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Reconceptualizing *Shūrā* in Islamic Political Thought: Its Relevance to Contemporary Democratic Governance

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Abstract

Debates on the relationship between Islamic political principles and contemporary democratic governance continue to revolve around religious authority and popular sovereignty. Existing scholarship has largely examined *shūrā* through textual exegesis, historical description, or compatibility arguments, but it rarely specifies which components of *shūrā* can be reconstructed and how they can be institutionalized. This article therefore analyzes the concept and principles of *shūrā* in Islamic political thought, re-examines its historical practice, and proposes a conceptual reconstruction relevant to democratic governance. It employs qualitative normative research through critical-conceptual analysis and comparative examination of classical Islamic political literature and contemporary democratic theory, supported by historical-comparative reading of early Islamic practice. The analysis suggests that *shūrā* is a normative and ethical principle that promotes participation, justice, accountability, and collective deliberation, although the binding force of its outcomes remains debated. The study argues that *shūrā* can be reconstructed through five components, namely principles, actors, institutions, mechanisms, and limits, realized in representative bodies, transparent elections, checks and balances, and structured public deliberation, including digital forms, within ethical limits derived from the definitive texts and objectives (*maqāṣid*) of the sharīʿah. On this basis, the article defines a "theistic democratic" model as democratic governance in which participation and accountability operate within transcendent ethical limits, and distinguishes it from deliberative, constitutional, religious, and maqāṣid-based models. Unlike previous compatibility-based approaches, this study proposes an institutional reconstruction of *shūrā* that integrates representative democracy, constitutional accountability, and Islamic ethical norms into a coherent model of theistic democratic governance.

Keywords: Shūrā, Islamic Political Thought, Democratic Governance, Institutional Reconstruction, Theistic Democracy.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Many Muslim-majority societies face persistent challenges of political legitimacy because religious authority and modern political systems have not been adequately reconciled. This situation partly arises from a perceived dichotomy between authoritarian systems that claim to act in the name of religion and Western democratic systems that are

perceived as secular. This dichotomy creates social tension in which people's aspirations for political participation often collide with rigid and unaccountable power structures.[1] This political uncertainty has triggered mass movements demanding transparency. However, these movements frequently culminate in national instability when well-established consultative mechanisms are absent.[2] Without a strong ethical foundation, political systems in the Muslim world are likely to continue experiencing moral degradation and systemic failure.[3] Therefore, this situation signals the urgency of reformulating a leadership model capable of integrating religious values with popular sovereignty.

Previous studies on deliberation and political systems have approached the topic from diverse angles. First, a thematic (*mawḍūʿī*) study of three principal Qur'anic verses on deliberation examines the flexibility of *shūrā* from the era of the Prophet to the modern age.[4] Second, a historical study focuses on the implementation of *shūrā* under the Prophet and the Rightly Guided Caliphs (*Khulafā' al-Rāshidīn*) and compares it with the theological and practical dimensions of contemporary Islamic politics.[5] Third, a hadith-based study integrates democratic principles with monotheistic conviction (*tawḥīd*) in a framework termed theistic democracy.[6] A further group of studies relates *shūrā* to Indonesian constitutional practice, including the Pancasila democratic framework,[7] the constitutional system,[8] regional head elections,[9] and the position of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) after the constitutional amendments.[10] Compatibility-oriented studies, in turn, generally reaffirm that *shūrā* is consistent with democratic principles.[11] These works are valuable, but most of them stop at textual exegesis, historical description, or the affirmation of compatibility, and they do not specify which components of *shūrā* are reconstructed or how they can be translated into the institutions of a democratic system.

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[1] Amjad Hilal and Sami Ur Rahman, "Revisiting the Compatibility of Islam and Democracy: A Reevaluation of the Concept of Shūrā," *Quarterly, Peer Reviewed Al-Amir* 4, no. 3 (2023): 49–62.

[2] Muhammad Haris Gifari, "Integrasi Esensi Syura Dalam Konsep Demokrasi Pancasila : Analisis Konstitusional Pasal 1 Ayat (2) Dan Pasal 2 UUD 1945," *Dialog Legal: Jurnal Syariah, Jurisprudensi Dan Tata Negara* 1, no. 3 (2025): 184–96.

[3] Sohrah, "Konsep Syura Dan Gagasan Demokrasi (Telaah Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an)," *Al-Daulah* 4, no. 1 (2015): 197–212.

[4] Sohrah. "Konsep Syura Dan Gagasan Demokrasi (Telaah Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an)," *Al-Daulah* 4, no. 1 (2015): 197–212.

[5] Suparman, "Konsep Syura Dalam Politik Islam Menurut Al-Qur'an," *Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Politik Islam* 2, no. 2 (2024): 226–36.

[6] Mahasin Haikal Amanullah and Muhammad Adip Fanani, "Theistic Democracy Studi Analisis Hadis Musyawarah Dalam Etika Politik Islam Kontemporer," *Al-Bunyan: Interdisciplinary Journal of Qur'an and Hadith Studies* 2, no. 1 (2024): 54–68.

[7] Gifari, "Integrasi Esensi Syura Dalam Konsep Demokrasi Pancasila : Analisis Konstitusional Pasal 1 Ayat (2) Dan Pasal 2 UUD 1945."

[8] Firmansyah, Windy Riyani, and Nyimas Lidya Putri, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Ketatanegaraan Indonesia," *Siyasah Jurnal Hukum Tatanegara* 3, no. 1 (2023): 37–50, https://doi.org/10.32332/siyasah.v3i1.7209.

[9] Novi Satria and Juwi Chahnia, "Integrasi Prinsip Syura Dan Demokrasi : Tinjauan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Dalam Hukum Islam Dan Indonesia," *Madania: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Dan Ketatanegaraan Islam* 14, no. 2 (2024): 19, file:///C:/Users/ASUS/Downloads/654-1541-1-SM (1).pdf.

[10] Diky Yumansyah et al., "Reformulasi Kedudukan MPR Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Pasca-Amandemen UUD 1945 Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Islam Kontemporer," *Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 14, no. 2 (2025): 101–12.

[11] Hilal and Rahman, "Revisiting the Compatibility of Islam and Democracy: A Reevaluation of the Concept of Shūrā."

What distinguishes the present study from these works is that it does not stop at Qur'anic verses, hadith texts, or historical-normative discussion. Instead, it proposes a conceptual reconstruction of *shūrā* that specifies the aspects being reconstructed, namely its principles, actors, institutions, mechanisms, and limits, and it examines the structural and practical implications of each aspect for representative institutions in contemporary democratic systems. Methodologically, the reconstruction proceeds through critical-conceptual analysis: classical formulations are identified first, then evaluated against democratic theory, and finally reformulated into an operational model.

