule of law on a strong ethical basis is essential to ensure good governance and sustainable development. The results of the research will help the political parties, administrators, the public, students, researchers, political leaders and policymakers design future sustainable improvement policies and projects based on good governance and ethics.

RESEARCH METHOD

In order to explore the study objectives, historical approaches to the research method have been adopted. In this case, the historical developmental development and critical evaluation of the subject have been considered to compare with the existing situation. All data have been collected from books, journals, articles, newspapers, and websites depending on the nature of the research in the same development (Hasina & Hasan, 2015a). The previous studies on practices of political ethics and governance of Bangladesh current and previous government such as Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia. It will be the focus of the paper that Further critique and review objectively published or printed information, the content analysis methodology was applied with qualitative approach.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Definition of a Good and Ethical Government

Public sectors are the government bodies to serve the country under their responsibilities. It is to make sure that public services are reaching out to every citizen in the states that is the excellent and ethical government. Public service is a service that is provided directly to people living within the jurisdiction (through the public sector) or through the financing of service. The term is associate with a social sensation (usually expressed through democratic elections) that certain services whatever the income, it should be available to everyone (Ranerup & Henriksen, 2019). A public service belongs to the government, and administrative agencies give to the people of the area and are considered essential to modern life. Ghartey confides that liability provides multiple checks and counterchecks in the political and decision-making process. Effective indebtedness for him is better understood in the context of efficiency. He also sees accountability in terms of expenditure, dedication, loyalty, and high moral/ethical standards, arguing that effective accountability provides the public with access to government knowledge (TALIB A. YOUNISIQBAL M.D. MOSTAFA, 2018).

Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia's Practices of Ethical Politics in the Country

This Grand Alliance set the government on 6 January 2009 among Sheikh Hasina, repeated as the prime minister. People keep high expectations that the administration will initiate significant reforms to develop undemocratic political methods. That was hoped that the two political authorities would learn from their earlier errors, resolve their disputes over democratic dialogue and discussion, plus not resort to road politics also violence. However, regrettably, after the election, both sides decided to continue their old political dispute path. For example, the BNP started striking parliamentary sittings and called for road agitations. Opposite to its pre-election commitment of building consent, the ruling coalition used its three-fourth preponderance in parliament to push through the fifteenth amendment of the constitution in June 2011, which interjected numerous changes exposed by the BNP-led coalition. The prime and most critical of the reforms, defended by BNP, was the cancellation of the nonpolitical caretaker government NCG's provision for organizing future governmental elections. Then the BNP denied participating in the parliamentary polls under a party convention (BAL) (Jahan, 2014).

Therefore, Bangladesh's public administration still faces corruption, violence, lack of the rule of law, old laws, transparency, lack of professionalism, human rights abuses, accountability, and even severe politicization of government institutions and even the judiciary (Sarker et al., 2017). For the past decade, the disappearance, imprisonment, abuse, and custody of slanderers of Sheikh Hasina's administration has been an open secret in Bangladesh. Within the electoral leadership, efforts to silence critical opinion have risen to the top. As Sheikh Hasina begins her last term, she cruises the country in response to a slippery slope of authoritarianism. Politically, there is a vulnerability that once her ruling Awami League becomes too involved in the power policy, the peaceful transference of power to another party. It will become more difficult. By enabling the government to pursue and imprison its critics in light of the new 2018 Digital Security Act, growing restrictions on freedom of expression will only increase resentment and possibly lead to disorder (Salomon Heiner, Wake Caitlin, Jones Nicola, 2019).

Furthermore, Security crisis is one of the biggest issues in most of the government duration in Bangladesh due to political and non-political relationship. It causes a lot of families lost their beloved one and even in some cases the family have not find the death body of them disappear family members. But this is happening in every governmental term the social security crisis. For example, during the former prime minister Khaleda Zia's time there were so many opposition leaders were disappeared those are from the current government of Bangladesh political leaders such as the news reported in Timesnownews.com where current prime minister claimed that 21st August attached on Awami League arranged by the son of former prime minister Khaleda Zia (timesnownews.com, 2018). In return, now the BNP leaders are facing the same problems as they said in some news such as CNN and BBC broadcast (Anbarasan, 2012). According to Bangladesh national news paper's report of disappearance of 1209 people were force to disappeared by the ruling government of Bangladesh (Prothom Alo, 2019).

This study reached to a conclusion of public sectors' services condition and practices by the previous prime minister of Bangladesh namely Khaleda Zia and current prime minister Sheikh Hasina. Bangladesh is a highest population country in the world with small land compare to its citizens (Ali, 2015). There are few cities that can be discuss on this study regarding the public services. For example, People in Chittagong City are often dissatisfied with the quality of services provided by various city authorities (during Khaleda Zia's Government) and the acute water and electricity crisis, sanitation problems, waste management of waste drainage, lack of treatment and healthcare facilities, and infrastructural insufficiency of roads and sewer (Lewis, 2017). In another article included the former prime minister of Bangladesh namely Khaleda Zia as a corrupted leader (Kabir & Parolin, 2012). The literature review shows that current prime minister of Bangladesh (Sheikh Hasina's government) is concerning about fulfilling the public services in responsibly, which is better than all other previous government (Karim, 2015).

Moreover, Substantial political institutions were/are engaged in political party quarrels. The seizure of government power by a political party prevents diversity in critical political institutions. Notable is the Election Commission which has become an essential focal point of political conflict. After independence, the entire government failed to form an independent election commission and separate it from the Prime Minister's Office. Those in power at the government and their appointees have always appointed 'friends' to do their hidden agendas such as to the Election Commission to demand their removal from the opposition (M. A. Islam et al., 2017). For example, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wazed's government elected made a firm commitment in 2010 to address serious human rights issues. However, that promise has not been fulfilled, as extrajudicial executions and torture continues, as well as impunity for members of the security forces. The government continued to attack the media and the right to express

the views of political opponents. Workers' union workers protesting for higher wages were systematically targeted and, in some cases, arrested and imprisoned on Trump-up charges (UK Border Agency, 2011).

The Backdrop of Two Political Leaders in Bangladesh; Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia

Since independence in 1971, Bangladesh has faced several political challenges. After the restoration of democracy in the nineties, power reigned between Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina. The country is plagued by local corruption. Although anti-corruption laws exist, they are not adequately enforced, and relevant institutions are not sufficient. Contortion in Bangladesh obstructs proper allocation of assets, weakens government services, reduces fertility, exacerbates poverty, marginalizes the poor and creates social unrest. Bangladeshi poor are equally deprived of education and white-collar jobs. Irregularities in recruitment were visible, and in many cases, corruption has a built-in bias against the poor, disadvantaged and low-income segments of society (Kaunain Rahman, 2019).

Sheikh Hasina's Regime (1996-2001); The Awami League came to power in 1996 through the 7th elections. First, the government set up a commission to restructure the local government level. The commission proposed to establish at the village level along other levels of local government. As per the proposal of the commission, the government introduced the Gram Parishad Act 1997 under which village government would be established based on wards. The elected chairman of the Union Parishad will be the ex-officio chairman of the Gram Parishad. The village council will have three members including two women members. Government officials were also given the opportunity to become members of the council. Although the law establishing the village council was enacted, no steps were taken to form it (Hasina & Hasan, 2015a).

Moreover, Khaleda Zia's Rules (2001-2006); Khaleda Zia took charge of the government for the second time. During that period, the government repealed the Gram Parishad Act 1997 and enacted a new law in 2003 called the Village Government Act to establish village government on a ward basis. Although the previous government represented a local body of representative nature in ensuring the participation of the people in development activities in the enactment of the said Act, it also provided for nomination instead of election in the presence of village government formation (Nasrin, 2013). Sheikh Hasina's rules (2009 to present); However, this term many laws related to local government were passed during the tenure of this government such as Local Government (City Corporation) Act, 2009, Local Government (Municipal Corporation) Act, 2009, Union Parishad Act, 2009 (Ministry of Local Government), Bangladesh). Upazila Parishad Act, 1998 has been restored. However, no steps have been taken to establish a village government (Hasina & Hasan, 2015b).

At present, the current milieu in the densely populated country continues unabated as it goes through substantial economic and social changes. Following the boycott of the 2014 elections, the ruling Awami League's main opposition party, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), led security forces to arrest and harass key party officials. Nonetheless, the regranting Awami League has integrated political forces through critical voices in the media and civil society, which are seen as anti-government and allied with them. Such steps have done much damage to the opposition BNP as well as the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) (Kaunain Rahman, 2019). Furthermore, the prevailing party resorted to relentless measures such as cracked disappearances to eradicate democracy. Rizvi said the ruling party was using the use of invisibility

as a weapon to stifle opposition and alternative views and to prolong its 'authoritarian one-party rule' (Zia, 2013). A total of 1,209 people has gone missing since the formation of the Awami League government in 2009. BNP senior joint secretary general Ruhul Kabir Rizvi said that 1 of them went missing by the law enforcement agencies (Prothom Alo, 2019).

Furthermore, This BAL-led Grand Alliance administration began performing the pledge of a trail of independence war criminals. The Jamaat Islam activists, especially members of this Islami Chhatra Shibir, unleashed a stream of unprecedented road violence, including armed atrocities on law implementation agencies after those verdicts of the war crimes trials, started to be declared from early 2013. Attempts by the United Nations (UN) to convince the significant two political parties to come to a contracted settlement about an election-time government failed. Then BNP-led alliance ostracized and ventured to thwart the scheduled gubernatorial election with reinforcing oborodh (blockade) also hartals. This government countered by harsh effects, including returned and substantial scale arrest of BNP leaders. There were unprecedented violent disputes betwixt Jamaat activists and law enforcement auspices. Though, the administration was capable of organizing a one-sided parliamentary election ostracized by the BNP-led units. In a most maximum of the legislative seats (153), MPs referring to the BAL-led alliance were 'elected' uncontested. In the outstanding 147, contestations selected place with a meager voter output on 5 January 2014. That parliamentary opponent engineered among the Jatiya Party's schism, who decided to join both the government as ministers and serve as complaints in parliament. Then BAL-led alliance established the government on 12 January 2014 till the present (Jahan, 2018) and (Jahan, 2014).

Leadership history of Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia

The study found that there was major different between leadership of Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina's governance of public sectors services. The differences will be as follows with comparison discussion in this phase. Various scholars have explicitly argued that the bureaucracy's view is that politicians play an elite, defective role in Bangladesh governance. Elected leaders began to rely more on senior civil servants for advice on important issues. Government employees and government initiatives replaced the political appointments at the core of the secretariat, and they began to make most of the decisions. Political reasons, it really implies that since the time of Great Britain, Bangladesh has been setting this historical historically dominant mind because of the political pressure of the British regime since the British era, when they created all the political pressure on the government and non-governmental organizations as a result of the change of political leadership. Bureaucratic half in the process deepens the core of consolidation and generates bureaucracy as one of the most influential actors in policy networks. To clarify, we must look back at the working relationship between politicians and civil servants in this country. Act 1919 during the colonial rule, under Indian law of British bureaucrats served under politicians (the first Indian ministers were appointed at the provincial level) (Huque & Ferdous, 2019).

