HEGEMONY POLITICS AND GLOBALIZATION: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF POLITICAL LAW IN INDONESIA

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Abstract: Globalization as a controversial issue has created a significant gap in the country's political life, destroyed local culture, and torn barriers between countries. Threats to human life due to globalization are also increasingly diverse, not only coming from big or nuclear wars but also from radical forces that are developing in society and giving birth to terrorism. This research will examine the relationship between law and the globalization surrounding it. Descriptive analysis extracts information on how law and economics as two subsystems interact. The interaction between the two subsystems is visible in the legal and community studies approach. The development of world globalization automatically has implications for national legal policies. The analysis shows that this is due to the preconditions imposed by the organizations, enabling the political hegemony of strong or developed countries to occur against weak, poor or developing countries.

Keywords: Law, Politics, Globalization, Hegemony.

Introduction

Globalization is a process of international integration due to the exchange of world views, products, ideas and aspects of culture. Many think that globalization is a project by superpower countries, so that people may have a negative or suspicious view of it. When the faucet of globalization is opened at full speed under the pretext of progress, the impact will be even sad because various kinds of foreign cultures and ideologies come in so swiftly without any filter. The flow of globalization makes people no longer recognize their own culture (Hermawanto & Anggraini, 2020) because it is mixed up with foreign cultures that are brought in. As a result, the culture that develops in society becomes a culture of imitation that can only imitate and talkative to foreign cultures (Aziz, 1995).

Many controversies have arisen that globalization is nothing more than a form of 'hegemony'. A system imposes coercion on others subtly, namely, a process of controlling human consciousness. In other words, globalization is a process of universal social order that knows no boundaries. In Antonio Gramsci's view, hegemony is a class whose members exercise power over the classes below them through violence and persuasion. Hegemony is not a relationship of domination by using power (Hutagalung, 2004) but rather a relationship of an agreement by using political and ideological leadership (Brady et al., 2019; Doerfel & Taylor, 2017).

The process of hegemony occurs when the way of life, way of thinking, and views of the grassroots, especially the proletariat, have imitated and accepted the way of thinking and lifestyle of the elite group that dominates and exploits them. The process of hegemony often involves the struggle for the influence of the concept of reality from the point of view of those who dominate, those who are dominated succeed in taking it. The dominance happening now is getting resistance from several groups who reject it. This creates a struggle to exert substantial influence in dominating and exploiting so that the majority of the people can follow what is their influence so that whatever they do will be accepted. This creates resistance so that their form of resistance is what is then called radicalism. Radicalism is an ideology or flow that aims to make drastic and revolutionary changes or reforms in the social and political fields (McLaughlin, 2008). However, the problem of radicalism has entered the religious field (Abbas, 2007).

Religion is very quickly dragged or dragged into the arena of radicalism by using various existing scientific languages, for example, the language of ideology, politics, socio-culture or economics. In the context of ideology, religion fosters confidence in its adherents that what it has done is the truth that emerges from the messages of the religion. Even in the political context, religion is also often used as legitimacy for radicalism carried out by the authorities to maintain power hegemony (Billings & Scott, 1994; Jackson, 2007; Natalia, 2016).

According to Karen Armstrong, radical teachings (fundamentalism) are a defence mechanism that emerges as a reaction to threatening crises, such as mystical or scientific beliefs and policies that are considered hostile and harmful to religious positions. Radicals view this battle against threats as not an ordinary political battle but as a cosmic struggle between good and evil, truth versus falsehood, and between God's soldiers and the devil who must be punished. The main feature of this movement is characterized by imposing religious practices (Choir et al., 2009).

Discussion of religious radicalism is more complicated when compared to a discussion of radicalism from other perspectives. Of course, no religion teaches us to carry out acts of radicalism. All religions want peace both in this world and the hereafter. However, in reality, these conditions are different, where religion is often involved or is involved in radicalism carried out by adherents of that religion. In Judaism, they think that they are a chosen nation or what they call The Chosen People. They consider that the land of Israel in Palestine is the land promised by God in the Old Bible to be reoccupied (Whitelam, 1989). The thoughts of those who think that they are The Chosen People lead to acts of aggression, expansion, and domination (Nabilah & Wijayanti, 2022; Saude, 2006). In Catholic Christianity, they say that there is no salvation outside the church, while in Protestant Christianity, they think that there is no salvation outside of Jesus, which is a fixed price for him.

