

A Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah Perspective on the Implementation of General Elections in Indonesia

Agustri

Institut Agama Islam Tafaqquh Fiddin Dumai, Indonesia

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Correspondence

Agustri

Institut Agama Islam
Tafaqquh Fiddin Dumai,
Indonesia

E-mail:

triagues23@yahoo.com

A B S T R A C T

This study aims to analyze the implementation of general elections (*Pemilu*) in Indonesia through the lens of *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*, seeking to evaluate the extent to which the democratic system aligns with the principles of Islamic law. As a manifestation of popular sovereignty, elections serve as a vital mechanism for establishing legitimate and just governance. However, their compatibility with Islamic teachings has long been a subject of scholarly debate. Employing a normative juridical method with a conceptual approach, this research examines both classical and contemporary Islamic legal discourses, as well as statutory regulations governing elections in Indonesia. The findings reveal that the principles underlying the electoral process reflect the essential objectives of *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*: the protection of religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), intellect (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*), progeny (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), and wealth (*ḥifẓ al-māl*). Elections conducted in a direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair manner can thus be regarded as a mechanism for achieving public welfare (*maṣlaḥah*) in harmony with the overarching purposes of the Sharī'ah – to safeguard justice, social stability, and collective well-being. Therefore, the administration of elections in Indonesia does not contradict Islamic values; rather, it functions as a crucial instrument for realizing social welfare, public trust, and governance grounded in justice and moral integrity.

1. Introduction

General elections constitute one of the fundamental pillars of modern democratic systems, ensuring the participation of citizens in determining the direction of governance. In the Indonesian context, elections (*Pemilu*) hold a pivotal position as the primary instrument for realizing popular sovereignty, as affirmed in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. They represent a strategic moment for the peaceful, constitutional, and periodic transfer of political power. Nevertheless, within certain religious and intellectual circles, debates continue to emerge concerning the legitimacy and compatibility of democracy – and by extension, the electoral system – with Islamic legal principles. These debates stem from differing views on leadership, sovereignty, and methods of appointing rulers in Islam. On one hand, Islam emphasizes *shūrā* (consultative deliberation) in decision-making; on the other, democracy prioritizes popular sovereignty through majority vote. The intersection of these two concepts has prompted enduring questions about whether democratic practices such as elections can be deemed consistent with the values of the *Sharī'ah*.

As the world's largest Muslim-majority nation, Indonesia faces a unique challenge in integrating Islamic values within a modern democratic framework. This reality requires a nuanced approach that allows democracy and Islam to coexist constructively. Within Islamic jurisprudence, the debate over the legitimacy of elections is not only normative but also philosophical and sociological. Some interpret elections as a Western construct alien to classical Islamic political thought, whereas others argue that the substance of elections – rooted in justice, equality, and public welfare (*maṣlahah*) – is inherently compatible with Islamic teachings. Hence, an analytical framework capable of bridging modern democratic systems with *Sharī'ah*-based values is essential. One promising approach is that of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, the higher objectives of Islamic law.

The concept of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* – the overarching purposes behind the formulation of Islamic law – provides a vital theoretical foundation for understanding Islam's relevance and adaptability to social and political change. It emphasizes five essential objectives: the protection of religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), intellect (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*), progeny (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), and wealth (*ḥifẓ al-māl*). In the context of electoral governance, these five dimensions serve as evaluative criteria to determine how far the political and electoral system in Indonesia reflects the ultimate aims of the *Sharī'ah*. Accordingly, examining elections from a *maqāṣid* perspective is not merely a theoretical exercise; it also offers a new paradigm for viewing democracy as a means of realizing collective welfare and moral order within society.

Conceptual and historical scholarship on *maqāṣid* underscores that these objectives provide a flexible normative foundation for evaluating contemporary political practices (Kamali, 2021; Kepplinger, 2024). Several studies have traced the evolution of *maqāṣid* theory from its classical textual origins to its modern applications, while also addressing terminological and methodological debates that enrich its theoretical depth (Kamali, 2021; Kepplinger, 2024; Sali et al., 2024). Reformist discourses within modern Islamic political thought have further emphasized the potential of *maqāṣid* to bridge Islamic values with democracy and human rights (Adrian, 2024; Rane, 2013), although the need for operational indicators of *maqāṣid*-based governance remains widely acknowledged (Sali et al., 2024).

Empirical research also reveals dynamic transformations in Islamic political parties, Muslim political representation, and the influence of religious identity on voter behavior across Muslim-majority countries (Fernando, 2023; Keinan-Cohen et al., 2025; Lajevardi et al., 2024). Media and election integrity studies highlight issues such as biased coverage, electoral fraud, and disinformation that undermine the legitimacy of elections (Adelia et al., 2025; Hadiprayitno, 2024). Meanwhile, research on religious populism and political polarization illustrates how religious identity can be politically mobilized, affecting the quality of democracy and governance (Hidayah et al., 2025; Pepinsky, 2024).

Many recent works have attempted to translate *maqāṣid* into frameworks for policy and governance—ranging from public policy formulation, organizational ethics, anti-corruption frameworks, and legal protection mechanisms—thereby demonstrating its applicability in administrative and governance contexts (Abdelgafar, 2022; Dasmadi et al., 2024; Junus et al., 2024; Sudarmanto et al., 2025). Comparative and contextual studies, such as legal protection in Qatar or local-level policy implementation in Indonesia, further reveal how *maqāṣid* can be utilized as an evaluative tool for public policy (Alami & Mohammad, 2024; Farag & Rashed, 2023; Rangkuti et al., 2024). Likewise, more practice-oriented research—such as *maqāṣid*-based empowerment indices or analyses of checks and balances—offers measurable models for assessing the embodiment of Sharī'ah values within modern institutions (As-Salafiyah et al., 2021; Muhaimin et al., 2023; Qadariyah & Sholih, 2025).

