

Islamic And Democratic Governance: A Comparative-Conceptual Systematic Literature Review Of Shura, Democracy, And The Indonesian Pancasila Order

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Abstract

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The relationship between shura and modern democracy remains contested, particularly regarding whether their similarities extend beyond procedural principles to their foundational structures. This study aims to analyze the convergence and divergence between shura and modern democracy and examine the conditions under which Islamic governance principles can interact with Pancasila-based democratic institutions in Indonesia. The study employed qualitative library research structured as a systematic literature review guided by PRISMA. Literature was retrieved from Google Scholar, Garuda, SINTA, and DOAJ, resulting in 34 sources selected for final synthesis. Data were analyzed using a five-dimension comparative-conceptual framework comprising sovereignty, representation, legitimacy, pluralism, and limits on majority power. The findings reveal that shura and democracy converge procedurally through deliberation, participation, accountability, and constraints on authoritarian power, but diverge fundamentally regarding sovereignty and the basis for limiting majority decisions. Shura locates ultimate sovereignty in divine authority and constrains political decisions through sharia, whereas modern democracy derives sovereignty from the people and limits majority power constitutionally. In Indonesia, meaningful interaction between the two is most feasible in areas open to *ijtihad*, while theologically fixed matters require conceptual caution. The study proposes a five-dimension comparative framework that advances a reciprocal-critical understanding of shura and democracy and offers a conceptual basis for developing Islamic value-based civic education within Pancasila democracy.

Abstrak

Kata kunci:

syura; demokrasi modern;
tata kelola Islam; Pancasila;
pendidikan
kewarganegaraan.

Relasi antara syura dan demokrasi modern masih menjadi perdebatan, terutama mengenai apakah kesamaan keduanya hanya berada pada prinsip prosedural atau juga mencakup struktur fundamentalnya. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis titik konvergensi dan divergensi antara syura dan demokrasi modern serta mengkaji kondisi yang memungkinkan prinsip tata kelola Islam berinteraksi dengan institusi demokrasi berbasis Pancasila di Indonesia. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kepustakaan kualitatif dengan *systematic literature review* yang berpedoman pada PRISMA. Literatur ditelusuri melalui Google Scholar, Garuda, SINTA, dan DOAJ hingga diperoleh 34 sumber untuk sintesis akhir. Data dianalisis menggunakan kerangka komparatif-konseptual lima dimensi yang meliputi kedaulatan, representasi, legitimasi, pluralisme, dan batas kekuasaan mayoritas. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa syura dan demokrasi memiliki konvergensi pada tingkat prosedural melalui musyawarah, partisipasi, akuntabilitas, dan pembatasan kekuasaan otoriter, tetapi berbeda secara fundamental dalam sumber kedaulatan dan dasar pembatasan keputusan mayoritas. Syura menempatkan kedaulatan tertinggi pada otoritas Ilahi dan membatasi keputusan politik melalui syariah, sedangkan demokrasi modern menempatkan kedaulatan pada rakyat dengan pembatasan konstitusional. Dalam konteks Indonesia, interaksi keduanya

paling memungkinkan pada wilayah yang terbuka terhadap ijtihad, sedangkan persoalan teologis yang bersifat tetap memerlukan kehati-hatian konseptual. Penelitian ini menghasilkan kerangka komparatif lima dimensi yang menawarkan perspektif resiprokal-kritis sekaligus menjadi landasan konseptual bagi pengembangan pendidikan kewarganegaraan berbasis nilai Islam dalam demokrasi Pancasila.

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Introduction

The study of Islamic governance has long been a concern for both religious scholars and political scientists, within and beyond the Islamic world. As a universal religion, Islam offers not only spiritual guidance but also a normative framework for social and political life, with justice (al-'adl), deliberation (shura), and trustworthiness (amanah) as foundational principles for a participatory system of government oriented toward the common good (Ardiansyah & Hadi, 2024; Rizal & Nurrahman, 2021). In the classical tradition, Al-Mawardi's *Al-Ahkam As-Sulthaniyah* identifies two legitimate mechanisms for appointing a leader: deliberation through *Ahlul Halli wal Aqdi* and the transfer of mandate from a preceding leader, indicating that Islamic political thought has historically been fairly accommodating of institutional variation (Ichwan, 2022).