The novelty of this study lies in its effort to undertake a collective *ijtihād*, understood here as a scholarly reformulation of the concept of *shūrā*. In the tradition of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, collective *ijtihād* (*ijtihād jamā'ī*) is carried out by a council of qualified scholars, a fatwa council, or a collective academic forum.[12] In this article, the term is used in a limited, analytical sense: the proposed reconstruction is an academic contribution that remains open to examination by such forums and is not a binding legal opinion. The reformulation transforms what has often been understood as a moral or ethical recommendation for individual leadership in the classical period into an institutional instrument applicable within modern political structures.

Some contemporary debates tend to oscillate between rejecting Western democracy wholesale and accepting it uncritically. Yet a number of thinkers have offered middle positions, among them Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī (al-Qaraḍāwī, *Min Fiqh al-Dawlah fī al-Islām*), Rāshid al-Ghannūshī (al-Ghannūshī, *al-Ḥurriyyāt al-'Āmmah*), Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im (An-Na'im, *Islam and the Secular State*), Muḥammad Salīm al-'Awwā, and Tariq Ramadan (Ramadan, *Islam and the Arab Awakening*). This study builds on these middle-ground positions but differs in emphasis: rather than only affirming compatibility, it specifies the institutional components through which *shūrā* can operate in a democratic system, and it positions *shūrā* as a pillar of social ethics capable of internalizing divine values into the mechanisms of modern democracy.

The urgency of this study lies in the need to revive collective reasoning within the Muslim community and to strengthen institutional ethics amid growing authoritarianism and the decline of political culture. Understandings of *shūrā* are diverse and at times contradictory. These differences are no longer merely a matter of theoretical debate; they bear directly on the welfare and interests of the broader public and therefore require careful scholarly clarification.[13] The Qur'an mentions consultation in two places: QS Āli 'Imrān [3]: 159, where the Prophet is instructed to consult his companions, and QS al-Shūrā [42]: 38, where consultation is listed among the characteristics of the believers alongside prayer and spending in the way of God (*infāq*).[14] This placement indicates the ethical weight the Qur'an attaches to consultation, although exegetes and jurists differ on its legal force. A conceptual reconstruction of *shūrā* can therefore help bridge the divide between divine sovereignty and popular sovereignty and may serve as an ethical safeguard against the misuse of religion to legitimize absolute power.

Based on this background, the primary problem examined in this study can be formulated as follows: how can *shūrā* be reconceptualized as a modern institutional framework, and what are its implications for contemporary democratic practice in

[12] M H Kamali, *Shari'ah Law: An Introduction*, The Foundations of Islam (Oneworld Publications, 2008), https://books.google.co.id/books?id=tyHaHZcRLWEC.

[13] Sohrah, "Konsep Syura Dan Gagasan Demokrasi (Telaah Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an)."

[14] Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān Al-'Aẓīm*, ed. Sāmī ibn Muḥammad Salāmah, 2nd ed. (Riyadh: Dār Ṭayyibah, 1999).

realizing a government that is just, transparent, and accountable? Specifically, the study asks (1) what the concept and principles of *shūrā* are in Islamic political thought, (2) how *shūrā* was practiced in early Islamic history and what lessons can be drawn from it, (3) how *shūrā* can be reconstructed in terms of its principles, actors, institutions, mechanisms, and limits so that it is relevant to modern democratic principles, and (4) what the implications of this reconstruction are for contemporary democratic practice. In alignment with these questions, the objective of this study is to conduct an in-depth analysis of the transformation of *shūrā* from a moral value into an institutional system and to formulate its practical ethical implications for strengthening representative systems and public participation in modern democracy.

This study employs qualitative normative research with a library research method, using critical-conceptual analysis and comparative examination of classical Islamic political literature and contemporary democratic theory. The study draws on literature sources, namely primary works of *tafsīr*, hadith, *sīrah*, history, and *fiqh siyāsah*, together with contemporary books and scientific journal articles on *shūrā*, Islamic political thought, and democratic theory. The data consist of primary and secondary written sources obtained through documentary study.[15] The researcher identifies, selects, and interprets these sources according to three criteria: relevance to *shūrā*, the authority and academic credibility of the source, and the diversity of perspectives represented.[16] The research procedure follows the stages of literature collection, data reduction and classification by discussion theme, and critical examination of the content of the sources. The analysis then proceeds in four steps. First, conceptual analysis clarifies the meaning, principles, and legal status of *shūrā* in classical and contemporary sources. Second, historical-comparative analysis examines how consultation was practiced in the era of the Prophet and the Rightly Guided Caliphs and how it changed afterwards. Third, normative analysis based on the objectives of the sharīʿah (*maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*) evaluates which elements of *shūrā* can be adapted and which limits must be maintained. Fourth, comparative political-theory analysis relates these elements to democratic theory, particularly deliberative and constitutional democracy, in order to formulate the reconstruction model. Data are organized, displayed, and verified following the qualitative analysis procedure of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing, so as to produce a comprehensive and coherent conceptual understanding.[17]

2. DISCUSSION

2.1 The Concept and Principles of Shūrā in Islamic Leadership

Etymologically, classical Arabic lexicons relate the root *shāwara–yushāwiru* to the extraction of honey from the hive and, by extension, to the drawing out and testing of opinions.[18] *Al-Muʿjam al-Wasīṭ* likewise defines *mushāwarah* as seeking another

[15] J. W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, *SAGE*, vol. 16 (LOS ANGGELES: LOS ANGGELES: SAGE, 2009), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.math.2010.09.003.

[16] Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan (Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Kombinasi, R&D Dan Penelitian Pendidikan)* (Bandung: CV. Alfabeta, 2019).

[17] J Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, *CEUR Workshop Proceedings*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (SAGE Publications, Inc, 2014), https://doi.org/080395540.

