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SAM RATULANGI UNIVERSITY  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENTS  
STUDY PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENTS

# Proceeding

International Conference  
On Government Leadership and Social Science  
and ADIPSI Meeting  
(ICOGLOSS)

Demanding Governance Accountability  
and Promoting Democratic Leadership For  
Public Welfare Achievement

Manado  
11 - 13 April 2018

In partnership with



**UNSRAT**  
SAM RATULANGI  
UNIVERSITY



Lecturer association  
of government science  
of Indonesia



Faculty of Social and Political Science  
Sam Ratulangi University Manado

**“Demanding Governance Accountability  
and Promoting Democratic Leadership for  
Public Welfare Achievement”**

**CONFERENCE PROCEEDING**

**INTERNASIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCE (ICOGLOSS)  
2018**

**Universitas Sam Ratulangi  
Manado, 11-13 April 2018**

**Editor :**

**Dr.Drs. Burhan Niode, MA  
Dr. Alfon Kimbal, S.Sos,M.Si.  
Dr. Welly Waworundeng, S.Sos,MSi.**

**Reviewer**

**Dr. Titin Purwaningsih, SIP, MSi  
Dr. Drs. Teguh Yuwono, M.Pol. Admin**



**DEMANDING GOVERNANCE ACCOUNTABILITY  
AND PROMOTING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP FOR  
PUBLIC WELFARE ACHIEVEMENT**

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**Program Studi Ilmu Pemerintahan  
Fakulas Ilmu Sosial dan Politik  
Universitas Sam Ratulangi  
2018**

## MESSAGE FROM THE CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN



It gives me enormous pleasure to welcome all of you to the International Conference on Government and Social Science (ICOGLOSS) organized by Study program Of Governments, Department of Governments, Faculty of Sosial and Politics Science, Sam Ratulangi University. It is an truly honor and a privilege for us to host this international conferences. For this year's theme of the International Conference on Government and Social Science is Demanding Governance Accountability and Promoting Democratic Leadership for Public Welfare Achievement.

As stated in UNSRAT's objective, we strive to become one of the leading faculties in South East region for 2030. We're now intensively enhancing our networks to reach the objective. Despite offering scientific dialogues , ICOGLASS will be our annual International conference to bring international research network for UNSRAT. We have successfully invited more than .. papers from our neighbours' scholars from the region. We are also very grateful to our keynote speaker Prof. David N. Almarez, Ph.D (Mindanao State University Philippines), Andrew Garner, Ph.D (Department of Political Science, Wyoming of University USA), Kittisak Jermstiparsert, Ph.D (College of Government Faculty of Political Science Rangsit University Thailand), Daisy Posumah, Ph.D (Sam Ratulangi University)

Well-known speakers and researches from universities, government agencies, and community social enthusiast have been invited to present their views and discuss the opportunities, threat, strenghtts, and weakness of the subject, Thus we would like to thanks to all presenters for sharing their research ideas and findings. It will definitely enrich our knowledge with a better understanding of contemporary issues in social and humanities issues.

We are pleased to present abstract proceeding book of ICOGLASS which consist of .. sub themes, from about .. presenters. We do hope that this abstract book will be triggering further discussion afterward outside the conference.

**Drs. T.A.M. Ronny Gosal,MSi**

CHAIRMAN

International Conference on Government and Social Science (ICOGLOSS)

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## ISLAM AND DEMOKRATIZATION IN INDONESIA (CONCEPTION AND MOVEMENT)

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### Abstract

The success of Indonesia through the process of political transition with a relatively peaceful way, has brought the nation of Indonesia into one of the new powers in the calculation for the growth of democracy in the countries of the world. Reform 98 has marked the turn of the political system from authoritarianism to a democratic system of government. The role of Islamic groups in guarding the transition process and encouraging democratization in Indonesia is enormous. NU and Muhammadiyah as the largest mass organization of Islam in Indonesia, became the representation of Islam demanding the ongoing system of democracy in the practice of life of nation and state. At the same time, NU and Muhammadiyah leaders and activists continue to consistently disseminate ideas and ideas of democratization and build critical community groups to control the course of government. The conformity of Islam with the practice of democracy in Indonesia can not be separated from the factors of Islamic values and teachings that emphasize the spirit of democracy in the context of nation and state. As the spirit of As Shura (musyawarah), al-is (justice), al-musawa (equality), al-tawazun (tolerance) al-amanah (can be believed) and the other is the Islamic doctrine in the context of the life of nation and state. From this condition (Countries) Islam and the Indonesian nation worthy of pride, because Indonesia with the majority Muslim population can be made a model for the growth of democracy for the countries of the world.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

The democratization process that has taken place in various countries of the world including in the Middle East, has placed Indonesia as the ideal model of democracy for the world's Islamic countries. Post reform 98 Indonesia has been transformed into a stable democratic country, and experiencing significant economic growth.