Furthermore, Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia (two female leaders) made their debut in Bangladeshi politics due to the low level of political organization in the absence of suitable male heirs. All three sons of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib) died; So, there was no male member left to lead the Awami League. In another camp, Ziaur Rahman's sons died at a young age, forcing Khaleda Zia to lead the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). Both Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia played vital roles in the 1990 mass explosion versus General Ershad. Following 1991, the congressional election beneath a caretaker government, the BNP headed by Khaleda Zia formed the power and Sheikh Hasina, leader of the AL, enhanced the leader of the competition in the congress. In 1996, the AL obtained the election, and Sheikh Hasina became the

Prime Minister. In 2001, national election, the BNP and its three alliance partners secured a two-thirds majority and Khaleda Zia again formed the power. In 2008, parliamentary election, Sheikh Hasina came to power with a landslide victory, and Khaleda Zia became the head of the opponent (Chowdhury, 2015).

However, the leadership of the Bangladesh government has not been on the line of democracy since 2000. With the shake of power, Bangladesh is fast becoming one of the most vibrant democracies in Asia towards a single-family. Six months before the election, Sheikh Hasina is trying to remove the need for a caretaker government from the constitution. Herself helped establish the rule, which called for an apolitical government to seize power and observe the electoral process regardless of political interference. The caretaker government is that the elections have been relatively and reasonably insured. If voters decide to vote for the new government, power must change hands. Despite participating in millions of street protests against plans to overthrow the caretaker government ahead of this year's (2013) general election, she believes that he will give a chance to be re-elected despite opposition from the people.

In recent years, Bangladesh has reacted to authoritarian rule. The established political tradition of holding inclusive and peaceful elections under a non-partisan caretaker government was abolished in 2011 when the opposition boycotted the 2014 general election without contesting more than 50 parliamentary seats. Throughout the most current polls, government defense forces launched an unmerciful crackdown to protesters whose members also responded with violence. It was also claimed that the vote was rigged. An independent survey by Transparency International confirmed significant irregularities, including ballot stuffing, in 47 of the 50 sample seats. The reigning Awami League (AL) government has suffered little opposition in the Bangladeshi parliament and consolidated its power through violent repression. Political opponents have gone 'missing', and leaders of parties outside the ruling coalition have been imprisoned.

Furthermore, there are remarkable apparent consequences of this 'structural opponent culture' in Bangladesh. First, that undermines the peaceful rapprochement of cooperation amongst political parties because 'opposition' inhabits the main political program. Secondly, because opponents to rival political parties get the highest market money, the political leaders continue obsessed with finding new issues and different methods to attack their political rivals. That brings to politics the practices of misrepresentation, concoction, weirdness, active denial, fabrication, and new actualities. Through speeches at a political meeting, political leaders spend more time hitting political rivals than offering pragmatic agendas for the nation's advancement. These practices of lying and mixture enhance normalized. New sophisticated methods of concocting or manufacturing facts plus actualities to attack political opponents are always embraced and applauded in the domain of politics. Partisan rivalry and resentment sometimes strike to such an ultimate level that some political leaders mislay their last iota of allegiance also then discursively portray the state as 'fundamentalist' or a 'breeding earth of Talibanize' plus so forth to welcome foreign interference. Third, it produces fanaticism indoors politics.

Consequently, no art develops based on any prospective vision as leaders are troubled, including attacking others alternatively. That country's growth and progress shift secondary, plus the political realm does not recognize visionary, also honest leaders. This then creates a 'demo-crisis' in which this country is stripped of extensional and visionary rulers and conscientious citizens plus vibrant civil civilization.

Practices of Ethics and Good Governance

The researcher found that unethical and argumentative imprisonment of former Bangladeshi Prime Minister Khaleda Zia and the crackdown on state dissent have raised fears that the upcoming

parliamentary elections could turn violently dirty. Fearing a repeat of 2014, when almost all opposition parties boycotted the parliamentary elections and witnessed widespread violence and killings, the ruling Awami League (AL) government in Bangladesh has faced allegations of organized torture by an opposition party. Opposition leaders and political activists are living in prison or under threat of aggravation, but there is widespread concern about what will happen in an election year. With the controversial imprisonment of Bangladesh's opposition leader and two-time prime minister Khaleda Zia last month, it is becoming increasingly difficult for Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's government to deny allegations of authoritarian rule (Mahmud, 2018).

Furthermore, elections are held in Bangladesh at seven levels of administration, both national and local. From top to bottom, these are presidential elections, national parliamentary elections, city corporation elections, district council elections, subdivision elections, municipal elections, and union council elections. Elections at all levels are conducted along party lines. In the first decade of independence, elections were, for the most part, a reasonably competitive game for representative politics. Either the people were not highly socialized politically, or the field of political participation was not limited to the townspeople, the elections were systematic, there was competition among professional politicians, and there was the representation of qualified politicians. Over time, nevertheless, representative politics became tainted by money, muscle, violence, manipulation, and indeed became commercially commercial. The intents of such stigmatized representative politics were twofold: to keep the ruling party in power by any means and to prevent the opposition from coming to power by any means. Within these two purposes, the real goal of political representation through elections faded. It has continued the politics of resistance representation and the regularization of dictatorial democracy in Bangladesh.

However, there has been a crisis in the ethical practice of leadership. In early 2018, for example, the Leader of the Opposition (former Prime Minister Khaleda Zia) was sentenced to seven years in prison on corruption charges that some claims were politically motivated. Nonviolent protests by students demanding road safety rules and fair access to government jobs have been violently suppressed, and journalists and photographers have been attacked by police forces covering events (Antonio Savoia, 2019). Moreover, in Bangladesh the law and court also dominated by its governmental system because they are the one who appointed the judge at all level of the court in the country. That is why there is always some interruption in the court during the justice. And this can create all the distrust and disobey people in the state towards the highest court as well due to lack of justice. Freedom in the public service sectors is very necessary to practice the fully duty of servant. As a public servant they need free space to do their job properly when its needed. Bangladesh has some key elements/components of democratic governance, including developing democratic institutions and processes, strengthening electoral and law enforcement systems, improving access to justice by ensuring segregation of powers, citizen participation, accountability, transparency, promoting democratic values, human rights and respect.

Furthermore, in a democratic method, this is vital to have contentious and sophisticated party conformity. Nevertheless, Bangladesh has encountered a dogmatic also a confrontational party policy that has built a deadlock and caused ambiguity to the whole country. Considering 1990, except 2014 and 2018, Bangladesh has testified four systematic well-disposed, free votes, for example, in 1991, 1996, 2001, plus 2008. On January 5, 2014, and 2018, nonetheless, dubious elections took place where significant opponent political parties did not engage except the ruling coalition parties. These two prevailing parties; the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) plus the Bangladesh Awami League (BAL)—each obtained two prior free and fair polls, with the BNP gaining in 1991, also a BNP-led 4-party combination in 2001, including the BAL in 1996, plus a BAL-led 14 party affiliation in 2008. Nevertheless, from 2014 Bangladesh is

directing towards a dictatorial system. Total these are occurring due to the absence of good governance (S. S. Islam, 2016) and (M. N. Islam et al., 2020).

Moreover, At the end of the BNP-led 4-party coalition regime (2001-2006), the BAL-led 14-party alliance removed the probability of determining their issues plus concerns in the parliament about the configuration of a caretaker government and impending elections. Both parties took demands on streets, including the ruling coalition, and admitted to a dialogue with the BAL on those matters outside the parliament's domain. Nevertheless, the BAL denied sitting with the BNP-ruling coalition parties, notably with the Jamat-e-Islami Bangladesh (JIB). However, the BAL plus other leaders of the 14-party coalition had sat among the JIB leaders on many events in the past. This BNP-ruling coalition responded among almost the equal magnitude of obduracy that it would not enroll in a dialogue among the BAL outwardly its coalition companion the JIB. All those improvements only bothered the crises besides.

Finally, 'the fundamental of opponent' culture produces hatred, separation, mistrust, anxiety, and endless political tension. Seldom is political tension turned into violence and murder, and 'corpse politics' appears. If any political activist is hit or aggravated due to political brutality, this is not commonly observed as a political failure; instead, that 'corpse' becomes political property to generate a current issue in the refined atmosphere of political opposition. It is an unhealthy 'structural opposition' culture that has remained for decades. A healthful political environment among viable democratic practices has not grown; therefore, it prevails retrogressive. That has paved the way for foreign diplomats to interfere in the country's interior affairs, such as what occurred in 2006 BNP and 2014- 2018 BAL. Administering with some evil political leaders may rock, merely will not root out, that long-established framework of architectural opposition growing.

Suggestion

From the research discussion, good governance is essential for sustainable development in all areas of a country. However, the status of public administration in Bangladesh is not satisfactory. It is better to adopt some strategies such as recruitment system should be free from illegal political barriers, no politicization should be allowed, corruption Eliminate, improve policy implementation capacity, promote local administration, and give justice to the rural poor. Ensuring partnership and access, improving sectoral government, improving sustainable and efficient governance, and more effective measures should take, such as strengthening robust and institutional capacity through strong parliament and strong leadership and strengthening parliamentary oversight. The public administration is an ecology of closely related to the approach to sustainable development which in a country like Bangladesh should address the dependence, balance, biological system, and sustainability of human life with ethics.

CONCLUSION

Answering to the first research question, every government follow their own systems to fulfill their vision and mission. In the case of Bangladesh government from its independent till now there was so many leaders came via election and no election such as military leaders and elected government from two major parties such as Awami League and Bangladesh National Party (BNP) (Kaunain Rahman, 2019). The political policy of unstable Bangladesh lacked mutual trust and consideration. All political parties have resorted to any means to seize power. More than 80 parties were agitated in the political arena, but only two dominated: the Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. The Bangladesh Awami League was one of the largest and was initially established as the Pakistan Awami Muslim League. After

independence, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman controlled the party and renamed it Bangladesh Awami League. The party has ruled four times since its release and is currently the ruling party. The Bangladesh jatiyotabadi Party, another major political party, was founded by President Ziaur Rahman on September 1st, 1978 and has ruled Bangladesh for three terms since its birth (M. A. Islam et al., 2017). Furthermore, this paper found that the democratic governance of Bangladesh was hampered by various reasons such as lack of authority by the government, lack of political commitment and sensibility, absence of independent judiciary, lack of accountability of elected and appointed government. Officials, lack of democratic practice among political parties, participation, or engagement of citizens in the political process and rampant corruption (Hasan Mubashar, 2019).