[18] Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1997), https://books.google.co.id/books?id=IPSjzQEACAAJ.

person's opinion on a matter.[19] In a political context, *shūrā* is understood as a process of sifting opinions to arrive at the soundest collective judgment.[20] Terminologically, *shūrā* refers to the process of seeking the views of the community or its qualified representatives in matters of public concern, and it is widely treated as a normative principle of Islamic governance.[21] Its legal force, however, is debated, and this article therefore does not assume that every form of *shūrā* produces a binding outcome (see below). In this view, deliberation is one of the main means through which divine guidance is operationalized through responsible human participation.[22]

The main principles of *shūrā* are justice (*al-'adl*) and equality (*al-musāwah*), since every participant admitted to the deliberation has the same right to express an opinion without discrimination.[23] *Shūrā* is not merely a technical instrument but a social doctrine that allows competent members of society to take part in shaping public decisions.[24] Some of these decisions may have binding legal effect, although not every form of *shūrā* necessarily produces a binding decision. This indicates that Islamic leadership, in principle, rejects the absolute centralization of power.

In the theological dimension, the primary textual bases of *shūrā* are QS Āli 'Imrān [3]: 159, which instructs the Prophet to consult his companions on public affairs, and QS al-Shūrā [42]: 38, which describes the believers as people whose affairs are conducted through mutual consultation).[25] Exegetes and jurists draw different legal implications from these verses. Al-Qurṭubī, for example, reports the opinion that a ruler who does not consult people of knowledge and religion should be removed from office.[26] Contemporary scholars, for their part, distinguish between binding (*mulzimah*) and merely advisory (*mu'limah*) consultation and differ on which better reflects the Qur'anic command.[27] For many writers, these verses give *shūrā* an ethical and transcendental dimension, so that consultation is understood as a form of social responsibility before God.[28] On this view, a leader who disregards *shūrā* neglects both a divine instruction and a trust (*amānah*) owed to the people.[29]

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[19] Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyya, "Mu'jam Al Wasith," *(Mesir: Maktabah Syuru' Dauliyah* (Kairo: Maktabah al-Shurūq al-Dawliyyah, 2004).

[20] Sohrah, "Konsep Syura Dan Gagasan Demokrasi (Telaah Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an)."

[21] Suparman, "Konsep Syura Dalam Politik Islam Menurut Al-Qur'an."

[22] Ahmad Nabil Amir and Tasnim Abdul Rahman, "Democracy in the Framework of Shura: A Conceptual Study of Contemporary Muslim Intellectual Thought," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Philosophy* 4, no. 1 (2025): 127–43, https://doi.org/10.15642/jitp.2025.4.1.127-143.

[23] Toguan Rambe and Seva Mayasari, "Komparasi Antara Konsep Syura Dan Demokrasi Dalam Politik Islam," *MUKADIMAH: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sejarah, Dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 5, no. 1 (2021): 138–48, https://doi.org/10.30743/mkd.v5i1.3313.

[24] Lukman Santoso, "Eksistensi Prinsip Syura Dalam Konstitusional Islam," *IN RIGHT: Jurnal Agama Dan Hak Azazi Manusia* 3, no. I (2013): 113–34.

[25] Muhammad Al Hafidz and Ainur Rha'in, "Konsep Demokrasi(Syura): Studi Komparatif Menurut Tafsir Al Mishbah Dan Tafsir Ibnu Katsir," *R Eslaj: Religion Education Social Laa Roiba Journal* 7, no. 3 (2025): 2199–2213, https://doi.org/10.47476/reslaj.v7i3.5749.

[26] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' Li-Aḥkām Al-Qur'Ān* (Riyadh: Dār 'Ālam al-Kutub, 20003), https://books.google.co.id/books?id=7_bXAAAAMAAJ.

[27] Y Al-Qaradhawi, *Min Fiqh Al-Dawlah Fi Al-Islam* (Dar al-Shuruq, 2001), https://books.google.co.id/books?id=ygJKnQAACAAJ.

[28] Suparman, "Konsep Syura Dalam Politik Islam Menurut Al-Qur'an."

[29] Abdul Mustaqim, "Wawasan Al-Qur'an Tentang Syura Dan Demokrasi," *Samawat* 2, no. 1 (2018): 1–12.

The characteristics of *shūrā* also include freedom of expression (*al-ḥurriyyah*) grounded in morality and honesty.[30] Decisions made through *shūrā* should be oriented towards the objectives of the sharīʿah (*maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*) and the public interest.[31] These objectives, namely the protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property, were systematically developed by al-Shāṭibī.[32] This orientation distinguishes *shūrā* from ordinary discussion, because it carries an ethical obligation to seek the policies closest to the truth and most beneficial to the people.

In addition, the principle of *shūrā* emphasizes the moral and intellectual qualifications of those involved, often referred to as *ahl al-ḥall wa al-ʿaqd* (literally, "those who loosen and bind").[33] Al-Māwardī, who calls them *ahl al-ikhtiyār* (those entitled to choose), requires three qualities of them: justice, knowledge sufficient to identify who is qualified for leadership, and sound judgment to choose the most suitable candidate.[34] They are expected to have high integrity so that deliberations are not trapped in group interests or political manipulation.[35] Classical works specify these qualifications more clearly than the procedures for selecting such actors and holding them accountable. Thus, *shūrā* is meant to function as a filtering mechanism that safeguards the moral quality of public policy in an Islamic polity.

Finally, *shūrā* in Islamic leadership is inclusive but operates within limits set by the sharīʿah.[36] These limits are best understood through the distinction between matters settled by definitive texts (*qaṭʿiyyāt*) and matters open to *ijtihād* (*ẓanniyyāt*): deliberation cannot overturn the former, whereas the latter are the proper domain of consultation, may legitimately vary across contexts and schools of thought, and remain open to revision.[37] Although deliberation leaves ample room for human innovation, it must not contradict the definitive principles of religion.[38] The synergy between revelation and collective *ijtihād* can therefore be regarded as a distinctive feature of a *shūrā*-based Islamic political system[39].

In sum, *shūrā* is a normative principle of Islamic leadership that integrates justice, equality, participation, and collective responsibility in decision-making. It serves both as a political mechanism that restrains the concentration of power and as an ethical-theological commitment grounded in the Qur'an. Its practice depends on qualified and

[30] Yusuf Faisal Ali, "Syûrâ Dan Demokrasi Dalam Kajian Fiqh Siyâsah," *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Agama Islam* 4, no. 2 (2017): 22–34.

[31] Sumardi Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam," *CONSTITUO : Journal of State and Political Law Research* 3, no. 1 (August 19, 2024): 69–78, https://doi.org/10.47498/constituo.v3i1.3455.

[32] Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt Fī Uṣūl Al-Sharīʿah*, ed. Mashhūr ibn Ḥasan Āl Salmān (Dār Ibn ʿAffān, 1997).

[33] Santoso, "Eksistensi Prinsip Syura Dalam Konstitusional Islam."