Prior to the reform process 98, Turkey was often regarded as the ideal model of Muslim democracy. Although the practice of democracy in Turkey is still dominated by military forces in political practice, but at that time the experts still regard Turkey as the most democratic Muslim country in the world.

This view began to shift after Indonesia experienced a process of democratic transition from the authoritarian regime of the New Order to a democratic reformation government. This recognition came directly from the United States which declared Indonesia as the only Muslim-majority country with a free country status.

Since then, many world leaders have praised the rise of democracy in Indonesia. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton called Indonesia a role model of democracy for the Muslim world. While giving a speech at the State Palace, Clinton said "Indonesia is a model of how Islam, democracy, modernity and women's rights can grow together and harmonize in a country" (19/02/2009). (Kompas, 19/02/2009). In

fact, President Obama in his latest speech at the UN General Assembly (Tuesday, 20/09/2016) praised Indonesia's democracy as a good example for the democratic model of the world. Obama stated "Indonesia has successfully made the people as the holder of sovereignty". (Detiknews, 21 September 2016). This is in line with the rise of the widespread democracy movement in most of the Islamic countries of the Middle East.

Obama's and Hillary's view that Indonesia is a good example of democracy for Islamic countries is well-founded: First, Indonesia is the largest Muslim-majority country in the world that has undergone a political transition from an authoritarian system to a democratic government. Second, Indonesia has maintained political stability and Third, Indonesia has shown stable economic performance. As Joachin Von Amsberg (World Bank Country Director for Indonesia) pointed out, Indonesia has recorded good economic growth, after China and India (Kompas.Com. 10/07/2009). This shows the achievement of good and proud democracy, for the effort of democratization in Indonesia

### Principles of Democracy In Islam

Islam as a religion of rahmatanlilalamin (grace for the whole of nature) in which to teach the values of nation and state, must be able to provide real solutions to every problem that occurs in society. So that the presence of Islam in the hope really able to give serenity and peace not only for individuals, but for the collective life of nation and state This is because Islam has the noble ideals to liberate mankind from all forms of arbitrariness and injustice. Islamic values that rely on the principles of justice and humanity want to form a noble civilization, which aims to humanize humans so that there is a regular social life that recognizes every individual's rights and common interests.

In Islam many sources and teachings that teach the practice of democracy in the life of nation and state, even the practice of democracy itself has lasted since the era of leadership of the Prophet Muhammad, to the reign of khulafaurrasyidin. Where at the time of khulafaurrasyidin in the form of shura (consultative) which is known as ahi halli wal'aqdi which has a function resembles a team of formats in charge of choosing the head of state or caliph. Here it is very clear in the early days of Islamic rule the practice of democracy has been implemented in the state system.

The principles of democracy in Islam are as follows:

#### 1. Shura

That is musyawarah. The definition of shura here is a principle about the decision-making procedure explicitly affirmed in the Qur'an Surat (QS) As Shura: 38 and QS. Ali Imran: 159, which in the verse clearly suggests Muslims to maintain the method of deliberation in the decision-making process. The principle of deliberation here affirmed in the holy book of the Qur'an reflects the attitude of Islamic caution, that any decision-making and process of power must involve public-people. This means that every right of the community can be jointly guarded in every policy formulation.

#### 2. Al-'Adalah

Al-'is or the principle of justice here has the understanding, the importance of upholding justice in a governmental practice. So the function of government in Islam one of them is the function of justice, where every power or government must guarantee the upholding of justice in society. Even the message about the importance of justice enforcement in the practice of government in direct message by Allah SWT in His word, such as in QS. An-Nahl: 90, QS. As-Syuro: 15, QS. Al-Maidah: 8

#### 3. Al-Musawah

Which means equality. The principle of equality in Islam here has the sense that, no one feels superior to the other, so as to impose his will with arbitrary. So that in Islam is not justified every power to practice system that hegemony for the society. So Islam rejects the system of authoritarian and exploitative government, because it is not in line with the principle of Al-Musawa

#### 4. At-Tawazun

Understanding tawazun here is the importance of the spirit of tolerance in the practice of life of nation and state. Where Islam really appreciates the differences that exist in the midst of society, because it is a sunnatullah (the will of Allah SWT), where diversity is a necessity in life that must be accepted by every Muslim. The diversity here is very complex, ranging from tribe, language, beliefs and so on. The meaning of tolerance here is very important in the practice of democratic life in Indonesia, because the condition of the pluralistic Indonesian society, whether by tribe, language, culture, customs, belief / religion until various political ideology.

