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THE ROLE OF MUHAMMADIYAH IN THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA

BY

USEP SAIFUDDIN

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Human Sciences (Political Science)

Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences
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ABSTRACT

This study explores the understanding of Muhammadiyah (MU) members and their experiences with respect to the issues of democracy and the strategy to build democracy in Indonesia. Using qualitative methods, the study explores the role of Muhammadiyah in the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah is organized along national, provincial, district, branch and sub-branch levels, and has approximately 50 million members who mainly live in the urban areas. Muhammadiyah is actively involved in societal development through schooling, health, and religious guidance (*dakwah)*. Its organized members throughout the Indonesian society have the potential to restructure the socio-cultural and political spheres of the Indonesian life. Muhammadiyah has a lot of experience in organizing the people of Indonesia as a way to promote their potential and to assist them in solving problems. This study finds that Muhammadiyah is involved in carrying out programmes for democratization and is committed to developing and sustaining democracy in various spheres of life through its own programmes. This study also finds that it has been promoting values congruent to democratic principles such as tolerance and mutual respect through training, workshops, and other programmes for its members. Muhammadiyah's commitment is to preserve civic virtues like open-mindedness, tolerance, pluralism, and respect for the dignity of individuals. Its members argue that Islam has tenets, such as *Shurā* and '*adl* (justice), congruent with democratic ideas, but their responses to the Western conceptions of democracy vary. Accomodationists of Muhammadiyah organization state that Islamic tenets are congruent with Western ideas of democracy, while rejectionists express that Islam has accepted happiness as the goal of democracy, sovereignty, and freedom which is different from the Western concepts of democracy. Moreover, Muhammadiyah subscribes to democratic values, such as individual freedom, respect for differences or plurality, tolerance, open-mindedness, and criticism; and sees individual sovereignty, accepting other religious groups' beliefs, and gender equality as problematic for Muslims in Indonesia. Adopting these values in certain ways, they argue, can be seen to contravene core Islamic beliefs.

ملخَّص البحْث

هذه الدراسة تحاول في استكشاف فهم أعضاء الجمعيّة المُحَمَّدِيَّة وخبراتهم فيما يتعلق بقضايا الديمقراطيّة واستراتيجيّة بناء الديمقراطية في إندونيسيا. وباستخدام طرق البحث النوعيّة تحاول هذه الدراسة في استكشاف الدور الذي تضْطَلِع الجمعيّة المحمديّة في توطيد دعائم الديمقراطية في إندونيسيا، علماً بأن الجمعية المحمدية منظمةٌ دينيةٌ رسميةٌ يمتدّ تنظيمُها على الصعيد الوطني والإقليمي والمنطقي والفرعيّ وشبهِ مستويات الفرع، و يبلغ عدد أعضائها ما يقرُب خمسين مليون عضو، ويعيش معظمُهم في المناطق الحضريَّة. فضلاً عن ذلك فإن الجمعيّة المحمديّة تشارك بنشاط في التنميَة الاجتماعيَّة من خلال التعليم، والصحَّة، والإرشاد الدينيّ (الدعوة). كما أنها تعمل بشكلٍ منظّمٍ في جميع أنحاء إندونيسيا، وبذلك التنظيم العَالي المستوَى تستطيع الجمعيّة المحمديّة أن تعيد الهيكلة الاجتماعية والثقافية والسياسية في مجالات الحياة الإندونيسية. وللجمعيّة المحمديّة خبراتٌ كثيرةٌ وطويلةٌ في تنظيم شؤون شعْب إندونيسيا باعتبارها وسيلةً لتعزيز قدراتهم ومساعدتهم في حل المشاكل. واكتشفت هذه الدراسة بأن للجمعية المحمدية مشاركةً فعَّالةً في تنفيذ البرامج من أجل إرْساء الديمقراطية في إندونيسيا كما أنها التزمت بتطوير الديمقراطية ودعْمِها في شتىَّ مجالات الحياة من خلال برامجها الخاصّة بها. ورأت هذه الدراسة أيضًا بأن من خلال برامج الجمعية المحمدية قد تَمَّ تعزيزُ القِيَم المنسَجِمَة مع المبادئ الديمقراطية مثل التسامح والاحترام المتبادِل من خلال التدريب وحَلَقات العمل وغيرها من البرامج التي عقَدها أعضاءُ الجمعية، بالإضافة إلى ذلك فإنهم التزاموا على الحفاظ على القيم المدنية مثل الانفتاح، والتسامح، والتعددية، واحترام كرامة الأفراد. وهؤلاء الأعضاء يرون بأن للإسلام تعاليمَ أساسية، مثل الشورى والعَدَالة وهذه الأمور تنسجم مع الأفكار الديمقراطية، على الرغم من ذلك فإن هناك تبايناً في آرائهم لمفهوم الديمقراطية الغربية. علماً بأن الذين العاملين في الجمعية يعتقدون بأن تعاليم الإسلام تنسجم مع الأفكار الغربية للديمقراطية، وفي حين أن الذين يرفضون تلك الفكرة أعربوا بأن الإسلام قد قبل ذلك النهج شريطة أن تكون السعادةُ هي الهدف من الديموقراطية، والسيادة، والحرية والتي تختلف بطبيعة الحال عن المفاهيم الغربية للديمقراطية. كما أن الدراسة اكتشفت بأن الجمعية المحمدية تؤيد القيم الديموقراطية، مثل الحرية الفردية، واحترام التنوّع أو التعددية، والتسامح والانفتاح، والنقد، ويرى سيادةَ الفرد، وقبولَ الآخر من أتباع الأديان الأخرى، والمساواةَ بين الجنسين باعتبارها مشكلةً قائمةً بالنسبة