[34] ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammad Māwardī and Wafaa H Wahba, "The Ordinances of Government : A Translation of Al-Aḥkām Al-Sulṭānīyya Wʾal-Wilāyāt Al-Dīnīyya," 1996, https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:152738345.

[35] Adfan Hari Saputro and Sudarno Shobron, "Konsep Syura Menurut Hamka Dan M. Quraish Shihab (Studi Komparatif Tafsir Al-Azhar Dan Tafsir Al-Misbah)," *Wahana Akademika: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial* 3, no. 2 (2016): 59–70.

[36] Husni A. Jalil, Hikmawati Meuraxa, and Hasanuddin Yusuf Adan, "Konsep Syūrā Menurut Yūsuf Al-Qaraḍāwī Dan Relevan Sinya Dengan Sistem Demokrasi Pancasila Di Indonesia," *As-Siyadah* 1, no. 1 (2022): 98–116, https://doi.org/10.22373/as-siyadah.v1i1.2102.

[37] Kamali, *Shari'ah Law: An Introduction*.

[38] Hilal and Rahman, "Revisiting the Compatibility of Islam and Democracy: A Reevaluation of the Concept of Shūrā."

[39] Firmansyah, Riyani, and Putri, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Ketatanegaraan Indonesia."

accountable participants and is oriented towards the *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*, while the binding force of its outcomes and the boundaries of its subject matter remain matters of juristic discussion.

2.2 The Practice of Shūrā in the History of Islamic Leadership

Early Islamic sources report that the Prophet Muhammad SAW consulted his companions on matters of war and public affairs on which no revelation had been given.[40] Reports on the Battle of Uhud state that he followed the view of the majority of his companions to fight outside Medina, although he is reported to have preferred to remain inside the city.[41] This episode is frequently cited as evidence of how highly *shūrā* was valued.[42] QS Āli ʻImrān [3]: 159, which commands consultation, is traditionally read in the context of the aftermath of Uhud.[43] This practice created a tradition of participatory leadership that remained open to the advice and criticism of the companions from the early days of Islam.[44]

During the period of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, consultation played a significant role in leadership succession and policy-making, although without a single fixed procedure.[45] The accession of Abu Bakr at Saqīfah Banī Sāʻidah resulted from a contested and rapidly unfolding gathering of the Anṣār and the Muhājirūn in which competing claims were debated before allegiance (*bayʻah*) was given.[46] It is therefore better understood as a politically and historically complex event in which consultation was one important element than as a formal consultative mechanism.[47] Abu Bakr's designation of ʻUmar as his successor and ʻUmar's later appointment of a six-member committee to choose his successor illustrate that procedures varied with circumstances.[48] The latter episode is reported in the hadith and historical literature.[49] The caliphs often involved prominent figures from various groups to strengthen the legitimacy of their rule.[50]

ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is reported to have consulted senior Muhājirūn and Anṣār on the administration of conquered lands and taxation (*kharāj*), notably regarding the lands of Iraq.[51] Some contemporary writers see in such arrangements an early prototype

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[40] Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah Al-Nabawiyyah*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm Al-Abyārī, and Abd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1995).

[41] Muḥammad ibn ʻUmar Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb Al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

[42] Sohrah, "Konsep Syura Dan Gagasan Demokrasi (Telaah Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an)."

[43] Kathīr, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān Al-ʻAẓīm*.

[44] Saputro and Shobron, "Konsep Syura Menurut Hamka Dan M. Quraish Shihab (Studi Komparatif Tafsir Al-Azhar Dan Tafsir Al-Misbah)."

[45] Masnun Tahir, "Dialektika Islam Dan Demokrasi (Pembacaan Terhadap Syura Sebagai Elemen Demokrasi Dalam Islam)," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, 2007, https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v1i2.3702.

[46] Muḥammad ibn Jarīr Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh Al-Rusul Wa Al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Maʻārif, 1967).

[47] Wilferd Madelung, *He Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[48] Yusuf Faisal Ali, "Syûrâ Dan Demokrasi Dalam Kajian Fiqh Siyâsah," *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Agama Islam* 04, no. 02 (2017), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59908/islamica.v4i2.54.

[49] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, ed. Muṣṭafā Dīb al-Bughā, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1987).

[50] Santoso, "Eksistensi Prinsip Syura Dalam Konstitusional Islam."

[51] Yaʻqūb ibn Ibrāhīm Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb Al-Kharāj* (Cairo: Al-Maṭbaʻah al-Salafiyyah, n.d.).

of consultative lawmaking bodies.[52] This suggests that *shūrā* functioned in practice as an advisory, quasi-legislative process, although it was not a standing institution with fixed membership and procedures.[53] This period is often regarded as a model of the integration of religion and politics through deliberation.[54] Historical sources nevertheless also record serious conflicts in this period, which cautions against idealizing it.[55]

However, this tradition weakened as the caliphate gradually became a dynastic monarchy (*mulk*) under the Umayyads and later dynasties.[56] Ibn Khaldūn famously described this transition from *khilāfah* to *mulk*, in which rule came to rest increasingly on group solidarity (*'aṣabiyyah*) rather than on consultation.[57] In many cases, rulers treated *shūrā* as a formality, so that its function as a check on power weakened.[58] Even so, the ulama preserved the values of *shūrā* in works on *siyāsah shar'iyyah* as an ideal standard of leadership. Ibn Taymiyyah, for example, insisted that rulers cannot dispense with consultation.[59] Such works became a reference for later efforts to re-establish this standard.[60]

Historical experience suggests that neglecting *shūrā* often contributed to political tension and division within the community.[61] Conversely, when deliberation is carried out sincerely, it tends to strengthen unity and the fairness of policies.[62] This history offers lessons for contemporary societies on the importance of institutionalizing *shūrā* in a more modern and accountable political system.[63]

This historical legacy shows that *shūrā* is not a static concept but a flexible principle that retains justice as its core.[64] Past experiences of managing diverse views through dialogue can inspire efforts to reconstruct Islamic political thought in the democratic era.[65] Islamic political tradition thus contains substantive consultative elements that long predate the modern concept of democracy, although these elements should not be equated with modern democracy.[66]

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[52] Yumansyah et al., "Reformulasi Kedudukan MPR Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Pasca-Amandemen UUD 1945 Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Islam Kontemporer."

[53] Hafidz and Rha'in, "Konsep Demokrasi(Syura): Studi Komparatif Menurut Tafsir Al Mishbah Dan Tafsir Ibnu Katsir."