Despite this growing body of scholarship, direct applications of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* in evaluating democratic mechanisms and electoral processes remain scarce. Previous studies have examined the theoretical and historical foundations of *maqāṣid* (Kamali, 2021; Kepplinger, 2024; Rane, 2013) and its potential to inform modern Islamic political thought (Adrian, 2024; Qodir et al., 2023). Yet, few have explicitly linked *maqāṣid* principles to the normative assessment of elections. Empirical analyses of political behavior, voter integrity, and Muslim representation (Fernando et al., 2023; Hadiprayitno, 2024; Lajevardi et al., 2024) often remain disconnected from *maqāṣid*-based ethical frameworks. Conversely, studies that have successfully operationalized *maqāṣid* in governance—such as ethical decision-making or corruption prevention (Abdelgafar, 2022; Junus et al., 2024; Sudarmanto et al., 2025)—have rarely addressed the electoral domain, which lies at the heart of political legitimacy in modern governance.

Accordingly, this research offers a novel contribution by positioning *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* not merely as a normative doctrine of Islamic law but as an analytical paradigm for evaluating the compatibility of Indonesia's democratic system and electoral administration with the higher objectives of the Sharī'ah. This approach fills a critical gap in the literature that has long separated *maqāṣid* studies from electoral scholarship, paving the way for the development of an Islamic-value-based framework for assessing democracy rooted in public welfare and substantive justice.

The present study aims to analyze the implementation of general elections in Indonesia through the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* perspective, assessing the extent to which democratic principles align with Sharī'ah objectives in achieving public welfare. Specifically, it seeks to identify the presence of core *maqāṣid* values—protection of religion (*hifz al-dīn*), life (*hifz al-nafs*), intellect (*hifz al-'aql*), progeny (*hifz al-nasl*), and wealth (*hifz al-māl*)—within the electoral mechanisms of

justice, participation, transparency, and moral accountability. This analysis contributes theoretically by extending the application of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* into the underexplored field of electoral politics within Islamic legal studies.

Practically, the study aims to formulate an ethical assessment model for evaluating electoral systems grounded in *maqāṣid*-based values of welfare and substantive justice. It also seeks to offer a normative argument that democracy and elections—when conducted in accordance with *maqāṣid* principles—are not only valid within positive law but also harmonious with the divine justice envisioned in Islam. Hence, this research contributes to strengthening the conceptual foundation for governance that is just, transparent, and welfare-oriented within the framework of a modern nation-state.

2. Method

This study employs a normative juridical approach framed within the analytical paradigm of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, which serves as the principal interpretive lens. This approach focuses on examining the principles of Islamic law and Indonesia's positive legal framework to assess the extent to which the electoral system aligns with the higher objectives of the *Sharī'ah*. As Kamali (2021) asserts, a *maqāṣid*-based analysis introduces an ethical and teleological dimension to Islamic law that transcends purely textual or formalistic interpretations. The normative approach is thus appropriate for this research, given that the issues explored are conceptual and value-oriented—namely, how democracy and electoral mechanisms can be understood within the *Sharī'ah* paradigm. Furthermore, this method enables the researcher to test the coherence between Indonesia's electoral principles—direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair—and the *maqāṣid* principles of justice (*'adl*) and public welfare (*maṣlahah*) (Abdelgafar, 2022; Rane, 2013).

The data utilized in this study are secondary sources, consisting of primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. *Primary legal materials* include Indonesian statutory regulations on elections, particularly Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections and its implementing provisions. *Secondary materials* encompass scholarly literature on *maqāṣid* theory and Islamic democracy published in reputable journals (Kamali, 2021; Kepplinger, 2024; Junus et al., 2024; Sudarmanto et al., 2025), as well as empirical studies addressing democratic practices and political governance in Muslim-majority countries (Fernando et al., 2023; Hidayah et al., 2025). *Tertiary materials*—such as legal encyclopedias, dictionaries, and institutional reports—are employed to provide normative and terminological context that supports the interpretive framework of this research.

The data analysis adopts a qualitative-descriptive approach consisting of three main stages: 1) Identification of relevant *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* principles applicable to political and governance systems; 2) Interpretation of Indonesia's positive legal norms regulating electoral administration in light of *maqāṣid* values of justice and welfare; and 3) Conceptual synthesis integrating *maqāṣid* principles into an evaluative framework for assessing electoral governance.

This analytical process combines content analysis of legal documents with an Islamic legal hermeneutic approach, following the tradition of al-Shāṭibī and its modern contextualization by scholars such as Ibn 'Āshūr (Kamali, 2021; Rane, 2013). Through this method, the study not only interprets the formal legality of elections but also examines their

moral legitimacy and social utility, as envisioned in the objectives of the Shari'ah. In doing so, it seeks to present a holistic framework where legality and morality intersect, affirming that the integrity of electoral governance is integral to achieving *tahqiq al-maslahah* – the realization of collective well-being and justice.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. General Description of Election Administration in Indonesia

The general election (*Pemilu*) stands as one of the central pillars of Indonesia's democratic system. As a constitutional mechanism for exercising popular sovereignty, as stipulated in Article 1(2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, elections function as a legitimate and periodic process through which citizens choose their representatives and national leaders. Since the political reforms of 1998, Indonesia's electoral system has undergone profound transformations that have strengthened public participation and reinforced the legitimacy of political power through popular consent. In positive law, the organization of elections is comprehensively regulated under Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, which enshrines the principles of *langsung, umum, bebas, rahasia, jujur, dan adil* (direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair (*Luber Jurdil*)). These principles serve not only as technical standards but also as ethical and juridical foundations that guide political conduct, candidate morality, and institutional responsibility in maintaining democratic integrity.

Institutionally, the administration of elections in Indonesia is carried out by three main bodies: the General Election Commission (KPU), the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), and the Honorary Council of Election Organizers (DKPP). The KPU is responsible for the technical implementation of elections, Bawaslu oversees compliance with regulations, and DKPP safeguards the integrity and ethical behavior of election officials. The interaction among these institutions forms a *checks and balances* system designed to ensure fairness, transparency, and credibility (Muhaimin et al., 2023). From a *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* perspective, this institutional arrangement reflects the principles of *hifz al-māl* (protection of property) and *hifz al-dīn* (protection of religion), as it seeks to preserve trust, prevent corruption and manipulation, and uphold moral accountability within governance.

