Transformation of Islamic Values in Political Interests and Moderate Awareness in Indonesia After the Fall of New Order 1998

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Abstract: After 1998, reformation era in Indonesia, the phenomenon of rise Muslim middle class towards structural formation was divided into two parts, namely the cultural activities of modern Muslims and practical activities. The first side forms the Muslim order to progress in aspects of tolerance, education, economy and global civilization, while the second side, strengthens the concern and participation of Muslims in political change, democracy and political parties.

Keywords: Politics of Identity, Globalization, Shari'a Regional Regulation, Gospel Regulation, Transnational

1. Introduction

One aspect of the change of power in Indonesia in 1998 was in the political sphere that governed the implementation of governance in the regions. Starting with the emergence of Law no. 22 of 1999 governing local government, and then perfected by Law No. 32 of 2004, perfected again with Law No. 12 of 2008 and finally Law No. 23 of 2014. This regulation regulates a decentralized system that places the principle of regional autonomy as a system of government in the region. However, the implementation and response to this regulation is no single, followed up with various interpretations, support and even other interests.

The development of initiators of local faith based regulations such as local regulations or gospel regulations in Indonesia are signs that more real conflicts are occurring in the community. Even regional regulations with religious characteristics have begun to shape the civil polarization of the region in real society, say in Aceh it is known as the Veranda of Mecca, while in Manokwari West Papua it is known as the foyer of Jerusalem and in Bali it is known as the foyer. the gods. The birth of these sharia rules may be more effective than the preaching of the kiai in the villages. Because the rules use the strong hands of the (regional) government to force local women to wear Islamic headscarves and clothing, or force married couples to learn to read the Qur'an more seriously. But most likely these rules cannot answer the big problems facing this nation, such as poverty, environmental damage and corruption.

If seen from what factors are driving sharia regional regulations in the regions, there are two things. First, the tendency towards so-called religious politicization in the sense that there are indeed political actors who have no connection with Islamic political parties or other Islamic and religious activities. But being the initiator and activator of Islamic sharia becomes a relatively strong regional regulation in the Islamic region, so that Islam becomes a kind of source of power that is pressing, labeling and practical because it has a bargaining position.

2. Literature Review

Learning from the NII (Indonesian Islamic State Movement), case in Indonesia, it should be suspected there are old actors such as legions from the old DI-TII archaeology, KPPSI Kahar Muzakar. First, NII runs a political agitation agenda. Second, it is compatible with the interests of politicians and the interests of supporters of the Syriatization Perda. Note, that Sharia regulations already exist in 6 Provincial Level jurisdictions, 38 in regencies, 436 Regencies in Indonesia that have implemented Sharia Regional Regulations currently. Even the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam has applied the specialization of sharia based autonomy namely Qonun. Responses to the proliferation of Sharia Regulations or Gospel Regulations were also issued publicly in Papua Province. When Protestantism became dominant, it then initiated various Papuan Regulations and the People's Assembly. In areas such as Fakfak which became the Islamic District, Merauke became Protestant and Catholic.

The above phenomenon often occurs and what has been shown by "religious space" can be a resource for elite game devices to achieve their goals. It will even open the "secret of conflict" in social life. Spreading religion is an effective resource for various interests, especially politics. The power of tradition in Indonesia still places religion and power in the mind, this is the intention of the religious elite to bring it into the realm of power. This must be the hands of religious elites who are more effective in the light of liberation, empowerment and tolerance in the management of multiculturalism, which increasingly needs to be present.

The fact shows that there are things that appear unexpectedly, religious symbols that shift meaning into the realm of practical power. The strength of morality from the power of spirituality or the new religious awareness, instead of becoming glue, and the new religious awareness. This is not a general function for the spread of individual or party politics before elections or elections. This is a political statement to support certain political forces while mobilizing various religious activities towards positions that do not have bargaining positions. Then why do people and society always become object roles? Society is composed of cultural markets (cultural products

created by humans) which are jointly based on aspects of life, according to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu uses Max Weber's religious analysis for sociological stories that illustrate every aspect of human life, such as economics, art, technology, and politics. In every aspect of public discourse, there are autonomous practical rules that can be interpreted as religious structures in the analogy of cultural markets.

