



ISSN : 2715-8071

<https://journal.uinsgd.ac.id/index.php/ks>

# **KHAZANAH SOSIAL**

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung



**Vol. 3**

**No. 2**

**August**

**2021**

**Hal. 54-105**

# KHAZANAH SOSIAL

## **Editor in-chief**

[Muhammad Andi Septiadi](#), UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia

## **Managing Editor**

[Busro Busro](#), (Scopus Author ID: 57205022652) UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia

[Fisher Zulkarnaen](#), ( Scopus Author ID : 57214794506 ) UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia, Indonesia

## **Editorial Board**

[Babayo Sule](#), (Scopus ID : 57204074987) Faculty of Humanities Management and Social Sciences, Federal University Kashere Gombe, Gombe State, Nigeria

[Shaista Noor](#), (Scopus ID : 57218400933) Taylor's University Malaysia, Subang Jaya, Malaysia

[Debasish Nandy](#), (Scopus ID: 57216822233) Department of Political Science Kazi Nazrul University West Bengal, India

[Asep Muhyidin](#), UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia

[Marc Hufty](#), ( Scopus ID : 15048060800 ) Institut de hautes études internationales et du développement, Geneva, Switzerland

[Iskandar Zainuddin Rela](#), ( Scopus ID : 57196030473 ) Universitas Halu Oleo, Kendari, Indonesia

## **Assistant to the Editors**

[Diena Rauda Ramdania](#), ( Scopus Author ID : 57209451136 ) UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia

[Dian Sa'adillah Maylawati](#), ( Scopus Author ID : 57200569961 ) UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia

## **English Language Advisor**

[Barzan Faizin](#), UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia

## **Reviewers**

[Muhamad Takiyuddin Ismail](#), (Scopus ID: 55255936600) Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Malaysia

[Lita Kusumasari](#), (Scopus ID:57196416703) YKPN, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Indonesia

[Caturida Meiwanto Doktoralina](#), (Scopus ID : 57195426184) Universitas Mercu Buana, Jakarta, Indonesia

[Erwin Jusuf Thaib](#), (Scopus ID: 57220590407) IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo, Gorontalo, Indonesia

[Marzuki Marzuki](#), (Scopus ID : 57215573355) Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

[Yuli Andriansyah](#), (Scopus ID : 56818977700) Universitas Islam Indonesia, Indonesia

[Ellen Percy Kraly](#), ( Scopus ID : 6602849423 ) Colgate University, Hamilton, United States, United States

[Mala Sondang Silitonga](#), ( Scopus ID : 57080084700 ) Politeknik STIA LAN Jakarta, Indonesia

[Dyah Gandasari](#), (Scopus ID : 57195200058) Ministry of Agriculture, Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

[Kadhung Prayoga](#), (Scopus ID : 57217387173) Universitas Diponegoro , Semarang, Indonesia, Indonesia

[Septi Gumindari](#), (Scopus ID : 57219242546) Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, Cirebon, Indonesia, Indonesia

[Ummu Salamah](#), ( Scopus ID: 51664190900 ) Universitas Pasundan, Indonesia

[Mohamad Abdun nasir](#), ( Scopus ID: 42462139100 ) UIN Mataram, Indonesia

[Yanwar Pribadi](#), ( Scopus ID: 56241252500 ) UIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, Indonesia

[Ahmad Arifuddin](#), (Scopus ID: 57209451470) IAIN Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, Indonesia

[Anan Bahrul Khoir](#), (Scopus ID: 57209458733) University of Groningen, Groningen, Netherlands

[Asep Achmad Hidayat](#), UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia

[Imron Rosyidi](#), UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia

[Zaenal Mukarom](#), UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia

Khazanah Sosial is a Peer Review Journal with open access, aims to meet the needs of articles in the field of social science, with a focus on the study of handling social issues such as radicalism, warfare, food security, human security, human rights, economy, relations between countries, terrorism, rebellion. and others as influencing social life. We invite the authors to take research from different perspectives as long as their greatest contribution is to the advancement of social science and the creation of remedial solutions to avoid bigger social conflicts in the future.

## DAFTAR ISI

<p><b><u>Gagging Electoral Fraud in Nigeria: The Imperative of Electoral Reforms</u></b></p> <p>DOI :<a href="https://doi.org/10.15575/ks.v3i2.11585">10.15575/ks.v3i2.11585</a></p> <p><i>Christiantus Ifeanyi Adebowale Oke, Harriet Omokiniowo Efanodor-Obeten</i></p>	<p><a href="#">PDF</a></p> <p>54-65</p>
<p><b><u>Islamic Economics as a Science and System</u></b></p> <p>DOI :<a href="https://doi.org/10.15575/ks.v3i2.11029">10.15575/ks.v3i2.11029</a></p> <p><i>Abd. Kholik Khoerulloh, Syifa Rohmaniatul Hidayah</i></p>	<p><a href="#">PDF</a></p> <p>66-73</p>
<p><b><u>Comparative Analysis of President Soeharto and Kim Dae Jung's Policies in Overcoming the 1997 Economic Crisis based on Small Theory and Idiosyncratic Theory</u></b></p> <p>DOI :<a href="https://doi.org/10.15575/ks.v3i2.11503">10.15575/ks.v3i2.11503</a></p> <p><i>Putri Jasmine Surapati, Nada Nur Maulidina, Fayza Maritza Putri Agustono, Hilda Ferira Pohan</i></p>	<p><a href="#">PDF</a></p> <p>74-83</p>
<p><b><u>Assessing the Role of Women in Countering Radicalism: an Islamic Perspective</u></b></p> <p>DOI :<a href="https://doi.org/10.15575/ks.v3i2.11794">10.15575/ks.v3i2.11794</a></p> <p><i>Hudzaifah Achmad Qotadah, Adang Darmawan Achmad</i></p>	<p><a href="#">PDF</a></p> <p>84-95</p>
<p><b><u>Retrospective Analysis of Aceh Government Regulations in Handling Corona Virus Disease 2019</u></b></p> <p>DOI :<a href="https://doi.org/10.15575/ks.v3i2.12030">10.15575/ks.v3i2.12030</a></p> <p><i>Alzikri Fakhurraji</i></p>	<p><a href="#">PDF</a></p> <p>96-105</p>

## **Gagging Electoral Fraud in Nigeria: The Imperative of Electoral Reforms**

**Christiantus Ifeanyi Adebowale Oke<sup>1\*</sup>, Harriet Omokiniovo Efanodor-Obeten<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1,2</sup>Dept. of Political Science & Public Administration Edo University Iyamho, Edo State, Nigeria\*

\*Corresponding Author Email: [chris.oke@edouniversity.edu.ng](mailto:chris.oke@edouniversity.edu.ng)

### **Abstract**

Elections all over the world are the only recognized legitimate means of changing and constituting governments. In other democratic climes, citizens eagerly await elections with excitement, because it affords them the opportunity to appraise the scorecards of their elected representatives. However, preparing for elections in Nigeria is akin to getting set for a major warfare that requires humongous human and natural resources including the deployment of full military arsenal. Despite the unease this vital democratic practice puts the nation, elections are fraught with irregularities and malfeasances. The crux of this paper is to adumbrate what constitutes electoral fraud and proffer possible panaceas using the instruments of electoral reforms. The study utilizes secondary source of data and content analysis as its methodology and use qualitative approach. The paper argues that electoral malpractices manifest in diverse forms and are orchestrated by the political class to perpetuate themselves in office. It is also the opinion of this study that if there is a holistic electoral reform, most politicians that are currently occupying offices might not get valid chance of winning (re)elections, hence, their stiff opposition and resistance to the reforms. This paper recommends amongst others that the 9th National Assembly should as a matter of urgent national importance, timely debate, update and represent the Electoral (Amendment) Bill to the President for his assent. Furthermore, it is recommended that for free, fair and credible elections to take place, technology should be embraced and Electoral Offences Commission should be established to prosecute electoral fraudsters.

Keywords: Democratic System, Electoral Fraud, Electoral Reform, Electoral Process, Electronic Voting

### **Abstrak**

Pemilu di seluruh dunia adalah satu-satunya cara sah yang diakui untuk mengubah dan membentuk pemerintahan. Dalam iklim demokrasi lainnya, warga dengan antusias menunggu pemilihan dengan gembira, karena hal itu memberi mereka kesempatan untuk menilai kartu skor dari perwakilan terpilih mereka. Namun, mempersiapkan pemilu di Nigeria mirip dengan bersiap untuk perang besar yang membutuhkan sumber daya manusia dan alam yang sangat besar termasuk pengerahan persenjataan militer penuh. Terlepas dari ketidaknyamanan yang ditimbulkan oleh praktik demokrasi yang vital ini, pemilihan umum penuh dengan penyimpangan dan penyimpangan. Inti dari artikel ini adalah untuk memahami apa yang merupakan kecurangan pemilu dan menawarkan obat mujarab yang mungkin menggunakan instrumen reformasi elektoral. Penelitian ini menggunakan sumber data sekunder dan analisis isi sebagai metodologi serta menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Makalah ini berpendapat bahwa malpraktek pemilu terwujud dalam berbagai bentuk dan diatur oleh kelas politik untuk melanggengkan diri mereka sendiri di kantor. Studi ini juga berpendapat bahwa jika ada reformasi elektoral holistik, sebagian besar politisi yang saat ini menduduki jabatan mungkin tidak mendapatkan kesempatan yang valid untuk memenangkan (kembali) pemilu, karenanya, mereka menjadi oposisi dan perlawanan yang kuat terhadap reformasi. Makalah ini merekomendasikan antara lain bahwa Majelis Nasional ke-9 harus sebagai masalah kepentingan nasional yang mendesak, debat tepat waktu, memperbarui dan mewakili RUU Pemilu (Amandemen) kepada Presiden untuk persetujuannya. Selain itu, disarankan agar pemilu yang bebas, adil, dan kredibel berlangsung, teknologi harus diterapkan dan Komisi Pelanggaran Pemilihan harus dibentuk untuk menuntut para penipu pemilu.

Kata kunci: Sistem Demokrasi, Penipuan Pemilu, Reformasi Electoral, Proses Pemilihan, Pemungutan Suara Elektronik

---

\* Copyright (c) 2021 **Christiantus Ifeanyi Adebowale Oke and Harriet Omokiniovo Efanodor-Obeten**

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

Received: February 10, 2021; In Revised: April 22, 2021; Accepted: April 29, 2021

## **INTRODUCTION**

One of the cardinal features of the democratic process is elections, which can be described as a modern and widely agreed means by which individuals are freely and methodically chosen to represent a body or society in a larger institution or government by voting. (Belloumar & Lamidi, 2018). Elections in Nigeria, on the other hand, have been a political liability, a source of uncertainty and degradation, rather than a political advantage and legitimizing power, since independence. Contrary to expectations, elections have become a night-mare in Nigeria (Confidence Chia & David Nchinda, 2018). Nigeria's numerous encounters with competitive democratic politics have resulted in the worst forms of political thuggery and brigandage, as well as unmediated and unrestrained crime..

In the light of the above, election and electoral process in Nigeria have been the bane of our democratic consolidation (Ojukwu et al., 2019). In the history of electoral politics in Nigeria, the vital connection between elected and electors necessary for a liberal democracy has been missing. Furthermore, the phenomena of electoral fraud during election have been the bane of successive elections in Nigeria (Fatai, 2018). This has rendered the whole process inequitable, undemocratic and dangerous. The result is that the government emerging from such elections suffers crisis of legitimacy.

From 1922 till date in Nigeria's electoral history, there are clear evidences to demonstrate the fact that Nigerian elections are characterized by fraud. Commenting on the level of malpractices in the 1965 elections. Ebong & Ozinegbe (2020) observed that the controversial elections of 1965 were largely responsible for the coup de tat of January 1966. Elections in Nigeria have also been likened by several Nigerian scholars to warfare (Adekanye, 1988; Mawere & Mwanaka, 2015). Some scholars have argued that, in Nigeria, the fear of election is the beginning of political wisdom (Gberevbie, 2014). To this extent, it is often the case at the highest point of election times that Nigerians look to it with trepidation (Nwachukwu, 2018).

The above, prompted Adekanye (1988) to counsel that election periods in Nigeria should be declared as state of emergency. This is because the electoral process has been rendered vulnerable to abuse and ambushed by massive rigging and other forms of electoral fraud by parties in power or others seeking to manipulate institutional levers in their own interest to win power. The outcomes of elections are often neither the reflection of the true choice of the electorate nor are they accepted.

As such, political heresy demonstrates the gravity of the problems associated with electoral politics and the dangers they pose to the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria (Ashindorbe, 2018; Joseph, 2020; Osha, 2020). The fact that the most recent 2015 election series and the 2019 elections also contributed to a dose of electoral warfare is a clue to the fact that Nigeria's nascent democracy is in jeopardy. Thus, the main rationale for electoral reforms in Nigeria is rooted in the historiography of Nigerian elections. However, research related to this matter is still lacking. This study sheds light on what constitutes electoral fraud and offers a possible panacea by using electoral reform instruments. For the time being we argue that if there is a holistic electoral reform, most of the politicians currently in office may not get a valid chance to win (return) the election, therefore, they are in opposition and fierce resistance to reform.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study describes the democratic process in Nigeria with an electoral system that is held for electoral elections, we begin our research by determining the theoretical basis of the meaning of election fraud and democratic reform, which will lead us to conclusions as a basis for refining this research. Next, we identify the fraud that occurred during the elections in Nigeria and discuss the findings as an alternative

answer to the problem, namely democratic reform. To support this research we use a qualitative approach from Urquhart (2012) with data sources in the form of government documents, relevant research results and direct observations. After the data is obtained to get a further view, we perform an analysis using content analysis theory from Schreier et al (2020).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Result**

#### **Electoral fraud and Electoral Reform in Nigeria: Conceptual and Theoretical Underpinning**

Ekiugbo and Umukoro (2011) describe electoral fraud as an illegal interference with the process of an election. However, Ekiugbo and Umukoro (2011) limit the acts of fraud to those that tend to involve affecting vote counts to bring about a desired election outcome, whether by increasing the vote share of the favoured candidates, depressing the vote share of the rival candidates, or both. In contrast, Oni (2004) posits that a meaningful discussion of electoral fraud in Nigeria must touch all activities related to electoral process as identified by Kurfi cited in Oni as (i) establishing and equipping polling stations and booths (ii) recruitment, training and development of electoral officials, (iii) provision of logistics and electoral officers (iv) publicity and public enlightenment (v) fixing the dates of elections (vi) registration and screening of nominations. (vii) Directing voters on how to cast their votes each time an election takes place. (viii) Counting of votes and declaration of results (ix) provision of security at the polling booths.

Egwemi in Ndubuisi & Ebubechukwu (2021) agrees with the above that electoral fraud should not be limited to the conduct of elections alone. For him, all electoral processes or stages are open to fraud. Thus, he conceptualized electoral fraud as those activities/manipulations capable of distorting facts and not restricted only to the voting day. He further stated that electoral fraud denies the fundamentals/tenants of the electoral process/democracy as the expressions of the popular wish of the people. Ekiugbo and Umukoro (2011) The first suspicion of electoral fraud in the Athenian democracy was reported in 471 BC, according to historians. Archaeologists discovered 190 pieces of broken pottery that were used as ballots at the time, with just 14 distinct handwriting. As a result, they came to the conclusion that election fraud is likely as old as elections themselves..

Egwemi in Ndubuisi & Ebubechukwu (2021) citing Tella proposed two classifications of electoral fraud as (a) pre-election manipulations and (b) post-election manipulation. He identified the following as pre-election manipulation; tailoring electoral laws to disenfranchise candidates or groups of individuals, technical disqualifications of candidates by attempting to arm-twist the electoral body with strict rules; cultic candidate selection process to sideline some people; ethno-cultural and religious manipulations of the election process; monetization of the electoral procedure before selection of candidates at party and electoral commission level and ballot stealing. The post-election manipulations are; deliberate refusal to count ballot boxes from opposition strongholds; doctoring of results between the voting centers and collation centers; outright theft of ballot boxes after voting and outright cancellation of election result.

Ekiugbo and Umukoro (2011) in their study focused on electoral fraud techniques such as; voter intimidation and coercion; physical tempering that involves ballot stuffing and theft or destruction of ballot boxes and materials; inflation or deflation of voters list; social engineering such as election officials misinforming voters; impersonation of voter; manipulation during tabulation in the polling place;



manipulation during central tabulation of the result and manipulation through legislative means such as creating election deadlines that are unreasonable to certain portions of the electorate.

Oni's (2004) classification of forms of electoral fraud dwelled on various forms of election manipulation that occur during the actual voting exercise. These manipulations according to him, take different forms such as; stuffing of ballot boxes with legal or illegal ballot papers; starving of opposition strongholds with electoral materials with a view to disenfranchising them their right to choose. Multiple voting; voting by non-registered members; underage voting; misdirecting of the illiterate or ignorant voters to vote against their choice, amongst others. Ekiugbo and Umukoro (2011) are of the view that Electoral fraud is not limited to political polls; it can occur in any election where the possible advantage outweighs the risk, such as elections for trade union leaders, student councils, sports judging, and awards for books, films, music, or television programming. In this paper, we conceptualized electoral fraud as an illegal interference and manipulations with the processes of pre-election, voting day and post elections.

On the other hand, to conceptualize electoral reform is to ask a simple question: what is electoral reform within the Nigerian context? It simply means to make proposals and amendments to the electoral legal framework that will guarantee that votes cast by the electorate will count and that the electioneering process will inspire confidence amongst the citizens, observers, development partners and the international community. To implement these proposals and amendments, a paradigm shift in thinking about electoral reform is needed, as is facilitating consensus among key political actors and relying on a consultative process to aggregate society's needs and preferences. Electoral reform in Nigeria would mean answering the never-ending issue of security agencies' neutrality during elections, as shown by previous elections in which security forces were used for personal gain against the will of the people. Politicians are still one step ahead of the electoral commission in undermining the electoral process, according to various election fora. Furthermore, with police officers up for grabs, manipulating security apparatuses becomes much easier. According to Isah (2020), A thoroughly revised electoral act will resolve key concerns that will help to improve Nigeria's elections. The creation of an electoral offense body, for example, would ensure that electoral criminals are punished appropriately. Although INEC is responsible for prosecuting criminals, it lacks the technological capacity to carry out this crucial aspect of elections.

The dynamics of electoral fraud and electoral reform in Nigeria's electoral processes can be best explained and understood under a specific theoretical underpinning. This is because the underlying theoretical underpinning for the explanation of the process of elections has an overlapping effect in bringing to the fore the various forms of electoral malpractice. Accordingly, the study adopts the group theory as a base for this analysis. Advocates of the group theory argue that every culture contains a large number of people who are constantly fighting for control and dominance over one another. These groups are involved in a process of balancing and restricting one another, in order to preserve unity between the different interests in society, of which these groups were the proponents. The utility of the group theory derives its origin from the work of Bentley (2013) and David Truman (1951).

Within the context of the positive evaluation of the group theory, the group theory framework provides the theoretical platform for useful contemporary political analysis of the electoral fraud in Nigeria and its implication on electoral reforms. Using the pluralist model of group theory, electoral fraud in present day Nigeria could not be divorced from the influence and role of groups, who rely on electoral rigging or fraud to pursue and achieve their own political and economic interest and benefit. Political parties as a group in Nigeria are operated by political godfathers who use money and violence to control the political process. They decide party nominations and campaigns outcome and they also have a means of determining the outcomes of elections. Many political parties especially parties of the incumbents, rely

on electoral fraud rather than popularity to stay in power. And in return while in power opposes holistic electoral reforms aimed at tinkering the electoral system. This is because these groups (political parties/politicians) that are occupying offices might not get valid chance of winning (re)elections, hence, their stiff opposition and resistance to the reforms. Thus, the above analysis explains the relevance of the group theory to understanding the gagging of electoral fraud in Nigeria. The next section in specific term highlights the various mode of electoral frauds in Nigeria.

### **Detecting the Modes of Electoral Frauds in Nigeria**

Elections in Nigeria have always generated heated controversies. There is hardly any type of election that does not end at election petition tribunals, courts of appeal and in some cases, the Supreme Court. One thing is constant: election results are always disputed. There are accusations and counter accusations of diverse riggings and electoral frauds by candidates and their political parties alike. Electoral malpractices are as old as Nigeria. Beginning from the 1959 General Elections through the various post-independence regional elections to the modern era, Nigeria has never got it right when it comes to selecting or electing representatives at various levels, as politicians often engage in a rat-race to secure numerical strength at elections albeit using manipulative tendencies. For example, in a post mortem examination of the 1979 Presidential Election, Adamu and Ogunsanwo (1982), reviewed the 1979 Voters' Register and submitted a graphic picture of attempts to achieve questionable majority rule by ambitious politicians by intently manipulating the voters' registration exercise.

Aluaigba (2016), contend that it is against these desperate moves and sharp practices toward elections or at elections by politicians to achieve majority rule by hook and crook that different attempts have been made by electoral management bodies (EMBs) to frustrate these desperations. To that end, different systems of voting have been experimented. In the 1991 and 1993 elections, Nigeria opted for Open Ballot System and Modified Open Ballot System respectively, to conduct elections. Consequently, Ujo (2012), maintained that the two innovations had their inherent challenges. In the first place, the methods did not guarantee the much needed secrecy and confidentiality of choice. Again, the systems gave rise to victimization and harassment of electorate or community by either the winning or losing party. As a result, the voting systems were soon to be jettisoned.

At this juncture, it is pertinent to articulate the range and dimensions of electoral frauds in Nigeria with a view to proffering solutions. It is important to state that these electoral misdemeanors appear in divergent forms and phases. To this end, Avgerou (2019) constructed a typology of electoral malpractice based on two main categorizations viz: material dimension and psychological dimension. While material manipulation involves direct tampering with the physical aspects of elections such as voters' list, ballot papers, communication or computer equipment, vote-buying, operational impediments that deprive minorities (people with disabilities, the poor, women and youth from exercising their franchise, even the control of electoral agencies to facilitate electoral victory. The psychological aspect of electoral fraud include tampering in the form of offer of employment or threat of termination of same, payment of commissions on services rendered, commitments or promises of future juicy government contracts, provision of petty cash or foods to electoral officers on election duty, violence against opposition, heavy and unreasonable deployment of security agencies which purpose is to intimidate voters and instill fears, etc.

On the other hand, Birch (2011), has a typology based on four categories of electoral manipulations. They are:

1. Manipulation of institutions;

2. Manipulation of the voting act;
3. Manipulation of voter choice; and,
4. Manipulation of the outcome.

Manipulation of institutions is usually perpetrated by the electoral management bodies (EMBs) or by the government in power. It can manifest in diverse ways including structuring the elections to the advantage or disadvantage of any of the contestants in clear or subtle violation of the principles of inclusivity, impartiality, openness or transparency. For instance, this could involve illegal voter registration, alteration of voter-registration lists, over-restrictive franchise.