Despite significant institutional and legal progress, Indonesia's elections still face critical challenges that threaten the quality of democracy. The persistence of vote-buying, political pragmatism, and weak civic literacy remain dominant issues affecting voter behavior and electoral credibility (Hidayah et al., 2025). Hadiprayitno (2024) identifies the continued presence of *systematic fraud* involving media and political elites, which erodes moral legitimacy and public trust in the electoral process. Such phenomena expose the gap between democratic ideals and political realities, underscoring the need for a new evaluative paradigm that measures electoral justice not only procedurally but also substantively.

Within Islamic ethical philosophy, *'adl* (justice) and *amānah* (trustworthiness) are core values that must be realized in every dimension of governance, including elections. The *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* framework, as emphasized by Kamali (2021), places public welfare (*al-maslahah al-'āmmah*) at the heart of Islamic legal objectives. In electoral terms, this means that all political processes should aim to generate collective benefit rather than serve partisan or

personal interests. An election that fosters social division, deceit, or corruption fails to achieve the *maqāshid*. Hence, elections must be viewed not merely as secular instruments of democracy, but as vehicles for realizing divine justice and societal harmony.

Rane (2013) argues that the *maqāshid* approach offers a reformative paradigm for post-Arab Spring political thought, providing an ethical foundation for just and welfare-oriented governance. This framework views Islamic law as a moral system aimed at human well-being, transcending narrow legalism. In Indonesia, such a perspective is essential for restoring the moral integrity of elections often eroded by political pragmatism. Evaluating elections through the *maqāshid* lens enables assessment not only of legal compliance but also of the extent to which the process fulfills substantive justice and promotes social welfare.

Empirical research reinforces this need for ethical grounding. Fernando et al. (2023) observe that Islamic political parties in Indonesia have declined in influence due to ideological and moral disengagement. This indicates that a democracy devoid of *maqāshid*-based ethics loses its spiritual legitimacy. Similarly, Keinan-Cohen et al. (2025) demonstrate in their study on Jordanian Islamists that Muslim political participation becomes constructive only when anchored in values of justice, honesty, and welfare – principles intrinsic to *maqāshid al-sharī'ah*. Integrating *maqāshid* principles into democratic practice thus enriches democracy with a transcendent ethical dimension.

From a normative perspective, Indonesia's *Luber Jurdil* principles align closely with *maqāshid* values. The principles of "direct" and "general" correspond to *al-musāwah* (equality) and *ḥifẓ al-nafs* (protection of life), ensuring universal participation and protection of citizens' rights. The principles of "free" and "confidential" uphold *ḥifẓ al-'aql* (protection of intellect) by safeguarding independent judgment and freedom of conscience. Meanwhile, "honest" and "fair" directly manifest *al-'adl* (justice), which is central to *maqāshid* (Junus et al., 2024). In this sense, Indonesia's electoral ethics already reflect universal Shari'ah values; the challenge lies in consistent implementation rooted in *maṣlahah* and moral discipline.

Social and political realities surrounding elections reveal that moral accountability remains the weakest link in Indonesia's democracy. Vote-buying, for example, is often normalized as an economic exchange rather than condemned as a moral failure (Sudarmanto et al., 2025). From a *maqāshid* standpoint, this practice violates *ḥifẓ al-māl*, as it involves exploitation and the abuse of public trust. Likewise, disinformation and hate speech during campaigns compromise *ḥifẓ al-'aql* by distorting rational public discourse and fostering polarization (Hadiprayitno, 2024). If left unaddressed, such practices undermine the election's fundamental purpose as a means of *taḥqīq al-maṣlahah* – the realization of collective welfare.

From the *maqāshid* perspective, political legitimacy is not determined solely by electoral outcomes but also by the integrity of processes and intentions. A process tainted by deceit, coercion, or manipulation is morally invalid, as it contradicts the principles of *ṣidq* (truthfulness) and *amānah* (trust). Therefore, every stage of the election must aim to realize the *maqāshid*: preserving social order (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), promoting civic literacy (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*), ensuring distributive justice (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), and reinforcing national unity within the moral and spiritual framework of faith (*ḥifẓ al-dīn* and *ḥifẓ al-nasl*).

In sum, the overview of Indonesia's electoral administration reveals a strong normative harmony between democratic principles and the *maqāshid al-sharī'ah* framework. Yet, practical

implementation often falls short of fully realizing *maṣlaḥah*. The most significant challenge lies not in the legal or institutional framework but in the ethical internalization of *maqāṣid* among political actors and institutions. Thus, a *maqāṣid*-based political ethics paradigm is essential—one that evaluates electoral success not merely by procedural standards but by its capacity to preserve human dignity, uphold justice, and advance public welfare. Such an approach positions Indonesia's elections as a potential model of *Sharī'ah*-compliant democracy rooted in both divine justice and universal human values.

3.2 The Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah Principles as an Ethical Framework for Electoral Governance

Within the tradition of Islamic legal thought, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* represents a foundational concept emphasizing that every rule and policy in Islam serves the ultimate objective of realizing human welfare (*taḥqīq al-maṣlaḥah*) and preventing harm (*dar' al-mafṣadah*). This intellectual framework traces its lineage to the works of classical scholars such as al-Ghazālī, al-Juwaynī, and especially al-Shāṭibī, who, in *al-Muwāfaqāt*, argued that Islamic law cannot be understood merely through its literal expressions but through its intended purposes (*maqṣad*). These purposes—known as *al-darūriyyāt al-khams*—include the preservation of religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), intellect (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*), lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), and property (*ḥifẓ al-māl*). According to Kamali (2021), these five objectives constitute the moral and rational foundations of Islamic law and can be applied across disciplines, including politics and governance.

In the context of electoral administration, the *maqāṣid* framework offers an ethical perspective for assessing whether a political process genuinely advances public welfare or generates social harm. As Rane (2013) observes, *maqāṣid* serves as a “moral compass” for contemporary Islamic political systems, linking law, ethics, and human well-being into a unified system of values. Accordingly, electoral governance must not only comply with positive legal norms but also align with moral imperatives such as *'adl* (justice), *ṣidq* (truthfulness), and *amānah* (accountability). The application of *maqāṣid* to elections thus transcends theological abstraction—it becomes an evaluative instrument for determining the extent to which Indonesia's democratic processes embody the ethical and teleological aims of the *Sharī'ah*.