للمسلمين في إندونيسيا. وترى الجمعيّة المحمديّة بأن الاعتمادَ على هذه المبادئ قد يحسبه المعارضون بأنه معارضٌ لِجَوْهَر العقيدة الإسلامية.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (Political Science).

.....
Md. Moniruzzaman
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Sciences in Political Science.

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Badri Najib bin Zubir
Dean, Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge & Human Sciences

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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I respectfully dedicate this thesis to

My late beloved father and Mother H. Sholihin Adi Saputra and Hj. Anita Adi Saputra
May Allah bless your soul in the world and hereafter.

My wife, Zeni Putri Utami,
Your support and delicate love have been sources of endless inspirations

My beloved sisters, Dr. Dimple Parah Diba, Dr. Euis Aisya Billa and Levi Daniella Haque
Who have supported and instilled in me the importance of education

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ahlu al-kitab	Christian and Jews. Liberal NU and MU have extended this concept to Confucianism, Thabiin, Zoroaster, and Buddhism
Ahlussunna wal jamaah (aswaja)	The Sunni ideology
Aisyiah	Female Autonomous Body of Muhammadiyah
Amal saleh	Good deed
Ar-rujuu' ila al-Qur'an wa as-sunnah	Calling for a return to the pristine ways of scripture and the recorded example of the Prophet Muhammad
Ewuh pakewuh tradition	Less critical of and feeling uneasy to criticize the state or regime.
Fastabiqu al-khairaat	Hasting (competing)to do good deed
FORDEM	Forum for democracy
GBHN	Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara (the state policy on the national development)
HW	Hizbul Wathan (boy scout of MU)
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (The Association of Islamic University Students
GPII	Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia or the Indonesian Movement of Islamic Youth
PII	Pelajar Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Secondary School Students
Ibadah	Observing devotion to God
ICMI	Ikatan Cendikiawan Muslim Indonesia (The Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals)
Ijtihad	The intellectual efforts of trained Islamic scholars to arrive at legal rulings on matters not covered in the sacred book
JIMM	Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah or MU intellectual Network (an NGO establish by MU young generation who advocate critical perspectives in relation to the studies of Islam and contemporary issues)
Khiaru umma	Ideal society (best society) where its members enjoin good and forbid wrongdoing or evil (amar ma'ruf and nahyi munkar)

LEMHANNAS	Lembaga Pertahanan dan Keamanaan Nasional (the Institute for National Defense)
LP3	Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Pendidikan or Center for Educational Research and Development of Yogjakarta Muhammadiyah University
Majlis Tarjih	Fatwa Council of Muhammadiyah
Masaalihu umma	Public interests
Masyumi	Majlis Syuro Muslim Indonesia or Confederated Muslim Party
MPKSDI	Majlis Pembinaan Kader and Sumber Daya Insani (Council for Cadre and Human Resource Development of Muhammadiyah)
MPR	Majlis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
MU	Muhammadiyah
Mu'tazilla	The name of the great theological school that creates the speculative dogmatism of Islam.
Mufakat	Consensus
NASAKOM	Trilogy power of Indonesia (Nationalist, Religious and Communism)
P3M	Pusat Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyrakat or Center for Pesantren and Community
P4	Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (A Guide on Appreciation and Application of the State Ideology)
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasisonal or [National Mandate Party (founded by Amin Rais).
Pancasila	Five principles (the Indonesian state ideology).
Pesantren	Traditional religious boarding schools
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party).
PPIM	Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat or Center for the Study of Islam and Society [an autonomous research body of the Islamic State University in Jakarta or UIN].
SDSB	Sumbangan Dermawan Sosial Berhadiah (a national lottery)
Selametan	Sacrificial meals
Shura	Designates democracy in Islam or political Islam
Tajdid	A mode of reform that does not depend