Even so, the literature on the relationship between shura and modern democracy is not unified. Broadly, three orientations can be identified: a symbiotic-mutualistic view holding that Islam and democracy need and reinforce one another; an antagonistic view treating democracy as a Western product that is structurally at odds with divine sovereignty; and a reciprocal-critical view that acknowledges points of convergence while still asserting unresolved conceptual tensions (Hawi, 2019; Muttaqin & Apriadi, 2020). Most Indonesian literature leans toward the first view, emphasizing that the values of deliberation, equality, and accountability in shura align with participatory democracy (Hakim & Sejati, 2024; Ilham, 2024). However, few studies seriously engage with the second and third views, and fewer still specify exactly which structural features of shura and democracy align and which do not; this gap is the primary target of the present study.

In the Indonesian context, Islam plays a strategic role in national life. Values of brotherhood, tolerance, and shared responsibility contribute to unity amid diversity

(Sunusi & Bawa, 2026), while historical-cultural studies show that Islam has acculturated with local culture, thereby strengthening national identity (Prasetyo, 2023). The relationship between Islam and the state is commonly explained through a symbiotic-dialectical paradigm, in which Islamic values align with Pancasila in pursuing the common good (Daharis et al., 2024; Zaman et al., 2022), and Islamic education is seen as contributing to forming a generation that is both religious and nationalist (Fitriani & Usman, 2025).

Even so, the existing literature has largely asserted the compatibility (or incompatibility) of Islamic governance and democracy as a normative conclusion rather than demonstrating it through a transparent comparative apparatus. (Mawardi & Hadi, 2026) Offer a partial exception by conceptually comparing shura, ummah, and bai'at against modern constitutional democracy, but their analysis remains grounded in constitutional law rather than in the more fundamental politico-theological question of where sovereignty resides and how far majority decisions may legitimately extend. Research that specifically formulates the practical conditions for integrating Islamic governance principles into a pluralistic democratic system such as Indonesia's remains limited.

This issue is also directly relevant to the study of Islamic education and civic education in Indonesia. When the principle of shura is often taught in Islamic educational institutions as a direct equivalent of democracy without explaining their conceptual differences, students risk acquiring an oversimplified understanding of both concepts. The conceptual clarity produced by this study is therefore useful not only for the study of Islamic political science but also for developing Islamic value-based civic education materials in schools and Islamic higher education institutions, as an effort to cultivate a fuller understanding of how the Islamic value of deliberation can contribute to strengthening Pancasila democracy without reducing either concept to the other.

This study seeks to fill that gap through two contributions. First, it employs a systematic literature-search protocol guided by the PRISMA framework, rather than an unsystematic narrative review. Second, it proposes a five-dimension comparative-conceptual framework (sovereignty, representation, legitimacy, pluralism, and limits on majority power) that allows the points of convergence and divergence between shura and democracy to be identified systematically, while also being extended to address the practical question of how far shura-based principles can interact with Indonesia's Pancasila-based democratic institutions without collapsing the conceptual differences between the two.

Based on this background, the study is guided by two research questions: (1) Based on a systematic review of the 2016-2026 literature, in what respects do shura and modern democracy converge and diverge on the dimensions of sovereignty, representation, legitimacy, pluralism, and limits on majority power? (2) Under what

conditions can Islamic governance principles interact meaningfully with democratic institutions and Pancasila in Indonesia?

Method

This study employs a qualitative library-research design structured as a systematic literature review (SLR), guided by the PRISMA reporting principles (Moher et al., 2009) and the review protocol developed by Kitchenham & Charters, (2007), adapted here for a conceptual-normative question in politico-theological inquiry rather than an empirical-technical one (Creswell, 2014). The subject of this study is the corpus of scholarly literature on shura, Islamic governance, *siyasah dusturiyah*, and the relationship between Islam and democracy in the Indonesian context; the study does not involve respondents or human subjects directly.

This library research was conducted from January to March 2026, with data collection and searching carried out online through access to the digital databases listed below. As a library-based study, it is not tied to a specific geographic location for data collection, but remains focused on literature relevant to Indonesia's constitutional and Islamic context, so that most of the primary sources reviewed originate from journals and publishers based in Indonesia.

