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## **Political Dynamics of Islamic Law in the Reform Era: A Study of the Response of Muhammadiyah Cadres in Central Kalimantan**

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**Abstract:** This study aims to make a scientific contribution to the development of Islamic studies and the politics of Islamic law, especially democracy from the perspective of Muhammadiyah cadres in Central Kalimantan. This research was conducted using empirical research methods with a qualitative-descriptive approach. The data collection technique used was interviewing key information, namely Muhammadiyah cadres and literature studies in the form of writing related to the discussion. The results of the study show that the development of Indonesian democracy in the Reform Era, 2005 to 2019 as understood is quite dynamic, this can be seen from issues such as; general elections, human rights and gender, terrorism and democracy, then the response of Muhammadiyah cadres to democracy; (1) democracy is compatible or in line with Islamic values; and (2) these three subjects are more concerned with procedural democracy than substantive democracy, such as holding general elections and national and regional political recruitment, which must be corrected and improved.

**Keywords:** Islam, Democracy Muhammadiyah and Islamic legal politic

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**Abstrak:** *Kajian ini bertujuan untuk memberikan kontribusi keilmuan bagi perkembangan kajian Islam dan politik hukum Islam khususnya demokrasi perpektif kader Muhammadiyah di Kalimantan Tengah. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode penelitian empiris dengan pendekatan kualitatif-deskriptif. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah wawancara terhadap informasi kunci yaitu kader Muhammadiyah dan studi literatur berupa tulisan yang terkait dengan pembahasan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa, Perkembangan demokrasi Indonesia di Era Reformasi, 2005 hingga 2019 sebagaimana dipahami cukup dinamis hal ini dapat dilihat dari isu-isu misalnya; pemilihan umum, HAM dan gender, terorisme dan demokrasi, selanjutnya respon kader Muhammadiyah terhadap demokrasi; (1) demokrasi kompatibel atau sejalan dengan nilai-nilai ajaran Islam; dan (2) ketiga mata pelajaran tersebut lebih mementingkan demokrasi prosedural daripada demokrasi substantif, seperti penyelenggaraan pemilihan umum serta rekrutmen politik nasional dan daerah, yang harus diperbaiki dan dibenahi.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Islam, Demokrasi, Muhammadiyah dan politik hukum Islam*

## Introduction

The fall of the New Order regime in 1998 and the beginning of a new phase known as the Reformation Era have brought about significant sociocultural and political transformations<sup>1</sup> in Indonesia. This change was felt not only at the national level but also in the regions. With the democratic faucet being opened, the chains of authoritarianism<sup>2</sup> have been released, giving all parts of the nation renewed hope. Moreover, with the emergence of

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<sup>1</sup> The word “politics” comes from Latin *Politicus* or Greek *Politicos*, which means affairs of the cities. Both come from the word *polis*, which means city. Three definitions of “politics” as a noun are given in the KBBI (the official dictionary of the Indonesian language); if it refers to science, it means (1) knowledge about the state (about the system of government, the foundations of government); (2) all affairs and actions (wisdom, tactics, etc.) regarding government or against other countries; and (3) policies, methods of action (in dealing with or dealing with a problem). There are various definitions of politics because the term has a wide range of meanings in the literature of political science. It is because every political scholar only sees one aspect or element of politics. Miriam Budiardjo defines politics as having five basic concepts: (1) the state; (2) power; (3) decision-making; (4) expertise or policy; and (5) the distribution and allocation of values in society. See Miriam Budiardjo, *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2007), pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Authoritarianism is a belief that the authority in government is held by only one person, who is arbitrary in the administration.

new political parties due to Indonesia's agreement with democracy as a political system, euphoria in political life is unavoidable.

In the local context of Central Kalimantan, this democratic transition period has resulted in new phenomena that are very interesting to observe. First, the increased enthusiasm of various components of the nation to reconsider the role of democracy in society, nation, and state. Second, the increased participation of various components of the nation in social and political life, particularly in political recruitment through the executive and legislative elections. Third, the emergence of Muhammadiyah cadres<sup>3</sup> who were elected as regional leaders and legislature members resulted from the general election, which is conducted directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and fairly.

In this regard, representatives of Muhammadiyah cadres who were successfully elected as public officials in the democratic party in Central Kalimantan during the Reformation Era 2005-2019 were Achmad Diran<sup>4</sup> (Deputy Governor of Central Kalimantan for two terms, 2005-2010 and 2010-2015), Muhammad Riban Satia<sup>5</sup> (Mayor of Palangka Raya for two terms, 2008-2013 and 2013-2018), and Ade Supriyadi<sup>6</sup> (a member the Central Kalimantan Regional People's Representative Assembly or *DPRD* for two terms, 2009-2014 and 2014-2019).

Those three dependable Muhammadiyah cadres' entry into Central Kalimantan's real politics brought about new nuances and phenomena that were impossible to happen in the New Order era. The reasons are unlike Ade Supriyadi, who was elected as a member of the legislature, Achmad Diran<sup>7</sup> and Muhammad Riban Satia, were elected as public officials through general

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<sup>3</sup> In Muhammadiyah, there are three terms for cadre: organization cadre, community cadre, and national cadre.

<sup>4</sup> Achmad Diran is a Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah cadre who acts as an advisor in the Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership (PWM) structure for two terms 2005-2010, 2010-2015 and 2015-2020.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Riban Satia is a Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah cadre, in the PWM structure acts as chairman of the *Majelis Hikmah dan Kebijakan Publik* (Wisdom and Public Policy Council), he also serves as Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP) Muhammadiyah University of Palangka Raya.

<sup>6</sup> Ade Supriyadi is a Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah cadre, as well as a Central Kalimantan PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional) cadre who served as a member of the Central Kalimantan DPRD for two terms 2009-2014 and 2014-2019.