	upon a concept of "progress" for their validity
Tanwir	The Muhammadiyah National Meeting "per annum" (Assessment forum)
Tapak Suci Putera Muhammadiyah	Traditional Defense of MU youth
Usul fiqh	Islamic legal theory
Usulu al-khamsah	The five basic human needs (daruriyaat) (see al-Ghazaly)
Wawasan Nusantara	National outlook

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH PROBLEM, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This research aims at examining how Muhammadiyah (MU) as a civil society group is contributing to the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. It seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How does the MU conceptualize democracy and democratic society?
2. What strategies does MU use to develop democratic values among their members and community at large?
3. What democratic values and principles do the MU members and beneficiaries inculcate in their personal and community life?

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Democratic Movement in Indonesia

After independence in 1945, Indonesia has experienced three eras: the Old Order, the New Order and the Era of *Reformasi*. Neither the Old Order of Sukarno (1945-1965) nor the New Order of Suharto (1965-1998) could manifest democracy in terms of political representation and individual freedoms in political arena, but some progress toward democratization has occurred during the Era of *Reformasi* (1998).

During the 1980s, civil society movement appeared in Indonesia advocating democracy and human rights. President Suharto gave the impression of sanctioning

more openness, and during the first half of the 1990s the government of Indonesia launched the "Indonesian model of *perestroika*" (*keterbukaan or openness*), instituting greater freedom of expression.[1] Suharto put formal four concepts of "*wawasan nusantara*" (national outlook) known as (P4) Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (A Guide on Appreciation and Application of the State Ideology) aimed to develop open-mindedness, mutual understanding, and respect for others.

With the downfall of Suharto's New Order regime in May 1998, Indonesia went through rapid democratization process. The national assembly during 1999-2004 enacted a number of legislations abolishing military influence in politics, introducing independent elections commissions and granting a bill of citizenship rights.[2] These reforms created a greater space for democratization. Efforts to apply principles of democracy, such as individual freedoms and equal political rights, tolerance, respect for diversity, and dignity of individuals, more initiated toward constructing a more democratic society and state. However, many contend that Indonesia still sits in the preliminary stage of a transition to democracy. Many public institutions such as the People's Consultative Assembly are not properly represented by the people, and the citizens lack democratic principles and values in political interactions. Therefore, the *reformasi* has created and broadened a space for numerous civil societies to flourish asking for greater political democracy. Muhmmdiyah as a civil society organization has become more proactive in the democratization efforts.

To cater to socioeconomic and political needs of the people, the Muhammadiyah extends numerous services through various channels, MU has

[1] Eklof, Stefan, *Indonesian Politics in Crisis the Long Fall of Suharto 1996-1998*, (Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 1999), 17.
[2] King, Dwight L, *Half-Hearted Reform: Electoral Institutions and the Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003), 179-181.

councils and institutes as well as autonomous organizations such as Aisyiah (female), Nasyiatul Aisyiah (female youth), Pemuda Muhammadiyah (male youth), Ikatan Remaja Muhammadiyah (students of Secondary and high school), Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah Student Association), Tapak Suci Putera Muhammadiyah (Traditional Defense), and Hizbul Wathan (boy scout). MU has 1112 primary schools, 972 secondary schools, 504 high schools, 145 vocational schools (high schools), 1168 madrasah ibtidaiyah, 530 madrasah thanawiyah, 172 madrasah aliyah, 54 pondok pesantren, 105 colleges/universities, 311 clinics/hospitals, 309 orphan care centers, 13 Bank Perkreditan Rakyat (Small banks for the promotion of small scale enterprises), 125 baitul tanwil (saving and loaning bank serving the smallest scale enterprises), 4 business corporation, and 794 cooperatives.[3]

This research intends to examine how that organization is contributing towards democratic values in Indonesia.