In every aspect of discourse, there is always someone who is an imam/priest or in Islam called the Kiyai and the prophets (prophecy) who are producers of the symbols that make up that aspect. There are always people who become symbols and there are always people who are consumers of that symbol. For example, the product of political space is called a political institution. One form of institutionalization of political products is bureaucracy and execution. It is not wrong for society and society to imagine "political institutions related to the management of the ummah have the authority and legitimacy in safeguarding all bureaucracy, including the interests of society". Elite and followers of the religious bureaucracy are the symbols it produces. In addition, he has his own "congregation" who has an appreciation of his own community management model. This, of course, triggers the birth of segregation in society.

Bellah (1992) states that religion is understood not only as an external character in the form of a system of values and beliefs, religion is also a reflection of subjective reality which is the main concern related to something that is valuable and meaningful. The basic problems as suggested by Bellah must be symbolized so that they can be captured by the mind. Society calls these symbols something that refers to "holy" or "divine". In fact, according to Berger, such symbols are used by humans to regulate the canopy, which gives meaning eating direction in organizing and managing the reality of life. Religion is all values, texts, ritual codes, institutions, thoughts, vocabulary, actions, and anything that can legitimize social institutions and actions, so people can truly participate in the divine cosmos. The power that comes from social solidarity and integration authority possessed by religious leaders can be used as instruments in the identity politics space. This type of conflict and conflict within the central structure of the transnational religious movement permeates the national religious movement. The facts explain that Indonesia is one of the fertile regions in the world to develop the fundamentalist movement. The transnational movement will face each other with various religious movements based on national socio-culture.

According to Azra Tholkhah et al. (2004), political history in Indonesia has been recorded since the 1998 reforms on the notion of democracy and decentralization surfacing as a reaction to the great power of the New Order. The fresh air of this change has provided an opportunity for the implementation of people's political rights, but on the other hand, has triggered the strengthening of activities that contain the flow of political identity. The rise of religious political parties in 1998 is often referred to as the revival of political currents although it no longer aims to form a form of a religious state. Social reality notes that the rise of political flow also seems to increase tensions between Islamic based political parties. In addition, there were calls from MUI and several Islamic organizations ahead of the 1999 elections to not vote for other political parties that feature many non-Muslim candidates.

The attention of society and towards politics thus lies in the development of the activation pattern of variants of the appeal of religious elites in the form of social interpretations and actions that only utilize religious symbols in the power room. The picture above shows how the construction of identity has significance to mobilize political objectives. Identity becomes an important part of relations relating to power, both as a means of domination and resistance (articulating). Although a religious leader is able to establish "one's identity" and can facilitate articulating interests, other parties are also useful for practical political purposes. The rise of Identity politics is a "new location" in the relationship of pluralistic communities between people. Political identity is a social resource and at the same time as a political tool.

The study of the rise of deliberative democracy has stimulated the development of discourse about the closeness between democracy and the proportionality of primordial representation and minority groups. The concept of deliberative democracy which places society as the subject of its own government is then understood as society and government as a whole and has the right to be heard by the government and other groups over political choices. Cultural themes, including religion (religious elites, congregations), languages, local institutions, culture and traditions are the basis for the emergence of strengthening political identity through manipulation of political norms, symbols, and semiotics. Coupled with classic issues such as economic injustice, political representation, a local presence that is considered non-existent (ethnicity, religion, majority), bureaucratic nepotism.

This is very different from the politics of identity prevailing in Lebanon. Although that does not reflect the situation with Indonesia. Where war with Israel in that country, has led to the dominance of group interests over the Politics of Common Identity. The emergence of various social groups based on culture, religion or parties in Lebanon. For example, the Christian community, for example, is polarized in Maranite, Orthodox and Catholic groups. While in the Islamic or Arabic community, Sunni, Shia, Duruz and Armenian groups emerged. Where the position of identity is an important part of power relations and social ties in a society, in addition to the articulation of violent wars and the stretch of the political economy practised by various social and local groups. There is also a view of political identity rooted in primordialism, following the Aristotelian concept of government, which means

"to struggle" and "to join oneself". Therefore, identity politics always celebrate conflicts vis-à-vis and dialectics (Noor et al, 2004).

Wasisto says, the emergence of the Muslim order in the form of strengthening tarbiyah and Ikhwan as social change agencies offered by the Muslim middle class. Tarbiyah can literally be interpreted as education, namely efforts to create a spirit of intellectualism, modernization, and political awareness of the middle class. Meanwhile, Ikhwanism is a form of political militancy that promotes community collectivity, both based on movement and intellect. The implications arising from the effort to be changed with the emergence of a Muslim middle class that grew out of the intellectual classes and primarily the bourgeoisie. Resistance to authoritarianism is opposed by constitutional means by establishing parties and following elections so as to form a government. Resistance to theocracy is done by way of applying more religiosity in the public sphere so as to create an inclusive Muslim society (Wasisto, 2016).