Besides, Sheikh Hasina has been in power since 2009; therefore, it is conjectured that she will not be able to hold fair elections. It must always be managed to ensure his victory. The removal of the CTG was not tricky, despite strong rejections from opposition parties and the public, as Parliament and the judiciary were under his control. The legal seal of this otherwise unconstitutional law was sealed in 2011. The results of the two elections held in January 2014 and December 2011 have seen people win almost 100% of Sheikh Sheikh Hasina's Awami Alliance. The whole world rejected them by saving India. She thought she was starting to exercise the tiger. Then, he was moved to take care of them he thought would harm them. Nevertheless, the fear of collapse that hid Sheikh Hasina, and made her a ruthless dictator, aimed to perpetuate, or walk for life. Notwithstanding everything desists shortly or lately (R. Chowdhury, 2019).

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The Enforcement of Counter-Radicalism through Educational Values (Analytical analysis of the Book of I'tiqād by Al-Bukhārī)

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ABSTRACT

Radicalism is an understanding of social life, far beyond reconciliation and communication, similar to acts of violence. This misconception is indeed very dangerous, particularly if it is made in the name of religion itself. Evidently, the religious principle which always encourages a good and ethical way of life seems to have been misunderstood, perhaps abused. Radicalism might be handled and prevented by implementing the teachings of Imam al-Bukhārī, e.g. the I'tiqād, a clear understanding of religion and outstanding teaching practices. The aim of this research is to analyze the contents of the book upon its values of Islamic teachings concerning harmony through living together under a foundation of educational values towards radicalism. The research employed a full qualitative method and data documentation related to the research, which was then analyzed descriptively. In the meantime, the results of the study revealed that Imam al-Bukhārī, in his book I'tiqād al-Bukhārī, proposed four (4) educational values or elements of peace in Islamic teachings, namely: (1) harmony with the public at large, (2) harmony with the government, (3) tranquility with the Muslims, and (4) harmony with believers of other religions. These educational values could be an instructional approach for the enforcement of counter-radicalism that would be applicable to Islamic education in Indonesia.

Keywords: Enforcement, Counter Radicalis, Education, I'tiqād Al-Bukhārī.

ABSTRAK

Radikalisme merupakan paham dalam kehidupan sosial yang jauh dari cara-cara kompromi dan komunikasi, sehingga dekat dengan tindakan kekerasan. Paham ini sangat berbahaya, apalagi jika dilakukan dengan mengatasnamakan agama, karena agama yang mengajarkan jalan hidup yang baik dan benar telah disalahpahami, bahkan disalahgunakan. Paham radikalisme dapat dikendalikan dan ditanggulangi dengan menanamkan pemahaman agama yang benar serta nilai-nilai pendidikan yang baik sebagaimana yang terdapat dalam kita karya Imam al-Bukhārī yaitu kitab I'tiqād. Adapun objektif penelitian ini ialah untuk mengkaji isi kitab tersebut berkaitan dengan prinsip ajaran Islam tentang kedamaian dalam hidup bersama, sebagai sumber nilai pendidikan kontra-radikalisme. Metode yang digunakan penulis dalam penelitian ini ialah dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif penuh serta data dokumentasi yang terkait dengan topik kajian penelitian ini, kemudian dianalisis secara deskriptif. Alhasil, Imam al-Bukhārī dalam kitabnya I'tiqād al-Bukhārī, merumuskan 4 (empat) nilai pendidikan atau pilar kedamaian dalam ajaran Islam yaitu; (1) damai dengan masyarakat umum, (2) damai dengan pemerintah, (3) damai dengan sesama umat Islam, dan (4) damai dengan penganut agama lain. Nilai-nilai pendidikan tersebut dapat menjadi sebuah strategi pendidikan dalam menegakkan kontra-radikalisme yang relevan dengan pendidikan Islam di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Penegakan, Kontra Radikalisme, Pendidikan, I'tiqād Al-Bukhārī.

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, radicalism and terrorism have become national and international issues and received enormous attention. This issue has not gone unnoticed by the government by preventing radicalism and combat acts of terrorism. The emergence of radicalism and acts of terror in people's lives cannot be separated from ideological, historical, social, economic, and political aspects. This phenomenon is part of the dynamics of regional, even global life. Although Indonesians mostly did the recent acts of radicalism and terror in various regions, it cannot be denied that these acts are a combination of domestic actors (indigenous) and transnational networks (trans-national networks) (Hikam, 2016).

Radicalism can happen to anyone, anytime, and anywhere, including children, adolescents, and adults. It does not matter whether they are rich or poor, and it does not matter whether they come from the elite or ordinary community. Radicalism does not appear instantly. It arises due to various experiences of each individual or community group. A narrow way of thinking and understanding can be a driving force for the birth of radicalism, either in the aspects of social, political, economic, education, and even religion. Radicalism can be prevented and eliminated through guidance and supervision against the way of thinking and perspective of a phenomenon's changes due to the times' development. On the other hand, radicalism can be controlled by creating a sense of security and a fair environment in all aspects of everyday life (Muchith, 2016).

Changes and developments in science, technology, culture, social, political, economic, and other aspects that occurred with the reformation certainly need to be guided and directed to impact society positively. They need the right orientation through education and good habituation in people's lives, and they also need an excellent example from the leaders. Good community requires the development of fairness to establish harmony within the community, mutual respect within the members, and the willingness to help each other. Furthermore, creating those situations will change selfishness, an act of underestimating, and a priori, which results in a lack of compliance with one another, into a tolerant attitude, mutual help, and mutual respect (Alia et al., 2020; Hidayat, 2020; Muchith, 2016).

Islam consistently teaches peace. The principle of peace is not limited only to normative teaching but also to implementing the value in Muslims' lives from the very beginning, as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. Friends of the Prophet Muhammad and pious people continued to implement this value of living in peace. The Ulama's commitment to living in harmony with a strong brotherhood, tolerance, and avoiding various forms of violence is part of Islam's life principles. The formulations of the Islamic tenets can be found in a book that was written by Imam Al-Bukhārī, who specifically wrote a book entitled *I'tiqād al-Bukhārī*. This book contains the Islamic creed's main points that teach a peaceful attitude and prohibits destructive radicalism. The writings of Imam al-Bukhārī contain the main educational values aimed at Muslims to hold fast to their true religion.

In the context of Islamic education, this book is essential to study to elaborate on the values of counter-radicalism education and be the source of the correct understanding of Islamic creed. On the other hand, a study of counter-radical values written by a great ulama confirms that Islam is a religion that loves peace, has a high tolerance, a strong brotherhood, and unity. This paper is also one of the proofs and arguments that can straighten the negative stigma against Islam and its people. More than that, this study's results are expected to contribute to solving the problem of radicalism substantively and persuasively through correct education.

The previous study on counter-radicalism has been researched by Rohmatika (2016) about the Effectiveness of the Role of Islamic Education Teachers at SMP Negeri 9 Yogyakarta in Preventive Efforts to Counter the Propaganda of Islamic Radicalism in Students. This research discussion focused on Islamic

education teachers' role in making preventive efforts to avoid radicalism. Another research was conducted by Rahmawati (2014) on Deradicalization of Religious Understanding in Yusuf Qardhawi's Thought in terms of Islamic Religious Education Perspective. This research focuses on Yusuf Qardhawi's thoughts on radicalism and deradicalization efforts. Research reviewed by Rosanita (2016) regarding the Perceptions of Islamic Religious Education Teachers on Religious Radicalism: Multisite Studies in SMA Negeri 1, SMK Negeri 1, and MA Negeri 1 Kota Mojokerto. This study discusses perceptions, influencing factors, and preventive efforts of Islamic Education teachers at SMAN 1, SMKN 1, and MAN 1 Kota Mojokerto regarding religious radicalism.

As a result, the research studied by Maulidah Rohmatika and Umu Arifah Rahmawati is very different from the author's research. Maulidah Rohmatika's research emphasizes teachers' role to prevent understanding of radicalism in their students, while Umu Arifah Rahmawati's research emphasizes more on the discussion of Yusuf Qardhawi's thoughts. The research performed by Devi Rosanita has similarities with this study. The difference with this study lies in the object of the study.

Thus, based on the explanation above, the author will examine "*The Enforcement of Counter-Radicalism through Educational Values (Analysis of the I'tiqād Book by Al-Bukhārī)*". This study aims to determine the values of counter-radicalism in the I'tiqād Book by al-Bukhārī and its relevance to Islamic education in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study of I'tiqād al-Bukhārī book by *Imam al-Bukhārī* is a library research. In this study, a series of activities were carried out concerning library data collection, reading, taking notes, and processing research materials (Zed, 2004). The data source was books, magazines, journals, newsletters, newspapers, papers, and other media related to this research. The approach used in this research is the bibliographic. This approach uses historical methods to search, analyze, interpret, and generalize facts that are the opinions of experts in a problem (Nazir, 2014).

This research focuses on the results of thoughts and ideas written by Imam al-Bukhārī, in his book of I'tiqād al-Bukhārī as the primary source. Apart from these primary sources, this study also uses secondary sources; they are various relevant references [Saraswati] related to the research problem. Data analysis in this study uses analytic descriptive. It was carried out by describing and analyzing (Ratna, 2019). The type of data analysis used in this study is content analysis. It is a technique that allows researchers to study human behavior indirectly through the analysis of their communication [Fraenkel, 2012], and then it will be concluded with inductive reasoning.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The root word of radicalism is radical. According to its meaning in language, radical is neutral. It can be related to positive and negative things. In KBBI, the term radical is associated with several definitions, starting from the primary meaning to something principle, intensely demanding changes in laws, governance, and means progress in thinking or acting. The radical meaning is linguistically neutral, not directly referring to a particular value or a positive or negative view. The term is different from terror, which means to scare other parties. Terror is always carried out in negative ways and frightens other parties (Muchith, 2016). In practice, radicalism becomes an understanding or flow that requires social and political change or renewal through violence (Ratna, 2019). Radicalism is also considered as an

understanding or way of thinking that becomes the basis for committing acts of violence or terror (Muchith, 2016).

The phenomenon of radicalism and violence occurring in society is a complex reality. Many factors have caused or triggered the emergence of radicalism, such as unfavourable socio-economic conditions, unfairness, globalization, modern imperialism, and narrow religious understanding. The accumulation of these various factors fosters radical attitudes and understandings, which can encourage someone to choose the path to join acts and networks of terrorism (BNPT, 2016). Today, the phenomenon of radicalism has become a challenge for many countries, including Indonesia.

