

The Contributions of Muslim Faith-Based Organizations to Development:
The Case of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia

By
Wagma Isaqzoy

A Thesis Submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Masters of Arts in International Development Studies

August 2013, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Copyright Wagma Isaqzoy, 2013

Approved: Dr. Anne Marie Dalton
Supervisor

Approved: Dr. Henry Veltmeyer
Reader

Approved: Dr. Edna Keeble
External Examiner

Date: August 2013

The Contributions of Muslim Faith-Based Organizations to Development:
The Case of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia

By Wagma Isaqzoy

Abstract

The objective of this research is to contribute to the limited literature that deals with development from a religious standpoint. This includes a critique of a Eurocentric definition of development and the potential of religion within culturally diverse societies where religion and development are thought to be the two sides of the same coin.

In search for answers to the question of whether and how Muslim Faith-Based Organizations contribute to development, this thesis examines the role of Islam within the discourse of development using the case of Indonesia. The thesis demonstrates how Islam in Indonesia is proving to play an active role in the development of its society and contributing to the enhancement of women's social condition. This is mainly due to the dynamic of Faith Based Organizations within the Indonesian society; the use of the Islam as a guiding principle; and women's participation in the interpretation of religious texts.

August 30th 2013

Dedication

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Alhamdullillah, SubhanAllah, AllahuAkbar. I am thankful to Allah, the Almighty, for giving me the opportunity to witness and experience the complexities of the world. May He continue to bestow his mercy on all those who are striving to contribute to the wellbeing of the world- Ameen.

I am grateful to my loving parents, Nasreen and Ghulam Rabani Isaqzoy; my sweet sister and best friend Spojmai, and brother-in-law Mustafa Nawabi; my younger brother Farooq Isaqzoy; my older brother Sulaiman Isaqzoy and his son Ibrahim Isaqzoy; my Grandma, my Uncle and his wife and children. This is dedicated to you all.

I am also grateful to my wonderful group of friends: Humaira Dehsabzai, Rimaz Abakar, Divjyot Singh and Sanoji Wijeynayake; and my amazingly passionate development savvies and friends Keimeko and Diana Scotland, Janaya Alvina, Alida Campbell, Jill McPherson, Josephine Obinyan; and my entire group of Akhawat in Halifax.

A big thank you to all the wonderful friends I made in Indonesia: Gosia Malgozada, Nunik Irviyani, Dita, Nindya, Nadia, Adam, Nurhayatee and all my Thai and Indonesian friends. Thank you for making my time in Indonesia memorable. InshaAllah we meet again.

And a special thank you to Aunty Susan Hassib and Imam Zia Ullah.

Last but not least, this research would not have been possible without the support of Mr. Phonny Aditiawan Mulyana at the Provincial Board of Muhamamdiyah East Java and all the Muhammadiyah staff and volunteers in Surabaya, Jakarta and Yogyakarta.

Forgive me if I may have missed some of your names- if you can remember me but I forgot your name here, please accept my apology and know that I have greatly appreciated you.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my Supervisor Dr. Anne-Marie Dalton for her support, guidance and encouragement throughout my research; and Dr. Henry Veltmeyer who has truly been an inspiration for me in the academic world of Development. Thank you both for all your critical feedbacks, questions, guidance, and support.

I would also like to thank Dr. Edna Keeble for reading my thesis and making helpful comments.

A big thank you to all my professors in the IDS program at Saint Mary's University; as well as my Bahasa Indonesia instructors at Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya, Terima Kasih!

And thank you to the government of Indonesia and the Indonesian Embassy in Ottawa for giving me the opportunity to study Bahasa Indonesia in their beautiful country.

List of Tables

Table 1: No. of Establishments by Muhammadiyah as of 2010

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Agenda- The International Research Conference on Muhammadiyah

Appendix 2: How Religious Do You Consider Yourself on a Scale of 0-5

Appendix 3: How Important or Unimportant is Religion in Your Personal Life

Appendix 4: Do You Prefer Religion To be Limited To Private or Public Life

Appendix 5: Does Religion Play Any Important Role in the lives of Indonesian People

Appendix 6: Do You Consider Religion to be Crucial to the Improvement of Societies

Appendix 7: Have you benefited from Religion Yourself

Appendix 8: Is there a Clear Distinction between Religious and Cultural Practices

Appendix 9: How would you describe the status of Women in Indonesia

Appendix 10: What Are Some of the Challenges that Men and Women Face in Education

Appendix 11: Has Muhammadiyah been Successful in Addressing Policies that Prevent

Women from Education and Participation in Society

Appendix 12: Should Muhammadiyah become a Secular Organization

Table of Contents:

Dedication-----	iii
Acknowledgement -----	iv
List of Tables-----	v
List of Appendices-----	v
Chapter 1: Introduction-----	4
Posing the Problem-----	4
Objective-----	6
Research Question-----	6
Rationale and Justification-----	7
Why Islam? -----	8
Selecting a Case-----	9
Conceptual and Theoretical Framework-----	10
Development-----	10
Religion-----	13
Theoretical Framework-----	14
Research Methodology-----	15
Thesis Statement-----	20
Structure of the Thesis Argument-----	20

Chapter 2: Religion and Development: A Literature Review -----	23
Development Thought and Practice-----	23
Development from the 1940s to 1970s-----	25
Development from the 1980s Onwards-----	27
Alternative forms of Development (AD)-----	29
Religion-----	41
Religion as a Tool for Change-----	43
Historical Avoidance of Religion within Development-----	51
Revival of Religion in Development-----	56
Faith-Based Organizations, Religion and Development Discourse-----	58
Islam-----	60
Misconceptions Surrounding Islam-----	62
Development as an Islamic Term?-----	69
Development in Islam-----	76
<i>Zakat and Sadaqa</i> -----	79
<i>Ilm</i> -----	82
Chapter 3: The Indonesian Context -----	87
The State and Civil Society-----	88
Under Sukarno-----	89
Under Soeharto-----	90
Post-Sukarno and Soeharto-----	91

Potential of Civil society-----	93
Islam in Indonesia-----	97
Brief History-----	97
Islam as a Guide-----	100
Muhammadiyah-----	103
Brief History-----	103
Goal and Mission-----	105
Work within Indonesian Society-----	106
Women within Muhammadiyah-----	110
Chapter 4: Data Analysis-----	113
Field Research-----	113
Direct Observation-----	115
Interview Analysis-----	124
Chapter 5: Conclusion-----	143
Bibliography-----	150

Chapter 1

Introduction

Posing the problem

Posing the question of “religion” in a time such as today is troublesome. The world today is facing an increase in conflicts and wars¹, hunger and poverty,² injustice and economic disparities,³ social problems and environmental issues, human right abuses and terrorism; thus it is not surprising to see religion being ignored or given less importance, unless it is somehow connected to the aforementioned issues. People’s perception about religion has been affected by historical facts surrounding religion: wars have been waged under the banner of religion; slavery, racism and caste systems have been justified and enforced; kingdoms and empires have been expanded and even destroyed in order to enlarge the influence of a particular religion; people have been driven out of their homes and lands under the name of religion; *fatwa*’s (religious rulings) have been read to prevent both men and women from having control over their own destinies, and much more. However, to limit the discourse of religion to the negative events only will be to deny its more

¹ Mark Harrison and Nikolaus Wolf argue that since 1870 the wars have increased despite the common belief among western philosophers and theorists that extensive economic globalization and democratization would reduce wars. For more details on the study, refer to the article titled, “Frequency of Wars” (Harrison and Wolf 2012: 1055)

² The argument surrounding whether hunger and world poverty has increased or decreased is widely debated and much of the debate is around how to define poverty; according to World Hunger (2011), 1 in 7 people are hungry around the world.

³ According to Oxfam, “the richest one percent has increased its income by 60 percent in the last 20 years with the financial crisis accelerating rather than slowing the process” (oxfam.org).

positive importance and crucial role in the history of humanity. For example, it will come as a surprise to many that only seven per cent out of 1763 wars documented around the world were affiliated with religion (Phillips and Axelrod 2005). In fact, more people have been killed in non-religious wars than in wars that were associated with religion.

According to an article published in the Huffington Post, the estimated number of people killed by Crusaders was three million, whereas more than 30 million soldiers and civilians were killed just during World War I; and more than 160 million civilians were killed in genocides in the 20th century, while 100 million were killed by Communist states of USSR and China alone (huffingtonpost.com). Yet still, posing the question of religion within the discourse of development in the contemporary era can be regarded as oxymoronic.

When examined closely, religion has been one of the strongest forces to mobilize and motivate action among individuals, communities, societies and even nations⁴. One cannot deny that at their best all religions of the world promote a strong practice of selflessness and communal work in order to address issues of poverty and oppression. On the one hand, the commonalities between the field of development and the practice of religion can easily be observed; indeed in some cases the work of development is the result of religious obligations which laid the foundation for working in the field of development or inspired those involved. On the other hand, development workers, academics, policy-makers and politicians ignore or are less likely to engage in a critical

⁴ For example, to read more on how religion influences people's thinking, see Stark, Rodney & Bainbridge, William (1985). *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation* Berkeley: University of California; and Banton, Michael., ed (1966). *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. London: Tavistock Publication.

discussion surrounding the importance and crucial role of religion in the various stages of the planning and implementation of development projects. This is largely as a result of a strong Eurocentric concept of development in which the theories of modernization and economic growth regard religion to be a hindering factor in the development of societies.⁵ In effect, the predominant view of the world's mainstream ideologies shaped by nineteenth century theorists such as Auguste Comte, Emil Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber is that as the world moves forward to become developed and modern, religion will perish and become the story of the past (Shaliyeh 1990: 19). However, as Peter L. Berger famously stated, "the assumption that we live in a secularized world is false; the world today is as furiously religious as it ever was" (Berger 1999: 2).

Objective

The objective of this research is to examine the broader question of whether religion hinders or promotes development. The goal is to better understand the relationship between the two, while specifically focusing on Islam. The research attempts to provide a better understanding about the complexity, potential and limitations of Islam within the practice of development in Indonesia using the example of Muhammadiyah, which is one of the largest Indonesian Muslim-Faith Based Organization.

⁵ For examples of the literature on modernization theory and economic growth, see Gabriel Almond. (1960). "Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," in Gabriel Almond and James C. Coleman, eds., *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; David Apter (1965). *The Politics of Modernization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Karl Deutsch (1953). *Nationalism and Social Communication*. Cambridge: MIT Press; J. Kautsky (1972). *The Political Consequences of Modernization*. New York: John Wiley; Walt W. Rostow (1959). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Donald E. Smith (1970). *Religion and Political Development*. Boston: Little, Brown; and Donald E. Smith, ed (1971). *Religion, Politics and Social Change in the Third World*. New York: Free Press.

Research question

The main question that will be investigated is: “Do Muslim Faith-Based Organizations (MFBO) enhance women’s social condition in Indonesia, thus contributing to development? If so, how? If not, why not?” To answer this question, the research investigates one of Indonesia’s largest Muslim Faith-Based Organizations (MFBO), Muhammadiyah, which has reportedly used the Qur’an as a source of inspiration and means to do development work (Doorn-Harder 2006). This will be achieved through (1) an in-depth review and critique of relevant literature in order to provide necessary background information on issues around development itself, the relationship between religion and development, issues within Islam and its perception in the world, and contextual information about Indonesia; and (2) primary research conducted on Muhammadiyah by means of semi-structured interviews during a six month field research experience on the island of East Java.

Rationale and Justification

When I first questioned the role of religion within the work of development, I encountered a lot of negative and pessimistic sentiments among people from all walks of life (i.e. friends, academics and colleagues). I was astonished to witness how uncomfortable the word “religion” and particularly “Islam” made people. This was very different from my own understanding, reflection and observation of religion, particularly Islam. I saw religion present in people’s lives, including political, economic, social, and spiritual aspects of life. Nevertheless, I did not deny the bitter truth that religion,

particularly Islam, is continuously being used and abused to justify acts of violence. And thus I am sympathetic towards all those who have a negative attitude towards religion.

My view is that it is not religion that cultivates hatred and violence but groups of people identifying themselves as belonging to a specific religion and manipulating its teachings for their own selfish benefit. And sadly, a combination of both blind faith and a lack of understanding can result in extreme ideologies among the adherents of any religion.

Why Islam?

Islam is of particular interest to me because I am a critical believer who is always questioning, seeking and challenging practices that are labeled as “religious”. I like to go beyond what I see and try to understand the fundamental reasons why people do what they do. Islam in the current era is treated as the black sheep of religions simply because of what some people are doing in the name of religion. However, that did not discourage but only strengthened my interest in Islam and development. Therefore I decided to investigate whether Islam is compatible with the field and practice of development, and if so, to what extent can it respond to the needs and challenges of a society, especially Muslim populated societies. My intention was never and is still not to suggest the imposition of an Islamic solution to the challenges of development but rather to highlight the limitation of mainstream development and explore the potential of Islam in an attempt to encourage the harmonization between the two.

Selecting a Case

Selecting a case study for my research topic was a challenge. There is no state, which represents Islam ideally – whether that is Saudi Arabia, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Mauritania, or any of the other so called “Islamic States”. Hence, rather than focusing on an “Islamic State” I decided to focus on the largest Muslim populated nation, Indonesia. I began my library research browsing books and journals dealing with the topic of Islam and development, particularly in Indonesia, and came across an excellent book that would lay the foundation for my research interest. The book is written by Nelly Van Doorn-Hader (2006) and entitled *Women Shaping Islam: Reading the Qur’an in Indonesia*. Through this book I identified the Faith-Based Organization, Muhammadiyah, which would become the center of my case study.

Indonesia is home to the two largest Muslim Faith-Based Organizations in the World, Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. I approached both organizations via email from Canada, but other than a general response to my initial email there wasn’t any further communication or confirmation from either organization regarding my research interest. This may have been because of language barrier or the number of emails and inquiries they receive on a regular basis. Nevertheless, after consulting and seeking advice from my supervisor and other respected professors and professionals in the field of development I decided to accept a scholarship program called *Darmasiswa* in Indonesia. This scholarship was offered through the Indonesian government for foreign students from a wide range of countries to learn the Indonesian language and other selected topics in Indonesia for a period of 3, 6 or 12 months. The scholarship provided

an opportunity to not only connect directly with the two organizations on a personal level but also to learn the Indonesian language and observe the social structure and culture of the people of Java.

I arrived in Indonesia in September 2012. After getting familiarized with my surroundings and the Indonesian culture and lifestyle, I approached Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah in-person in October 2012 to inform them about my interest in studying their organization for my thesis research; to my pleasant surprise they both agreed. However, due to time constraints and awareness of the complexity of the two organizations I had to make the decision to focus on one organization only. Therefore I choose Muhammadiyah. My choice of organization was mainly based on the accessibility of Muhammadiyah's staff and resources given my limited time frame, as well as the level of knowledge of English among its staff. Thus I officially began my field research in November of 2012.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

The conceptual framework of the study is based on a set of working ideas derived from my review of the literature and the central concepts of development and religion, which I define below in terms relevant to the construction of my thesis argument.

Development

Development is a problematic concept. Kumar (2003) and Pramanik (2010) position the concept of development into two major ideologies: secular and religious. The advocates of secular development argue in favour of economic growth and rising living standards as

ends in themselves and consider development to be about “acquisition, possession and consumption where the world’s resources are to be turned into usable goods and create an economy that provides jobs and generates money” (Kumar, 2003: 15-18). Additionally, it attempts to separate ethical, moral and spiritual aspects from the material ones and focus mainly on “competitiveness in terms of reducing cost by any means even if that requires the exploitation of labour-the human being” (Pramanik, 2010: 42).

The advocates of religious motivated development believe that they should keep their face towards God through renouncing the material world and work towards pleasing God (Kumar, 2003: 16).). They hold that there needs to be “mutual cooperation, sympathy, sacrifice, fellow-feeling and caring for others as opposed to egoistic values based on an extreme form of self-interest, cut-throat competition or social Darwinism ensuring survival of the fittest” (Pramanik, 2010: 42). Kumar argues that the concept of development among the religious carries within itself “a sense of patronage, where “service” embodies an attitude of mutuality and humility and the idea is to find a sense of satisfaction in service rather than in outcomes and targets” (p.16). Thus, development within a religious ideology becomes a service and obligation, and assisting the underprivileged becomes a form of service, which becomes beneficial both to those who serve and to those who are served (p.16).

Although this approach provides a good foundation to differentiate between secular and religious ideologies of development, it is important to note that development within Islam represents the synergy between the two. This is also true of most mainline Christian efforts as well as other such as Buddhism as discussed in Haynes (2007) and

Marshall (2011). However this thesis will examine only the case of Islam. Islam, as rightly stated by Mesbahuddin, is “a comprehensive way of life where both the material and spiritual world come together and the two cannot be distinguished as separate entities” (Mesbahuddin, 2005: 224). Although Islam does not define development as a concept per se, it does however lay down clear guidelines on how to improve and contribute to the wellbeing of the society using a balance between both worldly affairs and duties towards God. Islam predates development and therefore it would not have a framework in the technical sense but Muslim Faith-Based Organizations such as Muhammadiyah allows for an understanding of how Islam can contribute to the improvement of the societies. Development within an Islam focuses on improving the social condition of the people through fulfilling both the material and spiritual needs. Every action that has both a direct and indirect impact on the wellbeing of the society is considered an act of worship. Islam puts responsibility on each individual to contribute to the wellbeing of the society to the best of one’s ability; it makes it obligatory to take care of the needy, practice social justice, share wealth through *Zakat* (obligatory charity) and *Sadaqa* (voluntary charity), and help in the advancement of human potential through various means, such as seeking of *Ilm* (knowledge or education), participation and activism. In fact, in Islam there is no distinction between the practice of what we commonly call development and the practice of religion. Practicing of Islam, both individually and collectively as instructed in the Qur’an and Sunnah, is considered by its adherents to be highest form of human development that can be achieved because of its emphasis on “humanity” and dignified treatment of human beings for one another

(Scotland, *forthcoming*). This will be further explained in the section on Islam in the literature review chapter.

The Concept Of Religion

The term religion is problematic to begin with in that we can draw different meanings and interpretations at different periods of time. As a concept it is not a static one; the meaning one gives religion is a product of its time and environment and its definition can be framed or challenged to meet the needs and fulfill the limitations of a given time and place. Haynes (1997) gives a thoughtful definition of “religion” after careful consideration of various aspects spoken of as religious and is sensitive to the issues involved in religion and development. He provides two definitions, one in a material sense and the second in a spiritual sense. In a material sense, religion is referred to religious establishments such as institutions, social groups and movements that are concerned about religion. In a spiritual sense religion is referred to social and individual behavior that helps believers to organize their lives (Haynes, 1997: 709-710). And depending on the context and environment of a society, either one or both definitions can be applicable. However, “religion” within an Islamic understanding does not differentiate between the two, material and spiritual. Religion, within Islam is regarded as a complete “way of life” and includes both spiritual and material aspects. Dr. Jamal Badawi explains that:

On the etymological level, the word “religion” and its meaning as found in most western dictionaries has the Arabic equivalent of the word “millah”. Millah simply means something that is limited and ritualistic. The actual word used for “religion” as

a broader term is “deen” in Arabic, which means ‘a way’ or ‘a way of life.’ There is no single English term or word that would convey the total meaning of “deen.” The use of the term “religion” to refer to Islam is because of its connotative meaning in the minds of most Western audiences. However, it is more accurate to use multiple words to convey the meaning of deen: “a way of life” and so is total guidance in life... there is no separation between the religious and the secular or the sacred and the secular. You can worship God by following his commands and way of life in your socio-economic-political life that people call secular and you can also conduct the so called secular activities according to the injunctions and broad guidance that is provided by the revelation. (jamalbadawi.org)

Thus, this research paper will use Dr. Jamal Badawi’s definition of religion when discussing Islam.

Theoretical framework

Many different approaches and theoretical frameworks have been outlined and adopted within the study and practice of development in order to understand and address the challenges of development, including poverty, education, health issues, gender etc. It is clear that the classic practice and understanding of development, which aimed for achieving modernization and economic growth, is no longer effective; reasons for this are discussed in the literature review below. The continued presence of religion in many societies is reflected in various ways, including in the work of Faith-Based Organizations around the world. Rather than the classic forms which have consistently ignored or

resisted any role for religion in development, the appropriate theoretical framework for this research to examine the potential of religion is Alternative Development (AD) in its diverse forms. Unlike other mainstream developmental frameworks, AD puts people first, is initiated from within and below, is socially inclusive and focuses on addressing the issue of poverty through community participation and empowerment (Veltmeyer, 2011: 7).

Research methodology

The field of research methodology includes various approaches and techniques for investigating and conducting research. For this research project the approach that is most appropriate is a case study approach, using qualitative data and a descriptive research design. One of the reasons for adopting such an approach is to gain a firsthand understanding of the characteristics of a large Muslim FBOs in Indonesia; Indonesia, it can be argued, is a unique case among Muslim populated countries because of its widespread active involvement of women in the interpretation of its religious text. Although there are examples of Muslim women activism in other Muslim populated countries such as Turkey, Pakistan and Iran, Indonesian Muslim women are arguably in the forefront when it comes to the interpretation of religious texts such as the Qur'an and Sharia.

Andrew Schrank (2006) provides the definition of a “case study” given by the Oxford English Dictionary’. According to this definition “a case study is an attempt to understand a particular person, institution, society, etc, by assembling information about his or its development” (Perecman and Curran 2006: 169). He adds that the information

used in a case study can be quantitative or qualitative, or a combination of the two and, can be collected by an individual or a team. Furthermore, he states that it can consist of interviews with key informants, surveys of representative populations of actors, archival materials, observations by participants or any other widely accepted sources. It can even be analyzed using one or more of a wide variety of analytical methods, including, but by no means limited to, close reading historical interpretation, the construction of analytical narratives and even the use of statistics (p.169). The key feature that distinguishes it from other social scientific methods, states Schrank, is the use of the indefinite article “a” in the above mentioned definition. A case study investigates *a* person, institution, or society rather than people, institutions, or societies more broadly (p.170).

However, the critiques consider this approach to be appropriate for the “exploratory” phase of the investigation only. Robert K. Yin (2009) draws upon some of the misconceptions that surround case study research. He states that “ many social scientists still deeply believe that case studies are only appropriate for the exploratory phase of any investigation” and that “case studies are only a preliminary research method and it cannot be used to describe or test propositions” (Yin 2009: 6). Additionally, the approach is often discouraged and viewed as a less desirable form of inquiry by research investigators because of the following reasons laid down by Yin (pp 15-16): First, the criticism that is widely echoed is how there have been too many times in which the case study investigator has not followed systematic procedures, or has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions. Second, case studies are considered to provide little basis for scientific generalization; to

which Yin argues that case studies are definitely generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to population or universe. Third, case studies are considered to take too long and their results are considered to be massive, unreadable documents. Yin responds that this confusion is a result of mixing data collection such as ethnography or participant observation with the case study approach. Ethnographies require long periods of time in the field and emphasize detailed observational evidence whereas case studies are a form of inquiry that does not depend solely on ethnographic or participant-observation data. Last, it is criticized for its “randomized field trials or true experiments” where studies are aimed to form causal relationships where a particular treatment is considered in producing a particular effect. This trend is considered to have negatively impacted the approach of case study because any types of non-experimental methods cannot directly address the causal relationships.

Schrank nevertheless argues that the “case study is the unappreciated workhorse of the contemporary social sciences” (quoted in Perecman and Curran: 2006: 170). He sheds light on how seldom the contributions of case study approach to social scientific disciplines is discussed. Furthermore, he provides examples of how the classic works of sociology and political science involved case studies, as well as how anthropologists, geographers, historians and mainstream economists are quick to underline the virtues of a well-designed case study when it suits their “rhetorical” purposes (Perecman and Curran: 170). Yin also confirms that the unique strength of a case study is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence -- documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations -- beyond what might be available in a conventional historical study (Yin 2009: 11). He argues and

emphasizes that a case study approach in fact has the ability to explain “how” and “why” and offer important evidence to complement experiments and thus should be considered “an adjunct to experiments rather than an alternative” (Yin 2006: 16). Additionally, Dooley (2002) explains how case study can be used to build theory in applied disciplines (Dooley 2002: 335). He argues that case study research is one method that excels at bringing an understanding of complex issues and builds on previous knowledge and research. Additionally, case study can provide a detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships (335). In terms of building or developing a theory, Dooley states that “the researcher who embarks on case study research is usually interested in a specific phenomenon and wishes to understand it completely, not by controlling variables but rather by observing all of the variables and their interacting relationships” (336). A single observation in the research may provoke the researcher to study the same phenomenon within the boundaries of another case, and then another -- be that single cases studied independently or between individual cases which may be cross-case analysis -- and thus led to the formation of a theory (336). For Dooley, a case study research has the ability to embrace multiple cases, including quantitative and qualitative data, and multiple research paradigms (338). This is because it can utilize various data collection processes such as “participant observation, document analysis, surveys, questionnaires, interviews, Delphi processes, and others” and its strongest quality is its ability to use all methodologies within the data-collection process and compare within case and across case for research validity (338).

Thus, keeping all those critiques in mind, the thesis design for this research has been constructed to ensure it passes the following tests as suggested by Herling et al. (2000).

In order to pass the construct validity test, my methodology attends to three main principles of data collection: (a) Documentation or analysis of secondary data, which includes books, academic journals, newspapers and related materials gathered and consulted both in Canada and Indonesia. The results of this research are presented mainly in Chapter 2 and 3 of this thesis; (b) Interviews, which include meeting and interviewing selected staff and volunteers of the organization. The interviews were semi-structured in nature and the selected interviewees include former Leaders of Muhammadiyah and its autonomous organization Aisyiyah, as well as academics and volunteers affiliated with the organization; and (c) Direct observation during the six months in Indonesia. For the internal validity test, the causal relations between the variables are demonstrated in Chapter 4. For the external validity test, I link the findings of the research with the literature review and Indonesian context. All procedures are systematically reviewed and documented to ensure that the research can be replicated. And finally, in order to protect the wellbeing of the human participants, I obtained approval from Saint Mary's University's Research Ethics Board (REB) and received a valid certificate of acceptability in order to conduct my research in an ethical manner.

Thesis Statement

The argument made will be that despite the limited recognition of the role of religion, particularly Islam, within the theory and practice of development, Islam in Indonesia is playing an active role in the development of its society and contributing to the enhancement of women's social condition. This role includes involvement in the status and dynamics of civil society, i.e. faith-based organizations (FBOs), within the Indonesian society; the use of the Islam as a guiding principle to contribute to the improvement of the society; and enhancing women's participation in the interpretation and implementation of religious texts.

Structure of the Thesis Argument

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 situates the research question within the literature related to development, religion and Islam in order to understand how religion in Indonesia has been able to contribute to the enhancement of women's social conditions. This chapter is divided into three sections: The first section provides a critical review of the relevant literature. It provides a critique and demonstrates the limitations of the Eurocentric concept of and approach to development in the mainstream of "development"—an approach concerned with and focused on the issue of "economic growth". The second section discusses and offers a critical analysis of religion within the discourse of development and includes the various theories that discuss the role of religion within society. The aim is to provide a theoretical understanding of the role of religion and establish how Faith Based Organizations have been able to function in the so-called "secular" development using an Alternative Development approach. The third

and last section examines Islam and Development. This section discusses development within an Islamic framework using various concepts and practices as detailed in the Qur'an and Sunnah⁶ of the Prophet Muhammad, which are both the highest source of reference in Islam. It also demonstrates how Islam provides a framework that can shape and contribute to the improvement of societies, particularly Muslim populated societies. This section also clarifies some of the root causes of the misconceptions surrounding Islam and the restrictions and limitations women face in Islamic societies. They are in fact a result of patriarchal societal structures and systems, and cultural norms and practices rather than religion of Islam per se.