<sup>7</sup> Achmad Diran served as Deputy Governor of Central Kalimantan accompanying Agustin Teras Narang promoted by PDIP and succeeded in winning Central Kalimantan regional elections in 2005 and 2010.

elections even though they both were not cadres of any political party. In other words, they are directly elected as executive officials by the people.

This phenomenon eliminates the notion that the desire of Muhammadiyah citizens to appoint Muhammadiyah cadres to public office was merely rhetoric. As was typical during the era of the New Order, no one ever attained public office unless they were able to approach *ABRI* (military), Bureaucrats, and *Golkar* (a political party in Indonesia) or widely known as ABG. Additionally, this also indicates a shift in the role of Muhammadiyah cadres in socio-political life in the Reformation Era<sup>8</sup>.

In a broader context, the emergence of Muhammadiyah cadres as executive and legislative officials elected in general elections is not merely viewed as a consequence of the current political system. Nevertheless, it can be interpreted as the existence and representation of Muhammadiyah as an association or organization with educated and trained cadres. Since its establishment, Muhammadiyah has produced cadres of leaders for the nation and the people. Among them are figures of the independence movement and the founding fathers of the Republic of Indonesia<sup>9</sup>.

The responses and configurations of Indonesian Muslims' views about democracy vary. Most belong to groups that accept democracy as a political framework for organizing national and state life. On the other hand, a minority of Indonesian Muslims continue to distrust or even oppose democracy. It stems from the belief that democracy is product of Western thought and a means for the West to colonize Muslim countries.

The study of Muslim responses to democracy has long been a topic of interest and debate among academics and social scientists. This is due to the fact that democracy is currently adopted by the majority of Muslim countries and is seen as the ideal political system and the solution for organizing and running state life. Meanwhile, according to Western scholars, Islamic and democratic principles will not be capable of coexistence in Muslim countries as Islam and democracy are incompatible.

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<sup>8</sup> Not only do they participate in the second and third rings, but also the first ring. The first ring is the level at which Muhammadiyah cadres run for local or legislative office. In the second ring, Muhammadiyah cadres exercise their right to vote and serve as members or leaders of the *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU), or General Election Commission, as election organizers or election supervisory members. The third ring represents the stage at which Muhammadiyah cadres use their right to vote in legislative and executive elections as law-abiding citizens.

<sup>9</sup> Kasman Singodimedjo and Kahar Muzakkar were among them.

The notion that Islam and democracy cannot coexist and function in harmony has been denied by Muslim scholars, as demonstrated in Saiful Mujani's thesis<sup>10</sup>. According to the findings of his study, Saiful Mujani refuted theories from three Western scholars; Samuel Huntington, Bernard Lewis, and Ellie Kedourie, who believe Islam and democracy are incompatible and, therefore, democracy is difficult to adopt in Muslim societies.

Furthermore, Masykuri Abdillah<sup>11</sup> conducted a study on the relationship between Islam and democracy, focusing on the intellectual responses of Indonesian Muslims to the concept of democracy. He claims that the response of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals to the concept of democracy differs from that of Muslim intellectuals outside of Indonesia. Also, he noted that if Muslim intellectuals outside of Indonesia are still debating the democratic system, then all Indonesian Muslim intellectuals (including Muhammadiyah) will accept and even support it as a system that must be implemented in Islamic society. The acceptance is both doctrinal (concerning concepts and norms) and historical.

The compatibility between Islamic values and democratic principles is also studied more specifically by Artani Hasbi in the form of the relationship between deliberation and democracy. He stated that, in the practice of Indonesian statehood, *ahl al-hall wa al-'aqd* (people who have the authority to make decisions on behalf of the citizens) and the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) or People's Representative Council (DPR) have a lot in common. However, there are also differences between the two in terms of the source of law underlying all duties, functions, and authorities, as well as institutional forms.

Therefore, in the authors' opinion, some previous studies above are sufficient to illustrate that the notion of Islam and democracy are incompatible and cannot coexist in Muslim countries, particularly Indonesia during the New Order or the Reformation Era, has been refuted. Moreover, the three theories have also demonstrated the compatibility of Islamic values and democratic principles. However, it is acknowledged that there are still gaps between the democratic practices of Western countries and Indonesia.

In this context, Muhammadiyah, as one of the Islamic community organizations, has influenced the political direction of Indonesian state life.

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<sup>10</sup> Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat, Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, *Demokrasi di Persimpangan Makna: Respon Intelektual Muslim Indonesia terhadap Demokrasi (1966-1993)*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1999).

Since its establishment in 1912, Muhammadiyah has not been a political organization, but this does not make it politically illiterate, and cannot be separated from the atmosphere and dynamics of national politics. Additionally, the participation of Muhammadiyah cadres in the independence movement and efforts to fill independence with development have demonstrated the allegiance of Muhammadiyah citizens to the nation and state of Indonesia.

Due to this historical process, social scientists frequently view Muhammadiyah as one of the manifestations of the existence of Muslims in Indonesia and “Islam” itself. In the context of Indonesia as a democratic country, Muhammadiyah is viewed as an Islamic civil power that also influences this nation’s democratization process. In addition, Muhammadiyah has played a significant role in Indonesian politics<sup>12</sup>.

The relationship between Islam and democracy in the practice of Indonesian statehood can be viewed through the lens of Muhammadiyah cadres, who respond substantively and procedurally to democracy. Substantially, there is no conflict between Islamic values and democratic principles, although there are some minor distinctions.<sup>13</sup> From the perspective of democratic procedures, however, there are still numerous issues, such as who has the authority to regulate and supervise.