Nowadays, the word radical is often labelled as the religion of Islam. However, the author sees that this does not just happen because the issue of radical Islam has become a political problem among nations. In the context of global political thought, the double standard political reality of the United States (US) and its allies is the triggering axis that fuels the development of Islamic radicalism. The radicalism paradigm continues to be developed into terrorism in order to destroy Islam which has been claimed to be a severe threat to them. This development strengthened after the World Trade Center (WTC) tragedy on September 11, 2001.

The tragedy of the World Trade Center in the United States on September 11, 2001, has become a significant momentum for the birth of a major war against global terrorism, which the West seems to have long been aware of since the Cold War ended. Western circles, with their oriental instincts, have observed the emergence of expressions of integration of the Islamic world and its political identity since the 1980s, including the spirit of Islamic revival. In the Western view, the anti-Western Islamic world tends to undermine the single dominant structure after the cold war (Fealy, 2004; Muzakki, 2014; Turmudi & Sihbudi, 2005).

From this, we can see that terrorism is also an excellent idea to destroy Islam. The analogy is that when religion teaches terrorism, then that religion is very bad. That is what the West wants to bring out, especially those in the Middle East. In addition, the West knows there is natural potential in the Middle East region, namely abundant natural resources in oil. This is what is often hailed so that when the country is in conflict, they will enter into security issues, and after that, they will take their natural resources (El Rahma, 2020).

Of this tragedy, the hatred of Muslims towards the West has arisen because they have been accused of committing this crime. From here, it has triggered the rise of Islamic groups in carrying out resistance to the West. In addition to resistance in physical form, like many radical groups from among Islamic groups, there is also resistance in the form of ideology, which is endless. Hate and anti-Western seem to find their relevance in the Muslim intellectual discourse of the modern movement of the Islamic world. The term radicalism is not a foreign concept. In general, three tendencies are indications of radicalism, namely:

First, radicalism responds to ongoing conditions, usually evaluation, rejection, or even resistance. Second, the productivity of radicalism does not stop at efforts to reject it but instead continues to try to replace this order with another form of order. Third, this radical group strongly believes in the truth of the program or ideology they support. Radicalism in Indonesia emerged and was triggered by domestic problems and international political constellations, which were considered to have cornered the socio-political life of society (Ritaudin, 2014; Turmudi & Sihbudi, 2005). In the domestic context, for example, the government is slow in dealing with "immorality". The government, in this case, needs to be more consistent in implementing the mutually agreed legislation.

Several radicalism movements were born in Christianity. These groups include the Black Bat Troops or the Red Army in Poso, Laskar Christ in Ambon, the Manguni Brigade in Manado, and Fundamentalistic and Evangelistic Churches in Papua. Most of these groups exist because they have experienced injustice in Indonesia. In addition, in the Islamic religion, a national political "*salafiyah*" movement was born that

wanted to rebuild the Islamic "empire" in the context of modern politics; at first glance, its political ideas and concepts can be accepted with the logic of belief and the logic of history that it refers to. In the view of the "*salafiyah*" group, all modernity and globalization projects currently taking place not only bring disaster to humanity but also can create an imbalance in life. For the "*salafiyah*" group, some of which we might mention are *Hizbut Tahrir* (HT), *Laskar Jihad* (LJ), Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Indonesian *Mujahidin* Council (MMI), and several halakah scattered in various places, emphasize how it is important to understand Islamic texts textually by referring fully to the legacy of the Prophet (Qur'an and Sunnah) because anyone who does not follow the legacy of the Prophet is considered an infidel (Syarifuddin Jurdi, 2014).

Radical groups see that the ideological battle is not over. This cannot be separated from the view that the ideology of liberalism/capitalism is just a human creation that brings more harm than benefit. Ideology is then interpreted as an ugly ideology (evil). In the view of this group, only Islam can compete with a Western ideology like that. This cannot be separated from the view that Islam is the last and most complete religion that regulates various things Al-Amin & Mujib, n.d.; Amin & Rohmadi, 2022). Based on this, the authors are interested in conducting this research to examine the influence of Western political hegemony on radicalism movements in Indonesia. This radicalism movement has caused many problems in socio-political life in Indonesia.