Chapter 3 situates the research question within the Indonesian context. It provides an historical overview of the country and highlights the role of religion and faith-based organization, especially in the area of education. The aim of this section is to demonstrate the shortcomings of the Indonesian government in the post-colonial era as an important aspect of the context in which Muhammadiyah contributed to the development of Indonesian society. Chapter 4 presents the analysis of the semi-structured interviews against the baseline of findings discussed in the review of the literature. And Chapter 5 provides the conclusion of the thesis.

⁶ *Sunnah* literally means "clear path" and often used interchangeably with *Hadith* which refers to the sayings and tradition of Prophet Muhammad as compiled in various books such as the collections of al-Bukhari, Muslim, Tirmidhi and Darimi, to name a few

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to showcase the crucial role of religion by situating the research question within the literature related to development, religion and Islam. In the light of the research question, it is important to recognize the important role of faith-based organizations (FBOs). FBOs are known to have a long history of responding to people's needs. In fact they are considered to be in existence "long before international humanitarian law was formalized in treaty law" (Ferries, 2005). Ferries (2005) defines FBOs as organizations that are characterized by being affiliated with a religious institution or set of beliefs and have one or more of the following characteristics: a mission statement that supports religious values and a governance structure where its board members are selected based on their religious beliefs or affiliation, and/ or decisions are made using religion as the core value (Ferris, 2005: 312).

However, the role of religion and the work of FBOs have often been ignored within the theory and practice of mainstream development. The literature review below will first provide a critical overview of the paradigmatic shift in the thinking and practice of development that occurred in the 1940s to 1990s in order to demonstrate the limitation of the Eurocentric concept of and approach to development. Second, it will provide a critical analysis of the discourse of religion within development and the various theories in order to establish how religion and FBOs have been able to contribute to society. And last, it will present and discuss development within an Islamic framework using various concepts and practices discussed in the Qur'an and Sunnah in order to demonstrate that

Islam provides a framework that has the potential to shape and contribute to the improvement of societies, especially Muslim populated societies.

Development Thought And Practice: Inventing The ‘Idea’ Of Development

Development concerns political, economic, social, material and spiritual aspects of life. The questions that are often raised is “how did it begin?”, “what led to the practice of development?”, and “how is it advocated and why?” An excellent book that addresses these questions is Michael Cowen and R.W. Shenton’s (1996) book *Doctrines of Development*. The authors address the concept of modern development by going back to when it was first advanced as a hypothesis. They state that the modern idea of development originated in the early industrial capitalist era of Europe because it was in Europe that “development” was formed in order to address the “social disorders of rapid urban migration, poverty and unemployment” (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:4-5). Cowen and Shenton highlight several studies that trace the genesis and evolution of the idea of development. They include the academic discipline of sociology of development (Staudt, 1991); Bernstein’s article titled *Underdevelopment and Development* (Bernstein, 1973); Harris’s *The Sociology of Development* and Barnett’s (1988) and *Sociology and Development* that highlight the field of development through the formulations of Comte, Spencer, Durkheim and Weber (Cowen and Shenton 1996: 6). However, Cowen and Shenton state that a major source of confusion arises when speaking about development. On the one hand development is seen as “the means of transitive action and that of an intransitive end action” (i.e. means to an end), while on the other hand it is seen as a “state policy that attempts to empower people, independently of the state” (p.5).

What we can conclude from a review of these and other studies is that there is no consensus on the meaning of the term ‘development’. As Cowen and Shenton (1996: 3) notes development is construed alternatively as ‘a process of enlarging people’s choices’; enhancing ‘participatory democratic processes’ and the ‘ability of people to have a say in the decisions that shape their lives’; providing ‘human beings with the opportunity to develop their fullest potential’; enabling the poor, women, and ‘free independent peasants’ to organize for themselves and work together; or, in the words of Staudt, the means of ‘carry[ing] out a nation’s development goals’ and promoting ‘economic growth’, ‘equity’ and ‘national self-reliance’ (Staudt 1991: 28-29). But what to make of this lack of consensus? For most scholars and practitioners it is not a problem; it is simply a question of being precise in terms of the specific concept used in research, social scientific analysis and development practice. Cowen and Shenton do not view the lack of consensus in this way. While many scholars and practitioners view the lack of consensus, and the bewildering range of alternative definitions, as a testament to the vibrancy of development studies, they see it as a source of confusion. Given that ‘there is scarcely a Third World dictatorship which does not at least in part attempt to legitimize its mandate to rule in the name of development nor a development agency which does not espouse the rhetoric of popular empowerment, it is little wonder,” they add, “that we are thoroughly confused by development studies texts as to what development means” (p.3).

However, not everyone suffers from this confusion. Most historians and theorists of development (see Sachs 2010; Parpart & Veltmeyer, 2004) trace the idea of development to the Post-World War era and Harry Truman’s Point-4 program of

development assistance to those nations that were seeking independence from a century of colonial rule and were embarking on a process of nation-building. As the various contributors to the *Development Dictionary*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs (2010), claim, the idea of ‘development’ was invented as a means of social control—ensuring that the governments in the economically backward areas of the world (particularly in Asia and Africa) would pursue their development path within the institutional and policy framework of the capitalist system and the world order established in 1944 at Bretton Woods.

Development from the 1940s to the 1970s

Within the framework of a capitalist system, and in the context of an emerging east-west ideological conflict and Cold War between two world powers, the theory and practice of development from the 1940s to the 1970s was focused on the dynamics of economic growth, industrialization and modernization (Veltmeyer, 2011: 4). The development process was viewed and theoretically reconstructed through the lens of ‘economic growth’, which was to be achieved via the transformation of an agriculture-based traditional society characterized by pre-capitalist relations of production and a traditional culture, into an advanced capitalist and industry-based modern society. Through the lens of ‘modernization theory’ a nation was expected to transform from a “primitive, subsistence economies to a technology-intensive, industrialized economies; from subject to participant political cultures; from closed to open systems; from extended to nuclear units; from religious to secular ideologies” (Tipps 1973: 204). Thus, development projects and policies were focused on investments in industry and

infrastructure, while progress was measured through the index of Gross National Product (GNP) per capita (Worsley, 1999: 30). Traditional societies, often former colonial countries, were regarded as the initial stage of a modern society and they were presented with the “ideal” society that was secular in nature and oriented towards material consumption, i.e. the United States (Tipps, 1973: 206). The portrayal of the traditional society was always negative in relation to the so-called modern society.

The 1970s witnessed a system-wide production crisis that allowed activists and scholars such as Hollensteiner (1977) and Rahman (1991), who were critical of this limited definition and practice of development, to call for a “participatory, people-centered approach to development” (Veltmeyer, 2011: 5). Developing countries that were previously waiting to bear the fruits of economic development could no longer wait for the `trickle-down effects` and demanded a structural change in economic relations between North and South. They called for a “New International Economic Order” that would focus on more equitable commodity trade and more balance forums for multilateral negotiations (Plewes et al. 1996: 214). This led to the first generations of reforms that included the devaluation of currency, privatization of state-owned companies, deregulations of trade, increase emphasis on exports to earn foreign exchange and a drastic downsizing of government (214). It also led to the struggles and needs for an “alternative” among those who were advocating for a middle ground. These struggles gave way to the introduction of liberal reforms that enhanced the role of the state and government by introducing policies that were socially inclusive and targeted the poor,

such as in the areas of education, health and social welfare, also known as the “growth with equity or basic human needs approach” (Veltmeyer, 2011: 5).

Development from the 1980 onwards

The basic human needs approach, in turn, also come under scrutiny, and by 1980s a “counter-revolution” took place in the mainstream development thinking that was directed by the Economists at the World Bank (Veltmeyer, 2011: 5). This counterrevolution gained momentum when the former late British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher declared that “There is no alternative” (Chang and Grabel, 2004-5: 273). Chang and Grabel state that this simply set the “triumphalism, hubris and closed-mindedness form of neoliberal orthodoxy in the form of market fundamentalism that would dominate the discussions of economic policies around the world for last quarter of a century” (Chang and Grabel, 2004-5: 273). The World Bank introduced Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) and called for recipient countries to adopt “good governance” and “good policy”, known as the Washington Consensus, in order to assist countries ‘out of poverty’. The Washington Consensus called for the strengthening of the market and used the private sector to become the driving forces of development and “engine of economic growth” (Stiglitz, 2002). The Washington Consensus set out the specific formulation of the approach and “recommended” that governments should reform their policies and: (a) pursue macroeconomic stability by controlling inflation and reducing fiscal deficits; (b) open their economies to the rest of the world through trade and capital account liberalization; and (c) liberalize domestic product and factor markets

through privatization and deregulation (Gore, 2000: 789-790). This move in development thinking led to the shift from the “state-led dirigisme to market-oriented policies” (790).

By the end of 1980s it was evident that this ‘new economic model’ (neoliberal globalization) and world order based on free market capitalism was economically dysfunctional (it did not deliver on the promise of economic growth), socially regressive (it led to increased social inequalities in the distribution of wealth and incomes),⁷ and politically destabilizing (it generated forces of resistance that weakened the capacity of the state to govern). A more human or humane and inclusive, equitable and participatory form of development was called for, and thus it was in 1987 when UNICEF commissioned and published a study titled *Adjustment with a Human Face* that documented the negative impacts of structural adjustment on the poor and how these policies could only succeed if the poor were able to develop their own capacities and were allowed to participate in the development of their own capabilities (Cornia, Jolly & Stewart 1987-1988). Defining features of this emerging new post-Washington consensus were the need to ‘bring the state back in’—to establish a ‘better balance between the state and the market’ and a human and more inclusive form of development (World Bank, 2007). The Post-Washington Consensus model called for a new policy agenda with a more sustainable form of structural adjustments which included the following: (a) a new

⁷ The UNDP, in its 2010 report on human development in Latin America and the Caribbean argued that there is a direct correlation between structured social inequalities, and the policies responsible for or that bring about these inequalities as well as poverty. In the words of the Report there exists a ‘direct correspondence between the advance of globalization, neoliberalism, and the advance of poverty social inequality, social inequity...[t]he most explosive contradictions...are given because the advance of [neoliberal] globalization marches hand in hand with the advance of poverty and social polarization. It is undeniable that the 1980s and 1990s [were] the creation of an abysmal gap between wealth and poverty’ and that this gap constitutes the most formidable obstacle to achieving human development (UNDP, 2010: xv).

social policy targeting the poor; (b) a decentralized form of governance to bring government closer to the people and create a more participatory and empowering form of local or community-based development based on the accumulation of social capital, which was of course the one asset that the poor were deemed to have in abundance; (c) the strengthening of civil society as a strategic partner in the development process -- using the nongovernmental organizations in this “third sector” as a means of delivering assistance and converting them into a strategic partner in the development process (Veltmeyer, 2011: 7).

Alternative form of Development (AD)

During the same time (i.e. late 1980s and early 1990s), advocates of ‘another development’ called for a ‘new paradigm’ in which development would be initiated from within and below rather than from above and the outside (Chopra, Kadekodi & Murty, 1990). Proponents of this approach view development not just as ‘economic growth’ (an annual increase in the GDP and per capita incomes) or ‘social development’ (improvement in the social condition based on welfare, education and healthcare), but in terms of the principles of equality and equity (equality of opportunity) or social justice, and self-reliance, the sustainability of the environment and livelihoods, and cultural pluralism (Hettne, 1990). A fundamental reference point for the debate on this new paradigm is the speech delivered in 1969 by the British development economist Dudley Seers:

What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these

have become less severe, then beyond doubt there has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, and especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the results development, even if per capital income doubled (Seers, 1969: 3).

These three questions laid the foundation for future actors of development to reconsider what it really meant to do development and how it could or should be measured.

There are two types of alternative development (Martinussen 1997). The first type considers the redefinition of the development goals and deals extensively with how to measure and promote society change towards such alternative goals (Martinussen 1997: 291). Theorists and advocates of this approach include Amartya Sen, Dudley Seers, Paul Streeten, and Mahbub ul Haq who reject economic growth as an end in itself. These theorists emphasize welfare and human development with increased choices as the higher-order objectives and address social inequality and poverty. Martinussen states that even though these theorists have not rejected the whole body of mainstream economic development theory, they try to supplement it in certain essential respects (p.291). As stated by Dr. Mahbun ul Haq, who played a key role in formulating the concept of Human Development (hdr.undp.org):

The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and can change over time. People often value achievements that do not show up at all, or not immediately, in income or growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more

secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives
[\(http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/\)](http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/).

Amartya Sen, who was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize for Economic Science in 1998, provided the conceptual foundation for the broader understanding of human development (hdr.undp.org) Sen regards development as a process of expanding the “the real freedom that people enjoy” (Sen, 2000: 3). He considers freedom not the primary end of development but its principal means. As stated by Vicente Navarro, Sen’s main objective is “to dismantle the widely held position, constantly reproduced by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the US White House, the US State Department, the US Agency for International Development and many other international US agencies that the best way for a country to develop is to increase its rate of economic growth” (Navarro, 2000: 662). Amartya Sen in his book titled *Development as Freedom* evaluates development in terms of “the expansion of the capabilities of people to lead the kind of lives they value and have reason to value” (Sen, 1999: 18). He puts forward five types of freedoms that are crucial for development and these include political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparent guarantees and protective security (Sen, 1999: 38-40). Evans discusses Sen’s capability approach and explains that “unlike increases in income, the expansion of people capabilities depends both on the elimination of

oppression and on the provision of facilities like basic education, health care, and social safety nets. Basic education, health care, and women's rights are themselves constitutive of development" (Evans, 2002: 55). Evans further explores Sen's capability approach and argues that those who are "sufficiently privileged to enjoy a full range of capabilities, collective action may seem superfluous to capability, but for the less privileged attaining development as freedom requires collective action" (Evans 2002: 56). This, Evans argues, is only achievable through "organized collectivities-unions, political parties, village councils, women's groups" because it provides them with "an arena for formulating shared values and preferences, and instruments for pursuing them, even in the face of powerful opposition" (56).

However, Evans argues that Sen's concept of development does not explore the ways in which "mental conditioning might systematically reflect the interests of those with greater economic clout and political power" (Evans 2002: 57). Navarro too, who is critical of Sen's definition of development, argues that one of the major flaws of Sen's work is that Sen "does not establish a relationship between his five freedoms or the motor that moves all of them" (Navarro 2000:665). Navarro highlights that Sen's concept of development does not have a theory that could relate his five freedoms as he considers the individual to be the subject and object of analysis; furthermore Sen is criticized for considering the market as the major motor for change and improvement where the state must play an active role to intervene and regulate the imperfections of the market and invest in people in order to help them increase their power and ability to succeed in the market (665). Navarro stresses the importance of power relation, which he argues is

absent in Sen's thesis of development as freedom. He criticizes Sen for not acknowledging the crucial role of power relations that affects freedom. Though Navarro acknowledges the importance of democracy in the development of a society, he states that "democracy is indeed necessary to guarantee development but the specific types of property relation in those democracies are a major handicap to democratic and human development" (673). Navarro stresses the importance of evaluating the credibility of democracy and its validity and usefulness on economic institutions such as the market in order to understand how it impacts human development because according to Navarro "the absence of political sensibility seriously weakens Sen's scholarly project" (673). Navarro rightly states that "the international agencies are masters of depoliticizing what is profoundly political... One can take a course on human rights in the United States today without once hearing about exploitation and domination and their reproduction through political institutions... for example, the United Nations annual Human Development reports analyze in great detail the consequences of the growth inequalities while meticulously avoiding any analysis of the causes of the growth" (673). Navarro concludes by emphasizing the question of how power is produced and reproduced in the world today, which is the crucial question that is often ignored or untouched in the practice of development (674).

Despite its critique, the key to the concept of Human Development is that it is "open-ended" and its definition and priorities can evolve over time and vary both across and within countries. UNDP identifies key issues under the umbrella of Human development, which include: *social progress*- which is having greater access to

knowledge , better nutrition and health services; *economics*- which is used as a means to reduced inequality and improve levels of human development; *efficiency*- which emphasizes on resource use and availability that contributed to growth and productivity that directly benefits the poor, women and other marginalized groups; *equity* -- in terms of economic growth and other human development parameters; *participation and freedom* -- which puts importance on empowerment, democratic government, gender equality, civil and political rights, and cultural liberty; sustainability- which keeps into consideration the ecological, economic and social terms necessary for future generations; and *human security*- which emphasizes on the importance of security in daily life against chronic threats such as hunger, and abrupt disruptions such as joblessness, famine, conflict etc (hdr.undp.org).

The second type of alternative development emphasizes the different effects of development on different social groups and on the shift in the whole perspective of development by turning the focus towards civil society, which at times is referred to as theories of civil society (Martinussen, 1997: 291). Korten states that some theories of civil society have gone as far as believing and promoting that the state is part of the problem and therefore one must establish and strengthen autonomous local communities as both a means to promote human well-being and as an end in itself (Korten 1990). This second type of alternative approach explains the emergence of civil society in the discourse of international development and puts into perspective the question of *social capital* and *participatory approach*, beside others. Theories of economic development emphasize the role of financial capital in the development process.

However, proponents of alternative development highlight the importance of social capital in a people-led and people-centered approach to development designed to empower the poor so they can act for themselves (Munch, 2001: 8-25; Veltmeyer, 1997a: 226-59). Participatory approach recognizes people's ability to understand and analyze their own reality and therefore empowering them by giving importance to "non-material aspects of wellbeing including conditioning factors such as various axes of social differences such as power structures, wealth distribution and gender inequalities" will allow people to shape their own development (Chambers 2002). Kroessin states that "it can be argued that this approach (i.e. participatory) makes it possible to focus and target poor people's priorities as they are the real poverty experts" (Kroessin, 2012:100).

Kamat highlights that prior to this phase "development policy followed a largely social democratic model that prescribed a central role to the state in building democratic societies" (Kamat, 2004: p.157; Rashiduzzaman, 1997). The concerted efforts to strengthen the role of the civil society in the development process led to the dramatic growth of social or nongovernmental organizations located between the family at one social pole and the state at the other (Reimann 2006; Salamon 1994; and Veltmeyer 2011). In this context private voluntary associations (PVAs) were no longer seen as 'new social movements' or as 'the third sector' (of non-profit-oriented or -making organizations) but as expression of a vibrant 'civil society' with a crucially important role in the development process as 'intermediary organizations', to mediate between the Overseas Development Associations (ODAs) and the communities of the rural poor (Veltmeyer 2011). The rise of organizations (which includes local, international, secular,

and religious organizations under the banner of Local NGOS, International NGOS, Faith-Based Organizations etc) is considered to be an evidence of the evolution of civil society and their ability to self-regulate and self-manage their own interests. Civil society in the form of NGOs, are glorified to be rational actors capable of going beyond sectarian interest and act upon matters of general welfare (Kamat 2004: 157). Kamat states that conservatives and liberals both agree that globalization has hastened civil society's coming of age (Kamat 2003: 165). She states that for liberals "civil society is the only countervailing force against an unresponsive, corrupt state and exploitative corporations that disregard both environmental and human rights issues;" whereas, conservatives consider civil society as a "proof of the beneficial effects of globalization for the development of democracy" (165). Therefore, the dynamic rise of NGOs is considered to be the evidence that supports the self-organizing capacity of the civil society and the severance of the state. Additionally, due to the global rise of NGOs, they are considered to be "the de facto agents of democracy rather than end products of a thriving democratic culture" (165). Nikolas Barry-Shaw and Dru Oja Jay (2012) in their book titled, *Paved with Good Intentions* state that until the 1980s NGOs were operating only on a marginal level in the world. However, since then the world has witnessed a boom of NGOs all over the world; "NGO development activities reached 100 million people worldwide in the early 1980s, rising to some 250 million by the early 1990s" (Barry-Saw & Jay, 2012: 16). The authors quote Arundhati Roy who states that, "They're what botanists would call an indicator species-the greater the devastation caused by neoliberalism, the greater the outbreak of NGOs" (16). Kamat states that, "NGOs represent the interest of the broadest

swath of people, the poor and the underprivileged of society, who tend to have no structures of representation in public affairs, except perhaps the right to vote during election times” (Kamat 2004: 157). The existence of NGOs, especially locally based NGOs-also known as Community Based Organizations (CBOs) or Grassroots Organizations, is considered to be a representation of the people’s “will” because the existence of these organizations is regarded as a proof of the needs of the people. (Henderson 2002). CBOs are organizations that are locally based and seen as champions of “bottom up” or “pro-people” development. They are in the forefront to promote development with social justice approach and establish political rights and awareness campaigns alongside health and livelihood projects. CBOs are constantly interacting and working with local communities’ on a daily basis and building relationships of cooperation and trust to understand and respond to the local needs.

With the imposition of SAPs and neoliberal economic policies in Africa, Latin America and South America, however, CBOs and NGOs were targeted by donor agencies to channel aid to which development theorist Geoff Wood calls the “franchising of the state” (Kamat 2003: 66). Kamat also emphasizes that the critics of NGOs and CBOs argue that the new emphasis on project implementation, which is often always donor driven results in a focus on individual capacities and minimize and at times ignore the social and political causes of poverty. This approach to community development, Kamat argues, draws upon the liberal notion of empowerment in which the poor are encouraged to find entrepreneurial solutions to their basic needs (Kamat, 2003: 67). The approach is altogether different from the original understanding of empowerment for social justice;

the current understanding of the term empowerment is that the individual is both the problem and the solution to poverty and the attention from the state and its role has been diverted (Kamat 2003: 67). Additionally the partnership between NGOs and economic institutions has in fact re-oriented NGOs from their original mandate to organize the poor against the state and the elite. This approach, Kamat, argues is much in the spirit of the World Bank's own conception of empowerment where World Bank explains that "as the capacity of poor people is strengthened and their voices begin to be heard, they become clients who are capable of demanding and paying for goods and services from governments and private sector agencies...these clients ultimately become the owners and managers of their assets and activities" (Kamat 2003: 68). Kamat uses the example of micro-credit and how the state is no longer responsible for creating employment, and the poor are expected to strengthen their own capacities towards livelihood security. And it is usually the poor women who are presented with micro-credit opportunities in that so they would compete in a restricted, uneven and fluctuating market environment. This neoliberal notion of empowerment, Kamat states, leads unmistakably to the marketization of social identities and relations where each individual has to build his or her capacity to access the marketplace and reduce the very concept of public welfare to one of private interest (Kamat 2003: 68). She states that the identity of the citizen is reduced to that of a "client", and public welfare is reduced to an aggregate of "individual gains" and the social democratic notion that public welfare is something that must prevail over and above private gain ceases to exist (Kamat 2003: 69). Additionally, Kamat states that studies conducted in different countries have confirmed the phenomena of both NGO

professionalization and depoliticization at the grassroots level and agree that there has been a remarkably rapid shift both in the organizational character of NGOs and in the nature of their work (Kamat 2003: 69). Though the critiques acknowledge the hard work of NGOs and how they have been trying to meet the needs of the poor and marginalized sections of the society and fill the gaps unlike government and the state, they point to the fact that there are no mechanisms to hold NGOs accountable to the people they serve (Robinson 1997; Wood, 1997). Nevertheless, there are those who are suggesting that there is a need to address this issue in order to make NGOs accountable and effective (Fowler, 1997; Korten 1990; Lewis and Wallace 2000).

Kamat argues that “The NGO phenomena must be theorized in relation to the global economic and political process that involves an overall restructuring of public good and private interest” (Kamat, 2004: 157). His analysis suggests that “any discussion of the limits and potential of NGOs must take account of the emergent international economic order and its neoliberal notion of democracy” (157). Kamat also suggests that a balanced partnership between states and NGOs can best serve the interests of society. Thus the emerging role of civil society within the discourse of development has shifted the attention from an “economic development” towards an “alternative development” that is “human” in its scale and form; equitable in theory and practice; sustainable in both environmental and livelihood terms; and most importantly socially inclusive, participatory and empowering both the poor and women (Goulet 1989; Korten & Klaus 1984: 2). The theoretically defined role of the civil society was to empower the people, especially the poor, to act for themselves, which resulted in the emergence of local and

community based forms of development and an increase in social participation (the engagement of civil society) and popular participation (the engagement of community based grassroots organizations) (Korten & Klauss 1984: 2).

In conclusion, it is clear that the Eurocentric concept of Development developed in the 1940s and the various attempts to define and “achieve” development has not been able to meet to its own expectations. As demonstrated above, the theory of alternative development is a response to the failures of the mainstream models of development that defined economic growth as the primary goal of achievement. The history of modern day development for the most part is an attempt by the west to understand the problems of the world and provide solutions that, to some degree, addressed their own challenges during a specific place and time. However, development is not a “one size fits all” and therefore it is always necessary to understand the complexity of societies when putting any approach of development into practice. AD has been able to challenge and provide the foundation for this understanding by addressing issues that are relevant to the society in question by offering alternatives to classical forms of development and divert attention to issues that are real. Through its various concepts and approaches such as the human development, social capital, and participatory approach it is clear that it is crucial for societies to recognize their own development needs and identify ways to address them. This thesis argues that one of these ways is to include religion within the discourse and recognize its potential to contribute to the wellbeing and progress of the society, including women. Thirty years after the 1980s debt crisis and structural adjustment policies that forcefully dominated world economics and particularly the character of

development studies, the topic of religion is starting to arise within the development discourse. However, it is often considered to be a hindering factor in the field of development. The section below will now discuss the discourse of religion within development in order to evaluate its potential contribution.

Religion

Historically, development studies have either avoided the topic of religion entirely or regarded religion as a hindering factor in the improvement of societies. This may very well be because of the dark history of religion where the interpretation, control and application was considered to do more harm than good in a given time and period. For example, European Christian's colonial era used religion as a force and reason to justify the practice of slavery and "civilizing the backward" people; the practice of *satti* in India burned widows both young and old alive with the dead body of their deceased husbands in order to honour the husband and show devotion and submission of the wife; the issue of *fatwas* (*religious rulings or opinions*) by some Islamic clerics to prevent girls from acquiring formal education, and the Catholic Church's stance on contraception are but few examples of why religion came to be regarded as a hindering factor in development (Lunn, 2009: 945). In fact, religion is often regarded as the principal cause of conflict such as in the case of the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, Shia's and Sunni's in Iraq; Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir, Christians and Muslims in Sudan and Nigeria, and the list can go on.

That said, religion is undoubtedly a victim of bad publicity that rarely gets the positive coverage it deserves. For example: Mauritania, a 100 percent Muslim populated

country, passed a fatwa or religious opinion to completely ban the practice of female genital mutilation in 2010. In Cambodia, through the Buddhist Leadership Initiative provided by UNICEF, Buddhist monks have been in the forefront to provide a vital link to the treatment of HIV and AIDS and in raising awareness and providing counseling of the people affected by these diseases (unicef.com). The PeaceBuilding Initiative, a project at Harvard University (though no longer active but still accessible online) states that the three Abrahamic faiths (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) “set store in mercy and forgiveness qualities that are indispensable in seeking resolution to long-standing and deeply entrenched conflicts” (peacebuildinginitiative.org). The initiative highlights some of the key international non-missionary faith-based NGOS, namely the Aga Khan Foundation, American Friends Service Committee, B’nai B’rith International (also known as the Jewish Humanitarian), Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Catholic Relief Services, Islamic Relief Worldwide, Mercy Corps International, Lutheran World Relief, The Mennonite Central Committee, and World Vision (ibid). They also put forward several case studies in order to showcase the role of religion in promoting peace. These include projects in countries such as Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, Guatemala, Nigeria and Uganda. According to the PeaceBuilding Initiative:

Religion is a powerful constituent of cultural norms and values because it addresses the most profound existential issues of human life (i.e freedom and inevitability, fear and faith, security and insecurity, right and wrong and sacred and profane), religion is deeply implicated in individual and social conceptions of peace (Said and Funk 2001).

