

Dialectics of the White Group Phenomenon (Golput): A Comparative Analysis of Islamic Law and Positive Law

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Abstrak

Dalam konteks demokratis yang terus bepergian, fenomena Golongan Putih (Golput) menjadi sebuah politik yang berkepanjangan. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengungkap sejarah golput, makna golput serta respon antara Hukum Syariah dan negara mengenai fenomena tersebut. Peneliti menyadari bahwa Golput adalah fenomena kompleks yang merujuk pada berbagai faktor, seperti identitas politik, polarisasi masyarakat, dan konflik antar-paradigma. Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti mencoba untuk memahami dialektika antara Hukum Syariah dan negara sebagai landasan penting dalam mengkaji fenomena Golput. Diharapkan penelitian ini menjadi sebuah wacana serta analisis kritis sebagai respon lahirnya golongan putih yang dimaksudkan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kepustakaan dengan mengkaji sumber literatur berupa artikel ilmiah sebagai sumber primer dan buku-buku dengan tema serupa sebagai sumber sekunder. Hasil penelitian ini mengungkap: Golput menjadi sebuah fenomena kontroversial yang memicu lahirnya Hukum Syariah dan negara. Islam dan negara bersepakat bahwasannya masyarakat wajib ikut andil dalam partisipasi politik dengan mempertimbangkan aspek-aspek yang dimiliki pemimpin berupa sikap adil, amanah dan sebagainya. Hal demikian juga ditemukan melalui fatwa MUI yang mengharamkan golput dengan beberapa dalil yang mendukung. Begitu juga penafsiran al-Qur'an mengenai kepatuhan terhadap kebijakan yang dikeluarkan pemerintah dengan mempertimbangkan aspek yang sesuai dengan sifat-sifat terpuji.

Kata Kunci: Fenomena; Golput; Hukum Islam; Hukum Positif.

Abstract

In a democratic context that continues to travel, the phenomenon of the White Group (Golput) becomes a prolonged politics. This study aims to reveal the history of the Golput, the meaning of the Golput, and the response between Islamic law and the state regarding the phenomenon. Researchers recognize that Golput is a complex phenomenon that refers to various factors, such as political identity, community polarization, and inter-paradigm conflicts. In this study, the researcher tries to understand the dialectics between Islamic law and the state as an important foundation in studying the Golput phenomenon. It is hoped that this research will become a discourse and critical analysis as a response to the birth of the intended white group. This study uses the literature method by examining literature sources in the form of scientific articles as primary sources and books with similar themes as secondary sources. The results of this study revealed: that Golput became a controversial phenomenon that triggered the birth of Islamic law and the state. Islam and the state agree that the community must take part in political participation by considering the aspects possessed by the leader in the form of fairness, trustworthiness, and so on. The same was also found through the MUI fatwa which forbids Golput with several supporting arguments. Likewise, the interpretation of the Qur'an regarding compliance with policies issued by the government by considering aspects that are under commendable traits.

Keywords: Phenomenon; Golput; Islamic law; Positive law.

Introduction

The White Group (Golput) or the group that does not exercise their right to vote in the general election is a phenomenon that has long been a concern in the political context in Indonesia. Golput often appears in every general election, whether presidential, gubernatorial, or legislative. This is due to various factors, including socio-economic conditions, education, and disappointment with election organizers.¹ Golput is a moral movement that was first proclaimed in the Jakarta cultural building as a form of protest against the general election held by the state at that time. Golput was originally a moral movement that was first proclaimed in the Jakarta cultural building as a form of protest against the general elections held

¹ Fatmawati, *Kampanye Politik: Sebuah Pendekatan Fenomenologi*, ed. Nur Asih Wulandari, Anggota IKAPI, Cetakan Pe (Banyumas: CV. Amerta Media, 2021).

by the state at that time.² Golput is a phenomenon that often occurs in every general election, both presidential, governor, and legislative elections.³