3. Methodology

This study used a qualitative method and literature review. This study seeks to reveal the dynamics of social, political, cultural change in the process of Islamization and institutional processes as well as the sociocultural process of Islam between politic interest and moderate awareness. To sharpen this study, certain themes from the history, adaptation strategies and indigenous, and the formation of political institutions. Sociological and historical understanding related to all historical and historiographical experiences becomes very important. Since the expression of ideas, ideas, thoughts, beliefs, organizational systems, social systems and cultural systems that move the other historical experiences, especially the process of Islamization that takes place simultaneously with the expansion of activities that cannot be separated from the Islamic characteristics. The existence of religious and political interest in regulation and social networks is very important for the continuation of the role and function of Muslims in trading activities and relations with the role of the local. This study had two sources of data, they were: (1) Literature review and documentation as primary data; (2) Field sources as secondary data were used as complementary information sources. The data sources of literature review and documentary were sought by observation techniques and documentary studies, both books, and other literacy methods; Islamization, and indigenous people after the fall new order.

The secondary data were generated by interviews with some informants. This technique was to better understand the cohesive interpretations of various historical data found. The result is a chronological description, a reconstruction and a strong conclusion to the study subjects. Interpretation analysis was to understand the various circumstances that are in social relations, conflicts and dynamics of power formation such as status, roles, values, norms, knowledge, ideas, symbols, which describe events. This analysis is a method in cultural science to result in scientific knowledge of objectivity. Hence, this analysis was used to address neglected dimensions in sociological analysis, namely the analysis of social, cultural, and material aspects by understanding the meaning related to historical or social situations that view the social-cultural environment as a phenomenon of human creation.

This study focused on the shared meaning in a social process which was expected to explain the significance of existing conditions and relationships and implicitly creates conflict and the deepest insights were obtained about the actions that occurred in social relations. The data was validated using triangulation techniques. stated four kinds of triangulation techniques, they are (1) data triangulation, that is, researchers in collecting data must use a variety of different data sources, (2) methodological triangulation is a way for researchers to test the validity of data by collecting similar data but by using different data collection techniques or methods, (3) investigator triangulation, which is the results of research both data or conclusions about a particular section or the whole can be tested for validity from several researchers, and (4) theoretical triangulation, namely in testing the validity of the data using the perspective of more than one theory in discussing the problems examined so that it can be analyzed and drawn more complete and comprehensive conclusions. This study used the theoretical triangulation technique to validate the data. The theoretical triangulation technique tested the validity of the data using more than one perspective in discussing the problems being studied so that it can be analyzed and drawn more complete and comprehensive conclusions. In the context of this study, the relevant data related to Malay political culture were collected and grouped based on the method used, inventorying conclusions related to the existing literature, which were finally tested with relevant theories to draw complete conclusions.

4. Results and Discussion
4.1. Measuring the Meaning of Political Identity in Indonesia

In the study of political science and sociology, identity is categorized into two things, namely: social identity (class, race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality) and political identity (nationality and citizenship). Social identity determines the position of the subject in relation to social interaction, while political identity determines the position of the subject in a community through a sense of belonging to a sense of diversity. Because identity is also worrying about what makes people different from others, the construction of identity is closely related to the construction of "differences".

Political identity is a construction that determines the position of interests of the political community, while the political mechanism of organizing identity (both political identity and social identity) as political resources and facilities. In a context where identity is mobilized to articulate interests, opportunities are available for the emergence of claims against "new socio-political identity" which politically increases the dilemma of developing contemporary society.

On the one hand, the political space for new identity claims can increase to opportunities for conflict. Political arrangements, which ensure the continuity of the process of equality through liberal democracy, can open opportunities for public recognition and political organization of new identity claims, which have the potential to cause conflict. This is because a person's social or cultural identity, for example, is based on a class system (bottom, middle, top), sexuality (heterosexual, homosexual), religion (Islam, Christianity, etc.), is the source of the formation of political identity and is therefore important for mobilization identity politics. The root of the problem of political identity will be the aspects of primordial bonds, such as ethnicity and religion, space needed by actors (elites and institutions) to realize their existence and identity in accordance with their ideals and goals. The identity of politics is related to efforts starting from merely channeling aspirations to influence policies, mastering the distribution of values that are seen as valuable to the most fundamental demands of self-determination on a primordial basis.