Radicalism might happen in every aspect of life. It is encouraged by various reasons, either due to a wrong or narrow understanding of religious teachings, social injustice, poverty, politics, social inequality, etc (Kusmanto et al., 2015). Therefore, radicalism is a serious challenge and threat, so it is necessary to counter it. The effort of countering radicalism is called persuasive deradicalization (D. Syamsuddin, 2016). One of the efforts that can be applied is by enforcing a counter-radicalism through educational values as taught by the *ulamas* through their works such as the book I'tiqād al-Bukhārī by *Imam al-Bukhārī*.

Short biography of Imam *Al-Bukhārī*

Imam al-Bukhārī full name was Abū' Abdillāh Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Mugīrah bin Bardizbah al-Ju'fī. He was born on a Friday after the Friday prayer 13 Shawwal 194 H in Bukhara (Bucharest). When he was little, his father, Isma'il, had died, so her mother was the one raising him (Wahyudi, 2009). When he was still a child, his father died, and that made him a *yatim* and raised under his mother's care. Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Faḍl al-Balkhi said; I heard my father say, "Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl sight has been taken away from him (blind) since childhood". One time his mother had a dream that she saw Ibrāhīm as said this to her, "O woman, Allah has returned your son's sight because of your frequent prayers. When morning came, it was true that Allah had returned the vision of Muhammad bin Ismā'īl (Adz-Dzahabi, 2008).

Since he was a teenager, he *raḥimahullāh* began to travel to trace the hadith in 210 AH. He moved from place to place in his country, searching for hadiths, and then lived in the Hejaz for six years. After that, he went to Syria, Egypt, Jazirah, Basra, Kufa, and Baghdad. *Imam al-Bukhārī* was known to have very strong memorization. People said that he could memorize a book with one reading. He was a very *zuhud* and *wara* 'person, far from the life of rulers and leaders. He was courageous and generous. His ability to memorize given by Allah SWT, was a tremendous asset to make him an expert in hadith science. He was able to memorize hadiths and understand them in detail (Al-Utsaimin, 2008).

Imam al-Bukhārī came to study with the Shaykhs in Basrah, but never wrote the hadiths, so they asked him, "Why don't you write?" then he recited all the hadiths he had heard by memorization, and the total of the hadith was up to more than fifteen thousand (Jauzi, 2006). The *ulamas* during his period and after his period praised him greatly. Imam Aḥmad said, "Khurasan never took out someone as great as him." Ibn Khuzaimah said, "Under this sky, there is no one who knows better and memorizes the hadith of Rasūlullāh saw more than Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī" (Al-Utsaimin, 2008). He is a mujtahid in the field of fiqh. He is meticulous in drawing legal conclusions on a hadith as can be seen in the chapter titles in his *ṣaḥīḥ* book (Al-Utsaimin, 2008).

He *raḥimahullāh* died in Khartank, two *farsakhs* away from Samarkand on the night of Eid al-fitrī in 256 AH at 62. He left much knowledge in his various books. May Allah bestow His Mercy on him and give him a better reward for his services to the Muslims (Al-Utsaimin, 2008). Among the books by *Imam*

al-Bukhārī is the book I'tiqād (Az-Zahrani, 2011) in which this book explains the principles of Islamic teachings that contain counter-radicalism educational values.

Overview of the Book I'tiqād Al-Bukhārī

The complete title of the book is I'tiqād Abī 'Abdillāh Muḥammad bin Ismā'il al-Bukhārī fī Jamā'ah min as-Salaf allāzīna Rawā' anhum which was passed on by Muḥammad Ziyad bin 'Umar at-Tuklah in 1433 H (Al-Bukhārī, 2012b). This book is the result *Imam al-Bukhārī*'s thought in 'aqīdah, which was later narrated by Imam al-Lālikā'ī (died 418 H) in the book of *Syarah Uṣūl I'tiqād Ahlussunnah wal Jamā'ah*. This book contains the results of the agreement of 1080 teachers of *Imam al-Bukhārī* who were *ahlul hadith*. The narrator of this book mentions some of Imam al-Bukhārī's teachers from various countries, namely the Hejaz, Mecca, Medina, Kufa, Basra, Wasith, Baghdad, Sham, and Egypt for 46 years (Al-Lālikā'ī, 1995).

According to Imam al-Bukhārī, there are ten foundations in 'aqīdah, which the scholars have agreed. The following is a brief description of the ten points in the book I'tiqād al-Bukhārī, namely: First, it contains beliefs that a person can correctly call as Islam; Second, contains about belief in the Al-Qur'an; Third, contains about belief in destiny; Fourth, contains about infidelity; Fifth, contains about the attitude towards the companions of the Prophet *Ṣallallāhu 'alaihi wa Sallam*; Sixth, contains about bid'ah deeds; Fourth, contains about following the Sunnah of the Prophet *Ṣallallāhu 'alaihi wa Sallam*; Eighth, contains attitudes towards the authorities; Ninth, contains attitudes towards Muslims; and Tenth, contains about praying to the leader.

Educational Values of Counter-Radicalism Based on Book of I'tiqād Al-Bukhārī

Deradicalization can be done persuasively through education and giving a correct understanding of various things, including religion. Education is all life situations that affect individual growth that lasts a lifetime. Therefore life is education, and education is life (Budiyanto, 2013). Education takes place in the context of multi-dimensional individual relationships, both in individual relationships with God, fellow humans, nature and even with themselves (Sajidiman, 2012). Education is also a social activity that allows society to exist and develop (Bahroni, 2009) not only on the quality of thinking but also on morals and kinesthetic intelligence (Muchith, 2016).

In connection with deradicalization efforts in the social dimension, it seems that it can only be reduced and countered by other social symptoms, which are the anti-radicalism movement. The response of the religious leaders is an expression of counter radicalism. The government and the public's attention to radicalism reflect that radicalism is a serious problem and is attached to it against radicalism (Kusmanto et al., 2015).

Counter-radicalization is one of the BNPT strategies to prevent radicalism and terrorism either through various activities such as socialization, dialogue, workshops, intelligence activities, etc, or by empowering civil society forces such as religious organizations, non-governmental organizations (non-governmental organizations), educational institutions, religious leaders, traditional leaders, mass media, and former terrorists and so on as an effort to counteract radicalism in society (Tahir, 2016).

The *ulamas* have taught the basic principles of religion correctly as taught by the *ulamas* from the previous eras, the friends of the prophet and the Prophet Muhammad SAW, including through one of the works of Imam al-Bukhārī, namely the book I'tiqād al-Bukhārī. This book contains various aspects of the creed that are very basic to Muslims, including counter-radicalism educational values. The result shows four main pillars of the value of counter-radicalism education in the I'tiqād al-Bukhārī. The four pillars rest

on the main basic foundation, namely "peace," and its relevance can be drawn to Islamic education in Indonesia.

The educational values of counter-radicalism contained in the book *I'tiqād Al-Bukhārī* include

Being peaceful with the public

I'tiqād al-Bukhārī stated that Islam had regulated its people always to practice the Sunnah whenever and wherever. Doing good deeds to neighbors, whether they are Muslims or not, is one of the forms of practicing the Sunnah from Rasūlullāh. Allah has arranged for His servants not to hurt their neighbors' hearts or physics, as Allah SWT said:

“Worship Allah alone and associate none with Him. And be kind to parents, relatives, orphans, the poor, near and distant neighbours, close friends, needy travellers, and those bondspeople in your possession. Surely Allah does not like whoever is arrogant, boastful.” (QS an-Nisā: 36)

To be a good Muslim for the community, neighbors, and guests, a Muslim should not say something that will hurt others and behave well to make others feel comfortable. Rasūlullāh *Ṣallallāhu ‘alaihi wa Sallam* said:

لَا يُؤْمِنُ أَحَدُكُمْ حَتَّى يُحِبَّ لِأَخِيهِ مَا يُحِبُّ لِنَفْسِهِ

Meaning: “No one of you becomes a true believer until he likes for his brother what he likes for himself.” (As-Suyuti, 1996).

From the explanation above, it can be seen that holding on to the Sunnah of Rasūlullāh *Ṣallallāhu ‘alaihi wa Sallam*, such as being kind to neighbors and guests, contains the value of peace with the public. By following the Sunnah, a peaceful, loving society will be created and conflict in muamalah will be prevented.

Being peaceful with the government

In I'tiqād al-Bukhārī, *Imam al-Bukhārī* emphasizes the word of Allah as follow:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ

Meaning: “O believers! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you..” (QS an-Nisā: 59).

Rebellion against the legitimate government can cause many harms; therefore, the *ulama* forbid the rebellion against the government. Rasūlullāh *Ṣallallāhu ‘alaihi wa Sallam* said:

مَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَنْصَحَ لِذِي سُلْطَانٍ فَلَا يُبْدِهِ عِلَانِيَةً وَلَكِنْ يَأْخُذُ بِيَدِهِ فَيَخْلُو بِهِ فَإِنْ قَبِلَ مِنْهُ فَذَاكَ وَإِلَّا كَانَ قَدْ أَدَّى الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ

Meaning: “Whoever intends to advise one with authority, then he should not do so publicly. Rather, he should take him by the hand and advise him in seclusion. If he accepts the advice, then all is well. If he does not accept it, then he has fulfilled his duty” . (Albani, 1980).”

In Islamic teachings, people who can advise the leader are the people who have high knowledge and understand the country's political problem; they are the ulama that has reached the level of *ijtihād* and are experts in manifesting. The union of ulama and 'umarā' (leaders) will create a peaceful country. In addition, in the term of dealing with a foul leader, Rasūlullāh Ṣallallāhu 'alaihi wa Sallam has advised to be patient.

Rasūlullāh Ṣallallāhu 'alaihi wa Sallam telah memberikan nasehat untuk bersabar sebagaimana sabdanya:

إِنَّمَا سَتَكُونُ بَعْدِي أَثَرَةٌ وَأُمُورٌ تُنْكَرُوهَا، قَالُوا: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، كَيْفَ تَأْمُرُ مَنْ أَدْرَكَ
مِنَّا ذَلِكَ؟ قَالَ: تُؤَدُّونَ الْحَقَّ الَّذِي عَلَيْكُمْ، وَتَسْأَلُونَ اللَّهَ الَّذِي لَكُمْ

Meaning: "After me there will be favouritism and many things that you will not like. They (his Companions) said: Messenger of Allah, what do you order that one should do if anyone from us has to live through such a time? He said: You should discharge your own responsibility (by obeying your Amir), and ask God to concede your right (by guiding the Amir to the right path or by replacing him by one more just and God-fearing)". [Al-Mubarakfuri, 1999]."