The phenomenon of Golput is an inseparable part of a country that adheres to a democratic system. The term Golput is intended for someone who has the right to vote but does not use their right to vote during the election or can also be defined as a group of people who do not vote for any party that participates in the election.⁴ But then the question arises what happens if everyone thinks that Golput is a natural thing and simultaneously does not give a choice during the elections or elections? what about the legitimacy of the results of the election or the election? and what about the commitment to build and co-operate as a great nation? This anxiety then motivated the author to return to questions about the pros and cons of Golput in elections or local elections in Indonesia.⁵

The phenomenon of white groups or Golput is still a concern in every general election, including elections and local elections. In fact, in some cases, Golput has become a "winner" in general elections, causing polemics related to efforts to build democracy through elections or local elections. From the Islamic perspective, there are diverse views related to Golput. Some view it as incompatible with Islamic teachings, while others view it as individual rights and freedoms. In Indonesia, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) has issued a fatwa declaring Golput as illegal, but this view is also a subject of debate among the public.⁶ On the other hand, in the perspective of positive law, participation in elections or local elections should be the right of citizens, but Law No. 10/2008 states that participation in elections is only a right, not an obligation. Therefore, the

² Rudi Trianto, "Buzzer Sebagai Komunikator Politik," *An-Nida' : Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam* 11, no. 2 (2023): 74–97, <https://doi.org/10.61088/annida.v11i2.562>.

³ Haris Alfarisi, "Konstruksi Makna Golput Di Kalangan Mahasiswa" (Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2021).

⁴ Badri Khaeruman, *Islam Dan Demokrasi: Mengungkap Fenomena Golput Sebagai Alternatif Partisipasi Politik Umat* (Jakarta: Nimas Multima, 2004).

⁵ Abdul Kadir, "Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Sosial Politik UMA Peranan Partai Politik Dalam Menanggulangi Golongan Putih (Golput) Pada Pemilihan Legislatif 2009," *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Sosial Politik* 1, no. 1 (2013): 54–64.

⁶ Risdianto, Rini Fatma Kartika, and Usman Alfarisi, "' Golput ' Dalam Pemikiran Politik Al-Mawardi Dan Korelasinya Terhadap Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia Tahun 2009," *Politea : Jurnal Pemikiran Politik Islam* 6, no. 2 (2023): 199–215, <https://doi.org/10.21043/politea.v6i2.22200>.

phenomenon of Golput remains a complex topic and requires deep understanding from various points of view.⁷

In the context of Islamic law, Golput has also become an interesting subject of study. Several Muslim scholars and scholars have analyzed Golput based on the Qur'an and Hadith. Some of them associate the obligation to choose leaders with the concept of *Amar ma 'ruf nahi munkar* (advocating good and preventing bad) in Islam. In addition, the view of Islamic law on Golput has also been the topic of study. Some contemporary scholars have issued opinions on the law of about in the concept of *fiqh siyasah*. They consider the general problem (benefit) in assessing the attitude of abstention in the general election.⁸

From a political point of view, Golput can also be analyzed as the political behavior of the community. Several studies have been conducted to understand the factors that lead to abstinence, including lack of confidence in prospective leaders, dissatisfaction with government performance, and the feeling that participation in elections will not bring significant changes.⁹ In general, the phenomenon of Golput is a complex issue and involves various aspects, both social, political, and legal.¹⁰ The study of Golput from the perspective of positive law and Islamic law is important to understand and overcome this phenomenon. It is hoped that the paper on "White Phenomenon: Study of Positive Law and Islamic Law" can contribute to a deeper understanding of this issue.

Method

This research uses literature studies, examining several texts in the form of manuscripts of articles and books that are by the research theme.¹¹ The focus of this study includes the study of the phenomenon of white groups (Golput) in Indonesia

⁷ Nyoman Subanda, "Analisis Kritis Terhadap Fenomena Golput Dalam Pemilu," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 2, no. 1 (2009): 60–72.

⁸ A Zarkasi and Dimas Rizal, "Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat Dalam Pemilihan Walikota Jambi Periode Tahun 2018-2023 Di Kecamatan Telanaipura Kota Jambi," *JISIP (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan)* 4, no. 3 (2020): 136–43, <https://doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v4i3.1173>.