Again, manipulation of the voting act has to do with the uneven implementation of the regulatory framework; biasing of administrative decisions in favour of one of the contestants; stoppage of voting in one or more polling areas while allowing the process to go on in some other polling stations at the same time; outright stuffing of the ballot box; misleading and confusing ballot papers; absence or shortage of election materials. Others include expulsion of political parties' agents from the polling stations thereby, preventing them from monitoring the voting exercise; permitting double or multiple voting by individuals with plenty voters' cards; forcing voters to vote for a particular candidate or political party, etc.

Birch (2011), manipulation of voter choice includes all the kinds of undue influence for voters to misrepresent their true preferences such as vote-buying and clientelistic transactions, or negative sanctions such as violence and intimidation. In Nigeria, violence and intimidation in the electoral process take the forms of kidnapping, murder of candidates and their supporters, preventing voters from reaching the polling stations, attacks on polling stations in areas that are known or perceived to support a certain candidate or party.

The fourth category of electoral fraud according to Birch is the manipulation of election outcome or result. And this can manifest in various dimensions including wrong vote counting, mis-recording of votes, inflation of votes, switching of scores, deliberate destruction or invalidation of ballots, disappearance of ballot boxes from the opponents' mainstay, preventing voters from watching and observing vote counting. Other forms include locating polling stations in private residences of party stalwarts, counting ballots in the dark with the intention to stuff the ballot boxes, replace genuine boxes with pre-thumb-printed ballots, manipulate counting, partially cancelling elections to give advantage to a party or candidate.

The overall implications and effects of electoral malpractice are multifaceted. In the first instance, any candidate or government that emerges in suspicious circumstances is easily confronted with credibility and legitimacy crisis. Constituents or the populace do not trust such occupiers of governmental offices. In this situation, commanding loyalty and eliciting popular support become a herculean task for the regime.

Furthermore, when the electorate know that their votes will not count, it has a tendency to erode confidence in the electoral process. This is very dangerous for democracy and mass mobilization of the citizenry for participation in the running of the affairs of the State. In addition, according to Mauk (2020), while various electoral malfeasances are witnessed in varying degrees in all democratic societies, they are more rampant in democratizing societies like those in Africa. In Sub-Saharan Africa, there are not a few conflicts that have been caused by electoral frauds and miscarriage of electoral justice. In Nigeria, there have been several crises that were orchestrated by electoral malpractice leading to humongous loss of lives and property. That explains why the current efforts and search for solution to halt the trend of election fraud is not only timely but worthwhile.

## **Discussion**

## **Electoral Reforms: its Imperatives in Nigeria's Democratic stability**

Since the end of the Cold War, periodic elections have become almost universal. However, independence and democracy are on the decline in many countries where elections are held. They are intended to be tools for peaceful government reform, but they also become flashpoints for political conflict. Elections without honesty are at the heart of these contradictions. Frequently, Elections merely provide a veneer of legitimacy to despotic regimes. Elections without dignity, on the other hand, cannot provide legitimacy to the winners, protection to the losers, and public trust in their leaders and institutions. This leaves politics vulnerable because it allows dissatisfied groups to seek out other, less productive means of expressing their dissatisfaction. After more than twenty years of return to civil rule, Nigeria has been grappling with the challenges of getting elections right and minimizing huge petitions that follow each round of elections and the consequent viciousness and costs associated with such elections.

Elections are increasingly becoming marred by violence and intimidation, with the role of the security agencies becoming more contentious. This situation is likely to damage the integrity of any electoral process and may deter future participation. As a result, Nigerians and the international community have renewed their call for a genuine, holistic and all-encompassing electoral reform. What are the benefits of electoral reform in Nigeria's search for a more credible electoral process?

The key justification for electoral reform in Nigeria is rooted in the history of Nigerian elections, which has been described as a history of competitive rigging by some (Olorunfoba et al., 2020). For the better part of the country's political evolution (pre- and post-independence) Electoral problems have been one of the most powerful influences on the State's election cycle. Elections in Nigeria have lost their democratic substance and significance over time, owing to a failure to honor the social contract between the governed and the government that elections are supposed to represent (Kew, 2010). Despite the fact that under colonial rule and in the immediate post-independence period, electoral politics was rooted in ethnicity, elections were still able to guarantee some level of quality and the social contract. This was expressed, for example, in the presence of a vibrant and "ethnicized" opposition and coalition politics, both of which are essential for the health of democracy.

According to Omotola (2011), this began to change during the Second Republic and the situation has worsened since the annulment of the 12 June 1993 presidential election. The reasons for the country's electoral frauds are the colonial foundation of the state, coupled with the neo-patrimonial nature of its post-independence variant, which have served to undermine the development of the institutional and systemic architecture for effective electoral governance. These problems reached a climax in the aftermath of the 2007 'garrisoned' election. But how can the ugly tide of electoral malpractices be tamed? There have been several efforts and attempts made toward clipping the wings of electoral malfeasances in the past. But politicians have always found a way to beat the laws, policies and measures in order to achieve their selfish ends. Even the 2010 Electoral Act was ferociously breached and abused in many fronts before, during and after the 2015 General Elections.

The flagrant violations of the Electoral Act's campaign spending cap are one example of such abuses. On December 21, 2014, for example, 21 governors of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) donated millions of Naira. Before the 2015 elections, the 21 governors contributed a total of N1.05 billion to their political party. The governors' donation was part of the N21.2 billion raised by the party at the fund raising dinner held at the Presidential Villa, Abuja (Observation Premium Times, 21 December, 2014).

The N21.2 billion raised was in excess of the N1 billion limit set by the Electoral Act. Despite the fact that there were significant contributions from private donors as well as other organisations, the donors remained anonymous. This was in violation of the 2010 Electoral Act's requirement that all sources of

campaign funding be revealed. Furthermore, the two major political parties violated the Electoral Act by exceeding expenditure limits, as stated in the following parts of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended): The Act's section 91(2) reads as follows; "an individual or other entity shall not donate more than N1 Million to any candidate". Sub-section 10 of the same section adds that a presidential candidate "who knowingly acts in contravention of this section commits an offence and on conviction is liable to a maximum fine of N1 Million or imprisonment for a term of 12 months or both" in Electoral Act 2010.

The above contributions were also in violation of Section 221 of the 1999 constitution, which forbids a state government from contributing to any candidate or aspirant's election expenses. Furthermore, the governing laws have been tampered with by both the PDP and the APC. For example, the PDP spent N3.55 billion on publicity between December 2014 and February 2015, while the APC spent N1.42 billion (Onuba, 2015). This does not include their expenditures after the election's postponement from February 28, 2015 to March 28, 2015. In turn, the political parties' actions and the numerous donations made were in violation of the N1 million cap on individual campaign contributions.

Non-compliance with campaign time-frame laws is another example of electoral act breaches. Both the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) and the largest opposition, the All Progressive Congress (APC), broke campaign law (APC). They participated in election campaigns before political parties were allowed to do so under the Electoral Act. The Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN) coordinated one of these campaigns on a regular basis, with the primary goal of rallying support for President Goodluck Jonathan and Namadi Sambo's re-election bid in 2015. TAN staged numerous campaigns dubbed "Unity Rallies" in each of the country's six geopolitical zones. "The time of public campaigning by any political party shall start 90 days before polling day and end 24 hours prior to that day," according to Section 99 (1-3) of the Act. TAN's actions also violate Section 221 of the Federal Republic of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution. The Constitution clearly states that "no association, other than a political party, shall canvass for votes for any candidate at any election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at an election".

Again, Following the police's failure to provide sufficient protection during political rallies by the two dominant political parties (PDP/APC) during electioneering campaigns in some states of the federation, it was an abuse of the Electoral Act. During rallies and processions in Katsina, Adamawa, Taraba, Kaduna, and Bauchi, irate youths stoned the PDP presidential candidate, President Goodluck Jonathan's convoy. There have been reports of armed thugs disrupting campaigns in Rivers State. For example, the APC campaign in Okrika was disrupted by attacks that resulted in the death of a police officer, Ifeanyi Okorie. during the rally (Akasike, 2016). As a result, the police's failure to protect electioneering campaigns in these states is a direct breach of Section 94 (1) of the Electoral Act, which states that "for the purpose of peaceful conduct of political rallies and processions, the Commissioner of Police in each state of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory shall provide adequate security for processions at political rallies in the states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja".

From the foregoing, one can infer that the Justice Muhammed Uwais Commission that set the tone for the 2010 Electoral Act actually aimed at reforming the electoral system. The question is: why did it become necessary for the 8<sup>th</sup> Nigeria National Assembly to think another reform? To answer the above poser, after the 2015 General Elections, it became obvious that there were a lot of loopholes and lacunas to be plugged if the perennial complaints of electoral frauds were to be mitigated. Prior to and during the extant elections, it became glaring that the provisions of 2010 Electoral Act were either insufficient to deter electoral malpractices or lacked enough poise to punish violators. Therefore, this paper firmly believes

that among others, the under-listed areas need urgent attention for Nigeria to attain some level of credence and restore confidence in her subsequent elections.

**Electronic Voting:** Since then, one of the favored reforms has seen the use of technology in parts of the country's election process, especially with the implementation of card readers in 2015. However, the National Assembly passed sections 9(1A & 5), 15, and 49(1), (2) of the Electoral (Amendment) Bill 2018, which pursued deeper changes, including electronic voting and results transmission, as is the case in other democratizing societies such as Kenya. This means that the whole process of enrollment, accreditation, vote counting, collation, and announcement will be done electronically. The Electoral (Amendment) Bill 2018 aimed to implement a number of amendments, including the implementation of electronic voting and the use of technology in elections.

**Electoral Offences Commission:** As part of the electoral reform, there is need for the National Assembly to quickly complete all legislative work on this bill and urgently pass it into law. Special courts or tribunals are needed to speedily try electoral offenders. It has become manifest that the regular courts in Nigeria are encumbered with other civil and criminal cases that adding electoral matters to them for adjudication makes the wheels of quick dispensation of justice to grind even slower. Although there are Election Petition Tribunals but they are established solely to validate or invalidate an election on the grounds of compliance or non-compliance with provisions of the Act. Hitherto, neither the tribunals nor the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has the power to arrest, investigate and prosecute electoral fraudsters.

**Electoral Justice:** It is a herculean task to demand for electoral reform without laying the foundations for electoral justice. It appears that the political class has decided to use the judiciary to consolidate their acts. There seems to be an indication that the political class has infiltrated the judiciary to the extent that there are incidences of double and contradictory judicial pronouncements on the same matter. This paper argues that the present state of the country's electoral laws allows election petitioners to be even more frustrated in their search for justice. As things stand, many judicial authorities have added to petitioners' frustrations, with several rulings holding that an election cannot be challenged on the basis of corrupt practices. Despite the fact that many votes were marred by fraud, judicial authorities upheld them. For example, a complainant must show that there is significant non-compliance and that the non-compliance has had a significant impact on the election results. In *Yussuf v Obasanjo*, the court ruled that an election cannot be called into doubt because of alleged corruption. It was held in *Falae v Obasanjo* that it must be shown that a financial inducement was approved by the election winner. In *Buhari v Obasanjo*, it was decided that the applicant bears the burden of proving electoral malpractice. The theory of substantial enforcement has been used to uphold many fraudulent elections. Winners of rigged elections were allowed to participate in rerun elections mandated by the courts in a number of cases (Ojo, 2019).

**Cost of Handling Election Petitions:** There is no doubt that no election will be perfect or free from disputes and contestations. However, the electoral system must necessarily create the enabling environment and ambiance that guarantee a level playing ground and at the same time, afford those that disagree with the outcome of the election the opportunity to explore legal avenues to ventilate their grievances and seek redress. This legal option should be affordable and within the reach of any aggrieved political actor that wishes to take advantage of it. This is because the process of dealing with complaints and resolving election disputes is critical to the survival of any democracy, particularly a fragile one like Nigeria. If the cost of filing and procuring relevant documents at election petitions tribunals is way beyond the reach of candidates of less popular political parties, who are largely self-funding, who also might not muster enough financial muscles to deploy the massive array of evidence and witnesses required to

upturn the apple cart, it is capable of dissuading potential petitioners from challenging the outcome. Although the 1999 Constitution stipulates that election petitions must be disposed of within 180 days of filing, "access to relevant election materials or documents by candidates in the election for purposes of election petition continued to be a challenge with the Independent National Electoral Commission levying very exorbitant fees for issuance of certified true copies of the election results and other election documents to candidates" (Ojo, 2019).

**Reduction in the Cost of Politics:** it glaring that elections and electioneering campaigns are too expensive. To run for any position in Nigeria, aspirants need to set aside tons of money to remain visible. This is likely to scare away potential contestants who do not have enough financial war-chest. When politics and elections are highly monetized, those worst hit are usually women and the youth. If women and the youth are unwittingly schemed out of the race by any design, the political system suffers from gaining from those critical groups of the society. Section 91(2) of the Electoral Act, 2010, places a maximum limit on election expenses that can be incurred by candidates as follows:

1. Presidential election- N1,000,000,000 (One Billion Naira),
2. Governorship election – N200,000,000 (Two Hundred Million Naira),
3. Senatorial seat in at an election to National Assembly - N40,000,000 (Forty Million Naira),

N20,000,000 (Twenty Million Naira) for the Federal House of Representatives, and so on. Any individual or organization that donates more than N1,000,000 (One Million Naira) to a nominee is in violation of Section 91(9). Candidates who surpass the amounts specified are subject to penalties under Section 91(10). Now, it is obvious that this section of the Act is no more in tandem with modern realities and; consequently, should be reviewed with a view to bringing Nigeria's electoral law up to speed.

## **CONCLUSION**

In Nigerian politics, the sad reality about electoral politics in the nation's attempt at democratic consolidation is that each of the identified activities involved in the electoral process is prone to manipulation. Electoral processes, therefore, in this regard cannot guarantee a legitimized democracy capable of eliciting necessary support, acceptability and cooperation that are essential to move the nation forward. The foregoing has reignited calls for real, comprehensive, and all-encompassing electoral reform. Also, having an election process that is fully open to all voters, from candidate selection to vote casting and tabulation, is the best way to protect the electorate from electoral fraud. An electoral amendment at this point will not only restore citizens' faith in the electoral process, but will also help to alleviate political party bottlenecks, especially in terms of nomination form costs. The most significant players in the process, apart from politicians, are the people, whose votes are supposed to determine the election winner.

## **REFERENCES**

- Adamu, H. al-R., & Ogunsanwo, A. (1982). *Nigeria: The Making of the Presidential System: 1979 General Elections*. Triumph Publishing Company Limited.
- Adekanye, J. (1988). Nigerian armed forces to take over conduct of future elections: a recommendation. *Quarterly Journal of Administration*, 23(1-2), 27-38.
- Akasike, C. (2016). *Apologise for Okrika Attack, APC Tells Jonathan Wife*. [www.Punchng.Com](http://www.Punchng.Com). [www.punchng.com](http://www.punchng.com)

- Aluaigba, M. T. (2016). Democracy Deferred: the effects of electoral malpractice on Nigeria's Path to Democratic consolidation. *Journal of African Elections*, 15(2), 136–158.
- Ashindorbe, K. (2018). Electoral violence and the challenge of democratic consolidation in Nigeria. *India Quarterly*, 74(1), 92–105.
- Avgerou, C., Masiero, S., & Poulymenakou, A. (2019). Trusting e-voting amid experiences of electoral malpractice: The case of Indian elections. *Journal of Information Technology*, 34(3), 263–289.
- Belloumar, M., & Lamidi, K. O. (2018). A Review Of The 2015 and 1999-2011 General Elections in Nigeria Using Pippa Norris'electoral Integrity Framework (Eif). *Annals of the „Ovidius” University of Constanța–Political Science Series*, 7, 75–104.
- Bentley, A. F. (2013). *The process of government*. Harvard University Press.
- Birch, S. (2011). *Electoral malpractice*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Confidence Chia, N., & David Nchinda, K. (2018). Cameroon Political Leadership and Nightmare Episode 1982-2008: The Opportunities Lost and Gained In Securing A National Consensus. *Journal of Advances in Social Science and Humanities*, 4(8), 209–226.
- Ebong, I. B., & Ozinegbe, O. (2020). The Politics Of Military Withdrawal in Governance: The Nigerian Experience. *POLITICS*, 3(04).
- Ekiugbo, A., & Umukoro, N. (2011). *Democracy and Electoral Fraud in African Government and Politics*. Mindex Publishing Company Limited.
- Fatai, A. (2018). The Significance of Elections in Africa: 2015 elections and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 12(10), 208–219.
- Gberevbie, D. E. (2014). Democracy, democratic institutions and good governance in Nigeria. *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, 30(1), 133–152.
- Isah, M. (2020). *Electoral reform as huge step to citizens' political participation available at*. [Www.Vanguardngr.Com. https://www.vanguardngr.com/2020/07/electoral-reform-as-huge-step-to-citizens-political-participation](https://www.vanguardngr.com/2020/07/electoral-reform-as-huge-step-to-citizens-political-participation)
- Joseph, E. (2020). The Impacts of Political Corruption on Democratic Consolidation and the Electoral Process in Nigeria. *Academicus International Scientific Journal*, 11(21), 38–45.
- Kew, D. (2010). Nigerian elections and the neopatrimonial paradox: in search of the social contract. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 28(4), 499–521.
- Mauk, M. (2020). Electoral integrity matters: how electoral process conditions the relationship between political losing and political trust. *Quality & Quantity*, 1–20.
- Mawere, M., & Mwanaka, T. R. (2015). *Democracy, Good Governance and Development in Africa*. Langaa RPCIG.
- Ndubuisi, U., & Ebubechukwu, C. V. (2021). Election Petition Tribunal and Democratisation: An Assessment of the Judiciary in Nigeria. *FUDMA JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*, 3(7), 12–23.
- Nwachukwu, L. C. (2018). Electoral Violence and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Reflections On The 2015 General Elections. *Online Journal of Arts, Management & Social Sciences*, 3(2).
- Ojo, O. (2019). tive of electoral reforms as 736 petitioners go to tribunals. *The Guardian Newspapers*.
- Ojukwu, U. G., Mazi Mbah, C. C., & Maduekwe, V. C. (2019). Elections and democratic consolidation: A study of 2019 general elections in Nigeria. *Direct Research Journal of Social Science and Educational Studies*, 6(4), 53–64.
- Oloruntoba, S. O., Ishola, E. B., & Ekanade, I. K. (2020). Globalization, Poverty, and Development in Africa: Looking Past to the Future. In *Challenges of Globalization and Prospects for an Inter-civilizational World Order* (pp. 725–748). Springer.
- Omotola, J. S. (2011). Electoral reform and the prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria: democratisation in Nigeria. *Journal of African Elections*, 10(1), 187–207.
- Oni, M. A. (2004). Electoral Fraud and Legitimacy Crisis in Post Independence Nigeria. *International Review of Politics and Development*, 2(2).
- Onuba, F. (2015). *PDP, APC spend N4.9bn on publicity, others – Group*. [www.punchng.com](http://www.punchng.com)



- Osha, S. (2020). *Ken Saro-Wiwa's Shadow (Expanded Edition): Politics, Nationalism and the Ogoni Protest Movement*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Schreier, M., Janssen, M., Stamann, C., Whittal, A., & Dahl, T. (2020). Qualitative Content Analysis: Disciplinary Perspectives and Relationships between Methods—Introduction to the FQS Special Issue "Qualitative Content Analysis II". *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 21(1).
- Truman, D. B. (1951). *The governmental process: Political interests and public opinion*.
- Ujo, A. A. (2012). *Understanding the 2011 general elections in Nigeria: the beginning of a new era*. International Institute for the Study of Election and Election Management (IISEEM).
- Urquhart, C. (2012). *Grounded theory for qualitative research: A practical guide*. Sage.

## **Islamic Economics as a Science and System**

**Abd. Kholik Khoerulloh<sup>1\*</sup>, Syifa Rohmaniatul Hidayah<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Cibiru, Bandung, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Madrasah Aliyah Negeri 1 Majalengka, Indonesia

\*Corresponding Author E-mail: [akhok29@gmail.com](mailto:akhok29@gmail.com)

### **Abstract**

Understanding a thing as a whole must begin with understanding the nature of science itself. Islamic economics as a science has received rejection from western scientists because of its value-free nature. However, Islamic economics is not entirely a doctrine and normative assumptions, because the Qur'an and hadith as the main legal basis for Muslims contain many descriptive assumptions that can be verified by modern science. Using a qualitative approach and conducting ontological studies to understand Islamic economics better, it is deemed necessary to see Islamic economics as a system that is full of spiritual values without neglecting the material values contained in this research. being the basis of Islamic economics contains many descriptive arguments that can be proven by modern science.

Keywords: Islamic Economy, Science, Systems

### **Abstrak**

Memahami suatu hal secara utuh haruslah diawali dengan memahami hakikat dari ilmu itu sendiri. Ekonomi Islam sebagai sebuah ilmu mendapatkan penolakan dari ilmuwan barat karena sifatnya yang tidak bebas nilai. Akan tetapi ekonomi islam tidak sepenuhnya merupakan doktrin serta asumsi-asumsi normatif, karena al-Qur'an dan hadits selaku landasan hukum utama umat muslim banyak memuat asumsi deskriptif yang dapat diverifikasi oleh ilmu pengetahuan modern. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan melakukan pengkajian secara ontologis untuk memahami ekonomi islam secara lebih baik, Maka, dipandang perlu untuk melihat ekonomi islam sebagai sebuah sistem yang saratkan nilai spiritual tanpa mengesampingkan nilai material yang terkandung di dalamnya penelitian ini menemukan bahwa Al-Quran dan Hadits yang menjadi basis dalam ekonomi Islam mengandung banyak dalil deskriptif yang dapat dibuktikan dengan ilmu pengetahuan modern.

Kata kunci: Ekonomi Islam, Ilmu, Sistem

---

## **INTRODUCTION**

The world's economic system is divided into two big qibla. The first was the capitalist economic system carried by Adam Smith and the second was the socialist economic system carried by Karl Marx. The two economic systems each highlight two different sides in solving their economic problems (Skousen, 2016). The liberal economic system accentuates its freedom and the socialist economy accentuates its equality. Islam as a religion also has an economic system that has laid the foundations of an economic system that today is called the Islamic economy or sharia economy (Rethel, 2019). To understand and interpret the islamic economic system in more depth, further ontological reasoning is needed (Aydin, 2013). Among the aspects of ontological reasoning of the Islamic economy is the legitimacy of the Islamic economy itself as a science and the embodiment of Islamic economics as one of the economic systems in the world. Therefore the author intends to write a journal with a big theme discussing islamic economics as a science and as an economic system.