Literature review

1. Hegemony Theory

The concept of hegemony was formulated by Gramsci when he saw the phenomenon that occurred in the Roman Catholic Church. Gramsci sees that the Roman Catholic Church has enormous ideological power against Catholics who voluntarily comply with everything issued by the Roman Catholic Church. Gramsci calls the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and Catholics "mechanical", and then he realizes that the Roman Catholic Church has been very successful in its struggle to seize and control the conscience and mindset of its followers (Agus, 2011). Lenin laid the foundations of the concept of hegemony by perfecting the efforts that the founders had made of the Russian workers' movement. For Lenin, hegemony is a strategy for a revolution that the working class and its members must implement to gain support from the majority (Kurniati, 2018).

Gramsci broadens the notion of Lenin's hegemony to include the role of the capitalist class and its members, both in seizing state power and maintaining its already-established power. Furthermore, if Lenin's hegemony was primarily understood in terms of alliances between classes or class groups, then Gramsci added a populist national dimension to the concept of hegemony. Gramsci stated that a class could not achieve national leadership and become hegemonic if that class only pays attention to their interests; therefore, they must also pay attention to the demands and struggles of the people who do not have a pure class character, namely interests that do not arise directly from social relations. - production relations. Thus, hegemony has a class dimension and a populist national dimension (Siswati, 2018).

Gramsci, in discussing hegemony, provides three conceptualization boundaries: the economy, political society and civil society. The economy is the term used to define society's most dominant mode of production. Political society is where the state bureaucracy takes place and where the practices of state violence emerge. In Gramsci's understanding, state bureaucracy is identified as civil service, welfare and educational institutions. Civil society refers to other organizations besides the state and outside the material and economic production system, which are supported and implemented by people or components outside the production system and the state (Siswati, 2018).

2. Radicalism Theory

Radicalism is an ideology or flow that aims to make drastic and revolutionary changes or reforms in the social and political fields. Starting from a stream, radicalism appears as a movement that often uses special jargon in the name of religion, especially Islam. In many ways, religion is often an attractive object and is exploited in such a way as to realize its true interests. So that radicalism in the name of religion further tarnishes the name of Islam as a religion of rahmatan lil ālamīn (Ulya, 2016). According to Azyumardi Azra, radicalism is an extreme form of revivalism. Revivalism is an intensification of Islam that is more inward-oriented, in the sense that the application of a belief is only applied to oneself. The form of radicalism that tends to be outward-oriented, or sometimes in its application tends to use acts

of violence, is commonly called fundamentalism (Azyumardi, 1999).In simple terms, radicalism is a thought or attitude characterized by four things that simultaneously become its characteristics: intolerance and unwillingness to respect other people's opinions or beliefs. Second, bigotry, namely self-righteousness and blaming others. Third, exclusivity, namely the attitude of being closed and trying to be different from the habits of many people. Fourth revolutionary attitude, namely the tendency to use violence to achieve goals (Rodin, 2016).

Symptoms of religious radicalism have never stopped in the history of Muslims until now. The discourse on the relationship between religion (Islam) and radicalism has recently been getting stronger, along with the emergence of various acts of violence and the birth of radical movements. The history of violence and radicalism often carries the name of religion. This is understandable because religion has tremendous power, which exceeds political, social, and cultural power. Religion can even be elevated to a supernatural level. In the name of religion, then radicalism is legalized in various actions. Starting from making infidels people who do not agree (takfir) to killing enemies who do not share their ideology (Rodin, 2016). The following are several factors related to the cause of the proliferation of anarchist actions, which later transformed into movement groups. Some of these things are as follows:

- Lack of understanding of religion. Forms of activity that lead more to violence which is then believed to be the guidance of the Islamic religion, is wrong thinking.
- Misunderstanding of religious texts. The cause of anarchism under the guise of religion is understanding and taking religious knowledge by hearing from lecturers and ignoring classical scholars' opinions.
- Extreme in understanding religious texts. People who exaggerate in understanding religious texts are called the "extreme right group". In contrast, people who do not care about a religious value are called the "extreme left group".
- Misunderstanding the context of an Islamic state. There are many differences regarding the Islamic state, whether the Islamic state is like a caliphate and so on or the Islamic State in question is that the laws applied do not conflict with Islamic teachings (Minardi & Minardi, 2019).