IMPORTANCE AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Muhammadiyah is organized national, provincial, district, branch and sub-branch levels, it has approximately 50 million members, it offers organized services to its member throughout Indonesia and it has the potential to contribute to the socio-cultural and political spheres of Indonesian life. That civil society association has decades long experience in organizing people of Indonesia and have been offering social, political and educational services. So, MU plays an infortant role in Indonesia. There are additional reasons to justify this research on the MU.

Firstly, despite being the largest Islamic civil society organizations no serious studies have been conducted on the impact of MU on Indonesian democracy.

[3] The Report of PP Muhammadiyah, 2004.

Secondly, their involvement in a political party (*Masyumi)* during the pre-reformasi regimes makes it possible for that association and its member to become more familiar with political dynamics in Indonesia.

Last but not least, it combines the Islamic tenets with respect to societal and political matters (*Muammalah*) such as democracy, and civil society, which has particular significance for the Indonesian society.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The major objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To examine the attitudes of MU to the state of Indonesia.
2. To examine the roles of MU in promoting democracy in Indonesia.
3. To investigate the strategies the MU use to develop democratic citizenship values among their members and the community at large.
4. To identify how the Islamic organization is accommodating Western democratic values and system in Indonesia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There has been numerous writings on Muhammadiyah in the past, but all the writings follow some particular patterns. Bellow a representative summary of the literature is discussed.

Federspiel, in his classical study *The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia,* maintains that MU belongs to the *Sunni* branch of orthodoxy, originating in the Arab hinterlands, as opposed to the splinter branch of *Shi'ism,* Indonesian orthodoxy has coalesced into two major movements: the *kaum muda* ('young group') or *santri moderen* (modernists) and *kaum tua* ('old group') or

santri kolot (the traditionalists),[4] which sought to apply a 'comprehensive', comparative', and 'rational' understanding of Islamic knowledge, philosophy, theology, mysticism and history. In particular, Nasution in his study said it is sought to introduce *Mu'tazila* (dogmatism of Islam) theology and *Shi'ite* (theological school) ideas, which he viewed as more progressive and modern, to replace, in his opinion, the 'stagnant' teachings of traditionalist schools—*Asy'ariyah* (theology) and *Shafi'i* (jurisprudence)—of *Sunni* orthodoxy.[5]

According to Deliar Noer, Muhammidayah is a modernist organization that mostly caters to a socioeconomic class of educated urban elites and merchant traders. It gives priority to education, social welfare programs and *dakwah* (religious propagation) activities.[6]

James L. Peacock offers more comprehensive study of MU's organizational network and organizational infrastructure, which includes youth and women's organizations, schools, teachers' academies and universities, medical clinics and hospitals, orphanages and other social welfare activities. These included Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia (the Indonesian Movement of Islamic Youth, GPII) in 1945, Pelajar Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Secondary School Students, PII) in 1946, and Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (The Association of Islamic University Students, HMI) in 1947.[7]

Amien Raes outlines the philosophical aspects of the MU. He opines that its fundamental principles regarding the relationship between the state and the citizens, is

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[4] Federspiel, Howard M. "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia", *Indonesia*, 10 (10 October 1970) (Ithaca, New York, Modern Indonesian Project, Southeast Asia Program: Cornell University Press, 1970), 57–79.
[5] Nasution, Harun. *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1977), 102-107.
[6] Noer, Deliar. *Administration of Islam in Indonesia* (Monograph Series, 58), (Ithaca, New York) Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program: Cornell University, 1978), 106.
[7] Peacock, James L. *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, (Benjamin/Cummings, Menlo Park, California), 1978.

derived from an Islamic tenet, *amr ma'ruf nahyi munkar* (enjoing good deeds and forbidding wrongdoing) stated in the Qur'an (3:104). The MU's political philosophy is also shaped by its members'/leaders' interpretation of the Islamic tenets about *hablum min an-naas* (social relationship). Also the MU's political principle contains such principles as egalitarianism, rationality, collegial leadership in the political process of organization, and collegial relationship between its board and members.[8]

Abdillah's study focuses on practical relationship between MU and the government. He said that MU received many facilities from the government to develop its *amal usaha* (practical deeds) such as schools, universities, and hospitals, and because MU did not want to lose such financial support, it did not publicly criticize the New Order regime of 1965.[9]

From the review of the literature presented above, it is clear that the existing literature on Muhammadiyah mainly talks about its history, political philosophy, relationship with the government and it social welfare activities. However, these literatures missed out to focus on exclusive political dimension of Muhammadiyah that it is conscious attempts to develop democratic values among their followers through a systematic strategy, such an important aspect deserves serious scholarly attention to see how the traditional Islamic organizations have been contributing to the democratic development in Indonesia. In this regard, the present study has the potential to bridge the gap in the existing literature on Muhammadiyah.