#### 5. Al-Amanah

It is the attitude of fulfillment of trust that someone gives to others. So every trust or trust given to someone must be on guard well, no exception trust in government. In the context of nation and state, leaders or governments that have the mandate of the people to run the government must maintain the trust of the people with full sense of responsibility in carrying out the goals of government. The issue of trust is related to justice, as affirmed by Allah SWT in QS. An-Nisa ': 58

#### 6. Al-Masuliyah

That is, responsibility. Understanding the responsibility in the exercise of power has a double consequence of the mandate that must be accountable to Allah SWT in the hereafter as well as mandate that must be accountable to the public, the wider community. So the burden of accountability here is meaningful in, because it deals with the lives of many people.

#### 7. Al-Hurriyah

It is the spirit of freedom. That is, that every individual, every citizen is given the right and freedom to express his opinion. As long as it is done in a wise manner, taking into account the principles of akhlakul karimah (good attitudes and ordinances) and in order to amar ma'ruf nahy munkar (seeking good and preventing on munkar), then there is no reason for the authorities to prevent it . Even the ones that must be aware of is when there is no party to control over the implementation of power. Because each power has the potential to abuse the power, so in need of a control mechanism in the administration of a democratic government.

Of the seven principles of democracy in Islam illustrates, that Islam is very encouraging the process of democratization in every governance in the life of nation and state. (Umar, Nasarudin Journal of Communication for Islamic Higher Education, 2002) "Democracy and Deliberation: An Analytical Review".

### The Role of Islam in Encouraging Democratization in Indonesia

Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia, has played an important role in encouraging the democratization process in Indonesia. The existence of NU and Muhammadiyah as representatives of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia is undoubtedly in an effort to strengthen civil society to guard the democratization process. The process of escorting democratization is not only shown by the figures of both organizations, but institutionally in NU and Muhammadiyah. The reforming wave of 98 demanding a democratic government demonstrates the magnitude of NU and Muhammadiyah's role in guarding the transition process in Indonesia, from authoritarian rule under the Soeharto regime to a more democratic system of government. The presence of Gusdur (Abdurrahman Wahid) as the Chairman of PBNU and Amien Rais who served as chairman of PP. Muhammadiyah at that time with the student movement 98 has raised public awareness in demanding the running of democratic government. So the process of the current transition of power from totalitarian rule under the Soeharto regime to a democratic reformation government can go smoothly.

Efforts to strengthen democratization also continue to do when Gusdur entered the government, where in the 1999—election Gusdur elected as President and Amien Rais occupied as chairman of the MPR RI. Gusdur's policy of revoking the dual function of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (TNI) which restores the military to the dense function of the Tentara as the basic foundation for democratization can actually be realized in the practice of national and state life. With the return of military

power to the State's defense function, civil society groups again get their role in voicing and participate in determining State policy. Even since the reformation of various public figures and community groups have established political parties, as a sign of the lack of space for democratization, in which every society has the same political right to vote and to be elected, both executive and legislative. The freedom to establish this political party was unprecedented under the rule of the new order in power for 32 years, since the existence of political parties is restricted and controlled by the State, ie only 3 political parties are allowed PPP, PDI and Golongan Karya all in control by Soeharto.

From the above conditions shows the great commitment of Islamic figures to realize the efforts of democratization actually run in the government system in the reform era. Even the effort of Gusdur as the president of Indonesia at that time to realize democratization in Indonesia must be paid expensive because Gusdur must lose his power as President of RI due to the democratization process that emphasizes freedom in politics. Political power in parliament that time succeeded in political propaganda that led to pelengseran Abdurrahman Wahid from the chair of the President of the Republic of Indonesia. Although Gusdur must lose his power as president, but the process of democratization in Indonesia continues to run until now, even has made significant progress in the process of nation and state. So from here Islamic figures such as Gusdur, Amien Rais, Nurkholis Madjid can be said as a reformer in the effort to democratize the political system and governance system in Indonesia.