Abdelgafar (2022) asserts that in Islamic public policy, *maqāṣid* operates as a normative foundation that ensures government action is guided by unity, purposefulness, collective decision-making, and rectification. These four elements are directly relevant to electoral administration, as they demand inclusiveness, transparency, and accountability. Elections, as expressions of collective decision-making, embody *maqāṣid* in practice—they channel the public will in selecting leaders who safeguard communal welfare. When this process is tainted by fraud, manipulation, or vote-buying, the *Sharī'ah*'s objective of justice and *maṣlaḥah* is fundamentally compromised.

Epistemologically, a *maqāṣid*-based approach to politics and democracy allows for a reinterpretation of the Islam–state relationship. Kamali (2021) argues that *maqāṣid* bridges the normative principles of Islam and the contextual needs of modern societies. Rather than replacing democracy, *maqāṣid* enriches its substance with divine ethical values. In this light, democracy is not merely a procedural system of voting but a mechanism for realizing *justice* and *public welfare*. This view resonates with Junus et al. (2024), who position *maqāṣid* as the

foundation for *ethical governance* – a form of government that is not only legally valid but also morally grounded and welfare-oriented.

Each of the five *maqāṣid* principles can serve as a moral benchmark for assessing electoral ethics.

First, *ḥifẓ al-dīn* demands that political processes uphold faith, morality, and divine accountability – rejecting the instrumentalization of religion while ensuring that honesty, justice, and social responsibility permeate all stages of election management.

Second, *ḥifẓ al-nafs* calls for the protection of citizens' safety and dignity, implying that elections must be free from political violence, intimidation, and divisive conflict (Fernando et al., 2023).

Third, *ḥifẓ al-'aql* underscores the preservation of public rationality, which in the electoral context requires political education and media literacy to prevent misinformation and hate speech (Hadiprayitno, 2024).

Fourth, *ḥifẓ al-nasl* highlights moral continuity and ethical leadership regeneration, necessitating a political culture that empowers youth participation without exploitation or moral degradation (Qadariah & Sholih, 2025).

Finally, *ḥifẓ al-māl* demands financial integrity and transparency in campaign financing, condemning vote-buying and corruption as violations of distributive justice and social trust (Sudarmanto et al., 2025).

Beyond these five essentials, *maqāṣid* also encompasses secondary (*hājiyyāt*) and tertiary (*taḥsīniyyāt*) dimensions that cultivate social refinement, integrity, and civility. These layers are crucial because electoral justice is measured not merely by outcomes but by the process's respect for human dignity. In line with al-Shātibī's theory, the application of *maqāṣid* must consider *'urf* (social custom) and *maṣlaḥah mursalah* (contextual welfare). Hence, applying *maqāṣid* to Indonesia's elections requires sensitivity to the nation's plural socio-cultural landscape, enabling Islamic ethics to harmonize with *Pancasila* democracy. This aligns with Qodir et al. (2023) findings that Indonesia's Islamic moderation has flourished precisely because it is rooted in *maqāṣid* and grounded in national context.

Accordingly, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* provides a three-tiered ethical framework for evaluating electoral quality in Indonesia. At the normative level, it examines the alignment of electoral laws and institutions with the principles of justice, welfare, and integrity. At the moral level, it assesses the ethical conduct of political actors, election organizers, and voters in maintaining social cohesion and moral accountability. At the substantive level, it evaluates whether elections produce policies and governments oriented toward *maṣlaḥah 'āmmah* (public welfare). As Junus et al. (2024) emphasize, the substantive realization of *maqāṣid* ultimately determines whether a political system is truly Islamic – not merely by name or symbolism, but through its ethical substance.

One of the *maqāṣid* framework's greatest strengths lies in its dynamism and contextual adaptability. Kamali (2021) and Kepplinger (2024) both stress that *maqāṣid* is not rigid but open to reinterpretation in response to evolving social and political realities. Employing *maqāṣid* as an ethical framework for elections thus enables Islamic law to engage constructively with democratic processes, ensuring responsiveness to contemporary challenges. In Indonesia,

maqāṣid can serve as a moral foundation for strengthening substantive democracy—a democracy concerned not only with electoral procedures but also with justice, equality, and collective welfare. In essence, *maqāṣid* does not reject democracy; it Islamizes its moral substance through universal spiritual and ethical values.

Integrating *maqāṣid* into electoral governance can therefore be seen as a form of *ijtihād siyāsī* (political reasoning) affirming the relevance of Islamic law in modern governance. Within this paradigm, elections are not viewed merely as secular political exercises but as expressions of communal and religious responsibility to uphold *al-‘adl* (justice) and *al-maṣlahah al-‘āmmah* (public welfare). This idea resonates with Ibn ‘Ashūr’s vision that *maqāṣid* is a civilizational tool for balancing divine revelation with human needs. Thus, applying *maqāṣid* as an ethical framework for electoral governance offers a valuable contribution to the contextual development of Islamic law—one that is both responsive to democratic realities and dedicated to sustaining human welfare and moral integrity.

3.3 A Maqāṣid-Based Analysis of the Dimensions of Electoral Governance

The *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* approach enables an understanding of elections not merely as democratic procedures but as a moral process oriented toward *taḥqīq al-maṣlahah al-‘āmmah*—the realization of collective welfare. Within this framework, each *maqāṣid* principle serves as an analytical tool to assess the extent to which Indonesia’s electoral system aligns with the higher objectives of the Sharī‘ah. The following analysis examines five essential dimensions (*al-darūriyyāt al-khams*): *ḥifz al-dīn*, *ḥifz al-naḥs*, *ḥifz al-‘aql*, *ḥifz al-nasl*, and *ḥifz al-māl*, and their application to Indonesia’s electoral institutions and political behavior.

3.3.1. *Ḥifz al-Dīn* (Protection of Religion and Public Morality)

In the context of elections, *ḥifz al-dīn* entails not only safeguarding personal faith but also ensuring that political practices uphold moral and spiritual integrity. Elections must embody honesty, accountability, and justice—universal Islamic values that constitute the moral foundation of public life. Kamali (2021) underscores that protecting religion involves maintaining ethical integrity in socio-political affairs, as corruption, deceit, and manipulation in governance represent forms of moral decay and *fasād fī al-dīn*.