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[8] Rais, M. Amien, *Membangun Politik Adiluhung Membumukan Tauhid Social Menegakan Amar Ma'ruf Nahyi Munkar* (Upholding High Politics Translating the Idea of Social *Tawheed* into Reality), (Bandung: Zaman, 1998), 229.

[9] Abdillah, Masykuri, *Muhammadiyah, PolitiK Orde Baru, dan Peran Amien Rais* (Muhammadiyah, the Political Stance of the New Order, and the Role of Amien Rais). In Abd Rahim Ghazali, *Dua Yang Satu: Muhammadiyah dalam Sorotan Cendekiawan NU (Two in Oneness: Muhammadiyah in the Eyes of NU Scholars)* (Bandung: Mizan, 2000).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study employs Robert Putnam's theory of social capital and democracy as an analytical framework.[10] The concept of social capital defines the concurrence of objective features of society (network structure) with a subjective social norm social trust. To Putnam, trust is a form of capital, which can be saved and employed in new circumstances. Trust is part of a bargain that also includes other human qualities. One is tolerance or the ability to live with difference. Another is solidarity or they will not just to do things for others, but also to have obligations to a concrete group of others. The concept allows for a comprehensive and dynamic account for the relationship between civic activism and democratic citizenship. In particular, it allows for determining whether participation in voluntary associations produces positive outcomes for the development of democratic attitudes and behavior among individual citizens.[11]

Putnam finds that social capital is critically linked to political participation and effective governance. Drawing on ideas from Bourdieu and Coleman, Putnam claims that civic participation in voluntary associations, especially horizontal or non-hierarchical associations, inculcates the norms of reciprocity and promotes the building of mutual trust and cooperation. These factors, then, make a contribution to the process of democratization. Putnam's comparative study of regions in Italy shows that trust generated greater cooperation in one region and produced denser foundation of horizontal networks that prompted democratic consolidation.[12]

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[10] Putnam, Robert D, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 86 – 91.
[11] Pamela Paxton "Is Social Capital Declining in the United States? A Multiple Indicator Assessment," *American Journal of Sociology*, 105:1 (July 1999), 88-127.
[12] Putnam, Robert D, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, 86 – 91.

In the second stage, aspects of social capital facilitate tolerance, promote compromise, stimulate political participation, spur political involvement, promote political efficacy, and train leaders.[13]

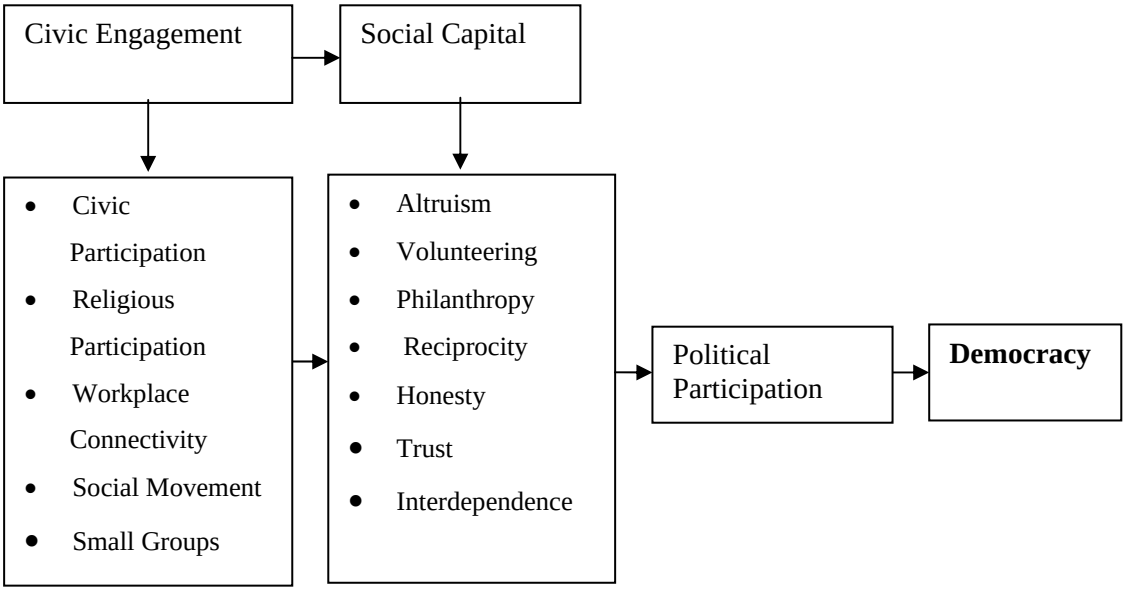
Substantively, the social capital theory of democratization focuses on how the citizens of a democratic state relate to each other. The structural component of social capital deals with the direct connections among the citizens through a network of voluntary associations and groups that provide a comprehensive and dynamic account of democratization.