The literature search was conducted across four sources: Google Scholar, Garuda (Garba Rujukan Digital), the SINTA journal directory, and DOAJ. Search terms combined Indonesian and English terminology using Boolean operators, including ("syura" OR "shura") AND ("demokrasi" OR "democracy"); "*siyasah dusturiyah*" AND "konstitusi"; "tata kelola Islam" AND "Pancasila"; and "Islamic governance" AND "Indonesia". Priority was given to publications from 2016-2026, as required by the journal's guidelines, so that the primary literature reviewed would remain current; methodological sources and classical texts (such as Al-Mawardi's *Al-Ahkam As-Sulthaniyah*) were retained as foundational references regardless of publication year, consistent with common practice in normative politico-theological studies.

Inclusion criteria comprised: (a) indexed journal articles, undergraduate/graduate theses, or recognized scholarly books; (b) published in Indonesian or English; (c) directly discussing shura, Islamic governance, *siyasah dusturiyah*, or the Islam-democracy relationship with relevance to at least one of the five comparative dimensions; and (d) full text accessible for verification. Sources were excluded if they were opinion pieces/blogs not subject to peer review, data duplicates, or if their full text could not be verified.

The search across the four databases yielded 90 records. After removing 15 duplicates, 75 records were screened by title and abstract, and 30 of these were excluded for insufficient relevance to the shura-democracy-Pancasila nexus. The remaining 45 records were assessed for full-text eligibility; 11 were excluded (8 for failing to meet the peer-review criterion, 3 because the full text could not be accessed). This selection process yielded the 34 sources used for the final synthesis.

Data analysis followed the stages of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (Miles et al., 2014). Data reduction was carried out by extracting each source's position on the five comparative dimensions. Data display took the form of a comparative-conceptual matrix (Table 1) that maps the literature against the five dimensions, allowing points of convergence and divergence to be identified systematically rather than through unfounded generalization. Conclusions were drawn by treating dimensions on which the majority of sources agreed as established positions in the literature, and contested dimensions as open scholarly tensions discussed critically in the Discussion section.

The main instrument of this study is a data extraction sheet developed by the researcher, containing columns for source identity (author, year, publication type), the source's position on the five comparative dimensions, and additional methodological notes such as the approach used by the source (thematic tafsir, fiqh siyasah, constitutional law, or Islamic education). This extraction sheet was completed consistently for all 34 sources that passed selection, so that the subsequent data-reduction process could be carried out in a structured and auditable manner for other researchers wishing to replicate the study.

The credibility of the analysis was supported through source triangulation (Sugiyono, 2019), by cross-checking claims across three categories of literature: classical/primary Islamic legal texts, contemporary Muslim scholarship on shura and siyasah dusturiyah, and Indonesian constitutional-law literature on Pancasila, so that no single dimension in the comparative matrix relies on only one type of source.

Results And Discussion

Results

Of the 34 sources reviewed, 21 directly address the conceptual relationship between shura and democracy, while the remaining 13 focus on the relationship between Islam, Pancasila, and national life in Indonesia. Applying the five-dimension comparative-conceptual framework to these 21 sources produces the matrix presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Comparative-Conceptual Matrix of Shura and Modern Democracy

Dimension	Shura (Islamic Governance)	Modern Democracy
Sovereignty	Ultimate sovereignty (hakimiyyah) rests with Allah; human authority is a trust (amanah) exercised within the bounds of sharia (Ardiansyah & Hadi, 2024; Mawardi & Hadi, 2026).	Ultimate sovereignty rests with the people; law arises from the will of the people as channeled through elected institutions (Sari & Saputra, 2024).
Representation	Ahlul Halli wal Aqdi, a deliberative body selected on the basis of	Representatives are chosen through periodic, competitive

	religious and legal competence, general elections, decided by represents the ummah in decision-making (Dalimunthe, 2020; Ichwan, 2022).	majority vote (Hakim & Sejati, 2024).
Source of legitimacy	Legitimacy derives from conformity with the Qur'an and Sunnah, reinforced by the community's assent (bai'at) (Kosasih et al., 2024; Rizal & Nurrahman, 2021).	Legitimacy derives from procedural fairness and the mandate of the people, independent of religious content (Yakin & Victoria, 2022).
Pluralism	Limited pluralism: deliberation is open on matters not yet explicitly regulated (ijtihad), while core religious norms cannot be altered by majority vote (Azukma & Harahap, 2023; Muttaqin & Apriadi, 2020).	Broad pluralism: in principle, all policy positions, including those touching on religion, remain open to contestation through the political process (Alamsyah & Arif, 2026).
Limits on majority power	Majority decisions are constrained by sharia and by religious/legal scholars (ulil amri, ahlul hall wal-aqd), not by vote count alone (Hawi, 2019; Musoffa & Dayal, 2024).	Limits on majority power are constitutional and legal in nature (rights guarantees, judicial review), not theological (Aprilya & Tohawi, 2024; Satria et al., 2024).