Research methods

This type of research is library research, in which researchers examine the sources of literature related to the influence of Western political hegemony on radicalism movements in Indonesia. The research approach is carried out through a political science approach, a normative juridical approach, a sociological approach, a historical approach and a theological approach. Data collection techniques in this study were carried out through identifying discourse from books, papers or articles, magazines, journals, the web (internet), or other information related to writing titles to look for things or variables in the form of notes, transcripts, and books. , newspapers, magazines and so on related to the study of political hegemony and radicalism. Data analysis techniques in this study used inductive, deductive, and comparative methods. The inductive method is carried out by analyzing specific data, then diverting it to general matters, and the writer concludes. The deductive method is carried out by analyzing general data. It is processed systematically to obtain specific conclusions. At the same time, the comparative method is carried out to compare two or more things from the processed data and then choose which one is considered better to be applied in research. This.

Research Results and Discussion

A. The Influence of Western Political Hegemony on the World

The influence of Western political hegemony covers several things, both in the system of government and the economy and in terms of other aspects. The system of government that is widely applied is democratic. The economic system is capitalist.

1. Democracy

Democracy, as a concept resulting from human thought, does not have an absolute legal basis. However, democracy, in its growth and development to this day, only has a relative legal basis as outlined in every country's constitution that adheres to a democratic system. Basically, in the understanding of Western democracy, constitution and democracy cannot be separated because the growth and development of modern constitutional understanding as the basis of the state to form a rule of law state, goes hand in

hand with the growth of democracy itself (Hanafi, 2016). The most fundamental characteristic of any democratic system is that citizens (the people) must be involved in making political decisions, either directly or through representatives. The main assumption of this view is that the people must have the right to discuss state policy regarding matters that are done on behalf of the people. Then another characteristic of a democratic country is the freedom and independence given to or maintained and owned by citizens. Freedoms and independence granted to or maintained and owned by citizens are often called natural or human rights.

A regime's political policy must be based on the aspirations of citizens. The people's aspirations must become the rulers' preference in formulating public policies. Policies that are not born from the general will of citizens will certainly receive strong resistance and even experience problems in society. Rulers who ignore the people's aspirations, moreover the rulers are deaf and deaf to the will of their people, will certainly get intense opposition from the community. This is where the essential meaning of democracy and the political participation of citizens is. In this way, a democratic political system will be realized (Syaifruddin Jurdi, 2016). The drafting of the constitution of a modern state in the West is based on the notions of individualism and liberalism, and the principles implemented in a liberal democratic system view that every human being is considered responsible for and for himself (Asshiddiqie, 2017). According to Weber's observations, democracy has become a competitive arena for elites (a political phenomenon in Germany, England and America). Even in elections, the credibility and popularity of certain groups of leaders, such as the political elite, are at stake (Muslim, 2013).

According to Fukuyama, modern democracy is full of liberal democratic doctrines. The issue of globalization is increasingly putting stronger pressure on the emancipation (feminist) movement, the protection of human rights and the emergence of international civil society movements (Anwar, 2015). Western thought separates private life from public life. An individual's life is the right and property of the individual, and he is free to do as he pleases. No one has the right to interfere with his freedom or include his personal life in social life and public life (Yusuf Al-Qardhawi, 2001). One characteristic of democracy is the involvement of the people in government. However, their involvement only occurs when general elections take place. This is because the country has a parliament that functions as a representative of the people, so the involvement of the people in government is nonexistent because there are already their representatives sitting in parliament.

2. Capitalism

The industrial revolution in the 18th century was marked by the transfer of human power to machine power. Society transformed almost all aspects of life. The implication is that society has a very drastic shift in values. An individualistic capitalist society replaced the society that was previously full of humanist values. Their epistemology has been cut off by the hegemony of capitalist civilization (Muh, Ilyas Syarifuddin, 2016). Three things become the pattern of the nature and basic character of capitalism. These three things underlie the existence of oppression that has occurred since the emergence of capitalism until the practice of capitalism that is happening today. These three things are:

a. Exploitation

This means massive and all-out dredging of natural and human resources, as happened during the colonial era, even today, although in a different form. Capitalists will continue to carry out the massive robbery of natural wealth and exploit workers for personal gain and interests (Huda & Huda, 2016).

b. Accumulation

Literally, Accumulation means Accumulation. This trait underlies the capitalists, so they are never satisfied with what has been achieved. For example, if the first capital owned is Rp. 1 million. Then the capitalist will try to be able to multiply his wealth by Rp. 2 million, and so on. Capitalists always use all means to increase wealth (Huda & Huda, 2016).

c. Expansion

This means widening the wings or expanding the market area, as in the early phase of capitalism, from the clothing trade to shipping, warehousing, raw goods and then finished goods. What is happening now is that the colonialists are expanding to all corners of the world through capital and the establishment

of large factories, which incidentally are licensed factories, which are increasingly being streamlined through globalization (Huda & Huda, 2016).