Religion has also developed laws and ideas that have provided civilizations with cultural commitments to critical peace-related values, including empathy, an openness to and even love for strangers, the suppression of unbridled ego and acquisitiveness, human rights, unilateral gestures of forgiveness and humility, interpersonal repentance and the acceptance of responsibility for past errors as a means of reconciliation and the drive for social justice (Gopin 2000: 13).

Nevertheless, despite its influential role, religion within the study and practice of development is often ignored or hardly given the importance or attention it deserves.

Religion as an agency for change within society

Lefever (1977) examines the relationship between religion and development and its contribution to the unique social organizational features of society. He focuses specifically on the religion of the poor and how religion has been used by individuals and communities in the structuring of personality, society and culture (Lefever 1977: 226).

Lefever explains that the religion of the poor is “both a reflection of the social order and a source of influence on the social order. On the one hand, it enables the poor to find some compensation for the material and social rewards they are denied now. On the other hand it is a source of social influence and makes a positive contribution to the development of personality, social structure, and culture” (Lefever 1977: 225). Lefever acknowledges that there are opposing arguments surrounding the relationship between religion and

development. Those proponents⁸ who do not consider religion important to development argue that “the religion of the poor provides an escape from the deprivations of lower-class life and its religious behaviour can be best characterized as disorganized and pathological” (225). Whereas, others⁹ argue that the “religion of the poor is not so much disorganized as it is organized according to the values and norms of lower-class life in general, and that the religious poor make positive contributions to the development and maintenance of culture and the social order” (225). Tamsin Bradley examines the different types of faith-based development organizations and argues that “a huge variation in character and practice exists between FBOs and this variation must be acknowledged critically in order to distinguish organizations that are good at development from those whose agenda may run counter to effective practice” (Bradley 2009: 101). She defines “good” practice to be that which “takes a relational approach in communicating with local people and is responsive to the diversity of needs in any one community” (Bradley 2009: 101). She states that “in communities where faith is an important aspect of people’s lives, development practice must recognize that material and spiritual needs may be intertwined” (101). She argues that in some cases faith enhances local level relationships while in other cases it forms a barrier preventing dialogues. She concludes by stating that “faith carries good intentions but the process through which it may bring positive results is complex and fraught with the same issues of power facing secular development organizations” (102). She concludes that faith does have a positive

⁸ See Niebuhr 1929; Pope 1942, Glock and Stark 1965, Elinson 1965, Holt 1940, Poblete and O’Dea 1960, Cutten 1927, Boisen 1939a, and Alland 1962, Kaplan 1965.

⁹ See Johnson 1961, Gans 1968, Valentine 1968, Hannerz 1969, Gerlach and Hine 197- and Rainwater 1970.

contribution to make to development because it is a source of “motivation, spurring adherents to give generously to the poor and strive in their actions to eradicate inequalities” (112). She also argues that for some communities, “faith” shapes the way adherents view and understand the world which has an impact on how they understand development. Therefore the ideal development practice must be responsive to these culturally and religiously rooted visions (112). She states that development practices should be flexible and not be rigidly committed to the goals of the donors at the expense of the needs of the communities (112).

The relationship between religion and society, as argued by Emile Durkheim is “inseparable and virtually indispensable” (in Pals 2006: 96). Religion, Durkheim states, “is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden” (96). The purpose of the sacred is to “unite into one moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them” and sacred things are considered to involve large concerns in the form of the interests and welfare of an entire group of people, not just one or a few (Pals 2006: 105). Durkheim considers religious beliefs and rituals as a “symbolic expressions of social realities” and his theory of religion holds that “no matter where we look for determining causes of religion-all religions -- those causes invariably turn out to be social” (Pals2006: 107). For Durkheim the role of religion is not to make claims about the outside world, or what it thinks are truths about the creation of the world, or the existence of a god, or a life after death- but is social where it serves as the carrier of social sentiments, providing symbols and rituals that enable people to express the deep emotions which anchor them to their community

(107). Durkheim claims that “society determines, while religion is the thing that is determined” he also believes that “society controls while religion reflects.” (Pals 2006:113). However, Durkheim’s theory has been criticized for being “an aggressively reductionist functionalism” because his theory is regarded to “reduce religion to something other than what it appears to be” (Pals 2006:114). Nonetheless, Durkheim’s approach of religion is extremely important as it elevates religion as a social phenomenon and considers it as a means used to address the interest and welfare of its society. Although he may be a reductionist he does highlight certain aspects of the behavior of human-being(s) and their use of religion to serve their own interest, and or the interest of their communities-- whether that is for better or worse.

Karl Marx, on the other hand, considers religion to be an “extreme example of ideology, of a belief system whose chief purpose is simply to provide reasons- excuses really- for keeping things in society just the way the oppressors like them” (in Pals 2006:132). Religion here is examined through the lenses of economics. For Marx, belief in god and in some heavenly salvation is not just an illusion, but one that paralyzes and imprisons its followers and therefore Marx argues, this is the reason why “paralyzed workers” have no motivation to organize a revolt. Additionally, he considers religion as a means of promoting oppression by presenting a system of beliefs, which declares that “poverty and misery are facts of life which ordinary people must simply accept and embrace” (p.136). Although Marx considers religion to be the “opium of the people”, he does recognize its function to be more than an escape and at times can be a form of

protest against the conditions of oppression in a society (in Lefever 1977: 226). As quoted in Lefever (1977):

Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of an unspiritual situation. It is the opium of the people (Marx and Engels 1947: 42).

Marx's writings on religion, as Lefever interprets them, focused on how religion reflected the social order, rather than looking at the way religion shaped the social order (Lefever 1977: 126). Both Durkheim and Marx see religion as a functional construction for meeting human needs or purposes. Durkheim thinks the functional construction is necessary (even if an illusion) whereas Marx sees it as an outward expression of what is wrong in capitalist society. And they both assumed that religion would wither away as people begin to see through the obfuscating myths and rationalizations used to shape their social consciousness and understand reality for what it is.

Max Weber, on the other hand, is a classical and influential theorist who wrote extensively about the paradoxical nature of religion (Lefever 1977: 226). Weber recognized the role of religion and its contribution to both social structure and social change within the larger society (226). Weber argues that "there is a charismatic quality to religion, which endows the religious person with an aura of extraordinariness" (Weber, 1947: 361). Lefever adds that the believer who is serious about his religious commitment gets his or her motivation to act and participate in the society from religiously prescribed norms. This, he argues, has two consequences: it frees the individual from the everyday

routine of the society; but then it also re-encourages engagement with the society. Thus, Lefever states that “religion can support both the process of deculturation (lifting the constraints from the culturally trapped individual) and the process of re-socialization (integrating the individual into the larger social environment) (Lefever, 1977: 226). As a result religion can be both be innovative and a change-producing agency in society (226).

Additionally, Haynes (1997) argues that, the influence of religion is very difficult to isolate from the political arena because it will always be part of a combination of causal forms (Haynes 1997: 710). Haynes states that “traditionally it has been assumed that the connection between politics and religion is only a problem among nations which are not religiously homogeneous” (711). However, he does not agree with this and challenges it. He states that although political thinkers like Aristotle considered religious homogeneity to be a condition of political stability within a state, this idea is limited because many nations with multiple religions have managed to exist peacefully. Furthermore, secularization is clearest in the Industrialized nations, mainly the West, because religion has lost its many functions which has resulted in the legitimization of secular authority; however, religion in the Third World continues to retain a much higher social importance. This, Haynes argues, is a result of the fact that religion has related people to other than the supernatural (p.713). Haynes uses Bruce’s argument who states that “only when religion does something other than mediate between man and God does it retain a high place in people’s attention and in their politics” (Bruce, in Haynes 1997: 713). Religion, according to Haynes, was used during anticolonial movements and was a major facet of national identity in response to the colonial rule: during the 1920s and

1930s Algeria, Egypt and Indonesia used religion (i.e. Islam) as a chief ideology of nationalism in order to fight back the colonial powers. Pakistan was created based on religious differences between the Hindu and Muslim populated state of former Indian Subcontinent; Latin America went through its own religious revival in the 1960s (i.e. Christianity); while Iran and Nicaragua, in the 1970s, experienced religion to be an important political tool; the downfall of communism in Eastern Europe, neo-Buddhist movements in Southeast Asia, Hindu-chauvinist parties in India and the Front Islamique du Salut(FIS) in Algeria of the 1980s all owe greatly to the role of religion (715). Additionally, religion and politics in the case of Islam have been inseparable and therefore Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) credit, for the most part, the rise of political Islam and failures of the economic development model for reinforcing the role of religion in political matters. Events in the Muslim world have had international political dimensions, contributing to broader changes in global geo-politics and the transformation of international relations, thus making the topic of religion unavoidable in international discourse (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 46).

Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) highlight several studies that bring to light the influential role of religion. These include de Gruchy's (1995) book *Christianity and Democracy: A Theology For A Just World*, which discusses how religion functioned in overcoming apartheid in South Africa; Medhurst's (1992) article in the book titled *Politics and Religion in the Modern World* shows how religion was used as the motivating factor to oppose authoritarian rule in Latin America; and Esposito and Voll's (1996) book titled *Islam and Democracy* that credits Muslim groups to have played a

crucial role in the state formation due to the direct link between Islam's teachings and state power. Deneulin and Rakodi also highlight the role of religious organizations and their international ties for inspiring the Jubilee campaign, motivated by the Old Testament's teaching in the 2000 campaign for debt relief. The campaign contributed to the debt cancellations for many countries. Additionally, the authors state that religious organizations have collaborated internationally to support and work towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals through their involvement in the Make Poverty History Campaign (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 48).

Lunn presents the argument of those who support the crucial role of religion in development and argues that "since religions have a vision of creating a better world that is not centered upon economic factors, their values and moral codes provide a strong foundation for a more sustainable and appropriate development strategy" (Lunn 2009: 945). She highlights Tyndale's book, *Visions of Development* (2006), in which the author provides the framework for an alternative approach of development. Lunn argues that according to Tyndale "religions have something qualitatively different to offer than secular development agencies, particularly in terms of empowering people; empowerment gives people personal dignity, self-worth and contentedness which in turn bring hope and vision" (945). Tyndale considers religion to have the ability to offer alternative models of development that are attractive and viable. Lunn confirms that "religion is multifaceted and not only includes institutionalized religions but personal beliefs, practices, spirituality and faith; and it varies between continents, countries, regions and communities and its influences is specific to each locality" (948). She states

that this characteristic of religion creates the potential to provide tools and mechanisms for emancipation and human flourishing (948).

Religion is a powerful reality that cannot be disregarded or discredited. Religion provides society with a consistent structure within which individuals, as argued by Kinnvall, feel the necessity to choose and follow its teachings because its laws are considered to be the word of God and to that the believer has to submit (Kinnvall 2004: 759). Kinnvall suggests that “religion is not just there but must be rediscovered, reinvented and reconceptualised” in order to respond to the needs of a particular society (760). For example, women’s status according to the New Testament had a different connotation than how it is understood and practiced today- women are asked to keep silent in the churches and not permitted to speak (1 Corinthians 14: 33-35). However, we know today that there are women ministers who not only speak but lead congregations in churches.

Historical avoidance of religion within the discourse of development

Leah Selinger (2004) explores the historical avoidance of religion within development in order to propose a course of action that encourages the recognition of religion in a constructive manner. Selinger argues that the discourse of social theory during development era has ignored and sidelined religion in international development theory and strategy because modernization and secularization theories have played a dominant role in development (Selinger 2004: 523). Selinger, along with Jenny Lunn (2009) highlight Ver Beek’s (2002) study to showcase the limited literature on religion and development within the development discourse. According to Ver Beek in his search

for articles detailing the relationship between development and religion, no references turned up in three major development journals between 1982 and 1998; Ver Beek also found that a number of development agencies avoided the subject of religion in an official capacity. And when religion was mentioned agencies referred to it as a “descriptive category rather than discuss the relationship between religion and development” (Selinger 2004; Lunn 2009: 936). In other words, religion was used to *describe* attitudes, behaviors, practices rather than treated as a *science*. Although Selinger agrees that ver Beek’s study has its limitation and does not provide conclusive evidence because there is a growing interest in the topic of religion, she is critical because she considers the move only to be focusing on the relationship between religion and development and not involving religion in the construction and critique of the development strategy itself (Selinger, 2004: 25). Selinger argues that the limited literature only demonstrates the different ways in which the development community views religion. She states that religion is viewed as a means to further the aims of a development project; it is seen as an element of culture which is often considered impeding development; it is regarded as a personal motivation and force that can harness to support the ideological aims of development; and lastly religion and development is considered to be combined and only exist within a spiritual dimension- i.e. if people are not spiritually developed, economic development will not succeed (525-526).

Lunn (2009) too provides reasons for the avoidance of religion in development: the first reason that she provides is that within the period of “modernism” the explicit goal was to achieve economic growth by replacing the so called “backward” and

“traditional” worldviews and beliefs (Lunn 2009: 939). Religion, in this period, was assumed to be a barrier to economic development and as a result it was marginalized from the discourse in the theory and practice of development (936). The second reason Lunn provides is that those who were critical of the development approach and built their theories of development upon the ideas of Karl Marx saw religion as a human invention created to make life bearable and distract people from the realities of their harsh lives because, as famously stated by Marx, “religion is the opium of the people”.

Modernization was considered to be “objective and value-free” while religion was not and therefore it was moved from the public to private sphere, i.e. the separation of the state and the church (940). This ideology, argues Lunn, has caused many Westerner scholars and academics to be uncomfortable to discuss in public the discourse of religion because it is considered “private and personal”. They avoid non-Western counterparts that write about different intellectual traditions and cross-disciplinary boundaries with ease, even though they have produced some of the most insightful critique of development (Lunn 2009: 940). Lunn highlights study by Ebaugh who suggests that “US academics interested in religion have tended to publish in specialist journals for the study of religion rather than reach a wider audience by publishing in mainstream social science” (940). This, Lunn states, can suggest that religion is not a legitimate or appropriate research topic. It can be regarded as a “systematic omission and a form of cultural imperialism which could result in the reduced effectiveness of development research and potentially damaging interventions (940).

Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) put forward a very significant fact about the mainstream development studies and the assumption of secularization and how religions will diminish. They state that “the assumption that secularization along with its ideology of secularism is an appropriate normative basis for the relationships between religion and development was socially and historically constructed” and this was greatly as a result of an effort to separate religion and the state (49). The assumptions in the social science disciplines regarding religion was based on the decline in institutional religion in Europe and the thinkers of the Enlightenment era that regarded religion to be an obstacle to technological and social progress- and the assumption was that what was happening in Europe would be a worldwide trend (49). These assumptions, the authors’ state, were all full of contradictions because even within the “secular” states of Europe and beyond, selected religious groups were give special status and no where can one see this phenomenon more clearly but with the expansion and influence of Christianity during the colonialism era (49).

Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) add that religion in the early years of development was largely neglected because the post-colonial governments were more interested in “emulating the development trajectory of Europe and North America and multilateral and bilateral donors rather than observing the tensions that led to partition in South Asia or the role of the Christian churches and missions in Latin America, Africa, and Asia” (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 45). Furthermore, the negligence of religion was a direct result of colonial rule:

The long history of religious competition for dominance and state control in Europe had led to a preference for church-state separation. This meant that government agencies were reluctant to be associated with any activities that could be constructed as proselytizing or favouring one faith tradition over another. Other reasons include: a belief in the capacity of governments to deliver prosperity and well-being; the confidence that economic policies could deliver economic stability, growth, and prosperity; and a perception of religion as irrelevant to modern societies and a constraint on progress. The neglect of religion in both the academic field of development studies and development policy, thus reflected historical and cultural processes in the colonizing countries more than the reality in newly independent countries (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 45).

Additionally, Tyndale (2003) highlights that religion is considered to be an “anti-developmental” force because religious groups are considered to foster superstition and conservative values when it comes to women (Tyndale 2003: 25). Within the religious affiliated organizations there are “religious” and then there are “spiritual” organizations and both have a different vision of what development is. Tyndale states that when religious organizations do share the same goals they are most likely to have different ideas on how to achieve them (25). For example, Catholic religious groups have usually insisted on awareness-raising and education as a means to change people’s behaviour rather than dissemination of condoms which they consider as tantamount to giving people a license to indulge in pre-and extra-marital sex. Muslim organizations, such as Sarkan

Zoumountsi organization, worked with impoverished communities in Cameroon and refused to accept finance from certain international bodies for their campaign against AIDS because they did not share the same vision on the subject, and others refused funding from European Union on the issue of micro-credit because Islamic law is against usury and interest on loans (26). In any case, religion often becomes the most visible difference at times of conflict.

Revival of religion in development

The turn of 21st century, however, has witnessed a revival of world religions both in the public and private sphere. In terms of public sphere, it may very well be a result of the increasing role of religion in politics and international relations, along with several historical events that has put religion into the spotlight, including: the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the end of Cold War and the emergence of new identities, solidarity movements in Latin America; the emergence of the Christian Right in the USA, the incidents of September 11 in 2001, and the infamous “war on terror” (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011; Lunn 2009: 942). In terms of private sphere, it may very well be as a result of the disparities of the contemporary global world, which may have resulted in the revival of sacred texts and teachings of the major religions to address issues such as poverty, inequality and social welfare (Lunn 2009: 944). Lunn argues that three factors have caused a shift in the thinking around the role of religion within development. First, he credits James Wolfensohn who was the World Bank’s then president for working with the then Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, to set the World Faiths Development Dialogue which resulted in the publications and conferences that put faith and

development on the agenda. Secondly, Lunn credits the Jubilee 2000 Campaign where religious organizations had the opportunity to come together and work on development issues, which gave the organizations a platform to showcase that are indeed powerful forces and actors of change within the development agenda. These resulted in the World Bank rethinking its policy and practice around international debt. Thirdly, Lunn acknowledges the publication of the *Voices of the Poor* project by United Nations that documented the views and experiences of over 60,000 people from over 60 countries revealing that faith is an integral factor in the lives of the poor and religious organizations were perceived as an important entity of the society (942). For example, Narayan et al (2000), as part of the *Voices of the Poor* publication, noted that “religion permeated people’s conception of wellbeing” and that having a quiet place to read religious text and pray, undertake a pilgrimage, or attending or performing religious ceremonies was part of living a good life (worldbank.org). Jenkins (2007) argues that “the trend that has made religion unavoidable in development studies is the continuing importance of religion in people’s lives and identities, especially in developing countries” (Jenkins 2007 in Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 46). Barret et. al (2001) also notes that the total number of people who profess a religion is on a rise; for example, since 1990 people professing to be Christians has increased from 9 percent to 57 percent and Muslims from 14 percent to 29 percent, world wide! (Pew Forum,2010, in Deneulin and Rakodi, 2011: 47). Additionally, most of the academic literature on religion and development has emerged from won-Western scholars and practitioners such as AT Ariyaratne, Ziauddin Sardar, Rana PB Singh, Sulak Sivaraksa and KC Soedjatmoko.

These individuals have produced the most radical and challenging literature on religion and development (Lunn 2009: 940-941).

Faith-based organizations, religion and development discourse

Faith-based organizations (FBOs) have contributed greatly to bringing the topic of religion back to the table. Lunn (2009) argues that religious organizations are key participants in civil society as they are active across a variety of development-related fields including conflict, resolution and reconciliation; humanitarian assistance and disaster relief; environmental protection and conservation; politics and social movements; and social welfare and development (Lunn 2009, 943). She regards religious organizations to have tremendous strength and divides it into two kinds, organizational and motivational. Under organizational, religious organizations are considered to be part of wider structures through which resources are channeled. They are considered to operate at every level of society and are seen to be present in every community; especially the rural and ignored communities. In terms of motivation, religious organizations are considered to stand out because of their commitment to help and serve people and communities. These organizations work for the public good and are considered to be more sensitive to people in terms of catastrophes and conflicts and known to act with honesty. They have the ability to create strong social networks and promote social capital and people are more likely to trust Faith-Based Organizations than state bodies or other NGOs (944).

Additionally, FBOs have strongly contributed to the provision of education, welfare and health services, and particularly Muslim and Christian FBOs because of their

strong role in the establishment of madrasa and healthcare, respectively (Berkley Center 2008; Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 48). Deneulin and Rakodi note that despite there being no systematic data on the contribution of faith-based providers an estimated 40 percent of health services overall in Sub-Saharan Africa, as noted by the World Health Organization studies conducted in 2007, are provided by FBOs; additionally, Christian health services are estimated to contribute about a third of national health services in Malawi and Zambia, between 40 and 50 percent in several other African countries, and 10 percent in India (Rookes 2010: 65). Thus, the role of FBOs in humanitarian relief, assisting orphans and marginalized populations is being recognized and there is now a growing partnership between FBOs and government bodies (Clarke 2007; Clarke and Jennings 2008).

Nevertheless, secular theorists continue to advocate the separation of religion and state.

The critiques of FBOs, such as those by De Vita and Wilson, argue that religious organizations can only be local and community-based and that they do not have the infrastructure, experience or staff to deliver services on a broader scale (in Lunn 2009: 944). However, Mayotte (1998) argues that religious organizations may prove to be the most effective and lasting of the development agencies (Mayotte1998: 66). Similarly, Goody (2003) and Salemink (2004) argue even though religious organizations focus on reading religious scriptures, they contribute to greater literacy, which is in itself crucial for development (Goody 2003: 64-67; Salemink in Giri et al 2004: 121-130). Religion is an inevitable phenomenon in a society that must be further investigated and analyzed to understand its function for the good of the society.

In conclusion of this section, religion is a powerful phenomenon that is linked with both motivation and commitment that are necessary for the work of development. The argument that religion is a hindering factor in development has much less weight in the current era than it had previously because of the fact that religion has proven itself to play an important role within the lives of the majority of the people around the world. Including religion in the theory and practice of development allows for the recognition of local culture and agencies that have been contributing greatly in the form of social movements and grassroots organizations, thus producing alternative forms of progress. Nevertheless, religion is an extremely diverse and complex phenomenon and therefore it must be sincerely investigated in order to creatively engage it within the practice of development. Now that the above two sections have addressed the limitation of a Eurocentric concept of development and the role of religion, one can conclude that religion, for the most part, is not a hindering factor to development. Therefore, we can now move on to the next and last section of this chapter that focuses on the main religion in question, i.e. Islam, and its role within the field of development.

Islam

Islam as a religion lays down the foundation and guidelines on how to live a modest and just life; it encourages and promotes critical thinking, and holds individuals responsible for their own actions, along with an obligatory duty to take care of and contribute to the wellbeing of the society to the best of each individual's ability. Nienhaus, a prominent German Economist, defines Islam as "a religion which concerns itself with much more than the after-life; it is a complete worldview, and as such it endeavours to provide an

answer to all questions of human existence” (Nienhaus 2000: 86 in Kroessin 2012: 109). Islam, Pramanik argues, is about moderation and this moderation must be reflected in simplicity of life and minimizing the need for goods and services that only add hardship and jeopardizes safety and security. The desire for items of luxury and engaging in conspicuous consumption should be avoided by humans (Pramanik 2010: 44). Humans, according to the theology of Islam, are considered to be trustees of all worldly resources by the one Almighty Creator and are required to follow two key principles, as highlighted by Ahmed (1978): “First, the optimal utilization of resources that God has endowed to man and his physical environment; and secondly, their equitable use and distribution and promotion of all human relationships on the basis of Rights and Justice” (Ahmad1978: 14). Thus, engaging in the improvement of the society, community, nation and the world is not an option or voluntary act but obligatory and an act of worship that is required from every believer.

However, conceptualizing the study of Islam within the discourse of development is a challenging attempt because Islam, like any other major religion of the world, is a highly diverse religion with a number of competing and parallel discourses (Kroessin 2011 and 2012). In order to address the complexity of Islam within any field of study, it is crucial to understand how to identify something as “Islamic”. Kroessin uses Nienhaus’s approach to identify how to do so:

...in order for a concept to be called Islamic it must be argued from an Islamic theological basis, i.e. the Koran and the Sunnah. If the system’s design cannot be deduced from these two primary sources of Islamic law

directly, it must nevertheless at least correspond to their contents and must be linked to them epistemologically. (Nienhaus 1982: 83 in Kroessin, 2011: 2).

Thus, one must go directly to the source, i.e. Qur'an and the Sunnah, to validate whether something is Islamic or not. The Qur'an is the primary source and the Sunnah is the secondary source.

Before discussing the concept of development within Islam, it is important to (1) discuss very briefly some of the misconceptions surrounding Islam and (2) the fact that "development" is in fact a recent concept within the discourse of Islam.

Misconceptions surrounding Islam

Ataul Huq Pramanik (2010) in his research paper "*Islam and Development Revisited from Evidences from Malaysia*" examines the theoretical underpinnings behind the goals of development within an Islamic view and highlights the misconceptions developed by Western scholars about the compatibility between Islam and development. The first misconception Pramanik identifies is that "failure of Muslim countries to achieve development is argued to substantiate the hypothesis that Islam is not compatible with development" (p.44). Pramanik adds that the shortcomings of Muslim populated countries, despite having all the natural and human resources, have allowed the idea that Islam is an obstacle to development among mainstream ideologies. He identifies Weber, Sutcliffe, McClelland and Parkinson among those who regard Islam as an obstacle; Weber is quoted to state that "feudalistic Islamic religion provides little incentive for

individual initiative, scientific inquiry and intellectual boldness” (cited in Pramanik 2010: 45). Pramanik criticizes Weber by stating that the protestant work ethic helped the West to develop; in the case of Muslim countries it was the conflict between Islam and capitalism that caused Muslim countries to fail to develop (45). Pramanik highlights the argument of Sutcliffe to the effect that “the absence of free-will in Islam would seem to be sufficient to establish Islam as an obstacle to development” (Sutcliffe 1975: 77-81 in Pramanik 2010: 45). And then there is McClelland who states that “Muslims are low-achievers”, while Parkinson argues that the resistance of Muslims to adopt any new methodology in replacement of the old one explains their backwardness (p.45). However, Ozcan challenges these arguments and argues that “those who orchestrate Islam as a negative force on development misinterpreted the religious concepts revealed through the Qur’anic verses (Ozcan 1995:1-22 in Pramanik 2010: 46). Furthermore, Raqab argues that one of the main causes the Muslim world is considered to be “backward” is a result of “serious disruptions in the social organizations of Muslims societies by prolonged foreign dominations” (Ragab in Pramanik 2010: 46). Pramanik uses the example of Malaysia and Indonesia, two Muslim-dominated, multi-religious and multi-ethnic countries, as good examples to showcase the relationship between religion and development. In this regard, he highlights that “Malaysia and Indonesia have experienced the highest growth for nearly three decades – the 1970s through 1990s”. Furthermore, “Islam as practiced in South-East Asia is not the same as in Iran or Afghanistan and the rest of the Middle East” (Pramanik 2010: 47).

The topic of women, especially Muslim women, is also highly debated. Walther (1993), in his book *Women in Islam: From Medieval to Modern Times*, argues that women in Islam are often portrayed as victims through the stereotypical images projected by Orientalists and popular press, media and Hollywood movies (Walther 1993: 3). However, Walter states that when closely examined, women in Islam were in fact more active in public life during the first century of Islam and the life of the Prophet (570-632 AD) than they are today (3). He argues that one of the main reasons why women in the Muslim world have faced subordination is not because of Islam but because of the “gradual evolution of the social and economic conditions that existed in the Middle East since Neolithic times” (5). The social structure of the society was set-up such that men were involved in greater division of labour through their involvement in agriculture and earning of revenue and women were devoted to childrearing and domestic activities. Additionally, the rise of urban life further reduced women’s social and economic power and thus fostered a development of attitudes that held women to an inferior position (5). Islam on the other hand provided women with full control of their assets, power to initiate a divorce, the right to inherit, and the recognition of women’s sexual rights within marriage (8).