Empirically, many studies have demonstrated a positive relationship between social capital and democracy. In analyzing the nature of the relationship, scholars found that voluntary associations play a major role in the process of democratic resistance and transition in fledgling democratic nations.[14] On the basis of this, it is argued that strong voluntary associational life can become a critical locomotive in the push for consolidating and deepening democracy in a transitioning country. Furthermore, scholars contend that civic participation in voluntary associations builds the social foundation of democracy.[15] Assuming that the act of voluntary association empowers constituents and the wider community, the existence of a plurality of voluntary associations helps to stimulate political behavior and elevate the skills of democratic citizens. Moreover, it has been argued that civic engagement in voluntary associations leads to the development of democratic virtues and values such as tolerance, responsibility, willingness to compromise, and respect for opposing

[13] Paxton Pamela, "Social Capital and Democracy: "An Interdependent Relationship," *American Sociological Review*, 67:2 (April 2002), 254-277.
[14] Diamond, Larry, "Toward Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy*, 5:3 (July 1994), 4-17; Omar Encarnacion, "Civil Society and the Consolidation of Democracy in Spain," *Political Science Quarterly*, 116:1 (Spring 2001), 53.
[15] Olsen, Marvin, "Social Participation and Voting Turnout: A Multivariate Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, 37:3 (June 1992), 317.

viewpoints through education and training.[16] Diagram 1 indicates relationship between social capital, civil society and democracy.

Diagram1: Relationship between civil societies, social capital and democracy



Source: Drawn by the author based on Putnam's concept of social capital and democracy.

The Muhammadiyah is not only based on Islamic religious ideology but active in civil society activities such as voluntary activities in village or ward, sports, cultural clubs, co-operatives, labor unions and professional organizations involved in matters connected to public interests.[17] At the same time it is politically active that it is engaged in political discourse, supports political parties, and contests in elections. Yet, in the post-Suharto Indonesia, the discussion on and studies of civil society has relatively paid little attention to democratic political activities of this large civil society organization.

[16] Diamond, Larry, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 218.
[17] Mujani, Saiful and R. William Liddle, 'Indonesia's approaching elections: politics, Islam, and public opinion'. *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 24. No. 4 (1996), 23-27.

This research explains the activities of the MU based on this framework of social capital and democratization. Firstly, this research argues that the MU encourages people for civic engagement. Secondly, the civic engagement is creating values of social capital among the beneficiaries. Thirdly, these values are motivating the beneficiaries to become more and more active in politics. And finally, their political participation leads to further democratization in Indonesia. (See diagram). This research particularly looks at the social capital of tolerance, trust, cooperation and pluralism in MU members and beneficiaries.

DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Democracy

Democracy is a highly contested concept. Democracy is a political system in which sovereignty is held by the people, rulers are held periodically accountable to the ruled, minority rights are protected, and political competition among individuals is open.[18] A democratic government is characterized by free and fair elections, the principle of one person/one vote; a clear cut division and separation of powers; the rule of law and justice; open channels of communication between citizens and government officials; and basic human rights, such as freedom of speech or freedom of religion.[19]

According to Levin[20], democracy comprises of two dimensions: formal politics and a participative process. By "formal politics" he means voting, election, and

[18] Zartman, I. William, *Islam, the State and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 232.
[19] Ginsburg, Mark B, "*Democracy, Worker-Customer-Citizens, and Teachers Education: Theoretical Musing with Finding from Research in Mexico* (New York: Rouletdge Falmer, 2001), 169. And also in Print, Muray Ornstrom, "Education for Democratic Process in Schools and Classrooms." *European Journal of Education*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2002): 199.
[20] Levin, Benjamin, "The Educational Requirement for Democracy". *Curriculum inquiry*, 28, No, 1 (1998), 58.