[54] Satria and Chahnia, "Integrasi Prinsip Syura Dan Demokrasi : Tinjauan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Dalam Hukum Islam Dan Indonesia."

[55] Madelung, *He Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*.

[56] Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam."

[57] Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, ed. Franz Rosenthal, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

[58] Ali, "Syûrâ Dan Demokrasi Dalam Kajian Fiqh Siyâsah," 2017.

[59] Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyyah, *Al-Siyasah Al-Shar'iyyah Fi Islah Al-Ra'i Wa Al-Ra'iyyah* (Riyadh: Wizārat al-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyyah wa al-Awqāf, n.d.), https://books.google.co.id/books?id=KjY3tAEACAAJ.

[60] Mustaqim, "Wawasan Al-Qur'an Tentang Syura Dan Demokrasi."

[61] Hilal and Rahman, "Revisiting the Compatibility of Islam and Democracy: A Reevaluation of the Concept of Shūrā."

[62] Jalil, Meuraxa, and Adan, "Konsep Syūrā Menurut Yūsuf Al-Qaraḍāwī Dan Relevan Sinya Dengan Sistem Demokrasi Pancasila Di Indonesia."

[63] Firmansyah, Riyani, and Putri, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Ketatanegaraan Indonesia."

[64] Sohrah, "Konsep Syura Dan Gagasan Demokrasi (Telaah Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an)."

[65] Gifari, "Integrasi Esensi Syura Dalam Konsep Demokrasi Pancasila : Analisis Konstitusional Pasal 1 Ayat (2) Dan Pasal 2 UUD 1945."

[66] Hilal and Rahman, "Revisiting the Compatibility of Islam and Democracy: A Reevaluation of the Concept of Shūrā."

In sum, the historical record shows that consultation was a living political practice from the time of the Prophet through the Rightly Guided Caliphs, with procedures that varied according to circumstances. Its weakening under dynastic rule indicates that consultation without institutional guarantees is easily reduced to a formality. This lesson underlies the institutional reconstruction proposed in the next section.

2.3 Reconstructing the Concept of Shūrā to Be Relevant to Modern Democratic Principles

The reconstruction proposed here treats *shūrā* as a framework with five components: principles, actors, institutions, mechanisms, and limits **(Table 1)**. The framework is derived from the conceptual and historical analysis in the preceding sections and is intended as a conceptual model rather than an empirically tested one.

Table 1. Proposed Reconstruction Model of *Shūrā*

Component	Classical understanding	Reconstructed form
Principles	Justice (*ʻadl*), equality (*musāwah*), freedom of expression (*ḥurriyyah*), and trust (*amānah*).	Constitutionally recognized guiding norms: equal political participation, public reason-giving, transparency, accountability, and protection of minorities.
Actors	The Prophet's companions; *ahl al-ḥall wa al-ʻaqd* (ahl al-*ikhtiyār*), chosen for justice, knowledge, and sound judgment.	Elected representatives; citizens as participants; independent experts and scholars as advisers. Qualification and integrity criteria are set by law and subject to public accountability.
Institutions	Informal consultation, ad hoc councils, and caliphal advisers.	Legislature and local councils; independent oversight and judicial bodies; advisory councils of experts and scholars.
Mechanisms	Consultation on matters without definitive text; allegiance (*bayʻah*).	Transparent and competitive elections; legislative deliberation; checks and balances; public consultation, including digital shūrā; protection of minority and opposition rights.
Limits	Definitive texts (*qaṭʻiyyāt*), *maqāṣid al-sharīʻah*, and justice.	Ethical limits stated publicly as constitutional principles; maqāṣid-informed review by judicial and scholarly bodies; no majority decision may violate definitive norms or basic rights.

The first component is institutional. The principle of deliberation is transformed into concrete institutions such as legislative bodies (parliament).[67] In this form, *shūrā* is no longer informal but is governed by clear legal procedures for lawmaking and oversight of government.[68] This allows Islamic ethical values to be present operationally in the contemporary legal system (Firmansyah and Putri, "Prinsip Syura dalam Ketatanegaraan Indonesia"). Contemporary jurists such as al-Qaraḍāwī regard representative mechanisms, including elections and parliaments, as procedural means for realizing *shūrā*, provided that they remain within the limits of the sharīʻah.[69]

The second component concerns actors. The concept of *ahl al-ḥall wa al-ʻaqd* is reinterpreted as a system of popular representation elected through transparent and

[67] Yumansyah et al., "Reformulasi Kedudukan MPR Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Pasca-Amandemen UUD 1945 Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Islam Kontemporer."

[68] Amir and Rahman, "Democracy in the Framework of Shura: A Conceptual Study of Contemporary Muslim Intellectual Thought."

[69] Al-Qaradhawi, *Min Fiqh Al-Dawlah Fi Al-Islam*.

competitive elections.[70] This aligns the principle of deliberation with popular sovereignty, whereby direct elections for regional heads or council members may be seen as a modern manifestation of the people's mandate.[71] This transformation preserves the essence of *shūrā* while adopting effective democratic procedures.[72] The questions of how competence is ensured, who selects the actors, and how they are held accountable are answered in three ways. Competence is secured by qualification and integrity criteria (such as those classically required of the electors) that are set by law and applied transparently.[73] Selection is carried out through elections and open candidacy rather than appointment by a single authority. Accountability is secured through periodic elections, public reporting, and independent oversight.[74]

The third component concerns mechanisms of oversight. *Shūrā* is reconstructed as a system of checks and balances that ensures the accountability of those in power.[75] It operates as a collective oversight function of representative institutions over the executive in order to prevent corruption and abuse of power.[76] Indonesia provides a relevant context. The People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*, MPR) takes its name and formal role from the notion of deliberation (*musyawarah*), which also appears in the fourth principle of Pancasila.[77] Following the constitutional amendments of 1999–2002, the MPR is no longer the highest state institution holding sovereignty on behalf of the people. It now consists of members of the House of Representatives (DPR) and the Regional Representative Council (DPD), and it holds authority to amend and enact the Constitution, to inaugurate the President and Vice-President, and to dismiss them in accordance with constitutional procedures (*Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945*). The MPR is therefore not automatically a *shūrā* institution; it is an example of how the ethos of deliberation is embedded in Indonesia's constitutional vocabulary and of how institutional design determines whether deliberation is substantive.[78]

Mechanisms of participation also include expanded public dialogue through information technology. In this article, "digital *shūrā*" refers to structured, moderated, and transparent online consultation, such as public comment on draft regulations and participatory platforms, that complements rather than replaces representative deliberation and is subject to rules on identity verification, information integrity, and inclusion.[79] Deliberative democratic theory supports such forums as ways to extend participation

[70] Santoso, "Eksistensi Prinsip Syura Dalam Konstitusional Islam."