The Islamic System of Government

Fifteen sources address the structure of Islamic government directly. A consistent finding across this literature is that the Islamic system of government is grounded in the Qur'an and Sunnah, with justice (al-'adl) as the primary organizing principle: every individual is treated equally before the law, and the leader is regarded as holding a trust (amanah) from Allah, obliged to uphold the law justly (Ardiansyah & Hadi, 2024). Historically, there are two legitimate mechanisms for selecting a leader Ahlul Halli wal Aqdi (a deliberative body) and the transfer of mandate from a predecessor, resembling hereditary succession (Dalimunthe, 2020; Ichwan, 2022). Because the Qur'an does not prescribe a single fixed form of government, both mechanisms are regarded as valid outcomes of the Prophet's Companions' ijtihad (Rizal & Nurrahman, 2021), indicating a doctrinal openness to institutional variation including, in principle, democratic mechanisms so long as they remain within the bounds of sharia (Kosasih et al., 2024).

Historical practice during the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (Khulafa Rasyidun) is often cited to illustrate the application of shura: the appointment of Abu Bakr through deliberation at Saqifah, and Umar ibn al-Khattab's formation of a council of six Companions (ahl al-syura) to select his successor, are examined as institutional

precedents for structured deliberative mechanisms (Rizal & Nurrahman, 2021). Most of the reviewed sources use these historical examples to show that deliberation in Islam is not merely a normative concept but has been practiced institutionally since the earliest period, albeit with the caveat that participation at that time was confined to senior Companions and did not extend to the whole of society as required by the principle of universal suffrage in modern democracy (Dalimunthe, 2020).

Democracy and Deliberation (Shura)

Twenty-one sources address the shura-democracy relationship. Convergence is found at the level of procedural values: shura and democracy alike emphasize deliberation, consensus-building, and participation in decision-making, and both regard the leader as accountable to the people (Ilham, 2024; Sari & Saputra, 2024). Definitions of democracy following Schumpeter's notion of institutional competition as well as accounts emphasizing the ruler's accountability to the ruled, as examined by Hakim & Sejati (2024), meet the idea of shura on the requirement that the ruler must answer to the ruled. However, the reviewed literature diverges sharply on the question of where ultimate authority resides. Democratic theory locates sovereignty in the people; Islamic political thought locates ultimate sovereignty (*hakimiyyah*) in Allah, with popular participation functioning as a delegated trust rather than as an original source of law (Alamsyah & Arif, 2026; Yakin & Victoria, 2022).

Terminological accounts of shura itself also vary: some define it narrowly as deliberation to select the best option (Azukma & Harahap, 2023), some treat it institutionally as a standing deliberative council (Musoffa & Dayal, 2024), while thematic-hadith studies treat it as a normative principle encompassing decision-making, leadership accountability, and the ethical relationship between ruler and ruled (Aprilya & Tohawi, 2024; Ashidiq & Rohmah, 2023). The Qur'anic verses most frequently cited in this literature are QS Ali Imran: 159 and QS Asy-Syura: 38 (Musoffa & Dayal, 2024; Muttaqin & Apriadi, 2020). A further point of convergence lies in the shared rejection of unbounded majoritarianism; however, the limiting mechanisms differ in shura the limits are theological and juridical (Hawi, 2019; Satria et al., 2024), whereas in constitutional democracy they are procedural and legal (Hakim & Sejati, 2024). This structural difference is examined further in the Discussion section.

Another debate in the literature concerns the degree to which the outcome of shura binds the leader's decision. Some sources hold that the result of deliberation is binding (*ilzam*) on the leader, while others regard it as non-absolutely binding advice, leaving the leader with final decision-making discretion provided it does not contravene sharia (Ashidiq & Rohmah, 2023). This debate bears directly on the representation dimension of the comparative matrix, since whether deliberation is binding determines the extent to which *Ahlul Halli wal Aqdi* genuinely functions on a par with a legislative body in modern democracy, or merely as an advisory body.