Furthermore, Balchin (2003) argues that “to hold religion as an obstacle to development may pinpoint blame for backwardness on local men and local culture but ignores local women’s struggles and diverts attention away from global structural inequalities” (Bachin 2003: 40). She states that even when religion is conceived as a potentially positive influence on development, the focus on women and religion can

reinforce the conceptualization of women as the “pivotal territories, markers, and reproducers of the narratives of nations and other collectivities” (40). She poses a crucial question, especially related to Muslim societies and asks: “how women in Muslim contexts regard their own cultures and what aspects they regard as obstructive and conducive to their development is missed?” (40). She cautions the readers about the dangerous confusion between Islamic teaching and Muslim practices and states that the failure to draw distinction can imply that when Muslims do accurately reflect the ideals of Islam, the crucial difference between practice or custom and religious precepts is lost (41). Furthermore, she agrees that the conflation of the terminologies “Islamic” and “Muslim” is used by extreme right politico-religious leaders in order to legitimize their monopoly over religion and control over the community, particularly women (41).

The issues around “women and Islam” and “religion and development” are historically linked with colonialism. Leila Ahmed argues that European colonialization of the Middle East and feminist struggles in the colonial metropolis resulted in an Orientalist discourse on Islam that has been characterized as inherently oppressive of women because of veiling and segregation (Leila Ahmed 1992: 151-154). Balchin critiques the positioning of women in Muslim communities as developmental victims because it not only fails to examine the role of some women in the community’s control of other women but also disregards the many progressive men in Muslim societies who are actively engaged in women’s development initiatives. She further states that the focus on religion as a developmental obstacle is almost exclusively directed towards Muslim societies (Balchin 2003: 42). It is crucial to understand that in order to address the

developmental needs of women in a Muslim (or non-Muslim) society, one must be aware of the multiple, conflicting identities in the form of class, ethnicity, tribe, and age that have an impact on developmental efforts. Regardless of the justifications for inequality between men and women in a society, it is important to understand how women can play a major role within the discourse of religion and use it as a means to fulfill their rights and needs.

Rinaldo states that rather than debating whether religion promotes or constrains women liberation, some scholars have examined “why women find conservative and/or pious forms of religion appealing” (Rinaldo 2010: 422). Most importantly, when it comes to Islam the literature as Rinaldo documents it demonstrates that Muslim women have been able to transform themselves using Islam which unfortunately is a “kind of agency not well captured by Western feminist binary of resistance versus submission”(Rinaldo 2010: 422). Rinaldo highlights several sociologists that have examined the crucial role of religion and politics; Casanova (1994) who highlights the role of Catholicism in the contestation of authoritarian regimes; Gole (1996) who argues that Turkish women are constructing Muslim identities that contest the Turkish nation-state’s equation of modernity and secularism, and Zubrzycki (2006) who examines how religion and nationhood have become fused in modern Poland. Additionally, other scholars have also examined how religions have been used by social movements to abolish slavery, address women’s suffrage and rights, and advocate civil rights (Rinaldo 2010: 423). Rinaldo highlights the works of Brenner (2005, 1996) and Van Doorn-Harder (2006), who examine how Indonesian Muslim women used Islam as a medium to express their ideas

about religious and political authority. Brenner in fact argues that the rise of veiling in the 1990s represented rebellion against tradition and opposition to an authoritarian government. Both Brenner and Van Door-Harder credit the institutional aspect of Islam for empowering women because it provided them with education and career resources (in Rinaldo 2010: 423).

Rinaldo examines and compares two Indonesian Muslim women's groups: Rahima which is a Muslim women's rights group and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which is an Islamic party founded in 1998. Both these organizations involve men and women. Women in both of these organizations have been working to mobilize other women in pursuit of political aims and to address issues related to women's health and education (423). Rinaldo found that the majority of women in these organizations were following the Islamic dress code and since teenage years had been active members of Muslim student organizations or prayer groups in order to become better Muslims. Individually, their practice of veiling and praying describes their religiosity but their activism is expressed through their participation in the public sphere because they consider this act not just activism but an expression of religiosity itself (Rinaldo 2010: 423). Rinaldo highlights that several women in Rahima who have advanced degrees in Qur'anic studies are graduates of Islamic boarding schools and Islamic State Universities and are actively involved in organizing workshops and trainings for teachers, students, and communities to help with the re-visitation and interpretation of Islamic texts that emphasizes equality (424). Rinaldo uses the example of Ayu, who is a program coordinator at Rahima. She states that being religious is not different and separable from

rights and equality because in order to be religious one's actions must echo one's religiosity which can take the form of helping and empowering those who are in need and weak (424). Rinaldo makes an interesting observation on how members of Rahima acknowledge and are aware of how Islam is used to justify discrimination against women but they argue that "Islam needs to be reinterpreted for a contemporary context in order to find the ideas of equality that have been buried under patriarchal interpretations" (424). Women in Indonesia do not support the idea that religion must be regarded as a matter for the private sphere or a tool to segregate and practice inequality but rather argue in support of Islamic feminism which advocates "women's rights, gender equality, and social justice using Islamic discourse as its paramount discourse, though not necessarily its only one" (425). The Prosperous Justice Party was founded in 1998 and remains the most popular and influential Muslim political party that is open to both Muslims and non-Muslims who support their political party platform. In the 2004 elections they won 45 seats out of 500 in the national legislature (425). Rinaldo found that women activists in the PKS party consider PKS more than a political party; it is their medium to assist themselves in implementing the teaching of Islam because they consider Islam to be a religion that encourages "righteousness, and brings goodness to the whole world". Additionally, PKS women aim to reform the practices of Indonesians in accordance with the true teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah without rejecting nation-state or electoral democracy. Rinaldo found that women who were involved in these organizations were in fact women who were striving for an understanding and practice of Islam that had strong

socio-political component (425). Furthermore, Rinaldo highlights Brenner (2005) who points out that:

...The children of the poor can often obtain a better education at a state Muslim school. Women from conservative families who might not otherwise send their daughters to university can convince their parents to send them to a Muslim campus. If they lack the personal connections and cash to obtain jobs in the private sector or government, or they are anxious about being in secular workplaces, they can find positions as program officers at Muslim NGOs, become teachers at Muslim schools, or lecturers at Muslim universities (Brenner 2005 in Rinaldo 2010: 428).

Development as an Islamic term?

The term “development” has not been featured in any of the traditional Islamic discourses but is in fact a contemporary term used in the modern-day Islamic development institutions, such as the Islamic Development Bank (Kroessin 2011 and 2012). Kroessin notes that the term “development” did not appear in any Islamic literature up until the early 19th century. It also appears in post-colonial Islamic writings, but not until the late 1970s. The usage is, Kroessin states, either as an organizational signifier, as in the case of the Islamic Development Bank or in economic terms simply shadowing the dominant neo-liberal paradigm. The term gained an entry within the Islamic discourse in an “Islamized” form (Kroessin 2011: 27).

It is clear that during the early stages of the western concept of development there was no groundwork theory of imperialism or structuralism and therefore the Muslim scholars agreed that the causes of their society's "backwardness" was a result of external Western corruption and lack of internal modernization due to the intellectual interference of the West in their affairs. The idea of progress spearheaded by modernization theory of the West had a significant impact on the way development was regarded by the Muslim world (Kroessin 2011). Kroessin quotes Lewis who argues that:

...For those known nowadays as Islamists or fundamentalists, the failures and shortcomings of modern Islamic lands afflict those lands because they adopted alien notions and practices. They fell away from authentic Islam and thus lost their former greatness. Those known as modernists or reformers take the opposite view, seeing the cause of this loss not in the abandonment but in the retention of old ways, and especially in the inflexibility and ubiquity of the Islamic clergy, who, they say, are responsible for the persistence of beliefs and practices that might have been creative and progressive a thousand years ago but are neither today. The modernists' usual tactic is not to denounce religion as such, still less Islam in particular, but to level their criticism against fanaticism. It is to fanaticism—and more particularly to fanatical religious authorities—that they attribute the stifling of the once great Islamic scientific movement and, more generally, of the freedom of thought and expression. (Lewis 2002: 44).

What did however dominate the study of Islam was the theme of Islamic Revivalism (Kroessin 2011). Islamic literature that dealt with the concept of “revivalism” took various forms such as *Islamic fundamentalism, traditionalism and modernism* as discussed by Husain (1995). The goal of *Islamic fundamentalists*’ is to adopt the purity of theology and (re-) establish an Islamic state where Shari’ah (implemented according to their interpretation) is the state legal system. *Islamic Traditionalists* believe that “Islam is not merely a set of abstract and utopian principles, but a comprehensive and living belief system that interacts with the historical and cultural traditions of devout Muslims (Husain 1995: 81). They argue that “to alter the decision that has been accepted for ages would be to deny the eternal immutability of God’s law and to admit that earlier jurist erred would be to destroy the idea of the continuity of the divine guidance of the Muslim community” (Binder 1963: 74 in Husain 1995: 81). *Islamic Modernists*, on the other hand, were initiated by Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1838-1897) and Muhammad Abdul (1849-1905) who advocated free political, scientific and religious thought. These two Islamic philosophers and thinkers were followed by another generation of modern thinkers such as Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979). Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi is considered to have established the modern Islamist political thought of the 20th century (Esposito, 1997). He formulated the concept of “theo-democracy”, which included *tawhid* (unity of God), *risala* (prophethood) and *khilafa* (caliphate); the latter was to be the Islamic democracy or political system (Ahmad, 1978). His work inspired the leading intellectual of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in the 1950s and 1960s, Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966). Qutb is best known for his work on the social and political role of Islam in

his book entitled *Social Justice and Ma'alim fi-l-Tariq*. The book is based on his interpretation of the Qur'an, Islamic history and the social and political problems faced by Egypt. Another influential Islamic modernist is Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949), founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, who called for a return to "original" Islam. He was critical of the contemporary practice of Islam among Muslims because he saw that the practices had lost its Islamic essence due to the fact that most Muslims had been corrupted by Western influences. He emphasized the return to the Qur'an and Sunnah as the sole reference for ordering the life of the Muslims, which included individuals, community and state .

Haddad et, al (1991) states that:

“[Islamic] Revivalist literature written during the second half of the nineteenth century to present time reflects the history of the encounter with the west. [...] Revivalist ideas are not generated in a vacuum but are the response to external and internal stimuli, in this case to the realization of general societal decay as well as he perceived challenge and experience of oppression by western powers”

(Haddad et. al 1991:3-4 in Kroessin 2011:4).

Sinanovic (2012) argues that Islamic Revival is in fact a developmental program that encompasses political, economic and social arenas in order to provide a developmental alternative for the Muslim world that is significantly different from the dominant paradigm. (Sinanovic 2012: 3). He further argues that

[I]slamic revival provides a toolbox of ideas about development which Islamic revivalists tap into in order to accomplish several goals. First, they use the toolbox of ideas to formulate their own understanding about development. Second, they

draw on these ideas in order to debate, argue against, and delegitimize the competing developmental ideas. Third, the Revivalists emphasize the Islamic nature of their ideas with the goal to frame the debate in such a way to enable localization, acceptance, and widespread dissemination of these ideas (Sinanovic 2012, 3).

The roots of Islamic revival can be traced to late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the works of Khayruddin Al-Tunisi, Abdul Rahman al-Kawakibi, Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammed Abduh, Rashid Rida, Muhammada Iqbal, as well as Southeast Asian Muslim leaders and activists such as Ahmed Dahlan, Hasyim Asyari, Syed Shaykh al-Hadi, Agus, Salim and others (7-8). Sinanovic states that these early activists did not leave behind coherent ideologies but emphasized the mobilizing of Muslims under the banner of Islam because producing ideologies was not their primary concern (8). Islamic scholars and commentators who knew the Muslim world to be the most developed civilizations in the world during its Golden Age called for going back to the original practice of Islam as a response to the fall and devolution of the Muslim populated countries during both colonial and post-colonial eras (8). Sinanovic argues that in response to the Western conception of modernization and development, Islamic revivalists advocated their own set of responses by challenging western understanding of development and providing what they believed to be “Islam based answers to the problems of the Muslim world” (10). Sinanovic uses several example, of which one is the example of Mohammad Natsir, the first Islamist Prime Minister in modern times who

served as the Prime Minister of Indonesia from 1950-1951: Natsir positioned Islam as an alternative to Western models of development and the prevailing ideologies of the time: capitalism, socialism/communism, and democratic liberalism” (10). Natsir argued and advocated the following:

Communism, in its search to reach prosperity, represses and rapes human nature and basic human rights. Meanwhile, capitalism, in its efforts to give freedom to each individual, ignores humanity and life through manipulation of people’s sweat, and it opens the way to destroying the natural world... Clearly, unlike communism, Islam recognized [human] rights and individuality, and it gives freedom to people, often demanding from them that they should seek material goods and sustenance to the best of their ability. At the same time, and unlike capitalism, the acquired material wealth cannot be used only for personal needs, but it has to be shared (literally extracted) in order to help others, to create common prosperity (Natsir in Sinanovic 2012: 10-11).

Kroessin adds that another reason why development as a concept is not discussed explicitly within the Islamic literature is because the focus has been on the overall wellbeing of the society using the *Shari’ah*. Watt states that “In Islamic tradition the *Shari’ah* is seen as something that nurtures and protects humanity, a concept explored, for example, in the works of the 11th century Islamic philosopher Al-Ghazali (Watt 1963 in Kroessin 2011: 14). Kroessin states that in Islam the purpose of the law, *Shari’ah*, is to establish the best equilibrium between worldly affairs and the hereafter and this includes

the wellbeing of humans based on the fulfillment of necessities, needs, and comforts (14).

Kroessin quotes Rabbani (n.d.) who expands on the purpose of the *Shari'a* as follows:

To ensure the establishment of religion, God Most High has made belief and worship obligatory. To ensure its preservation, the rulings relating to the obligation of learning and conveying the religion were legislated. To ensure the preservation of human life, God Most High legislated for marriage, healthy eating and living, and forbade the taking of life and laid down punishments for doing so. God has permitted that sound intellect and knowledge be promoted, and forbidden that which corrupts or weakens it, such as alcohol and drugs. He has also imposed preventative punishments in order that people stay away from them, because a sound intellect is the basis of the moral responsibility that humans were given. Marriage was legislated for the preservation of lineage, and sex outside marriage was forbidden. Punitive laws were put in place in order to ensure the preservation of lineage and the continuation of human life. God has made it obligatory to support oneself and those one is responsible for, and placed laws to regulate the commerce and transactions between people, in order to ensure fair dealing, economic justice, and to prevent oppression and dispute. Needs and comforts are things people seek in order to ensure a good life, and avoid hardship, even though they are not essential. The spirit of the *Shari'a* with regard to needs and comforts is summed up in the Qur'an, 'He has not placed any hardship for you in religion,' (Qur'an

22:87) and "God does not seek to place a burden on you, but that He purify you and perfect His grace upon you, that you may give thanks' (Qur'an 5:6) (Rabbani (n.d.) in Kroessin 2011: 14-15).

Development as an Islamic concept

So how is development understood within the discourse of Islam? The concept of development in Islam is understood and built on the notion of social justice in which individual freedom is held sacred as long as it does not infringe upon the larger social interest or rights of others (Mesbahuddin 2010). Ahmad argues that "Islamic development is comprehensive in character and includes moral, spiritual and material dimensions with development itself being a goal and value oriented activity, devoted to the optimization of human well-being in all these areas" (Ahmad 1994 in Zaman and Asutay, 2009: 78). Zaman and Asutay (2009) argue that development is multidimensional:

As effects would have to be made simultaneously in a number of directions, the methodology of isolating one key factor and almost exclusive concentration on that would not work. It should be noted here that the mistake of neo-classical economics has been this isolated analysis of economic activity by exogenizing other dimensions of real life. However, as opposed to such an exogenized world-view, Islam seeks to establish a balance between different factors of forces, and as such all of them would have to be harnessed and mobilized. Hence, Islamic political economy represents an interactive and intersected paradigm in which all

forces that determine real life are endogenized in a multidimensional integrated model (Zaman & Asutay 2009:81).

The Islamic concept of development centers around each individual but with responsibilities towards the rest of society (Mesbahuddin 2010). Islam encourages the individual to pursue economic development but with ethical codes in order to ensure that the activity of no one is at the expense of any other (Ariff 1991: 2). The emphasis is on the individual and not as much on the state because the role of the state within an Islamic model of development is to uphold social justice, law and order and play a complementary moral and legal role to ensure the well-being of the society (Ariff 1991 and Chapra 2008). The goal of Islamic development is not to achieve the eradication of poverty only but rather to address the issue of the poverty and the uneven distribution of wealth while working towards a system of equitable redistribution of income and wealth which is enforced through moral obligations and fiscal measures (Mesbahuddin 2010: 224). It is not the state but the people who play a crucial role in the implementation of Islamic values. Chapra (2008) states that “the greater the motivation people have to implement Islamic values on their own volition, the more effective socioeconomic, judicial and financial institutions are in creating a proper environment for the realization of a just socioeconomic order, the less the role of the state in enforcing the rules of behavior and realizing the desired social goals” (Chapra 2008: 15). In Islam it is not solely the official state that is responsible for the welfare of the society but the collective, i.e. individuals, families and communities (226).

Mesbahuddin states that “Islam is at once Tradition and Modernity” (Mesbahuddin 2010: 222). She uses the process of *ijtihad* or critical reasoning in Islam to explain how Islamic values can be injected with the appropriate current dominant development models in order to bring development closer to the “cultural realities of indigenous people” in order to give them “a sense of continuity with their environment as well as their past, present and future” (222). Though she does not call for a redefinition of development, she agrees with Sirageldin (2002) who states that “[t]he purpose of injecting religion, Islam in particular, into the process of development is not to develop Islamic solutions, but to review some of the current strategies and programs of poverty alleviation/elimination and assess whether their objectives and intentions pass the Islamic ethical filter (Sirageldin 2002: 27 in Mesbahuddin 2010: 222). Kroessin (2012) uses the example of the medieval Islamic scholar Ibn Taymiyah (1263-1328 CE) who was the first to stress the importance of *ijtihad* in adapting to the new and changing circumstances of the society; he states that Taymiyah’s writings had great influence on both the fundamentalist and modernist doctrines of the 18th and 19th centuries (Kroessin 2012: 120). His writings also inspired Islamic revivalism that proposed going back to the original understanding and practice of Islam as practiced by the prophet Muhammad and the early generations of Muslims (Choueiri 1997 in Kroessin 2012: 120). Ibn Taymiyah’s influence was clear in the writings of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahah (1703-1792) who insisted on the understanding of *Tawhid* (one God) and the sacred past (Aly 2007, in Kroessin 2012: 119). Additionally, when examining the Islamic Social Theories pertaining to development, Kroessin highlights that “the foundations for political, social

and economic organization were laid during the time of the Prophet (i.e. *Mohammad*) (Watt 1953, 1956; Mubarakpuri 1996) and an effective Islamic state was established under the early caliphs (Lewis 2003)” (Kroessin, 2011:4). Moreover, during the early ages of Islamic civilization the goal was to fulfill religious and material purposes through the pursuit of knowledge which included science, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, etc. This period was known as the Golden Age of Islam, that was characterized by economic prosperity and development of educational and public welfare infrastructure (Lewis 2003 in Kroessin 2011: 4).

Some of the key Islamic concepts relevant to development are *Zakat* (obligatory almsgiving or charity), *Sadaqa* (voluntary almsgiving or charity) and *ilm* (knowledge and education).

Zakat and Sadaqa

Zakat and *Sadaqa* are principally the redistribution of wealth in the form of charity. Muslims, who can afford it, are obligated (through *zakat*) and highly recommended (through *sadaqa*) to share a portion of his or her wealth with the poor and needy. Any form of hoarding, excessive desires for worldly materials, and unnecessary expenditure and lavish lifestyle is forbidden in the Islam. Helping the poor and needy in Islam is not an act of goodwill but a requirement. The poor has the right granted from the Creator to receive support and the rich have a duty to give and assist those in need because everything belongs to the Creator and therefore no one has the right to claim absolute ownership of wealth. Benthall (1999) labels Islam as a ‘financial worship’ because he states that many of the revelations of the Qur’an deal with the issue of poverty reduction

through both charitable donations, sharing of wealth, and advocacy on behalf of the poor (Benthall 1999). The Qur'an in Chapter 9, verse 60, states that:

[t]he alms are only for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of Allah, and (for) the wayfarer; a duty imposed by Allah. Allah is Knower, Wise.

Kroessin (2008 a) translates this verse in the modern terminology as follows:

1. *poor and the needy* = poverty reduction
2. *those who collect them* = administrative overheads for civil servants dealing with public welfare
3. *those whose hearts are to be reconciled* = peace-building and community
4. *free the captives* = promotion of freedom, human rights and civil liberties
5. *debtors* = personal insolvency settlements
6. *cause of Allah* = security and defense
7. *wayfarer* = homeless, refugees and migrants

Another verse that deals with the issue of assisting the needy is chapter 107, verses 1 -7 of the Qur'an

Hast thou observed him who belieth religion? That is he who repelleth the orphan, And urgeth not the feeding of the needy. Ah, woe unto worshippers, who are heedless of their prayer; Who would be seen (at worship), Yet refuse small kindnesses!

The Qur'an describes those condemned to hell admitting to not helping the needy in Chapter 74 verses 38 to 47.

Every soul is a pledge for its own deeds; Save those who will stand on the right hand; In gardens they will ask one another, concerning the guilty: What hath brought you to this burning? They will answer: We were not of those who prayed, Nor did we feed the needy, We used to wade (in vain dispute) with (all) waders, And we used to deny the Day of Judgment, Till the Inevitable came unto us.

Kochuyt (2008) notes that the Qur'an emphasizes that wealth should not circulate only among the rich but the rich are obliged to transfer a certain portion of their wealth (i.e. 2.5 per cent) to the poor and needy (see Qur'an chapter 59, verse 7). This transfer is not a favour but a right on those less fortunate prescribed by the real Owner (i.e. Allah) as part of the terms of trust on which individuals are allowed to own and enjoy property (i.e. the trustees of Allah) (Qur'an 59: 8–19). Islam commands the faithful to help the poor through the act of *zakat* (Kochuyt 2005: 98).

This concept of *zakat* and *sadaqa* has been adopted within Islamic FBOs and as a result since the 1980s several Islamic FBOs have emerged on both national and international levels, specially working on collecting *zakat* in order to assist the poor. These Muslim organizations, Kochuty highlights, have mobilized themselves and are working devoutly to assist the poor because they claim that "Islam brings justice and that

the *zakat* can be seen as the first system of social security ever in history” (Kochuyt 2005). The goal or aim of *zakat* is not to work towards eradicating poverty, but to act as a means to revitalize the community by establishing social mechanisms that counter the economic inequalities provoked by the market. Thus *zakat* and *sadaqah* allow a greater room for equity and justice because they bring an ethical dimension with greater functionality. While *zakat* and *sadaqa* deal with the issue of wealth redistribution and poverty reduction, *ilm* deals with progress and improvement of human character.

Ilm

When examining the history of Islamic Empire, which lasted for nearly 1000 years, one will not fail to acknowledge its “unrivaled period of progress that affected most sciences and disciplines of the day” (Shamsavary et al 1993; Hilgendorf 2003: 63). The following quotation from Al-Attas summarizes the contribution of Islam to the history of knowledge, education and progress (1997: 62):

Muslim works on science, philosophy and other fields were translated into Latin, particularly from Spain and enriched the curriculum of the West... The Muslims passed on the experimental method of science... The system of Arabic notation and decimals was introduced to the West... their translated works, particularly those of men such as Avicenna in medicine, were used as texts in classes of higher education far into the middle of the 17th century... They stimulated European thought, reacquainted it with the Greek and other classical cultures and thus helped bring about the Renaissance... they preserved Greco Persian thought when Europe was intolerant of pagan cultures... European students in Muslims

universities carried back new methods of teaching....They contributed knowledge of hospitals, sanitation and food to Europe (1997:62).

Ilm in Islam is an “all-embracing term covering theory, action and education” (Akhtar 1997). Akhtar goes as far as arguing that “*ilm* is Islam” and that no other religion or ideology has so much importance to *ilm* than Islam. In fact the first revelation to the prophet started with the word *iqra* (‘read!’ or ‘recite’). The attainment of knowledge is obligatory for all Muslims. Akhtar adds that “[I]n Islam, *ilm* is not confined to the acquisition of knowledge only but also embraces sociopolitical and moral aspects. Knowledge is not mere information; it requires the believers to act upon their beliefs...the theory of knowledge in the Islamic perspective is not just a theory of epistemology but it combines knowledge, insight, and social action as its ingredients” (ibid). Islam has always placed a significance on the concept of knowledge and education to a point, as argued by Husain and Ashraf (1979) that seeking knowledge and education was in fact a way to get close to God because “God is the source of knowledge”, (Husain & Ashraf 1997: 11 in Hilgendorf, 2003:64). It is stated in the Qur’an that “God will raise up to ranks those of you who believe and who have been granted knowledge (Qur’an 58: 11). The Qur’an differentiates between people who have knowledge and people who don’t. In Chapter 39 verse 9 of the Qur’an, God state: “... Are those who know equal to those who do not know?” The Prophet Muhammad is quoted in Sahih Muslim, which is one of the authentic Hadiths in Islam, as saying “Whosoever follows a path to seek

knowledge therein, Allah will make easy for him a path to Paradise” (Sahih Muslim, Book 35 No. 6518).

Halstead (2004) provides several examples from the Qur’an that promotes the seeking of knowledge, such as in Qur’an chapter 20, verse 114; God’s crediting superiority for those who have knowledge (see Qur’an 58: 11; Qur’an 39: 9), the importance of wisdom and guidance rather than blind faith and acceptance of tradition (Qur’an chapter 2:170; Qur’an 17: 36 and Qur’an 6: 148). Seeking knowledge is a must for both men and women. The question that is often raised is “what sort of knowledge?” as posed by Halstead (2004: 520). In Islam, knowledge is divided into two major themes. The first relates to the origin of religion, Holy Qur’an makes it clear that “knowledge is a characteristic of God Himself and all knowledge comes from Him” (520). The second theme relates to the “purpose” of knowledge. As stated by Halstead, “there is no notion in Islam of the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake” (520). Halstead argues that unlike the western concepts of knowledge, Islam is very clear that “knowledge is not to be accumulated for its own sake but must be put to use...knowledge from a Muslim perspective is to help people to acknowledge God, live in accordance with Islamic law and fulfill the purpose of God’s creation” (520). He quotes al-Ghazali who says that:

Be sure that knowledge alone is no support...If a man reads a hundred thousand scientific subjects and learns them but does not act upon them, his knowledge is of no use to him, for its benefits lies only in being used (quoted in al-Taftazani 1986, 70 in Halstead, 2004:520).

Second, Halstead points to the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad. This tradition provides further insight into Islamic education. The Sunnah provides several reminders about the importance of knowledge. For example, in the collections of Tirmidhi and Darimi the Prophet is quoted to state that “seeking knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim man and woman” and that “ he who goes forth in search of knowledge is in the way of Allah till he returns” (in Halstead 2004: 521).