Therefore, the political response of Muhammadiyah cadres is significant to show the international community that Islamic values and democratic principles can coexist harmoniously in Indonesia. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah cadres’ participation in voluntary political recruitment at the national and regional levels demonstrates the compatibility between Islamic values and democratic principles practiced in Indonesia. In addition, the compatibility of Islam and democracy is indicated by the response of Muhammadiyah cadres to democracy in their political thoughts and attitudes, even though they do not engage in practical politics.

Due to this occurrence, the authors decided to investigate in greater detail the response of Muhammadiyah cadres to democracy issues in Indonesia during the Reformation Era (2005–2019). There were some considerations for choosing this study. First, the studies of the political response of Muhammadiyah cadres to democracy in the Reformation Era have

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<sup>12</sup> Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> For example, whether or not the principle of people’s sovereignty is absolute. There are still some Muslim intellectuals who debate between the principles of people sovereignty and God’s sovereignty.

only been dominant and centralized in Java. This exposition is unsatisfactory due to the data imbalance between Java and outside Java, where research in this context remains limited.<sup>14</sup>

Second, contemporary empirical studies on political Islam are inevitably accompanied by and pose their own “dilemmas”. This situation happens because the “doctrine” of Islam is not monolithic but has multiple interpretations. Therefore, the participation of Muhammadiyah cadres as “religious elites” and “cultural elites” at the regional level is essential for reinterpreting religious doctrines in the context of social and political life in order to preserve community harmony in the local area.

Third, some Western scientists continue to hold opposing views on the relationship between Islam and democracy. Through their lenses, the relationship between Islam and democracy is paradoxical. Therefore, they are pessimistic about the possibility of democracy’s growth in Muslim countries. They believe that democracy cannot be a feature of Muslims in modern political culture.<sup>15</sup> Then they also believe that Islam is incompatible with democracy. In the opinion of the authors, this claim does not adequately describe the reality of Muslims in general, who make up nearly a quarter of the world’s population and are especially prevalent in Indonesia. In contrast, the facts indicate that Muslims in Indonesia, including members of Muhammadiyah, accept democracy with all of its consequences.

In sum, this study was conducted to obtain empirical data to answer and test some of these issues and analyze the political views and responses of

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<sup>14</sup> A research on the political movement of Muhammadiyah cadres at the local level in Java (Sleman regency, DIY) and outside Java (Maros regency, South Sulawesi) with the title: *Politik Elektoral Muhammadiyah di Aras Lokal* (Muhammadiyah electoral politics at the local level) conducted by a team of researchers consisting of Achmad Nurmandi, Andi Luhur Prianto and David Efendi. See Zuly Qodir, et.al, *Ijtihad Politik Muhammadiyah: Politik sebagai Amal Usaha*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015), pp. 231-272. and a research from Suaidi Asyari on Muhammadiyah political reasoning in South Kalimantan, Jambi and South Sulawesi in Suaidi Asyari, *Nalar Politik NU dan Muhammadiyah: Over Cross Java Centris*, trans. Muhammad Rapik, original title: *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Political Responses of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in the Outher Islands of Java 1998-2007*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Kedourie, an expert on Islamic politics from the US, for example, has made simple generalizations about the uniqueness of Islam in relation to society and politics. He argues, Islamic civilization is unique; Muslims are proud of their heritage and are closed to the outside world. This kind of civilization, for him, prevented Muslims from studying and appreciating the political and social progress achieved by other civilizations. See Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007), p. 13.

Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah cadres to democracy in the Reformation Era from 2005 to 2019.

Based on the problems mentioned above, this study was conducted to find out how Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah cadres responded to democracy issues in the Reformation Era. Therefore, the study objectives are to uncover and comprehend how the Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah cadres responded to democracy issues in the 2005–2019 Reformation Era.

The findings of this study are expected to bring the following benefits: First, to contribute scientifically to the advancement of Islamic Studies, Islamic Law, and Islamic Political Science, particularly concerning the changing political role of Muhammadiyah cadres in Central Kalimantan in responding to Indonesia's democratic development. Second, providing information and input to the Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah Association, particularly the Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders, for the formulation of organizational policies, particularly those pertaining to the position, function, and role of the Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah as the most prominent Islamic civil society force in this region in the construction of a democratic society. Third, providing information and input for Muhammadiyah leaders in determining policies concerning the relationship between Muhammadiyah and its citizens in the context of socio-political development and the implementation of democracy at the local level; and fourth, providing initial data or preliminary information for those interested in conducting additional or further research.

This field study was conducted using a qualitative-descriptive methodology. The primary data are in line with the study's primary objective, which are collected from the responses of Central Kalimantan Muhammadiyah cadres to democracy issues during the Reformation Era (2005–2019). In addition, multiple techniques, including interviews, participant observation, and documentation, were used to collect the data. The interview in this study was used as one of the techniques in collecting data, emphasizing the human sense approach, such as through dialogue, in-depth interviews, and direct communication with informants.

### **Relations between Religion, State and Politics of Islamic Law: Political Responses of Muhammadiyah Cadres**

The study of the relationship between Islam and democracy (religion and politics) for Muhammadiyah cadres is included in the area of *ijtihadiah*, which means that differences of opinion cannot be ruled out. However, the

author tries to find the domains proposed by each subject in responding to the problem of the relationship between Islam and democracy.

The political democratization that occurred during the Reformation Era would not have necessarily proceeded without the participation and contribution of all elements of society, including Muhammadiyah cadres in Central Kalimantan. Before analyzing the political response of Muhammadiyah cadres, it is necessary to discuss the perspectives of Muhammadiyah cadres on a various of issues concerning the relationship between Islam and politics and democratic life in general. The issues that arise in Muslim societies include the relationship between the state and religion, or more specifically the relationship between Islam and politics, as well as how Muslims respond to democracy, human rights, gender, terrorism and religious radicalism in the context of the contemporary nation and state life.