\* Copyright (c) 2021 **Abdul Kholik Khoerulloh and Syifa Rohmaniatul Hidayah**

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

Received: December 14, 2020; In Revised: January 30, 2021; Accepted: February 12, 2021

Researchers have a lot to define about the Islamic economy. Literally Islamic Economics consists of two words namely economics and Islam. The word economy comes from the Greek *eicos* (household) and *nomos* (rule or law). While the characters give different interpretations, including

1. Muhammad Abdul Manan (1997), Islamic economics is a science that discusses and studies people's economic problems based on Islamic values.
2. Metwaly in Furqani (2018), Islamic economics can be defined as a science that studies the behavior of Muslims in an Islamic society that follows the sources of Islamic law, namely the Quran, Hadith, *Ijma'* and *Qiyas*.
3. Hasanuzzaman in Tahir (2017), Islamic Economics is the science as well as the application of sharia rules that prevent *kedzaliman* in obtaining material resources so as to create human satisfaction and allow them to carry out the commandments of God and society.
4. Ahmad (1994), Islamic economics is a systematic effort to understand economic problems and human behavior in its relationship to the issue is reviewed from an Islamic perspective.

The term Islamic Economy is often equated with Sharia Economy. Substantively Sharia is Islam itself. However, if examined more in sharia is more inclined to normative rules governing the behavior of Muslims in order to create welfare. This rule covers, faith, sufism and also moral (Yakin, 2016). While Islam is a religion that has a broader meaning, where sharia is one component of Islam itself. Despite the differences, in the context of Islamic and Sharia economy can be equated (Nurrohman, 2012). In addition to the differences between Islamic Economics and Sharia Economics, in the context of the science of fulfillment of needs there is also a difference between *lafadz muamalah* and *Iqtishod al-Islamiy*. *Muamalat* means *tabadul amwal wa bi washilatil uqud wa at-tasarruf* (exchange activities of property and benefits with the intermediary akad and *tasarruf*). While *Iqtishod al-Islamiy* or Islamic economy refers more to the nature of the Islamic economy itself. Referring to *lafadz iqtishod* which means middle, then Islamic Economic is an economic system that prioritizes the value of justice in trying and property ownership (Jomo, 2016).

There have been several previous studies relevant to the research conducted today. Among them is research conducted by ZTF & Suwardana (2016) in his research explained that to make the Islamic economy a science must be accompanied by the Islamic economic system itself. He mentioned that science would not stand alone without a system being run. Science will be formed whenever it can be proven empirically. Then Hartono (2011) explained that the Islamic economic system is the solution to the economic crisis that befell Europeans. The capitalist economic system used by the European people many times failed, the failure was marked by an economic crisis in Europe. Thus, Hartono provided a solution to the economic crisis, namely the Islamic economic system.

There are several things that are different from the research above, it is also a goal to be achieved in this study, namely: this research aims to prove that Islamic economics is a science and economic system. The science that can be tested theoretically and empirically and economic systems that have certain characteristics and different from other economic systems can be a solution for Muslims because the Islamic economic system is guided by the Qur'an. This research is expected to have a positive impact on Islamic economic thinking and refute the theory that Islamic economics is not a science of knowledge. Furthermore, this research is also expected to provide an explanation for the public that Islamic economics is a science of knowledge and a unified system.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

The method used in this research is the literature study with qualitative approach (Cresswell, 2016). The purpose of a literature study is to analyze critically a segment of a published body of knowledge through summary, classification, and comparison of prior research studies, reviews of literature, and theoretical articles. The data obtained is simplified, categorizes, and discards unnecessary data in such a way that the data can produce meaningful information and make it easier to draw conclusions, after which the data obtained will be presented with primary sources to draw conclusions that answer the problems stated in this research (Prastowo, 2016).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Result**

#### **Islamic Economics as a Science**

Muhammad Abdul Manan (1997), Metwaly in Furqani (2018) and Hasanuzzaman in Tahir (2017) define Islamic Economics as a science. Khursid Ahmad (1994) defined it as a systematic endeavor. This shows that among economics scientists there is a debate in determining the legitimacy of Islamic Economics as a science. This difference does not only occur among Muslim scientists, but western scientists also doubt Islamic economics as a science.

Nienhaus (2013) questioned whether Islamic economics is a doctrine in which there are principles that cannot be rejected and govern trivial things or a science that practically directs and uses scientific methods to explain economic phenomena in society?. Western scientists have the view that a science must be structured on realities that are empirical, measurable and can be proven scientifically through the verification process, if the assumptions built only on the truth of value and can not be verified, then the assumption can not be categorized as a science (Nurrohman, 2012). Looking at the view of western scientists who put forward empirical principles and free from the value of an assumption, Islamic Economics in some points is more suitable to be established as a doctrine than to be established as a science (Haneef & Furqani, 2011).

Economics and Islam have opposite traits. Economics is clearly a scientific study that can be used to solve a problem and can be verified the truth. However, Islam is a religion that contains a set of normative rules, derived from God in the manifestation of the Quran and Hadith whose truth can only be measured through spiritual values that may not be recognized by people who do not believe in it (Nurrohman, 2012). The core problem of the lack of acceptance of Islamic economics as an Islamic economic science is full of normative values that some aspects are abstract so that it is not value-free and can not be proven empirically.

Islamic economics is based on the Quran and Hadith. Al-Quran and hadith contain a variety of things and explanations about the economy contained in it. Among the verses that explain the economy there are also verses that have been proven by modern science, one of which is the Quran surah an-Nahl verses 68-69:

"And your Lord revealed to the bees: "Make hives in the hills, in the trees, and in the places that people make". Then eat of every kind of fruit, and go the way of your Lord made easy (for you). From the belly of the bee to the outside of the drink (honey) of various colors, in which is a cure for mankind. Most surely there is a sign in this for a people who reflect."

The above verse provides an explanation of the benefits of consuming bees as well as the economic value of honey as a good medicine and food. Conventional economics explains that one of the functions of goods is the function of utilities related to the useful value of an item. Al-Quran as a guide for Muslims never discuss anything trivial and minimal benefits. With the incision of honey in the Quran means implicitly the Quran gives emphasis on humans to pay attention to these commodities. Economically of course honey has a fairly high selling value and this at the same time that the Quran provides a proof that the contents of the Quran is not only dogmatic, but its contents can indeed be proven in real by modern science.

If the Islamic Economy is in doubt on the grounds it is not value-free. Indeed, other economic systems can not be separated from a value that is behind the tendency of the economic system. Foucault said science is controlled by the dominant forces that control the region. Whether in the form of religion, politics or economics. Through mastery, "truth" is determined. A particular country, community or civilization throughout history can "impose the truth". Therefore there is no science that is neutral and interest-free (Zaman, 2012).

Because all science is ideologically charged, as socialist economics contains Marxist ideology and mainstream economics contains a narrow ideology or free market, in fact both sciences contain values and normative assumptions as well as descriptive assumptions. The Islamic Economic System even though it contains normative assumptions cannot be judged directly is not a science just for reasons not free of value.

### **Islamic Economy as a System**

The economic system is the whole institution that lives in a society that is used as a reference by the community in achieving the goals that have been set. Meanwhile, institution is an organization or rule, both formal and informal that regulates the behavior and actions of certain community members both in carrying out daily routine activities and in achieving a certain goal. In other words, a system will influence the mindset and pattern of action in the society that is in the system and will become the norm or value judgement for the community. Property rights, households, government, money, taxes, revenue share, trade unions. All of them are examples of economic institutions (Munthe et al., 2021).

Broadly speaking, the world economic system is dominated by two systems, namely the capitalist economic system and the socialist economic system. The capitalist economy focuses on the ownership of production tools, distribution activities and exchanges on the private side. This economic system is almost used in most countries in the world. While the second economic system is the socialist economic system. This system is in contrast to the capitalist economic system. Where, in this economic system, economic activities ranging from planning, implementation, and supervision are carried out by the government centrally. So that each individual is not entitled to his/her wealth, because the means of production, distribution activities, and exchanges are carried out by the government with the aim of the welfare of the common community (Tho'in, 2015).

In addition to the two majority of economic systems above, Islam as a religion does not miss regulating this problem in its normative rules. The economic system intended above is an Islamic economic system that has been terminologically discussed in the previous sub-discussion, but has not been discussed more in depth. The Islamic economic system is an economic system that offers something different from the previous two economic systems. This economic system hybrids the value of the good of the capitalist and socialist economic systems and eliminates the negative side of both economies. The negative side of the two economic systems above is the incapableness of the economic system in solving the case of *kedzaliman* in its implementation (Tho'in, 2015). Islamic economics has a basic nature as a *rabbani* economy as well as human beings. *Rabbani* because this economic system refers to the values of

the godhead. Then it is said to be a human economy because the biggest goal of its implementation is to prosper human life (al-Qardhawi, 1997).

Faith is an important factor in the implementation of this economy. This is because faith will directly influence the way of view in shaping personality, behavior, lifestyle, human tastes and preferences, attitudes towards human resources and the environment. Strong beliefs have great potential to improve the balance between material and spiritual impulses, increase family and social solidarity and prevent the development of conditions that do not have moral standards (Latif, 2014). Faith is the most powerful filter in restraining a person from carrying out unappealing and even forbidden deeds. Faith is able to control one's behavior both in front of others and vice versa. Faith is a very important component to make Islamic Economy as an Economic System that becomes the solution to all problems of the economic system.

### **Islamic economic system has its own characteristics**

**Wealth is a deposition from God,** As caliph, people are required to not only use property for their own benefit. However, the position of wealth here is a deposition from God as the owner of every thing on earth and sky (see Qur'an surah al-Baqoroh verse 284) to be held accountable at some point. So that the user must obey god's command. Islam does not prohibit the possession of private property, but orders the use of it in the way of good, does not worship it and gives the rights of others contained therein.

**Faith, sharia and morality as the foundation,** Islamic economics is an integrity with spiritual values and economic activities can become worship. This is reflected in the prohibition of ownership and use of property that can harm others, the prohibition of fraud in transactions and the prohibition of hoarding.

**The balance between the world and the hereafter,** Western scientists assume that Islam only attaches importance to the hereafter, so that it cleanses the worldly interests. This assumption is an incorrect assumption because Allah said in surah al-Qashash verse 77 which reads: "*And seek the hereafter with that which Allah hath bestowed upon you, and forget not your share of this world, and do good as Allah has done good to you, and do not make mischief in the earth; God does not love the misdeeds*". In addition, Islam has never taught to do the interests of the world and the hereafter separately. All actions done by a Muslim in the world will have an impact on his life in the hereafter. Thus it is clear that Islam wants a balance between the world and the hereafter in order to achieve complete happiness. This principle is clearly different from the principles of socialist and capitalist economics that are only oriented to the life of the world.

**The balance between individual interests and the public interest,** The meaning of balance in the islamic economic system is, Islam does not recognize absolute rights and absolute freedoms. Any economic activity should not be oriented solely to personal interests simply by ignoring the interests of others and the community. It is stated in the Quran surah al-Hasyr verse 7: "*Whatever the booty given to Allah to His messenger (from the properties) originated from the inhabitants of the cities then is for Allah, the messenger, the relatives, the orphans, the poor and the people on the way, so that the property does not circulate among the rich among you, what is given the messenger to you, then accept. And what he forbids for you. So leave it, and remain conscious of Allah. Indeed, Allah is very his punishment*". Later in the Quran letters al-Ma'arij verse 24 and 25: "*And those in whose wealth there is a certain share. For the poor who ask and do not want to ask*".

**Guarantee of individual freedom,** Every individual in Islam is guaranteed with certain restrictions because in fact the property is a deposition from God and emphasized that this freedom is not absolute deprived. However, there are prohibitions aimed at creating justice in the economic order of the community. This is in contrast to the capitalist economic system that gives free freedom to the private sector, and is different from the socialist economic system that attaches great importance to the public interest.

**The existence of state authority,** The state has the authority and obligation to help improve the lives of its citizens. One of the pieces of hadith that explains this is as follows: "*who leaves the descendants (who is quake), the son (he comes) to Me and (becomes) my responsibility*". (HR. al-Bukhari and Muslim). The role of The Prophet Muhammad SAW at that time was a head of state as well as a religious leader. He gave assurances to displaced citizens to keep a decent life. This principle is different from the socialist economic system that gives full authority to the state and vice versa in the capitalist economy the authority of the state is severely restricted.

**Provide guidance on consumption and investment,** Islam provides a clear prohibition on the advice and prohibition of consumption. One of the verses containing it is contained in the Quran surah al-A'raf verse 31: "*O children of Adam, put on your beautiful garments in every mosque, eat and drink, and do not be extravagant. God does not love people who are excessive*". Al-Mawsu'ah al-ilmiah wa al-amaliyah al-Islamiyah considers there are five assessments of criteria in accordance with Islam to be used as guidelines in assessing investment projects, namely Good Projects according to Islam, providing the widest possible provision to members of the community, Eradicating infidelity, improving income, and feasibility, Maintaining and developing property, Protecting the interests of community members.

**Zakat and prohibition of usury,** Zakat is one of the supporters of the turnaround wheel of the Islamic economy. Zakat is unique, only contained in the teachings of Islam only. Zakat has a function as a tool for economic equality, because in zakat there is a transfer of wealth from the able to the poor. Other religions do not know the term spend some wealth to cleanse the soul of spiteful and vengeful nature. In silence, Islam forbids the practice of usury because usury is a misappropriation of money from the field that should be. Money is a means of transaction is not a commodity. Ribawi practice will only make people more difficult. Therefore, in Islam, the practice of usury is strictly forbidden.

## Discussion

Islamic economics is a scientific study that examines human behavior in meeting its needs based on the Quran and Hadith. The word sharia refers more to normative laws, while the word Islam has a broader meaning as a religion (Khan, 2013). The word muamalah and economy is different where muamalah means exchange or empowerment of property based on agreement. While the economic word *Iqtishod al-Islamiy* has a broader meaning that is to meet the needs based on justice. Islamic economics is not accepted as a science because it is considered not value-free and contains normative arguments (Mahomedy, 2013). Whereas the Quran and Hadith that become the basis in the Islamic economy contains many descriptive arguments that can be proven by modern knowledge. Foucault says that there is no neutral science, there is always a tendency from a scientific study to an ideology. From this exposure it can be concluded that economics should not be viewed as merely a doctrine alone but also as a science.

The Islamic economic system focuses on balance and justice. Property ownership consists of individual, general, and state ownership in a balanced manner, so it is expected to create the welfare of the people evenly and of course the moral value to all economic actors. Whereas the capitalist and socialist economy ignore it all. The capitalist economic system talks about its needs and tools. The system is built

with three basic frameworks. First, the scarcity of goods and services, goods and services available are not able to meet all the diverse human needs. Second, the value of an item produced. Third, prices in production, consumption, and distribution. Where a price is a controlling tool in a capitalist economy.

While the socialist economy is in contrast to the Capitalist economy, where the socialists are fighting all-out capitalist economic views (Ramirez, 2014). In fact, many mention that the emergence of the socialist economic system is a form of resistance to the injustice suffered by society because of the capitalist economic system and the mistakes that occur in it. There are several principles that exist in this socialist economy. First, realize the real similarities. Second, remove individual ownership in whole or in part. Third, organize production and distribution collectively. The Economic System explains the distribution of wealth and its ownership, as well as how to conduct transactions against it and so on. This explanation means they follow a certain view of life (Capitalist economic system). Therefore, the economic system in the Islamic view is certainly different from the economic system in the view of Socialism and Communism, and also different in the view of capitalists. Because, each follows a certain ideological life view, which is different from Economics. Economics discusses its production and quality and how to determine and improve its facilities. This is universal for all nations, which is not specifically based on a particular ideology, but rather like any other science.

For example, is the view of ownership. Ownership in the Capitalist System is clearly different from the Socialist System and different from the Islamic System. As for how to improve production, it concerns a reality (fact) that is scientific. This is the same for all human beings, in terms of looking at it, although the understanding of ideology can vary. Islam's view on wealth issues is different from Islam's view on the issue of wealth utilization (Iqbal & Mirakhor, 2011). According to Islam, the means that provide usability are its own problems, while the acquisition of usability is another problem. Therefore, wealth and human power, both are wealthy, as well as advice that can provide usefulness or benefits. Thus, the position of both in the view of Islam, in terms of existence and production in this life is different from the position of utilization and the procedure of obtaining its benefits. Therefore, Islam also intervenes in the problem of the utilization of wealth in a clear way.

## CONCLUSION

Al-Quran and Hadith become the basis in the Islamic economy contain many descriptive arguments that can be proven by modern knowledge. Some scientists say that there is no neutral science, there is always a tendency from a scientific study to an ideology. From this presentation, it can be concluded that Islamic Economics should not only be seen as a doctrine but also a science. Furthermore, the Islamic economic system is an economic system that offers different things from the previous two economic systems. This economic system hybridizes the good value of the capitalist and socialist economic system and eliminates the negative side of both economies. The most negative side of the two economic systems above is the inability of the economic system in resolving the case of injustice in its implementation.

## REFERENCES

- Ahmad, Huršid. (1994). *Economic development in an Islamic framework*. Islamic Foundation.
- al-Qardhawi, Y. A. (1997). *Nilai dan Peran Moral dalam*. Robbani Press.
- Aydin, N. (2013). Redefining Islamic economics as a new economic paradigm. *Islamic Economic Studies*, 21(1).
- Cresswell, J. (2016). *Research design: Pendekatan metode kualitatif, kuantitatif, dan campuran* (Edisi 4). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.



- Furqani, H. (2018). Defining Islamic economics: Scholars' approach, clarifying the nature, scope and subject-matter of the discipline. *Turkish Journal of Islamic Economics*, 5(2), 69–94.
- Haneef, M. A., & Furqani, H. (2011). Methodology of Islamic economics: Overview of present state and future direction. *International Journal of Economics, Management and Accounting*, 19(1).
- Hartono, D. S. (2011). Ekonomi Islam Sebagai Solusi Alternatif Krisis Ekonomi Eropa. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional & Internasional*, 1(1).
- Iqbal, Z., & Mirakhor, A. (2011). *An introduction to Islamic finance: Theory and practice* (Vol. 687). John Wiley & Sons.
- Jomo, K. S. (2016). *Islamic economic alternatives: Critical perspectives and new directions*. Springer.
- Khan, M. A. (2013). *What is wrong with islamic economics?: analysing the present state and future agenda*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Latif, A. (2014). Nilai-Nilai Dasar Dalam Membangun Ekonomi Islam. *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum*, 12(2), 153–169.
- Mahomedy, A. C. (2013). Islamic economics: Still in search of an identity. *International Journal of Social Economics*.
- Manan, M. A. (1997). Teori dan Praktek Ekonomi Islam terj.M. Nastangin. In H.M. Sonha (Ed.), *Dana Bhakti Wakaf*. Dana Bhakti Prima Yata.
- Munthe, R. N., Mardia, M., Nugraha, N. A., Basmar, E., Syafii, A., Pardede, A. F., Verlandes, Y., Sudarmanto, E., Arfandi, S. N., & Rahman, A. (2021). *Sistem Perekonomian Indonesia*. Yayasan Kita Menulis.
- Nienhaus, V. (2013). Method and Substance of Islamic Economics: Moving Where? *Journal of King Abdulaziz University: Islamic Economics*, 26(1).
- Nurrohman, D. (2012). Hakikat dan Konstruksi Keilmuan Ekonomi Islam. *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman*, 7(2), 245–266.
- Prastowo, A. (2016). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Dalam Perspektif Rancangan Penelitian*. Ar-Ruzz Media.
- Ramirez, L. (2014). World Revolution vs. Socialism in One Country. *Athene Noctua: Undergraduate Philosophy Journal*, 2, 1–4.
- Rethel, L. (2019). Corporate Islam, global capitalism and the performance of economic moralities. *New Political Economy*, 24(3), 350–364.
- Skousen, M. (2016). *The making of modern economics: the lives and ideas of the great thinkers*. Routledge.
- Tahir, S. (2017). Islamic economics and prospects for theoretical and empirical research. *Journal of King Abdulaziz University: Islamic Economics*, 30(1).
- Tho'in, M. (2015). Konsep Ekonomi Islam Jalan Tengah (Kapitalis-Sosialis). *Jurnal Ilmiah Ekonomi Islam*, 1(03).
- Yakin, A. U. (2016). *Sejarah Hukum Islam Nusantara*. Kencana.
- Zaman, A. (2012). An islamic critique of neoclassical economics. *Pakistan Business Review*, 14(1), 9–62.
- ZTF, P. B., & Suwardana, H. (2016). Membangun Epistemologi Ekonomi Islam: Ikhtiar Menjadikan Islam Sebagai Sistem Ekonomi Alternatif. *Jurnal Bestari*, 34.

## **Comparative Analysis of President Soeharto and Kim Dae Jung's Policies in Overcoming the 1997 Economic Crisis based on Small Theory and Idiosyncratic Theory**

### **Analisis Perbandingan Kebijakan Presiden Soeharto dan Kim Dae Jung dalam Mengatasi Krisis Ekonomi 1997 berdasarkan Small Theory dan Teori Idiosinkratik**

**Putri Jasmine Surapati<sup>1</sup> Nada Nur Maulidina<sup>2</sup> Fayza Maritza Putri Agustono<sup>3</sup> Hilda Ferira<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1-4</sup>UPN Veteran Jakarta, Jl. RS. Fatmawati Raya, Pd. Labu, Kec. Cilandak, Kota Depok, Jawa Barat 12450

\*Corresponding Author E-mail: [jasminesurapati@upnvj.ac.id](mailto:jasminesurapati@upnvj.ac.id)

#### **Abstract**

The 1997 economic crisis was a situation in which the Asian economy experienced a drastic decline which was triggered by Thai finance. At that time Thailand, burdened by huge foreign debt, decided to develop the Baht currency after attacks by currency speculators on the country's foreign reserves. This monetary shift was aimed at stimulating export earnings but this strategy actually had a bad impact. This has had the effect of transmitting to several countries in other Asian regions, such as South Korea and Indonesia. In responding to the formulation of this phenomenon, South Korea and Indonesia have their own policies to overcome the 1997 Economic Crisis. Thus, in order to understand the decision-making process in foreign policy, a level of analysis is needed, namely using idiosyncratic theory and small theory. Using a qualitative approach, this research generates ideas to understand the background to the policy process it created to address the issue of the 1997 Economic Crisis.