Halstead gives a very thorough explanation of the concept of education within an Islamic framework. In Arabic there are three words for “education” and they are *Tarbiya, Ta'dib and Ta'lim*. *Tarbiya* refers to the development of individual potential and to the process of nurturing and guiding a state of completeness or maturity. *Ta'dib* refers to the process of character development and learning a sound basis for moral and social behavior within the community and society at large, including the acceptance of the most fundamental social principle of justice. *Ta'lim* refers to the imparting and receiving of knowledge through training, instruction and other forms of teaching. Thus, these three terms provides analysis of Muslim education in terms of, as outlined by Halstead, (i) aiding individual development, (ii) increasing understanding of society and its social and moral rules (iii) and transmitting knowledge, which is not limited to Islamic thinking . Thus, in Islam, education is discussed in terms of a “balanced growth of all sides of the individual’s personality, including the spiritual and moral, leading to a higher level of religious understanding and commitment in all areas of life; unlike the liberal educationalists understanding of education which is discussed in terms of “ development

of personal and moral autonomy” and that “ no one set of religious beliefs can be shown to be objectively true and that critical openness and free debate provides the most rational means for advancing the pursuit of faith” (Halstead 2004: 522-523).

Thus, the purpose of education and knowledge in Islam is to produce good humans. As argued by al-Attas, “It is more fundamental in Islam to produce a good man than a good citizen, for the good man will also no doubt be a good citizen, but the good citizen will not necessarily also be a good man” (al-Attas 1979:32).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that the modern concept of development was a very Eurocentric one according to which religion was considered to be a hindering factor within the practice and field of development. Theories of alternative development have opened the way for diverted attention to the role of religion. In order to understand the true nature of religion, religions must be considered, at least in part, individually in order to allow for a critical analysis of how each one can contribute to “alternative”.

Islam as a religion has the tools that provides a balance between both the material and spiritual world and lays down practices such as *zakat*, *sadaqa* and *ilm* which when put into practice can contribute in the development and progress of societies. The next chapter will discuss the case of Indonesia and how Muhammadiyah, using Islam as its framework, contributes to the development of its society, especially in contributing towards education.

Chapter 3

The Indonesian Context

Indonesia is the largest Muslim-populated country in the world. It is also the fourth largest populated country with approximately 250 million people (statistics Indonesia). Eighty-six percent of its population are Muslims, ten percent Christians (Protestants, Catholics and other dominations), two percent Hindus and the remaining two percent other religions (cia.gov). It is an archipelago made up of more than 1750 islands. It consists of 400 distinct ethnic groups, and two-third of its population lives in rural areas (education.stateuniversity.com). Indonesia is also home to the two largest Muslim Faith-Based organizations in the world, Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama with an approximately 30 million members that are in the forefront of working in areas of health, education and community mobilization as well as women's rights (Nuryartono and Sukontamarn 2010: 2).

Religion plays a crucial role in both the private and public lives of Indonesian people. From fighting colonialism to addressing the shortcomings of its state leaders, religion, particularly Islam, has been the driving force to mobilize and activate actions among its followers. In these ways and others religion has both directly and indirectly contributed to the development of the Indonesian society. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to situate the research question within the Indonesian context and show how Islam as a religion has contributed to the development of Indonesian society. This will be achieved first by providing an overview of the Indonesian government's development

policies as well as its relationship with civil society. Second, it will highlight the role of Islam within Indonesia and last, it will discuss Muhammadiyah's contribution in the development of its society, particularly working in the areas of education and empowerment of women using Islam as its framework.

The Indonesian State and Civil Society

Since its independence, Indonesian has experienced the two most devastating development crises. The first was under the first president Sukarno in the 1960s; and the second was under Soeharto in the 1990s. The history of the Indonesian government's development policies is a testimony of its "development" approaches that did very little to address the needs of its people. For example, in 1998, Indonesia's per capita GDP fell by 15 percent, while poverty rates doubled; its gross national income also fell by more than one half and the national debt surged to more than 100 percent of GDP (CIDA 2005). In 1999, as a result of the 1997 crisis, the proportion of the population living on income below \$1 US a day rose from 7.8 percent to 12 percent; while the proportion of the population living on less than \$2 US a day jumped from 50.5 percent in 1996 to 65.1 percent in 1999; absolute rural poverty rates more than doubled for urban areas; and 90 percent of poor households were illiterate or had only primary school education (CIDA 2005). Kian Wir Thee (2009) considers the reign of Sukarno and Soeharto to have caused the most devastating impacts on the Indonesian society after colonialism because it resulted in a steep rise in the incidence of absolute poverty.

Under Sukarno

Sukarno was the first president and leader of the Indonesian independence movement. He laid down the foundation of the Indonesian state doctrine known as the Pancasila or five principles, which consists of nationalism, internationalism, democracy, social prosperity and belief in one God. Though his struggle and leadership helped fight colonialism, he himself became known to suppress the country and contribute to the rise of absolute poverty (britannica.com). This was reflected in the nation's first Five-Year Development Plan, 1955-1960. The plan was heavily focused on economic development and building public infrastructure (countrystudies.us/indonesia). His second development plan was in 1959. He initiated an Eight-Year Development Plan that simply added a twelvefold increase in government expenditure by using the central bank credit as a source of finance. This resulted in a "crippling" hyperinflation that reached 135 percent in 1964 and almost 600 percent in 1965 (Grenville 1981: 102, 108). Inflation continued to grow to 1500 percent between June 1965 and June 1966 (countrystudies.us/indonesia). The country was also sinking deeper and deeper into foreign debt to both the West and the Soviet Union. Despite the buildup of the foreign debt, the central bank of Indonesia, which was now serving to finance the government budget, was making matters worse by printing increasing amounts of money simply to finance the rapidly growing budget deficit (Thee 2009: 51). Sukarno's government was continuously spending without having an increase in its revenues; most of the spending was in military actions such as campaign to reclaim the province of Papua from the Dutch, spending on rice imports and subsidizing petroleum, spending on "prestige projects" such as building sports stadium,

national monuments and large buildings to accommodate conferences of the newly emerging forces, as well as allocating discretionary funds for various projects and rewarding friends of the Sukarno government (51-52).

Under Soeharto

After the downfall of Sukarno, the focus still continued to be on economic development. This was also mainly due to the support and persuasion of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (countrystudies.us/indonesia). Soeharto was desperate to reverse Sukarno's policy disasters and therefore imposed monetary and fiscal discipline which allowed western-trained economists to work with US economic advisory teams and draft macroeconomic policies, negotiate debt rescheduling and open the door to foreign investments (Hadiz and Robinson 2005: 220). However, the economic crisis of 1997-98 allowed IMF to strengthen its demands of deregulation, institutional reforms in banking and public management and decentralization upon the regime (221). Robison argues that even though Indonesia began to recover from the inflation and declining production of the Sukarno years, it failed to extend beyond fiscal and monetary policy (223). In the Post-1980s Oil Price Crisis, Indonesia opened up its banking sector to private entry, and state monopoly over sectors of the economy. Telecommunications, TV broadcasting, power generation, banking, road buildings and public works were all removed in order to welcome the free market (224). Additionally, powerful private businesses established huge commercial empires by using credit from state banks without the general public knowledge (224). Thus when the Asian economic crisis of 1997-98 happened, Soeharto

was no longer able to deal with the economic challenges of its country and had no choice but to agree with the conditions of IMF in return for a US\$ 43 billion bailout. But this bailout did not control the economic crisis and made way for angry students and citizens to protest and oppose him until he was forced out of office in 1998.

Post-Sukarno and Soeharto

According to the 2011 Human Development Index, Indonesia ranked 124 out of 187 countries and territories. Life expectancy at birth is 69.4; only 1.2 percent of its GDP is spent on public health, while expenditure on education is 2.8 percent of GDP. The total population living below \$1.25 purchasing power parity a day is 18.7 percent (hdrstats.undp.org). In his article “Development of Social Welfare in Indonesia,” Edi Soeharto (2009), vice chairperson for the academic affairs in Bandung college of social welfare Indonesia analyses the general issues surrounding the welfare of the Indonesian society and observes that despite the decreasing trend in the rate of poverty between 2002 and 2009, the absolute number is still considerably high (www.policy.hu). Edi Soeharto notes that between 2008 and 2009 the number of people living in poverty was 35 million and 32.5 million respectively, which accounted for a 15.4 and 14.1 percent of the total population accordingly. Additionally, he suggests that “the gloomy picture of Indonesian welfare will even look worse if it included those categorized as people with social problems” as it will encompass millions of people, such as neglected children (3.9 million), neglected children under five years (1.5 million), disabled (3.1 million), neglected elderly (2.7 million) and other disadvantaged groups (homeless people, beggars, prostitutes, persons with HIV and AIDS, remote traditional community, street

children, child labour, etc which accounts for more than 11 million people (www.policy.hu).

Edi Soeharto suggests the following factors as the main reasons behind the social problems in Indonesia: first, he is critical of the mainstream approach of national development policies that rely heavily on economic growth and foreign debt as a result of neoliberal policy interventions. He highlights Joseph E. Stiglitz's (2003) book titled *Globalization and its Discontents*, and John Perkins's (2004) *Economic Hit Man* that discuss the failures of a economic growth focused concept and practice of development that relied heavily on neo-liberalism ideology. Second, he suggests that poverty alleviation programs are dominated by project-oriented interventions that target only the poor, which means that in order to "benefit" one must be poor to begin with and this do not prevent people from "becoming" poor. Third, the overall public policy strategies are mainly concerned with state administration and bureaucracy affairs and lack response to the issue of welfare strategies such as social rehabilitation, social security, social empowerment and social protection. He states that Indonesia is one of the four countries where social protections are very limited; 60 percent of the population is still living without any kind of social protection. When the Asian financial crisis hit the ASEAN region in 1997-98, the heavy reliance on traditional family-based social protection systems and in some cases a poorly developed infrastructure for administering social protection programs led to the failure of Indonesian government to respond effectively to the needs of its citizens. Fourth, state commitment and obligation to the fulfillment of citizen's social rights are low. This is reflected in the social expenditure rations that count

for less than two percent of national GDP, which is far below the 4.8 percent average for 15 Asian countries and the 20.5 percent average for 30 OECD countries. Fifth, decentralization has limited the responsibility and capacity of local government in dealing with social problems. Local governments, especially at district level, are applying the principle of “functions follow money” rather than “money follow functions” which has resulted to the local government focusing on generating revenue rather than providing social services to its residents (www.policy.hu)

Nevertheless, despite the shortcomings of the Indonesian government, what is interesting and worth noting is the relationship of the government with the civil society. The development progress in Indonesia to a larger degree owes its success to the active role of the civil society that has worked countless hours to address the need of the needy.

The Potential of Civil society

The mainstream discussion around the topic of civil society and state often considers civil society to be a force of resistance to the state in order to foster democracy (Keane 1988; Taylor 1995). Two major positions emerge in the discourse about the relationship of the state and civil society. One views civil society as a function of the state where the state holds the coercive power to enforce the rules that guarantee civility and order, and thus the emphasis is not on a “civil society” but a “civil state” (Pabottingi 1999: 3-4 in Fuad 2002: 137). The second position views the relationship between the state and civil society as basically complementary (Abdullah 1999: 7 in Fuad 2002: 136). In the case of Indonesia, argues Fuad, the second position holds because under the Indonesian new order, the state was characterized as “authoritarianism, corporatism, co-optation, and

controlling military regime” and therefore all civil organizations and political parties had to seek some type of affiliation with the state in order to exist and do well (Fuad 2002: 136).

For example, under Soeharto regime, various attempts to work with the civil society were made because of their engagement and active role in areas of education and health care. These organizations were now being negotiated and offered various forms of subsidies in order to provide quality education and health care (Fuad 2002: 137). As a result, the government supported social groups to continue addressing social problems. Additionally, just after the fall of Soeharto government, Muslim organizations became an integral part of the rebuilding of civil society in Indonesia because these organizations were highly involved with student groups, prayer groups and mosque groups that provided a much needed outlet for people to be involved in their local communities (Rinaldo 2010: 428).

Similar ideology was practiced during the colonial times under the Dutch rule. Fuad states that as the colonial state moved into the twentieth century, it allowed for local people to organize themselves and manage their own issues as a way to lessen the burden of the state in managing the population. They introduced and implemented the “ethical policy” which was aimed to educate some of the local people that would then work in areas of social, educational and religious sectors. This policy had a major influence in nurturing the seeds of national consciousness that would strengthen the Indonesian independence movement (Abdullah 1999: 8 in Fuad 2002: 138). However, soon the Dutch realized the consequences of its policy and targeted groups and organizations,

especially Islamic groups, by interfering with their schools and programs (Suminto 1985: 26-38 in Fuad 2002: 138). They started favoring Christian groups by channeling most assistance to these schools and refusing any support any support to schools affiliated with Muslims. When independence was finally achieved, it was clear that the Muslim schools were underfunded and as a result the ministry of religious affairs was established in order to support Islamic religious schools, create institutes for Islamic studies and schools for teachers. The ministry became the supplier and employer of religious teachers and most importantly a state law was passed requiring the teaching of religion in all schools and colleges (Noer 1983: 70 in Fuad 2002: 138). That being said, the Dutch government's relationship with targeted groups and organizations both directly and indirectly assisted the marginalized communities.

Another example of an attempt by the government to reach out to people at the grassroots level was its participation with FBOs. The Indonesian government along with UNICEF developed a special project called the child survival project which involved twelve FBOs consisting of eight Islamic, one Hindu, one Protestant and two Catholic organizations. These organizations were able to reach ten million of their members in three years. The strategy used was to incorporate the project activities within the regular activities of the religious groups, such as during Qur'an reading classes, Sunday schools, bible classes, etc, and other activities among religious leaders (Munir 1990: p.275). In addition the Indonesian department of religious affairs and health was also involved in facilitating and supporting project activities with the religious NGOs. The participating NGOs were given the autonomy to select their target group and choice areas in which

they wanted to work. They also had the privilege to formulate their own work plan. Finally, NGOs were equipped with a manual that dealt with immunization, diarrhea and motivational techniques, along with relevant religious teachings and the particulars of the NGO (275). One of main organization that was involved in the project was Fatayat Nahdaltul Ulama (young women of Nahdatul Ulama), a subgroup of Nahdatul Ulama. The organization is characterized by its religious and social activities which includes education and training, social welfare, health, Islamic preaching and other religious activities and youth counseling. The organization used religion as a medium of communication in order to enhance community participation and raising awareness about the importance of childcare and healthy activities among children from an early age (275). Religious leaders were also heavily involved because these individuals are respected and recognized among their followers as role models.

In conclusion, the above section briefly described how the Indonesian government under Sukarno, Soeharto and Post-Sukarno and Soeharto has focused mainly on “economic” development. As indicated, if it was not for the active role of the civil society, particularly FBOs, and their outreach at a grassroots level, the development challenges of the society would not have received the attention it has. FBOs, and particularly Muslim FBOs, have used Islam as their guide to contribute to the enhancement of the Indonesian society. Hence, the section below will discuss the role of Islam in Indonesia, followed by the contribution of Muhammadiyah.

Islam in Indonesia

Brief history

There is a common belief that early Islam was enforced on nations through the use of sword. However, this is not valid in the case of Indonesia. Although there is a widely disputed discussion surrounding the actual arrival date of Islam in Indonesia, the general consensus has been that it arrived in the archipelago between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries through peaceful means of trade (Ricklefs 2008: 3-16). Wanandi (2002) frames the arrival of Islam within the Indonesian society as the “penetration of several centuries within the Indonesian society ” (Wanandi 2002: 105). Islam was introduced by traders and merchants from India and the Middle East through peaceful sharing of knowledge in the market place and through business transactions (Wanandi 2002; Millie 2012). In fact Van Nieuwenhuijze (1958) reports that there was practically no organized Muslim missionary activity in the archipelago between the 14th until the end of 19th century and Islam penetrated in a peaceful and almost silent manner in Indonesia (35). Furthermore, Van Nieuwenhuijze adds that some sociologists also argue that because Indonesia was influenced by caste system as it was dominated by Hinduism prior to Islam, the Indonesians were attracted to and embraced Islam because according to Islam all humans are equal on account of being created by the one Almighty God. By embracing Islam every Muslim becomes a member of the same community based on sharing the same faith (36). This idea of being part of a community or *Ummat Islam* (Community of Islam) was attractive and allowed the new Muslims to broaden their outlook on life and be part of the “world-wide vista of the *Dar ul-Islam*” (house of Islam) (38-39). There

are several scholarly studies that deal with the topic of Islamic history of Indonesian, including: M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia C 1300 to the Present* (1981); George McTurnan Kahim, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (1952); Deliar Noer, *The Modernists Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942* (1973); Fred von der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (1968); Dj Stenberg (ed.), *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History* (1971); and H.J. Benda, Harsja W. Bachtar, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation* (1958). Additionally, an encyclopedia on the subject can be found by J. Th. Blumberger, *de Nationlistische Beweging in Nederlandsch-Indie* (1987); and B.H.M. Viekke *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia* (1959), as cited in Bakti (1993).

As in the case with other world religion, Islam in Indonesia is diverse. Von der Mehden characterizes Islam in Indonesia under four major categories: modernists, traditionalists, neo-modernists and Islamists. Modernists are those who are committed to democracy and nationalism and often reject official political participation. (i.e. Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam). Traditionalists are those who follow a variety of traditional customary values and practices. The majority of them support Sharia and obedience to Muslim clerics; their political ideologies can vary from pluralist to anti-modern. An example of such is Nahdlatul Ulama which is generally supportive of democracy but is suspicious of leaders who are seeking a more secular state. The neo-modernists have a universal view of Islam and reject narrow interpretations of sharia and the formation of an Islamic state. They consider Islam as a source of motivation and inspiration and strongly support human rights and democracy. The majority of people who fall under this category are Indonesian Muslim intellectuals. Finally there are the Islamists who include some who support violence and some who are non-violent. This group tends to seek the imposition of Sharia throughout Indonesia; however, these people remain a minority (Von Der Mehden in Esposito, et al. 2008: 12).

Islam as a Guide

As argued by Alfian, Islam in Indonesia is considered to be the “prime mover” in respect to the rise of Indonesian nationalism, as well as an important force in both the social and political lives of the people (Alfian 1969: 56). When examining the history of Indonesian social and political movements, one will notice the twentieth century Indonesia witnessed a rise among the Islamic socio-religious and political movements as well as other organizations that contributed in the formulation of a common national identity in order to fight colonialism. Among these organizations were Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association), Muhammadiyah (the way of Muhammad), Jam iyyad al Islam Wal-Frshad (Union for Reformation and Guidance), Persis (Muslim union), Nahdlatul Ulama (the awakening of religious scholars), Jong Islameten board (Young Islamic Association) and Persatuan Muslim Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Union). All of these organizations played a significant role in developing a common Indonesian identity using Islam as a motivating factor (Bakti 1993: 4-5).

What is interesting in the case of Indonesia is that Islam was also used to address both the economic and social needs of its people. Indonesian Muslims, went through a period of self-reflection where they began to question their own social, political, and economic situation and realized that the “penetration” of several centuries of Islam had indeed resulted in the inclusion of many elements of various other beliefs and religions, such as practices of animism and other indigenous religions among Muslims of Indonesia. These practices were regarded to be the main cause of their “backwardness”(Wanandi 2002: 105). Many Indonesian Muslims started to adopt the

belief that the reason why their society was socially and economically underdeveloped was because they were drifting away from the original form of Islam. Therefore if they were to address the shortcomings of their societies, they must return to the original form of Islam using the Qur'an and Sunnah as their source and returning back to *ijtihad* (critical thinking).

Ruswan's (1997) M.A thesis provides an excellent comparative study of India and Indonesia showcasing how the interaction and policies of the colonial governments gave rise to the necessity of an Islamic system that would address both the economic and social needs of its people through educational reform. In the case of Indonesia, Ruzwan (1997) draws attention to how the Dutch educational policy during the Dutch East India Company (c1600-1800) era and the Netherlands East Indies government (1800-1942) did very little to pay attention to the needs of the indigenous people (Ruzwan 1997: 59). The government had reserved basic elementary education for Europeans, indigenous Christians and the children of aristocrats only and it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that the colonial government allowed and established the first public school under its "ethical policy" (Ruzwan 1997: 3). Although the establishment of elementary schools was allowed, the government opened different schools for different races and placed the indigenous children in the worst elementary schools while the European children at the best of the schools (Ruzwan 1997: 59). Not only did the Dutch government discriminate in the area of education but it also discriminated when it came to providing financial support for the schools, despite the need and high number of indigenous students. The Dutch government favored Christian affiliated schools and gave

them subsidies while also promoting the adoption of Latin script in schools. Additionally, they passed a regulation that required all teachers to obtain licenses from the Dutch Reformed Church government which made it difficult for Muslims teachers to obtain certificates (Sutedjo 1956: 57 in Ruzwan 1997: 60). These factors made it difficult for the majority of the Indonesians to receive an education and as a result by the end of 1930 more than 90 percent of the Indonesian population could not read and write. (Suminto 1985: 48 in Ruzwan 1997: 62). However, these constraints and tension only inspired the Muslims to question their own abilities and limitation, such as in the case of Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah.

Ahmad Dahlan's philosophy of education was inspired by the reformist movements which emerged in the Middle East lead by Jamaluddin Afghani that advocated for a return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah (Ruzwan 1997: 70). The Muslim reformers strongly believed that the cause of the Muslim backwardness was the negligence of the Qur'an and Sunnah and therefore it was crucial to go back to the original teaching and practices of these two sources. Ruzwan highlights that the proponents of this ideology argued that "Islam was a religion of progress and it did not prohibit Muslims from adapting to new development...Islam urged Muslims to become the agents for development and progress" (70). According to Amir Hamzah Wirjosukarto, Ahmad Dahlan identified five problem areas in the Indonesian Muslim practices that were hindering factors for its development: (1) Muslims were practicing traditions that were rooted in Hinduism, Buddhism and animism without having an understanding that the majority of these practices were in fact un-Islamic; (2) Indonesian

Muslims were following conservative interpretations offered by religious scholars and were under the misconception that ordinary Muslims were not entitled to make interpretations using *ijtihad*; (3), Muslim intellectuals were divided into two groups- the religious scholars and the western educated scholars-and both were arrogant and narrow-minded towards each other; (4) Indonesian Muslims were oblivious of their religious and social responsibility towards the poor and needy; and (5), due to the Dutch government's discriminatory educational programs, the majority of the Indonesians were getting hardly any quality education (71).

Thus, Ahmad Dahlan established one of the first Muslim FBOs that would address some of the social problems he observed by returning back to the original understanding and practice of Islam.

Muhammadiyah

Brief history

Muhammadiyah was established in Kampung Kauman, Jogjakarta on November 18th 1912 by Ahmad Dahlan dervish (muhammadiyah.or.id). Ahmad Dahlan was a devout Muslim who was educated in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, for several years and was influenced by the writings of Muslim reformists and philosophers. When he returned from Saudi Arabia he was determined to free Indonesians from the chains of colonialism; not through waging a war but rather by addressing the real problem of its society which, he believed, were the beliefs and practices that prevented the progress of its society. His main goal thus becomes to purify the practices of Muslim people in order to overcome all

those beliefs and practices that were hindering the progress and modernization of its society (Wanandi 2002: 106). He adopted a co-operative attitude towards the colonial government and focused on addressing the real cause of underdevelopment, which was the lack of education among his people . Being a devout Muslim, he advocated going back to the original teaching of Islam and eliminating cultural practices that prevented progress (Suminto 1985: 36-37, 193-98 in Fuad 2002: 134). This approach attracted other devout Muslims who too wanted to “purify” their ways, and practice Islam in what they considered its pure form by going back to the Qur’an and Sunnah of the prophet. He started with the teachings of Qur’anic verses in order to discuss and allow people to reflect and use it in their lives. For example, chapter 107 of the Qur’an, *al-Maun*, emphasizes the importance of Kindness; the reading and observing of its meaning only ignited the feeling of responsibility among those who were able and had the means to assist people through charity work. Muhammadiyah soon become a socio-religious movement actively involved in the process of liberation against the colonials though promoting education in order to “enlighten the minds and hearts of the common people” so they would seek independence (Fuad 2002: 135).

There are several studies that discuss Muhammadiyah as a whole, such as Mukti Ali’s (1957) *The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction*; Alfian’s (1969 and 1989) *Islamic Modernism in Indonesian politics: the Muhammadiyah Movement during the Dutch Colonial Period, 1912-1942*, and *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism*; and Ahmed Jainuri’s (1992 and 1999), *The Muhammadiyah Movement in Twentieth Century*

Indonesia: A Socio-Religious Study; and The Formation of Muhammadiyah's ideology, 1912-1942.

Goal and Mission

The goal of Muhammadiyah is to create a society based on pure Islamic teachings. This goal is inspired by the following verse of the Qur'an, "Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong: They are the ones to attain felicity" (Qur'an 3:104).

As noted on Muhammadiyah's official website, its mission is best understood within the five roles they have embraced. They are as follows: (1) To support the growth of a pure form of Islamic teachings that is based on critical thinking and interpretation but within an Islamic framework of always referring to the Qur'an and Sunnah. (2) To continue working as a movement that is focused on reform of all aspects of life within an Islamic framework. They attempt to "materialize" the message of Islam, which claims to be a compassion for the entire world and not just Muslims in order to solve the problems of the country, state and humanity. (3) To contribute in reaching Indonesia's objectives as laid down in the preamble of its Constitution.¹⁰ This is done through their active involvement in "law enforcement and governance; expansion of job opportunities through health, education, and assisting to get out of poverty; strengthening democratic ethics in both economic and political life; and freeing people from bad practices and immorality" (muhammadiyah.or.id). (4) To contribute to motivate Muslims to advance in

¹⁰ Belief in one God, Humanity, Unity, Deliberation for Representation and Social Justice for all Indonesians- Indonesian Constitution.

all aspects of life that is free of “underdevelopment, isolation, and mistreatments in global culture” thus building a “more advanced Islamic civilizations” that is able to influence fairness and lighten the burden through development. (5) To always contribute to the establishment of a “fair, prosperous, highly civilized world” that follows Islamic teachings because Islam is considered to be *rahmatan-lil-alamin* (mercy on all humankind) (ibid).

Work within Indonesian society

Since 1912 Muhammadiyah has been actively involved in the development of the Indonesian society. During the International Research Conference on Muhammadiyah in November 2012 Amelia Fauzia, a lecturer at the faculty of arts and humanities at the state Islamic university Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, argued that Muhammadiyah has been able to create a balance between religion and modernism by allowing both the implementation of a puritan spirit of Islam through its action-oriented attitude of the implementation of Islamic teachings, as well as its modernists-reformists character. This has allowed the organization to manage its activities in a modern manner without being overwhelmed with the complex discourses of Islamic jurisprudence (IRCM Conference 2012: Fauzia). Maarif, former Chair of Muhammadiyah, states that not only did Muhammadiyah help support the independence movement but it also laid the foundations for Indonesian democracy and civil society. Thirty-three years before Indonesia declared independence, Muhammadiyah was the first to draft and put forward its first constitution, which discussed the right of the majority to elect and embark on an educational program to

educate Indonesians in order to allow Indonesians to lead their own society (IRCM Conference 2012: Maarif).

Fuad (2002) highlights that the decade in which Muhammadiyah was established is considered to be the “the first flowering of civil society in Indonesia and the beginning of the nationalist movement in Indonesia (Fuad 2002: 133). The emergence of civil society in Indonesia followed ideas from both the west and the east: from the west the Indonesian intellectual community learned about new political ideas and modern sciences, while from the east, especially the Middle East, they learned about the Islamic reformist movement and its ideas about how to free Islam from the shackles of both ancient tradition and colonial rule (Maarif 1985: 52-79; Noer 1980: 37-17 in Fuad 2002: 134). Fuad states that a central issue among those fighting colonialism was what approach to adopt- fight colonialism with confrontational political struggle or through cultural struggle (Fuad 2002: 134). As an FBO, Muhammadiyah strategically declared to keep out of practicing politics or becoming a political party and putting all its effort into educating the masses, helping the poor and needy, and offering spiritual values to safeguard and shape the Indonesian society. This attitude of refraining itself from being politically involved resulted in some support from the Dutch during the colonial era and later from the Indonesian state because they did not see it as a threat to official state power.