For Muhammadiyah cadres, the study of the relationship between Islam and democracy falls within the realm of *ijtihadiah*, which does not preclude the possibility of different opinions. However, Achmad Diran stated that (1) religion (Islam) occupies a prominent place in Indonesia, (2) Indonesia is neither a secular nor a religious state (theocracy), and (3) it does not contradict religion and Pancasila.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, Ade Supriyadi proposed several expressions for the relationship between Islam and democracy: (1) the relationship between religion and the state is a mutually beneficial relationship in which religion is strengthened as the state supports it and the state gains legitimacy from religion; (2) Western democracy without religion and Indonesian democracy based on religious values; and (3) democratic principles that are partially in accordance with religious values.<sup>17</sup>

Then, Riban Satia argued that (1) political substance is an effort to improve the welfare of the people, (2) democratic principles are partially in accordance with Islamic teachings, and there are also democratic principles that contradict them, and (3) democracy in Indonesia is different from democracy in the West.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The interview results with Achmad Diran, August 14th, 2021. For Muhammadiyah members, the relationship between religion and state already has guidelines as stated by Muhammadiyah that Indonesia is “*darul’ahdi wa al-syahadah*” (State of consensus and witness). See Hasnan Bachtiar & Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy, in *Theologising Democracy in the Context of Muhammadiyah’s Ijtihad*, *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 12, no. 1 (2022), p. 165.

<sup>17</sup> Interview results with Ade Supriyadi on September 22, 2021.

<sup>18</sup> Interview results with Muhammad Riban Satia on October 10, 2021.

## General Election

The participants admitted that the form of democracy practiced in Indonesia differs from that prevalent in Western countries. In addition, they acknowledged that the legislative and executive elections had been conducted in accordance with the ideals of the 1998 reform. However, the interviewees also criticized the election's implementation. Ade and Riban's opinion focuses on regulations and practices in a field where money politics is still prevalent, but Diran's opinion focuses on quality improvement.

Riban emphasized that the distinction between Indonesian and Western democracies is the process. He continued by stating that there is no money politics in the democratic process of developed countries. Thus, elections in Indonesia are comparable to election processes in the West, except that there is no money politics in the West.<sup>19</sup>

Money politics becomes a major issue in every election in Central Kalimantan, both legislative and executive. However, it is difficult to prove due to the reluctance of those who receive money/materials to report it to the authorities. Moreover, there are even indications of people's tendency to expect money or materials from one of the candidates.<sup>20</sup>

In this regard, a question arises: why do people want to receive financial or material assistance from one of the candidates in the election? In most cases, those who receive money or material aid are economically disadvantaged citizens who do not understand the importance of general election. Given that there is a significant number of poor people in Central Kalimantan who still do not understand the nature of the election, making them susceptible to money politics.

## Human Rights and Gender Equality

The perspectives of the three interviewees (Diran, Ade, and Riban) on human rights and gender equality varied slightly. However, they all agree that Islamic teachings uphold human rights and gender equality.

According to Diran, human rights should be addressed to all citizens and state institutions. As for Ade, he realized that Islamic teachings strongly support human rights. Meanwhile, Riban recognizes that the Western conception of human rights contains both Islamic and non-Islamic principles.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Interview results with Muhammad Riban Satia on October 10, 2021.

<sup>20</sup> Interview results with Muhammad Riban Satia on October 10, 2021.

<sup>21</sup> Interview results with Achmad Diran on August 14, 2021.

Civil and political rights include equal rights in human dignity, obligations and responsibilities, equal rights before the law, the right to life which is a gift from God, and the freedom to express oneself as long as it does not violate Islamic law.

In the social and economic fields, there are some fundamental rights, including the right to education, the right to work, the right to own property, the right to meet the necessities of life adequately, and the right to live safely for himself, his religion, dependents, honor, and wealth.<sup>22</sup>

Based on the authors' opinion, the concept of human rights in Indonesia is in line with the Pancasila values that serve as its foundation. Therefore, the first precept, "*Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*" (The one divinity) is a guideline for implementing human rights in Indonesia, which must not be contrary to religious teachings, especially Islam. Then, the second, third, fourth, and fifth precepts are all indicators and pillars of human rights application in Indonesia.

Regarding gender equality, particularly in women's leadership in public society, all three subjects agreed that men are better at occupying a leadership positions. However, they added that women might participate as extensively as possible in the community as long as they do not violate their own nature as women.<sup>23</sup>

From the authors' point of view, the idea of gender from a religious perspective is still clouded by classical religious understanding, heavily influenced by patriarchal culture. As a result, women are seen as subordinate to men, whereas God gave equal positions between men and women. However, it is historically understandable that men have played a more dominant role in society than women have up to this point.

## Terrorism

All interviewees agreed that terrorism and radicalism are enemies of religion, society, and the state. As Muhammadiyah elites, they undoubtedly agreed to oppose terrorism and radicalism (including religious radicalism). It is due to the fact that terrorism and radicalism are not solutions. Meanwhile, Islam carries the mission of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (to be a mercy to the universe).<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, *Demokrasi di Persimpangan Makna: Respon Intelektual Muslim Indonesia Terhadap Konsep Demokrasi (1966-1993)*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1999), p. 98.

<sup>23</sup> Interview results with all subjects, 2021.

<sup>24</sup> Interviews with all three subjects, 2021.