In Indonesia, the use of religious symbols in politics often presents an ethical dilemma. Qodir et.al. (2023) note that disproportionate religious politicization threatens Islamic moderation and social cohesion. However, when religion serves as a source of public ethics—rather than political propaganda—*ḥifz al-dīn* strengthens the moral legitimacy of democracy. Thus, religion should function as a moral compass for political actors, election administrators, and voters alike. Leaders who embody *īmān* and *amānah* fulfill not only legal requirements but also represent *ṣidq* (truthfulness) and *‘adl* (justice), the spiritual foundations of legitimate authority (Rane, 2013).

Accordingly, *ḥifz al-dīn* in electoral governance entails protecting freedom of belief, preventing destructive politicization of religion, and upholding Islamic ethical values as the moral basis of political behavior. The state bears responsibility to ensure that elections do not become arenas of sectarian hostility, for such divisions contradict the *maqāṣid*’s commitment to harmony and social peace.

3.3.2. *Ḥifz al-Nafs* (Protection of Life and Social Stability)

The principle of *ḥifz al-nafs* requires every political system to safeguard human life, public safety, and social order. In electoral practice, this means that all stages—from campaigning to vote tabulation—must be free from violence, intimidation, and conflict. Fernando et al. (2023) observe that political tension and social fragmentation often escalate during Indonesia's election periods due to identity-based mobilization and vote-buying practices that incite horizontal divisions.

From a *maqāṣid* perspective, social security is a prerequisite for achieving public welfare. Al-Shāṭibī emphasized that the Sharī'ah's fundamental objective is to establish *nizām al-'ālam* (social order), enabling people to live and worship without fear or harm. Peaceful and orderly elections thus represent the embodiment of *ḥifz al-nafs*, while political violence, hate-driven mobilization, or mass unrest constitute violations of *maqāṣid* as they endanger life and undermine societal stability.

Practically, *ḥifz al-nafs* requires firm enforcement of electoral law, professional security institutions, and peace-oriented civic education. It also demands impartiality among election administrators and equal protection for all participants. Junus et al. (2024) affirm that ethical governance places the safeguarding of human life at the heart of public policy—not as a peripheral concern but as a central purpose. Consequently, *ḥifz al-nafs* becomes a vital indicator for evaluating elections in terms of human security and societal harmony.

3.3.3. *Ḥifz al-'Aql* (Protection of Intellect and Public Rationality)

The principle of *ḥifz al-'aql* calls for the protection of human reason from ignorance, manipulation, and falsehood. In electoral contexts, it corresponds to political literacy, truthful information, and critical reasoning in public discourse. Hadiprayitno (2024) identifies biased media framing and disinformation during Indonesia's 2024 elections as threats to collective rationality, undermining citizens' capacity for objective political judgment and distorting democratic substance.

From the *maqāṣid* standpoint, preserving intellect entails ensuring that social systems foster knowledge, truth, and informed decision-making. Ibn 'Āshūr, in *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah al-Islāmiyyah*, asserts that the Sharī'ah seeks to cultivate reason so that humanity can discern truth from falsehood. Therefore, an ideal election must empower citizens to think critically, engage rationally, and reject deceitful politics. Fact-based campaigning and voter education are integral to the realization of *ḥifz al-'aql*.

Furthermore, mass media and public broadcasting institutions bear ethical responsibility to educate rather than provoke. The state, electoral bodies, and civil society must safeguard an informational ecosystem conducive to truth. From a *maqāṣid* perspective, combating hoaxes and hate speech is not merely a legal or criminal obligation but an *intellectual jihād* to preserve the collective reasoning of the *ummah*. Hence, *ḥifz al-'aql* serves as a measure of how effectively elections contribute to the constitutional aspiration of “enlightening the life of the nation.”

3.3.4. *Ḥifz al-Nasl* (Protection of Lineage and Political Regeneration)

Ḥifz al-nasl pertains to preserving generational continuity and moral integrity within society. In electoral governance, this principle relates to ensuring ethical, inclusive, and

sustainable political regeneration. Qadariyah and Sholih (2025), in their study on youth voting rights, emphasize the importance of balancing moral and rational maturity in electoral participation. Youth engagement, they argue, must be accompanied by political education to ensure meaningful, rather than merely symbolic, participation.

From a *maqāṣid* perspective, protecting lineage extends to cultivating a political culture that upholds virtue, accountability, and intergenerational responsibility. Elections marred by money politics, slander, and polarization transmit a culture of corruption to future generations, producing an ethical crisis in political institutions. Thus, *ḥifẓ al-nasl* requires sustained political education that instills integrity and civic virtue in young citizens.

Institutionally, *ḥifẓ al-nasl* also implies protecting fair representation and inclusivity in politics. Lajevardi, Mårtensson, and Vernby (2024) show that visible minority and female representation enhances overall political participation – a manifestation of social balance and human dignity in line with *maqāṣid*. Hence, *ḥifẓ al-nasl* encompasses not only biological preservation but also the moral and cultural reproduction of just and ethical political norms.

3.3.5. *Ḥifẓ al-Māl* (Protection of Property and Economic Integrity in Politics)

Ḥifẓ al-māl emphasizes the protection of wealth and public resources from misuse. In elections, this principle highlights financial integrity, equitable campaign financing, and transparency in political expenditures. Sudarmanto et al. (2025) identify political corruption and misuse of electoral funds as serious violations of *maqāṣid* because they erode distributive justice and public trust.

Money politics represents the most significant threat to *ḥifẓ al-māl*. It corrupts electoral fairness, normalizes bribery, and degrades civic morality. From a *maqāṣid* perspective, such behavior constitutes *mafsadah* (social harm), as it exchanges public trust for material gain. Al-Ghazālī, in *al-Mustasfā*, classified actions that disrupt economic justice and create inequality as violations of the Sharī'ah's higher purposes.