Another major contribution of Muhammadiyah has been its active role in education and the empowerment of women. Since 1912 it established more than 20,000 educational institutions, which includes all levels up to universities; created more than

450 functional hospitals and clinics; has built hundreds of orphanages and houses for elders, and been actively involved in other humanitarian services (IRCM Conference 2012, Maarif). Additionally, Doorn Hader (2006), through her research in Indonesia, documents that Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama have been in the forefront of encouraging women to take ownership of Qur'anic texts at a religious level, and educate themselves in order to take on issues on the social level. As a result women have been involved in leadership training and being active politically (Doorn-Hader 2006: 160). Indonesian women involved within Muhammadiyah have worked with their male counterparts and convinced them to address women's issues using the Qur'an and Sunnah as references. Through their knowledge of religion, they have been able to actively participate and share their opinions both at the grassroots level and at the organizational level by operating on many different levels including leading, guiding and taking charge of those with whom they work. These women's involvement and leadership has been as a result of their quest to participate in the interpretation and practice of Islam and of their focus mainly on the role and rights of women as stated in the Qur'an rather than from what the culture or patriarchal circumstances might dictate.

Burhani (2006) credits Muhammadiyah's "ambiguous attitude" and working relationship with those in power for its survival and successful contribution to its society. He states that even though Muhammadiyah was against Dutch colonials, they did not boycott the Dutch. Rather they took advantage of colonial services in order to reach out to the masses and invest their time and energy sowing the seeds of nationalism through education rather than fighting the colonials in the battlefield. Burhani gives credit to the

founder of Muhammadiyah; Ahmad Dahlan who had a strong Javanese culture believed in being obedient and loyal to the *Kraton* (i.e. rulers). He showed humbleness and reverence towards people of higher status and this in turn worked in his favour because it contributed to the survival of his new born organization” under the colonial government (Burhani 2006: 2). Moreover, another factor that safeguarded the survival of Muhammadiyah under the Dutch colonials was the fact that Muhammadiyah was attentive to the social welfare of its society and focused on educational activities by building functional schools and clinics rather than propagating Islam, which put the Dutch at ease. Ahmad Dahlan thus was able to use the best of both Islam and Javanese cultures to achieve its goal. Ahmad Dahlan used Islam to motivate community members and create an educational environment in which where people were able to address the needs of a modernizing society and at the same time guard against the moral decay that comes with modernization and globalization” (Lukens-Bull 2001:351). Thus, Indonesian society is continuously striving to create a strong, pious and faithful Islamic society in the context of modernization, globalization and secularization (Abdullah 1996 in Woodward 1996: 65; Boland, 1971: 15-34; Horikoshi 1975: 60; Noer 1978: 12 in Lukens-bull 2001: 351).

Women within Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah has two Islamic women's autonomous organization: Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah. Aisyiyah was established on May 19, 1917 in Yogyakarta to help girls receive an Islamic education. It soon developed to be a strong autonomous wing within Muhammadiyah. While Nasyiatul Aisyiyah was established in 1919 in order to embed the knowledge and sense of unity, morality and religious comprehension among teenage students, their activities focus on Qur'anic recitation, speech lessons, celebrating Islamic holidays and organizing activities related to women. Aisyiyah today is involved in health and education sectors and in community development. They have managed to establish their own schools and universities and health centres that deal with reproductive health and other issues related to community development. They are also active in economic activities by developing business centers, cooperatives, and microfinance institutions in order to strengthen the rights of women laborers and to protect consumer rights (www.aisyiyah.or.id).

It is important to note that the status of Muslim women in Indonesia is much higher compared to other Muslim populated countries where women are mostly absent from the religious discourse and the majority or all of the decisions are made by men and men only with very little to no input from women. However, Indonesia did not always carry this attitude towards women. Traditionally and culturally Indonesian women had little influence in the public debates concerning issues that affected women both directly and indirectly, such as polygamy, education, divorce, property rights, to name just a few. Also, Muhammadiyah, being an organic organization made up of people that both

consciously and unconsciously carried similar attitudes, was not unscathed by these practices. The initial viewpoint of Muhammadiyah about women was that they were to act and strive for their own aims only within their own field and not to enter the field of male activities (Palmier1954: 261). However, being an organization that was concerned about the wellbeing of its society, especially in the area of education and religious education, women could not be discriminated against for too long. Thus, the creation of Aisyiyah helped address this issue and therefore women emerged to both formally and informally address issues that were otherwise ignored by their male counterparts. However, it was not until the 32nd Muhammadiyah conference where it was agreed that Aisyiyah would be represented on the board and vote with men on matters of common concern (Palmier 1954: 261).

Women in Aisyiyah were very much aware of its patriarchal society and structure and therefore instead of being vocal about their opinions publicly, they would take advantage of private gatherings of males and females to express their opinions based on their own interpretations of the Qur'an concerning matters that affected women directly (Doorn Hader 2006: 5-6). Doorn-Hader finds the case of Indonesia interesting because women continue to play a strong role in the interpretation and practice of Islam, which, as she states, is generally considered an oxymoron (7). Women in Aisyiyah were active in midwifery teaching, and many areas of community work. They worked tirelessly for the cause of their society because they wanted to be "good Muslims" (Doorn-Hader 2006: 129). Furthermore, while striving to strengthen the position of women, the women were successful in espousing the view that women complement men. Therefore both men and

women should work together within an Islamic framework and enhance each other's work rather than competing against each other (129).

In conclusion, despite the shortcomings in the development approaches of the government, it is clear that civil society and particularly FBOs have turned out to be beneficial in Indonesia because they have continuously catalyzed motivation and action for change among its followers. Religion has been in the forefront of both the public and private lives of the Indonesian people. Muhammadiyah's use of Islam has allowed its members to harness the human desires towards good and put into practice the teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunnah to the best of their abilities. They have worked tirelessly during Dutch colonialism and continue to provide the support Indonesian society needs through their various activities in the areas of education, health, and empowerment of women, to name a few.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an analysis of the field research and link it to the research question. The objective of the field research was to witness the presence of Muhammadiyah firsthand and understand *if* and *how* they have been contributing to the enhancement of women, thus contributing to development. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section explains how the field research was conducted in Indonesia. And the second section analyzes the responses of the interviewees in terms of the research question by linking it with the conceptual framework established in Chapter 2, and the case of Indonesia outlined in Chapter 3. The overall focus is to establish the relationship between religion (i.e. Islam in this particular case) and FBOs (i.e. Muhammadiyah).

Field research

The field research was conducted both by making direct observation of the society and Muhammadiyah's presence, as well as by conducting semi-structured interviews with leaders and members of Muhammadiyah. A total of ten individuals were selected based on their involvement with Muhammadiyah. These individuals were identified with the assistance of the Secretary of the Provincial Board of Muhammadiyah East Java, and my personal interaction with the members during the two major Muhammadiyah events, 100th year Anniversary of Muhammadiyah and the International Research Conference on

Muhammadiyah. The interviewees included individuals from the Education Sector and the Disaster Management sector, and former Chairs of both Muhammadiyah and its autonomous organization Aisyiyah. Out of the ten interviewees only one requested to remain anonymous; the anonymity of that individual has been fully respected throughout the research.

This thesis has shortcomings. The most important shortcoming for this kind of research is the lack of a strong knowledge of the local language. Although by the end of the study term at Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya I successfully completed and gained a good understanding of Bahasa Indonesia, I was not in a position to engage in a discussion or carry out professional interviews without risking losing important substance from the conversations with the interviewees. While I did consider hiring a professional translator, it was not possible due to budget constraints. Thus, only those who had a good understanding of English were selected. Another limitation of this research may be the small number of interviewees in comparison to the large number of Muhammadiyah members. However, the responses of the interviewees provided detailed and valuable information that would not have been possible with a survey questionnaire. And lastly the issue of gender, although addressed, has not been discussed in great depths. That being said, gender is a crosscutting theme and for Muhammadiyah the issue of gender is addressed by supporting women take-on leadership roles within Aisyiyah and Nasyyatul Aisyiyah. Although the gender of the interviewees was not a criteria to be considered for selection, it is important to note that 60 percent of the interviewee's were women while 40 percent were men.

Direct observation

While in Indonesia I was living mainly in Surabaya, which is the second largest city after Jakarta, but also had the opportunity to travel to Malang, Gresik, Madura, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and other neighbouring cities and islands to meet with Muhammadiyah members. The whole time I was in Indonesia, I was amazed to see how religious Indonesians were, including Christians (all denominations), Hindus, Buddhists and Animists. Indonesia as a country, as highlighted in Chapter 3, recognizes religion to be an important part of the Indonesian society and this is also reflected in its State Constitution. Thus, it does not come as a surprise to see the majority of Indonesians propagating their respective religions in a peaceful and confident manner through hosting conferences, free public events, book-fairs and TV shows, to name just a few. The Indonesian Muslims were more visible in their practice as compared to other religions because of their daily obligatory prayer of *salaat*, which must be performed five times a day. Whether one was at an educational institution, shopping mall, government building, or family and friends gathering, Indonesian Muslim would go about making their ablution and perform their daily prayer of *salaat* anywhere and everywhere. Moreover, it is not easy to miss the number of mosques and *musullah*'s (i.e. small prayer rooms) built almost everywhere; the call for prayer, or *adhan*, was made publically five times a day inside the mosques and it could be heard everywhere because of the use of loudspeakers; one would see devoted Muslims rushing to the nearby mosque or musullah to perform *salaat* in congregation. The purposes of these mosques were not only to lead prayers but also offer religious classes and teach how to be a good Muslim through offering free lectures, reading

materials and sometimes even “counselling” sessions for those who would request it. What was interesting to observe was that throughout my travel of the various islands, the majority of the mosques built were either affiliated with Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama (although other Muslim organizations were also building mosques, but the majority were visibly affiliated with the above two mentioned organizations). The State government had also invested in building mosques, but it seemed that they were more interested in building few but huge and grand mosques such as the Al-Akbar Mosque in Surabaya, and the Istiqlal Mosque in Jakarta, which are the biggest mosques of their respective cities. One Indonesian friend of mine informed me the government focused less on the quantity but more on the quality of the mosque, hence the “grandness”. Nevertheless, despite my personal opinion that there were more than enough mosques and musallah’s to accommodate Muslims, I did not miss a single day without noticing fundraising efforts on the streets by devoted members to either expand or build new musallah and mosques in order to accommodate their growing numbers.

Besides mosques and prayer rooms what was also interesting to observe was the number of educational institutions and health care centers. The majority of primary and secondary educational institutions (based on my personal observation of the cities I visited) were private schools and belonged to Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, as well as other Muslim and Christian affiliated organizations. An attempt through online search engines was made to identify the number of private and public education and health care centers across Indonesia but unfortunately that information is not available. As for Muhammadiyah, refer to Table 1 below the numbers of centers they have established.

Table1. No. of establishments by Muhammadiyah as of 2010

Sector Type	Number
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 4,623 kindergartens• 6,723 early childhood schools• 15 schools for the disabled• 1,137 elementary schools• 1,079 Islamic elementary schools• 347 religious schools• 1,178 junior high schools• 507 Islamic junior high schools• 158 Islamic senior high schools• 589 senior high schools• 396 vocational schools• 7 religious teacher schools• 101 Islamic boarding schools• 3 vocational schools in pharmacy• 40 universities• 93 institutes• 32 academy• 7 polytechnic
Total:	17,035

Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 71 general hospitals • 49 maternity clinics • 117 public health services for women and children • 47 polyclinics
Total: 284	
Social Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 421 orphanages • 9 senior citizen houses • 78 fostering families • 1 house for the blind
Total: 509	
Economics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 Banks that provides credit • 256 Islamic Financial Institutions • 303 cooperatives
Total: 565	

Table adapted from: www.muhammadiyah.or.id/en/content-55-det-program-kerja.html

Another interesting observation was the active interest and promotion of religious discussions at educational institutions. For example, while visiting one of the elementary schools of Muhammadiyah in Gresik,¹¹ I was surprised to see that both male and female

¹¹ SMP Muhammadiyah Elementary Gresik

teachers stayed after school voluntarily to discuss a chapter of the Qur'an once a week. In this particular school, the session was led by the principal, who was a woman. We all sat together in a circle and were asked to take turns reading a verse from the selected Chapter. At the end of the reading the floor was opened for a session of reflection and discussion of what the meaning of that chapter was and how it could be applied in one's lives. Although I was not able to retrieve the details of the discussion due to my limited understanding of Bahasa Indonesia what I did observe was the motivation, devotion and aspiration of these teachers who wanted to discuss life issues using Qur'an as a source of guidance. There was a sense of humility among the teachers who were sincerely making an effort to integrate the teaching of the Qur'an within their lives.

In another visit of Muhammadiyah school in Gresik,¹² I witnessed how students (both boys and girls) of grades 3, 4 and 5 were put together and given a chapter¹³ of the Qur'an and to read, write down what they understood of it and then discuss it with the rest of the group. I made note of how the teacher was acting as a facilitator and was not dictating to the students the meaning but rather guiding them to reflect and understand what it meant. I asked the teacher what was the purpose behind choosing that specific chapter. He mentioned that it was to get the students to understand the importance of *zakaat* and *sadaqa* so when they grow up and start earning they would not forget their obligation towards the needy and always give in charity whenever they could afford it.

¹² SMP Muhammadiyah 12 GKB Gresik.

¹³ Chapter 107 of the Qur'an- Surah al-Maun.

While I was at Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya the entire University was involved in doing charity work. Prior to officially starting classes in September, a day was dedicated where all students who were in a position to afford it were asked to participate in giving *sadaqa* (alms) to the poor in the form of staple food. More than half of the university students had showed up with bags full of rice, flour, sugar, salt, lentils and cooking oil, some even had decided to give cash rather than staple food. The students were divided up in groups with a group leader who had a pre-identified list of houses surrounding the university who had self identified themselves in need of *sadaqa*. Every group received a list and went on their way to the designated houses to distribute what they had brought. It was a day full of joy where students were not only taught the importance of charity work, but also reminded of their obligation and duty towards those in need.

My other observation was during the two major historical events that took place during my stay in Indonesia: the 100th year anniversary of Muhammadiyah and first International Research Conference on Muhammadiyah. Both events allowed me to better understand the presence, diversity, complexity and activism of Muhammadiyah within Indonesia.

Muhammadiyah's 100th year anniversary was celebrated officially on November 18th 2012. I was invited to attend the celebration with staff members of the Provincial Board of Muhammadiyah East Java of Surabaya. The event was organized at Dome Auditorium at Muhammadiyah University in Malang that could accommodate up to 8000 people. The auditorium was fully reserved for staff and volunteers of Muhammadiyah.

Attendees for the celebration included staff and volunteers from nearby villages and cities. Not only were all the seats filled, but even the staircases were fully packed. Attendees included young and old, male and female, who were present to show their pride and support for being part of such a respected organization. Everyone was dressed in their own special batik dresses that represented their affiliation to the specific local office of Muhammadiyah (or Aisyiyah). The event began with the recitation of the Holy Qur'an and followed by traditional Javanese dance and speeches made by high profile members of Muhammadiyah. What I found interesting during the event was not only the turnout of the people but the use of technology in connecting all Muhammadiyah members to celebrate this historical event together across Indonesia. Muhammadiyah was broadcasting live all the events happening in its major islands, including Aceh, Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Maluku. Just sitting in Malang I could see the huge turnout of joyful staff and volunteers of Muhammadiyah across Indonesia on the screen projector. While we were sitting at the comfort of the sheltered auditorium, Jakarta was witnessing heavy rainfall. Jakarta, which is home to Muhammadiyah's Central Main Office, had organized their event at Gelora Bung Karno Stadium, which has a seating capacity of over 80,000. The stadium was fully seated with members who had travelled from nearby cities and villages. Additionally, I was informed that the majority of the volunteers had traveled at their own expense, while many had offered free carpools to help each other get to the site of the celebration. I was also informed that free lunch was provided to all attendees by their respected local Muhammadiyah and its affiliated autonomous organization. For an outsider like me, the likelihood of confusing

Muhammadiyah's celebrations with some type of national holiday would be high! And why wouldn't it be? After all, Muhammadiyah is older than post-colonial Indonesia and they have contributed tremendously in both the anti-colonial movement and development of its society, in areas that affect all segments of the society.

The second event I observed was the International Research Conference on Muhammadiyah (IRCM) on November 29th to Dec 2nd 2012 at University of Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM). It was truly the forum where I understood how like an iceberg Muhammadiyah is; much of it lies below the public surface. The conference included renowned scholars, academics, government officials, and members of the NGO sector who spoke on diverse topics (see Appendix 1).

The conference discussed Muhammadiyah's historical birth and its use of Islam, along with how it grew and continues to grow into a strong and influential MFBO¹⁴. Through the papers presented and the discussions that followed, I realized that the history of Muhammadiyah is in fact a testimony of how the practice of *ijtihad* can bring about change. Ahmad Dahlan's realization that the Muslim population of Indonesia was falling deeper and deeper into the trap of ignorance because of their lack of Islamic education sowed the seed of a movement that took the form of Muhammadiyah. By reintroducing the teachings of Islam in the lives of the Muslim, Ahmad Dahlan was able, both directly and indirectly, to address the issue of education, poverty, and women's role within the society. Ahmad Dahlan's attempt to focus on addressing the causes of Indonesian

¹⁴ M.C Ricklefs. "Muhammadiyah in the History of Islamization in Indonesia"; Robin Bush. "A Snapshot of Muhammadiyah: Portrait of Social Change, Values and Identity". Mark R Woodward, and Inayah R. "Sociological Perspectives on the Origins of Muhammadiyah". *Papers presented at the International Conference on Muhammadiyah, Malang November 29th – December 2nd 2012.*

people's state of "backwardness" (in comparison to the colonials) and his focus on Islam made way for the adoption of values and practices that could address the need of its society. Moreover building schools and providing education to both men and women without discrimination, and creating autonomous women organizations (i.e. Aisiyah and Nasyiatul Aisiyah) prepared women for an active role within the society, including in the interpretation of the Qur'an (which is almost always dominated by men in the rest of the Muslim world). Muhammadiyah's organizational ethics and respect for the autonomy of its affiliated organization, and the diversity of society were reflected in its cooperative relationship with other organizations throughout the various islands of Indonesia.¹⁵ Muhammadiyah has also stood true to the principles of Islam by not discriminating against other religions and, when necessary, working with both the government and non-Muslim organizations for the benefit of the Indonesian people.¹⁶ The use of Islam as a guide for doing development work is, for example, reflected in its educational reforms that have adopted a cooperative system that reaches out to both Muslim and non-Muslim populations¹⁷. The respect and importance of women is reflected through its inclusive

¹⁵ Abubakar, Alyasa, "Muhammadiyah and the implementation of Shari'ah in Aceh"; Syamsiyatun, Siti "Creating *Baldatun thoyyibatun*(peace, prosperous nation) through interfaith relations: Theorizing Muhammadiyah's level of Engagements.

¹⁶ Fauzia, Amerlia, "Creating Muslim Civil Society Without Discrimination of Religion and Nationality: Muhammadiyah's Philanthropic Activities in the Colonial Period"; Husein, Rahmawati, "Extending Transnational Network: A Case Study of Muhammadiyah collaboration with Various Actors in Major Disaster Response; Benthall, Jonathan. "Two Models of Toleration in Islam-Concentric and Accommodative: A Dilemma for Muhammadiyah's Philanthropy"; Latief, Hilman, "Seeking a New Type of Social Concern for the Public Good: Muhammadiyah Philanthropic Activism and Social Entrepreneurship". *Papers presented at the International Conference on Muhammadiyah, Malang November 29th – December 2nd 2012*.

¹⁷ Mina, Hattori, "Educational Reform Towards a Cooperative Hybrid System: The Role of Muhammadiyah as a Community-Based Educational Institution"; Abdul Mu'thi & Izza Rohman N,

attitude within the discourse of religion.¹⁸ Muhammadiyah is also not oblivious to the rise of radical ideologies¹⁹ and therefore their focus on religious education is a way of addressing those rising radical ideologies that, in their thinking, are based on lack of proper religious education.

Based on my direct observation of the presence of Muhammadiyah and Indonesian society I conclude that Muhammadiyah is visibly present and active among the local communities of Indonesia. They work indiscriminately with both the government and other organizations in order to contribute to Education, Health, Social Welfare, and Women's role in society. Their goal and mission is not to create an Islamic State but rather a society that upholds the teaching of the Qur'an and Sunnah by adopting and putting into practice its teaching in one's personal, family and societal life,

Interview Analysis

The purpose of the field interviews was to investigate the relationship between Islam and the work of Muhammadiyah. This section presents each interview question, highlights its objective, and analyses the responses by linking it with the conceptual framework

“Muhammadiyah Christians: The Contribution of Muhammadiyah Education to Peaceful Religious Cohabitation in Christian Enclaves; Amirrachman, Alpha, “Education and Peace in the Moluccas, Indonesian: Dismantling Stereotypes and Nurturing Tolerant Attitude”. *Papers presented at the International Conference on Muhammadiyah, Malang November 29th – December 2nd 2012.*

¹⁸ Qibtiyah, Alimatul, “Feminist Identity and Conceptualization of Gender Issues by Muhammadiyah/ Aisyiyah Members; Nelly Van Doorn-Harder, “Aisyiyah Revisited: Agency and identity in the Post-Suharto Era”; Ogata, Satomi, “Progressiveness and Conservatism with respect to Islamic Teachings among Grassroots Members of Muhammadiyah: Regional Differences and Comparisons with NU”

¹⁹ Din Wahid, “Muhammadiyah and the Challenge of Salafism”; Munajat. “Modeling Religious Violence: A comparative analysis of the activists of Front Pembela Islam versus Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) approach; Jamhari Makruf. “ Youth and Radicalism in Muhammadiyah”.

established in chapter 2 and the case of Indonesia in order to derive a conclusion relevant to the applicable to the research question.

Religion Crucial and a Motivator

The first two questions were: “How religious are you on a scale of 0-5?” (see Appendix 2) and “How important or unimportant is religion in your personal life?” (see Appendix 3).

The objective of these two questions was to understand the importance of Islam in the lives of the staff and volunteers of Muhammadiyah in order to see whether that had some type of direct or indirect effect on the involvement of the interviewees with Muhammadiyah. Interviewees were asked to identify themselves on a scale of 0-5, zero being not religious and five being extremely religious.

The majority of the respondents identified themselves to be “very religious”. However, as noted by Ms Rahmawati Husein, Vice Chair of Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center, who considered herself to be very religious that it depends on the perception of the people because what may be very religious to some may not be very religious to others. Even though she prays five times a day, goes to the mosque and fasts during the month of Ramadan, that is not enough to be considered “very religious” using Indonesian standards (although it was not clear as to what those standards are as it can also vary within different islands and societies) but it may be considered “very religious and puritan” in the West. Additionally, what is the most striking among all those who considered themselves to be “religious” was that they all justified themselves to be among those believers who focused less on the ritualistic practices of the Islam and more

on the practicality of how to apply Islam in their daily social lives (i.e. how they interacted and communicated with their fellow human-beings). Pradana Boy, who is a lecturer at the faculty of Islamic Studies at Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, stated that often those who focus too much on carrying out rituals do not practice what they preach, "...[I] often come across religious people and find that some people are contradictory because they do not apply the piety in their life..." .

The common theme that came out from the second question was that Islam was deeply rooted in their personal lives because of the environment they grew up in and the strong belief that Islam was able to offer a way of life with clear guidelines for achieving tranquility and the progress of the society. Religion, in this sense, was regarded to activate action among its followers simply because each action taken for the wellbeing of humanity is considered an act of worship in itself. Following are some direct quotes from the interviewees:

... [T]he members act according to what the God orders them. Therefore, humans are on earth for ibadaah (worship). Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno, Chair of Aisyiyah.

...[I]believe religion is very important for our life because religion actually guides us, how to be a good person and how to be important and how to be useful to another people. And we were thought religion is like a plane with a help-navigation. I do believe that it is important. And then the source of the religion in

Islam is Qur'an and Sunnah. And I do believe it is the complete guidance for us but the problem is how we can understand about the Qur'an and Sunnah. I never found difficulty on how to become a religious person actually. And I have never found that the guide from Qur'an and Sunnah or Islam disturbs our life and I believe that it is feel free and then feel more peace when we raise our children with religious things because to become religious person is actually the natural demand of human being (Herni Ramdlanningrum, Program Manager, Child Care Indonesia and Volunteer with Aisyiyah Central Board in Jakarta).

Yes, of course! Religion is very important. Because it is a way of life- Islam gives me all aspect of life- Islam claim that it is universal religion. So it consists of both this world and hereafter (Achmad Jainuri, Rector at Universitas Muhammadiyah Sidoarjo and Board Member of Muhammadiyah).

For me Islam is a way of Life so It is very important- so what I am doing is the impact – so do good with people especially when I joined Muhammadiyah all my life was colored with religion. The way my life is actualized using religion, through Muhammadiyah I can impact more people (Dr. Rahmawati Husein, Vice Chair of Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center and Professor at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta).

The conclusion derived from the above responses is that Islam plays an important role among the interviewees. Islam is regarded as a “way of life” and following its principles in all aspects of their lives was considered an act of *ibadah* (worship). Being part of Muhammadiyah allowed the respondents to put into action the teachings of Islam. Their understanding of Islam was not limited to the ritualistic practices of praying five times but rather included contributing to the society. Thus, one can see that religion as discussed in Chapter 2 can work as a source of motivation and turn out to be greatly beneficial for the development of the society.

Religion Important both in the private and public sphere

The question asked was, “Should religion be limited to public or private life and why” (see Appendix 4) and “what is the role of religion in the daily lives of Indonesian people” (see Appendix 5). The purpose of this question was to understand how the respondent envisioned the potential of religion, i.e. Islam, both in their private and public lives.

Almost all the interviewees considered Islam to be significant in both private and public life. Below are some selected direct quotes from the interviews that shows these sentiments,

Islam is not only private it is also public. So that’s why how specially when the religious aspects fall in the public life. The social ethics- how I come on time because it’s religious. So the social aspect, working hard is religious. And Muhammadiyah has been able to campaign for this teaching; Islam is more than practicing Salaat, Fasting and Zakat so that’s why Muhammadiyah said no, Islam

is more than that, that's why Muhammadiyah formally adopted some aspects that were very strange for some people at that time (Achmad Jainuri).

In term of ethical, it should be expanded to public because it gives the society guidance. Religion has some idea on the directions and together with other ideologies... Society is different- some are plural and homogeneous societies so we need to have some ways to resolve the differences and conflicts of the public so the government becomes the umpire or referee (Interviewee“P”).

Expanded to Public Life- Islam is Universal. It is a guidance because Islam has universal message that could be implemented in all of life whether they are Muslims or not (Dra. Hj.Susilaningsih K- Head of Aisyiyah in Yogyakarta).

For me, religion in terms of personal devotion you can do it in private life. But in term of how you socialize because humans are not alone person so you have to interact so in those directions you have to include religion as a public. Therefore it is not easy if religion should be private or public- for me its both. For example, whether you want to fast or not you cannot force someone to fast but you can invite them to do it but you cannot force them. A call from your own spirit to devote yourself to god. In terms of social life- then you have to bring the values, the norms, the spirit of religious to the community, otherwise you detach from

the community and you put religion in only one terms of practices so it becomes a routine and not for the helping of the people to do good (Rahmawati Hussein).

To both- because Islam deals with social, political and personal issues (Ahmad Syafi Maarif, former leader of Muhammadiyah- 1998-2005).