Terrorism can result from religious radicalism, a radical or extreme interpretation of religious texts. According to Yusuf al-Qaradawi, indications of radicalism include 1) fanatical loyalty to one opinion without tolerance for other opinions, 2) obligating others to do what is not required by Allah, and 3) inappropriate hardness, such as the desire to establish an Islamic state in a pluralist country, 4) having an impolite demeanor in socializing, being harsh and caustic in preaching by opposing the guidance of Allah SWT and the guidance of the Prophet Muhammad, 5) being prejudiced against other people with the main principle of accusing and blaming, and 6) *takfir* or disbelief in others by justifying their blood and property without recognizing that they have honor or ties worth preserving.<sup>25</sup>

In line with the preceding explanation, it is not an exaggeration for interviewees to argue that terrorism and radicalism are enemies of religion, society, and the state. The reasons are that terrorism and radicalism represent a doctrine that contradicts religious teachings, violates social norms, and threatens the state's security and stability.

### **Procedural Democracy**

The interviewees agreed that the 1998 reform movement had brought significant changes to Indonesians' lives, including politics, economics, and culture. However, they also acknowledged that there was something in the shift that represented freedom, which also could become "excessive"; thus, opinions expressed to the public appeared irresponsible. The excessive behavior is also evident in the demonstrations, which are accompanied by an anarchist attitude toward public facilities.<sup>26</sup>

Legal protections exist for expressing opinions through protest activities; it is also a part of human rights. However, demonstrations do not always solely convey aspirational messages but rather messages from sponsors who fund in order to exert complete control over the activities. This negative aspect must be eliminated from public demonstrations.<sup>27</sup>

The Reformation Era marked the beginning of a more democratic political life. This situation requires a change in Indonesia's political system toward greater democracy. As a comparison, in the Reformation Era, the people directly elected candidates for governor or regent/mayor. In contrast,

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<sup>25</sup> Yusuf Qardhawi, *Islam Radikal: Analisis terhadap Radikalisme dalam Berislam dan Pemecahannya*, Surakarta, Era Adicitra Intermedia, 2019, pp. 40-55.

<sup>26</sup> Interviews with all three subjects, 2021.

<sup>27</sup> Interviews with all three subjects, 2021.

in the New Order era, the election of regional heads, including governors and regents/mayors, was handled by *DPRD*. Similarly, while the *MPR* conducted the New Order era presidential election as the embodiment of the people, the Reformation Era's presidential and vice-presidential elections were undertaken directly by citizens through voting.<sup>28</sup>

According to Diran, the election of the Governor, Regent/mayor, and president in the Reformation Era is proceeding smoothly, but the quality must be improved. This may indicate that the implementation of regional head and presidential elections still has shortcomings that will need to be addressed in the future. In addition, he also criticized voters for sometimes disregarding candidates' experience and educational background.<sup>29</sup>

On a separate note, Ade criticized the authority of the party's Central Executive Board or *Dewan Pimpinan Pusat* (DPP), which plays a crucial role in selecting candidates for governor. Whereas, the Regional Executive Board or *Dewan Pimpinan Wilayah* (DPW), is only responsible for recommending candidates to the *DPP*. According to Ade, the authority to select the candidates for governor should be delegated to the regions so that the party's Regional Executive Board (DPW) can play a more significant role in representing the people's aspirations.<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, Riban acknowledged that the regional head election system of the Reformation Era was better than that of the previous era. However, the implementation of post-conflict regional elections is still plagued by the issue of "money politics." He added that the existence of money politics sets a negative precedent for society. Therefore, elections should be devoid of money politics and transient interests.<sup>31</sup>

Generally, all interviewees acknowledged that Indonesia's political system shifted to a more democratic way of life in the Reformation Era. In the authors' opinion, changes in Indonesia's political system must be accompanied by significant mental changes at all levels of society, namely from feudalism to independence, from authoritarianism to democracy, etc.

Ade and Riban presented the second alternative viewpoint that states economic reform has not gone successfully. According to Ade, the economic

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<sup>28</sup> Interviews with all three subjects, 2021.

<sup>29</sup> Interview results with Achmad Diran on August 14, 2021.

<sup>30</sup> Interview results with M Riban Satia on October 10, 2021.

<sup>31</sup> Interview results with M Riban Satia on October 10, 2021.

changes have not been successful because Indonesia still cannot solve the global financial crisis, and the people have not prospered.<sup>32</sup>

In this situation, the large population appears to be a burden rather than a political advantage. For more than four decades, the large population has been underutilized; in fact, it tends to get worse. This is because the majority of the population lives in poverty and has limited access to education. As a result, the workforce lacks the necessary skills to compete in the workplace.<sup>33</sup>

In addition, from Riban's perspective, the economic reforms have not been successful because the authorities and syndicates of foreign investors continue to control the economy. His statement can be understood by considering the dominance of the state or bureaucracy over society and foreign investors who have reaped few benefits from investing in the region thus far.<sup>34</sup>

For over three decades, the executive has grown into a very powerful institution that designs, establishes, and implements political, economic, and social decisions. In this regard, the New Order state became comparable to peripheral capitalist states in Latin America and Asia, where the existence of a strong state was regarded as a *sine qua non* for carrying out and maintaining the process of economic development without the participation of other social agents.<sup>35</sup>

Regarding the reform in the field of culture during the Reformation Era, Diran asserts that it has been successful thus far but it requires further development. As a country with a diverse population in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, and culture, the values of Pancasila should be used to maintain life's harmony. In addition, Diran is aware of and is attempting to establish a system that is clean and free of corruption-free governance in Central Kalimantan

In the context of socio-cultural life and education, Ade believes that reformation has not been successful, as a significant number of attitudes still lead to the nation's division and disintegration. This statement can be understood by considering the emergence of events that led to division and disintegration during the Reformation Era. For instance, the occurrences in Poso (Central Sulawesi), Sambas (West Kalimantan), Sampit (Central Kalimantan), etc.

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<sup>32</sup> Interviews with two subjects, 2021.