B. The Influence of Western Political Hegemony in Indonesia

Western political hegemony in Indonesia cannot be separated from European colonialism before independence. They initially traded in the archipelago, but gradually they began to be involved in political forces that often carried out conflicts and conspiracies to uphold political hegemony in the region (Jajat, 2017). However, in upholding political hegemony, they often encounter resistance from the people in the region. One example of a case of resistance is the Padri Movement in West Sumatra. This movement arose when three Minangkabau clerics returned from Mecca, namely *Haji Miskin, Haji Sumanik* and *Haji Piobang*. They have accelerated the Islamic reform that was laid before *Tuanku Nan Tuo*. After that, they fought against the Dutch, assisted by indigenous peoples who did not accept Islamic reform by Padri scholars (Jajat, 2017).

The current hegemony is more of an ideological battle that shows its strength in the state sector. The ideological theory begins with various polemics of disputes between various forces. Ideas and ideas about the social world that political actors express are expressed in the language of power. Ideology as a thinking and belief system will always be related to symbolic practices related to social and political actions. Ideology will always be present in every political practice and program. Therefore, ideology will justify all acts of power, and even ideology can become a justification tool for power domination (Syarifuddin Jurdi, 2014). An ideological battle in Indonesia occurred between Islam and Nationalists. These two ideologies fight against each other to develop their dominance, and this can be seen before Indonesian independence when two groups of two different ideologies were born. The first group is from an Islamic group, namely Sarekat Islam.

Sarekat Islam (SI) is a political organization founded in Solo on November 11 1912. SI is considered a continuation of the Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI), founded on October 16 1905, by Tamar Djaja and Samanhoedi pioneered. SI was supported by students such as HOS Tjokroaminoto, Agus Salim, and Moeis, including Suwardi Surjaningrat, who later became known as Ki Hajar Dewantara, who had joined SI. SI figures harshly criticized the Dutch colonial government, which they saw as a party that only took Indonesian crops, drained Indonesia's natural wealth, and carried out social, political and cultural oppression (Syarifuddin Jurdi, 2014). This group began with the Pan-Islamism movement that came from the Middle East. The spirit of this movement is carried by the hadjis who have performed the pilgrimage in Mecca. Apart from performing the pilgrimage, they also received religious knowledge in Mecca and spread it in Indonesia. International political circulation related to the power of various Islamic countries (especially Turkey), which can balance the power of countries outside of Islam, has become a special attraction for the world's Muslims. Thus, the pilgrims who have settled in Mecca witness how important Islamic discourse and international politics are for them (Nasihin, 2012).

The next group comes from the nationalist group. The emergence of nationalist groups began in the early 20th century when students studying in the Netherlands formed a student organization in 1908. This group was called B(oe)udi U(Oe)tomo. Budi Utomo is a movement organization that was first established. Founded in Jakarta on May 20, 1908, with Sutomo as chairman. Budi Utomo's organizational goals are to progress and improve the nation's status. Budi Utomo is an organization with a socio-cultural and educational pattern (Armelia, 2008). To spread the spirit of national awakening, BO uses educational institutions as a means of enlightenment. Also, through this school, teacher exchanges took place between nationalists and Muslims to teach the sciences they mastered in Islamic schools and Islamic studies in public schools. BO became the first inclusive national movement, not limiting itself to abandoning priyayi circles; although initially driven by abangan priyayi, this movement accepted members from Muslim circles (Syaifruddin Jurdi, 2016).

Budi Utomo was founded in 1908, four years before Sarekat Islam was founded (1912). However, many parties, especially the Sarekat Islam, oppose the claim that BO was the first indigenous organization because Samanhudi et al. had founded the Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI) in 1905, three years before BO was founded (Syaifruddin Jurdi, 2016). From this, it can be seen that there was a conflict regarding the first indigenous organization in Indonesia. However, the BO organization agreed to a national awakening day. This proves that BO is the first indigenous organization in Indonesia. In addition to conflicts regarding the first indigenous organization, there were conflicts in formulating state ideology. This indicates a political hegemony where the nationalists want religion separated from the state. A thought which is the thought of the colonialists. They think religion cannot be included in government and is only a worship

routine. This is different from the understanding of Islamic groups who think that religion (especially Islam) is a ritual religion which also values from religion can be applied in government.