The one individual who argued that religion should be limited to private life based it on the reasoning that diluting religion in all aspects of live without having any boundaries would be problematic and dangerous as religion has the potential of turning into extreme or fundamentalist ideologies:

I think it (i.e. religion) should be in private life. In our current situation there are people that are excessively religious – they can appropriate position themselves to be religious or not and cannot differentiate between what is religious affairs and what is not. Something like fundamentalist Muslims in Indonesia tend to harmonize everything and any single entity in our lives, any single thing in our lives during our daily situation, they try to use religion. In a multicultural state like Indonesia, it is not appropriate. So private should be kept private (Pradana Boy- lecturer at the Faculty of Islamic Studies, Universities Muhammadiyah Malang).

Religious extremism and fundamentalism is, without doubt, a big issue. However, as suggested by one of the interviewee, the government should act as a “referee” to address

such scenarios and play a greater and active role in resolving conflict and differences in pluralistic communities. Herni Ramdlanningrum made a comment rather different from the others with regards to the role of religion being both a private and public issue. She stated that because religion is part of Indonesia and everyone is surrounded by it, anyone who does not believe in religion in a community could easily be 'crush' or isolated from community. Therefore in order to be part of the society and not be isolated one has to associate with religion:

Religion is not only about the personal thing for me. Religion is to guide us to how to be part of the community. Yeah, absolutely Religion should take place at the community. I do not understand that if religion is only important for the personal... there probably they will crush in the community for some people who do not believe in the religion and people who believe in the true essence of religion. And as to why religion should be bring into the community and to the public area. To build and bring understanding to what kind of religion that chooses, how that person do the practicing of the religion, how each other could respect each other about people who do the religion or not (Herni Ramdlanningrum).

All the interviewee's responded that religion played a crucial role in the daily lives of Indonesian people as well as in the development of Indonesian society. It was pointed out that Indonesia is witnessing an increase in the number of religious activities such as building of mosques, going for Hajj and the number of people attending Eid prayers each

year, along with the increase of women wearing hijab (i.e Dr. Syafiq A. Mughni, Chairman of East Java Muhammadiyah). Furthermore, religious affiliation is not a choice but a legal requirement in Indonesia because Indonesians are required by law to identify themselves with one of the five recognized religions listed in the Indonesian Constitution. Thus, Achmed Jainuri states that as a result often non-Muslims are found practicing Islamic principles better than “Muslims”. Thus, the increase in the likelihood that those who identify themselves with a particular religion should not automatically assume to be following that particular religion’s authentic form. Ahmed Maarif also agrees that although Indonesians identify themselves with a particular religion they mostly lack its understanding. Additionally, Herni makes a very crucial statement which addresses an important question of whether Islam is truly practiced in its authentic form in Indonesia- she states that Indonesian is suffering from one of the highest rates of drug abuse, HIV and AIDS, and corruption and therefore it is ironic for it to be the largest Muslim populated country in the world because if the Indonesian Muslims did practice what is preached they would not be suffering these ills:

[m]any young people who use drugs is high and many HIV numbers high in Indonesia...we will do a re- question, is it true that Islam influence really the daily lives of Indonesia. If it is true then the situation suppose not to exist and people should understand how to become good person and not in touch with the hazards of the danger things for the love of their community surrounding them...but in fact...

You know that ...for me to become a religious person you have to know how to internalize religion into your life into your heart and then how to show in your daily activities...for example our government, Indonesia is number 3rd of the corrupted country in the world, so if Indonesia is the largest Muslim population in the world., then why is there corruption? That is really ironic (Herni R).

The conclusion derived from the above question and responses is that Islam is believed to be essential in both private and public lives of the majority because it is regarded as a “Guide” and “Way of life”. This is important to identify because when working in communities where religion is understood and believed to be a “way of life”, promoting or igniting non-religious ideologies can result in the isolation of individuals. However, one must also not assume that just because religion is considered to be important it is practiced authentically, particularly in the case of Indonesian because identifying one with a particular religion is not an option but required by the Constitution. This makes one question to what extent people who claim to be affiliated with a religion practice or even believe in it, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Religion used to improve societies

Two questions were asked to identify if and how religion was significant in the improvement of the society: “Do you believe religion to be crucial to the improvement of societies? If yes, in what ways? If not, why not?” (Appendix 6); and “Have you benefited

from religion yourself? If yes, how and in what ways? If not, has it caused you or anyone else you know damage or harm in any way” (Appendix 7).

It was understood (based on the previous responses) that religion played an important role within both private and public lives of the Indonesian people. However, what was interesting in this particular responses was the emphasis on the source and context of the religious interpretations. Religion was considered to prevent society from moral decay because it strengthened one spiritually. However, this was a condition based on how religious teachings are interpreted and put into practice. All respondents stated that they had all benefited from practicing religion, i.e. Islam, in one way of the other. Practicing Islam provided them with a purpose in life, guidelines, discipline, generosity, desire to help people, respect people and seek of knowledge. Additionally, Islam is also regarded to help both spiritually and emotionally, and even materially. Pradana Boy quoted his friend who joked with me that “if it wasn’t for religion he wouldn’t have had a job”. Religion can play different roles and fulfill different needs of individuals, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 2 under “Religion”. Practicing religion has also helped in coming to terms with what is or what is not granted in life and still be thankful. Hence, as stated by Marx “religion is the opium of people”. Rahmawati Husein, on the other hand, found practicing Islam liberating because she believed that by identifying and wearing hijab she was able to do what she wanted without being taken advantage of for being a women. She also mentioned that in places where Muslims were a minority identifying herself as a Muslim had many advantages such as being able to stand out in the crowd and uses that to her advantage of networking during professional meetings and travels.

Religion enhancing the condition of women

The following questions were posted to identify how and if religion had contributed in the enhancement of women, thus contributing to development: “Is there a clear distinction between religious practices and cultural practices in Indonesian culture? (see Appendix 8)”; “Describe the status of women in Indonesia” (see Appendix 9); “What are some of the challenges that both men and women face when it comes to education in Indonesia” (see Appendix 10); “Has Muhammadiyah been successful in addressing practices that prevent women from education and participation in the society? If yes, please identify and provide example. If not, give example(s) (see Appendix 11).

Indonesia is a pluralistic society, which has been influenced by different religions and cultural practices throughout its history. Therefore it is difficult to draw clear lines between the religion and culture. It was clear by the responses of the interviewee’s that religion and cultural practices in Indonesia are diluted and it is difficult to distinguish what is religion and what is culture (see responses in Appendix 8). In fact some even regard religion and culture to be complementing each other. Muhammadiyah particularly was praised for being the MFBO that had been striving to clarify the lines between Islamic principles and cultural practices – also discussed in detail in chapter 3. However, Pradana Boy believes that religion cannot be separated from the realities of culture and therefore it must adapt when necessary, which is extremely important, especially in multi-religious societies. Achmed Jainuri suggests that both religion and cultural understanding are crucial for development of a society: “Diversity in Unity”, which is a slogan implemented and promoted by Indonesian government. Indonesia is a country in

which religion and culture are most of the time used synonymously: “Islam is already a Culture in Indonesia” (Dra. Hj. Susilaningsih K- Head at Aisyiyah Yogyakarta).

In terms of Indonesian women’s issues and their role in society, it was noted that poverty along with health care was one of the several challenges that Indonesian women face. Dr. Rahmawati Husein stated that cultural practices have put a lot of pressure on women, including taking care of both household activities and family planning and the cost of contraceptives. The use of condoms among men is considered to be something that is used for sexual activity outside of marriage and not for family planning. Although all interviewees identified that politically women in Indonesian have much better status in comparison to other Muslim populated countries (the parliament has 30 percent of its seats reserved and filled by women), the Indonesian culture still had its bias against women’s public roles, unless a woman was affiliated with a privileged family. Herni Ramdlanningrum made an important comment with regards to why Indonesia was able to have a women president. According to her opinion, the one reason why Indonesia accepted a female president is because she was the daughter of the first president of Indonesia:

...[s]he (i.e. Diah Permata Megawati Setiawati Sukarnoputri) was the daughter of our first president. If she was nobody, no one will choose her. Everyone choose her because of her father not because of her. I do believe if she runs for the president and she is not the daughter of Sokarno she won’t be elected (Herni Ramdlanningrum).

To a large degree Herni may be accurate. However, what is also important to note about Indonesia and its culture is that it is diverse and every island has its own unique cultural beliefs and practices. The geographical setting of a community does impact the role of women and the gender dynamic of a particular society. Gender roles can be affected depending on whether a community is located on a coastal area or farmland. Women in coastal areas are heavily involved in domestic activities and at times help out in the market but women in farming communities will be involved in domestic activities but will equally help in the land beside their husbands. As noted by Pradana Boy:

From my experience – I would like to compare my experience with my hometown Lamongan and Malang- these are two different areas that represent two different geograophic entities. My hometown is a coastal community so they have a different lifestyle and way of life, they have different attitude and culture. In Malang they have fertile soil. So the status of women is interesting in both cities because both men and women work cooperatively in Java. For example, in Lamongan, if my father went to the rice field then my mother will come later with food. So my mother stay at home prepare food and then come to the rice field and then stay and work together so they work cooperatively. Javanese have their own local wisdom of how women and men cooperate in life. Although in Javanese case there is a simple but interesting idea that women are ‘konjovonging’ = meaning that women are supporting companion....but in the back (Pradana Boy).

Despite the various responses of the interviewees, what was clear regarding women's status in Indonesia was that the interviewees believed Indonesian women have more rights compared to other Muslim populated countries.

Interviewee "I" shed light on women's roles in terms of public and private sphere. The interviewee commented that women in Indonesia have progressed in the public sphere as they are now able to participate in the parliament, study any subject they wish and take on management positions at work. However when it came to private sphere, (i.e. at home), the man always had the lead. Thus, the interviewee is of the opinion that "changing public attitudes is easy but changing attitudes in the private sphere is difficult". Muhammadiyah, in this matter, has been credited for providing women with a safe platform where they have been able to participate, and take on leadership roles using the history and teaching of Islam as their source of support. Women are in the forefront of leading Qur'anic teachings and discussions as well as they have been managing cooperatives and micro-credit businesses (i.e. Aisyiyah various programs). Muhammadiyah's long history of involvement in the community has won the trust of families and communities who are comfortable for their women to be involved outside their homes. Prior to the establishment of Muhammadiyah in 1912, women's role was limited to domestic activities. However, with the establishment of Muhammadiyah's women's wings, Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, women were given a safe platform to get involved in activities outside of their homes as highlighted in Chapter 3 under Women and Muhammadiyah. Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah,

encouraged both boys and girls to get education and pursue higher education. Girls were especially encouraged to become doctors and engineers. In fact Muhammadiyah (and Nahlatul Ulama) is considered to be the one of the most influential MFBOs that has contributed in areas of education, health, and social welfare. Muhammadiyah has been providing religious education to women in order to equip them so they can deal with issues and take advantage of opportunities and contribute towards the wellbeing of the society. Herni Ramdlanningrum considers Ahmad Dahlan to be the “initiator” of making women leaders in the community. However, Herni is critical about the idea behind having two autonomous women organizations within Muhammadiyah - she feels that this only “boxes” women and limit their influence and potential; she used the example of how women are yet to fully be able to participate at the Board level of Muhammadiyah even though the Muhammadiyah’s constitution does not state that only a man can be the chair, However, members have yet to allow a woman to be the chair of Muhammadiyah:

...since Muhammadiyah has several autonomous organizations, Muhammadiyah divided the autonomous organization by sex and age. So we can see that in Muhammadiyah we are trying to make a bloc or box to woman- that is the problem. Because Aisyiyah really wants to become part of the election of the Mautamar (i.e chairperson) in Muhammadiyah. Aisyiyah says, “ If Aisyiyah is part of Muhammadiyah so Aisyiyah should elected in the congress of Mautamar of Muhamamdiyah but men in Muhammadiyah say “No, Aisyiyah stay in Aisyiyah- you don’t have to do that – you don’t have to involved in Muhammadiyah” ... Even the Chairman of the council, we never found a female

become a Chairman of council (Herni Ramdlanningrum).

Another interesting observation and comment was made by Akhtim Wahyuni, Vice Chief of Aisyiyah East Java. She stated that women's own understanding of cultural practices and religious understanding about women can at times be the cause of their own misery because they agree to the belief that men are higher than women and therefore they have to limit themselves to domestic activities:

I think there is a challenge for women in Indonesia. But sometimes the challenge is not from others but sometimes from themselves. Because there are many belief of women that they have to obey to the men because the men are higher than the woman so they have to sit at home and the man work outside (Akhtim Wahyuni, Vice Chief of Aisyiyah East Java).

And lastly, in terms of education, the interviewees claimed that there is no major challenge in the current time for women when it comes to education. Both men and women can pursue further education without any cultural or religious barriers; however, financial circumstances do become the deciding factor for families to allow girls to continue their education. Furthermore, despite men and women having equal access to education, at times the requirements make it difficult for women to participate:

Access is open- but sometimes the requirements are not very woman friendly. For example , for certain scholarships they put the age limit for male and women same but it becomes difficult for female lectures because women under 35 are

busy with their reproductive and their time is ticking whereas men do not have the same restriction. So as female, if we want to apply then we have to leave our hometown and if they don't have support from the family then its difficult. So access is open but the support is still very limited. And finally there are very few women who can participate in such activities. (Interviewee "I").

Religion is considered to be a strong force of change. However Dr. Syafiq A. Mughni, Rector at Universitas Muhammadiyah Sidoarjo, cautioned and emphasized how religion is understood and practiced:

...If we understand religion correctly then the religion becomes the factor to develop for better life. But when the religious understanding is outdated then it becomes hindrance for progress. Sometimes it is interpreted between culture and religion. Religious understanding can be influenced by cultural and local culture can also be influenced by religious understanding. What we do is the meaning and the understanding of religion... (Dr. Syafiq A Mughni).

Nevertheless, Herni goes beyond the issue of "interpretation" of religion and holds the "ego of men" to be the issue, she states:

I don't think it is the interpretation of the religion but it is the ego of the men, this is what I believe. I ever found a troubling discussion between a chairperson of Aisiyah and chairperson of Muhammadiyah, I cannot say the name, this lady has a good understanding about Al-Qur'an and Sunnah and she is explaining how Al

Qur'an and Hadiths give opportunity, wide opportunity for female to become a leader- but this man as one of the chair in Muhammadiyah, he still insisted that "No woman cannot be leader in one community- unless only for women group"; and he cannot provide any reason using religion (Herni Ramdlanningrum).

After analyzing the responses of the interviewees, the literature review and case of Indonesia, we are able to conclude that the use of Islam in its authentic form (i.e. using Qur'an and Sunnah) within Muhammadiyah has allowed for the development of a movement that continues to inspire and motivate people. They are in return both directly and indirectly bringing about change within themselves and in their societies. One can conclude that Muhammadiyah has contributed to the enhancement of women's condition by addressing practices that were not supported by Islamic texts and including both men and women in the discourse of religion.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In conclusion this thesis research has demonstrated that religion plays a crucial role in the development of a society. The field of development is diverse and therefore the approach or approaches to development adopted must rather reflect both the immediate and long-term needs of the society in question. Despite the limited support around the role of religion, particularly Islam, within the theory and practice of development, religion in Indonesia is proving to play an active role in the development of its society.

Muhammadiyah, in the case of Indonesia, provides an excellent case study, which demonstrates how the use of Islam contributed to the development of society, particularly in the enhancement of women through education and participation. This was demonstrated by first providing a review and critique of relevant literature on issues surrounding development, religion and Islam, as well as contextual information on Indonesia; and second, by analyzing the data gathered through primary research on Muhammadiyah by means of semi-structured interviews during the six month field research on the island of East Java.

The Literature review in chapter 2 provided the theoretical framework relevant to understanding the discourse surrounding Development, Religion and Islam. The chapter demonstrated that religion per se does not hinder development but if and when used within a well-informed framework can be one of the strongest force or means to promote and practice development. This was achieved through first providing a critique of a Eurocentric concept of development that has, to a large degree, focused on the

“economic” aspects of life. Second, it discussed religion and its crucial role in society within the discourse of development. Religion was able to address both the materialistic and spiritual needs of human beings which, when examined within an Alternative Development paradigm, has the ability to address the shortcomings of the mainstream development theories. Various reasons were discussed as to why religion has historically been neglected from the field of development; the consensus formed from those reasons was that the industrialized countries of the West had lost the many functions of religion within their own societies, which resulted in the legitimization of secular authority. However, this is not the case in other parts of the world. The history of Islam does not have the same connotation as the history of religion in Europe. Europe achieved Enlightenment through the separation of state and religion, whereas the Muslim World (i.e. Middle East) had reached the heights of progress during the Golden Age of Islam and not through the separation of religion and the state.

Chapter 2 also discussed Islam and how it provided an example of a framework that allows for the harmonization of both the materialistic and spiritual needs of life. It was demonstrated that the concept of religion within Islam is understood to be a “way of life” that encompassed both material and spiritual needs of people; various concepts such as *zakaat*, *sadaqa* and *ilm* were discussed to examine how Islam approached development issues such as poverty and education. These concepts and practices in Islam are not limited to Muslims but its benefits are extended to both Muslims and non-Muslims. Islam’s concept of *zakaat* and *sadaqa* emphasis the distribution and redistribution of wealth among the needy, while *ilm* focuses on the importance of seeking

and applying of knowledge for the benefit of the society. These obligatory acts have and can continue to directly and indirectly address poverty and various related issues, including the education. To assume that economic development is able to address the issues of development is nothing but a wishful thinking that only adds to the illusion that development is something that can be achieved by focusing merely on economics. Religion on the other hand offers an alternative form of development that is not limited to mere economic development. It continues to shape the lives of its adherents.

Chapter 3 examined the thesis question within the context of Indonesia. The chapter demonstrated Islam's influential role within the Indonesian society. From fighting colonialism, to addressing the shortcomings of the government by adopting both leadership and cooperative approach, Islam has been used as a guide and framework to address the needs of its changing society. Indonesian Muslims during colonial period considered development to be getting out of the chains of backwardness and going back to the original form of Islam in order to achieve progress. Muslims continue to believe that the Qur'an and Sunnah provide a lifestyle that can address the needs and concerns of the society. By acquiring Islamic education Muslims are able to rationalize within boundaries they understand to be set by God, and practicing its principles prevents the society from falling into the traps of underdevelopment and backwardness. Indonesia is a living example of the consequences of educating women in Islamic principles. They have taken full advantage of these two sources and actively participating in both the interpretation of religion and putting into practice its teachings within their own lives and communities.

Muhammadiyah was then used as an example of a Muslim Faith Based Organizations that build its organizational foundation on Islamic teachings and addressed the needs of its society by focusing on education. This focus allowed for its followers to re-think and realize their obligation and potential within the society. Its founder, Ahmad Dahlan, believed that through acquiring religious education the people would be able to pull themselves out of the state of ignorance and backwardness and address their own needs using appropriate tools. The goal of education within an Islamic framework is not to make people's skills marketable (although this is a by-product) but rather to break the chain of ignorance and contribute in the betterment of the society because any kind of knowledge that does not benefit the individual and the society is considered to be useless or wasted knowledge. By providing facilities of education, health care and social safety nets in the form of charity, micro-credit loans, educational institutions, as well as including women to actively participate as members of the society, Muhammadiyah has been able to meet the needs of its society in various capacities and contribute to its improvement and progress. The inclusion of women in religious education made way and strengthened women's role within their society because they were now able to use the Qur'an and voice their own issues and concerns and not be totally dependent on men. Most importantly, this simple inclusion of women in the interpretation of religious text has increased literacy among women as well as allowed them to participate and challenge norms and beliefs that were as a result of patriarchal power structure than religion per se.

Chapter 4 shared direct observations from the field and analyzed the interviews. Based on the direct observation and semi-structured interviews conducted, it was

concluded that Religion is considered important within the Indonesian society. It acts as a motivating factor and, not only is it visible, but important both in the public and private lives of the majority of Indonesians. All the female interviewees echoed that women were directly benefiting from religion because families were more trusting of allowing their women take on leadership roles in communities, travel for work and education purposes, run businesses as long as it was somewhat connected with religion.

Having examined the secondary sources as well as by studying the interviews and observation data, my conclusion is that Muhammadiyah works from the approaches of Alternative Development. They base their plans and projects on the needs of the community rather than focusing on economic growth, and these needs can vary from island to island, across Indonesia. Thus, one can see welfare and human development, as discussed by Amartya Sen and Mahbub ul Haq, to be as higher objectives within Muhammadiyah, using the Qur'an and Sunnah as their point of reference.

Muhammadiyah approach of identifying their projects is vastly dependent on the needs of the communities; they work together with the communities to identify their needs and capabilities and the assist them live the life they value and have reasons to value, as advocated by Amartya Sen in his discussion around capabilities approach. Additionally, they have worked tirelessly to enhance their capabilities especially with regards to women. For example, women are encouraged and assisted to pursue higher education, take on leadership roles within their communities and outside, run micro-finance projects, contribute in discussions that affect both men and women, and participate in the discourse of religious text interpretation. They have indirectly enhanced the power of women by

welcoming and including them in the interpretation of religious texts, which women have been using to challenge barriers that would otherwise prevent them from being active and contributing members of the society. This “simple” act of inclusion of women in the religious discourse has already and will continue to contribute to the balance of power in a patriarchal society.

Therefore, Development as a concept and practice should not be restricted to one particular or dominant understanding but rather examined, understood and practiced based on the *uniquality* (a term I came up with by joining the word “unique” and “quality”) of each society and nation. Muhammadiyah’s approach falls under an alternative form of development because it has contributed greatly in the welfare of the Indonesian society through addressing social issues such as education, health and poverty. Development is best understood and practiced when it is framed and defined by the needs of its respected local communities. Any ‘framework’ to examine development must be unique to the needs of its society but must also have the basic fundamentals of what development could possibly look like using the already established development paradigms. Every country has its own development history; and in the case of Indonesian Islam has and continues to play a significant role in the progress of its society. The definition of development that emerges from the work of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia is that development is about adopting a lifestyle that allows moving forward and improving one’s condition but not at the expense of others. It is about identifying one’s own and the society’s shortcomings through self-reflection and working together with the community members to develop solutions. It is about knowing one’s responsibility and capability and

not fall trap into the illusions of monetary growth but being conscious of spiritual, moral and social growth. This approach of Muhammadiyah easily complements the definition of development within an alternative development approach.

That being said, there needs to be further research to examine the work of Muhammadiyah and how the concept of “complementary” within Islam can contribute to the discourse of development and gender; and how the dynamics could potentially change as more and more Muslim women participate in the interpretation of the religious texts which may change the power and authority dynamics (keeping in mind that Qur’an and Sunnah defines the fundamental roles and responsibilities of both men and women). One may already witness the wind of change by looking at the women in Aisyiyah, although very proud and appreciative of the support and leadership of Muhammadiyah, who are beginning to raise questions of both the potential and limitations of being an autonomous body within Muhammadiyah.

Bibliography

- Abdullah, Taufik (1996). The Formation of a New Paradigm? A Sketch on Contemporary Islamic Discourse. In Mark Woodard (ed). *Towards a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought*. Tempe: Arizona State University Program for Southeast Asian Studies.
- Adullah, Taufik. (1999). Historical Reflections on Civil Society in Indonesia In Fuad, Mohammed (2002). "Civil Society in Indonesia: The Potential and Limits of Muhammadiyah". *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 17(2): 133-63.
- Ahmad, K. (1978). *Economic Development in an Islamic Framework*. Leicester: The Islamic Foundation
- Ahmed, Leila (1992) *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical roots of a modern debate*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Akhtar, S. W. (1997). The Islamic concept of knowledge. *Al-Tawhid: A Quarterly Journal of Islamic Thought & Culture*, 12(3). Retrieved from: <http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/islam-know-conc.htm>
- Al-Attas, S. M. N. (1977). *Aims and objectives of Islamic education*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Alfian (1969). Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics: The Muhammadiyah Movement During the Dutch Colonial Period (1912-1942). Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Wisconsin.
- Alfian (1989). *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization Under Dutch Colonialism*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press
- Al-Ghazali, A.H. (1999). *The Revival of the Religious Sciences, Book 2: The Foundations of the Articles of Faith*. (transl. N.A. Faris), Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf Publishers.
- Ali, Mukti. (1957). The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction
- Ali, Mukti. (1957). *The Muhammadiyah Movement: A Bibliographical Introduction*". MA dissertation, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Almond, Gabriel. (1960). Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics.

- In Almond, Gabriel., & Coleman, James C (Eds), *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ananta, Kumar Giri., Harskamp, Anton van., & Salemink, Oscar (eds) (2004). *The Development of Religion, The Religion of Development*. Delft: Eburon.
- Anson Shupe, (1990). "The Stubborn Persistence of Religion in the Global Arena," in Sahliyah, E. F. *Religious Resurgence and Politics in the Contemporary World*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Ariff, M. (1991) Introduction', in M. Ariff (ed.). *The Islamic Voluntary Sector in Southeast Asia* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1–5.
- Apter, David (1965). *The Politics of Modernization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Arnez, M. (January 01, 2010). Empowering Women Through Islam: Fatayat NU Between Tradition and Change. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 21, 1: 59-88.
- Badawi, Jamal. (2010). *Islam Just Another Religion?* Retrieved from Dr. Jamal Badawi website:
http://jamalbadawi.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5&Itemid=15
- Bakti, A. M. F. (1993). *Islam And Nation Formation In Indonesia*. MA dissertation. McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Balchin, Cassandra. (2003). With her Feet on the Ground: Women, Religion and Development in Muslim Communities. *Religion and Development*, 46(4): 39-49.
- Banton, Michael., ed (1966). *Anthropological Approached to the Study of Religion*. London: Tavistock Publication
- Barry-Shaw, N., & Jay, Dru Oja. (2012). *Paved with Good Intentions: Canada's Development NGOs from Idealism to Imperialism*. Winnipeg: Fernwood
- Bastin, John Sturgus., & Benda, Harry J. (1968). *A History of Modern Southeast Asia: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Decolonization*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- BBC. (18 January 2010). Mauritania Fatwa Bans Female Genital Mutilation. *BBC News*. Retrieved from :<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8464671.stm>
- Benda, H. J. (1958). *The Crescent and The Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam Under The Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*. The Hague: van Hoeve.