At the same time activists, Individuals and Islamic civil society groups in NU and Muhammadiyah, undertook the same effort to contribute to enlighten the ummah by promoting democratic ideas among Muslims and maintaining the independence of civil society as the main pillar supporting the balance of democratic countries. So many critical groups emerged, both at the central level and in the region as a new era of awareness building community to participate in controlling the running of government.

The ideas and ideas of democratization which have been built by reforming figures such as Gusdur, Amien Rais and Nurcholis Madjid against the young activists of the two largest Islamic organizations have led to a formidable movement for the sustainability of the democratization process in the next generation. Young Islamic activists continue what the reformers have pioneered in building Islamic legitimacy of democratic ideas, but in a new social movement format that fits the contemporary context. That is a social movement that no longer emphasizes the struggle of political ideology, but a diverse identity. No longer emphasize the interests of organized large groups, such as political parties, but the interests and rights of individual citizens, no longer rely on state support, but rely on self-reliance and autonomy of civil society.

The future of democracy in Indonesia will be largely determined by the efforts of Muslims in developing and maintaining the consolidation of democracy both at the level of consciousness and democratic practices at two levels: the state and society.

#### Discourse Conception of Islam and Democracy: Perception And Discourse

Movement and efforts of democratization in Indonesia certainly can not be separated from the global social-political context that occurs in the world's hemispheres. Efforts to demand democratization in the system of governance in Indonesia inspired waves of democratization that took place in the western world in the decade of the 70s to the 90's, namely in America, both Central America, South America and Latin America and Eastern Europe. Where this condition by Samuel P Huntington is called the third wave of democracy (Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 1991).

Discourses on the appropriateness of Islam and democracy in a global political context were first questioned by Huntington who questioned the absence of democratic practices among Islamic countries. Until Huntington came to read that the practice of democratization in the Islamic State occurred only in the African country of Africa. Yet according to Huntington since the 70s to 90s, democratic processes are taking place in parts of authoritarian countries such as Central America, South America and Latin America and the regions of Eastern Europe, the former communist powers. Furthermore, Huntington states, In addition to Mali, in Muslim countries, a small part is semidemocratic, in fact most of them are countries that practice authoritarianism, until it is classified as the most repressive country. From this condition encourage

Huntington to further trace the root of the problem to the source of the teachings of Islam itself. Until Huntington came to the conclusion that Islam and its traditions did not have a doctrine in line with the spirit of democracy. (and Samuel P. Huntington, *The clash of civilizations and the remake of world order*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997)

Huntington's theory of negative views on the appropriateness of the concept of Islam and democracy gave birth to the counter-pros within intellectual circles, both Western scholars and Islam. The experts, both from the West and Islam themselves, have rejected Huntington's apriori view of the spirit of Islam in democracy. Like John L Esposito and Voll, a western scholar who dismisses Huntington's view by stating that democracy is not a monopoly of American or Western culture, but also in other cultures, including in Islam (John L. Esposito and John Obert Voll, *Islam and democracy*, UK: Oxford University Press, 1996, p 21)

According to Esposito and Voll, a moderate understanding of Islam that understands Islam substantially and contextually, will find a match between Islam and democracy. Both convey the principles of Islamic teachings on musyawarah (as-syura), mufakat (ijma ') as well as rational and independent thinking (ijtihad). (John L. Esposito and John Obert Voll, *Islam and democracy*, p. 25). According to both, these teachings are values in Islam that are in line with the spirit of democracy. Furthermore Esposito and Voll's views are in line with Robert Hefner's view of democracy in Indonesia which argues that a pluralist and civilian understanding of Islam precisely affirms the importance of democracy and rejects the concept of a monolithic Islamic state (Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000)

## Conclusion

Indonesia The country with the largest Muslim majority in the world has successfully passed the process of political transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic system of government. Even Indonesia has shown as a stable democratic country with good economic growth. This can not be separated from the role of Islam as a majority religion that continues to consistently encourage democratization efforts. NU and Muhammadiyah as the largest mass organization of Islam in Indonesia, became the representation of Islam demanding the ongoing system of democracy in the practice of life of nation and state. At the same time, this condition has shifted the public perception, especially the western world that looked negatively towards the existence of Islam which is considered not in line with democracy. Indonesia is an answer, that Islam and the practice of democratic life can go hand in hand

Keyword: Islam, Democratization, Indonesia

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