Keywords: Economic Crisis, South Korea, Indonesia, Level of Analysis

#### **Abstrak**

Krisis Ekonomi 1997 merupakan sebuah keadaan dimana perekonomian Asia mengalami penurunan secara drastis yang dipicu oleh keuangan Thailand. Saat itu Thailand terbebani akan utang luar negeri yang sangat besar, memutuskan untuk mengembangkan mata uang Baht setelah serangan yang dilakukan para spekulasi mata uang terhadap cadangan devisa negaranya. Pergeseran moneter ini bertujuan untuk merangsang pendapatan ekspor akan tetapi justru strategi ini malah membawa dampak yang buruk. Hal ini menimbulkan efek penularan ke beberapa negara di Kawasan Asia lainnya, seperti Korea Selatan dan Indonesia. Dalam merespon perumusan fenomena tersebut, Korea Selatan dan Indonesia memiliki kebijakan tersendiri untuk mengatasi Krisis Ekonomi 1997. Dengan demikian, untuk memahami proses pengambilan keputusan dalam kebijakan luar negeri, dibutuhkan level of analysis, yaitu menggunakan Teori Idiosinkratik dan Small Theory. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, Penelitian ini menghasilkan pemikiran untuk memahami latar belakang proses kebijakan yang diciptakannya guna mengatasi isu Krisis Ekonomi 1997.

Kata kunci: Krisis Ekonomi, Korea Selatan, Indonesia, Level Analisa

---

## **PENDAHULUAN**

Krisis ekonomi dapat diartikan sebagai suatu keadaan disaat Rakyatnya sudah tidak mempercayai lagi Pemerintahan dari sebuah Negara, terutama dalam masalah finansial (Siswosoemarto, 2013). Krisis ekonomi akan berdampak luas apa bila salah satu negara maju mengalami gangguan ekonomi dan

\* Copyright (c) 2021 **Putri Jasmine Surapati et.al**

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)

Diterima: 7 Februari , 2021; Revisi: 18 Februari, 2021; Disetujui: 21 Maret, 2021

dampak yang terjadi secara meluas dinamakan krisis ekonomi global (Sari & Fakhrudin, 2016). Dampak dari krisis ekonomi yang terjadi di beberapa negara maju seperti Amerika Serikat, memberikan dampak yang besar pada negara-negara Asia yang sedang berkembang. Hal ini berdampak pada terganggunya ekonomi di negara Kawasan Asia karena kehilangan investor asing - yang telah menanamkan uang mereka di '*Asian Economic Miracle Countries*' sejak lama sebelum 1997 (Lindblad, 2015).

Mengenai Krisis Ekonomi ini berdampak pada beberapa negara seperti halnya di Indonesia dan Korea Selatan. Ketika terjadinya Krisis Ekonomi, hal utama yang menyebabkan krisis ini dikarenakan bunga yang harus dibayarkan tidak sebanding dengan peningkatan pendapatan negara akibat terganggu dari krisis ekonomi (Sari & Fakhrudin, 2016). Di Korea Selatan sendiri pada saat mengalami krisis ekonomi sedang dipimpin oleh Kim Dae Jung yang baru saja menjabat sebagai Presiden Korea Selatan ia menggantikan Presiden Kim Young Sam pada tahun 1998 (Kim & Lee, 2011). Pada mulanya Krisis Ekonomi di Korea Selatan terjadi pada November 1997 setelah krisis yang terjadi di Thailand pada Juli 1997. Yang kemudian dialami pada korea melihat dari pertumbuhan ekonomi yang mengalami penurunan yang sangat signifikan dari 5 persen pada 1997 menjadi 6,7 persen pada 1998, hal ini juga berpengaruh pada tingkat pengangguran yang meningkat dari 2,6 persen menjadi 6,8 persen, bahkan mencapai di angka 8 persen (Shin, 2013). Krisis ekonomi yang dialami oleh kedua negara Asia ini, dapat dikatakan sangatlah berbeda terkait penanganan dan pembuatan kebijakan yang dibuat oleh kedua pemimpin negara ini pada saat itu. Selain dari pembuatan kebijakan dan pengambilan keputusan yang berbeda, melihat dari latar belakang dan gaya kepemimpinan antara presiden Soeharto dan Presiden Kim Dae jung pun memiliki perbedaan yang sangat signifikan. Terutama pada cara dan penanganan kedua pemimpin dari kedua negara ini dalam mengatasi krisis ekonomi yang berdampak pada beberapa negara di Asia yang terjadi di tahun 1997.

Mengenai kasus ini tentu saja sangatlah menarik untuk dibahas melihat dari perbedaan penanganan antara kedua pemimpin di negara yang berbeda yang sama-sama memiliki tugas dan tanggung jawab dalam mengatasi krisis ekonomi di negaranya. Namun, belum ada penelitian mengenai perbandingan kedua pemimpin yang memiliki karakter kuat dan memiliki pandangan yang berbeda dalam mengelola ekonomi negara pad krisi ekonomi asia 1997, penelitian terdahulu yang berkaitan dengan penelitian ini lebih banyak meneliti pada kajian – kajian proses implementasi kebijakan (Iriansyah, 2020; Kaloka et al., 2019; Minardi, 2019; Utami, 2018). Pada penelitian ini kami akan membahas mengenai Pengertian Krisis Ekonomi dan Implikasinya dalam Lingkup Regional Maupun Internasional, selain itu Bagaimana pengaruh kepribadian kedua pemimpin yakni Presiden Soeharto dan Presiden Kim Dae Jung melihat dari teori Idiosinkratik dan Small Theory terutama dalam hal pembuatan kebijakan untuk mengatasi krisis moneter di negaranya, dan Kelebihan dan Kekurangan atas kebijakan yang diambil oleh masing-masing pemimpin serta mengenai keberhasilannya dalam penerapan kebijakan tersebut.

## **METODE PENELITIAN**

Metode Penelitian yang digunakan dalam menganalisa terkait dengan perbandingan kebijakan presiden soeharto di indonesia dan kim dae jung di korea selatan dalam mengatasi krisis ekonomi 1997 yang berdasarkan pada small theory dan teori idiosinkratik melalui cara penggabungan kedua jenis penelitian yang berbeda yakni jenis penelitian kualitatif dengan kuantitatif. Creswell mendefinisikan bahwa metode penelitian campuran merupakan pendekatan penelitian dengan menggabungkan kedua jenis penelitian yaitu penelitian kualitatif dengan penelitian kuantitatif (Kim & Lee, 2011). Pada penelitian kebijakan ini menggunakan teknik kualitatif dan kuantitatif. Yang dimana penggunaan teknik kualitatif digunakan saat studi pendahuluan, landasan teori maupun dalam segi pembahasan. Terkait Teknik

Kuantitatif digunakan pada pendahuluan dan pembahasan, melihat banyaknya data-data yang tidak cukup jika hanya dijelaskan melalui Teknik kualitatif. Data yang diperoleh melalui berbagai situs dan jurnal pun merupakan data yang berbentuk kualitatif dan kuantitatif yang didapatkan melalui beberapa sumber.

## HASIL DAN DISKUSI

### Hasil

Small Theory merupakan teori yang berada di level mikro dan dapat diaplikasikan secara konseptual. Hudson & Day (2019), evolusi proses pembuatan kebijakan luar negeri memiliki perhatian tersendiri, salah satunya adalah pada level pembuatan keputusan pemimpin negara. Krisis Ekonomi 1997 merupakan suatu fenomena ekonomi politik di Asia yang fantastis, terutama di Korea Selatan dan Indonesia. Dalam disertasi berjudul “Demokratisasi Krisis 1997”, Kim Dae Jung (pemerintahan Korea Selatan) menggunakan restrukturisasi sistem (*Chaebol*) – promosi fleksibilitas pasar sumber daya manusia, liberalisasi pasar domestic, dan daya tarik bagi investasi. Sedangkan Soeharto (pemerintahan Indonesia) menerapkan sistem patronase dan program reformasi struktural dalam menangani Krisis Ekonomi 1997. Dengan demikian, untuk memahami proses pengambilan keputusan dalam kebijakan luar negeri, dibutuhkan *level of analysis* sehingga implikasi suatu rumusan dapat menjadi lebih dipahami. Variable teori tersebut mencakup nilai-nilai pengalaman dan karakteristik yang dipengaruhi oleh persepsi, kalkulasi, dan pilihan lainnya atau teori tersebut berkaitan dengan psikologis dan prediksi (Rosenau, 2006). Kegiatan tersebut sama hal dengannya *Elite Perception*. David Barber menggambarkan sebuah tipologi karakter kepala negara dengan tujuan untuk memahami pola *psychobiography* dapat dilihat pada tabel 1.

Tabel 1 . Tipologi Karakter Kepala Negara

<i>Berapa Banyak Energi yang Diinvestasikan Seorang Presiden?</i>		
	<i>Positif</i>	<i>Negatif</i>
<i>Aktif</i>	Harga diri tinggi, sangat ingin mencapai hasil, mengarahkan banyak energi ke arah pencapaian, terbuka terhadap ide-ide baru, fleksibel, dan mampu belajar dari kesalahan.	Bertujuan untuk mendapatkan dan mempertahankan kekuasaan, ambisius, kurang manajemen emosi, dan agresif.
<i>Pasif</i>	Individu, cenderung kurang terlibat secara pribadi dalam perumusan dan pembuatan kebijakan	Harga diri rendah, kurangnya pengalaman dan fleksibilitas, prinsip yang tidak jelas, dan tipe yang menarik diri.

**Sumber:** Cottam *et al* (Cottam et al., 2010)

Karakter individu merupakan sumber penting bagi kepala negara untuk mengambil keputusan kebijakannya. Menurut Preston, pengambilan keputusan kebijakan luar negeri selalu berdasarkan karakter, kemampuan (pengalaman), dan sensitivitas terhadap konteks. Dengan berfokus pada teori Idiosinkratik, Kim Dae Jung dan Soeharto memiliki perbedaan signifikan dalam pengambilan keputusan kebijakan fenomena Krisis Ekonomi 1997. Teori Idiosinkratik juga mampu memberikan penjelasan mengapa kebijakan-kebijakan yang dikeluarkan oleh pemerintah Korea Selatan lebih cepat menyelesaikan Krisis Ekonomi 1997 dibandingkan Indonesia. Dalam buku *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making* karya (Mintz & DeRouen Jr (2010), menjabarkan tiga indikator model analisa Idiosinkratik, antara lain:

### **Kepribadian Pemimpin (*Leader's Personality*)**

Menyatakan bahwa kepribadian seseorang merupakan integrasi teknik yang berpola regulasi emosional, persepsi, penilaian, dan tujuan. Kepribadian seseorang dapat diukur melalui tingkat energi, neurosis, gender, ras, budaya, etnis, dan motif lainnya (Skeem et al., 2011).

### **Gaya Kepemimpinan (*Leadership Style*)**

Gaya kepemimpinan merupakan salah satu ukuran analisa mengapa tindakan alternatif seorang pemimpin yang digunakan. Alex Mintz (Mintz & DeRouen Jr, 2010) menjabarkan berbagai macam gaya kepemimpinan, yaitu:

1. **Goal Driven vs Context Driven**, Goal Driven merupakan gaya yang cenderung menentang kendala yang akan dihadapinya dalam mengambil sebuah keputusan. Gaya tersebut memperlihatkan gaya pemimpin yang tidak peduli dengan situasi yang long-term dan tidak transparansi terhadap informasi baru. Sedangkan Context Driven merupakan keterbalikan dari gaya Goal Driven, yaitu selalu memperhatikan situasi jangka panjang dengan keaktifan dalam mencari informasi baru.
2. **Task Oriented vs Context Oriented Task Oriented**, merupakan gaya kepemimpinan yang keras dan pasti terhadap ideology mereka. Sedangkan Context Oriented merupakan gaya kepemimpinan yang kurang memperhatikan hingga membutuhkan koalisi internasional atau domestic secara luas sebelum mengambil tindakan.

### **Tipe Pemimpin (*Leadership Type*)**

Setiap individu memiliki tipe yang berbeda. Perbedaan tipe mampu melahirkan kualitas kebijakan yang berbeda. Alex Mintz menjabarkan pula tipe-tipe pemimpin di dunia, yakni:

1. **Crusader**, Merupakan salah satu tipe pemimpin yang tertutup akan informasi baru dan menantang adanya batasan politik. Tipe crusader memiliki 2 jenis, yaitu: expansionist dan evangelist. Expansionist merupakan tipe pemimpin yang memiliki keinginan besar dalam control kekuasaan dan memiliki kemampuan rendah dalam memilih alternatif solusi. Sedangkan evangelist cenderung membawa hubungan yang nyaman dan berpengaruh dalam solusi.
2. **Strategic**, Merupakan salah satu tipe pemimpin yang memahami keinginannya dalam mencari informasi guna mencapai tujuan tersendiri. Pemimpin yang memiliki tipe strategic memiliki keberanian namun tetap berhati-hati dalam mewujudkan suatu keputusan (penuh pertimbangan).
3. **Pragmatic**, Merupakan tipe pemimpin yang memiliki jiwa menghargai yang tinggi dalam situasi yang sedang dihadapi. Namun tipe ini memiliki kekurangan dengan adanya informasi.
4. **Directive dan Consultative**, Merupakan tipe pemimpin yang mampu berfokus pada suatu isu ketika dihadapkan secara langsung dengan tantangan politik serta berhati-hati dalam melacak posisi elit lainnya.
5. **Reactive dan Accommodative**, Merupakan tipe pemimpin yang cenderung termotivasi bijaksana dalam setiap pengambilan keputusan kebijakan luar negeri. Motif ini dilakukan secara konstituensi agar sesuai dengan pertimbangan pilihan yang mampu memenuhi syarat politik. Selain bijaksana, tipe tersebut juga memiliki sikap bridge-builders dimana mereka akan selalu mencoba berusaha dalam menciptakan consensus, meningkatkan akuntabilitas, dan reputasi.

6. **Incremental**, Merupakan salah satu tipe yang mempunyai jiwa menantang dalam suatu masalah dan memiliki transparansi dan terbuka dalam informasi.
7. **Charismatic**, Merupakan tipe yang menciptakan hubungan terbuka dalam informasi juga memiliki motivasi untuk mendorong orang lain agar dapat bertindak dalam kendala-kendala yang menantang.

### **Krisis Ekonomi di Indonesia pada tahun 1997**

Krisis ekonomi merupakan sebuah keadaan dimana kondisi perekonomian suatu negara mengalami penurunan secara drastis yang biasanya dipicu oleh kondisi fundamental negara yang rapuh, seperti terjadi inflasi yang tinggi dan pertumbuhan ekonomi yang tidak berjalan dengan lancar. Negara bisa mengalami sebuah krisis ekonomi dikarenakan tidak adanya kemampuan untuk membayar beban utang luar negeri karena beban utang tersebut melebihi kemampuan membayar negara, adanya neraca pembayaran dengan jumlah yang besar dan kondisinya tidak terkontrol serta investasi yang tidak efisien. Krisis ekonomi merupakan suatu keadaan dimana adanya rasa tergemuk di suatu negara pada sistem yang menjadi penyebab terjadinya depresiasi di negara tersebut tepatnya depresiasi pada perangkat perekonomian, yang mencakup nilai aset ataupun harga (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

Tahun 1997 merupakan tahun yang kelam bagi sebagian negara di Asia. Pada tahun 1997 sebagian negara di Asia mengalami sebuah krisis ekonomi tepatnya pada tanggal 2 Juli yang bermula dari Thailand yang mempunyai beban utang luar negeri yang sangat besar lalu memutuskan untuk mengambang mata uangnya yaitu Baht. Thailand mengamankan cadangan devisanya dari spekulasi mata uang dan membangkitkan pendapatan di bidang ekspor dengan cara mengambang mata uangnya, yaitu Baht (MacIntyre, 2018). Tindakan yang diambil dan dilakukan oleh pemerintah Thailand tersebut tidak berjalan dengan baik dan mengalami kegagalan, hal ini pun memberikan dampak terhadap perekonomian di negara Asia.

Banyak negara yang mengalami dampak besar terutama negara yang terletak di Asia Tenggara serta negara di Asia yang tergabung di dalam Asian Economic Miracle Countries (Pirie, 2012; Stubbs, 2017). Negara – negara tersebut di antaranya adalah Thailand, Indonesia, Korea Selatan, dan Malaysia. Saat krisis ekonomi ini terjadi, banyak pihak yang memprediksi bahwa kondisi dan stabilitas perekonomian Indonesia akan tetap stabil, aman dan baik – baik saja serta tidak akan bernasib sama dengan negara – negara lainnya di Asia yang dilanda krisis ekonomi. Hal ini dikarenakan sudah ada penggambaran akan kondisi perekonomian Indonesia pada tahun sebelum krisis ekonomi terjadi sebagai negara yang memiliki pertumbuhan ekonomi yang baik. Tetapi prediksi tersebut salah, Indonesia juga turut terkena dampak krisis ekonomi tersebut dan mengalami krisis ekonomi yang mempunyai imbas sangat besar terhadap kondisi dan stabilitas perekonomian Indonesia.

Indonesia merupakan salah satu negara di Asia Tenggara yang merasakan efek dari krisis ekonomi Asia 1997. Indonesia merupakan negara yang terletak di Asia Tenggara dan sekaligus tergabung di dalam Asian Economic Miracle Countries. Keadaan perekonomian Indonesia pada tahun 1996 sedang berada di puncak perekonomian dimana indikator kemakmuran seperti pertumbuhan ekonomi yang baik, laju inflasi yang baik dan terkendali, berkurangnya kemiskinan, dan meningkatnya cadangan devisa. Pada tahun 1997, Indonesia mulai merasakan dampak atas Krisis Asia. Ketidakstabilan nilai mata uang yang terjadi di Asia Tenggara menyebabkan adanya penarikan dana oleh para manajer keuangan internasional. Depresiasi yang sangat besar terhadap rupiah terjadi pada Juli hingga Desember 1997. Kajian Bank Dunia “Indonesia in Crisis, A Macroeconomic Update” yang terbit pada Juli 1998 menjelaskan bahwa terdapat kemerosotan nilai rupiah terhadap dolar AS pada bulan Juli sebesar 10,7%, bulan Agustus sebesar 25,7%,

bulan September sebesar 39,8%, bulan Oktober dan November sebesar 55,6% dan bulan Desember sebesar 109,6%.

## **Diskusi**

### **Kebijakan Soeharto dalam menangani krisis moneter pada tahun 1997**

Pada saat krisis terjadi, Indonesia berada di bawah kepemimpinan Presiden Soeharto. Di bawah kepemimpinannya, Indonesia mengeluarkan beberapa kebijakan untuk menangani krisis ekonomi yang terjadi, yaitu kebijakan untuk melakukan penghematan devisa, BI mengurangi pembelian dollar AS, proyek – proyek besar ditunda, dan suku bunga BI dinaikkan (Desmiza, 2015). Rencana tersebut membuat biaya modal semakin meningkat dan mahal, lalu Indonesia terpaksa mengandalkan bantuan dari IMF. Dikarenakan hal ini, rezim Orde Baru dianggap takluk oleh gejolak perekonomian yang telah terjadi. Bantuan yang dipinjam sebesar 23,53 miliar dollar AS. IMF menyarankan 4 program untuk reformasi ekonomi, yaitu kebijakan fiskal, kebijakan moneter, penyesuaian struktural, dan penyehatan sektor keuangan. IMF memberikan saran kepada Indonesia untuk melakukan sebuah restrukturisasi dalam sektor keuangan yang dilakukan melalui program restrukturisasi bank serta Indonesia disarankan untuk melakukan pengawasan dan memperkuat aspek hukum untuk perbankan (Adiyudha, 2020).

Berdasarkan teori idiosinkratik, Presiden Soeharto dikenal dengan gaya kepemimpinannya yang otoriter. Presiden Soeharto dalam gaya kepemimpinannya mengedepankan pembangunan dan stabilitas negara. Keadaan hidup Presiden Soeharto saat masih kecil ialah prihatin. Hal ini lah yang membuat Presiden Soeharto memiliki kepribadian yang unggul. Presiden Soeharto selalu ramah, tersenyum dan bersikap ramah baik kepada kawan maupun lawan. Presiden Soeharto menganut 3 prinsip dalam hidupnya yaitu aja gumunan (jangan suka keheranan), aja kagetan (jangan suka terkejut), dan aja dumeh (jangan mentang – mentang). Berkat prinsip yang dianut oleh Presiden Soeharto ini, saat masa kepemimpinannya Indonesia disegani oleh negara asing dan pertumbuhan ekonomi Indonesia membaik. Kepribadian Presiden Soeharto ini membuat ia disegani oleh banyak orang. Presiden Soeharto tidak banyak bicara tetap disegani dan Indonesia juga ikut disegani. Dalam mengambil keputusan untuk menangani krisis ekonomi yang melanda Indonesia, Presiden Soeharto tetap teguh dengan prinsip dan kepribadiannya sehingga saat diminta mundur dari jabatan kursi presiden pun akibat krisis ekonomi yang semakin parah serta tuntutan dan desakan dari masyarakat, ia bersedia mundur karena memang rakyat sudah tidak menghendaki serta tidak akan menggunakan kekuatan senjata untuk mempertahankan kedudukannya.

Jika mengacu pada Small Theory, Presiden Soeharto merupakan pemimpin yang dalam proses kebijakannya menganut dua model. Dua model tersebut yaitu aktif – positif dan aktif – negatif. Presiden Soeharto merupakan pemimpin yang aktif dalam membuat kebijakan dan menanggulangi serta menyelesaikan permasalahan yang ada. Presiden Soeharto memiliki dua sisi dalam keaktifan tindakannya, yaitu positif dan negatif. Dalam menangani krisis ekonomi di Indonesia yang terjadi akibat dari dampak krisis Asia, Presiden Soeharto cenderung lebih aktif – negatif. Hal ini dikarenakan walaupun sistem perbankan dan perekonomian di Indonesia diperbaiki, krisis ekonomi yang melanda Indonesia akan tetap meluas karena akar permasalahan dari krisis ekonomi yang terjadi di Indonesia pada tahun 1997 – 1998 bukan hanya pada sektor perbankan. Hal ini dikarenakan pada saat itu negara Indonesia merupakan sebuah negara demokrasi tetapi menganut sistem otoritarian. Presiden Soeharto juga memanfaatkan kondisi perekonomian Indonesia untuk melakukan Kolusi, Korupsi, dan Nepotisme (KKN). Di tengah krisis ekonomi yang melanda di Indonesia, Presiden Soeharto memecat Gubernur Bank Indonesia yaitu

Soedradjad Djiwandono. Sampai sekarang belum ada alasan jelas mengapa Soedradjad Djiwandono dipecat. Hal ini kemudian yang menyebabkan rezim dan kepemimpinan Presiden Soeharto lengser. Presiden Soeharto lalu mengundurkan diri dari jabatannya sebagai Presiden Republik Indonesia atas desakan dan tuntutan dari masyarakat. Kepemimpinan Presiden Soeharto kemudian digantikan dan dilanjutkan oleh Wakil Presidennya yaitu B.J. Habibie.