In the format of technicality, efforts to incorporate values into regional regulations, separating government areas, desiring special autonomy, and desiring regional privileges are reflected. In the context of religious politics, identity arises from a variety of efforts to incorporate religious values in the policy-making process, including the emergence of various Shari'a regulations, protest regional regulations in Papua, and efforts to make a city synonymous with a particular religion, say Ogan Ilir mocking his area as a city of "Santri", Palembang identified it as the city of Darussalam,

Therefore, identity politics always celebrates conflict both vis-à-vis and dialectic. Celebrating conflict means defining yourself as the same and the other. The same always means major, while the others always mean minor. That is superior character. But it can also be the opposite, and that is an inferior character. Identity politics are always in the range of tension between superior and inferior, between the same and the other, between the majority and the minority. Rosalind Brunt describes identity politics as:

"... the politics of a group of arrows from an emphasis on recognizing (to some extent) political activities and efforts involving ongoing processes to mark who we are in our relationship with others (Brunt, 1989).

Political Identity seems to discover the power in politics of pluralism theory. A political theory of pluralism, the existence of tolerable and neglected to be questionable as well as struggling for. Plurality is factual reality; pluralism is the reality of mother art that factual reality. The perspective of consciousness, way of life, and idéalité and recognition of that fact. In your language Richard J. MOU and Sandra Griffions. The Levé of the pluralism of lies in the TWA Levés: Descriptive Levé, Winch recognizes the recognition and Normative prescriptive Levets it does not incorporate recognition, but do not Watt for a flight to Diversity. In the descriptive levé, pluralism is a real social fact in life, as the initial condition of the pluralistic society and because of the pluralization of life created by the modernization flow. According to Mouw and Griffioen, at. Normative prescriptive levels, there are three domains of diversity, namely: cultural contexts, institutional associations, and value systems that

provide direction to human life (directional pluralism). The political term "identity" means in contemporary intellectual discourse. A person's identity builds a dialogical process that marks any boundary about him and what makes it the same or different from others.

Thus, the identity of a person cannot be separated from the "Sense "of collectivity. From that statement, when the identity is formulated as something that makes a person "own or shares the similarity "with others, then. At the same time, the identity form "Ternes" (something else) or something that is a bond. So, the identity characterizes are not formed by collective bonding, but also by the category of differences. Therefore, identity construction involves all the opportunities of various categories of collective differentiation competing and, therefore, the category of identity is not descriptive but is normative.

"Identity categories constitute multiple competing possible identities in which particular groups define themselves in a distinctive sense of belonging, identity categories are never solely descriptive, but normative" (Leonie, 2001).

Michael Keith and Steve Pile (1993) suggest three locations for boundaries in "new identity politics (postmodern)", namely: (1) location for struggle (location of struggle), (2) resistance community (communities of resistance); and (3) political spaces (political spaces). The location of struggle is a space where individuals enter politics. This space can be real (real space), imaginary (imaginary space), or symbolic (symbolic space). In this context, the determination of location for the entry of individuals into politics must be placed in their relations with the community. That is related to:

"What kind of social relations they share; do they share experiences under oppression; is it necessary for us to ignore differences in order to form an alliance against power hegemony; Which differences need to be articulated and which are not necessary for a further struggle" (Keith, 1993).

Anwar Ibrahim (1996) has an interesting view of glocalization in The Asian Renaissance, which he calls global convivencia, which is a more harmonious experience and enriches the harmonious life of people from diverse cultures and religions. Globalization is expected to appreciate cultural diversity rather than erase it. Become glocalization, which is a serious effort to re-explore the treasure trove of local wisdom buried in the beloved Mother Earth.

The power of glocalization or localization of globalization which means not only translating everything that enters but creates itself according to local culture is able to strengthen national integration (Anand, 2006). According to him, people who can survive are people who have not been carried away by globalization but have carried out glocalization. He explained that the cultural strength had also brought Indonesia towards independence after Sukarno-Hatta proclaimed a sentence that reinforced Indonesia's desire for independence. In globalization and the glocalization of the process of intensifying transnational spaces, the problems, conflicts and events always run in glocal logic.