⁹ Faiz Albar Nasution, Muhammad Husni Thamrin, and Alwi Dahlan Ritonga, "Menakar Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat Kota Medan Terhadap Pemilihan Walikota Medan Tahun 2020," *Politeia: Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 12, no. 2 (2020): 97–133.

¹⁰ Nurul Dwiana, "Analisis Wacana Tolak Golongan Putih Pada Film Suara April" (Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2021).

¹¹ Mestika Zed, *Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2008).

which is a polemic in every general election. Therefore, this paper will discuss the history and response issues of Islamic law and the state. Primary sources in this study are sourced from articles that discuss Golput, while secondary sources are relevant supporting books. The data analysis of this study used data extraction, classification, and analysis and continued with a conclusion. The data processing method was carried out by analyzing the phenomenon of Golput in Indonesia.

Findings and Discussion

1. Flashback to the Birth of the White Group (Golput)

Golput was initiated for the first time by Arief Budiman with his colleagues including Adnan Buyung Nasution, Imam Waluyo, Julius Usman, and Marsilam Simanjutak who were included in the 66th class of activists in the 1971 election. They boycotted the election as a form of disillusionment with the undemocratic Suharto regime by limiting political parties at that time. With the restriction of political parties, it is clear that in this case, the government has developed the most basic democratic principle, namely freedom of association and politics. Then this movement received support from various regions in Indonesia, including Bogor, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Semarang, and Solo.¹²

The essence of the basic attitude of Golput advocates towards the New Order regime was revealed from the struggle of the 66th generation in realizing and giving birth to the People's Tri Demands (TRITURA).¹³ The first demand, namely the dissolution of the PKI, was subjected to student unrest and other components of the New Order which included the two systems of authoritarianism that developed in Indonesia. The first was Sukarno's Presidential Democracy since mid-1959 and the second was the PKI, which reached its peak in its efforts to control the country through the coup of September 30, 1965. The second demand, behind the cabinet that is the target of student demands, sees a less effective government system even though it is equipped with centralized power in the form of the authority to intervene

¹² Arbi Sanit, *Golput: Aneka Pandangan Fenomena Politik*, Cetakan Pe (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1992).

¹³ Acu Nurhidayat, "Fenomena Golput Di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru (Studi Kasus Pada Pemilu 2004)," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta* (Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2009).

in the DPR and only relies on three political forces (Army, PKI, and TNI). Democratization and repositioning of the government system are at the core of student demands for a cabinet reshuffle. The third demand is a decrease in prices, which means planned and controlled economic development.¹⁴

The existence of a gap between the purpose and reality of elections and democracy as the ideal of democracy, among others, is reflected in TRITURA's first demand, namely the dissolution of the PKI as a reality and symbol of the non-democratic power of the Old Order. This is what led to the birth of Golput as a form of political protest movement. As revealed in its declaration on May 20, 1971, they rejected violations of election rules by all election contestants. They did not receive the government's preferential treatment of Golkar. All of that, according to the Golput movement, is not in line to grow democracy in a real way.¹⁵

Although Golput was not an organization, at that time Golput, like other parties, also conducted political education for the community so that they could think critically about political life in Indonesia. Political education here is to instill awareness in the public that in a general election, not voting is also a right for every citizen.¹⁶

Not only giving lectures and political education but also conducting campaigns to spread their ideas. For example, they make a statement in print media, attaching a black pentagon-shaped Golput sign on paper/cloth with a white base color with the Golput writing underneath adjacent to the image sign of other election participants.¹⁷ Therefore, Golput seems not just a moral movement but already resembles political action or social movements of political parties in elections. The difference is, that political parties as election participants to introduce their programs are regulated by election law, while the Golput has no legal umbrella. Therefore, this movement is considered unconstitutional by the government.

¹⁴ Sanit, *Golput: Aneka Pandangan Fenomena Politik*.

¹⁵ Sanit.

¹⁶ Priyambudi Sulistiyanto, *Politik Golput Di Indonesia Kasus Peristiwa Yogya* (Yogyakarta: LEKHAT, 1992).

¹⁷ I Nyoman Wijana, "Budaya Dalam Politik Identitas Di Indonesia I Nyoman Wijana Institut Agama Hindu Negeri Ghe Pudja Mataram," *Renaissance* 5, no. 2 (2020): 650–56.