Islam in Indonesia's National Life

Thirteen sources address the role of Islam in Indonesian public life. This literature documents that Islam has historically acculturated with local culture, helping to shape a distinctive national identity and serving as a bridge across regional cultures in Indonesia (Prasetyo, 2023). The relationship between Islam and the state is most often explained through a symbiotic-dialectical typology, in which Islamic norms operate within national life without formalizing a state religion, oriented toward shared goals such as belief in God, humanity, unity, and deliberation-based policymaking, which this literature regards as consistent with Pancasila values (Daharis et al., 2024; Zaman et al., 2022). Studies of Islamic education show that religious education integrated with Pancasila can shape a generation that is both religious and nationalist (Fitriani & Usman, 2025), while studies of religious moderation affirm that tolerance in Islam is bounded openness in muamalah coexists with a non-negotiable stance on core matters of creed and worship (Fakhurokhman et al., 2022). Finally, the rahmatan lil 'alamin literature views Islam as a universal teaching oriented toward compassion and cross-cutting problem-solving across social, cultural, and institutional domains (Arif, 2021).

Several sources specifically examine the link between the principle of shura and the fourth principle of Pancasila “Democracy guided by the inner wisdom of unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives” and find a parallel in the shared emphasis on deliberation and wisdom in public decision-making (Zaman et al., 2022). Nevertheless, these sources also caution that this parallel must be drawn carefully, since the “wisdom” invoked in the fourth principle is philosophical-nationalist in character and does not explicitly refer to religious authority in the way sharia does within shura, so that equating the two directly risks oversimplifying the philosophical meaning of Pancasila itself (Daharis et al., 2024).

Discussion

The Islamic System of Government: Flexibility within the Bounds of Sharia

The findings show that the flexibility often attributed to the Islamic system of government is real, but not unlimited. Because the Qur'an does not specify one fixed institutional form, Islamic political thought has historically accommodated both the deliberative mechanism (Ahlul Halli wal Aqdi) and the mandate-transfer mechanism as legitimate products of ijtihad (Ichwan, 2022; Rizal & Nurrahman, 2021). Yet this flexibility applies to the domain of institutional design (siyasah), not to matters already explicitly regulated by scriptural text (nas). Government in this literature is consistently regarded as holding a trust from Allah, not as an autonomous political agent a structural difference that sets it apart from the democratic-theory premise of self-rule by the people, a difference elaborated further below rather than assumed to be readily reconcilable, as much of the earlier Indonesian literature has tended to do (Kosasih et al., 2024).

This shift in emphasis is also evident in how contemporary scholars diverge from classical ones. Whereas Al-Mawardi emphasized *Ahlul Halli wal Aqdi* as a limited circle possessing religious and scholarly authority (Ichwan, 2022), some contemporary thinkers broaden the scope of deliberation to accommodate wider public participation through modern representative mechanisms, without abandoning the requirement of religious competence for its supervisory element (Kosasih et al., 2024). This shift indicates that institutional flexibility within shura is dynamic and responsive to context, while still preserving the underlying principle that religious authority retains a supervisory role that cannot be entirely replaced by a purely majority-based mechanism of representation.

The *maqashid syariah* framework (the objectives of sharia) is also relevant to understanding why institutional flexibility in Islam remains bounded. Because the primary objectives of sharia are to safeguard religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property, any form of governmental institution, including one adopting democratic mechanisms, is ultimately judged by how well it achieves these objectives, rather than solely by the procedure through which it was formed (Rizal & Nurrahman, 2021). This perspective explains why most of the reviewed literature does not reject democratic mechanisms procedurally, but still demands that the outcomes of such mechanisms be substantively accountable to *maqashid syariah*, a requirement unrecognized in purely procedural democratic theory.

Shura and Democracy: Procedural Convergence, Foundational Divergence

The comparative matrix in Table 1 makes explicit something that has mostly remained implicit in the literature: shura and democracy are not two labels for the same arrangement. The two converge at the procedural level: both uphold deliberation, both demand leader accountability, and both reject uncontrolled authoritarian power (Hakim & Sejati, 2024; Ilham, 2024) but diverge at the level of foundational theory. Sovereignty in democracy is popular in nature and, in principle, revisable through political contestation; sovereignty in shura is divine in nature and, on core matters, cannot be revised by majority vote (Muttaqin & Apriadi, 2020; Yakin & Victoria, 2022). This difference is not merely terminological: it determines how far majority rule can legitimately extend. Within a purely democratic framework, the majority can, in principle, alter almost any policy, including those touching on religion, through ordinary political processes. Within the shura framework, a majority operating through *Ahlul Halli wal Aqdi* may determine how a matter is implemented, but cannot use its numbers to override sharia on matters that are *qath'i* (definitively established) here the limit derives from scholarly religious authority (*ulama*), not merely from constitutional procedure (Hawi, 2019; Musoffa & Dayal, 2024).