Here the political process of identity is a process that makes media glocalization of fundamentalism ideology. A distinct view of the Parekh Bhikhu, stating that waves of glocalization and globalization are the triggers for the birth of identity politics in the nation-state. A fundamental political principle that can give direction to the global world is a new political identity. Globalization does challenge traditional identities such as ethnic identity, culture, religion or even national identity. This challenge occurs because globalization seems to remove the boundaries of ethnic, cultural, religious, state and other social borders such as gender or sexual orientation. In the face of globalization, the traditional boundaries that separate ethnic, cultural, religious and state borders appear to disappear. Facing global challenges like these, ethnicity, culture, religion, state and other social borders have no choice but to operate in a new historical context, to follow all changes and take a new step of understanding including Understanding of the old traditional crisis identity inherent in the members of the community.

Glocalization is global product customization with market (local) characters. So Glocalization became a strategy that emerged as a critique of the concept of Neoclassical free trade, which no longer establishes a country in a product according to its potential. Therefore, the manufacturer of State conditions (market) so that they are in the same socio-cultural background as other countries. In the field of study of glocalization, culture means the emergence of global product interpretation in the local contest conducted by the community in various areas of culture. The local interpretation of society then also opens up the possibility of shifting cultural values from one place to another.

This is what is then called the process of giving birth to identity politics, where these dimensions inevitably converge on the question that everything is driven by market power that is a neo-liberal ideology (globalism). At the praxis level, globalization is the creation of a world without limits. A "trans-national space" It is no exaggeration if Giddens, mentions that our society today is a society of "wanderers in space and time". If the debate about globalization is voiced in the land of pheriperi, what grows is not a conceptual debate, but a marriage of problems between the economy and socio-cultural (Antonio, 1995).

Globalization here is a process of economic, political, social and cultural integration as a 'national post-constellation' where a community faces the strengths and challenges of the dynamics of the constellation, Habermas (2001), Appadurai Arjun (1997), even goes so far as to say that the ambiguity effect of globalization has given rise to a "new ethnicity" especially in trans-national societies that challenge the conditions and political practices in a country (other regions). For example, through the emergence of transnational political communities such as international NGOs or the political struggle of diaspora groups (such as The Free Aceh Movement, or the Free Papua Movement). Appadurai also said that the ambiguous effects of globalization have expanded forms of resistance both locally and globally because not all groups can be fully engaged in the process of globalization.

In that context, in the midst of a global world, traditional identities need to be integrated into a universal human identity where people and society can be rooted in certain traditions but also open to other traditions or become members of certain communities but also feel part of humanity as a global community, but at the same time the presence of ancaional) experiencing reallocation of ideology and forms into local movements following the rhythm of the trans-national movement. Now with the internet and so on the influence of the Middle East movements in the local context can be directly entered into the new age, namely the newcomers in the religious world whose basis is precisely in the world of secular education. The presence of the HTI movement (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaatul Islamiyah, Daar Al-Arab, Jamaatul Tablir, among Indonesian Muslims brought social tensions, even brought clashes with established religious ideas and institutions. This kind of thing will provide a way or instrument for the birth of a Shari'a regional regulation or other regional regulations as a counterpart.

Organizing identity (socio-politics) therefore involves a dynamic "negotiation" process because such an effort involves the function of facilitating and managing potential differences. The ideas obtained through the postcolonial approach can help us to further reveal the dimensions surrounding power and how these power mechanisms are carried out, both in social processes that involve patterns of interaction between people and communities (local, national, and global) as well as in cultural processes that involve institutionalizing symbolic aspects obtained through social practices that then influence the political relations of everyone in their community.

Through a postcolonial approach, two important elements in power can be analyzed, namely domination and resistance. The response to dominance and resistance is a very decisive characteristic in the process of articulating identity as a field of negotiation in power relations.

The proliferation of various regional regulations (PERDA) with a certain religious background in some regions in Indonesia because of uncontrolled identity politics. This rule is based on religion as covering, not religion as spirit, substance, or value. According to Anas, uncontrollable identity, politics is reflected in regulations based on religion as a cover and not a religion as a value, let alone the spirit. If religion is spirit, identity politics can be processed in the national context. It is necessary to melt uncontrollable identity politics by encouraging deep understanding and understanding of religion as the substance, foundation, spirit, and ethics of society. "

The cover of religion should not be forced in the context of the nation-state that is currently under construction, because it will not get support (Anas in seminar 24-August 2009). In other words, identity politics is not a matter of personal attitude, but rather as an attitude towards structural dilemmas in articulating equality and distributing social justice. So, the emergence of the new regime that carries political discourse of identity is actually not necessarily regarded as a threat to the continuity of human civilization. Instead, it opens up new dimensions of fairness and equality.