Rasūlullāh Ṣallallāhu 'alaihi wa Sallam said:

إِنَّكُمْ سَتَلْفُونَ بَعْدِي أَثَرَةً فَاصْبِرُوا حَتَّى تَلْقَوْنِي عَلَى الْحَوْضِ

Meaning: "After me you will see others given preference to you, but you should remain patient till you meet me at the Haud (Al-Kauthar in Jannah) (Al-Asqalani, 2001)."

Rasūlullāh Ṣallallāhu 'alaihi wa Sallam also said:

إِنَّهُ يُسْتَعْمَلُ عَلَيْكُمْ أُمَرَاءُ، فَتَعْرِفُونَ وَتُنْكَرُونَ، فَمَنْ كَرِهَ فَقَدْ بَرِيَ، وَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ فَقَدْ
سَلِمَ، وَلَكِنْ مَنْ رَضِيَ وَتَابَعَ، قَالُوا: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، أَلَا نُقَاتِلُهُمْ؟ قَالَ: لَا، مَا صَلَّوْا
أَيُّ مَنْ كَرِهَ بِقَلْبِهِ وَأَنْكَرَ بِقَلْبِهِ

Meaning: "Amirs will be appointed over you, and you will find them doing good as well as bad deeds. One who hates their bad deeds is absolved from blame. One who disapproves of their bad deeds is (also) safe (so far as Divine wrath is concerned). But one who approves of their bad deeds and imitates them (is doomed). People asked: Messenger of Allah, shouldn't we fight against them? He replied: No, as long as they say their prayer. ("Hating and disapproving" refers to liking and disliking from the heart.) (Al-Naysabūrī, 2003)."

So, it can be concluded that when witnessing the evilness of leaders, the right action to act is to deny it with heart. Rebellion against a leader is only allowed when the Muslims see the real heathenism of the leader. It can only be done when the Muslims have equal or more power than the leader and will not cause greater harm because Islam is a peaceful religion, just like the Prophet's companions' understanding.

Being peaceful with fellow Muslims

Imam al-Bukhārī in his book *I'tiqād al-Bukhārī* emphasized one of Allah SWT's words in Surah an-Nisā' ayat 48:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَغْفِرُ أَنْ يُشْرَكَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذَلِكَ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ

Meaning: "Indeed, Allah does not forgive associating others with Him in worship, but forgives anything else of whoever He wills." (QS an-Nisā': 48)"

Through his words, *Imam al-Bukhārī* emphasized the dangers of quickly claiming someone as an infidel. The labeling of infidel to fellow Muslims will result in great dangers, such as the act of murdering someone because an infidel's blood is halal to be killed. Thus, it is an obligation for all Muslims not to label someone as an infidel easily because a Muslim is obliged to be protected by his blood, property, and honor quickly.

Shaykh Muammad Nāṣiruddīn al-Albānī *Raḥimahullāh* said, "Every immoral perpetrator, especially them who are spreading the current form of criminals, such as adultery, drinking khamar and others, are included as kufr amali. They should not be condemned as immoral because they commit immorality and justify actions, except after their heart intentions appear. And they believe that they do not believe in what is forbidden by Allah Ta'ālā and His Messenger, when we find out that they have fallen into an offense in their heart, they can be punished by infidels who leave Islam (Z. A. Syamsuddin & Abidin, 2015).

There is also a rule to convert individually. That, too, must be returned to the judge in the sharia court. As said by Ibn Taimiyyah *Raḥimahullāh*:

وَلَيْسَ لِأَحَدٍ أَنْ يُكْفِرَ أَحَدًا مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَإِنْ أخطأ وَعَلِطَ حَتَّى تُقَامَ عَلَيْهِ الْحُجَّةُ
وَتُبَيَّنَ لَهُ الْمَحَجَّةُ وَمَنْ ثَبَتَ إِسْلَامُهُ بَيِّنِينَ لَمْ يَزُلْ ذَلِكَ عَنْهُ بِالشَّكِّ؛ بَلْ لَا يَزُولُ
إِلَّا بَعْدَ إِقَامَةِ الْحُجَّةِ وَإِزَالَةِ الشُّبْهَةِ

Meaning: "And it is not permissible for a person to disbelieve any of the Muslims even though he has made mistakes and mistakes until he has established blasphemy against him and it is clear to him that blasphemy. Furthermore, whoever believes then it is confirmed that it is not that Islam is lost from him only with doubt, but it can be lost except after upholding blasphemy and eliminating syubhat (Al-Harrani, 2004)."

Rasūlullāh Ṣallallāhu 'alaihi wa Sallam also said:

مَنْ أَشَارَ إِلَى أَخِيهِ بِحَدِيدَةٍ، فَإِنَّ الْمَلَائِكَةَ تَلْعَنُهُ، حَتَّى يَدَعَهُ وَإِنْ كَانَ أَخَاهُ لِأَيِّهِ وَأُمِّهِ

Meaning: "He who points at his (Muslim) brother with a weapon is cursed by the angels even if the other person should be his real brother (An-Nawawi, 1930)."

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the book *I'tiqād al-Bukhārī* contains the value of peace with fellow Muslims. Islam obliges its people to make peace with their fellow brothers and sisters, not to hurt or hurt their siblings, not hopefully to disbelieve their siblings, nor to frighten or eliminate their own siblings' blood. These actions can trigger acts of terrorism, such as the threat of bombing. In Islam's teachings, it is forbidden even to criticize a Muslim, let alone kill him, or damage things that are not appropriate

Being peaceful with followers of other religions

In the book I'tiqād al-Bukhārī, *Imam al-Bukhārī* emphasizes several verses of Al-Qur'an about the importance of coexistence between religious people both with *Ẓimmi kafir*, *Kafir Mu'ahad* and *Kafir Musta'man* as long as they do not antagonize you or attack you. As Allah says:

وَإِنْ كَانَ مِنْ قَوْمٍ بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَهُمْ مِيثَاقٌ فَدِيَةٌ مُسَلَّمَةٌ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهِ وَتَحْرِيرُ رَقَبَةٍ مُؤْمِنَةٍ فَمَنْ لَمْ يَجِدْ فَصِيَامٌ شَهْرَيْنِ مُتَتَابِعَيْنِ تَوْبَةً مِنَ اللَّهِ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلِيمًا حَكِيمًا

Meaning: "And if the victim is from a people bound with you in a treaty, then blood-money must be paid to the family along with freeing a believing slave. Those who are unable, let them fast two consecutive months—as a means of repentance to Allah. And Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise." (QS. An-Nisā': 92)."

وَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ اسْتَجَارَكَ فَأَجِرْهُ حَتَّىٰ يَسْمَعَ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ أَبْلِغْهُ مَأْمَنَهُ ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

Meaning: "And if anyone from the polytheists asks for your protection 'O Prophet', grant it to them so they may hear the Word of Allah, then escort them to a place of safety, for they are a people who have no knowledge." (QS at-Taubah: 6)"

Rasūlullāh Ṣallallāhu 'alaihi wa Sallam said:

مَنْ قَتَلَ مُعَاهِدًا لَمْ يَرِحْ رَائِحَةَ الْجَنَّةِ، وَإِنَّ رِيحَهَا تُوْجَدُ مِنْ مَسِيرَةِ أَرْبَعِينَ عَامًا

Meaning: "Whoever killed a person having a treaty with the Muslims, shall not smell the smell of Paradise though its smell is perceived from a distance of forty years (Al-Bukhārī, 2012a)"

Therefore, we can understand that fighting, in the sense of eliminating the life or soul of followers of other religions (*kafir Ẓimmi*, *kafir Mu'ahad* or *kafir Musta'man*), is an act that has violated both His words and the words of His prophet. Islam's essence is the religious teaching of *rahmatan lilalamin* which emphasizes the preservation of *dharuriyat al khams*, one of which is guarding the soul.

Based on the four educational values that the author has described above, it can be relevant to Islamic education in Indonesia. They are: First, it is not allowed to label someone as an infidel quickly; Second, one should not criticize other Muslims; Third, the obligation to hold on to what the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his companions had taught; Fourth, it should not take away leadership from its owner; Fifth, they should not scare their siblings, and they should not point their weapons at others; Sixth, A suggestion to pray for kindness to the leader.

CONCLUSION

Radicalism can emerge from anywhere regardless of the background of the perpetrators. Islam is a religion full of peace that emphasizes its people to be friendly in society. For Muslims who act radically, they do not understand the essence of Islamic teachings. *Imam al-Bukhārī* is an ulama who has a concept of counter-radical values in his book, including previous ulama agreement. Indonesia is a country inhabited by the majority of Muslims in the world. We need education on understanding Islam in peace, namely by deepening the knowledge of faith per the understanding of the Prophet's

companions. By understanding the teachings of Islam correctly, Muslims can control their emotions not to become radicalized. These counter-radical values are 1) Being peaceful with the general public. (2) Being peaceful with the government. (3) Being peaceful with fellow Muslims. (4) Being peaceful with followers of other religions. The four values of counter-radicalism are very much in line with the contents of the book I'tiqād al-Bukhārī which is the result of Imam al-Bukhārī's thought.

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Pengukuran Dividend Payout Ratio Melalui Return On Assets dan Earning Per Share

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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to determine the effect of the independent variable Return On Assets (ROA) and Earning Per Share (EPS) partially and simultaneously on the dependent variable Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR). PT. PP London Sumatra Indonesia Tbk., One of the companies listed on the Jakarta Islamic Index (JII), was used as a research site for the period 2009-2017. This research was processed by descriptive quantitative approach method as well as descriptive analysis techniques and multiple linear test techniques. The results of the study concluded that simultaneous Return On Assets (ROA) and Earning Per Share (EPS) had a positive and significant effect on Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR), as evidenced by the comparison between the Fcount and Ftable values of $6.361 > 5.14$ with a significance of $0.033 < 0.05$. The next results, namely the magnitude of the influence of the variable Return On Assets (ROA) and Earning Per Share (EPS) on the variable Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR) is 68%. Meanwhile, for 32% the level of the variable Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR) is influenced by other variables not examined.

Keywords: Dividend Payout Ratio, Earning Per Share, Return On Assets

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui pengaruh variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) secara parsial dan simultan terhadap variabel dependen Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR). PT. PP London Sumatra Indonesia Tbk, salah satu perusahaan yang terdaftar di *Jakarta Islamic Index* (JII), digunakan sebagai tempat penelitian dengan periode 2009-2017. Penelitian ini diolah dengan metode deskriptif pendekatan kuantitatif serta teknik analisis deskriptif dan teknik uji linier berganda. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa secara simultan, *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) memiliki pengaruh positif dan signifikan terhadap *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR), dibuktikan dengan perbandingan antara nilai Fhitung dan Ftabel sebesar $6.361 > 5.14$ dengan signifikansi $0.033 < 0.05$. Hasil selanjutnya, yaitu besaran pengaruh variabel *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) terhadap variabel *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) adalah 68%. Sedangkan, untuk 32% tingkat variabel *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) dipengaruhi oleh variabel lain yang tidak diteliti.