2. White Group (Golput) in the Perspective of Islam and Statehood

From an Islamic perspective, Golput can be seen as a controversial act. Some scholars argue that participation in elections is a moral obligation for Muslims, as it involves the process of choosing leaders who will lead fairly and based on Islamic principles.¹⁸ However, some views view Golput as a form of protest or dissatisfaction with a political system that is considered corrupt and unfair. Some Islamic scholars and activists argue that if there are no candidates who meet the criteria of justice and piety, then Golput can be a legitimate option to voice disapproval of candidates who do not meet moral and religious standards.¹⁹ From a state perspective, Golput can be considered a challenge to the stability and legitimacy of government. Increased output rates can result in low levels of community participation in the democratic process, which in turn can affect the quality of representation and the validity of election results. Therefore, the government and related institutions have the responsibility to create conditions that support the active participation of the community in the electoral process.²⁰

In dealing with the phenomenon of Golput, it is important to understand that Islam encourages its people to actively participate in social and political life, with certain conditions that are by Islamic values.²¹ A deep understanding of Islamic teachings and principles of statehood can help find a balanced solution between political participation and moral-religious demands. For Muslims, a balance between moral obligation and dissatisfaction with the political system can be achieved through efforts to select candidates who are closest to Islamic principles, or through efforts to engage in the improvement of the political system through

¹⁸ Andi Nur Mayapada and Nila Sastrawati, "Golput Dan Kewajiban Memilih Pemimpin Dalam Islam," *Siyasatuna: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Siyasah Syari'iyah* 1, no. 3 (2020): 422.

¹⁹ Elli Setiawati, "Analisis Hukum Islam Mengenai Golongan Putih Dalam Pemilihan Daerah Menurut Perspektif Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Lampung" (Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung, 2019).

²⁰ Fatihunnada Fatihunnada, Iffatul Umnati, and Raspiani Raspiani, "Otoritas Fatwa Di Indonesia: Variasi Respons Pengguna Twitter Terhadap Fatwa MUI Tentang Haram Golput Pada Pemilu," *JISPO Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 11, no. 2 (2022): 301–30, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jispo.v11i2.13879>.

²¹ A Indraerawati and Rahmiati, "Golongan Putih Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Indonesia Perspektif Siyasah Syar'iyah," *Jurnal Siyasatuna* 2, no. 3 (2021): 525–36.

active participation in organizations and movements that seek to realize positive change.²²

Meanwhile, Arief Budiman, a sociologist and lecturer at the University of Melbourne, Australia, classified Golput into three types. First, abstentions are caused by political reasons, for example, abstentions as a result of protests against electoral laws that they consider to be dishonest, unfair, and undemocratic or that all candidates are unfit. Second, Golput because it is apathetic to the election.²³ For him, politics in Indonesia is considered very elitist, the impact of the election will not be useful for the community, because the elites only think about themselves. Third, Golput by accident. Many people do not understand the rules of the election, so they do not know the correct voting procedures, for example, they should not vote outside the picture or for more than one. When counting election vote results, Golput is usually used to describe many findings, such as absenteeism, blank ballots, accidentally damaged ballots or deliberately damaged ballots. However, sometimes the committee usually labels the ballot as invalid except for those who are absent.²⁴

Table 1. Differences in the Meaning of Golput in Islamic and State Perspectives

Table 1. Differences in the Meaning of Golput in Islamic and State Perspectives

Golput Type	Islamic Perspectives	State Perspective
Golput for political reasons	Can be a form of protest or dissatisfaction with a political system that is considered corrupt and unfair.	It can threaten the stability and legitimacy of the government due to the low level of community participation in the democratic process.
Golput due to his apathy toward the election	It can be seen as a controversial act because participation in elections is a moral obligation for Muslims.	May reduce the quality of representation and validity of election results.

²² Sevenia Angelia Tarigan, "Analisis Faktor-Faktor Yang Mempengaruhi Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat Dalam Pemilihan Walikota Meda Tahun 2020," *Institut Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri*, 2020.