4.2. Norm Manipulation and Interest in Elite Religious Activism

To complement the question of the manipulation of the elite religion "secret" acts of conflict and integrity in social life (including causes and ways to resolve conflicts). Edmund R. Leach's theory and Max Gluck Man analyzed the problems of conflict norms and manipulation of rules and balance or equilibrium in social life. Against equilibrium in social life is expressed not all the time, in the sense that every time there will surely be an imbalance or social shock.

Speaking of interest, both the country's manipulation of political interests and conflict will occur, which begins with a conflict of norms and internal conflicts, with a central theme of striving for power. In this case, the norm or rule occurs. In the analysis, both also use historical approaches, such as "Do conflicts have historical roots or not". According to both, with the norm, it will make the potential to increase and open the collision to be reproduced in the form of manipulative conditions that do not bring conflict. Why? The role of religion as symbols and cultural resources has the flexibility that is relatively easy to accept, socializing and even easily disseminated, also as symbols and cultural forces, religion also has a control mechanism and evaluation that automatically corrects when action will take a conflict.

This is a complex social life, but also a cultural encounter based on religious beliefs that can conflict with the norm. or manipulation of social norms for individual benefits. Leach's remarkable views are evident from his criticism of equilibrium. According to him, the social balance generally cannot be retained eternally, which means that social cohesion does not last long and is not constant. Social life is always a fluctuating state, event shifting or continuous oscillation.
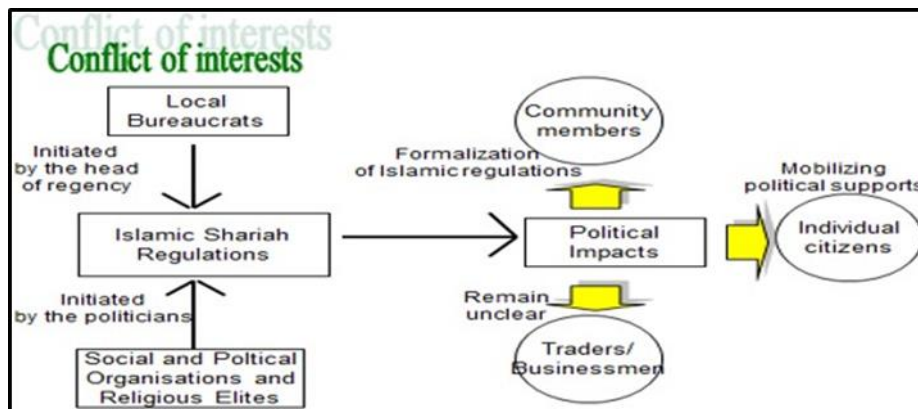

Figure 1.

In other words, according to Leach, social life is always in a state of inconsistency. The causes include social life that is never stable and social norms are generally ambiguous based on different interests. This difference will affect the interpretation on the basis of different perspectives and will ultimately determine different attitudes. According to Leach this difference in attitude will create clashes, both individually and in groups. The mechanism of change is determined by the individual's response in fighting for socio-political positions and economic interests. All societies only maintain a critical balance for a while, and truly "are in a changing state or the potential changes constantly" (Adam, 2005).

In the mind of Zainuddin (2004), it is stated that religion and power are often constructed in the context of the state in the hands of social-based political rulers, where power was under the control of ulama-based rulers