The rise of the ideals of national unity and unity or nationalism at the beginning of the 20th century, sociologically according to Kuntowijoyo, was influenced by the social situation that gave birth to it, a typology of nationalism can be formulated, firstly if you look at the social class that stood out at that time were the aristocrats, they were aristocrats who had much education and worked as ambtenaar (high-class aristocrats), as well as lowly aristocrats who worked outside the government. The second group that also coloured it was the professional intelligentsia, such as doctors, legal experts, and clergy (Kuntowijoyo, 1999). The political relationship between Islam and nationalism in Indonesia at some stages of its history is an antagonistic story facing each other. This was primarily due to differences in views among the founders of this Republic, who were mostly Muslim, regarding the aspired independent Indonesia. One of the most important points in the differences of opinion above is whether the state is Islamic or nationalist. On the one hand, the state's construction requires that Islam be recognized and accepted as the ideological basis of the state. On the other hand, the construct of statehood requires that Indonesia be based on Pancasila, an ideology that has been de-conventionalized (Bachtiar, 1998).

The struggle of the Indonesian nation at the beginning of the 20th century was marked by the same feeling of nationalism; the founding fathers succeeded in uniting a sense of nationality which in the previous era was still scattered in separate movements based on their respective territorial boundaries. In historical records, there needs to be more role from the Japanese colonialists who united these figures in a platform to prepare for Indonesian independence. The Investigative Body for Indonesian Independence Efforts (BPUPKI) is a gathering place for movement figures from various religions and groups, all of whom have become national ideologues who formulate the basis of the Indonesian state (Ilyas, 2020). The purpose of the BPUPKI session was to formulate a constitution. Before forming a state constitution, it must first be formulated the basis of the Indonesian state will animate the constitution. To obtain the basic formulation of the state, among the proceedings was listening to speeches from three movement figures, namely Muh. Yamen, Dr. Supomo and Ir. Sukarno. After listening to the speeches of the three figures, the BPUPKI formed a Committee of Nine chaired by Ir. Sukarno. On June 22, 1945, Soekarno reported the work of the committee of nine to all BPUPKI members regarding the draft document for the principles and goals of an independent Indonesia, which later became known (named by Moh. Yamin) as the Jakarta Charter or Jakarta Charter.

On August 7, 1945, the BPUPKI was disbanded because it was considered able to complete its duties properly, namely establishing the basis of the state and drafting a Constitution for an Independent Indonesia. Then a new institution was formed, namely the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) or in Japanese: Dokuritsu Junbi Inkai, as its chairman, Ir. Sukarno, led the institution. PPKI has two main tasks; the first is to formalize the preamble (Arabic: Mukaddimah, Dutch: preamble) and the body of the 1945 Constitution. The second task is to continue the work of BPUPKI, preparing for the transfer of power from the Japanese military occupation government to the nation. Indonesia, and preparing everything related to constitutional issues for the new Indonesian state (Ilyas, 2020). As a result of the removal of the seven words in the Jakarta Charter, two groups were formed which are still present in Indonesia, namely the Islamic and Nationalist groups. This group is more clearly seen in the party system in Indonesia, where there are parties with Islamic and Nationalist ideologies. There are even groups that were born outside of the party system.

In the New Order era, there were two political parties and one group. This happened because the New Order issued a policy of simplifying political parties through fusion (merging of parties). There are two divisions in the merging of parties, namely the Development Democracy Group, also known as materialist-spiritualist parties, while the United Development Group is called spiritualist-materialist parties. This group eventually turned into parties, namely the Development Democratic Group to become the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) and the United Development Group to become the United Development Party (PPP). In this era, there was also one group, namely the Karya Group (Golkar). Golkar is a people's organization even though, in essence, it is a political party Sigit, 2012, p. 155). There were two important moments which then changed and influenced the dynamics and structure of the party at this time. First, the issuance of Law no. 2 of 1999 concerning Political Parties. Second, there is an

amendment to the 1945 Constitution. This amendment is the most important contribution of political parties in managing and directing the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia Sigit, 2012, p. 155).