Kata kunci: *Pengembalian Aset, Penghasilan Per Saham, Rasio Pembayaran Dividen*

PENDAHULUAN

Di era yang semakin modern ini, seorang muslim dituntut memiliki cara pandang yang luas dan pantas agar dapat mengikuti tren hidup yang semakin berkembang namun masih berpijak pada koridor syariah yang seharusnya (Santoso & Ulfah, 2016). Kehidupan umat muslim sehari-hari tentunya tidak akan terlepas dari kegiatan ekonomi yang biasa dilakukan (Huda, 2018). Sebagai muslim yang taat, maka sudah sewajarnya jika dituntut untuk tetap berkegiatan namun berlandaskan prinsip-prinsip syariah yang sesuai dengan tuntunan yang tertuang dalam al quran dan hadis. Investasi merupakan salah satu kegiatan ekonomi yang biasa dilakukan oleh umat muslim. Hal ini tentunya harus dilakukan berlandaskan hukum

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Islam yang berl (Huda, 2018)aku, dimana kegiatan investasi tersebut haruslah menjunjung tinggi prinsip syariah dengan segala aspek yang berkaitan di dalamnya juga tidak boleh melanggar prinsip agama yang telah ditetapkan.

Investasi adalah cara bagi seseorang, atau biasa disebut investor, yang ingin memanfaatkan modal yang dimiliki demi memperoleh keuntungan di masa depan (Fahmi, 2006). Hal ini juga senada dengan yang dianjurkan kepada umat muslim agar memanfaatkan hartanya sebaik mungkin demi kebaikan di masa mendatang. Dengan berinvestasi, seseorang diharapkan memiliki komitmen terhadap hartanya dan dapat memanfaatkannya pada sebuah media yang tepat dengan memperhatikan norma-norma syariah yang akan melabelilasi kehalalannya. Harta yang diinvestasikan selanjutnya dialokasikan dengan pertimbangan yang matang, sehingga harta yang telah ditanamkan saat ini tersebut nantinya diharapkan akan lebih berguna untuk kehidupannya di masa mendatang.

Pemanfaatan harta dengan cara investasi dapat dilakukan dengan berbagai cara asalkan tidak menabrak koridor syariah yang telah ditetapkan. Belakangan ini, alternatif investasi yang diminati serta mulai berkembang di Indonesia saat ini dari tahun ke tahun adalah investasi portofolio yang merupakan jenis investasi tidak langsung. Investasi portofolio merupakan jenis investasi tidak langsung yang mengklaim aset-aset dengan surat berharga atau yang biasa disebut dengan *securities* (Prasetyo, 2017). Investasi portofolio yang dikenal secara luas merupakan cara investasi dengan membeli saham oleh perusahaan atau yang biasa disebut dengan emiten *go public* yang diterbitkan di pasar modal.

Belakangan ini, para investor khususnya investor muslim yang akan menanamkan dananya mulai tertarik pada pasar modal syariah untuk kegiatan berinvestasinya. Hal ini berkaitan dengan daftar saham yang berada di pasar modal syariah merupakan nama saham dari perusahaan yang telah mengalami filter khusus. Penyaringan terhadap perusahaan yang ingin memasuki pasar modal syariah ini dilakukan dengan kriteria-kriteria tertentu sehingga selanjutnya akan digolongkan sebagai saham syariah yang dapat dipilih investor. Sehingga, pasar modal syariah ini akan aman digunakan oleh umat muslim untuk berinvestasi (Syairozi & Cahya, 2017).

Jakarta Islamic Index (JII) merupakan indeks yang memandu investor untuk menanamkan dananya berdasarkan prinsip syariah. Indeks ini berisi perusahaan-perusahaan yang sudah tersaring menurut kriteria tertentu dan dikategorikan sebagai saham syariah (Huda & Heykal, 2010). *Jakarta Islamic Index* (JII) dianggap sebagai indeks yang valid karena berisi tiga puluh nama besar dari perusahaan paling likuid yang tergolong dalam saham syariah. Setiap dua kali dalam setahun, indeks ini melakukan penyaringan sehingga daftar nama perusahaan yang ada dalam indeks ini selalu valid dan dapat menjadi pertimbangan investor dalam keputusannya. Salah satu nama perusahaan besar yang terdaftar konsisten dalam indeks *Jakarta Islamic Index* (JII) sejak periode Juli-Desember 2004 dengan kode saham LSIP adalah PT. PP London Sumatera Indonesia Tbk.

Penanaman investasi dengan menggunakan instrumen saham di pasar modal akan menimbulkan keuntungan bagi investor sebagai pemilik saham. Salah satu keuntungan investor dari penanaman dananya yaitu memperoleh dividen. Secara sederhana, dividen dapat dipahami sebagai bagian laba yang dibagikan kepada investor atau pemegang saham dari hasil keuntungan perusahaan setelah disetujui oleh pihak-pihak terkait dalam Rapat Umum Pemegang Saham (RUPS). Kebijakan pembagian besaran dividen suatu perusahaan akan tergambar dalam rasio pembayaran dividen atau yang biasa disebut dengan *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Rasio ini merupakan persentase keuntungan yang dibagikan dalam bentuk dividen tunai kepada investor (Parera, 2016).

Kebijakan dividen perusahaan ini tentunya dipengaruhi oleh beberapa faktor, di antaranya yang dinilai dominan dalam mempengaruhi besaran pembagian dividen adalah tingkat profitabilitas

perusahaan. Tingkat profitabilitas biasanya digunakan sebagai tolak ukur oleh investor dalam menganalisa serta menilai tingkat operasional perusahaan yang akan dijadikan sasaran investasinya. Rasio profitabilitas ini selanjutnya akan digunakan untuk menakar sejauh mana kemampuan perusahaan untuk menghasilkan keuntungan yang didapat dari kegiatan operasionalnya (Suardana, 2018). Rasio profitabilitas juga tentunya akan mempengaruhi tingkat besaran dividen yang diperoleh investor, karena dividen merupakan bagian dari keuntungan bersih perusahaan.

Pengukuran tingkat rasio profitabilitas ini selanjutnya akan menggambarkan kondisi perusahaan yang akan dipilih oleh investor dan menjadi nilai pertimbangan tersendiri dalam keputusan investasinya. Angka yang stabil dan cenderung mengalami peningkatan dari tahun ke tahun pada rasio profitabilitas biasanya yang dipilih oleh investor sebagai tempat investasinya. Hal ini dikarenakan investor menilai tingkat operasional perusahaan akan berbanding lurus dengan tingkat profitabilitasnya, yang artinya semakin tinggi nilai keuntungan suatu perusahaan, maka perusahaan tersebut selanjutnya akan dinilai memiliki performa kinerja operasional yang baik pula (Riyadi, 2017).

Salah satu rasio yang dapat menilai atau mengukur tingkat profitabilitas suatu perusahaan adalah rasio *Return On Assets* (ROA) (Kamal, 2018). Rasio ini merupakan rasio keuangan yang digunakan dengan tujuan untuk menilai tingkat keuntungan bersih yang dihasilkan perusahaan dan keuntungan tersebut diperoleh dari keseluruhan penggunaan aset perusahaan. Rasio ini menakar sisi efisiensi perusahaan dalam penggunaan aset secara keseluruhan dalam kegiatan operasionalnya yang selanjutnya akan menghasilkan keuntungan bersih (Syamsuddin, 2011). Produktivitas perusahaan dapat dilihat dan diukur dengan melihat besaran rasio *Return On Assets* (ROA), karena rasio ini dianggap berbanding lurus dengan tingkat produktivitas perusahaan (Satria, 2016).

Selain rasio *Return On Assets* (ROA), tingkat rasio *Earning Per Share* (EPS) juga merupakan hal mendasar lain yang menjadi pertimbangan investor dalam menanamkan sejumlah dana yang dimilikinya pada perusahaan. Jika *Return On Assets* (ROA) menakar besaran keuntungan bersih dari penggunaan keseluruhan aset, maka *Earning Per Share* (EPS) adalah rasio keuangan yang bertujuan untuk menakar besaran keuntungan bersih yang didapat perusahaan dari jumlah saham yang beredar di pasar. Informasi terkait besaran tingkat *Earning Per Share* (EPS) ini biasanya digunakan oleh para investor untuk menilai sejauh mana tingkat keuntungan perusahaan dan prospek pembagian dividen yang akan didapat dari menanamkan modalnya dalam perusahaan.

Jadi, baik rasio *Return On Assets* (ROA) maupun *Earning Per Share* (EPS) tingkatannya dinilai berbanding lurus dengan tingkat pembagian dividen yang akan diterima investor dan tergambar dalam angka *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Semakin tinggi tingkat rasio profitabilitas yang diukur dari penggunaan aset perusahaan serta jumlah saham yang beredar, maka semakin baik pula citra serta produktivitas perusahaan tersebut di mata investor. Selanjutnya, daya tarik perusahaan tersebut akan meningkat dikarenakan tingkat keuntungan atau pengembalian atas investasinya yang berupa dividen akan semakin besar pula (Darsono & Ashari, 2005).

Senada dengan landasan penelitian yang telah digambarkan pada teori tersebut, maka peneliti juga menemukan beberapa penelitian sebelumnya yang mendukung keterkaitan antara data dan fakta hasil penelitian. Penelitian sebelumnya yang berkaitan tersebut di antaranya adalah penelitian dari Janifairus, dkk. (2013), Perpatih (2016), serta Wahyuni & Hafiz (2018). Ketiga penelitian itu menghasilkan kesimpulan bahwa variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) berpengaruh positif dan signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Selain ketiga penelitian tersebut yang menerangkan variabel *Return On Assets* (ROA), maka penelitian lain yang mendukung variabel *Earning Per Share* (EPS) yang dilakukan oleh Pratama (2015) dan Sarmento (2016) juga menghasilkan kesimpulan

bahwa variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) berpengaruh positif dan signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Kumpulan penelitian sebelumnya menggunakan objek penelitian yang berbeda serta proksi yang berbeda untuk setiap faktor yang mempengaruhi rasio *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) sebagai variabel dependen. Namun, seluruh penelitian sebelumnya yang disebutkan menunjukkan bahwa variabel independen, baik rasio *Return On Assets* (ROA) maupun *Earning Per Share* (EPS) memiliki pengaruh positif dan signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Berdasarkan hal tersebut, maka peneliti dapat merumuskan bahwa tingkat *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) mempengaruhi nilai pembagian besaran dividen yang dinilai pada besaran variabel *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Permasalahan penelitian terjadi setelah adanya perbandingan yang tidak sesuai antara teori yang telah dipaparkan dengan laporan keuangan terpublikasi periode 2009-2017 pada objek penelitian di PT. PP London Sumatra Indonesia Tbk. Ketidaksesuaian terlihat pada variabel independen, yaitu *Return On Asset* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) yang dinilai mempengaruhi tingkat variabel dependen, yaitu *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Didasarkan pada latar belakang permasalahan penelitian yang telah secara jelas dan rinci dipaparkan tersebut, maka penelitian ini akan dilakukan dengan judul *Pengukuran Dividend Payout Ratio melalui Return On Assets dan Earning Per Share*.