Moreover, *ḥifẓ al-māl* requires that post-election governance serve the people's welfare rather than political oligarchs. Leaders elected through corrupt systems often perpetuate injustice and self-enrichment. Thus, *ḥifẓ al-māl* demands full transparency in campaign finance, clear spending limits, and public accountability for funding sources. Abdelgafar (2022) affirms that economic justice is a concrete manifestation of *maqāṣid*, ensuring the sustainability of collective welfare. Consequently, *ḥifẓ al-māl* stands as a key benchmark for assessing the economic ethics of Islamic democracy.

3.3.6. Synthesis: Elections as Instruments of *Tahqīq al-Maṣlahah*

Across these five dimensions, an ideal election – viewed through the lens of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* – is one that achieves not only legal validity but substantive justice, security, rationality, moral regeneration, and economic integrity. *Maqāṣid* transforms elections into a form of *'ibādah ijtīmā'īyah* (social worship): a civic participation grounded in accountability before God and oriented toward the common good.

Thus, the *maqāṣid* framework provides a comprehensive ethical paradigm for evaluating and improving Indonesia's democracy. When *ḥifẓ al-dīn* safeguards political morality, *ḥifẓ al-nafs* protects citizens' security, *ḥifẓ al-'aql* strengthens public reasoning, *ḥifẓ al-nasl* ensures ethical leadership renewal, and *ḥifẓ al-māl* upholds economic justice, elections can

be deemed fully consistent with Islamic law. This is the realization of *taḥqīq al-maṣlahah*—the embodiment of Sharī'ah's higher objectives within modern political governance.

As Rane (2013) and Kamali (2021) emphasize, integrating *maqāṣid* into political systems not only enriches Islamic legal theory but also introduces a new paradigm for morally grounded and justice-oriented democracy. In Indonesia's context, this paradigm strengthens the synergy between Islamic and constitutional values, transforming democracy from a procedural mechanism into a pathway toward substantive justice, collective welfare, and national well-being.

3.4 Elections as Instruments of Public Welfare and Political Legitimacy

From the preceding analysis of the five dimensions of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, it becomes evident that general elections (*Pemilu*) in the context of modern Muslim societies—such as Indonesia—are not merely political mechanisms for acquiring power, but moral and social instruments for realizing public welfare (*taḥqīq al-maṣlahah al-'āmmah*). Democracy, through elections, can be understood as a *wasīlah* (means) to achieve the objectives of the Sharī'ah, insofar as it protects fundamental human values and is grounded in substantive justice. Thus, elections should not be viewed as antithetical to Islamic law but as the practical embodiment of its principles within modern governance (Kamali, 2021; Rane, 2013).

The relationship between *maqāṣid* and democracy can be understood through the principles of *maṣlahah* (welfare), *'adl* (justice), and *musyārakah* (participation). Islam does not prescribe a fixed form of government but emphasizes moral responsibility in the management of power. Within this framework, elections serve as a means to establish *al-'adl al-ijtimā'i* (social justice), prevent tyranny, and guarantee the rights of citizens. *Maqāṣid* provides a normative justification that popular sovereignty in democracy does not rival divine sovereignty; rather, it reflects human stewardship (*istikhlāf*) to exercise authority justly. Kamali (2021) explains that *shūrā* in the Qur'an shares the same essence as participatory democracy—placing citizens as partners in decision-making that concerns the collective good.

The principle of *maṣlahah* occupies a central position in connecting Islamic law to modern governance. For scholars such as al-Shāṭibī and Ibn 'Āshūr, *maṣlahah* represents the ultimate purpose of all Sharī'ah rulings. Applied to elections, this principle requires that every stage—from regulation and campaigning to result certification—be directed toward public welfare rather than personal or partisan gain. Hence, free, fair, and peaceful elections represent tangible manifestations of *maqṣad al-'adl* and *maqṣad al-maṣlahah* (Abdelgafar, 2022; Junus et al., 2024). Conversely, fraud, vote-buying, and manipulation constitute *mafsadah* (social harm), contradicting the Sharī'ah's objectives and undermining the moral legitimacy of electoral outcomes.

From a moral-political standpoint, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* places justice (*'adl*) and trust (*amānah*) as twin pillars of legitimate authority. In Islam, political legitimacy derives not merely from popular support (*al-bay'ah*) or majority rule, but from ethical conformity to divine law. A democratically elected leader who governs unjustly cannot be considered legitimate in the *maqāṣid* sense, as their rule fails to advance public welfare (Rane, 2013). Conversely, a democratic system that upholds social justice, transparency, and accountability aligns with *maqāṣid*, even if it does not resemble the classical *khilāfah* model. Kamali (2021) thus argues that

democracy and *maqāṣid* are not opposing paradigms but complementary paths toward the realization of moral and political justice.

Empirically, the analysis of Indonesia's electoral administration reveals that most principles of positive law—particularly the *Luber Jurdil* standards (direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair)—resonate strongly with *maqāṣid* values. The “direct” and “general” principles embody equality and the protection of life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*) and intellect (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*); “free” and “confidential” reflect respect for conscience and autonomy; and “honest” and “fair” are direct manifestations of *'adl*. However, at the implementation level, violations of these principles persist, including the misuse of political funds (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), religious politicization (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), and verbal violence that threatens social cohesion (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*).

These implementation gaps demonstrate that Indonesia's democracy remains procedural rather than substantive. In *maqāṣid* terminology, an election that focuses solely on process without achieving *maṣlahah* has yet to reach *taḥqīq al-maṣlahah*. Thus, the internalization of *maqāṣid* values at the institutional level is essential to orient every electoral stage toward substantive justice. Junus et al. (2024) propose a model of *ethical governance* based on *maqāṣid*, emphasizing moral accountability and trustworthy leadership as key indicators of political legitimacy. Applied to the electoral system, this model binds institutions, candidates, and voters alike to a shared ethical framework, ensuring the integrity of democratic practice.

From the standpoint of contemporary Islamic jurisprudence, integrating *maqāṣid* into electoral systems carries two major implications. First, it affirms the universality and dynamism of Islamic law—its capacity to adapt to modern institutions while preserving its divine ethos. In politics, *maqāṣid* facilitates the reinterpretation of *siyāsah shar'īyyah* (Islamic political governance) as ethical and welfare-oriented governance. This means that a democratic political system is *shar'ī*-compliant as long as it upholds justice and public welfare (Kamali, 2021; Rane, 2013). Second, this integration expands the application of Islamic law beyond personal ritual obligations to encompass public and institutional ethics. *Maqāṣid* thus evolves from a legal theory into a paradigm of moral governance guiding policymaking and statecraft.