<sup>33</sup> Budi Winarno, *Sistem Politik Indonesia Era Reformasi*, (Yogyakarta: MedPress, 2008), p. 137.

<sup>34</sup> Interview results with M Riban Satia on October 10, 2021.

<sup>35</sup> Interview results with M Riban Satia on October 10, 2021.

Meanwhile, reforms in socio-culture and education, according to Riban, have not been successful due to the government's (the central government) inconsistency, thus rapidly changing its policies. This statement is understandable in light of a number of policies, particularly those related to national education, which tends to change the curriculum that frequently creates difficulties for parents, students, and teachers.

### **The Relation of Islam and Democracy: Ontologi and Epistemologi Aspects**

In general, the interviewees agreed that democratic and Islamic values were compatible. However, two of them, Ade Supriyadi and Riban Satia, pointed out that several democratic principles conflict with Islamic teachings, such as women's leadership in the public sphere and same-sex marriage. Essentially, religion plays a significant role in Indonesia; the country is neither secular nor theocratic. Indonesia adheres to Pancasila democracy, in which the first precept, *Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa* (the one divinity), stipulates that the democratic values practiced must not conflict with religious values.

According to the findings of Masykuri Abdillah's research, the responses of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals to the concept of democracy differ significantly from those of Muslim intellectuals living outside of Indonesia. Additionally, it is reported that if intellectuals outside of Indonesia are still debating the democratic system, then all Indonesian Muslim intellectuals (including Muhammadiyah) will accept and even support it as something that must be implemented in Islamic society. They can understand the perspective that Islam and democracy are antithetical, but all agree that Islam and democracy are compatible from both a doctrinal and historical standpoint. They support democracy in a procedural and organizational sense, but not a philosophical one, as nearly all of them acknowledge sharia as the standard norm of Muslim life in society and the state.<sup>36</sup>

The substance of democracy accepted by Muslim intellectuals is limited to Sharia supremacy, which implies that there is a need to re-evaluate which democratic principles are compatible with Islamic teachings and which are incompatible or contradictory to them. Furthermore, the interviewees' responses are more oriented to practical issues. For example, Riban argues that democracy is needed to achieve people's welfare. Meanwhile, Ade claims

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<sup>36</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, *Demokrasi di Persimpangan Makna: Respon Intelektual Muslim Indonesia Terhadap Konsep Demokrasi (1966-1993)*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1999), p. 98.

that religion provides legitimacy to the state and is not opposed to Pancasila ideology, added by Achmad Diran.

Concerning the relationship between Islam and democracy, the authors consider Pancasila's interpretation of the state ideology to be the most important practical issue. The belief of Pancasila as the state ideology will shift or displace religion must be eliminated from Muslims. In fact, during the era of the New Order, when the phrases "Pancasila is not a religion and should not be equalized" and "Pancasila will not replace religion" appeared, this topic has actually been the subject of debate and a source of controversy.

However, as the state ideology, Pancasila should be easily comprehensible and interpretable by all people, including Muslims. In addition, the state should not have a monopoly on claims regarding the interpretation of Pancasila so that it cannot easily label a group of individuals or society as anti-Pancasila. In fact, in this pluralistic society, differences in understanding and interpreting Pancasila are inevitable.

Furthermore, Artani Hasbi's in his research argued that in Indonesian state practice, *ahl al-hall wa al-'aqd* (people who have the authority to make decisions on behalf of the citizens) and the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) or People's Representative Council (DPR) share many similarities, including: 1) being elected and representing the people or people selected for their credibility and quality; 2) having the authority to convey input to leaders, receive legal submissions and laws from leaders to be enacted; 3) having the right to correct leaders, limit or establish criteria for candidate leaders and terms of office; and 4) having an ethical approach to implementation and decision-making.

The findings of Artani Hasbi's research are more concerned with the notions and principles of deliberation in the practice of Indonesian statehood than the "*Shura*" principle in the history of Islamic philosophy. In the authors' opinion, existing state institutions in particular areas, such as *DPRD* Regency/City and provincial *DPRD*, conceptually face no resistance from the community. However, the quality of human resources in these institutions is widely questioned. Specifically, regarding the issue of the *DPRD* members' integrity and competence. In this case, Achmad Diran proposed that candidates for legislative and executive positions have at least a bachelor's degree and experience.

In addition, the *DPRD* members no longer elect regional leaders, such as governors, regents, or mayors, because these positions are now elected directly by the people. In this context, selecting regional leaders or heads that the people directly choose is considered more democratic than being elected

by the *DPRD* as people's representatives. Thus, the authors believe that Artani Hasbi's research has not reached Reformation-era election practices yet. Through general elections, the people are given the freedom to express their opinions or wishes regarding who is elected.

According to Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Islam justifies general elections as a form of testimony. However, even al-Qaradawi emphasized that Muslims should not give up their rights or abstain from the election in order to select a better leader. If the right to vote is not exercised and it turns out that the person who receives the most votes is an unqualified leader, then giving up that right is harmful and should be avoided. Generally, general elections are conducted to determine who will obtain the legitimacy to become a public leader who is perceived as more beneficial and democratic.<sup>37</sup>

### Islam and Procedural Democracy

The current practice of democracy in Indonesia can be referred to as a "democratic transition" in which institutional improvements are being made in social and political life in order to progress in a more democratic direction.

A thesis conducted by Saiful Mujani refuted three theories from Western scholars, Samuel Huntington, Bernard Lewis, and Ellie Kedourie, who believe that Islam and democracy are incompatible and, therefore, democracy is difficult to adopt and develop into the characteristics of Muslim societies.<sup>38</sup>

This study's findings validate Saiful Mujani's thesis regarding the compatibility of Islam and democracy in Indonesia, which he tested in his research. Nonetheless, the theories of those three Western scholars are justifiable in the context of democratic practices in Indonesia, which differ from democratic practices in Western countries. As stated by the interviewees, Indonesia's government is democratic, but the country is neither secular nor theocratic. Since the practice of democracy in Indonesia does not entirely follow that of the West, this difference has been used by Western scholars to claim that Islam and democracy are incompatible.