Krisis ekonomi pada tahun 1997 – 1998 yang melanda Indonesia sangat memberikan dampak yang kurang baik. Dampak dari krisis ekonomi ini yaitu PHK, harga barang mengalami kenaikan, utang luar negeri meningkat, investasi menurun, biaya sekolah keluar negeri menjadi mahal, harga BBM naik, dan sebagainya. Angka kemiskinan jumlahnya mengalami peningkatan akibat krisis ekonomi ini. Diperkirakan pada Oktober 1998 angka kemiskinan menjadi 7,5 juta. Hal ini diakibatkan banyaknya PHK dan inflasi tinggi.

### **Kebijakan Kim Dae Jung dalam Krisis Moneter tahun 1997 di Korea Selatan**

Selain Indonesia, beberapa negara lainnya juga ikut serta merasakan efek dari adanya krisis ekonomi pada tahun 1997 tersebut. Salah satu dari beberapa negara tersebut adalah negara Korea Selatan. Saat terjadi krisis moneter tahun 1997 tersebut, Korea Selatan menjadi salah satu negara yang mendapatkan pinjaman dana dari *International Monetary Fund* (IMF). Pinjaman yang diterima IMF kepada Korea Selatan tersebut sebesar US\$40 miliar. Meskipun Korea Selatan merupakan negara yang mandiri, akan tetapi krisis moneter tersebut berakibat pada kemunduran ekonomi yang cukup signifikan. Seperti yang dapat kita jadikan contoh yaitu ketika perusahaan otomotif KIA Motors mengalami jatuhnya pasar saham dan mengalami kerugian yang besar. Hal tersebut mendorong Korea Selatan untuk melakukan penyesuaian terhadap kebijakan pasar, finansial, dan perdagangan. Maka dari itu, keberadaan serta peran IMF tersebut dinilai sangat membantu negara-negara yang sedang mengalami krisis moneter di Asia. Hal itulah yang ditandai dengan bangkitnya perekonomian Korea Selatan yang lebih cepat dari negara-negara Asia lainnya (Kaloka et al., 2019).

Korea Selatan saat krisis ekonomi tersebut, sedang dalam pemerintahan Kim Dae Jung mengambil kebijakan untuk mengatasi krisis ekonomi tahun 1997 dengan merestrukturisasi kondisi perekonomian Korea Selatan, yang dimana selain menggunakan bantuan dana dari IMF, juga menggunakan dana dari *World Bank* serta negara-negara maju lainnya, seperti Amerika Serikat dan Jepang. Kebijakan selanjutnya yang dilakukan oleh pemerintahan Kim Dae Jung yaitu meminimalisir intervensi pemerintah terhadap pasar, melalui deregulasi ekonomi, privatisasi ekonomi, serta liberalisasi pasar modal melalui serangkaian kebijakan restrukturisasi dan reformasi di sektor korporasi, finansial, tenaga kerja dan publik, yang dimana serangkaian kebijakan tersebut menimbulkan implikasi terhadap pergeseran pola *state oriented* menjadi pola *market oriented* (NI'MAH & Winarno, 2007).

Berdasarkan teori idiosinkratik, gaya kepemimpinan pemerintahan Kim Dae Jung sangat dikenal sebagai tokoh besar Korea Selatan yang memperjuangkan demokrasi. Sehingga, sebagai mantan anggota parlemen pro-demokrasi, Kim Dae Jung terkenal dengan reputasinya sebagai pejuang Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM) dan demokrasi. Bahkan di USA, Kim Dae Jung mendirikan *The Korean Institute for Human Right*. Kegigihan pemerintahan Kim Dae Jung dalam memperjuangkan demokratisme tersebut, berhasil membawanya untuk mendapatkan julukan Indingcho (Si Rambut Teki) yang tahan banting (Merdeka.com, 2020).

Kim Dae Jung sebagai presiden baru Korea Selatan tahun 1998, dikenal sebagai sosok yang memiliki reputasi sangat baik di luar negeri terutama di Jepang dan Amerika Serikat yang disebabkan pro terhadap demokrasi dan beberapa kebijakan yang anti otoriter (Hidayati, 2015). Sehingga dilihat dari gaya



kepemimpinannya yang demokrasi tersebut, dalam menangani krisis ekonomi itu yang telah dijelaskan bahwa Korea Selatan menerapkan *market oriented*, pasca krisis ekonomi 1997 pemerintahan Kim Dae Jung masih tetap mempertahankan *model development state*, sebab pada kenyataannya *model development state* masih memiliki sisi positif dalam pembangunan perekonomian Korea Selatan, hanya saja perlu dilakukan sedikit perubahan terhadap peran negara yang lebih transparan dan demokratis untuk memulihkan perekonomian nasionalnya (NI'MAH & Winarno, 2007). Kim Dae Jung juga berpendapat bahwa intervensi yang berlebihan dalam perekonomian telah mengakibatkan kesulitan ekonomi (Kaloka et al., 2019).

Jika ditinjau dari *small theory*, pemerintahan Kim Dae Jung menganut model aktif-positif dalam menangani krisis ekonomi tahun 1997 yang dimana pemerintah Kim Dae Jung berusaha membedakan dirinya dengan pemerintahan sebelumnya dengan menyatakan bahwa mereka mencoba membantu ekonomi pasar melalui kelembagaan dan hukum. Selain itu, masyarakat Korea Selatan juga memiliki peranan yang sangat penting dalam upaya menangani krisis moneter di Asia tahun 1997. Saat krisis melanda, Kim Dae Jung juga turut meminta bantuan masyarakatnya menggalang kampanye untuk mencari dana dan meminjamkan harta yang mereka miliki untuk membangun kembali Korea Selatan dari krisis yang dialami saat itu. Maka dilihat dari strategi yang ditekankan oleh Kim Dae Jung tersebut berhasil, dikarenakan masyarakat menyerahkan segala yang mereka punya demi satu kesatuan kepentingan bersama. Semua penduduk Korea Selatan merasakan penderitaan yang sama dan dalam mengatasi hal tersebut, mereka bekerja sama dengan tulus dan mempercayakan segalanya kepada pemerintah (Widarjono, 2016). Oleh sebab itu, dari penerapan semua kebijakan dibawah kepemimpinan Kim Dae Jung, hasil akhirnya yaitu kemampuan dalam mengatasi krisis ekonomi tahun 1997 yang ditunjukkan dengan meningkatnya GDP dan GNP secara signifikan pada tahun 1999, serta mampu menstabilkan kembali perekonomian Korea Selatan. Sampai saat ini, Korea Selatan berhasil menjadi salah satu negara dengan ekonomi maju di kawasan Asia (NI'MAH & Winarno, 2007).

Sebelum krisis ekonomi terjadi tepatnya pada tanggal 11 Oktober 1996, Korea Selatan dikategorikan sebagai negara maju dan menjadi anggota Organisasi untuk Kerjasama Ekonomi dan Pembangunan-OECD. Namun satu tahun kemudian, krisis moneter tahun 1997 tersebut yang melanda banyak perusahaan menjadi tidak memiliki kemampuan membayar hutang usaha, Hanbo Iron & Steel' menjadi bangkrut akibat obligasi yang tidak ada harganya sebesar 5 triliun 700 miliar won, terdapat korupsi yang melibatkan dunia politik dan keuangan. Akibat buruknya kinerja ekonomi Korea Selatan, para investor asing kehilangan minat pada pasar Korea Selatan dan meninggalkan pasar saham, sehingga harga saham kolaps serta nilai tukar mata uang won terhadap dolar Amerika juga ikut anjlok (KBS World Radio, 2015).

## **SIMPULAN**

Negara bisa mengalami sebuah krisis ekonomi dikarenakan tidak adanya kemampuan untuk membayar beban utang luar negeri karena beban utang tersebut melebihi kemampuan membayar negara, adanya neraca pembayaran dengan jumlah yang besar dan kondisinya tidak terkontrol serta investasi yang tidak efisien. Krisis Ekonomi ini berdampak pada beberapa negara seperti halnya di Indonesia dan Korea Selatan. Pada saat krisis terjadi, Indonesia berada di bawah kepemimpinan Presiden Soeharto. Di bawah kepemimpinannya, Indonesia mengeluarkan beberapa kebijakan untuk menangani krisis ekonomi yang terjadi, yaitu kebijakan untuk melakukan penghematan devisa, BI mengurangi pembelian dollar AS, proyek – proyek besar ditunda, dan suku bunga BI dinaikkan. Rencana tersebut membuat biaya modal semakin meningkat dan mahal, lalu Indonesia terpaksa mengandalkan bantuan dari IMF. Korea Selatan

saat krisis ekonomi tersebut, sedang dalam pemerintahan Kim Dae Jung mengambil kebijakan untuk mengatasi krisis ekonomi tahun 1997 dengan merestrukturisasi kondisi ekonomi, Bantuan dana IMF, menggunakan dana dari *World Bank*. Kedua Pemimpin memiliki karakteristik masing – masing dengan berbagai keputusan dengan latar belakang yang menarik.

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adiyudha, R. (2020). *Mengenang Mei 1998: Krisis Moneter Pemicu Orde Baru Lengser*. <https://republika.co.id/berita/qa71r3282/mengenang-mei-1998-krisis-moneter-pemicu-orde-baru-lengser>
- CNN Indonesia. (2020). *Memahami Beda Resesi dan Krisis Ekonomi*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20201104175037-532-565968/memahami-beda-resesi-dan-krisis-ekonomi>
- Cottam, M. L., Dietz-Uhler, B., Mastors, E., & Preston, T. (2010). Cognition, Social Identity, Emotions, and Attitudes in Political Psychology. *Introduction to Political Psychology*, 76–126.
- Desmiza, D. (2015). Penerapan Peraturan Bank Indonesia no 16/20/Pbi/2014 tentang Transaksi Lindung Nilai (Hedging) Sebagai Instrumen Manajemen Risiko dalam Kebijakan Utang Korporasi Nonbank. *Jurnal Manajemen Dan Bisnis (Performa)*, 12(1), 17–41.
- Hidayati, V. P. (2015). *Pengaruh Karakteristik Pemimpin Korea Selatan Terhadap Implementasi Sunshine Policy Tahun 1998-2010*. UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA.
- Hudson, V. M., & Day, B. S. (2019). *Foreign policy analysis: classic and contemporary theory*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Iriansyah, H. S. (2020). Krisis Asia, Kapitalisme dan Negara Kesejahteraan (Tinjauan Analisis Kapitalisme Korea Selatan). *Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan (JIP) STKIP Kusuma Negara*, 12(1), 53–60.
- Kaloka, Y. N., Tegar, P., & Eldy, M. (2019). Strategi Korea Selatan dalam Pemulihan Krisis Moneter Tahun 1997 Melalui IMF. *Nation State Journal of International Studies*, 2(1), 44–56.
- KBS World Radio. (2015). *Meloncat dengan Mengatasi Krisis Ekonomi*. [http://world.kbs.co.kr/service/contents\\_view.htm?lang=i&menu\\_cate=history&id=&board\\_seq=3846&page=6&board\\_code=](http://world.kbs.co.kr/service/contents_view.htm?lang=i&menu_cate=history&id=&board_seq=3846&page=6&board_code=)
- Kim, S., & Lee, G. (2011). When security met politics: desecuritization of North Korean threats by South Korea's Kim Dae-jung government. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 11(1), 25–55.
- Lindblad, J. T. (2015). Foreign direct investment in Indonesia: Fifty years of discourse. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 51(2), 217–237.
- MacIntyre, A. (2018). *7. Political Institutions and the Economic Crisis in Thailand and Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.
- Merdeka.com. (2020). *Profile Kim Dae Jung*. <https://m.merdeka.com/dae-jung-kim/profil/>
- Minardi, A. (2019). Kebangkitan Korea Selatan Pasca Krisis Ekonomi dan Kontribusinya Terhadap Indonesia. *Korean Studies In Indonesia*, 1(2), 12–18.
- Mintz, A., & DeRouen Jr, K. (2010). *Understanding foreign policy decision making*. Cambridge University Press.
- NI'MAH, U., & Winarno, B. (2007). *Kebijakan Kim Dae Jung dalam mengatasi krisis ekonomi 1997*. [Yogyakarta]: Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Pirie, I. (2012). A comparative analysis of the impact of the 1997 Asian crisis and the contemporary global economic crisis on the Korean political economy. *Contemporary Politics*, 18(4), 416–433.
- Rosenau, J. N. (2006). *The Study of World Politics: volume 1: theoretical and methodological challenges*. Routledge.

- Sari, P. K., & Fakhruddin, F. (2016). Identifikasi Penyebab Krisis Moneter dan Kebijakan Bank Sentral di Indonesia: Kasus Krisis Tahun (1997-1998 dan 2008). *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Ekonomi Pembangunan*, 1(2), 377–388.
- Shin, K.-Y. (2013). Economic crisis, neoliberal reforms, and the rise of precarious work in South Korea. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(3), 335–353.
- Siswosoemarto, R. (2013). *Intelijen Ekonomi*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Skeem, J. L., Polaschek, D. L. L., Patrick, C. J., & Lilienfeld, S. O. (2011). Psychopathic personality: Bridging the gap between scientific evidence and public policy. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 12(3), 95–162.
- Stubbs, R. (2017). *Rethinking Asia's economic miracle: The political economy of war, prosperity and crisis*. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Utami, A. T. (2018). Efisiensi Pasar Bentuk Lemah Pada Pasar Modal Indonesia, Malaysia dan Korea Selatan Periode Krisis Ekonomi Global 2008. *Jurnal Inspirasi Bisnis Dan Manajemen*, 2(2), 101–116.
- Widarjono, A. (2016). Evaluasi Kritis Kinerja IMF dalam Krisis Asia. *UNISIA*, 50, 343–352.

## **Assessing the Role of Women in Countering Radicalism: an Islamic Perspective**

**Hudzaifah Achmad Qotadah<sup>1</sup> Adang Darmawan Achmad<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

<sup>2</sup>Universitas Muhammadiyah Cirebon, Jawa Barat, Indonesia

\*Corresponding Author E-mail: [hudzaifahachmad47@gmail.com](mailto:hudzaifahachmad47@gmail.com)

### **Abstract**

Radicalism can lead to acts of terrorism that damaging feelings of safety and stability for many other entities and affecting all parts, whether soul, properties, and many more. In this research, the researcher uses a full qualitative method and documentation related to the topic of this research, which then will be analyzed descriptively. The main aim of this paper is to analyze the role of women based on the Islamic perspective regarding countering radicalism. The result found that another strategy to battle radicalism or spreading extremism is by the role and dedication of women in which women (mother) has become a landmark throughout family life to shape their children personality and mindset which enable them to remain mostly in the right direction as well as preventing radicalism and ideology that could turn to acts of violence.

Keywords: Assessing, Women, Countering, Radicalism

### **Abstrak**

Radikalisme dapat berujung pada aksi terorisme, berakibat merusak rasa aman dan stabilitas bagi banyak entitas lain dan mempengaruhi semua bagian, baik jiwa, harta benda, dan banyak lagi. Dalam penelitian ini peneliti menggunakan metode kualitatif penuh dan dokumentasi yang berkaitan dengan topik penelitian yang kemudian akan dianalisis secara deskriptif. Adapun tujuan utama dari artikel ini adalah untuk menganalisis peran perempuan berdasarkan perspektif Islam dalam melawan radikalisme. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa strategi lain untuk memerangi radikalisme atau menyebarkan ekstremisme adalah dengan peran dan dedikasi seorang wanita di mana perempuan utamanya seorang ibu telah menjadi landmark terhadap kehidupan keluarga sehingga dapat membentuk kepribadian dan pola pikir anak-anak mereka yang memungkinkan mereka untuk tetap bertahan dan berada pada arah yang benar sehingga akhirnya dapat mencegah radikalisme dan ideologi yang menyimpang yang bisa mengarah pada tindak kekerasan.

Kata Kunci: Penilaian, Wanita, Melawan, Radikalisme

---

## **INTRODUCTION**

Nowadays, the peaceful, secure, orderly, and harmonious atmosphere of its nation seems threatened by the birth of acts of radicalism and terrorism (Syam et al., 2020). Terrorist attacks that have also happened previously within Indonesia began mostly with the implementation of the doctrines of radicalism, whereby the doctrines contribute to radical cultural and ideological revolution or reconstruction, even by the use of radical and violent approaches (Masyhar & Arifin, 2018).

Radicalism and terrorism are phenomena in state and national existence, it involves connections between both the state and the citizens itself, either in the landscape of the nation or the state. Throughout the modern age, radicalism incorporates local networks and multinational organizations and networks (Abdullah, 2016). Numerous attempts are therefore being considered to avoid, eliminate or defeat radicalism. These efforts are made by involving multiple communities, along with the women's role

\* Copyright (c) 2021 **Hudzaifah Achmad Qotadah, Adang Darmawan Achmad**

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)

Received: February 22, 2021; In Revised: April 7, 2021; Accepted: April 13, 2021

through solving the challenges regarding radicalism and terrorism. It was because the involvement and women's participation in carrying out these efforts cannot be refuted, since women have become the nearest person among their families for shaping the behavior, beliefs, thinking, and perception among relatives.

The problem of radicalism and violence however has always been a hot topic of discussion, where even the topic has not disappeared till now (Rodin, 2016). Several previous studies such as Widodo & Galang (2019) researching the role of youth in fighting terrorism, Ghazli (2018) making policies to stop the movement of terrorism and Cherney & Murphy (2019) study the beliefs held by terrorist actors, However, this research differs from other research since it will explain further the involvement of women in terms of terrorism activities including some statistical data in Indonesia in the recent year.

## RESEARCH METHOD

The authors use a qualitative method which is frequently employed as the basis of research assumptions in the fields of Shari'a, social sciences, and humanities. Qualitative research is aimed at knowledge construction through the discovery and understanding of situations, both textually and contextually. Qualitative research seeks to investigate a social phenomenon arising from the cause of a case, including values and norms of society, and even problems that arise within human life. Using the qualitative method, the authors try to make a constructive, complex, detailed report, analyzing the word from the perspective of several respondents and exploratory studies on natural situations (Rukin, 2019).

Scientific research categorized as library research plays a crucial role in the entire set of research methodologies. Literature research has several objectives, such as: linking research with various existing literature that fits the research theme, informing the audience about the results of the other research conducted at the same time with similar topics, and filling the gaps of previous studies (Cresswell, 2016). In relation to the ongoing research "Assessing The Role of Women in Countering Radicalism: an Islamic Perspective)", the writer uses the literature method, and this discussion is expected to become a more constructive discipline study than previous study or research.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Result

#### Position of Women Before and After Islam

Women were mocked well before the arrival of Islam. For instance, in Athens, the status of Athenian women was always seen as inferior, where they would have to serve to man. Historians identify Roman women as infants, inferior beings, and someone who cannot accomplish anything according to their desires, and on and on. This is also common of Quraysh treatment, where every family which gave birth to a baby girl will indeed be executed once she born (Cho Cho & Myat, 2017) as mentioned in the Qur'an:

وَإِذَا بُشِّرَ أَحَدُهُم بِالْأُنثَىٰ ظَلَّ وَجْهُهُ مُسْوَدًّا وَهُوَ كَظِيمٌ يَتَوَارَىٰ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مِنْ سُوءِ مَا  
بُشِّرَ بِهِ أَتَمْسِكُهُ عَلَىٰ هُونٍ أَمْ يَدُسُّهُ فِي التُّرَابِ أَلَا سَاءَ مَا يَحْكُمُونَ

"Whenever one of them is given the good news of a baby girl, his face grows gloomy, as he suppresses his rage. He hides himself from the people because of the bad news he has received.

Should he keep her in disgrace, or bury her alive in the ground? Evil indeed is their judgment.” (Q.S: An-Nahl: 58-59).

At that time women remained powerless and have not been given the appropriate privileges in which they were considered unworthy, and they were not offered the freedom to decide their food and their future. They have no place on side of society where they have been classified as second-class citizens. Moreover, during the time of denial, women have been seen either as an item with no value or as a means of satisfying their desires in a rather form where they sacrificed which were no value whatsoever. This illustrates how well the husband would instead create another gap while his wife gives birth to hide her daughters alive, and protect them from harm and humiliating things for the future or risk of carrying the burden towards life and poverty. In reality, still more facts, as well as examples, prove the women's status before the Islamic era (Mutmainnah, 2018).

In the middle of darkness that already had occurred at that moment, the revelation reverberated throughout the deserts of the land of Arabia with such a prophecy and promising hope across all humankind. Islam is a religion of rahmatan lil alamin, that wants to enhance human behavior and to become guidance among mankind for becoming peaceful and harmonious creatures. The presence of Islam improves the degree and human treatment of women. Allah SWT explains that the nature of the position of women in Islam is the same as men (Irawaty & Darajat, 2019) as He said:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُوا رَبَّكُمُ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا  
رِجَالًا كَثِيرًا وَنِسَاءً وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ الَّذِي تَسَاءَلُونَ بِهِ وَالْأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبًا

“O humanity! Be mindful of your Lord Who created you from a single soul, and from it He created its mate and through both He spread countless men and women. And be mindful of Allah—in Whose Name you appeal to one another—and honour family ties. Surely Allah is ever Watchful over you.” (Q.S: An-Nisa: 1)

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ  
عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

“O humanity! Indeed, We created you from a male and a female, and made you into peoples and tribes so that you may ‘get to’ know one another. Surely the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous among you. Allah is truly All-Knowing, All-Aware.” (Q.S: Al-Hujurat: 13)

Islam also provides concrete evidence that women are truly equal to men before Allah SWT both in terms of rights or obligations such as performing prayers, *zakat*, fasting, pilgrimage, and so forth as mentioned in the Qur’an:

وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ

“I did not create jinn and humans except to worship Me.” (Q.S: Adh-Dhariyat: 56)

إِنِّي لَا أَضِيعُ عَمَلٌ عَمِلَ مِنْكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ أَوْ أُنْثَىٰ بَعْضُكُمْ مِنْ بَعْضٍ

" I will never deny any of you male or female the reward of your deeds. Both are equal in reward." (Q.S: Ali ‘Imran: 195)

Also,

كُلُّ نَفْسٍ بِمَا كَسَبَتْ رَهِينَةٌ

“Every soul will be detained for what it has done.” (Q.S:Al-Muddaththir: 38)

So, with the status and position that has been given to women, Islam has put women into a secured position. The history of Islam shows that women have a large and crucial role. Muslim women in the time of the Prophet Muhammad have contributed greatly to their husbands, families, or Muslims. For example, Saidatuna Khadijah Ummu al-Mu'minin was a source of strength for the Prophet Muhammad in assisting His Majesty's missionary efforts in Mecca when he was confronted with various difficulties or threats from the Quraysh who wanted to kill the Prophet. Likewise, at the beginning of the revelation when Rasulullah PUBH was in anxiety and fear, Khadijah played the role of someone who had calmed him down. At that time too, many of the women who had accompanied Rasulullah PUBH in several major wars that at the time aimed to uphold and defend both his religion, himself, his family, and Muslims (Wan Ahmad & Ismail, 2010).