METODE PENELITIAN

Metode deskriptif dengan metode pendekatan kuantitatif dipilih menjadi metode dalam penelitian ini. Metode tersebut akan menguraikan secara sistematis semua fakta serta hubungan antar variabel dengan menganalisis data yang berupa angka dari laporan keuangan sebagai sumber data utama serta selanjutnya digunakan analisis uji statistik dalam mengolah data. Data penelitian sekunder dipilih untuk penelitian, bukan semata-mata untuk mempermudah penelitian saja, namun juga menitikberatkan pada kredibilitas sumber data tersebut. Data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini didapat dari sumber laporan keuangan terpublikasi PT. PP London Sumatra Indonesia Tbk. di *website* www.idx.co.id.

Teknik analisis data yang dipilih pada penelitian ini adalah sebagai berikut: 1) Analisis deskriptif, yaitu teknik analisis data yang dipilih dengan tujuan untuk mendeskripsikan atau menggambarkan objek penelitian dan disajikan dengan sistematis dan faktual, 2) Analisis uji linier berganda, yaitu teknik analisis data yang dipilih dengan tujuan untuk menguji signifikansi pengaruh dari variabel independen, baik X_1 dan X_2 secara simultan atau bersama-sama terhadap variabel dependen Y . Data penelitian akan melewati analisis uji asumsi klasik terlebih dahulu sebelum dianalisis dan diolah. Analisis uji asumsi klasik yang digunakan pada penelitian ini di antaranya adalah uji normalitas, uji multikolinearitas, uji heteroskedastisitas, serta uji autokorelasi. Rumus persamaan untuk analisis uji linier berganda adalah $Y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2$.

Keterangan:

$Y = \text{Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR)}$, $a = \text{Konstanta}$, $b = \text{Koefisien regresi}$, $X_1 = \text{Return On Assets (ROA)}$, $X_2 = \text{Earning Per Share (EPS)}$.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Hasil

Data penelitian terlebih dulu akan melewati analisis uji asumsi klasik sebelum diolah lebih jauh. Setelah dianalisis dengan menggunakan beberapa alat analisis uji asumsi klasik, maka data dalam penelitian ini dapat dikatakan lulus uji normalitas dan dapat disimpulkan bahwa hasil data residual regresi pada penelitian ini berdistribusi normal. Hasil analisis data penelitian juga mengindikasikan bahwa sumber data yang dipilih pada penelitian ini tidak terjadi gejala multikolinieraritas, heteroskedastisitas, maupun autokorelasi.

Selanjutnya, analisis uji linier berganda dalam penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis serta menguji signifikansi pengaruh dari variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) secara bersama-sama atau simultan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Berikut tabel perhitungan analisis regresi linier berganda yang telah diolah dengan menggunakan aplikasi SPSS lihat pada tabel 1.

Tabel 1. Analisis Uji Regresi Linier Berganda

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	13,922	1,491		9,335	,000
ROA	,019	,132	,049	,140	,893
EPS	-,277	,112	-,860	-2,467	,049

Hasil tabel di atas menunjukkan nilai b_1 sebesar 0.019, b_2 sebesar -0.277, serta nilai konstanta a sebesar 13.922. Berdasarkan hasil perhitungan dari aplikasi SPSS tersebut, maka diperoleh hasil persamaan regresi yang akan diuraikan sebagai berikut.

$$Y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2$$

$$Y = 13.922 + 0.019 X_1 + (-0.277) X_2$$

$$DPR = 13.922 + 0.019 ROA - 0.277 EPS$$

Hasil perhitungan dari persamaan regresi penelitian menunjukkan bahwa konstanta a memiliki nilai 13.922 yang berarti menunjukkan nilai variabel independen Y (*Dividend Payout Ratio*) sebesar 13.922 pada saat variabel dependen X_1 (*Return On Assets*) dan X_2 (*Earning Per Share*) sama dengan 0. Nilai koefisien b_1 menunjukkan nilai positif pada variabel independen X_1 yaitu *Return On Assets* (ROA) sebesar 0.019. Hal ini mengasumsikan bahwa setiap peningkatan pada variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) sebesar 1, maka akan mengakibatkan peningkatan pada variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) sebesar 0.019.

Sementara, nilai koefisien b_2 menunjukkan nilai yang berlawanan dengan variabel independen X_1 , dimana variabel independen X_2 yaitu *Earning Per Share* (EPS) memiliki nilai negatif sebesar -0.277. Hal ini mengasumsikan bahwa setiap peningkatan pada variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) sebesar 1, maka akan mengakibatkan penurunan pada variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) sebesar -0.277.

Hasil Uji Hipotesis

Perhitungan analisis uji simultan dengan menggunakan uji F yang telah dilakukan mendapatkan hasil F_{hitung} sebesar 6.361. Hasil ini selanjutnya dibandingkan dengan nilai F_{tabel} dengan taraf signifikan sebesar 5% atau 0.05 yang didapat dari nilai tabel distribusi F sebesar 5.14. Berdasarkan perbandingan tersebut, maka diperoleh besaran nilai F_{hitung} dan nilai F_{tabel} yaitu sebesar $6.361 > 5.14$ dengan besaran nilai signifikansi $0.033 < 0.05$. Perbandingan tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa hipotesis H_0 ditolak dan H_a diterima. Hasil tersebut kemudian memberi kesimpulan bahwa secara simultan variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) bersama-sama memiliki pengaruh yang positif dan signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) lihat tabel 2.

Tabel 2. Analisis Uji Regresi Linier Sederhana

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	14,427	1,941		7,432	,000
ROA	-,225	,115	-,595	-1,960	,091
(Constant)	14,063	1,020		13,783	,000
EPS	-,266	,069	-,824	-3,843	,006

Hasil analisis uji regresi linier sederhana pada variabel X_1 menunjukkan hasil bahwa setiap peningkatan dari besaran nilai variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) sebesar 1 akan mengakibatkan penurunan pada besaran nilai variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) sebesar -0.225. Dari hasil perhitungan tersebut, maka dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) mengalami hubungan yang negatif. Hal ini selanjutnya mengartikan bahwa jika besaran nilai variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) semakin tinggi, maka hal itu akan mengakibatkan penurunan besaran nilai pada variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Selanjutnya, hasil analisis uji regresi linier sederhana pada variabel X_2 menunjukkan hasil bahwa setiap peningkatan nilai variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) sebesar 1 akan mengakibatkan penurunan pada nilai variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) sebesar -0.266. Dari hasil tersebut dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa telah terjadi hubungan yang negatif pula di antara variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) dan variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Hal ini selanjutnya mengartikan bahwa jika besaran nilai variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) semakin tinggi, maka hal itu akan mengakibatkan penurunan besaran nilai pada variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Analisis Uji Determinasi (R^2)

Besaran pengaruh variabel *Return On Assets* (ROA) sebagai X_1 dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) sebagai X_2 secara bersama-sama atau simultan terhadap variabel *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) sebagai Y dapat dilihat dari nilai *R Square* (R^2). Maka, berikut ini adalah hasil perhitungan analisis uji determinasi (R^2) yang diolah dengan aplikasi SPSS .

Tabel 3. Analisis Uji Determinasi

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,824 ^a	,680	,573	2,17298

Hasil pada tabel 3, dari perhitungan analisis uji determinasi menunjukkan angka dari *R Square* (R^2) sebesar 0.680 atau sebesar 68%. Hasil ini mengindikasikan bahwa hubungan antara variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) secara bersama-sama atau simultan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) adalah sebesar 68%. Sedangkan, untuk 32% menunjukkan besaran pengaruh variabel-variabel lain yang tidak diteliti dalam penelitian yang mempengaruhi variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Selain uji determinasi, tabel di atas juga menunjukkan hasil uji korelasi antara variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) maupun *Earning Per Share* (EPS) terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Hasil uji korelasi menunjukkan angka juga sebesar 0.824 atau sebesar 82.4%. Hasil perhitungan dari penelitian ini mengindikasikan bahwa terdapat korelasi yang sangat kuat terhadap variabel dependen penelitian *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) dari variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS).

Pembahasan

Pengaruh Return On Assets (ROA) terhadap Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR)

Return On Assets (ROA) memiliki pengertian sebagai rasio keuangan yang digunakan untuk menakar sejauh mana kemampuan perusahaan dalam menghasilkan laba bersih dari pemanfaatan keseluruhan aset yang dimiliki oleh perusahaan tersebut. Rasio ini menilai sisi efektivitas perusahaan dalam kegiatan operasionalnya sehingga besaran angka pada *Return On Assets* (ROA) dinilai berbanding lurus dengan produktivitas perusahaan.

Hasil perhitungan data penelitian yang telah dilakukan dengan menggunakan aplikasi SPSS pada variabel *Return On Assets* (ROA) menunjukkan nilai persamaan regresi linier sederhana sebesar $Y = 14.427 - 0.025 X_1$. Hasil persamaan ini memiliki kesimpulan bahwa setiap peningkatan angka pada variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) sebesar 1 akan berakibat pada penurunan besaran nilai variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) sebesar -0.225.

Hasil perhitungan analisis uji t pada penelitian ini juga menunjukkan perbandingan antara nilai t_{hitung} dan nilai t_{tabel} yaitu sebesar $-1.960 < 2.3646$ dengan nilai signifikansi sebesar $0.091 > 0.05$. Perbandingan nilai tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa hipotesis H_a ditolak dan H_o diterima. Maka dari hasil perhitungan penelitian tersebut dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa secara parsial variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) berpengaruh negatif dan tidak signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Berdasarkan hasil perhitungan tersebut, maka teori yang menyebutkan bahwa hubungan variabel *Return On Assets* (ROA) berbanding lurus terhadap variabel *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) tidaklah sesuai dengan hasil penelitian yang menunjukkan hubungan yang justru berbanding terbalik alias negatif. Hal ini dapat terjadi dikarenakan berbagai faktor yang mempengaruhi besaran pembagian dividen tidak hanya dari sisi profitabilitas, sebagaimana senada dengan teori yang dijadikan landasan dalam penelitian. Dimungkinkan, ada faktor-faktor lain yang lebih dominan mempengaruhi variabel dependen, sehingga

variabel profitabilitas pada X_1 yang diproksikan dengan *Return On Assets* (ROA) menjadi tidak berpengaruh signifikan terhadap kebijakan dividen.