[71] Satria and Chahnia, "Integrasi Prinsip Syura Dan Demokrasi : Tinjauan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Dalam Hukum Islam Dan Indonesia."

[72] Hilal and Rahman, "Revisiting the Compatibility of Islam and Democracy: A Reevaluation of the Concept of Shūrā."

[73] Ibn Muḥammad Māwardī and Wahba, "The Ordinances of Government : A Translation of Al-Aḥkām Al-Sulṭānīyya Wʾal-Wilāyāt Al-Dīnīyya."

[74] Robert A Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[75] Ali, "Syûrâ Dan Demokrasi Dalam Kajian Fiqh Siyâsah," 2017.

[76] Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam."

[77] Gifari, "Integrasi Esensi Syura Dalam Konsep Demokrasi Pancasila : Analisis Konstitusional Pasal 1 Ayat (2) Dan Pasal 2 UUD 1945."

[78] Yumansyah et al., "Reformulasi Kedudukan MPR Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Pasca-Amandemen UUD 1945 Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Islam Kontemporer."

[79] Ahmad Nabil Amir and Tasnim Abdul Rahman, "Garis Besar Ideal Demokrasi Dalam Islam : Fondasi Stabilitas Dan Kebijakan Negara The Ideal Framework of Democracy in Islam : Foundations for State Stability and Policy," *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional* 11, no. 2 (2025): 199–218.

beyond voting.[80] Discussions in digital public spaces can thus be seen as a contemporary form of seeking consensus for the public benefit.[81] In this way, *shūrā* becomes more inclusive and able to reach the aspirations of various levels of society.

The reconstruction also emphasizes the protection of minority and opposition rights as an integral part of a healthy deliberative process.[82] In a *shūrā*-based democracy, minority voices are not ignored but are taken into consideration in order to achieve greater justice.[83] This contributes to a more civilized model of democracy that is in line with the ethical character of Islam.[84] Finally, the reconstruction leads to public policy formed on the basis of data and expertise, in line with the principle of *shūrā*, which prioritizes expertise in decision-making.[85] Modern Islamic leadership is expected to combine political authority with scientific knowledge for the welfare of the people.[86]

The fourth and fifth components are principles and limits. The principles are those identified in Section 2.1, namely justice, equality, freedom of expression, and trust. The limits are the definitive texts and the objectives of the sharīʿah. Because no single authority or school of thought can claim to decide these limits for all, the proposed model expresses them as publicly stated constitutional principles that are open to judicial review and informed by scholarly advisory bodies, whose role is advisory and not that of a veto.[87] Through this arrangement, *shūrā* can be transformed from a normative principle into an operational framework for democratic governance.[88]

The model is described in this article as *theistic democracy*. The term is adopted from Amanullah and Fanani, who develop it through hadith analysis,[89] and it is extended here to the institutional level. Theistic democracy is defined as a model of democratic governance in which popular participation, representation, and constitutional accountability operate within ethical limits derived from revelation. The model does not entail that divine sovereignty is administered by a religious body; it holds that human deliberation is accountable to transcendent ethical norms. Its distinctiveness lies in combining the five-component structure above with maqāṣid-based constitutional limits and ethical-deliberative procedures, including digital *shūrā*, in what may be called a form of bounded popular sovereignty. Table 2 compares the model with related approaches.

[80] John S Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[81] Sohrah, "Konsep Syura Dan Gagasan Demokrasi (Telaah Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an)."

[82] Hilal and Rahman, "Revisiting the Compatibility of Islam and Democracy: A Reevaluation of the Concept of Shūrā."

[83] Rambe and Mayasari, "Komparasi Antara Konsep Syura Dan Demokrasi Dalam Politik Islam."

[84] Gifari, "Integrasi Esensi Syura Dalam Konsep Demokrasi Pancasila : Analisis Konstitusional Pasal 1 Ayat (2) Dan Pasal 2 UUD 1945."

[85] Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam."

[86] Mustaqim, "Wawasan Al-Qur'an Tentang Syura Dan Demokrasi."

[87] Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008).

[88] Tahir, "Dialektika Islam Dan Demokrasi (Pembacaan Terhadap Syura Sebagai Elemen Demokrasi Dalam Islam)."

[89] Amanullah and Fanani, "Theistic Democracy Studi Analisis Hadis Musyawarah Dalam Etika Politik Islam Kontemporer."

Table 2. Positioning the Proposed Model Among Related Approaches

Approach	Core emphasis	What the proposed model adds or changes
Deliberative democracy	Legitimacy arises from inclusive public reasoning among free and equal citizens (Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*); (Gutmann and Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement*).	Retains deliberative procedure but adds an explicit transcendent-ethical limit (maqāṣid) and moral accountability before God.
Constitutional democracy	Limited government through a constitution, rights, and separation of powers (Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*).	Adopts these safeguards and adds the ethical principles of shūrā and trust (amānah) as the normative foundation of constitutional design.
Islamic democracy (compatibility approaches)	Affirms compatibility between Islamic principles and democratic procedures (Abou El Fadl, *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy*); (Sachedina, *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism*).	Moves from affirming compatibility to specifying principles, actors, institutions, mechanisms, and limits.
Religious democracy	Variants that assign religious authorities an institutional supervisory role.	Assigns no institutional guardianship to a religious body; limits are public constitutional principles, and scholarly bodies are advisory.
Maqāṣid-based governance	Policies are evaluated against the objectives of the *sharīʿah* (Auda, *Maqasid al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law*).	Uses maqāṣid as an evaluative limit and adds participatory institutions in which representatives and the public deliberate on how maqāṣid are realized.
Theistic democracy (Amanullah and Fanani)	Integrates democratic principles with tawḥīd through hadith analysis (Amanullah and Fanani, "Theistic Democracy").	Extends the idea from textual analysis to an institutional model.

This reconstruction suggests that *shūrā* possesses considerable adaptability: it can be translated into concrete democratic institutions, namely legislative bodies, systems of popular representation, checks and balances, and structured public participation, including digital forms, without abandoning its fundamental ethical core. The analysis therefore suggests that *shūrā* is not a relic of the past but a living principle that can inform the moral foundation of a just, accountable, and inclusive democratic system.

