

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 17, Number 2, 2010



---

HITTING OUR HEADS ON THE GLASS CEILING:  
WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION  
IN INDONESIA

Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin & Jan Edwards

---

THE PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICT  
IN INDONESIA (1990-2008)

Samsu Rizal Panggabean, Rudi Harisyah Alam, Ihsan Ali-Fauzi

---

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 17, no. 2, 2010

---

## EDITORIAL BOARD:

*M. Quraish Shihab (UIN Jakarta)*

*Taufik Abdullah (LIPI Jakarta)*

*Nur A. Fadhil Lubis (IAIN Sumatra Utara)*

*M.C. Ricklefs (National University of Singapore)*

*Martin van Bruinessen (Utrecht University)*

*John R. Bowen (Washington University, St. Louis)*

*M. Atho Mudzhar (UIN Jakarta)*

*M. Kamal Hasan (International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur)*

*M. Bary Hooker (Australian National University, Australia)*

*Virginia Matheson Hooker (Australian National University, Australia)*

## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

*Azyumardi Azra*

## EDITORS

*Jajat Burhanudin*

*Saiful Mujani*

*Jamhari*

*Fu'ad Jabali*

*Oman Fathurahman*

## ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS

*Testriono*

*Setyadi Sulaiman*

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Dick van der Meij*

*Dina Afrianty*

## ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Nursamad*

## COVER DESIGNER

*S. Prinka*

STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and South-east Asian Islamic Studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

All articles published do not necessarily represent the views of the journal, or other institutions to which it is affiliated. They are solely the views of the authors. The articles contained in this journal have been refereed by the Board of Editors.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 83/Dikti/Kep/2009).

*Document*

## Redefining the Roles of Islamic Organizations in the *Reformasi* Era

Jajat Burhanudin

Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) of State University Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, in cooperation with Center for the Study of Society and Culture (PMB) of Indonesian's Science Foundation (LIPI), and Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA) of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS), held a conference on "Redefining the Roles of Islamic Organizations in the *Reformasi* Era." The conference was divided into two sessions. In the first session we have Prof. Dr. Bahtiar Effendy, Dr. Hendro Prasetyo, and Drs. Anas Ahmadi, MA. In the second session we have Dr. Endang Turmudi from Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) and Dr. Abdul Mu'ti from Muhammadiyah.

The seminar was designed to evaluate and discuss the roles of socio-religious organizations in Indonesia. The current understanding on the roles of socio-religious organizations was being challenged and questioned. The seminar discussed the relationship between the state and the roles of these religious organizations during the *Reformasi* Era. These were among the important issues because transformation of ideas and movements have occurred within Islamic organizations in Indonesia.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, socio-religious organizations have played important roles in Indonesia's nation building. Muhammadiyah, NU, and Persis are among the organizations which have contributed significantly to the development of Islam in Indonesia.

They have been the driving forces for community development such as in education, socio-political, economy, and health. Most of the *madrasah* and *pesantren* across Indonesia were founded by these organizations.

### **Islamic Organizations in the *Reformasi* Era**

Indonesia's transition to democracy has brought with it the plurality and complexity of Islamic expressions in Indonesia. As a result, the variants of Islam in Indonesia cannot be understood in a simple way as "traditionalist" versus "modernist". *Reformasi* has given birth to the emergence of new Islamic movements.

In politics, this phenomena was characterized by the emergence of Islamic political parties such as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), and the Reformed Crescent Party (PBR). Apart from the mainstream organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, Indonesia also witnesses the emergence of radical Islamic organizations such Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (Indonesian Mujahedeen Council), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, and Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders Front, FPI). There are also emerged NGOs that work on issues such as liberal Islam (JIL, Liberal Islam Network), JIMM (Network of Young Muhammadiyah Intellectuals), and The Society for Pesantren and Community Development (P3M). Unlike the radical and puritan organizations, these NGOs seek to infuse modern ideas to support democratization and promoting civil and human rights.

Islamic organizations have been important elements in the social movements and have played great roles in bridging the gap between the state and society. The emergence of Islamic organizations, however, has posed certain barrier to Islamic movements in Indonesia. This is due to the different strategies and ideologies of these organizations, some of their ideologies do not fit with the principles of nation building. The aspiration to create Islamic state, to implement Sharia, and the use of violence by many Islamic organizations contradicts the principle of pluralism and civil rights.

Surveys reveal that the roles of Islamic organizations in socio and political life have significantly declined. For example, this can be seen from what Effendy believes that the absence of NU and Muhammadiyah's representation in the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono 2<sup>nd</sup> term cabinet. It can also be seen in the failure of NU and Muhammadiyah in endorsing former vice president Jusuf Kalla in the 2009 presidential

election. The declining roles of Islam in socio and political life should be treated as a worrying point by all Muslim leaders. As the largest Islamic organizations in the country, NU and Muhammadiyah need to find new strategies to revive their functions and roles within their Muslim followers.

### **Islamic Organizations and Community Development**

Bahtiar Effendy pointed out that NU and Muhammadiyah have not played significant roles as the bulwark of civil Islam in the recent development. This, according to him, because NU and Muhammadiyah have mainly focused their attention more into politics. It should be noted that during the New Order, these organizations were very effective as civil Islam organizations, and many of Islamic organizations were very effective in community development.

The New Order policy to control Muslim politics has posed difficulty for the organizations to develop, and this has forced NU and Muhammadiyah to channel their aspiration by creating programs in socio-religious activities. It is obvious that NU and Muhammadiyah have been politicized, which created difficulties for organizations to develop in the last decade. But actually we have high expectations on NU and Muhammadiyah.

Hendro Prasetyo observes that the hope laid in the sub-structures of NU and Muhammadiyah. If NU and Muhammadiyah are conservative, the civil society organizations under these organizations work within the framework of international agenda such as human rights. It is not surprising to see organizations such as JIL, Wahid Institute and P3M, to speak about civil right and freedom of expression.

In regards to democratization, NU and Muhammadiyah are important social capitals. Despite the above criticisms, NU and Muhammadiyah have shown their consistency to support democracy. Thus, NU, Muhammadiyah, and other newly founded organizations are important civil society organizations for the development of democracy in Indonesia.

NU and Muhammadiyah should be able to take the initiatives in promoting Indonesia's education, economy, and health, which were largely neglected by the state. Both organizations can play their roles to support the government. These are crucial in Indonesia's democracy. Economic empowerment is one of the important agendas for NU and Muhammadiyah. Democratic institutionalization through grass root is the most important contribution during the transition period in this country.

Instead of working into politics which have been unproductive for the future of Islamic organizations, Effendy believes that Islamic organizations especially NU and Muhammadiyah should return to their initial commitments to concentrate on socio-religious programs. Their roles in education, health system, and economy should be expanded. They should pay more attention in the community development, rather than in politics. As the oldest Muslim organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah have to preserve its values in working for the society rather than hoping to get something from the society.

---

Jajat Burhanudin *is the Executive Director of PPIM UIN Jakarta*