Moreover, the *maqāṣid* paradigm reshapes the foundations of political legitimacy in Indonesia. In Islam, legitimacy is determined not only by legal validity but by moral and spiritual authenticity (*al-shar'īyyah wa al-akhlāqīyyah*). Elected leaders must govern under the principle of *amānah*, viewing authority as a trust from God to serve the people. Political legitimacy, from the *maqāṣid* perspective, derives from a leader's capacity to safeguard the five essential human needs: religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property. When governance produces poverty, injustice, or violence, it deviates from *maqāṣid* and forfeits moral legitimacy (Abdelgafar, 2022; Sudarmanto et al., 2025).

Accordingly, *maqāṣid* functions as a moral compass for Indonesia's political system. It provides an objective measure of electoral success—not merely who wins, but how far the outcome advances public welfare. *Ḥifẓ al-dīn* ensures moral integrity, *ḥifẓ al-nafs* guarantees citizen security, *ḥifẓ al-'aql* promotes rational public discourse, *ḥifẓ al-nasl* preserves ethical political regeneration, and *ḥifẓ al-māl* upholds economic justice. When these five principles are realized, elections achieve their highest *maqṣad*: *'imārat al-arḍ*—the cultivation of a just, transparent, and welfare-oriented polity.

The theoretical findings of this study also enrich the discourse of contemporary Islamic law, particularly in the field of *fiqh siyāsī* (Islamic political jurisprudence). Academic debates often frame democracy and Sharī'ah as incompatible; yet through *maqāṣid*, they can be harmonized. Islam does not reject democratic mechanisms – it rejects injustice, corruption, and moral decay. Hence, *maqāṣid* serves as an ethical filter ensuring that democracy operates within Islamic moral boundaries. In this sense, elections constitute an act of *ijtihād siyāsī* (political reasoning) by Indonesia's Muslim community – a contextual adaptation to modernity and a vehicle for actualizing the Sharī'ah ideals of justice and welfare.

Ultimately, the *maqāṣid* paradigm contributes significantly to the renewal of Islamic legal thought in the modern era. It liberates Islamic law from rigid textualism and reorients it toward rational, contextual approaches that prioritize human welfare and moral purpose. By applying *maqāṣid* to electoral governance, Islamic law transforms from a static normative system into a dynamic ethical framework guiding democracy toward substantive justice. As Ibn 'Āshūr and Kamali affirm, *maqāṣid* embodies the living spirit of the Sharī'ah – ever relevant and responsive to the changing conditions of human civilization. Therefore, in the *maqāṣid* perspective, elections are not merely political procedures but spiritual endeavors – vehicles for upholding justice, humanity, and collective prosperity.

3.5 Theoretical and Practical Implications

The study of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* within the context of Indonesia's electoral governance carries significant implications for two primary domains: first, the development of Islamic legal theory – particularly *fiqh siyāsī* and *maqāṣid studies* – amid the realities of modern politics; and second, the formulation of public policy and institutional reform within democracy based on *maqāṣid* values. This approach opens a productive dialogue between Islamic law, democracy, and national legal systems, aiming to establish a governance model that is just, transparent, and oriented toward public welfare.

3.5.1 Theoretical Implications: *Maqāṣid* as a New Paradigm for Contemporary *Fiqh Siyāsī*

Theoretically, this research affirms the position of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* as an epistemological paradigm capable of bridging Islamic legal texts with modern political realities. Traditionally, studies of *fiqh siyāsī* have been divided between two poles: traditionalists, who emphasize the historical Islamic caliphate, and modernists, who adopt liberal democratic systems devoid of Islamic ethical grounding. The *maqāṣid* framework offers a middle path – integrating the normative values of Sharī'ah within a democratic structure that is both contextual and inclusive (Kamali, 2021; Rane, 2013).

Maqāṣid perceives democracy not as a challenge to divine sovereignty but as an expression of human stewardship (*istikhlāf*) to uphold justice (*'adl*) and welfare (*maṣlahah*). Political legitimacy in Islam, therefore, is not determined by governmental form but by the extent to which a system realizes the objectives of the Sharī'ah. As Ibn 'Āshūr argued, *maqāṣid* is the “spirit” of Islamic law that enables the application of its principles across changing socio-political contexts (Kamali, 2021; Hardivizon & Bello, 2023).

In Islamic legal theory, this research contributes to broadening the scope of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. Its application has often been confined to family law, economics, and ritual jurisprudence. Yet, as Junus et al. (2024) and Abdelgafar (2022) assert, *maqāṣid* can also serve

as an ethical framework for evaluating public policy, governance, and democratic systems. Expanding its application in this way allows *maqāṣid* to underpin an *ethical governance* paradigm—ensuring that every public policy protects the five essential values of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property (*al-darūriyyāt al-khams*).

The findings also invite a reinterpretation of *siyāṣah shar‘iyyah*, the principle of legitimate Islamic governance. Within the *maqāṣid* framework, *siyāṣah shar‘iyyah* extends beyond authoritarian models claiming divine sanction, encompassing democratic systems that uphold justice and public welfare. This marks a theoretical shift in *fiqh siyāsī* from formal legalism to substantive ethics. It reaffirms that Islamic law is dynamic, open to institutional innovation, and consistent with universal principles such as justice, participation, and social equity (Qodir et al., 2023; Syahrain et al., 2024).

Academically, this study enriches the field of Islamic political thought by synthesizing *maqāṣid* and democracy, revealing their shared moral orientation: the protection of human dignity, equitable power distribution, and social responsibility. Consequently, future developments in *fiqh siyāsī* should move toward a *maqāṣid-based democracy*—a political system where *maqāṣid* serves as both a normative foundation and an evaluative instrument for public governance.

3.5.2 Practical Implications: *Maqāṣid*-Based Reform of Democratic and Electoral Institutions

Practically, the *maqāṣid* approach can be operationalized as a set of public ethics and policy guidelines to strengthen the integrity of Indonesia’s democracy.