Furthermore, Suaidi Asyari's research shows that Muslims' loyalty and affiliation to Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) do not impede the implementation of democratic values in

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<sup>37</sup> Yusuf Qaradhawi, *Fiqh Negara: Ijtihad Baru Seputar Sistem Demokrasi Multi Partai, Keterlibatan Wanita di Dewan Perwakilan, Partisipasi dalam Pemerintahan Sekuler* (Jakarta: Robbani, Press, 1999). p. 40.

<sup>38</sup> Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat, Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007).

everyday life or specific aspects of procedural democracy, such as political choice in elections. In addition, the researcher's examination of Muhammadiyah's political *ijtihad* (the process of reaching a legal decision based on one's own interpretation of Islamic law) demonstrates that it is not merely a social organization but also a formidable political force, which is essential to the democratization process in this country<sup>39</sup>.

Muslims' loyalty and affiliation to Muhammadiyah definitely do not impede the implementation of democratic values as long as it does not contradict Islamic teachings. For example, as stated by the interviewees, there are democratic principles that are appropriate and in line with Islamic teachings. Still, some others are not or are contrary to Islamic teachings. Thus, the results of this study corrected what has been found by Suaidi Asyari, the loyalty and affiliation of Muslims to Islamic organizations, such as Muhammadiyah and NU, do not impede the implementation of democratic values, which is not entirely accurate<sup>40</sup>.

Ridho Al-Hamdi's research<sup>41</sup>, which examined the response of Muhammadiyah elites to political dynamics in the country from 1998 to 2010, yielded a total of 20 names and revealed that each Muhammadiyah elite exhibited various behavioral characteristics. In response to Indonesia's political dynamics between 1998 and 2010, he claimed that modernist behavior could be divided into four types: transformative-idealistic, moderate-idealistic, realistic-critical, and accommodative-pragmatic. The variants of political attitudes are influenced by sociological and organizational background. The sociological background of the elite consists of several factors, including education, occupation, relationship or association, and political orientation. The organizational background includes factors such as

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<sup>39</sup> Suaidi Asyari, *Nalar Politik NU dan Muhammadiyah: Over Cross Java Centris*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2009), p. 60.

<sup>40</sup> For example, the "gurak" dice gambling in Palangka Raya which is often in the spotlight and public discussion. Challenges to the behavior of the *gurak* dice mainly came from religious figures and leaders. However, the most formidable challenge came from Islamic religious figures, considering that gambling is forbidden in Islam. If this is brought to the practice of democracy in Western countries, it is possible that gambling will become a behavior that is legalized by the state. The authors attended a workshop organized by the Central Kalimantan Regional Police in 2015 with the theme of "How to deal with the *gurak* problem in Palangka Raya," which presented academics, community leaders, and religious leaders (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Kaharingan). The event took place one day at the Central Kalimantan Police Headquarters.

<sup>41</sup> Ridho Al-Hamdi, "Dinamika Islam dan Politik: Elit-Elit Muhammadiyah Periode 1998-2010, *Studi Pemerintahan* 3, No. 1 (2012).

the Muhammadiyah movement's vision, Muhammadiyah's official attitudes, and historical continuity.

Based on the results of this study, the characteristics of Muhammadiyah cadres in responding to the development of democracy in Central Kalimantan during the Reformation Era showed moderate behavior. It is depicted as a neutral attitude between the two extreme attitudes; indifference and an overly ambitious attitude towards the public office. Variants of political attitudes shown by Muhammadiyah cadres in Central Kalimantan are not much different from those made by Al-Hamdi; however, the author does not analyze these variants of political attitudes. The authors only apply the Al-Hamdi-created characteristics to obtain responses from Muhammadiyah cadres in Central Kalimantan.

The cadres of the Muhammadiyah, the subject of this study, can be analyzed using the characteristics of political behavior,<sup>42</sup> which include four variants of attitudes. Those variants are (1) transformation-idealistic, (2) moderate-idealistic and (3) realistic-critical and (4) accommodative-pragmatic. Then, the authors add a fifth feature, (5) an accommodating-critical attitude. Based on the authors' analysis, this fifth variant reflects more moderate political behavior, which can accept all types of positive aspirations and desires. Yet, it remains critical and select every element that is suspected as being contrary to the vision and mission of Muhammadiyah and the Indonesian national mission. Therefore, the subjects of this study were classified as behaving similarly to this fifth variant.

## 1. Epistemological Aspects

### a. The Relationship between Islam and Democracy

On the relationship between Islam and democracy, the cadres of Muhammadiyah hold a wide range of opinions. According to Achmad Diran, the relationship between Islam and democracy is reciprocal in that both respect each other but remain as two institutions with different positions. Similarly, Ade Supriyadi views the relationship between Islam and democracy as mutually advantageous for both religion and the state. It implies that religion is gaining strength due to the support of the state, and the state is gaining legitimacy from religion. Then, Muhammad Riban Satia views the

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<sup>42</sup> Political behavior does not exist in a vacuum. On the other hand, political behavior is influenced by various interrelated factors, so practically, various approaches can be used to understand political behavior. See Welhendri dan Muliono, "Multified Politics: A Study on Polarization of Political Behavior of Tarekat Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia," *Al-Jāmi'ah* 60, No. 2, 2022 M/1444 H p. 320.

relationship between Islam and democracy as the relationship of two institutions that each bring values or principles that meet in a public space commonly known as “ethics”.