2.4 The Urgency of Reconstructing the Concept of Shūrā in Relation to the Principles of Modern Democracy

The urgency of reconstructing *shūrā* arises partly from critiques that liberal democratic systems, when driven by pragmatic interests and thin procedural notions of legitimacy, can leave limited room for ethical deliberation.[90] *Shūrā* can provide an ethical orientation to democratic practice, so that policies are judged not only by the number of votes obtained but also by their justice and public benefit.[91] The values of honesty and trustworthiness associated with *shūrā* can reinforce the ethical basis of democracy.[92]

[90] Tahir, "Dialektika Islam Dan Demokrasi (Pembacaan Terhadap Syura Sebagai Elemen Demokrasi Dalam Islam)."

[91] Amir and Rahman, "Democracy in the Framework of Shura: A Conceptual Study of Contemporary Muslim Intellectual Thought."

[92] Jalil, Meuraxa, and Adan, "Konsep Syūrā Menurut Yūsuf Al-Qaraḍāwī Dan Relevan Sinya Dengan Sistem Demokrasi Pancasila Di Indonesia."

Reconstructing *shūrā* is also relevant to the problem of the "tyranny of the majority," a risk of majoritarian rule identified in democratic theory.[93] *Shūrā* connects to this problem because it requires that decisions seek justice and the public interest through reasoned consultation rather than the mere counting of votes.[94] Deliberative democratic theory similarly holds that legitimacy depends on the quality of public reasoning and not only on the aggregation of preferences.[95] Prioritizing deliberation and consensus-seeking can orient decision-making towards fair compromise rather than the imposition of the election winner's will.[96] Consensus-seeking should nevertheless be balanced by clear decision rules and minority protections. This is particularly important for societies with high social and religious diversity.[97]

In addition, the reconstruction of *shūrā* may help increase the trust of Muslim communities in democratic institutions, which are sometimes perceived as foreign Western products.[98] By showing that consultative and participatory principles already exist in Islamic teaching, it may encourage constructive political participation grounded in religious awareness.[99] This can strengthen the perceived legitimacy of the political system among citizens who regard it as consistent with their beliefs.[100]

Another urgency lies in strengthening professional and ethical accountability, based on the value of trust in *shūrā*, in order to reduce corruption and abuse of authority.[101] The reconstruction of *shūrā* encourages a culture of transparency in which every public decision can be questioned and accounted for openly.[102] This can contribute to clean and authoritative governance, which is a widely shared aspiration among citizens.[103]

At the global level, the reconstruction of *shūrā* offers a conceptual contribution to debates on how democratic systems can accommodate ethical and religious traditions. Understood as theistic democracy. It may be seen as an alternative to democratic models that marginalize religious ethics, rather than as a refutation of secular democracy as a whole.[104] The model balances individual rights with social obligations under ethical

[93] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

[94] Suparman, "Konsep Syura Dalam Politik Islam Menurut Al-Qur'an."

[95] Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996).

[96] Ali, "Syûrâ Dan Demokrasi Dalam Kajian Fiqh Siyâsah," 2017.

[97] Amir and Rahman, "Garis Besar Ideal Demokrasi Dalam Islam : Fondasi Stabilitas Dan Kebijakan Negara The Ideal Framework of Democracy in Islam : Foundations for State Stability and Policy."

[98] Jalil, Meuraxa, and Adan, "Konsep Syūrā Menurut Yūsuf Al-Qaraḍāwī Dan Relevan Sinya Dengan Sistem Demokrasi Pancasila Di Indonesia."

[99] Mustaqim, "Wawasan Al-Qur'an Tentang Syura Dan Demokrasi."

[100] Gifari, "Integrasi Esensi Syura Dalam Konsep Demokrasi Pancasila : Analisis Konstitusional Pasal 1 Ayat (2) Dan Pasal 2 UUD 1945."

[101] Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam."

[102] Yumansyah et al., "Reformulasi Kedudukan MPR Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Pasca-Amandemen UUD 1945 Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Islam Kontemporer."

[103] Firmansyah, Riyani, and Putri, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Ketatanegaraan Indonesia."

[104] Amanullah and Fanani, "Theistic Democracy Studi Analisis Hadis Musyawarah Dalam Etika Politik Islam Kontemporer."

norms derived from revelation.[105] This relevance is increasingly apparent amid globalization, which demands political systems that are robust, flexible, and civilized.[106]

Finally, the reconstruction of *shūrā* is an effort to realize the main objectives of the sharīʿah (*maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*) in the political sphere, namely the protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property.[107] Without a healthy political system, these objectives are difficult to achieve fully.[108] Reviving the concept of *shūrā* in a modern form can therefore contribute to political ethics in Muslim societies and to wider discussions of just governance.[109]

In summary, the urgency of reconstructing *shūrā* stems from the need to provide an ethical foundation for democratic practice. Through its emphasis on deliberation, transparency, accountability, and the protection of *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*, *shūrā* offers ethical resources for addressing challenges such as majority tyranny, corruption, and the erosion of public trust, and it allows Islamic political thought to contribute to the global discourse on just democratic governance.

2.5 Implications of the Reconstruction of the Concept of Shūrā for Modern Democratic Practices

The first implication is a conception of leadership legitimacy that rests on moral-spiritual accountability in addition to legal-formal legitimacy.[110] Political theory holds that legitimacy depends not only on legality but also on justification in terms of shared beliefs and on expressed consent.[111] Moral-spiritual legitimacy can be made institutionally measurable through codes of ethics for public officials, asset declarations and conflict-of-interest rules, independent ethics councils, and public reporting of decisions and their justification. Compliance can then be assessed through indicators such as the transparency of decision-making, responsiveness to public input, and audit findings. A leader who believes that he is accountable before God and the people may be more careful in making policies with broad impact.[112] This can shift the orientation of power from controlling resources towards serving the public welfare.[113]

In practical terms, the reconstruction of *shūrā* implies more substantive and sustainable public participation, not only during general elections.[114] Concrete mechanisms beyond elections include public consultation on draft laws and regulations with published responses, public hearings in legislatures, local deliberative forums such as Indonesia's development planning deliberations (*musrenbang*), petition and complaint channels, and verified digital participation platforms.[115] The people thus have formal and informal channels to remain involved in monitoring public policy, which creates healthy