Dari hasil perhitungan penelitian yang telah dilakukan, selanjutnya peneliti mampu menarik sebuah kesimpulan bahwa telah terjadi hubungan yang negatif di antara variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Hasil tersebut mengindikasikan bahwa jika besaran nilai variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) semakin tinggi, maka hal tersebut akan berakibat pada penurunan besaran nilai pembagian dividen yang diproksikan oleh nilai variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Pengaruh Earning Per Share (EPS) terhadap Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR)

Earning Per Share (EPS) memiliki pengertian sebagai rasio keuangan yang digunakan untuk menakar kemampuan perusahaan untuk menghasilkan keuntungan bersih yang dihitung dari setiap lembar saham yang dimiliki oleh investor atau pemegang saham dan tersebar di pasar (Daulay, 2018; Suhartono et al., 2020). Rasio ini menilai kemampuan perusahaan dalam menjalankan kegiatan operasionalnya sehingga besaran angka pada *Earning Per Share* (EPS) dinilai berbanding lurus dengan produktivitas perusahaan dan mampu menggambarkan prospek keuntungan yang akan didapat investor.

Hasil perhitungan data penelitian yang telah dilakukan dengan menggunakan aplikasi SPSS pada variabel *Earning Per Share* (EPS) menunjukkan nilai persamaan regresi linier sederhana sebesar $Y = 14.063 - 0.266 X_2$. Hasil persamaan ini memiliki kesimpulan bahwa setiap peningkatan angka pada variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) sebesar 1, maka akan berakibat pada penurunan besaran nilai variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) sebesar -0.266.

Hasil perhitungan analisis uji t pada penelitian ini juga menunjukkan perbandingan antara nilai t_{hitung} dan nilai t_{tabel} yaitu sebesar $-3,843 > 2.3646$ dengan nilai signifikansi sebesar $0.006 < 0.05$. Perbandingan nilai tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa hipotesis H_0 ditolak dan H_a diterima. Maka dari hasil perhitungan penelitian tersebut dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa secara parsial variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) berpengaruh negatif dan signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Berdasarkan hasil perhitungan tersebut, maka teori yang menyebutkan bahwa hubungan variabel *Earning Per Share* (EPS) berbanding lurus terhadap variabel *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) tidaklah sesuai dengan hasil penelitian yang menunjukkan hubungan yang justru berbanding terbalik alias negatif. Hal tersebut dapat terjadi diakibatkan beberapa faktor yang mempengaruhi besaran pembagian dividen tidak hanya dari sisi profitabilitas, sebagaimana senada dengan landasan teori yang dijadikan dalam penelitian. Dimungkinkan, ada beberapa faktor lain yang lebih dominan mempengaruhi variabel dependen, sehingga variabel independen pada X_2 yang diproksikan dengan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) menjadi berpengaruh negatif meskipun signifikan terhadap kebijakan dividen.

Dari hasil perhitungan penelitian yang telah dilakukan, maka akhirnya peneliti mampu menarik kesimpulan bahwa telah terjadi hubungan yang negatif di antara variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) dan variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Hasil tersebut mengindikasikan bahwa jika besaran nilai variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) semakin tinggi, maka hal tersebut akan berakibat pada penurunan besaran pembagian dividen yang dalam penelitian ini diproksikan oleh nilai variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Pengaruh Return On Assets (ROA) dan Earning Per Share (EPS) terhadap Dividend Payout Ratio (DPR)

Secara bersama-sama, hasil perhitungan variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) berpengaruh positif serta signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Hal ini diperkuat dengan hasil nilai korelasi sebesar 0.824 atau 82.4% yang menunjukkan adanya korelasi yang sangat kuat di antara variabel independen dengan variabel dependen. Serta, hasil nilai *R Square* (R^2) sebesar 0.680 atau 68% yang menunjukkan bahwa hubungan antara variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) adalah sebesar 68%. Sedangkan, untuk angka sebesar 32% menunjukkan besaran pengaruh variabel-variabel lain yang tidak diteliti dalam penelitian yang mempengaruhi variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Hasil penelitian ini berlawanan dengan penelitian sebelumnya yang dilakukan oleh Janifairus, dkk. (2013), Perpatih (2016), serta Wahyuni & Hafiz (2018), yang menyatakan bahwa variabel *Return On Assets* (ROA) berpengaruh positif dan signifikan terhadap variabel *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Namun, penelitian ini juga mendukung penelitian sebelumnya, yang dilakukan oleh Indrayati, dkk. (2017) yang menyatakan dalam hasil penelitiannya bahwa variabel *Return On Assets* (ROA) berpengaruh negatif dan tidak signifikan terhadap *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Hasil penelitian ini juga berlawanan dengan penelitian Pratama (2015) dan Sarmiento (2016) yang mendapatkan hasil penelitian bahwa variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) berpengaruh positif dan signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR), karena hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan variabel *Earning Per Share* (EPS) berpengaruh negatif dan signifikan terhadap variabel dalam *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR).

Kedua variabel independen dalam penelitian ini menyatakan hasil perhitungan yang negatif atau berkebalikan dari teori yang seharusnya. Hal ini mungkin diakibatkan karena besaran laba perusahaan yang tidak begitu besar, sehingga pembagian dividen tidak bergantung pada besaran laba yang diprosikan pada variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) maupun *Earning Per Share* (EPS) dalam penelitian yang pada akhirnya tidak terlalu mempengaruhi hasil akhir pembagian dividen. Besaran pembagian dividen ini sebenarnya dapat dipengaruhi oleh berbagai faktor, di antaranya ada faktor yang mampu membuatnya semakin tinggi, adapula yang membuat besaran dividen semakin rendah.

Faktor yang dimungkinkan akan membuat besaran dividen semakin rendah adalah dari faktor pertumbuhan perusahaan dan juga hutang yang dimiliki perusahaan. Jika perusahaan masih dalam masa pertumbuhan, maka akan dimungkinkan dividen tidak akan dibagikan secara maksimal karena perusahaan akan memilih untuk menahan labanya untuk biaya operasional perusahaan, begitu pula dengan hutang. Jika perusahaan memiliki hutang yang harus segera dibayar atau disegerakan, maka perusahaan akan mengutamakan pembayaran hutang dari keuntungannya dibanding membayar dividen demi kelangsungan operasional perusahaan.

Adapula faktor yang dimungkinkan akan membuat besaran dividen semakin meningkat selain profitabilitas atau keuntungan perusahaan yang digunakan dalam variabel independen dalam penelitian ini, adalah faktor ukuran perusahaan dan posisi kas perusahaan. Perusahaan yang lebih besar memiliki keuntungan dari akses yang lebih luas untuk memperoleh modal. Hal ini dikarenakan semakin besar suatu perusahaan, maka akan semakin terpercaya untuk mengadakan kerjasama oleh berbagai pihak. Sehingga dengan modal yang cukup, maka operasional tercukupi, dan keuntungan yang didapat nantinya dapat dibagikan dalam bentuk dividen. Begitu pula dengan posisi kas perusahaan yang jika semakin besar maka akan menguatkan sisi operasional perusahaan sehingga mampu membagikan dividen secara maksimal.

Hasil perhitungan penelitian ini juga dapat terjadi dikarenakan berbagai faktor lain yang mempengaruhi, terutama dari sisi pemilihan objek penelitian. Perbedaan objek penelitian dapat mempengaruhi hasil penelitian meski dengan variabel yang sama. Begitu pula dengan periode yang dipilih. Semakin banyak dan semakin baru periode yang dipilih dalam penelitian, maka akan memperkuat hasil karena lebih mencerminkan keadaan saat ini. Kondisi perusahaan juga menjadi faktor yang dianggap paling menentukan hasil penelitian karena data yang didapat dari laporan keuangannya. Namun, tidak menutup kemungkinan juga jika ada hal lain seperti faktor eksternal yang berpengaruh terhadap hasil penelitian.

Dari hasil penelitian ini, maka PT. PP London Sumatra Indonesia Tbk. selaku perusahaan yang menjadi objek penelitian yang terpilih diharapkan mampu mengevaluasi kinerja operasionalnya. Hal ini berkaitan dengan segala pertimbangan pada variabel-variabel terkait dan yang dimungkinkan dapat mempengaruhi besaran kebijakan dividen yang digambarkan atau diprosikan pada besaran nilai *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) yang selanjutnya akan menjadi pertimbangan investor dalam keputusan investasinya.

SIMPULAN

Berdasarkan analisis perhitungan serta pengolahan data yang secara runut telah dilakukan, maka pada akhirnya peneliti dapat menyimpulkan bahwa variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) secara bersama-sama atau simultan berpengaruh signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Hal ini dibuktikan dengan perbandingan antara nilai F_{hitung} dan nilai F_{tabel} yaitu sebesar $6.361 > 5.14$ dengan nilai signifikansi $0.033 < 0.05$. Hasil ini mengindikasikan bahwa variabel independen penelitian yang berupa rasio profitabilitas secara bersama-sama memang mempengaruhi besaran pembagian dividen perusahaan. Selanjutnya, hasil penelitian juga menyatakan bahwa secara parsial variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) berpengaruh negatif dan tidak signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) dan juga variabel independen *Earning Per Share* (EPS) berpengaruh negatif dan signifikan terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR). Dilihat dari nilai R^2 , besaran pengaruh variabel independen *Return On Assets* (ROA) dan *Earning Per Share* (EPS) terhadap variabel dependen *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) adalah sebesar 68%. Sedangkan, untuk 32% tingkat besaran variabel *Dividend Payout Ratio* (DPR) dipengaruhi dari variabel lain yang tidak diteliti.

Dari kesimpulan tersebut, maka peneliti juga ingin memberi sedikit saran bagi para peneliti selanjutnya, terutama yang akan menjadikan hasil penelitian ini untuk rujukan atau sumber referensi. Peneliti selanjutnya diharapkan mampu memperluas proksi penelitian dengan menambah variabel independen yang terkait, atau bisa juga menambahkan variabel mediasi atau intervening sebagai perantara yang menghubungkan variabel independen ke variabel dependen. Peneliti selanjutnya juga disarankan mengubah atau memperluas objek penelitian, tidak hanya terpaku pada satu objek perusahaan agar hasil penelitian mewakili banyak sampel dari objek penelitian sehingga hasil penelitian pun akan lebih akurat.

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