### **Women and Terrorism in Indonesia**

Women are now being used as perpetrators of the latest form of terrorism. If previous terrorist acts had a masculine face and a patriarchal approach, later terrorist acts used women as perpetrators and a feminine approach. It occurred because some females are easily manipulated, easily trusting information and hoaxes, or somehow easily fall into the trap of terrorism. Terrorism is now carried out not only by men but also by women. In recent years, there has been a pattern of militant or terrorist groups targeting women to take full advantage of women's positions as front-line movers, propagandists, and recruiters (Indriani, 2020).

Elites of various terrorist groups often state that using women should be the last choice in the circumstance of "emergencies," such as a shortage of male fighters. As a result, the participation of women in suicide bombings, which perpetrators typically refer to as *amaliyah* (sacrifice or suicide attack), is not a new issue in Indonesia. The wrong interpretation of religious orders, like jihad, has an effect on the orientation of one's acts, which could also lead to evil both himself and someone else. Similarly, several suicide bombing cases involving women have been covered in the media (Asiyah et al., 2020). According to Huda, he stated that radicalism can influence women to engage in acts of terror because it offers a more meaningful understanding of life (Guritno, 2021).

Radicalism also affects women when a woman does not have much time to do things outside of the home since she is preoccupied with work and marriage. This condition has exposed women to radicalism on the internet in the first place. As a result, many of them are unable to leave their homes and must rely on the internet. Then, from there, a radical understanding is developed, that there is an Islamic State in Syria and that Muslims are obligated to fight jihad to protect their faith. In fact, there have been several terrorist attacks in Indonesia where women have been reported as perpetrators of these acts of terror. Previously, women's participation in terrorist activities in Indonesia was restricted and prohibited. Women, for example, previously played intermediary and childbearing positions within Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) to increase relations and create potential jihadists as ways to increase the number of the parties. Women have also been participating in JI as fundraisers for terrorist acts. Their presence ranges from logistics to funding terrorist attacks (Guritno, 2021).

However, there is a growing number in Indonesia of women actively engaged in terrorist activities. The counterterrorism unit of the Indonesian police (Detachment 88) arrested three women who

were allegedly involved in terrorist activities in December 2016. They planned to bomb the Indonesian State Palace in Jakarta (Indriana, 2018). According to BNPT statistics, the number of female prisoners linked to terrorist acts in Indonesia reached 39 individuals as recently as 2020. Women were recently identified as the perpetrators of two terrorist attacks in Indonesia. The suicide bombing in front of Makassar Cathedral was followed by a shooting at the Jakarta Police Headquarters (Guritno, 2021).

Another factor behind women's radicalization is the desire for salvation, which served as an inspiration for the bombing attempt. One perpetrator claimed that her father had committed a sin and that by doing so, she was assisting her father. She was told that if she carried out a suicide bombing in the name of God, she would be able to save 70 members of her family. Another suicide bomber was looking for redemption for his alcoholism, but he had other motivations as well [Sugg, 2018]. Another critical factor is women's dissatisfaction with their home country. ISIS's ability to manipulate propaganda through various media, especially social media and video games, has persuaded some Muslim women to migrate to its territory in seeking a better life under Daulat Islamiyah (Islamic state). Notably, however, many are disappointed, particularly after seeing and experiencing brutality and unfulfilled promises (Eva & Faried F, 2018)

Even though women are the victims of bombers and the primary players in the terrorist campaign, they are still victims. Victims of husband or family ideology, victims of religious indoctrination, victims of societal stigmatization, victims of the media, and even victims of excess conflict, women are often simply victims of circumstances generated by the patriarchal power elite (Asiyah et al., 2020). As a result, it can be argued that the diverse roles of women in the terrorist movement have recently increased and changed from a passive to an involved and critical actor in promoting and performing terrorist acts. Furthermore, Indonesian counter-terrorism agencies must pay greater attention to the inflammatory threat. Counterterrorism agencies in Indonesia should pay more attention to the growing involvement of women in radical or terror activities and develop a better approach to coping with female jihadists. As a result, there seems to be a clear need for new de-radicalization approaches in Indonesia, including enhancing women's engagement to address these problems effectively.

### Islamic Perspectives Regarding Radicalism

Radical comes from the Latin "*radix*" which means root. It is a belief that intends massive change and reshuffles to achieve progress. In terms it is interpreted as thinking or understanding that is marked by four elements which at once become its trademark, namely, (1) intolerant attitude and do not respect the views or beliefs of other parties, (2) fanatic attitude which gives birth to true feelings towards himself and considers the other party are wrong, (3) an exclusive attitude that distinguishes oneself from the conducts of most people in general (Setiawandari et al., 2021), (4) a revolutionary attitude that tends to use violence to achieve the desired goals (Thaib, 2020).

Yusuf al-Qaradhai defines radicalism with the term *al-Tatarruf ad-Din* which intends to implement religious teachings improperly or to practice religious teachings by taking the position of *tarf* (margins) so that it is far from the substance of Islamic teachings desired by the *Shari'a* (Abdullah, 2016).

Radicalism in religion is like a double-edged knife, where it can have a positive meaning from radicalism, namely the spirit of change towards a better direction or known as *Islah* (improvement) or *tajdid* (renewal). Whereas on the other hand, radicalism becomes dangerous if it reaches the stage of *ghuluw* (over the limit) and also *ifrath* (outrageous) by using violence, or coercion to adherents of other religions (Abdullah, 2016) to actualize the religious beliefs held and believed to be accepted. Thus, it can be



assumed that radicalism is a view or way of thinking of a person whose *radix* is deep down to its roots to achieve certain goals that it wants (Yunus, 2017).

The word Islam cannot be separated from religion because Islam is one of the celestial religions which was revealed through revelation to His Messenger. However, Islam is the only Samawi religion that has preserved its authenticity and purity, where Christianity and Jews are no longer pure and out of their original form as Samawi (Miskahuddin, 2017).

Etymologically, Islam is derived from Arabic, which is from the word *salima*, meaning congratulations. Furthermore, from the word *salima* to be *aslama* means to choose oneself, to obey and abide. So, an individual who has converted to Islam is called a Muslim where he has declared himself obedient, surrendered, and obedient to every teaching and command of Allah SWT as He said:

إِذْ قَالَ لَهُ رَبُّهُ أَسْلِمْنَا قَالَ أَسْلَمْتُ لِرَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

"When his Lord ordered him, "Submit to My Will," he responded, "I submit to the Lord of all worlds." (Q.S: Al-Baqarah: 131)

The terminological definition of Islam as contained in the following hadith Gabriel:

"Then he said: O Muhammad, tell me about Islam?" Then the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) said: Islam is that you testify that there is no God whose right to be worshiped except Allah SWT and Muhammad is His messenger, establish prayers, perform zakat, perform Ramadan fasting, and perform hajj to Baitillah if you can go there" (al-Malik 'Abd al-'Aziz, 2004).

Thus, the meaning of Islam is a religious revelation that contains monotheism or the oneness of God revealed by Allah SWT to His Messenger Muhammad (PBUH) as His last messenger and applies to all mankind, wherever, and whenever, and also His teachings cover all aspects of human life (Miskahuddin, 2017). Islam is a religion that has been guaranteed by Allah SWT for its truth, a religion that always serves His servants to use their minds to understand His words contained in the Qur'an to avoid religious deviations that are distorted and not in harmony with true Islamic teachings. Islam is also a religion that teaches the balance of the world and the hereafter, a religion that does not contradict faith and science (Nur Aksa, 2015).

Islam is also known as the religion of *Rabbaniyah* (divinity), *Insaniyah* (humanity), *Syumuliah* (universal or rahmatan lil alamin), *Waqi'iyah* (contextual), *Wasathiyah* (moderate), and *Aqliyah* (rational) (Baidhowi, 2017) where Islam teaches its people to have *akhlakul al-karimah* such as the main goal in the dispatch of Rasulullah PBUH is to perfect human morals both to repair the relationship between *makhluk* and *khaliq* or the good relationship between *makhluk* and *makhluk* (Habibah, 2015).

However, a person's life journey is inseparable from a problem that is being faced. This certainly can affect the understanding and practice of religion that might lead to understanding of radicalism and terrorism. This is what then raises a question of whether the religion of Islam justifies and allows a person to commit acts of terrorism, while on the other hand, it seems clear that Islam is a religion that brings peace and safety to all people in the world (Baidhowi, 2017).

Acts of terrorism or radicalism that lead to acts of destructive and give birth to terror to other parties are actions that have exceeded the limits both in terms of ideological understanding as well as actions and primarily he has set aside the interests of moral behavior. Often perpetrators of terrorism believe that their actions are part of jihad even if they must get themselves and others killed. This happens because they understand the meaning of jihad in a narrow sense where the notion of jihad is limited to *qital* (warfare) only (Yaakob & Long, 2015).

According to Islamic philosophies such as Ibn Miskawayh states that the cleansing of the human soul must be done to produce quality morals, then conduct jihad in a fair, careful, and Ikhlas manner. However, jihad in question is jihad that focuses on warfare against lust, not jihad that focuses on warfare against weapons. Thus, a culture of ferocity, radicalism, and terrorism is not something that is just to act, but it is a form of cruelty that is not considered as a practice of jihad, is not moral, is not ethical, and is immoral (Yaakob & Long, 2015) based on the al-Qur'an and hadith as follows:

وَأَحْسِنْ كَمَا أَحْسَنَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ وَلَا تَبْغِ الْفَسَادَ فِي الْأَرْضِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُفْسِدِينَ

“And be good 'to others' as Allah has been good to you. Do not seek to spread corruption in the land, for Allah certainly does not like the corruptors.” (QS: al-Qasas: 77).

وَمَنْ يَفْتُلْ مُؤْمِنًا مُتَعَمِّدًا فَجَزَاؤُهُ جَهَنَّمُ خَالِدًا فِيهَا وَغَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَعَنَهُ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُ عَذَابًا عَظِيمًا

“And whoever kills a believer intentionally, their reward will be Hell where they will stay indefinitely. Allah will be displeased with them, condemn them, and will prepare for them a tremendous punishment.” (QS: an-Nisa: 93)

مَنْ قَتَلَ نَفْسًا بِغَيْرِ نَفْسٍ أَوْ فَسَادٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَكَأَنَّمَا قَتَلَ النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا

“whoever takes a life unless as a punishment for murder or mischief in the land—it will be as if they killed all of humanity.” (QS: al-Maidah: 32)

And hadith,

مَنْ قَتَلَ نَفْسَهُ بِشَيْءٍ عُذِّبَ بِهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ

“Whoever kills himself with an instrument, will be punished with it on the Day of Resurrection” [An-Naisaburi, 2003]

عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: الْكِبَائِرُ الْإِشْرَاكُ بِاللَّهِ وَعُقُوقُ الْوَالِدَيْنِ وَقَتْلُ النَّفْسِ وَالْيَمِينُ الْعَمُوسُ

“Messenger of Allah (may Allah's peace and blessings be upon him) said: "The grave major sins are: associating partners with Allah, undutifulness towards the parents, murder, and intentional false oath”.

عن عبد الرحمن بن ابي ليلي قال: حدثنا أصحاب محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم: أنهم كانوا يسيرون مع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فنام رجل منهم فانطلق بعضهم إلى جبل معه فأخذه ففزع فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: لا يحل لمسلم أن يروع مسلما

“Narrated AbdurRahman ibn Abu Layla: The Companions of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH told us that they were travelling with the Prophet PBUH, a man of them slept, and one of them went to the rope which he had with him. He took it, by which he was frightened. The Prophet PBUH said: It is not lawful for a Muslim that he frightens a Muslim” (Dāwud, 2009).

Based on the argument of al-Qur'an and the above hadith, the act of radicalism and terrorism cannot be justified by any reason or proposition. Islam has very firmly forbidden its people to commit violence or damage. So, the misuse of religion for negative purposes is certainly prohibited by Islam because human nature is essential to spread the benefits and to plant goodness on earth because by planting good it will reap good and if it grows bad it will get worse too. Thus it is clear that Islam is a religion that is very far from a culture of violence, radicalism, extremism as well as terrorists (Handoko, 2019) both in the form of suicide bombings or other and for any purpose (Sinaulan, 2016) because such acts are contrary to the teachings of the Qur'an and the actual Sunnah (Hidayatullah, 2016).

## Discussion

### The role of women in preventing the understanding of radicalism

The term terror is not foreign to the Indonesian people where terrorism is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia (Tukina, 2011). Terrorist activities in force today are more dominant towards religious sentiments where some individuals or groups believe that many of the Muslims experience moral and social degradation because of believing in deviant dogmas and religious practices. This then gave rise to various activities of radicalism because some groups felt that many of the Indonesian Muslims had neglected and no longer referred to the sanctity and originality of religious guidance (Azra, 2003).

Various radical events that lead to acts of terrorism such as suicide bombings and others have disturbed the sense of security of people's lives. Especially now, the discourse of intolerance and radical understanding in the name of religion is increasingly widespread and internalized into the circle of society (Pujiyanto, 2020). Therefore, various efforts and efforts made to reduce, prevent, and stem these actions from happening again are no exception by involving women in these efforts (Ruslan, 2015).

Today, women occupy a strategic position where they can be both an inspiration and a motivator to men. Modern women in the current era are also desired to have progressive, active, participatory, educated, global-minded thinking and act locally and care for the problems being faced by society, people, or the state is no exception to the current issues of radicalism and terrorism (Embong 2018).

Women are the first and foremost figure in creating a harmonious family where the glory and safety of the Ummah start from a family itself. A child is a gift and a very big gift from God. Therefore, it has become mandatory for them to maintain, nurture, and educate them so that they become successful human beings in this life and the hereafter. And parents are the main educators and the first in a family has the privilege of planting Aqeedah (Faith) for their children because the core of religion is faith and the essence of religion is faith. Rasulullah PUBH taught that the planting of Aqeedah (Faith) must be done by parents through habituation (Embong, 2018).

Children are creatures that are growing and developing, needing an environment that allows the children to be able to develop various potentials, both physical-biological potential, mental potential intelligence, social potential, or emotional potential. Therefore, a mother is the closest figure who is required to provide stimulation and guidance so that these potentials can be realized normally in a good and right direction (Embong 2018). He said:

وَلْيَخْشَ الَّذِينَ لَوْ تَرَكُوا مِنْ خَلْفِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّةً ضِعْفًا خَافُوا عَلَيْهِمْ فَلْيَتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَلْيَقُولُوا قَوْلًا

سَدِيدًا

"Let the guardians be as concerned for the orphans as they would if they were to die and leave their own helpless children behind. So let them be mindful of Allah and speak equitably." (Q.S: An-Nisa: 9)

Terrorism triggered by radicalism is an extraordinary crime that is capable of damaging and destroying the security of humanity and it must be understood that a person becomes a terrorist not through an instant process, but through the stages of adopting intolerant narratives, radicalism and finally towards terrorism. At the same time, terrorist groups spread propaganda and narratives containing sentiments and hate based on religious differences as part of efforts to radicalize society. And the development of technology at present makes the dissemination of information and narratives even easier to be propagated so that the spread of radicalism does not only apply offline but also scattered in cyberspace (Abdullah, 2016).

However, if it can be balanced with a strong education and religion, acts of radicalism and terrorism will be impossible. However, the success of preventing terrorism is not only confined to the level of government policy, but to a small unit called the family. The main bastion of deterring radical understanding of terrorism is the role of women in the family. The role of women is very strategic in education and literacy towards families, especially their children, to avoid the understanding of violence and terrorism which essentially deviates from the teachings of any religion (Gade, 2012).

A poet, Hafiz Ibrahim stated that :

"*Al-Ummu madrasatul ula, iza a'dadtaha a'dadta sya'ban thayyibal a'raq*" means Mother is the first *madrasa* (School) for her child. If you prepare her well, then the same is true you prepare a good nation [Ulum, 2020].

Therefore, the figure of women (mother) becomes the main and first figure who can instill religious values and shape the character, behavior, and habits of children from an early age (Fernan, 2020). So, it cannot be denied that women's position is very vital in the family. a woman (mother) is the key to kindness and tolerance for her children, namely by providing education and understanding to them about the importance of unity, nationalism, correct religious understanding [Dani, 2020] giving more affection (Sri, 2020) and insight into local wisdom from an early age (Adam, 2020) which finally formed efforts to prevent radicalism and terrorism (Suhardi, 2020). He said,

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا قُوا أَنفُسَكُمْ وَأَهْلِيكُمْ نَارًا وَقُودُهَا النَّاسُ وَالْحِجَارَةُ

"O believers! Protect yourselves and your families from a Fire whose fuel is people and stones."(Q.S:At-Tahrim:6)

And The Prophet Muhammad may Allah bless him and grant him peace said:

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: كُلُّكُمْ رَاعٍ، وَكُلُّكُمْ مَسْئُولٌ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِهِ، فَالْأَمِيرُ رَاعٍ وَهُوَ مَسْئُولٌ، وَالرَّجُلُ رَاعٍ عَلَى أَهْلِهِ وَهُوَ مَسْئُولٌ، وَالْمَرْأَةُ رَاعِيَةٌ عَلَى بَيْتِ زَوْجِهَا وَهِيَ مَسْئُولَةٌ، أَلَا وَكُلُّكُمْ رَاعٍ، وَكُلُّكُمْ مَسْئُولٌ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِهِ.

"The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "All of you are shepherds and each of you is responsible for his flock. A man is the shepherd of the people of his house and he is responsible. A woman is the shepherd of the house of her husband and she is responsible. Each of you is a shepherd and each is responsible for his flock" (Al-Bukhari, 2002).

Also, women not only play an important role in family matters, but they also play an important role in the surrounding community and country. Therefore, women have a great responsibility both forming and developing the family and Islamic society in general (Abd Rahman et al., 2017). This is evident where many of the women in this era occupy positions and hold important positions in both society and government circles (Abd Razak et al., 2019).

Therefore, their leadership becomes an important pillar both in the scope of their families and social institutions in the context of empowering the nation so that it can produce a noble generation of people to build the nation (Rahman, 2018). And the responsibility of family coaching is divided from parents, the community, to the government and the state. Therefore, supervision of deviant behavior, deeds, and thoughts can be done by the family before acting by government officials (Heru & Sapto, 2018).

As a result, the process of radicalism can occur in the smallest sphere, namely within the family so that restraining radicalism and terrorism cannot be carried out only within the scope of society and the state, but must be done from the most basic basis first, namely the family, especially women (mothers/wife) utilizing strengthening and controlling supervision in the family sphere. Especially in the current era of globalization when social life and relationships are ever more wide open, so it is very much in need of supervision and affection especially from a female figure (mother/wife). With the position and strategy owned by women in the family, it is expected that various thoughts, teachings, streams, and understandings that are radical in nature can lead to terrorism can be unstoppable and can be prevented.

## CONCLUSION

Religious extremism that turns to terrorist attacks is an exceptional crime, destroying feelings of safeguarding for many other individuals and affecting all components, including soul, property, and many more. Another approach for combating radicalism or spreading extremism would be through the participation of people, including women (mothers) as a landmark in family relationships. She would be able to continue providing her children with the most love and attention, which formed their personalities and attitudes, leading them to maintain mainly on the right path.

## REFERENCES

- Abd Rahman, S. N. H., Kashim, M. I. A. M., & Pitchan, M. A. (2017). Peranan Wanita Dalam Institusi Kekeluargaan: Perbincangan Dari Perspektif Islam. *Journal of Social Sciences Dan Humanities*, 12(3), 3–20.
- Abd Razak, M. I., Ramli, M. A., Khalid, N. K., Abd Basir, M. K., Abd Rahman, M. F., & Noor, A. F. M. (2019). Fiqh Jihad Wanita dalam Konteks Kontemporer: Satu Analisis. *Jurnal Ulwan*, 4(1), 37–48.
- Abdullah, A. (2016). Gerakan Radikalisme dalam Islam: Perspektif Historis. *Addin*, 10(1), 1–28.
- Adam, P. (2020). *Peran Penting Ibu Bentengi Keluarga dari Ancaman Radikalisme*. Sindonews.Com. <https://nasional.sindonews.com/berita/1447975/14/peran-penting-ibu-bentengi-keluarga-dari-ancaman-radikalisme>.
- Al-Bukhari, A. (2002). Shahih al-Bukhari Terj. Abu Abdillah Muhammad bin Ismail. In *Sahih al-Bukhari, jilid III Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, t. th*. Dar Ibn Katsir.
- al-Malik ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, D. (2004). Mukhtashar al-aṭlas al-tārīkhī tārīkhī lil-mamlakah al-‘arabīyah al-su‘ūdīyah lil-ṭullāb wa-al-ṭalībāt. *Al-Ṭab‘ah Al-Ūlā. Al-Riyād: Dārat Al-Malik ‘Abd Al-‘Azīz*.
- Asiyah, U., Prasetyo, R. A., & Sudjak, S. (2020). Jihad Perempuan dan Terorisme. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, 14(1), 125–140.