[105] Rambe and Mayasari, "Komparasi Antara Konsep Syura Dan Demokrasi Dalam Politik Islam."
[106] Satria and Chahnia, "Integrasi Prinsip Syura Dan Demokrasi : Tinjauan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Dalam Hukum Islam Dan Indonesia."
[107] Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam."
[108] Sohrah, "Konsep Syura Dan Gagasan Demokrasi (Telaah Ayat-Ayat Al-Qur'an)."
[109] Amir and Rahman, "Democracy in the Framework of Shura: A Conceptual Study of Contemporary Muslim Intellectual Thought."
[110] Mustaqim, "Wawasan Al-Qur'an Tentang Syura Dan Demokrasi."
[111] David Beetham, *The Legitimation of Power*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
[112] Suparman, "Konsep Syura Dalam Politik Islam Menurut Al-Qur'an."
[113] Jalil, Meuraxa, and Adan, "Konsep Syūrā Menurut Yūsuf Al-Qaraḍāwī Dan Relevan Sinya Dengan Sistem Demokrasi Pancasila Di Indonesia."
[114] Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam."
[115] Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations.*

two-way communication between the government and the community.[116] This may increase the people's sense of belonging towards the state and contribute to national stability.[117]

Another implication is greater harmony between religious values and modern constitutional principles, which are often perceived to be in conflict.[118] The reconstruction of *shūrā* suggests that Islam can engage with a democratic system without losing its identity and can contribute ethical resources to its improvement.[119] Such an approach may help reduce polarization between religious and nationalist-secular groups in the national political arena, although this outcome depends on political context and cannot be assumed.[120]

In addition, democratic practice may become more civilized when it is informed by the ethics of deliberation, which discourages slander, verbal abuse, and the manipulation of information.[121] *Shūrā* calls for discussion grounded in sound arguments and good communication ethics, which can foster a more peaceful and educational political climate[122]. These implications are important for building political maturity in an information age marked by hoaxes and conflict.[123]

In terms of legislation, the reconstruction implies lawmaking that is better justified because it is produced through inclusive and well-informed deliberation.[124] Policies produced in this way may enjoy stronger legitimacy because they rest on a consensus that takes various perspectives into account.[125] Public hearings, published legislative reasoning, and constitutional review can make this deliberative quality verifiable. This can help ensure that the law is not merely a tool for the interests of a small elite but protects all citizens.[126]

Finally, a long-term implication is greater social justice as an expression of *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah* in the fields of economics and welfare[127]. A democracy based on *shūrā* would prioritize the fair distribution of wealth and the protection of the vulnerable, since these are religious commitments that are inseparable from political affairs.[128] Whether this is realized, however, depends on concrete policy design and enforcement

[116] Gifari, "Integrasi Esensi Syura Dalam Konsep Demokrasi Pancasila : Analisis Konstitusional Pasal 1 Ayat (2) Dan Pasal 2 UUD 1945."

[117] Amir and Rahman, "Garis Besar Ideal Demokrasi Dalam Islam : Fondasi Stabilitas Dan Kebijakan Negara The Ideal Framework of Democracy in Islam : Foundations for State Stability and Policy."

[118] Hilal and Rahman, "Revisiting the Compatibility of Islam and Democracy: A Reevaluation of the Concept of Shūrā."

[119] Satria and Chahnia, "Integrasi Prinsip Syura Dan Demokrasi : Tinjauan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Dalam Hukum Islam Dan Indonesia."

[120] Yumansyah et al., "Reformulasi Kedudukan MPR Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Pasca-Amandemen UUD 1945 Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Islam Kontemporer."

[121] Rambe and Mayasari, "Komparasi Antara Konsep Syura Dan Demokrasi Dalam Politik Islam."

[122] Hafidz and Rha'in, "Konsep Demokrasi(Syura): Studi Komparatif Menurut Tafsir Al Mishbah Dan Tafsir Ibnu Katsir."

[123] Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam."

[124] Santoso, "Eksistensi Prinsip Syura Dalam Konstitusional Islam."

[125] Yumansyah et al., "Reformulasi Kedudukan MPR Dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia Pasca-Amandemen UUD 1945 Perspektif Hukum Tata Negara Islam Kontemporer."

[126] Firmansyah, Riyani, and Putri, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Ketatanegaraan Indonesia."

[127] Efendi, "Prinsip Syura Dalam Pembentukan Kebijakan Publik Menurut Hukum Islam."

[128] Tahir, "Dialektika Islam Dan Demokrasi (Pembacaan Terhadap Syura Sebagai Elemen Demokrasi Dalam Islam)."

and not on the principle alone. Thus, the reconstruction of *shūrā* can contribute to the realization of social welfare as understood in the *maqāṣid* framework.

In summary, the analysis suggests that the reconstruction of *shūrā* has four principal implications for democratic practice: leadership legitimacy accompanied by moral accountability, broader and more substantive participation, greater harmony between religious and constitutional values, and a more civilized political discourse. These implications are conditional on institutional design and political context. They should be read as plausible outcomes derived from conceptual analysis and not as empirically tested effects.

3. CONCLUSION

This study set out to examine how *shūrā* can be reconceptualized as a modern institutional framework and what its implications are for contemporary democratic practice. The analysis suggests that *shūrā* is a normative principle whose core values, namely consultation, justice, accountability, public participation, and collective responsibility, are compatible with the central principles of democratic governance, while the binding force of its outcomes remains debated among scholars.

In answer to the first question, the study proposes a reconstruction model with five components: principles, actors, institutions, mechanisms, and limits. Under this model, *shūrā* is realized through representative bodies and legislative deliberation, transparent and competitive elections, checks and balances, and structured public participation, including digital forms, within ethical limits derived from the definitive texts and objectives of the sharīʿah. The model is described as theistic democratic governance, which differs from deliberative, constitutional, religious, and maqāṣid-based models.

In answer to the second question, the study suggests that the reconstruction can foster leadership legitimacy grounded in moral accountability, broader participation, a more civilized political discourse, and better-justified legislation, particularly in Muslim-majority societies. These implications are plausible outcomes of conceptual analysis and have not been tested empirically.

As a conceptual, library-based study, this research has limitations. It does not test the model empirically, it relies on a selected body of literature, and it does not examine in detail how different constitutional systems or Muslim-majority countries would implement the model. The reconstruction also represents an analytical proposal that remains open to scholarly examination and is not a binding juristic ruling.

Future research should therefore address specific questions: How can *shūrā* be institutionalized in parliamentary and presidential systems? How does *shūrā* interact with constitutionalism and judicial review? How does *shūrā* affect political legitimacy and public trust? Comparative studies across Muslim-majority countries and empirical investigations of digital *shūrā* models would also be valuable.

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