(caesaropapism vs. hierocrat). Behind religion as a political resource (religiopolitical power), articulately can be in the form of taking religious symbols as a means of power. It could be a representation of the piety and spiritual awareness of the bureaucratic apparatus, but it does not rule out the possibility of being transformed into a source of gathering legitimacy. In the classical approach for religious leaders (Kiyai, Imam, Pastor, Romo, Bikshu) as a community that loves to live harmoniously, maintain harmony, help each other, have religious and charismatic scientific authority. Sometimes religious elites often do caregivers of social interests. The Super identity inherent to the elite of religion is not without reason, factors that fundamentally form patrimonial characters and hierarchical relationships with consideration of kindness and moral guidance into a more rational relationship on the basis of resource courtesy calculations.
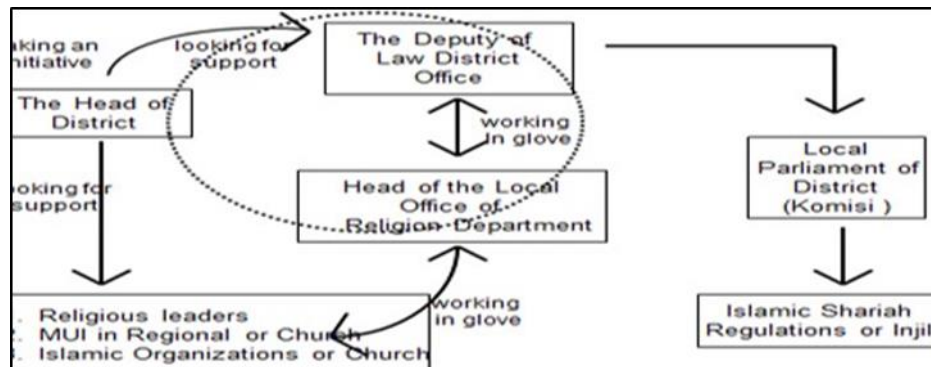

Figure 2. State Level Process

According to Donald Eugene Smith's (1963), thought that religion and political power (religion political power) are categorized into two things, namely: organic and secular concepts. Intended by the power of organic religion is a view that unites religion and power because the reach of religion covers all aspects of human life. Whereas the secular typology of religious power tends to argue that the need for separation between religion and power is useful for maintaining the purity of religion itself. So, emphasizes Smith's view by stating that the power of organic religion, the behaviour of rulers in the name of the state provides support and accommodation to the interests of religious groups. So that, the authorities included religious leaders both as representations of the interests of religious groups and as state advisory bodies. Religious symbols will be worn on state events even in the ocratic state system. The use of religious symbols is done institutionally and formally so that power is not a representation, but is a presentation of religion.

The typology of the management of secular power Leonard Swidler (1996) explains that secular rulers will not take religious symbols in public life, nor does the ruler feel obliged to accommodate the interests and demands of religious groups, whereas the ruler will form various starting rules that flexible too restrictive. According to Davis (1989), separation of religion and politics this model represents a model of Christian thought. While in Islam the union of religion and state applies, while Jews tend to be ambiguous, but this view is still debated.

According to Jose Casanova (1994), at the same time, the emergence of fundamentalist and substantial Islamic revivalism phenomena in Indonesia and the debate found momentum in the 1999 elections, where political parties with religious and ethnic identities received a small voice. This is a sign that the use of religious and ethnic identity at the national level does not support the community.

A similar condition was also shown during the General Assembly of MPR 2000, which included discussing the 1945 amendment to the constitution, at that time the Islamic-based party was strongly wanted to fight for sharia formalization at the national level. However, the phenomenon of the emergence of KH Abdurahman Wahid became the president of Indonesia in 1999 gave rise to power supremacy in the hands of the students and this indicates that religion has sufficient vitality for the political revolution. The emergence of the Kiyai political revolution. Abdurahman Wahid became the blueprint for the birth of various new religious movements, "religious experiments" and new religious awareness. Enriching religious practices in the social realm of people's lives is very significant. The political revolution by the religious elite illustrates the revitalization and revival of public roles that have led to the collapse of the theory of secularisation and marginalization of religion in the midst of modern life.

The behaviour of the religious elites who often carry out activities "Practical or confidential political practice" can also be read through the arrangement of Giddens (Setup theory). Disappearing dualism (opposition), Giddens presents the duality of the idea between actors and structures. Along with the centrality of space and time, actors' duality and structure into two central themes. Duality means actions and structures suppose one another. This structure is not a reality outside the actors as Durkheim understood and continued with structuralism. Structures are rules and resources (rules and resources) that materialize when enabled by an actor in social practice. In this sense, its structure not only restricts or confronts actors but also allows (enables) social practice. Meanwhile, the

centrality of time and space are proposed to break the deadlocks of dynamic static dualism, Sinkrony/ diachronicity, or stability and alteration.