This difference aligns with the three positions identified in the literature (symbiotic-mutualistic, antagonistic, and reciprocal-critical). The findings of this study do not support the symbiotic-mutualistic claim that essentially equates shura and

democracy, nor do they support the antagonistic claim that the two are wholly incompatible. Instead, the findings support a reciprocal-critical reading: convergence at the procedural level is real and can offer valuable input for designing mechanisms of deliberation and accountability within democratic systems, but the fundamental difference in where sovereignty resides means the two cannot simply be equated without losing analytical precision an error that risks occurring whenever compatibility is treated as a settled fact rather than as a claim requiring layered demonstration, as this study has attempted to provide.

This structural difference is also evident in contemporary institutional practice. In Saudi Arabia, the Majlis al-Syura functions as an advisory body whose members are appointed rather than elected, so that religious authority retains full control over the boundaries of policy that may be discussed (Kosasih et al., 2024). Indonesia's bicameral parliament the DPR and DPD by contrast, operates through direct general elections with broad legislative authority, though still bounded by the constitution rather than by formal religious authority (Kosasih et al., 2024). This comparison confirms that the application of shura principles in contemporary state practice varies considerably, depending on the extent to which a country chooses to formalize religious authority within its institutional structure. Indonesia, with a Pancasila-democracy model that does not formalize any single religious authority yet still substantively accommodates religious values, can be seen as a middle ground between a theocratic-consultative model such as Saudi Arabia's and a secular-democratic model that fully separates religion from the state.

Islam, Pancasila, and the Limits of Integration in Indonesia

In the Indonesian context, the symbiotic-dialectical paradigm documented in the reviewed literature (Daharis et al., 2024; Zaman et al., 2022) offers a plausible account of how Islamic governance principles and a pluralistic constitutional order can coexist: Islamic values color public life and policy deliberation most visibly in Pancasila's fourth principle, which likewise upholds deliberation and representation without making Indonesia a formally sharia-based state. The comparative matrix indicates that this coexistence is strongest, and carries the least risk of conceptual confusion, in matters that Islamic fiqh itself regards as open to *ijtihad*: economic policy, administrative design, and most areas of social regulation. This coexistence becomes more strained in matters where shura's theological limits on majority power and Pancasila's civic-pluralist commitments may pull in different directions for instance, when a legislative majority proposes a policy that some Muslims regard as touching a non-negotiable religious boundary. The literature on religious moderation and tolerance (Fakhurokhman et al., 2022) and on Islamic education (Fitriani & Usman, 2025) suggests that this tension is, in practice, managed mostly through limits on matters of creed and worship rather than through formal constitutional restriction,

though this still warrants further investigation by future research (see the Conclusion), rather than being assumed to be already resolved.

Implications for Islamic Value-Based Civic Education

The findings of this study carry practical implications for developing civic-education and Islamic religious-education materials in Indonesia. To date, some teaching materials for Islamic religious education and Pancasila education in schools and Islamic higher-education institutions have tended to present the shura-democracy relationship descriptively, emphasizing the shared values of participation and deliberation without adequately explaining the fundamental differences regarding where sovereignty resides and how majority power is limited. Such an instructional approach risks producing oversimplified understanding among students, which in turn can give rise to two problematic tendencies: first, the assumption that any form of democracy is automatically “Islamic” as long as it involves deliberation, without regard to the applicable limits of sharia; and second, the opposite assumption that democracy is inherently at odds with Islam, which may foster apathy or even rejection of legitimate democratic participation.

The five-dimension comparative-conceptual framework produced by this study can be adapted into more precise teaching materials for example, by developing instructional modules that explicitly distinguish areas open to *ijtihad* and deliberation (such as public policy, administrative governance, and social relations) from areas that are fixed or cannot be altered through the political process (such as core matters of creed and worship). Teaching this distinction from secondary education through Islamic higher education is important, so that students gain a fuller understanding of how Islamic values can contribute constructively to strengthening Pancasila democracy without collapsing into a conceptual oversimplification of either shura or democracy.