²³ Linda Astuti, "Analisis Bentuk Golongan Putih Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Kelurahan Betungan Kota Bengkulu," *Jurnal Professional FIS UNIVED* 7, no. 2 (2020).

²⁴ Ni Putu Noni Suharyanti, "Aspek Hukum Golongan Putih Dalam Pemilihan Umum," *Jurnal Akses: Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat Universitas Ngurah Rai* 12, no. 2 (2020): 141–50.

3. Comparison of the Response of Islamic Law and the Positive Law to the White Groups

As a holistic legal system, Islam has its views and rules related to white groups or people who commit crimes. The response of Islamic law to white people is based on the principles of humanity and justice. In Islam, law enforcement must be done fairly regardless of one's race or background.²⁵ Therefore, Islam emphasizes the need to provide equal individual rights before the law. On the other hand, positive law countries also have a generally accepted legal system and seek to provide fair treatment to all their citizens, including whites. Legal responses from these countries tend to be secular and based on principles of democracy, human rights, and positive law. The legal systems in these countries seek to provide legal protection for every individual regardless of race or ethnicity.²⁶

However, the difference in approach between the response of Islamic law and the positive law state to white groups also sticks out in the interpretation of criminal acts. In Islamic law, punitive sanctions can include corporal punishment, while in many positive law countries, they tend to be more supportive of rehabilitation and social recovery. These differences reflect differences in cultural values, philosophies, and views toward the goals of the legal system itself. It is important to note that while Islamic law is religious, positive law states tend to separate religion from their legal policies.²⁷ This leads to a more neutral legal response and is not directly related to a particular religious view. On the other hand, in some cases, countries with a majority of the population adhering to a particular religion

²⁵ Muhammad Nurdin, "Identitas Nasional," *Advances in Social Humanities Research* 1, no. 4 (2023): 27–36.

²⁶ Haiza Nadia, "Golongan Golongan Putih (Golput) Dalam Pemilihan Umum Perspektif Hukum Islam Dan UU No.7 Tahun 2017," *As-Shahifah: Journal of Constitutional Law and Governance* 3, no. 1 (2023): 83–95, <https://doi.org/10.19105/asshahifah.v3i1.10019>.

²⁷ Muhammad Addi Fauzani and Aldinto Irsyad Fadhlurahman, "Rekonstruksi Hak Memilih Dalam Perspektif Kaidah Mashlahah Mursalah Di Indonesia (Tinjauan Dalam Prespektif Hubungan Rakyat Dengan Negara Dari Segi Filsafat Hukum Islam)," *Journal of Islamic and Law Studies* 4, no. 2 (2020): 78–94, <https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.18592/jils.v4i2.4152>.

may tend to provide a legal response that is more in line with those religious values.²⁸

The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) also stated that Golput is an objection that must be avoided because the voice of the people will decide who will be led and the fate of the country for the next 5 years.²⁹ The MUI does not feel the need to uphold the obligation to uphold the Islamic State of Indonesia, because its religious freedom is still integrated into Indonesia's formal laws. However, there is criticism of the haram Golput fatwa, because the MUI has done good socialization, but there are still people who do not heed the Golput.³⁰

Comparison of the response of Islamic law and the positive law to white groups also includes the role of legal institutions in the enforcement of penalties. Positive law countries tend to rely on formal judicial systems, whereas, in Islamic law, institutions such as briefing assemblies or judges can play an important role in the resolution of legal issues.³¹ This reflects differences in the structure and organization of the legal system between the two. Although there are different approaches, both the response of Islamic law and the positive law state have the same goal, which is to maintain justice, protect human rights, and maintain social order. Understanding and recognizing these common goals can be the basis for establishing a dialogue between Islamic law and positive law to achieve broader and inclusive justice.³²

²⁸ Muhammad Gayuh Gumelar, Wijayanto, and Nur Hidayat Sardini, "Fenomena Golongan Putih Pemilih Disabilitas Pada Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2019 Di Kabupaten Klaten," *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 6(11), 951–952. 2 (2019).

²⁹ Miftahurrozikoh, "Hukum Golongan Putih (GOLPUT) Dalam Pemilu Menurut Fatwa MUI Dan Fatwa Al-Irsyad" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2020).