The issuance of the Law on Political Parties resulted in the Reformation era, where there were many political parties, even around 150 political parties were formed, and almost a third of them were political parties based on Islam. However, there were 48 political parties registered as participants in the 1999 election. The establishment of this political party is a political expression from the people after the New Order era, and they found it difficult to move and carry out their political expression (Dwi, 2001). According to Daniel Dhakidae, the political parties that participated in the 1999 election had two axes that separated them, namely the vertical axis and the horizontal axis. The vertical axis separates the two poles: parties based on religion and parties based on nationality. Meanwhile, the horizontal axis also separates two class-based poles: developmentalism and radical socialism (Lili, 2006).

According to Daniel, parties like the PRD (People's Democratic Party) take the classpath in their ideological criticism and working methods. Meanwhile, the Golkar Party has clearly taken the path of developmentalism. From the vertical axis, draw a line between two different sects, namely streams based on religion: Islam and Christianity. Meanwhile, at the national pole is the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI), led by Megawati Soekarnoputri. In addition, there are the PAN parties (National Mandate Party), PKB (National Awakening Party) and PUDI (Indonesian Democratic Union Party), which are in the middle of crossing two axes, namely the vertical axis and the horizontal axis (Lili, 2006).

Regarding the Amendments to the 1945 Constitution, there was a fierce debate between the parties because it was related to the state's and religion's basic problems. The PDIP faction, the KKI faction, and the PDKB (Secular Nationalist and Moderate Reformist) faction became one group that held the view that Pancasila needed to be included in the articles of the Constitution. Meanwhile, Islamic-based parties such as PPP and PBB and Islamic-oriented parties such as PKB and PAN (Islam and Progressive Reformers) hold the opposite view. Meanwhile, the Golkar and the TNI/Polri faction were between the two groups. In matters of religion, there is debate over whether the Jakarta Charter should be included in an amendment. The Islamic parties wanted this, while the Nationalist and Christian Nationalist parties rejected it. In the end, these two issues were not included in the articles of the Constitution, and the compensation was that the words "faith, piety, and morals" were included in the Chapter on Education (Sigit, 2012, p. 159).

The debate regarding the amendments to the Constitution reminds the author of the struggle between Islamic groups and nationalist groups during the formulation of state ideology. However, at the time of the amendment to the Constitution, a debate occurred regarding including Pancasila as the state ideology in the Constitution and including the Jakarta Charter in the amendment. From this, it can be seen how the hegemony of these two groups in the amendments to the Constitution. The influence of political hegemony between the West and Islam reappeared when the amendment to the Constitution. In the next elections (after the 1999 election), several parties took part in the elections. The parties that took part in the elections were only parties that were based on sects and were catch-all; no parties from class groups took part in the elections, according to the author's observation that the parties participating in the election currently only consist of two groups, namely the nationalist group and the religious (especially Islamic) group. The power struggle carried out by parties is an arena for fighting for votes in every election and an ideological battle at the same time. Existing political parties have to fight extra to get the people's conscience because these parties fight not only during elections but also when people are given confidence in holding power.

The battle between the two ideologies in Indonesia, namely nationalist and religious (Islamic) ideology, shows a struggle for political hegemony in Indonesia. Western politics influence the nationalist group that wants religion not to be included in the state. Let religion be a mere ritual. Currently, the ruling group in Indonesia comes from the national group, which means that Western political hegemony is very influential on the state; even though Islamic groups are also included in the government, they cannot impact the state. Islamic groups are currently divided, and in the end, they can only become the opposition to the government because the position of Islamic groups makes them unable to dominate in government and in making policies.

Doctrinal factors are not always the main foundation in social life; however, social changes, social dynamics and the structure of society are the basis for creating a responsive state system. In various social contexts, the relationship between Islam and the state (politics) or even the tension between

Islam and politics occurs in an atmosphere that "opts" each other. In Indonesia, the majority of people who adhere to Islam are often the reason for Muslims to "master" the country's Constitution with Islamic doctrine; even though this is a logical consequence of accepting a democratic system, the true doctrinal meaning of Islam must be contextualized with the trend of changes taking place within the body. people and nation (Syaifruddin Jurdi, 2016, p. 88).