- Azra, A. (2003). Bali and Southeast Asian Islam: Debunking the Myths, After Bali: the Threat of terrorism, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies. In R. Kumar & T. See Seng (Eds.), *After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism in Southeast Asia*. Nanyang Technological University.
- Baidhowi, B. (2017). Islam Tidak Radikalisme dan Terorisme. *Law Research Review Quarterly*, 3(2), 197-218.
- Cherney, A., & Murphy, K. (2019). Support for terrorism: The role of beliefs in Jihad and institutional responses to terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(5), 1049-1069.
- Cho Cho, Z., & Myat, M. (2017). The Status And Rights of Women Mentioned in Islam. *International Journal for Studies on Children, Women, Elderly And Disabled*, 1(1), 135-142.
- Cresswell, J. (2016). Research design: Pendekatan metode kualitatif, kuantitatif, dan campuran (Edisi 4). *Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar*.
- Dāwud, A. (2009). Sulaymān bin al-Ash 'ath al-Sijistānī, Sunan Abū Dāwud, taḥqīq wa ta 'līq Muḥammad Shu 'aib al-Arnaūd dan Muḥammad Kāmil Qurrah Balbalī, Vol. V, *Saudi 'Arabiyah: Dār Al-Risālah Al-'Ilmiyyah*, 1430.
- Embong, R. (2018). Wanita dalam Perspektif Islam. *BITARA International Journal of Civilizational Studies and Human Sciences (e-ISSN: 2600-9080)*, 1(2), 52-59.
- Eva, N., & Faried F, S. (2018). *Female suicide bombers: how terrorist propaganda radicalises Indonesian women*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/female-suicide-bombers-how-terrorist-propaganda-radicalises-indonesian-women-98143>.
- Fernan, R. (2020). *Perempuan Punya Peran Penting Pencegahan Radikalisme*. Republika.Co.Id. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/18/07/05/pbe5sr291-perempuan-punya-peran-penting-pencegahan-radikalisme>.
- Gade, F. (2012). Ibu sebagai madrasah dalam pendidikan anak. *Jurnal Ilmiah DIDAKTIKA: Media Ilmiah Pendidikan Dan Pengajaran*, 13(1).
- Ghazli, M. K. (2018). *The policy of Malaysian government to block global terrorism movement*. Universiti Teknologi MARA.
- Guritno, T. (2021). *Faktor Personal dan Tekanan Sosial, Salah Satu Alasan Perempuan Jadi Pelaku Terorisme*. Kompas.Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/04/05/15421071/faktor-personal-dan-tekanan-sosial-salah-satu-alasan-perempuan-jadi-pelaku?page=all>.
- Habibah, S. (2015). Akhlak dan etika dalam islam. *Jurnal Pesona Dasar*, 1(4).
- Handoko, A. (2019). Analisis Kejahatan Terorisme Berkedok Agama. *Jurnal Sosial & Budaya Syar-I*, 6(2), 156.
- Heru, S., & Sapto, W. (2018). *Menangkal Terorisme, Chapter: Menangkal Terorisme dengan Pendekatan Ketahanan Keluarga*. Pustaka Saga.
- Hidayatullah, K. (2016). Kajian Islam Tentang Terorisme dan Jihad. *Al Hikmah: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 6(1), 86-99.
- Indriana, K. (2018). *Female Suicide Bombers in Indonesia: A New Trend*. LIPI. <http://www.politik.lipi.go.id/kolom/kolom-1/politik-internasional/1221-female-suicide-bombers-in-indonesia-a-new-trend>.
- Indriani. (2020). *BNPT: Perempuan banyak dilibatkan dalam terorisme karena setia*. Antaranews.Com. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/1561840/bnpt-perempuan-banyak-dilibatkan-dalam-terorisme-karena-setia>.
- Irawaty, I., & Darajat, Z. (2019). Kedudukan dan Peran Perempuan dalam Perspektif Islam dan Adat Minangkabau. *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies*, 3(1), 59-76.
- Masyhar, A., & Arifin, R. (2018). Urgensi Pembentengan Masyarakat dari Radikalisme dan Terorisme (Upaya Terhadap Jamiyyah Nahdlatul Ulama Kecamatan Bonang Kabupaten Demak). *Jurnal Pengabdian Hukum Indonesia*, 1(01), 1-12.
- Miskahuddin, M. (2017). Konsep Agama Menurut Al-Qur'an. *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Mu'ashirah*, 14(1), 64-77.
- Mutmainnah, M. (2018). *Tinjauan Pendidikan Islam tentang Pendidikan Perempuan dalam Hadis Nabi saw*. Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar.

- Nur Aksa, F. (2015). *Modul Ajar Pendidikan Agama Islam*. Unimal Press.
- Pujiyanto, P. (2020). *Peran Perempuan Strategis dalam Pencegahan Radikalisme*. Kemenag. <https://kemenag.go.id/berita/read/505858/peran-perempuan-strategis-dalam-pencegahan-radikalisme>.
- Rahman, T. A. (2018). Kepemimpinan Wanita Dari Kacamata Islam. *Proceeding: International Seminar on Al-Quran in Contemporary Society*, 14(3).
- Rodin, D. (2016). Islam dan Radikalisme: Telaah atas Ayat-ayat "Kekerasan" dalam al-Qur'an. *Addin*, 10(1), 29-60.
- Rukin, S. P. (2019). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Yayasan Ahmar Cendekia Indonesia.
- Ruslan, I. (2015). Islam dan radikalisme: Upaya antisipasi dan penanggulangannya. *Kalam*, 9(2), 215-232.
- Setiawandari, H., Munandar, A. I., & Hannase, M. (2021). Ketahanan Individu Pemuda Terhadap Paham Radikalisme. *Journal of Terrorism Studies*, 2(4), 5.
- Sinaulan, R. L. (2016). Islamic Law and Terrorism in Indonesia. *International Journal of Nusantara Islam*, 4(1), 13-28.
- Sri, N. (2020). *Perempuan Berperan Aktif Menangkal Radikalisme*. Kompasiana.Com. <https://www.kompasiana.com/sri.nuraini/5c8e6c0a95760e6eb16421a3/perempuan-berperan-aktif-menangkal-radikalisme>.
- Suhardi, A. (2020). *Perempuan Memiliki Peran Penting Dalam Pencegahan Radikalisme dan Terorisme*. Tribunnews.Com. <https://www.tribunnews.com/metropolitan/2018/07/05/suhardi-alius-perempuan-memiliki-peran-penting-dalam-pencegahan-radikalisme-dan-terorisme>.
- Syam, F., Mangunjaya, F. M., Rahmanillah, A. R., & Nurhadi, R. (2020). Narrative and the Politics of Identity: Patterns of the Spread and Acceptance of Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesia. *Religions*, 11(6), 290.
- Thaib, E. J. (2020). The Communication Strategies for Moderate Islamic Da'wah in Countering Radicalism in Gorontalo City, Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 36(4).
- Tukina, T. (2011). Tinjauan Kritis Sosial: Terorisme di Indonesia. *Humaniora*, 2(1), 731-742.
- Wan Ahmad, W. I., & Ismail, Z. (2010). Peranan wanita dalam pembangunan keluarga dari perspektif Fiqh Zilal Al-Quran. *Journal of Governance and Development*, 6, 14-21.
- Widodo, W., & Galang, T. (2019). Poverty, Evictions and Development: Efforts to Build Social Welfare Through the Concept of Welfare State in Indonesia. *3rd International Conference on Globalization of Law and Local Wisdom (ICGLOW 2019)*, 260-263.
- Yaakob, Z., & Long, A. S. (2015). Terorisme sebagai Cabaran Ideologi Muslim Masa Kini: Satu Analisis dari Perspektif Falsafah. *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, 7, 1314-2232.
- Yunus, A. F. (2017). Radikalisme, Liberalisme, dan Terorisme: Pengaruh Terhadap Agama Islam. *Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an: Membangun Tradisi Bafikir Qur'ani*, 13(1), 62-80.

## **Retrospective Analysis of Aceh Government Regulations in Handling Corona Virus Disease 2019**

### **Analisis Retrospektif Regulasi Pemerintah Aceh Dalam Penanganan Corona Virus Disease 2019**

**Alzikri Fakhurraji**

Program Studi Ilmu Administrasi Negara, Universitas Gajah Putih, Simpang Kelaping, Pegasing, Central Aceh, Indonesia

E-mail: [alzikri.ugp@gmail.com](mailto:alzikri.ugp@gmail.com)

#### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to conduct a retrospective analysis by identifying the objectives and targets of the Aceh Government regulations in handling Corona Virus Disease 2019, the causes and consequences of the regulations and the problems of policy. Retrospective analysis in this study applies a qualitative approach and uses descriptive methods. The data collection techniques used were observation, interview and document study. The results showed that the objectives of the policies issued by the Aceh Government were to handle Covid-19 and its impact on health, development, the economy and society. The cause of the policy being issued was the increasingly widespread spread of Covid-19. The consequence is a shift in the focus of development plans, changes in the use of budgets and mobilization of resources. The problem with policy is the delay in policy Formulation so that Covid-19 has been in the midst of society. The outreach strategy to the community is still ineffective. Limited resources due to unpreparedness. Low coordination between horizontal agencies and stakeholders.

Keywords: Policy, Retrospective, COVID-19

#### **Abstrak**

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk melakukan analisis Retrospektif dengan mengidentifikasi tujuan dan sasaran regulasi Pemerintah Aceh dalam penanganan *Corona Virus Disease 2019*, sebab dan konsekuensi dari regulasi hingga masalah kebijakan. Analisis Retrospektif dalam penelitian ini menerapkan pendekatan kualitatif dan menggunakan metode deskriptif. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah observasi, wawancara dan studi dokumen. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa tujuan dari kebijakan yang dikeluarkan oleh Pemerintah Aceh adalah untuk penanganan Covid-19 beserta dampaknya pada kesehatan, pembangunan, perekonomian dan sosial. Penyebab kebijakan adalah semakin meluasnya penyebaran Covid-19. Konsekuensi yang ditimbulkan adalah pergeseran focus rencana pembangunan, perubahan penggunaan anggaran dan pengerahan sumber daya. Masalah dari kebijakan adalah terlambatnya formulasi kebijakan sehingga Covid-19 telah berada di tengah-tengah masyarakat. Strategi sosialisasi kepada masyarakat masih belum efektif. Terbatasnya sumber daya yang disebabkan ketidaksiapan. Rendahnya tingkat koordinasi antar instansi horizontal dan pemangku kepentingan.

Kata Kunci: Kebijakan, Retrospektif, COVID-19

---

## **PENDAHULUAN**

Corona Virus 2019 yang disingkat sebagai Covid-19 adalah sebuah varian baru Virus Corona yang pertama kali ditemukan di Wuhan China sekitar akhir 2019 (Wahidah et al., 2020; Yuliana, 2020). Virus ini ternyata memiliki kecepatan dalam penularan sehingga menjalar ke seluruh dunia dengan cepat (Khachfe et al., 2020), termasuk Indonesia. Negara-negara yang tertular ataupun yang belum tertular pada awal 2020 melakukan tindakan secara militan untuk menghilangkan atau minimal mengurangi dampak daripada virus ini. Indonesia sebagai negara dengan penduduk besar yang memiliki banyak bandara dan pelabuhan sebagai akses mobilisasi manusia memiliki resiko yang sangat tinggi. Hal ini terbukti dengan

\* Copyright (c) 2021 **Alzikri Fakhurraji**

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)

Diterima: 16 Maret, 2021; Revisi: 5 April, 2021; Disetujui: 29 April, 2021



cepatnya perkembangan Covid-19 di Indonesia pada yang dimulai 2 Maret 2020 dan setidaknya angka masyarakat yang terinfeksi terus melonjak tajam hingga akhir 2020.

Tingginya tingkat penularan Covid-19 di Indonesia tidak terlepas dari kebijakan yang dikeluarkan oleh pemangku kekuasaan dari tingkat pusat hingga ke daerah (Muis, 2020). Kebijakan yang terlambat di awal 2020 ketika virus baru muncul dan menyerang beberapa negara seperti China, Italia dan Korea Selatan dianggap menjadi salah satu pemicu merebaknya Covid-19 di Indonesia. Setelah ditemukan beberapa kasus pada 2 Maret 2020 (Harirah & Rizaldi, 2020), Pemerintah Indonesia baru mengambil kebijakan strategis yaitu dengan dilahirkannya begitu banyak peraturan hingga turunannya yang kemudian dilaksanakan dan atau dikembangkan oleh pemerintahan daerah sebagai hierarki daripada pemerintahan pusat. Penanganan Covid-19 yang dilakukan pemerintah harus didasarkan kepada kebijakan yang disusun secara matang karena dalam perkembangannya kebijakan Covid-19 mengalami tanggapan yang bervariasi dari masyarakat. Tentunya dalam sebuah kebijakan haruslah dilakukan analisis dan strategi dalam mengimplementasikan sesuai dengan kaidah keilmuan dan menggunakan metode komunikasi yang tepat. Aceh merupakan Provinsi yang berada di belahan Barat Indonesia.

Karakteristik manusia sebagai *Zoon Politicon* membuat manusia terus berinteraksi baik di dunia nyata maupun maya. Kegiatan perekonomian, pendidikan hingga sosial kemasyarakatan dapat menjadi tempat menyebarnya Covid-19. Ditambah lagi di beberapa daerah di Provinsi Aceh memiliki masyarakat dengan kecenderungan untuk merantau (Harun et al, 2015). Sehingga momentum hari besar dan liburan menjadi arus mobilisasi. Pemerintah Aceh tentunya harus mampu melakukan anti sipasi maupun penanganan terhadap penyebaran virus Covid-19 ini. Dalam penanganan Covid-19, ternyata antara pemerintah pusat dan pemerintah daerah tidak selalu beriringan (Agustino, 2020). Hal ini terlihat di awal tahun 2020, kemunculan Covid-19 masih belum melahirkan kebijakan secara serius, dimana beberapa daerah seperti DKI Jakarta dan beberapa daerah lainnya mengusulkan untuk segera dilakukan Lockdown namun pemerintah pusat lebih memilih menyiapkan rencana untuk influencer dengan anggaran puluhan miliar dengan tujuan untuk melindungi masyarakat dari ketakutan akan Covid-19 (Zuhri, 2020). Walaupun banyak anggapan pemerintah pusat terlambat dalam melakukan mitigasi, akan tetapi penanganan dengan menghasilkan kebijakan yang tepat dari pemerintah pusat kepada daerah menjadi sangat penting dan harus efektif. Pemerintah daerah yang menjadi garda terdepan di dalam meminimalisir segala resiko yang ditimbulkan dari Covid-19 harus dapat mengimplementasikan kebijakan semaksimal mungkin.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis retrospektif kebijakan pemerintah Aceh dalam menangani Covid-19 setelah kebijakan diimplementasikan. Analisis retrospektif yang dilakukan dalam penelitian ini mengacu kepada apa yang disampaikan William N. Dunn, bahwa analisis retrospektif bertujuan untuk menghasilkan dan mentransformasikan informasi setelah tindakan kebijakan dilaksanakan (Dunn, 2003). Pada analisis ini terdapat tiga model kelompok analisis. **Pertama** orientasi analisis disiplin yang meletakkan perhatian pada pembangunan dan pengujian teori dasar dan menjelaskan sebab akibat. **Kedua** orientasi analisis masalah yang memberikan penjelasan sebab akibat dari kebijakan kemudian mengidentifikasi variabel yang dapat dimanipulasi oleh pengambil kebijakan untuk memecahkan masalah. **Ketiga** orientasi analisis penerapan dimana berfokus pada menjelaskan identifikasi tujuan dan sasaran kebijakan, sebab dan konsekuensi kebijakan, masalah kebijakan, serta alternatif pemecahan kebijakan. Dalam penelitian ini peneliti memfokuskan pada *application oriented analysis* atau orientasi analisis yang berbasis penerapan dengan berpedoman pada bentuk-bentuk analisis kebijakan yang disampaikan William N. Dunn (2003) dikarenakan masih kurangnya penelitian

terdahulu yang meneliti dengan focus ini sehingga masih terdapat kekosongan penting yang harus sesegera mungkin dilengkapi.

## **METODE PENELITIAN**

Penelitian ini menerapkan pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggunakan metode deskriptif dalam melakukan analisis secara mendalam mengenai fenomena yang diamati. Penggunaan metode ini digunakan dengan alasan data dan informasi yang dikumpulkan membutuhkan fokus pada fenomena atau masalah terkini melalui proses pengumpulan data penyusunan yang kemudian diolah hingga pada penarikan kesimpulan. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah observasi, wawancara dan studi dokumen (Creswell, 2014). Observasi dan wawancara dibagi berdasarkan zona diantaranya Pantai Barat dan Selatan, Pantai Timur dan Utara, Wilayah Tengah, Wilayah seputar Ibu Kota Aceh.

## **HASIL DAN DISKUSI**

### **Hasil**

Merebaknya Covid-19 di Indonesia berdampak pada lahirnya banyak kebijakan dari level pemerintah pusat hingga pemerintah daerah. Covid-19 dianggap sebagai kedaruratan kesehatan (Pratiwi et al., 2020). Kebijakan yang dilahirkan sangat bervariasi. Adapun beberapa kebijakan penting yang dikeluarkan oleh Pemerintah Aceh adalah sebagai berikut: Peraturan Gubernur No. 51 Tahun 2020 tentang peningkatan penanganan Covid-19 serta penerapan disiplin dan penegakan hukum protocol kesehatan, Keputusan Gubernur Aceh No. 360/969/2020 tentang penetapan status tanggap darurat skala provinsi untuk penanganan Covid-19, Keputusan Gubernur Aceh Nomor 440/1021/2020 tentang pembentukan gugus tugas percepatan penanganan Covid-19 di Aceh, Keputusan Gubernur Aceh Nomor 440/924/2020 tentang pembentukan gugus tugas percepatan penanganan Covid-1 di Aceh, Instruksi Gubernur Aceh Nomor 04/INSTR/2020 tentang pelaksanaan kebijakan pendidikan dalam masa darurat penyebaran Covid-19 di Wilayah Aceh, Surat Edaran Gubernur Nomor 440/5944 tentang larangan kegiatan bepergian ke luar daerah dan/atau kegiatan mudik dan atau cuti bagi pegawai negeri sipil dan tenaga kontrak dalam upaya pencegahan Covid-19, Surat Edaran Gubernur Aceh Nomor 440/4820 tentang cegah virus corona melalui ibadah perilaku hidup bersih dan sehat, hingga maklumat Forkompinda. Banyaknya kebijakan yang dikeluarkan oleh pemerintah menjadi bukti betapa pentingnya penanganan Covid-19 serta kekhawatiran akan dampak ditimbulkannya. Sehingga sangat penting untuk dilakukan kajian tentang kebijakan yang telah dikeluarkan oleh pemerintah Aceh.

### **Identifikasi Tujuan dan Sasaran Kebijakan**

Suatu kebijakan memiliki tujuan untuk mengatasi suatu masalah atau untuk mencapai rencana yang telah disusun. Proses dalam penyusunan kebijakan haruslah dibuat secara mendalam agar tujuan dan sasaran dapat dicapai. Covid-19 sebagai sebuah pandemi berdasarkan ketetapan World Health Organization (WHO) pada 11 Maret 2020 harus direspon dengan mengeluarkan kebijakan-kebijakan yang terencana dengan matang agar dapat meminimalisir penolakan hingga output yang ingin dicapai. Kebijakan yang dilahirkan dari seluruh penjuru dunia sangat beragam, ada yang menutup jalur transportasi, melakukan karantina, *lockdown* dan lain sebagainya (WHO, 2020). Sementara itu di Indonesia terjadi perdebatan yang menyebabkan perbedaan tanggapan baik di tingkat pemerintah pusat

maupun di daerah. Pemerintah daerah sebagai daerah otonom seharusnya mampu mengambil inisiatif mengeluarkan peraturan (Suharjono, 2014). Pemerintah Aceh memulai kebijakannya pada 12 Maret 2020 hanya mengeluarkan sebuah surat edaran bernomor 440/4820 untuk mencegah penyebaran Covid-19 melalui ibadah dan perilaku hidup bersih dan sehat, tentu hal ini masih jauh dari tujuan untuk menangkai penyebaran Covid-19 yang kalau dilihat dari beberapa negara lain sudah melakukan kebijakan yang jauh lebih nyata.

Untuk pencapaian tujuan pemerintah Aceh membentuk gugus tugas percepatan penanganan Covid-19 per tanggal 16 Maret 2020 dengan keputusan Gubernur Aceh nomor 440/924/2020 yang pada 1 April 2020 direvisi dengan keputusan Gubernur nomor 440/1021/2020 yang didalamnya memuat struktur organisasi dan susunan personalia serta uraian tugas. Sasaran dalam keputusan ini hampir seluruh instansi yang berada pada wilayah Aceh baik sipil maupun non sipil. Setelah penyebaran Covid-19 terus meningkat dan menimbulkan korban jiwa maupun kerugian sosial-material, maka pada tanggal 20 Maret 2020 Pemerintah Aceh menetapkan status tanggap darurat skala provinsi selama 71 hari yang berlaku hingga 29 Mei 2020 dalam bentuk keputusan nomor 360/969/2020. Adapun tujuannya adalah pencegahan penyebaran, percepatan penanganan, kesiapan dan kemampuan dalam mencegah, mendeteksi dan merespons kasus-kasus Covid-19 yang ada di Aceh.

Dalam kondisi darurat Covid-19 dan untuk menghindari timbulnya cluster penyebaran covid, dunia pendidikan juga tidak luput dari kebijakan Pemerintah Aceh, yaitu dengan diterbitkannya instruksi Gubernur nomor 04/INSTR/2020 tertanggal 27 Maret 2020. Aparatur sipil Negara sebagai garda terdepan memerangi Covid-19 juga tidak lepas dari kebijakan pemerintah Aceh yaitu dengan dikeluarkannya surat edaran nomor 40/594 dimana ASN dilarang bepergian keluar daerah dan atau kegiatan mudik dan atau cuti, dengan tujuan mencegah, meminimalisir penyebaran dan risiko Covid-19. Pada 7 September 2019 pemerintah Aceh kembali mengeluarkan kebijakan berupa Peraturan Gubernur Nomor 51 tahun 2020. Kepala Biro hukum SETDA Aceh Amrizal J. Prang mengungkapkan tujuan dari Pergub ini adalah untuk pedoman bagi pemangku kepentingan seluruh masyarakat Aceh dalam upaya peningkatan penanganan Covid-19 penerapan disiplin dan penegakan hukum protokol kesehatan (Prang 2020). Adapun beberapa tujuan dan sasaran kebijakan Pemerintah Aceh yang penting dalam penanganan Covid-19 menurut peneliti dapat dilihat pada tabel 1.

Tabel 1. Kebijakan COVID-19 di Indonesia dan Aceh

No	Kategori Kebijakan	Nomor	Tujuan	Sasaran
1	Peraturan	51 Tahun 2020	Peningkatan penanganan Covid-19, daya tahan pangan, disiplin/patuh protokol kesehatan dan penegakan hukum atas pelanggaran	Seluruh Masyarakat Aceh
2	Keputusan	360/969/2020	Menghalau penyebaran Covid-19	Seluruh Masyarakat Aceh
		440/1021/2020	Mempercepat penanganan Covid-19 dengan pembentukan gugus tugas	Gugus tugas
		440/924/2020	Mempercepat penanganan Covid-19 dengan pembentukan gugus tugas	Gugus tugas
3	Intruksi	04/INSTR/2020	Menghindari cluster penyebaran Covid-19 di dunia Pendidikan	Institusi pendidikan
4	Surat Edaran	440/4989	Menghindari cluster penyebaran Covid-19 di dunia Pendidikan	Institusi pendidikan
		440/5944	Mencegah, meminimalisir penyebaran dan resiko Covid-19 dengan tidak pergi ke luar negeri, mudik dan cuti	ASN
		440/4820	Meningkatnya beribadahan masyarakat dan pola hidup sehat	Seluruh Masyarakat Aceh
		440/10135	Menekan faktor ketidakpastian dan faktor risiko ke tingkat terendah	Gugus Tugas

Sumber : Diolah peneliti (2021)

## Sebab dan Konsekuensi Kebijakan

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa penyebab Pemerintah Aceh mengeluarkan surat edaran nomor 440/4820 adalah diakibatkan perkembangan Covid-19 semakin mengkhawatirkan. Di samping itu pemerintah Indonesia belum mengambil kebijakan secara signifikan di bulan Januari dan Februari sehingga pemerintah Aceh terlihat menunggu dan tidak mengeluarkan kebijakan yang lebih detail untuk menangani kondisi pandemi. Konsekuensi dari kebijakan ini dipengaruhi oleh sifat dari Surat Edaran Gubernur itu sendiri yang tidak mengikat, menyebabkan masyarakat tidak terlalu memperdulikan bahkan dari hasil wawancara yang dilakukan banyak masyarakat yang tidak mengetahui edaran tersebut dan lebih memilih melihat perkembangan di televisi dan potongan informasi yang beredar di media sosial.