This dualism occurs because time and space are usually treated as a stage or context for action. Taking inspiration from Heidegger's philosophy, Giddens defines space and time as elements of action. No action without time and space. Therefore, no events are only static or only dynamic. So Central to the time and space for Giddens that he says that both should be integral elements. On the basis of these two central themes, Giddens builds on the theory of structuring and reinterpreting modern phenomena, such as state nations, globalization, ideology, and identity. The Giddens setup theory is an analysis theory on small tissues as it refers to structural analysis. That is automatically activated when the actor's strength steps a certain condition.

The main concept of the Giddens in structuring is that a structure is a dynamic and active process when an actor or actor carries out a social practice. In this theory, the main concern is the analysis of the role of structures, while agents or actors and other resources are determined by the environment. Contrary to the phenomenological approach, where agents or actors become players in social practice, while the structure of reality has a role outside the actor or actor. Giddens said that structuring tries to combine actors and structures to have roles and functions to produce in the same space and time. What is the contribution of structuration theory to the behaviour of religious elites between political space and harmony? Structural analysis can be explained as follows:

1. Social change occurs in: community, organization, government, state, international relations.
2. If the choice of analysis is in social-religious organizations and religious-based community behaviour, the next step is
3. Explain the subject matter such as the elite of religion A and the elite of religion B in the same religion always disagree and each one always seizes influence on society. The next step is
4. Describe each of the organizational structures or other resources in the two religious elites. Like hierarchical, forms of leadership, status and role. At conclusions always expressed in the same form, remain and have the same role and status with each other. Remember time and space. The next step
5. Analyze the system within each religious elite, this is related to the behaviour of actors and actors of all levels or supporters of the intended religious elite. Also explain the conditions that reproduce various social practices such as the relationship between actors and local authorities, access to economic, political, capacity and capability, integrity with the government and people. Relationships that occur behind social practices carried out by religious elites and groups. It will be seen with one another and will answer the question of why there are a dispute, tension and struggle for the influence of the people.
6. Describe various conditions that manage or create a social practice that occurs from the beginning of the process of the structure than the system (agent behaviour). Such as cooperation with the authorities, the role of institutions (mosques, churches, education), practitioners and supporters, relations with the various party and social movements, the capacity of religious elites and practising those associated with the integrity of government relations.
7. Furthermore, there will be differences between the religious elite and the pro or anti-fighting political responses with the government.

Structuring is a critical approach method that understands the various processes of dialogue and relationships that occur behind power and communication in social practice. Explaining in detail the various multidisciplinary actors (religious elites) to the conditions of producing a social practice that is enveloped by power and ideology can clearly explain the implications of the role played. The game in the arena that has risks, Giddens refers to the danger that is actively estimated to be related to the possibility that will occur. Risk is something inherent in a future-oriented society.

The phenomenon of strengthening identity politics is part of the negative consequences (unintended consequences) of modernity. Various forms of risk due to the many religious elites who play in the space of identity politics present the reality of the emergence of various social tensions that lead to manifest conflicts of perceived political identity by the religious elite. In addition, the phenomenon of the proliferation of new schools of religion is at least motivated by two factors, namely: First, the result of the weakness and lack of attention of religious elites on the spiritual needs of the people, because they are too preoccupied with identity politics. Second, due to the very dependence of the community on institutions or institutions, actors who are strangers, far away or untouched by them. Finally, the people themselves will overcome the risks because of their distrust of the religious elite.

5. Conclusion

The proliferation of regional divisions, sharia regulations, gospel regulations, indigenous peoples who want a collective position and power in Regional management and the increasing demands of social-political space by various democratic actors in Indonesia. As a sign of social, political and cultural life into the era of "political identity". At the beginning and movement of the relationship between communities, then continued with multiculturalism where all parties not only put the award, respect for the difference further demands the awareness of cooperation between Religious and multi-ethnic groups. But the development and necessity of religion in public

space encourages strengthening on two fundamental things, namely, political awareness and social life arrangement of other side emerged also awareness of humanitarian history that requires religious moderation, influence not only the aspects of politics and economics but also the behaviour and ideology and even lifestyle of modern society. The shift of ideological roles to the realm of political identity encourages a new revivalist spirit in the trans-national religious movement. If the political purpose of identity creates a "new modern society" through the use of various symbols of religion in the field of power, and creates space for the religious elite to play the role, the logical implications are the various regulatory areas or areas Regulations with certain religious backgrounds in some areas of Indonesia due to uncontrolled identity politics. This rule is based on religion as covering, not religion as spirit, substance, or value.

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