In the previous discussion, democracy is a government system that uses a majority vote (election) to make decisions. Democracy is also a hegemony, as in the previous discussion. Look at the two forces in Indonesia, namely the nationalist and Islamic groups. It will be difficult for Islamic groups to move because they are already divided, and it is difficult to influence the existing government. This is why it is difficult for Muslims to master the state constitution, but the ideals for Islamic doctrine to be upheld in the state constitution will continue to be fought for. In addition to the government system, there are other hegemonic influences, namely in the economy, as illustrated by several things outlined in the booklet Hizbuth Tahrir Indonesia's 2006 End of Reflections: Save Indonesia with Sharia, Towards a Better Indonesia. The book contains several conditions, namely: (Nurjannah, 2013)

".... According to BPS, the number of poor people in 2005 reached more than 35 million people, and in 2006 it increased to 39.05 million. This situation got worse when kerosene was increasingly scarce and the price of rice skyrocketed. Indonesia is a fertile country, but being a rice importer, not a few people even have to eat aking or cassava rice again. In the midst of the need for state revenue to finance development, state-owned assets were actually released to foreign companies, for example in March 2006 the government decided to appoint Mobil Cepu Limited (MCL), which is an American subsidiary, as the lead for the Cepu Block. Likewise with the management of the gold mine at Freeport and gas management in the Natuna alpha delta block where the government only gets zero percent (0%) profit sharing. This bad reality is only possible due to the existence of such a large intervention from the US government and the presence of copradors in the country who work for foreign interests."

This is a hegemony of Western politics in Indonesia in the economic field. Where there is exploitation and domination in the economic field, which causes misery to the people themselves. So, apart from the struggle between the two ideologies, namely the nationalist and Islamic groups, it also occurred in the economic sector. The influence in this field is more visible in the exploitation and domination carried out on Indonesia's natural resources, which results in profits only for foreigners. Then the influence of Western political hegemony can be seen in national education. Globalization has a tremendous influence on it. The demand for improving the quality of human resources makes the world of education "switch the steering wheel" to make changes as soon as possible, especially formal education. One of them is the educational curriculum. The curriculum is required to answer various problems related to the provision of human resources to face the world's free competition (Hidayati, 2014).

A *curriculum* is a program provided by educational institutions (schools) for students. Based on this educational program, students carry out various learning activities to encourage their development and growth according to predetermined educational goals (Hidayati, 2014). The compiled curriculum must follow the goals of national education, namely to develop the potential of students to become human beings of faith and fear of God Almighty, have a noble character, are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become citizens of a democratic and responsible state. (Hayadin, 2017).

The current education curriculum is the 2013 Curriculum replacing the Integrated Education Unit Curriculum implemented in 2006. In this curriculum, there are many striking differences, such as the balance of soft skills and hard skills, which includes aspects of attitude, knowledge and skills competencies in a balanced manner. Even the assessment process also includes processes in learning and outdoor learning (Hidayati, 2014). One subject that has changed is Islamic Religious Education (PAI). Currently, these subjects have become Religious and Moral Education. According to Nurlena Rifa'i, PAI subjects have only taught dogmatic aspects of understanding religion and worship practices without strengthening morals and character education. Even in the 2013 curriculum, teachers must have PAI learning methods that are no longer boring and too dogmatic (Hidayati, 2014).

Changes in these subjects follow the current developments of globalization. Originally this subject emphasized more on the dogmatic theoretical understanding. As a result, nowadays, there is more emphasis on the quality of human resources, so this subject requires strengthening morals and good morals. Even though there is no significant difference in terms of material, with the elimination of dogmatic theory-based learning in schools, parents must deliver this material at home.

Conclusion

The influence of political hegemony in Indonesia is marked by the existence of an ideological battle that took place between Islam and Nationalists. This battle had occurred even before Indonesia's independence, where there was a conflict over the first native organization to stand. Even today, the battle between these two ideologies is still ongoing. In addition to ideological battles, the influence of Western political hegemony in Indonesia also occurs in the economic field. In this field, there is exploitation by the West (especially the United States), which exploits natural resources in Indonesia. Then in the field of education, where the influence of globalization has affected changes in the education curriculum. Curriculum changes also caused several subjects to be removed, including Islamic Religious Education subjects. The conflict between the two ideologies that occurred in Indonesia is a political hegemony. They do hegemony so that the ideology that becomes their identity can be accepted by society. In addition, the hegemony exercised can represent the ideology that is their identity so that they do not only act in the name of ideology to seek popularity. Hegemony is also carried out by exploiting natural resources and changing the school curriculum.

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