Penetapan status tanggap darurat skala provinsi yang dikeluarkan oleh Pemerintah Aceh disebabkan peningkatan orang dalam pantauan (ODP), pasien dalam pantauan (PDP) dan telah menimbulkan korban dan kerugian. Selain itu kebijakan ini didasarkan pada pengumuman yang dikeluarkan oleh *World Health Organization (WHO)* pada tanggal 11 Maret 2020 (*World Health Organization, 2020b*). Berdasarkan hasil wawancara dan observasi yang dilakukan kebijakan ini menimbulkan konsekuensi berupa kecemasan pada beberapa kalangan masyarakat. Kondisi ini diperkuat dengan banyaknya berita hoax yang beredar di media sosial.

Penyebab dikeluarkannya surat edaran dan intruksi tentang pendidikan adalah karena semakin merebaknya penularan Covid-19 dan menghindari berkumpulnya banyak orang pada lembaga pendidikan. Dimana pemerintah belum menyiapkan instrument pelaksanaan protokol kesehatan belajar secara tatap muka dan masih membutuhkan waktu untuk melakukan sosialisasi. Selain itu juga disebabkan adanya surat edaran Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia Nomor 4 tahun 2020 tentang pelaksanaan kebijakan pendidikan dalam masa darurat penyebaran Covid-19, Surat edaran direktur jenderal pendidikan Agama Republik Indonesia tentang mekanisme pembelajaran dan penilaian dalam masa darurat. Konsekuensi pelaksanaan belajar di rumah pada masa pandemi berdasarkan hasil observasi dan wawancara dapat dilihat pada Tabel 2.

**Tabel 2. Konsekuensi pelaksanaan belajar di rumah pada masa pandemi**

No	Kategori	Konsekuensi
1	Siswa	Menurunnya semangat Capaian pembelajaran menurun Jenuh Beralih bermain Game Sinyal Internet yang tidak merata
2	Guru	Sulitnya berkomunikasi dengan siswa Rendahnya tingkat kedekatan emosional
3	Orang Tua	Sulitnya membagi waktu kerja dan mendampingi anak Tidak semua orang tua memiliki Gadget dan Kuota Internet Rendahnya penguasaan orangtua terhadap gadget di daerah terpencil

**Sumber :** Diolah peneliti (2020)

Pemerintah sebagai suatu sistem tentu tidak mampu melakukan perubahan besar tanpa adanya organisasi yang kaya akan fungsi. Kebijakan bukan hanya perkara teknis, akan tetapi merupakan peran pengetahuan dalam prosesnya (Cairney & Weible, 2017). Penyebab lahirnya kebijakan pembentukan gugus tugas penanganan Covid-19 adalah adalah masih lemahnya koordinasi antar instansi yang berada di wilayah Aceh. Masing-masing instansi baik pusat maupun daerah masih ditemukan menjalankan beberapa polayang berbeda. Pembentukan Kebijakan ini ditegaskan dengan Keputusan Presiden Nomor 9 tahun 2020 dan surat edaran Menteri Dalam Negeri. Selain itu penyebab utama kebijakan ini adalah tanpa sistem yang terorganisir dengan melibatkan seluruh pihak yang berada di wilayah Aceh dirasa sulit

untuk dapat menangani Covid-19 di tengah masyarakat yang terbelah pendapatnya. Seharusnya antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah harus memiliki kebijakan yang berkesinambungan (Hariyanto, 2020).

Konsekuensi dari pembentukan gugus tugas ini adalah teralihkannya fokus kebijakan pembangunan yang telah dirancang sebelumnya. Sumber daya yang sudah dipersiapkan untuk pembangunan ekonomi maupun sosial kemasyarakatan harus dialihkan. Penggunaan anggaran yang telah direncanakan berubah sehingga pencapaian Renstra Pemerintah Aceh tertunda. Penyebab dikeluarkannya kebijakan dalam bentuk surat edaran 440/594 yang mengatur larangan kegiatan berpergian keluar daerah, mudik dan cuti bagi ASN adalah karena budaya yang ada di tengah-tengah masyarakat di mana pada saat libur bekerja dan masuki hari besar keagamaan selalu diisi dengan berkumpul bersama keluarga di kampung halaman. Kebijakan ini juga sebagai tindak lanjut Surat Edaran Menteri Pemberdayaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi Nomor 46 Tahun 2020 untuk meminimalisir penyebaran dan pengurangan resiko.

Konsekuensi yang ditimbulkan adalah semakin singkatnya waktu cuti, sanksi hukuman disiplin penurunan pangkat bagi PNS dan pemberhentian bagi tenaga kontrak. Berdasarkan hasil wawancara dilakukan terhadap beberapa ASN di beberapa wilayah Aceh, kebijakan ini sangat sulit karena berkumpul bersama keluarga di kampung halaman sudah membudaya sehingga kebijakan ini banyak disiasati, salah satunya dengan memanipulasi absen kehadiran. Peraturan Gubernur Aceh nomor 51 tahun 2020 dianggap sebagai roadmap penanganan Covid-19 disebabkan penanganan Covid-19 di Aceh belum maksimal terutama pada konsekuensi akibat hukum yang ditimbulkan (Prang, 2020). Selain itu kebijakan ini juga disebabkan kondisi perekonomian yang mulai memberikan dampak sehingga perlu adanya aturan yang lebih mengikat dalam pelaksanaan protokol kesehatan untuk meningkatkan kesehatan, pencegahan dan pengendalian Covid-19. Konsekuensi dari kebijakan ini menasar kepada individu, pelaku usaha dan pengelola tempat umum dengan pemberian sanksi bertahap. Dalam hitungan hari beberapa kabupaten/kota melakukan sosialisasi, menerapkan sanksi atas pelanggaran protokol kesehatan kepada masyarakat seperti di Lhokseumawe, langsa dan beberapa daerah lainnya. Selain itu kebijakan ini juga menjadi payung hukum bagi pemerintah di tingkat kabupaten/kota untuk kembali memberlakukan jam malam apabila dirasa perlu.

## **Diskusi**

### **Masalah Kebijakan**

Dari hasil penelitian, maka ditemukan beberapa masalah pada kebijakan pemerintah Aceh dalam penanganan Covid-19, antara lain :

### **Waktu Kebijakan**

Penyebaran Covid-19 di awal tahun 2020 menjadi perhatian dunia, pemberitaan di media massa dipenuhi dengan informasi keganasan Covid-19. Negara-negara di dunia secara cepat melakukan antisipasi agar tidak mengalami hal yang sama dengan Wuhan Provinsi Hubei China yang dianggap sumber lahirnya Covid-19 (World Health Organization, 2020a). Akan tetapi Pemerintah Indonesia tidak melakukan banyak hal. Meskipun ada beberapa daerah seperti Pemerintah DKI Jakarta yang mencoba melakukan antisipasi lebih awal akan tetapi perbedaan sikap dengan Pemerintah Pusat membuat daerah tidak bisa berbuat banyak. Hal ini memberikan dampak pada daerah lain termasuk Provinsi Aceh yang menunggu payung hukum dari Pemerintah Pusat.

Banyak para pakar epidemiologi telah memberikan peringatan akan bahaya Covid-19 dan beberapa menyatakan virus ini sangat mungkin telah berada di Indonesia. Proses pendeteksian masalah untuk diformulasi kedalam sebuah kebijakan tidak berjalan dengan baik. Pemerintah Aceh baru mengeluarkan kebijakan setelah pemerintah Indonesia mengonfirmasi kasus Covid-19 pada awal Maret dan setelah *World health organization* (WHO) menyatakan Covid-19 sebagai pandemi pada 11 Maret 2020 (Organization, 2020). Pada saat WHO menyatakan Covid-19 sebagai pandemi. Pemerintah Aceh mengeluarkan sebuah surat edaran yang menghimbau masyarakat untuk mencegah virus melalui ibadah, perilaku hidup bersih. Hal ini tentu belum dapat dikatakan sebagai solusi pencegahan. Setelah tiga hari dari surat edaran pertama, pemerintah mengeluarkan surat edaran kembali tentang pelaksanaan kegiatan belajar dirumah selama dua minggu.

Pemerintah Aceh membentuk gugus tugas percepatan penanganan Covid-19 pada tanggal 16 Maret 2020 yang dalam lampirannya membuat susunan personalia yang masih bersifat umum dan dalam ruang lingkup masih cukup terbatas. Kebijakan ini direvisi pada 1 April 2020 dengan melibatkan hampir seluruh elemen yang ada di wilayah Aceh. Keputusan ini bertujuan untuk dapat menangani Covid-19 lebih cepat melihat perkembangan virus dari awal Januari dan baru dibentuk gugus tugas Maret dan April. Setelah sembilan hari penetapan Covid-19 sebagai pandemi oleh WHO Pemerintah Aceh mengeluarkan Keputusan Gubernur yang menetapkan status tanggap darurat skala provinsi dan belum menyertakan kebijakan-kebijakan yang mengatur lebih rinci terkait penanganan Covid-19.

Kebijakan yang mengatur secara detail penanganan Covid-19 baru diterbitkan pada 7 September 2020 yang mana didalamnya memuat peraturan disiplin dan penegakan hukum terkait pelanggaran protokol kesehatan di Aceh. Kebijakan ini dirasa sangat terlambat setelah pemerintah sadar bahwa Covid-19 adalah sebuah bencana yang serius. Walaupun kebijakan ini dirasa sangat terlambat karena Aceh menjadi salah satu provinsi yang memberikan sumbangan kasus positif yang terus meningkat di tengah-tengah negara-negara yang mulai dapat mengontrol penyebaran virus ini. Sebuah agenda kebijakan pemerintah sebaiknya tidak dijadikan sebagai agenda formal dari masalah, tetapi sebagai gambaran permasalahan atau isu diaman pembuat kebijakan harus memberikan perhatian yang aktif.

### **Sosialisasi Kepada Masyarakat**

Komunikasi merupakan sarana wajib dalam mengimplementasi sebuah kebijakan sebagaimana dikatakan oleh Edward dalam teorinya (Edward III, 1980). Berkumpulnya masyarakat dalam penyelenggaraan hari-hari besar masih banyak terlihat berdasarkan hasil observasi yang dilakukan. Kerumunan masih sering terjadi di pada saat penyelenggaraan hari-hari besar seperti Maulid Nabi, Keunduri (hajatan), Hari Raya, mobilisasi ke tempat wisata seperti Dataran Tinggi Gayo, Pantai Barat, Timur, Selatan hingga Sabang. Pelanggaran protokol ini banyak terjadi hamper diseluruh wilayah Aceh.

Berdasarkan hasil wawancara dapat disimpulkan kebanyakan masyarakat melakukan pelanggaran protokol kesehatan dikarenakan ketidak pahaman akan bahaya Covid-19 dan kurang mengetahui kebijakan-kebijakan yang dikeluarkan oleh pemerintah Aceh. Masyarakat hanya tahu bahwa pemerintah Aceh mengeluarkan kebijakan namun tidak memahami secara rincin apa yang harus dilakukan. Masyarakat mendapatkan banyak informasi berbeda dari media sosial yang menyebabkan mereka bingung atas kebenaran dampak yang ditimbulkan dari Covid-19. Informasi seperti ini lebih banyak menysasar masyarakat yang berada pada tingkat pendidikan rendah atau putus sekolah.

Pemerintah Aceh melalui kebijakan-kebijakan yang dikeluarkan pada hakikatnya telah memberikan arahan kepada masyarakat untuk menjaga protokol kesehatan melalau pamplet, baliho, spanduk, surat kabar hingga radio akan tetapi belum maksimal. Hal ini dapat terlihat seperti pos-pos

Gugus Tugas Covid-19 di perbatasan, baik itu berbatasan dengan provinsi Sumatera Utara maupun perbatasan antar kabupaten. Pada awal kebijakan dikeluarkan banyak kabupaten mendirikan pos-pos untuk mengontrol mobilisasi dari zona merah dan menjadi wadah sosialisasi kepada masyarakat. Akan tetapi, hingga akhir 2020 terlihat hanya pos gugus tugas Kabupaten Aceh Tengah yang berada di Desa Paya Tumpi, Kecamatan Kebayakan yang masih beroperasi. Meskipun efektivitasnya masih menjadi perdebatan, karena pos yang ada hanya mendata masyarakat yang masuk dari luar provinsi Aceh dan tidak lagi melakukan tindakan lanjutan sebagaimana yang dilakukan pada bulan pertengahan tahun 2020.

### **Sumber Daya dan Kordinasi antar Instansi-Pemangku Kepentingan**

Sumber daya dan koordinasi antar instansi-pemangku kepentingan juga jadi salah satu masalah dalam kebijakan penanganan Covid-19. Pemerintah Aceh sebagai daerah otonom dan sebagai wilayah yang memiliki Instansi untuk menjalankan fungsi dekonsentrasi pemerintah pusat, hingga instansi-instansi menjalankan tugas pokok dan fungsinya masing-masing seperti Instansi dibawah Kementrian, Kepolisian hingga TNI, harus memiliki alur kordinasi yang jelas. Sebuah kebijakan seharusnya mampu menjelaskan secara detail tentang peran aktor, pemangku kepentingan dalam memformulasikan kebijakannya (Blanco et al., 2011). Pembentukan gugus tugas di tingkat nasional menyebabkan masing-masing Instansi memiliki pola koordinasi vertikal di atasnya. Hal serupa juga terjadi saat diterbitkannya kebijakan pembentukan gugus tugas pada tingkat Provinsi Aceh sebagai wilayah tugas pokok dan fungsinya. Secara tidak langsung dua pola koordinasi ini memiliki dampak pada fokus koordinasi. Sementara itu keikutsertaan secara keseluruhan Instansi, lembaga-lembaga dan pemangku kepentingan baru dituangkan pada tanggal 1 April 2020 dengan dikeluarkannya keputusan Gubernur Aceh nomor 440/1021/2020

Covid-19 yang masuk ke dalam urusan bersama antara pemerintah pusat dan pemerintahan daerah seharusnya dapat lebih mengoptimalkan kebijakan yang dikeluarkan. Lemahnya koordinasi juga dapat dilihat dari kalaborasi yang dilakukan antar Kabupaten yang berdekatan seperti Kab. Aceh Besar-Kota Banda Aceh, Kab. Aceh Tengah-Bener Meriah - Kab. Gayo Lues, Kab. Bireuen - Aceh Utara - Lhokseumawe, dan Kabupaten yang berada di wilayah Barat Selatan Aceh. Koordinasi di antara Kabupaten tersebut belum menunjukkan pola yang maksimal terutama dalam mengantisipasi mobilisasi pergerakan penduduk. Kabupaten tersebut memiliki masyarakat dengan mobilitas tinggi antara satu dengan yang lainnya sehingga diperlukan koordinasi yang baik, bukan sebaliknya masing-masing Kabupaten menjalankan kebijakannya yang diturunkan dari Pemerintah Aceh secara masing-masing.

Selain kordinasi, sumber daya juga menjadi salah satu masalah dalam pelaksanaan kebijakan pemerintah Aceh dalam menangani Covid-19. Penyediaan sumber daya kesehatan pada awal merebaknya pandemi Covid-19 masih sangat kurang. Banyak rumah sakit yang berada di daerah tidak mampu menindaklanjuti pendeteksian terhadap pasien dalam pantauan (PDP) dengan cepat. Hal ini dikarenakan belum tersedianya peralatan yang menindaklanjuti hasil rapid test yang dilakukan di rumah sakit daerah Kabupaten/Kota sehingga pemerintah Aceh harus menunjuk beberapa Rumah Sakit sebagai rumah sakit rujukan. Sementara itu sumber daya merupakan alat penting dalam implementasi kebijakan (Edward III, 1980). Beberapa kasus reaktif hasil rapid tes dibawa ke rumah sakit rujukan untuk di observasi dan dilakukan uji lanjutan di laboratorium. Tentunya kondisi ini menyebabkan energi yang dikeluarkan cukup besar dengan membawa pasien dalam pantauan dari daerah ke rumah sakit rujukan. Dalam perkembangannya Rumah sakit yang berada di daerah Kabupaten/Kota secara bertahap memiliki fasilitas untuk melakukan uji lanjutan terhadap pasien dalam pantauan meskipun dianggap cukup terlambat.

## **SIMPULAN**

Setelah dilakukan Analisis retrospektif terhadap regulasi pemerintah Aceh dalam penanganan Covid-19 dapat disimpulkan bahwa seluruh tujuan dari kebijakan Pemerintah Aceh adalah untuk penanganan Covid-19 beserta dampaknya pada kesehatan, pembangunan, perekonomian dan sosial. Sasaran dari kebijakan ini adalah seluruh penduduk dan atau warga berada di wilayah Aceh. Penyebab banyaknya regulasi yang diterbitkan adalah karena semakin meluasnya penyebaran Covid-19 yang berdampak kepada kestabilan pemerintahan dan masyarakat sehingga diperlukan tindakan untuk menjaga keberlangsungan pembangunan, perekonomian serta meningkatkan kesehatan masyarakat. Konsekuensi yang ditimbulkan adalah pergeseran fokus rencana pembangunan, perubahan penggunaan anggaran dan pengalihan sumber daya secara besar-besaran.

Masalah Kebijakannya terletak pada terlambatnya analisis formulasi kebijakan sehingga Covid-19 telah berada di tengah-tengah masyarakat. Strategi sosialisasi kepada masyarakat masih belum efektif hingga menimbulkan ambiguitas di tengah masyarakat. Terbatasnya sumber daya yang disebabkan ketidaksiapan di awal masa pandemi. Rendahnya tingkat koordinasi antar instansi horizontal dan terhadap pemangku kepentingan membuat kebijakan tidak terimplementasi dengan sempurna ditengah masyarakat.

## **DAFTAR PUSTAKA**

- Agustino, L. (2020). Analisis Kebijakan Penanganan Wabah Covid-19: Pengalaman Indonesia. *Jurnal Borneo Administrator*, 16(2), 253–270.
- Blanco, I., Lowndes, V., & Pratchett, L. (2011). Policy networks and governance networks: Towards greater conceptual clarity. *Political Studies Review*, 9(3), 297–308.
- Cairney, P., & Weible, C. M. (2017). The new policy sciences: Combining the cognitive science of choice, multiple theories of context, and basic and applied analysis. *Policy Sciences*, 50(4), 619–627.
- Creswell, J. (2014). Penelitian kualitatif & desain riset: Memilih di antara lima pendekatan. (A. Lazuardi, Trans.). *Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. (Original Work Published 1998)*.
- Dunn, W. N. (2003). Pengantar analisis kebijakan publik Edisi Kedua. *Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University*.
- Edward III, G. C. (1980). *Implementing public policy*. Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Harirah, Z., & Rizaldi, A. (2020). Merespon Nalar Kebijakan Negara Dalam Menangani Pandemi Covid 19 Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Kebijakan Publik Indonesia*, 7(1).
- Hariyanto, H. (2020). Hubungan Kewenangan antara Pemerintah Pusat dan Pemerintah Daerah Berdasarkan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. *Volkgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi*, 3(2).
- Harun, M., Ibrahim, H., & Iskandar, D. (2015). Revitalisasi Nilai Etos Kerja dalam Hadih Maja sebagai Bahan Ajar Pendidikan Karakter. *Journal of Est*, 1(3).
- Khachfe, H. H., Chahrour, M., Sammouri, J., Salhab, H., Makki, B. E., & Fares, M. (2020). An epidemiological study on COVID-19: a rapidly spreading disease. *Cureus*, 12(3).
- Muis, A. R. C. (2020). Transparansi Kebijakan Publik Sebagai Strategi Nasional Dalam Menanggulangi Pandemi Covid-19. *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Syar-i. Core. Ac. Uk*. <https://Core.Ac.Uk/Download/Pdf/325992704>. Pdf.
- Organization, W. H. (2020). *Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19): situation report*, 72.
- Prang, A. J. (2020). *Plt Gubernur Aceh Keluarkan Pergub Penerapan Disiplin dan Penegakan Hukum Protokol Kesehatan Covid-19*. Diakses tanggal: [Www.Acehprov.Go.Id](http://www.Acehprov.Go.Id). <https://www.acehprov.go.id/berita/kategori/umum/plt-gubernur-aceh-keluarkan-pergub-penerapan-disiplin-dan-penegakan-hukum-protokol-kesehatan-covid-19>.



- Pratiwi, R. R., Artha, D. A., & Nurlaily, H. (2020). Analisa Yuridis Penetapan Covid 19 Sebagai Kedaruratan Kesehatan Masyarakat Ditinjau Dari Peraturan Perundang-Undangan di Indonesia. *Inicio Legis*, 1(1).
- Suharjono, M. (2014). Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah Yang Responsif Dalam Mendukung Otonomi Daerah. *DiH: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 10(19).
- Wahidah, I., Athallah, R., Hartono, N. F. S., Rafqie, M. C. A., & Septiadi, M. A. (2020). Pandemi COVID-19: Analisis Perencanaan Pemerintah dan Masyarakat dalam Berbagai Upaya Pencegahan. *Jurnal Manajemen Dan Organisasi*, 11(3), 179–188.
- World Health Organization. (2020a). *Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic*.
- World Health Organization. (2020b). *Novel Coronavirus (2019-Ncov). Situation Report. 1*. WHO. <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/situation-reports>
- Yuliana, Y. (2020). Corona virus diseases (Covid-19): Sebuah tinjauan literatur. *Wellness And Healthy Magazine*, 2(1), 187–192.
- Zuhri, A. (2020). Instagram, Pandemi dan Peran Influencer (Analisis Wacana Kritis pada Postingan Akun Instagram@ najwashihab dan@ jrksid). *Academic Journal of Da'wa and Communication*, 1(2), 351–382.



# KHAZANAH SOSIAL UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung

Building of  
UIN Sunan Gunung Djati  
Kota Bandung, Jawa Barat  
Handphone: +6282176562270  
E-mail: KSosial@uinsgd.ac.id

Khazanah Sosial are licensed under Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0  
International



9 772715 807007