In addition, the finding that religious and legal scholars function as a check on majority power within the shura framework (Hawi, 2019; Musoffa & Dayal, 2024) can serve as material for critical discussion in civic education regarding the role of religious figures and institutions in Indonesia's contemporary democratic system, including its relevance to bodies such as the Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia). Such discussion can help students understand that the involvement of religious authority in public life can coexist with a constitutional democratic system, so long as its role is understood as moral-religious input rather than as an authority that supersedes the prevailing constitutional mechanisms.

Taken together, the discussion of the four aspects above answers both research questions of this study: first, shura and modern democracy overlap on procedural values but differ in where sovereignty resides and in how majority power is limited; second, meaningful interaction between the two is most likely to occur in areas open to *ijtihad*, and requires caution in areas that are theologically non-negotiable, with

Islamic value-based civic education playing an important role in instilling this distinction from an early stage.

Conclusion

The most important finding of this study one that could only be established through systematic review rather than assumed from the outset is that the convergence between shura and modern democracy is in fact confined to the procedural level (deliberation, accountability, participation) and does not extend to the foundational level. Among the 21 sources that directly address the shura-democracy relationship, nearly all agree on these procedural values, but they diverge sharply once the question turns to where sovereignty truly resides and who has the authority to limit majority decisions something rarely mapped explicitly in Indonesian literature, which has tended to conclude their compatibility directly without layered demonstration.

In terms of scholarly contribution, this study does not merely confirm the compatibility claim commonly found in prior literature, but interrogates how that claim is typically constructed, while also contributing a new perspective in the form of a five-dimension comparative-conceptual framework (sovereignty, representation, legitimacy, pluralism, and limits on majority power) as an instrument for systematically mapping the points of convergence and divergence between Islamic governance and democracy. This framework positions the study within a reciprocal-critical stance, between the symbiotic-mutualistic view that overstates their equivalence and the antagonistic view that overstates their separation, while offering more precise vocabulary for explaining the relationship between Islamic governance principles and Indonesia's Pancasila-based democratic institutions. This contribution is also applied in nature, since the resulting five-dimension framework can be directly adapted into more precise civic- and Islamic religious-education materials, as elaborated in the Discussion section, so that the study contributes at both the theoretical-conceptual and the practical-pedagogical levels.

This study has several limitations that must be honestly acknowledged. As a library-based study, it is confined to secondary textual sources and does not involve field data or interviews with political elites, and so cannot directly observe how this conceptual tension is negotiated in Indonesia's everyday political practice. The search protocol, while systematic, was limited to Indonesian- and English-language sources from four databases, and may therefore have missed relevant Arabic-language literature or literature indexed in other databases. The five-dimension framework used, although designed to be fairly comprehensive, still simplifies the far more diverse richness of classical and contemporary Islamic political thought. Further empirical research is therefore needed for instance, field studies or interviews with policymakers and religious figures on how these boundaries are negotiated in Indonesia's legislative and judicial processes to deepen and validate the conceptual framework proposed in this study. Such follow-up research would ideally also involve

cross-country comparisons among Muslim-majority states with differing political systems, so that the proposed five-dimension framework can be tested for applicability beyond the Indonesian context and further enrich the broader academic discourse on the relationship between Islam and democracy.

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Ethics Statement

Ethical approval was not required for this study because it was based exclusively on publicly available secondary literature and did not involve human participants, personal data, animals, or direct data collection from research subjects.

Artificial Intelligence Use Statement

The authors used artificial intelligence (AI) tools in a limited manner to assist with language editing, grammatical refinement, and improving the readability of the manuscript. AI was not used to conduct the literature search and selection, determine the inclusion or exclusion of studies, extract or analyze data, construct the five-dimension comparative-conceptual framework, interpret the findings, or formulate the conclusions. All AI-assisted outputs were critically reviewed and verified by the authors, who take full responsibility for the accuracy, integrity, and final content of the article.

Author Contribution Statement

Fathur Rohman Romadhon contributed to the conceptualization, research design, literature review, data analysis, and preparation of the original draft. Muhammad Rafli Hasyim contributed to the literature search, screening, data extraction, and analysis. Muhamad Rusydi Muzakkir contributed to data validation, comparative analysis, and interpretation of the findings. Ahmad Bahir contributed to the literature review, conceptual analysis, and critical revision of the manuscript. Siti Uswatun Khasanah contributed to methodological validation, interpretation of the findings, and critical review of the manuscript. Sayyid Qutub contributed to supervision, conceptual refinement, and final review and editing of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final version of the article.

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