Based on the differences between these three perspectives, the authors conclude: that religion and the state (Islam and politics) are two different institutions that cannot be separated as they coexist in the public sphere. In this regard, the state is a space for all its citizens and should facilitate their freedom of expression. Existing social norms typically bind citizens as a means of ensuring harmonious social interactions. Public space and personal space generally are separated. Nevertheless, humans are both social and personal beings.

Moreover, the formation of this perspective cannot be separated from the dialectical process between one’s self and their socio-cultural environment. In this case, the way Muhammadiyah cadres’ forming their perspective on the relationship between Islam and democracy cannot be separated from the process of dialectical thinking between what they already know. After studying and reflecting clearly about Islam and democracy, looking for reciprocity as an adjustment to the socio-cultural world, and experiencing social interaction in an institutionalized intersubjective world, one can finally associate themselves with the Muhammadiyah organization. These three moments of interaction form the basis of a view that is referred to as “Muhammadiyah ideology.”

The understanding of Muhammadiyah cadres on the relationship between Islam and democracy can be seen through the lens of *fiqh siyasah* moderation theory. As Achmad Diran emphasized that he sees Indonesia as a religiously tolerant country based on the Pancasila ideology. On the other hand, Indonesia is neither a religious (theocracy) nor a secular state. His perspective demonstrates a moderate understanding in the context of religious and state relations (Islam and politics) from the standpoint of *fiqh siyasah*.

Furthermore, Ade Supriyadi views the relationship between religion and the state in Indonesia (Islam and politics) as a mutually beneficial one, in which religion grows more robust due to the support of the state, and the state grows stronger due to the legitimacy of religion. Similarly, Muhammad Riban Satia views Islam and democracy as the relationship between two institutions that share values or principles known as “ethics” and meet in the public sphere. Therefore, from the perspective of *siyasa fiqh*, their views can also be classified as moderate.

Yusuf al-Qaradawi popularized the theory of moderation, which encourages moderate understanding (*manhaj wasathiyah*). This perspective

seeks a middle ground in dealing with the polarization of thought from two extreme poles. Those two extreme poles of thought are; organic-integralist and separatist-secularism in understanding the relationship between religion and the state. In the context of religion and state relations, this moderate understanding is also referred to as “symbiotic-mutualistic.” According to al-Qaradawi, the theory of moderation in fiqh (including *siyasah fiqh* as a branch of fiqh) is explored from the arguments originating from the Qur’an and Sunnah. Philosophically, this theory is viewed as safer and closer to comprehending the teachings of Islam, as it prioritizes benefit and avoids extremism and harm.

### **b. Political Recruitment and Electoral System**

Changes in Indonesia’s political environment from the authoritarian New Order era to the Reformation Era, which was perceived as leading to true democracy, became the inspiration or motivation for Muhammadiyah cadres to compete in legislative and executive elections. The democratic party’s competitors must abide by the rules known as the Election Law. According to the regulation embodied in the new Election Law, regional head elections, both governors and regents/mayors, are no longer elected by the *DPRD*, but rather by the people through elections that are conducted directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and fairly.

In addition, the elimination of the dual function of *ABRI* and, consequently, the neutrality of the state civil apparatus and the position of political parties have changed the national and regional atmosphere of Indonesian politics. With the “faucet” of democracy now open, Muhammadiyah cadres started to compete in the executive and legislative elections. In addition, they use the momentum of the democratic transition to contribute to coloring and guiding the more than two-decade-long journey of reformation.

The relationship between religion and state (Islam and politics) is not definitive for Muslims. Muslim scholars in academic studies on state politics have categorized it in a special focus called *fiqh siyasah* or political fiqh (*fiqh al-siyasah al-syar’iyyah*). However, they recognize this because the symptoms of *siyasa* (the literal meaning of “*siyasa*” in Arabic is politics) can also be found in the mindset, behavior, and events experienced by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions, known as *khulafa al-rashidin*.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> In studying the hadith or sunnah of the Prophet, there is also a debate about *sunnah tasyri’iyyah* and *sunnah ghairu tasyri’iyyah*, which relates to the question “which of the

Simply put, the authors believe the moderate thinking method (*manhaj wasath*) is developed by Muhammadiyah cadres. Thus, it is not surprising that Muhammadiyah cadres can accept contemporary democratic ideas such as nationalism and the concept of the nation-state, which are products of Western thought. However, this acceptance must be accompanied by a critical attitude, which includes not only an element of rationality but also the consideration of guidance derived from the Qur'an and Hadith, which the authors refer to as critical-accommodation behavior in the pattern of thinking, behaving, and acting.

### Conclusion

After examining the responses of the research subjects, the authors identified the following key points. First, the views of Muhammadiyah cadres regarding Islamic relations and Islamic legal politics, especially democracy, are moderate. This conclusion is based on their statements that they do not view religion as an ideology opposing *Pancasila* and vice versa, and they believe that *Pancasila* does not replace the role of religion. Moreover, religion and state (Islam and politics) are in different domains but cannot be separated. In fact, democratic values are viewed as compatible with Islamic values, but there are a few exceptions. Generally, in Indonesia, the universal teachings of religion serve as a moral and ethical basis for democracy. Therefore, the democratic system implemented in Indonesia is *Pancasila* democracy, not the liberal democracy as in the West. In response to the development of democracy during the Reformation Era, the subjects were more concerned with procedural democracy than substantive democracy. In terms of conducting national and regional elections and political recruitment, several issues must be addressed and improved.

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sunnahs are included in the sunnah tasyri'iyah" (part of religious doctrine), and which ones are included in "sunnah ghairu tasyri'iyah" (not part of religious doctrine).

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## Interviews

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