³⁰ Fatihunnada, Umniati, and Raspiani, "Otoritas Fatwa Di Indonesia: Variasi Respons Pengguna Twitter Terhadap Fatwa MUI Tentang Haram Golput Pada Pemilu."

³¹ M. Rausyan Fikri, "Analisis Fiqh Siyasah Terhadap Strategi Komisi Pemilihan Umum Dalam Menekan Angka Golongan Putih Pada Pemilihan Umum Legislatif Tahun 2019 (Studi Di Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kota Bandar Lampung)" (Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung, 2020).

³² Muhamad Yusuf and Denok Kurniasih, "Reducing 'Golongan Putih' Activities in General Elections Abstention by Strengthening Citizen Participation and Involvement in Public Management," *Journal of Governance* 8, no. 3 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.31506/jog.v8i3.21620>.

Table 2. Comparison of the Response of Islamic Law and the Positive to the Golput Phenomenon

Aspect	Islamic law Response	Positive Law Response
Principles	Humanity, justice, protection of human rights	Democracy, human rights, positive law
Law Enforcement	Fair, regardless of race or background	Secular, generally applicable
Penalty	This may include corporal punishment	Better support social rehabilitation and recovery
Relation to Religion	Religious	It tends to be separate from religion
The Role of Legal Institutions	Council of <i>Taklim</i> , panel of judges	Formal judicial system

4. Interpretation of Compliance with Government Policy, Interpretation of Ulil Amri Verse QS. An-Nisa: 59 Comparison of Al-Maraghi and Al-Misbah

Surah An-Nisa' [4]: 59

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا ٥٩

*"O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and the rulers among you. If you disagree about something, return it to Allah and the Messenger if you believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is better (for you) and better in consequence (in this world and the Hereafter)."*³³

In particular, it can be said that after the last verse (Surah An-Nisa' [4]: 58) commands to establish the law fairly, then the above verse commands the *mu'minin* to obey the legal decision of whoever has the authority to establish the law. In order He stated; "O you who believe, obey Allah in His commands contained in the Qur

³³Department of Religious Affairs. "The Qur'an and its Translation, Completion Edition",118.

'an and obey His Messenger, Muhammad SAW in all kinds of commands, both orders to do something, and orders not to do it, as stated in his valid sunnah, and also obey the commands of *ulil amri*, which is the authority to handle the affairs of the ummah, as long as they are part of the mu'min, and as long as the commands do not contradict the commands of Allah or the commands of His Messenger".³⁴

Quraish Shihab interpreted QS. al-'Imran [3]: 35 suggests that if the verses of the Qur'an command obedience to Allah and His Messenger, two different editors are found. Once the commandment of obedience to Allah was coupled with obedience to the Messenger, without repeating the word "obey" as in QS. Al 'Imrân [3]: 35, and at other times as in the verse of Surah an-Nisa' [4]: 59 the words obey are repeated, each once when commanding obedience to Allah and again when commanding obedience to the Messenger. Pay attention to his words:

الرَّسُولَ وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ أَطِيعُوا ءَامَنُوا الَّذِينَ يَأْتِيهَا

“O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and the scholars among you.”³⁵

The Qur'anic experts explain that if the command of obedience to Allah and His Messenger is combined with mentioning only once the command of obedience, then it implies that the obedience in question is the obedience commanded by Allah SWT, both of which He commanded directly in the Qur'an, and His command explained by the Messenger through his hadiths. The command of obedience to the Prophet SAW here concerns matters originating from Allah SWT, not that which he ordered directly. Meanwhile, if the command of obedience is repeated as in QS.an-Nisa' [4]: 59 above, then the APOSTLE has the authority and right to be obeyed even though there is no basis from the Quran. That is why the command to obey *ulil amri* is not accompanied by the word obey because they do not have the right to be obeyed if obedience to them is contrary to obedience to Allah or the Messenger.³⁶

³⁴ Ahmad Musthofa Al-Maraghi, *Tafsir Al-Maraghi* (Majma' Al-Buhuts Al-Islamiyyah, n.d.).