First, under *ḥifẓ al-dīn*, electoral institutions must remain neutral from political or ideological bias. Agencies such as the KPU and Bawaslu should ensure that electoral regulations and implementation are free from manipulation, discrimination, and religious exploitation. This principle can be embedded through a *maqāṣid*-based code of conduct emphasizing honesty (*ṣidq*), justice (*‘adl*), and accountability (*amānah*).

Second, *ḥifẓ al-naḥs* demands stronger electoral security systems and conflict prevention mechanisms. The government should expand peace-oriented political education programs grounded in Islamic values (Fernando et al., 2023), focusing not only on technical aspects but also on moral cultivation to foster a courteous and dialogical political culture.

Third, *ḥifẓ al-‘aql* calls for enhancing political literacy and combating disinformation. This can be achieved through partnerships with Islamic universities, pesantren, and civil society organizations that promote critical and ethical political discourse.

Fourth, *ḥifẓ al-nasl* underscores the importance of inclusive and ethical political regeneration. Political parties and state institutions must develop transparent and merit-based recruitment systems that resist oligarchic control. As Qadariyah and Sholih (2025) note, political education for youth is crucial to prevent the perpetuation of transactional politics, thereby nurturing intergenerational political responsibility.

Fifth, *ḥifẓ al-māl* requires transparency and accountability in campaign financing. Electoral finance reform should aim to eliminate vote-buying and the misuse of public resources. Sudarmanto et al. (2025) demonstrate that political corruption not only damages economic justice but also erodes public trust. Therefore, *maqāṣid*-based public policy must treat financial integrity as a core pillar of social justice and democratic sustainability.

At the macro level, implementing *maqāṣid* in electoral governance can proceed through three strategic steps:

- Institutionalization – embedding *maqāṣid* principles of justice and welfare into electoral regulations (e.g., through KPU directives).
- Internalization – integrating *maqāṣid* values into civic and Islamic education curricula.
- Moral Oversight – empowering religious institutions and civil society to exercise ethical supervision over political actors.

Through these measures, *maqāṣid* functions not as an abstract ideal but as an institutional ethic guiding democratic practice.

3.5.3 Impact on Strengthening Democracy and Islamic Law in Indonesia

The *maqāṣid* approach has both normative and strategic implications for building a just and resilient democracy.

First, it reinforces the moral foundation of Indonesia's democracy. Amid widespread political pragmatism and transactionalism, *maqāṣid* reaffirms that political power is a sacred trust (*amānah*), not a commodity.

Second, it broadens the role of Islamic law within the national legal system. By grounding public law and governance in *maqāṣid* principles, Islamic law contributes constructively to the pursuit of social justice and institutional integrity.

Third, *maqāṣid* fosters the growth of a *madani* (civil) society that is both rational and religious. The principles of *ḥifẓ al-'aql* and *ḥifẓ al-dīn* encourage intelligent, ethical, and spiritually conscious political participation—thereby nurturing *substantive democracy* that values moral and social ethics beyond mere vote counting.

Fourth, *maqāṣid* strengthens the relationship between Islamic law and Pancasila. Both share core values of justice, humanity, and social welfare, positioning *maqāṣid* as a moral bridge between Islamic ethics and national ideology.

Ultimately, the application of *maqāṣid* to Indonesia's electoral system has the potential to produce a *Maqāṣid-Based Democracy*—a model of democracy rooted not in Western imitation but in Islamic ethical foundations and local wisdom. This model combines popular participation with moral accountability to God, transforming elections into acts of social worship (*'ibādah ijtīmā'īyyah*) that realize *'adl* (justice) and *maṣlahah* (welfare).

Therefore, this study contributes not only to the theoretical advancement of *maqāṣid studies* and *fiqh siyāsī* but also to the practical reformation of Indonesia's democracy—toward a system that is more just, moral, and beneficial for all citizens.

4. Conclusion

This study affirms that general elections (*Pemilu*) in Indonesia, when examined through the lens of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, serve as a vital instrument for realizing social justice, public welfare, and ethical governance. Fundamentally, democracy and *maqāṣid* share a common moral orientation: upholding human dignity (*karāmah insāniyyah*), preventing tyranny, and promoting justice and social responsibility. By framing elections as a mechanism of *taḥqīq al-maṣlahah* (the realization of public good), Indonesia's political system can be understood as

compatible with the objectives of the Shari'ah—so long as its implementation adheres to honesty, fairness, and transparency.

The analysis of the five core dimensions of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* demonstrates that each stage of the electoral process corresponds directly to the essential aims of the Shari'ah. *Hifẓ al-dīn* demands moral integrity and religious ethics in political conduct; *hifẓ al-naḥs* ensures public safety and social stability; *hifẓ al-'aql* promotes rationality and political literacy; *hifẓ al-naṣl* safeguards ethical leadership regeneration; and *hifẓ al-māl* enforces economic justice and protects public resources from corruption. Collectively, these principles confirm that ethical elections are not merely procedural expressions of democracy but concrete manifestations of the Shari'ah's higher objectives in preserving a just and prosperous society.

Theoretically, this research expands the application of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* from the private sphere of jurisprudence to the public and political domains. It demonstrates that Islamic law is universal and dynamic, capable of engaging with modern democratic systems without losing its divine essence. The integration of *maqāṣid* into electoral governance offers a new paradigm for contemporary *fiqh siyāsī*—a *maqāṣid-based democracy* in which political legitimacy is derived not only from popular consent but also from the fulfillment of justice, welfare, and moral accountability.

Consequently, elections grounded in *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* strengthen Indonesia's substantive democracy while revitalizing the spiritual essence of Islamic law in public life. Fair, peaceful, and transparent elections constitute a form of social worship (*'ibādah ijtīmā'iyyah*) and embody the Shari'ah ideal of *'imārat al-arḍ*—the cultivation of a just and prosperous world through trustworthy governance. Therefore, the synergy between *maqāṣid* and democracy must continue to be developed as a model of contextual Islamic political ethics, contributing to the construction of a moral, just, and welfare-oriented political civilization for all humanity.

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