³⁵ M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah* (Jakarta: Mizan, n.d.).

³⁶ Shihab.

Scholars' opinions vary about the meaning of the word (أُولِي الْأَمْرِ) *uli al amri*. Most mufasssirs interpret, *ulil amri* as a person who has the authority to take care of the affairs of the Muslims. They are people who are relied upon in handling societal problems. Some argue that they are rulers/governments. Some state that they are scholars, as Wahbah Zuhaili's explanation in his tafsir states that some tafsir experts argue that what is meant by *ulil amri* are scholars who are in charge of explaining sharia's laws to humans. The Imamiyyah Shia explained what is meant by *ulil amri* is the leaders who are *ma'shum*.³⁷ And another opinion states that they are the ones who represent the community in various groups and professions.

It should be noted that the word "*al-amr*" is in the form of makrifat or definite. This makes many scholars limit the authority of the owner of power only to societal issues, not purely religious or religious issues. Furthermore, because Allah commands Muslims to obey them, this means that such obedience comes from religious teachings because Allah's command is a religious command. On the other hand, the plural form of the word "*uli*" is understood by scholars in their sense are a certain group, namely a body or institution that has the authority to determine and cancel something - say - for example in terms of the appointment of heads of state, the formation of laws and laws, or named (أَهْلُ الْحَالِ وَالْعَقْدِ) *ahlu al-halli wa al 'aqd*. They consist of community leaders, scholars, farmers, workers, journalists, and other professional circles as well as the armed forces. This opinion, among others, was expressed by the authors of Tafsir al-Manar, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Ridha, also by al-Maraghi.³⁸ As the story of Umar bin Khattab when deliberating with *Ahl ar-ra'yi* from friends about the establishment of the office and about other matters that reeked of the welfare of the people along with the opinion of *ulil amri* consisting of other friends. Although the matter did not exist in the time of the Prophet, none of their scholars opposed it.³⁹

The authority obtained, both as an entity (Intragroup) and an individual (Intrapersonal), can be sourced from the community to regulate their affairs. Let's

³⁷ Wahbah Zuhaili, *Al-Tafsir Al-Munir Fi Al-'Aqidah Wa Al-'Syariah Wa Al-Manhaj* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2013).

³⁸ M. Quraish Shihab, "*Tafsir Al-Misbah*", Juz II....., 484.

³⁹ Al-Maraghi, *Tafsir Al-Maraghi*.

say through a general election and it could also be through a legitimate government, which appoints a certain group of people or people to handle one business (KPU). It could even be according to Thahir Ibn 'Asyür - because of the presence in certain people of praiseworthy traits and criteria, so that they become examples and references of society in their fields. Honest scholars and scholars are people who have authority in their bodies. For them, there is no need for any appointment from anyone, because knowledge and honesty do not need it. The community itself by following and referring to them and based on the experience of the community so far, which directly gives the authority factually, although not in writing.⁴⁰

Suppose in paragraph 58 the obligation to fulfill the mandate is emphasized, among others in the form of upholding justice. In that case, side by side with that, in paragraph 59 the obligation is stipulated for the community to obey *ulil amri*, although again - it must be underlined by the affirmation of the Apostle (طاعة)

(لمخلوق في معصية الخالق) "it is not permissible to obey a creature in disobedience to Khaliq (the creator)." As stated in the Sahih hadith: (إنما الطاعة في المعروف).⁴¹

"Indeed, obedience is only to the truth." In this context, the Prophet said: "A Muslim is obliged to allow and obey regarding anything (which is ordered by 'ul-'ul- 'amri) like or dislike. "But if he is ordered to sin, then at that time he must not allow, nor obey" (Hr. Bukhari and Muslim through Ibn 'Umar).⁴²

Obedience in the language of the Qur 'an means submitting, accepting sincerely, and or accompanying. This means that obedience is not just carrying out what is commanded, but also participating in efforts made by the authorities to support community service efforts.⁴³ It is in this context that the Prophet SAW said:

(الدِّينُ النَّصِيحَةُ) "Religion is Advice". When the companions asked: "For whom?"

The PROPHET replied, "To the leaders of the Muslims, and their multitudes" (hr. Muslims through Abû Ruqayyah Tamim Ibn Aus ad-Dâri), The advice in question

⁴⁰ Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah*.

⁴¹ al-Tafsir al-Quran Al-'Adhim, *Ibnu Kathir* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2006).

⁴² Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah*.

⁴³ Shihab.

is positive support including social control for the success of the tasks they carry out.⁴⁴

The verse implies various institutions that Muslims should realize to handle their affairs, namely the executive, judiciary, and legislative institutions.⁴⁵ People are obliged to accept and submit to this legal law, both secretly and openly. In conclusion, the author understands that the main message of this verse is to emphasize the need to return everything to Allah and His Messenger, affirm that the Prophet SAW was not sent except to be obeyed, and denial of faith for those who do not sincerely accept the Prophet's decree.⁴⁶ especially if differences of opinion arise (conflict), then this is regulated (*manage*) on *ulil amri*. Take the case of abuse of good name, then this is left to the police and judges to be processed fairly. When there is injustice or deviation from the rules of Allah & His Messenger, it is not obligatory to obey them. This is seen in the statement, "Then if you withdraw your opinion regarding something, then return it to Allah (Qur'an) and the Messenger (Sunnah)", and the verses afterward that condemn those who want to seek the source of law other than the Messenger.

In line with the prophet's hadith as follows: Abu Hurayrah narrated that the Prophet Muhammad SAW said,

من أطاعني فقد أطاع الله، ومن عصاني فقد عصى الله، ومن يطع أميري
فقد أطاعني، ومن يعص أميري فقد عصاني... (الحديث)

*"Whoever obeys me, obeys Allah, and whoever opposes me, opposes Allah, and whoever obeys my emir, obeys me, and whoever opposes my emir, opposes me..." HR Bukhari dan Muslim).*⁴⁷

Conclusion

1. Golput, a phenomenon in elections, sparked debate regarding people's political participation. According to some scholars, engaging in elections is a moral obligation of Muslims because it involves selecting leaders based on

⁴⁴ Shihab.

⁴⁵ Al-Maraghi, *Tafsir Al-Maraghi*.

⁴⁶ M. Quraish Shihab, *"Tafsir Al-Misbah"*, Juz II....., 482-486. See also Wahbah Zuhaili, *al-Tafsir al-Munir fi al-'aqidah wa al-Sharia wa al-manhaj*, Vol. 4 132

⁴⁷ Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Shohih Al-Bukhari* (Kairo: Dar al-Kutub al-'Alamiyah, 2015).

Islamic principles. However, some views see Golput as a form of protest against a political system that is considered corrupt and unfair. Some Islamic scholars and activists argue that if there are no candidates who meet the criteria of justice and piety, Golput can be an option to voice disagreement with candidates who do not meet moral and religious standards. Golput at the state level is also considered a challenge to the stability and legitimacy of government because it can degrade community participation in the democratic process, affect the quality of representation, and doubt the results of elections.

2. The approach to Golput through the prism of Islamic religion and the legal framework of the country shows significant variation. The response to white groups by Islamic law and the state includes the role of legal institutions in imposing penalties. Positive law countries tend to rely on a formal judicial system, in contrast to Islamic law which involves a briefing panel or a panel of judges in a legal settlement. Although different approaches, both have similar goals, namely maintaining justice, protecting human rights, and maintaining social order. This similarity can be the basis for building a dialogue between Islamic law and positive law to achieve more inclusive justice.
3. In the context of the interpretation of the Qur 'an on Compliance with Government Policy, it focuses on the Verse of Ulil Amri QS. An-Nisa: 59. Two tafsir figures, Al-Maraghi and Al-Misbah, convey the main message that all things must be returned to Allah and His Messenger. This verse emphasizes obedience to the Messenger as the main task, rejects faith for insincere obedience, and regulates conflict with *ulil amri*. In the case of defamation, it is left to the police and the judge. However, if there is injustice or violation of God's rules, it is not obligatory to obey. This principle is confirmed by stating that differences of opinion must be returned to Allah and the Messenger.

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