- Benda, H. J. (1960). Nusantara: A History of Indonesia. Bernard H. M. Vlekke. *Far Eastern Survey*, 29: 6-92.
- Benthall, J. (1999). Financial worship: the Qur'anic injunction to almsgiving. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. 27(1): 27-42
- Berger, Peter, L. (ed) (1999). *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Washington, D.C: Ethics and Public Policy Center.
- Bernstein, Bernstein. (1971). Modernization Theory and the Sociological Study of Development. *Journal of Development Studies*, 7 (2): 141-160
- Berkley Center. (2008). *Inspired by Faith: A Background Report 'Mapping' Social Economic Development Work in the Muslim World*. Washington DC: Georgetown University. Retrieved from Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs website:
<http://repository.berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/BerkDohaBackgrounder.pdf>
- Blackburn, Susan (2004). *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boland, B.J. (1971). *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
In Lukens-Bull. (2001). Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Indonesian Islamic Education". *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*. 32 (3): 350-372
- Bompani, Barbara; Frahm-Arp, Maria; (2010). *Development and Politics from Below: Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State*. Houndmills; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Borowik, Irena (March 2011). The Changing Meanings of Religion: Sociological Theories of Religion in the Perspective of the Last 100 Years. *International Review of Sociology*. 21(1): 175-189.
- Bradley, Tamsin (2009). A Call for Clarification and Critical Analysis of the Work of Faith-Based Development Organizations. *Progress in Development Studies*, 9(2): 101-114
- Brian S. Turner. (1990). *Religion and Social Theory*, 2nd. London: Sage.
- Burhani, Ahmad Najib (2006). "The Ideological Shift of Muhammadiyah from Cultural Into Puritanical Tendency in 1930s". *Journal Masyarakat dan Budaya*. VIII(1): 1-22

- Casanova, J. (1994). *Public Religions In The Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chambers, Robert., Narayan, Deepa., Petesch, Patti., & Shah, Meera Kaul. (2000). *Voices of the Poor: Reports*. Retrieved from World Bank website:
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/0,,contentMDK:20613045~menuPK:336998~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:336992~isCURL:Y~isCURL:Y,00.html>
- Chambers, Robert. (2002). Power, Knowledge and Policy Influence: Reflections on an Experience. In Brock, K. & McGee, R. (eds) *Knowing Poverty: Critical Reflections on Participatory Research and Policy*, London:Earthscan Publications, pp. 135-165
- Chang, Ha-Joon and Grabel, Ilene. (Winter 2004-2005). Reclaiming Development from the Washington Consensus. *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, 27(2): 273-291.
- Chapra, M.U. (2008). The Islamic Vision of Development: Thoughts on Economics. *The Quarterly Journal of Islamic Economics Research Bureau (Bangladesh)* 18(3): 7–38.
- Taylor, Charles (1993). *Invoking Civil Society: Philosophical Arguments*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Chopra, K., G. Kadekodi, & M. Murty. (1990). *Participatory Development*. London: SAGE
- CIA. *The World Factbook: Indonesia*. Retrieved from CIA website:
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/id.html>
- CIDA . CIDA's Country Development Programming Framework for Indonesia- 2005-2009. *Canadian International Development Agency*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/NAT-1118134851-Q3L>
- Clarke, G. (2007). Agents of Transformation? Donors, Faith-Based Organizations and International Development. *Third World Quarterly*, 28(1): 77-96.
- Clarke, G. and Jennings, M. (eds.) (2008). *Development, Civil Society and Faith-based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cornia, Giovanni Andrea., Jolly, Richard., & Stewart Frances. (1987-1988). *Adjustment with a Human Face*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Cowen, M.P.; Shenton, R.W.. (1996). *Doctrines of Development*. Taylor & Francis.
Retrieved from: <http://lib.mylibrary.com?ID=9416>
- Curran, Sara & Perecman, Ellen (2006) *A Handbook for Social Science Field Research: Essays & Bibliography Sources on Research Design and Methods*. SAGE Publications. California
- de Gruchy, J. (1995). *Christianity and democracy: A theology for a just world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deneulin, Severine; and Rakodi, Carole. (2011). "Revisiting Religion: Development Studies Thirty Years On". *World Development*. 39 (1): 45-54.
- Deutsch, Karl.(1953). *Nationalism and Social Communication*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Dooley, Larry M. (2002). Case Study Research and Theory Building. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 4 (3): 335-354.
- Doorn-Harder, Pieterella van (2006). *Women Shaping Islam: Reading the Qur'an in Indonesia*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Dube, S.C (1988). *Modernization and Development: The Search for Alternative Paradigms*. The United Nations University: Tokyo.
- Eade, Deborah ; Ligteringen, Ernst. (2001). *Debating Development: NGOs and the Future*. Oxford: Oxfam GB for Oxfam International.
- Eaton, H. G. (1982). Knowledge and the Sacred. *The Islamic Quarterly*, 26(3): 138–148.
- Ebaugh, H.R (September 2002). Return of the Sacred: Reintegrating Religion in the Social Sciences. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 41(3): 385-395
- Escobar, A. (2006). Post-development. In D. A. Clarke (Ed.), *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies* (pp. 447–451). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Esposito, J. L., & Voll, J. O. (1996). *Islam and democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Esposito, John.L., Osman, Bakar., & Voll, John Obert. (2008). *Asian Islam in the 21st Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Peter (Summer 2002). Collective Capabilities, Culture, And Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom. *Studies in Comparative International Development*,

37(2): 54-60.

- Farouki, Suha Taji; & Wiktorowicz, Quintan. (Aug, 2000). Islamic NGOs and Muslim Politics: A Case from Jordan. *Third World Quarterly*, 21(4): 685-699.
- Ferris, Elizabeth (June 2005). Faith-Based Organization and Secular Humanitarian Organizations. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 87 (858): 311-325.
- Fountain, Philip M. (July 2010). Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular. *Progress in Development Studies*, 10(3): 273.
- Fowler, Alan. (1997). *Striking a Balance: A Guide to Enhancing Effectiveness of NGOs in International Development*. London: Earthscan Publications
- Fox, Jonathan. (Autumn 2001). Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations. *International Studies Review*, 3(3): 53-73.
- Frederick, William H., & Worden, Robert L.(eds) (1993). *Indonesia: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress. Retrieved from Country Studies website: <http://countrystudies.us/indonesia/62.htm>
- Freedman, Amy L (September 2009). "Civil Society, Moderate Islam and Politics in Indonesia and Malaysia" . *Journal of Civil Society*,5(2): 107-127.
- Friedmann (1992).*Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*. Blackwell Publishers: Cambridge
- Fuad, Muhammad. (Oct 2002). Civil Society in Indonesia: The Potential and Limits of Muhammadiyah. *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 17(2): 133-163.
- Glock, Charles and Rodney, Stark. (1965).*Religion and Society in Tension*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Gopin, Marc (2000). *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence and Peacebuilding*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gore, Charles (2000). The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries. *World Development*. 28 (5): 789-804.
- Goulet, Denis. (1989). Participation in Development: New Avenues. *World Development*. 17(2): 185-78.
- Greertz, Clifford.(1960). *The Religion of Java*. Gencoe: Free Press.

- McCawley (eds), *The Indonesian Economy during the Soeharto Era*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 102–25
- Grenville, Stephen (1981). Monetary Policy and the Formal Financial Sector. In A. Booth and P. McCawley (eds). *The Indonesian Economy During the Soeharto Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Haar, Gerrie Ter (Eds). (2011). *Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World*. New York: Colombia University Press.
- Hadiwinata, B. S. (2003). *The Politics of NGOs in Indonesia: Developing Democracy and Managing a Movement*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Hadiz, Vedi R., & Robinson, Richard. (Feb 2005). Neo-liberal Reforms and liberal Consolidations: The Indonesian Paradox. *The Journal of Development Studies*. 41(2): 220-241.
- Halstead, Mark. (Nov 2004). An Islamic Concept of Education. *Comparative Education*. 40(4): 517-529.
- Hanna, Willard A. (n.d). *Sukarno*. Retrieved from Encyclopedia Britannica website: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/572207/Sukarno>
- Harris, Frances (ed) (2012). *Global Environmental Issues* (2nd ed). New Jersey: Wiley.
- Harrison, Mark., & Worf, Nikolaus. (2012). The Frequency of Wars. *The Economic History Review*, 65 (3): 1055-1076.
- Haynes, J. (1997). Religion, Secularization and Politics: A Postmodern Conspectus. *Third World Quarterly*, 18: 705–728
- Haynes, J. (2007). *Religion and Development: Conflict or Cooperation?*. Houndmills, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan;
- Hefferan, Tara; Adkins, Julie; and Occhipinti, Laurie A. (2009). *Bridging the Gaps: Based Organizations, Neoliberalism and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Lanham: Lexington
- Hefner, R (2006b). Highlights of Discussion in: T. Friend (Ed). *Religion and Religiosity in the Philippines and Indonesia*. pp. 85-96. Washington: School of Advanced International Studies and Brookings Institution Press.

- Henderson, S. L. (2002). Selling Civil Society: Western Aid and the NGO Sector in Russia. *Comparative Political Studies* 35(2): 135–67.
- Herling, R.W., Weinberger, L., & Harris, L. (2000). *Case Study Research: Defined for Application in the field of HRD*. St. Paul: University of Minnesota, Human Resource Development Research Center.
- Hettne, Bjorn. (1990). *Development Theory and the Three Worlds*. Harlow: Longman.
- Hilgendorf, Eric (2003). Islamic Education: History and Tendency. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 78 (2): 63-75
- Hollnsteiner, M.R. (October- December 1977). People Power: Community Participation in the Planning of Human Settlements. *Assignment Children*.40.
- Hooker, M.B.(2003). *Indonesian Islam: Social Change through Contemporary Fatawa*. Crows Nest and Honolulu: Allen &Unwin and University of Halai'i Press.
- Horikoshi, H. (1975). The Dar ul-Islam Movement in West Java (1948-62): An Experience in the Historical Process. *Indonesia*, 20, 59-86. In Lukens-Bull. (2001). Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Indonesian Islamic Education". *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*. 32 (3): 350-372
- Howell, Jude, & Pearce, Jenny (2001). *Civil Society and Development: A Critical Exploration*. Boulder Colo: L. Rienner Publishers.
<http://vkc.library.uu.nl/vkc/seh/research/Lists/Events/Attachments/12/CH2.Thee%20Kian%20Wie.Introduction%20Indonesia.pdf>
- Human Development Reports. *About Human Development*. Retrieved from UNDP website: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/>
- Hulme, D and M.Edwards (eds). *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort?* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Husain, M. Z. (1995) *Global Islamic Politics*; New York: Harper Collins
- Inglehart, R., & Baker, W. E. (2000). Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values. *American Sociological Review*, 65(1): 19–51
- International Human Development (2013). Indonesia Country Profile: Human Development Indicators. *United Nations Development Program*. Retrieved from: <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/idn.html>.

- J Goody (2003). Religion and development: some Comparative considerations. *Development*, 46 (4), 2003: 64–67
- Julie Millie, Chapter 6: Preaching Over Borders: Constructing Publics for Islamic Oratory in Indonesia. In Manderson et al. (eds) (2012). *Flows of Faith: Religious Reach and Community in Asia and the Pacific*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- J. Thomas Lindblad and Peter Post (editors), Indonesian Economic Decolonization in Regional and International Perspective. KITLV Press, Leiden
- Jainuri, A. (1992). *The Muhammadiyah Movement In Twentieth-Century Indonesia: A Socio-Religious Study*. M.A. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Jainuri, Achmad. (1999). *The Formation of the Muhammadiyah's Ideology*. Surabaya: IAIN Sunan Ampel Press
- Kahin, G.M.T.(1952). *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Kamat, Sangeeta. (2004). The Privatization of Public Interest: Theorizing NGO Discourse In A Neoliberal Era. *Review of International Political Economy*, 11 (1): 155-176.
- Kamat, Sangeeta (Spring 2003). NGOs and the New Democracy. *Harvard International Review*. 25 (1): 65-69.
- Kautsky, J. (1972). *The Political Consequences of Modernization*. New York: John Wiley.
- Keane, John, ed (1988). *Civil Society and the State*. London and New York: Verso
- Kinnvall, Catarina. (2004). Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity and the Search for Ontological Security. *Political Psychology*. 25(5): 740- 769.
- Kochuyt, Thierry. (2009). God, Gifts and Poor People: On Charity in Islam. *Social Compass*, 56 (1): 98-116.
- Korten, David (1990). *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Korten, David., and Rudi Klaus (eds). (1984). *People Centered Development: Contributions Towards Theory and Planning Frameworks*. West Hartford, CT:

Kumarian Press.

Kroessin, Mohammed Ralf. (2011, Dec). *A Genealogy of the Islamic Development Discourse: Underlying Assumptions and Policy Implications from a Development Studies Perspective*. Paper presented at the 8th International Conference on Islamic Economics and Finance. Qatar. Retrieved from: <http://www.iefpedia.com/english/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Ralf-Mohammed-Kroessin.pdf>

Kroessin, Mohammed Ralf. (2008 a). Saudi Arabian NGOs in Somali: Wahabi‘ Da‘wah or Humanitarian Aid?. In Clarke, G. and Jennings, M. (eds.) *Development, Civil Society and Faith-based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kroessin, Mohammed Ralf. (2012). *An Exploratory Study of the Discourse of Islam and Development: The Case of Islami Bank Bangladesh*. PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham. Birmingham, United Kingdom.

Kumar, Satish (2003). Development and Religion: Cultivating a Sense of the Sacred. *Religion and Development*, 46(4): 15-21.

Lafreniere, Shawna L; & Longman, Karen A (November 2008). Gendered Realities and Women’s Leadership Development: Participant Voices and Faith-Based Higher Education. *Christian Higher Education*, 7(5): 388-404.

Lafreniere, Shawna L; Longman, Karen A (January 2012). Moving Beyond the Stained Glass Ceiling: Preparing Women for Leadership in Faith-Based Higher Education. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 14(1): 45-61.

Lefever, Harry G. (1977). The Religion of the Poor: Escape or Creative Force. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 16(3): 225-236.

Lukens-Bull. (2001). Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Indonesian Islamic Education”. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*. 32 (3): 350-372

Lewis, David and Tina Wallace (2000). *New Roles and Relevance: Development NGOs and the Challenge of Change*. Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Lunn, Jenny (July 2009). The Role of Religion, Spirituality and Faith in Development: A Critical Theory Approach. *Third World Quarterly*, 30(5): 937-951.

Maarif, Ahmed Syafii. (1985). Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan (Islam and the Problem of the State). Jakarta: PT Pustaka LP3ES. In Fuad, Muhammad. (Oct 2002). *Civil*

- Society in Indonesia: The Potential and Limits of Muhammadiyah. *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 17(2): 133-163.
- Marshall, K. & Marsh, R. (Ed.). (2003) *Millennium Challenges for Faith and Development* Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Marshall, K. (2001). Development and religion: A different lens on development debates. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 76(3-4): 339-375.
- Martinussen, John. (1997). *Society, State and Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development*. Halifax: Fernwood Pub.
- Martyn, E. (2004). *Women's Movement In Postcolonial Indonesia: Gender And Nation In A New Democracy*. New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Mayotte, J.A. (1998). Religion and Global Affairs: The Role of Religion in Development. *SAIS Review*, 18 (2): 65–69.
- Medhurst, K. (1992). Politics and religion in Latin America. In G. Moyser (Ed.), *Politics and Religion in the Modern World*. London: Routledge.
- Mesbahuddin, Tasmia. (2010). Religion in Development: An Islamic Model Emerging in Bangladesh. *Journal of South Asian Development*. 5(2): 221-241.
- Muhammadiyah. Brief History (Sejarah Singkat Muhammadiyah). In *Muhammadiyah*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/content-178-det-sejarah-singkat.html>
- Munir, Lily Zakiyah. (1990). “The Role of Religious Women’s NGOs in Promoting Child Survival and Development in Indonesia” . *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Health*. 4(4): 274-278.
- Murickan, J; Mohanraj, R; Katticaren, Kurian K. (2000). *Paradigm shifts in Development Cooperation: NGO Dilemmas and Options*. Bangalore: The Institute.
- Narayan, D., Chambers, R., Shah, M. K., & Petesch, P. (2000). *Voices of the poor: Crying out for change*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nasr, S.H. (1987). *Traditional Islam in the Modern World*. London: KPI Limited.
- Navarro, Vicente (2000). Development and Quality of Life: A Critique of Amartya Sen’s Development as Freedom. *International Journal of Health Services*, 30(4): 661-674.

- Nederveen, P. J. (2010). *Development theory: Deconstructions/reconstructions*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard. (1929). *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*. New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Nienhaus, V. (1982) *Literature on Islamic Economics: In English and German*, Al-Kitab: Koln.
- Nienhaus, V. (2000). Islamic Economics: Dogma or Science? In Hafiz K., & Kenny, M.A (ed). *The Islamic World and the West: an Introduction to Political Culture and Political Relations*. Leiden: Brill.
- Nienhaus, V. (2006). Zakat, Taxes, and Public Finance in Islam. In Behdad, S., & Nomani, F. (eds.), *Islam and the Everyday World-Public Policy Dilemmas*, (pp. 165-192). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Nienhaus, V. (2010) Fundamentals of an Islamic Economic System compared to the Social Market Economy: A Systematic Overview. *KAS International Reports*. Retrieved from:
http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_21079-544-2-%2030.pdf?101110141450
- Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O. Van. (1958). *Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesi*. The Hague and Bandung: W. Van Hoeve Ltd.
- Njoh, Ambe J and Akiwumi, Fenda A. (2012). The Impact of Religion on Women Empowerment as a Millennium Development Goal in Africa. *Social Indicators Research*. 107 (1): 1-18.
- Noer, Deliar (1978). *Administration of Islam in Indonesia*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesian Project. In Lukens-Bull. (2001). Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Indonesian Islamic Education". *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*. 32 (3): 350-372
- Noer, Deliar (1980). *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* [The Modernists Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942]. Jakarta: PT Pustaka LP3ES . In Fuad Muhammad. (Oct 2002). Civil Society in Indonesia: The Potential and Limits of Muhammadiyah. *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 17(2): 133-163.
- Noer, Deliar. (1973). *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

- Nolte, M. I. with Danjibo, N., & Oladeji, A. (2009). *Religion, Politics and Governance in Nigeria*. Retrieved from Religions and Development website:
http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/ReligionDev_RPC/summary_paper_39.pdf
- Nurmila, N. (2009). *Women, Islam and everyday life: Renegotiating polygamy in Indonesia*. London: Routledge.
- Nuryartono, Nunung; Sukontamarn, Pataporn (Oct 16th 2010). *Islamic Women's Organization's in Indoneisa: Characteristics, Activities, and Government Funding*. Paper presented to the 18th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia in Adelaide, 5-8 July 2010. Retrieved from:
http://asaa.asn.au/ASAA2010/reviewed_papers/Nuryartono-Nunung%26Sukontamarn-Pataporn.pdf
- Olarinmoye, Omobolaji. (2012). Faith-Based Organizations and Development: Prospects and Constraints. *Transformation: Journal of Holistic Mission Studies*, 29(1):1-14.
- Oxfam International. (19 January 2012). Annual Income of Richest 100 People Enough to End Global Poverty Four Times Over. *Oxfam International*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.oxfam.org/en/pressroom/pressrelease/2013-01-19/annual-income-richest-100-people-enough-end-global-poverty-four-times>
- Palmier, Leslie H (Sept 1954). Modern Islam in Indonesia: The Muhammadiyah after Independence. *Pacific Affairs*. 27 (3): 255-263.
- Pals, Daniel L. (2006). *Eight Theories of Religion*. (2nd edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paras, Andrea (2012). CIDA's secular fiction and Canadian faith-based Organisations. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*. 33(2): 231-249.
- Parpart, Jane L., & Veltmeyer, Henry. (2004). The Development Project in Theory and Practice: A Review of its Shifting Dynamics. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 24(1): 39-59.
- Peacebuilding (2007-2008). *Religion & Peacebuilding: Religion and Peacebuilding Processes*. Retrieved from Peacebuilding Initiative website:
<http://www.peacebuildinginitiative.org/index.cfm?pageId=1827>
- Perwita, Ankar Banyu (2007). *Indonesian and the Muslim World: Between Islam and Secularism in the Foreign Policy of Soeharto and Beyound*. Copenhagen Abingdon: NIAS Press.

- Pew Forum. (2006). *Spirit and power: A 10-country survey of Pentecostals*. The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, Washington, DC.
- Pew Forum. (2010). *Tolerance and tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*. The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, Washington, DC.
- Phillips, Charles., & Axelrod, Alan. (2005). *Encyclopedia of Wars*. New York: Facts of File.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. (1998). My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflective Development. *Development and Change*. 29: 343-373.
- Plewes, Betty; Sreenivasan, Gauri & Drainin, Tim (Spring 1996). Sustainable Human Development as a Global Framework. *International Journal*. 51(2): 211-234.
- Pope, Laston (1942). *Millhands and Peachers*. New Haven. Yale University Press.
- Pramanik, A.H. (2002). Islam and Development Revisited with Evidences from Malaysia. *Islamic Economic Studies*. 10(1): 40.
- Prebisch, Raul. (December, 2008). Towards a Theory of Change. *CEPAL Review* 96: 27-74.
- Rahman, Anisur. (April-June 1991). Towards an Alternative Development Paradigm. *IFDA Dossier*. 81: 17-27.
- Rashiduzzaman, M. (1997). The Dichotomy of Islam and Development: NGOs, Women's Development and Fatawa in Bangladesh. *Contemporary South Asia*. 6(3): 239-246.
- Renders, Marleen. (Feb., 2002). "An Ambiguous Adventure: Muslim Organizations and the Discourse of Development in Senegal". *Journal of Africa*, 32(1): 61-82.
- Reuter, Thomas A. (2012). Chapter 2 "Religion in the Age of Globalization: Emerging Trends, Indonesian Examples". In Lenore Manderson, Wendy Smith, Matt Tomlinson Sringer (ed). *Flows of Faith: Religious Reach and Community in Asia and Pacific*. Netherlands: Springer Science Business Media
- Rice, J., and M.prince. (2000). Civil Society and Community Capacity: Links between Social Policy and Social Capital. In J. Rice and M. Prince, *Changing Politics of Canadian Social Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Ricklefs, M.C (1981). *A History of Modern Indonesia, c 1300 to the Present*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillian.
- Ricklefs, M.C (2008). *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200* (4th ed.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Rinaldo, Rachel (2010). The Islamic Revival and Women's Political Subjectivity in Indonesia. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 33: 422-431.
- Roberts, J. Timmons, and Hite, Amy. (2007). *The Globalization and Development Reader: Perspectives on Development and Global Change*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Robinson, Mark (1997). Privatizing the Voluntary Sector: NGOs as Public Service Contractors. In D. Hulme and M. Edwards (eds) *In NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort?* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Rookes, P. (2010). *Commitment, Conscience or Compromise: The Changing Financial Basis and Evolving Role of Christian Health Services in Developing Countries*. PhD dissertation. University of Birmingham, Birmingham, United Kingdom.
- Rostow, Walt W. (1959). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruswan. (1997). *Colonial Experience and Muslim Educational Reforms: A Comparison of the Aligar and the Muhammadiyah Movements*. M.A. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Retrieved from:

http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/tape16/PQDD_0006/MQ37234.pdf
- Sachs, Wolfgang. (2010). *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. New York: Zed Books.
- Said, Abdul Aziz., and Fun, Nathan C. (September 2001). *The Role of Faith in Cross-Cultural Conflict Resolution*. Paper presented at the European Parliament for the European Center for Common Ground, Brussels, Belgium. Retrieved from:
<http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/pcs/ASNC83PCS.htm>
- Salamon, Lester M (Jul 1994). The Rise of the Nonprofit Sector. *Foreign Affairs*, 73 (4): 109-122.
- Salemink, Oscar (2004). Development Cooperation as Quasi-Religious Conversion. In Ananta, Kumar Giri., Harskamp, Anton van., & Salemink, Oscar (eds) (2004).

The Development of Religion, pp 121–130. Delft: Eburon.

Schrank, Andrew in Peregman, Ellen & Curran, Sara (2006). *A Handbook for Social Science Field Research: Essays & Bibliography Sources on Research Design and Methods*. California: SAGE Publications.

Scotland, Keimeko (n.a) *The Wayfarer: Reflections On a Journey Into Eternal Light*. Unpublished.

Seers, D. (1969). The Meaning of Development. *International Development Review*, 11(4): 1-6.

Selinger, Leah (2004). The Forgotten Factor: The Uneasy Relationship between Religion and Development. *Social Compass*, 51 (4): 523-543.

Sen, Amartya (2000). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shamsavary, P., Saqeb, G. N. & Halstead, J. M. (1993) Islam: state, religion and education. In W. Tulasiewicz, & Cho-Yee To (Eds.), *World Religions and Educational Practice* (pp. 144-160). London: Cassell.

Shaliyeh, Emile (Ed) (1990). *Religious Resurgence and Politics in the Contemporary World*. New York: New York Press.

Sinanovic, E. (2012, March). Islamic Revival as Development: Discourses on Islam, Modernity and Democracy since the 1950s. *Politics, Religion and Ideology*, 13(1): 3-34.

Smith, Donald E. (1970). *Religion and Political Development*. Boston: Little Brown.

Smith, Donald E. (Ed.). (1971). *Religion, Politics and Social Change in the Third World*. New York: Free Press.

Stark, R., & Bainbridge, W. S. (1985). *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival, and Cult Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

State University (n.a). *Indonesian History*. Retrieved from State University website: <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/660/Indonesia-HISTORY-BACKGROUND.html>

Statistics Indonesia (2013). *Social and Population*. Retrieved from Statistics Indonesia from: <http://www.bps.go.id/eng/>

- Staudt, K. A. (1991). *Managing Development: State, Society, and Culture*. California: SAGE
- Steinberg, D. J (ed) (1987). *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. (2002). *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W Norton.
- Suharto, Edi. (2009, Nov 18-19). *Development of Social Welfare in Indonesia: Situation Analysis and General Issues*. Paper presented at International Conference on Building Capacity and Policy Networking for Effective Welfare Development, Center for International Administration Studies, National Institute of Public Administration- Jakarta.
Retrieved from:
<http://www.policy.hu/suharto/Naskah%20PDF/Development%20of%20Social%20Welfare%20in%20Indonesia.pdf>
- Sukarno. (2013). *In Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/572207/Sukarno>
- Sukma, R. (2003). *Islam in Indonesian foreign policy*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Susan Blackburn (2010). Feminism and the Women's Movement in the World's Largest Islamic Nation. In Mina Roces and Louise Edwards (Ed). *Women's Movements in Asia: Feminisms and transnational activism* (21-33). Routledge.: Oxon.
- Tamara, M. Nasir (1986). *Indonesia in the Wake of Islam*. Kaula Lampur: Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS).
- Tembo, Fletcher. (2003). The Multi-Image Development NGO: An Agent of the New Imperialism? *Development in Practice*. 13 (5): 527-532.
- The Huffington Post (April 10th, 2010). Is Religion the Cause of Most Wars? *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from:
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rabbi-alan-lurie/is-religion-the-cause-of-b_1400766.html
- Thee, Kian Wie (2009). Indonesianization: Economic Aspects of Decolonization in Indonesia in the 1950s. In J. Thomas Lindblad and Peter Post (editors), *Indonesian Economic Decolonization in Regional and International Perspective*. KITLV Press, Leiden, pp. 19-38.

- Thee, Kian Wie. (August 2011). The Introduction, Evolution, and End of Colonial Extractive Institutions in the Netherlands Indies and its Long-Term Consequences in Independent Indonesia 1830-2000. *Universiteit Utrecht*.
- Thomas, S. (1999). "Religion and International Society". In J. Haynes (Ed.), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World*. (p.4-28). Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Thomas, S. (2005). *The Global Resurgence Of Religion And The Transformation Of International Relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tipps, Dean C. (March 1973). Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*.15 (2): 199-226.
- Turner, Bryan S (1987). *Weber and Islam: A Critical Study*. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Tyndale, Wendy (2003). Idealism and Practicality: The Role of Religion in Development. *Religion and Development*. 46 (4): 22-28.
- UNDP (2010). *2010 Human Development Report: Latin America and Caribbean Approaching EU, US Levels in Life Expectancy, School*. Retrieved from United Nations Development Programme website:
<http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/PR8-HDR10-RegRBLAC-E-rev6.pdf>
- UNICEF (June 2007). Buddhist Monks Trained to Support Cambodian Families affected by HIV/AIDS. *UNICEF*. Retrieved from:
http://www.unicef.org/aids/cambodia_39935.html
- Veltmeyer, Henry (2007). *Civil Society and the Quest for Social Change*. Halifax: Fernwood.
- Veltmeyer, Henry (2004), Development and Globalization as Imperialism. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, XXVI (1): 89-106.
- Veltmeyer, Henry (Ed.) (2011). *The Critical Development Studies Handbook: Tools for Change*. Halifax: Fernwood.
- Veltmeyer, Henry. (2007a). Challenging the World Bank's Agenda to Restructure Labour. In Von der Mehden, Fred (1965). Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia. *Political Science Quarterly*, 80(2): 297.

- Vreede-de Struers, Cora. (1960). *The Indonesian Women :Struggles and Achievements*. The Hague: Mouton & Co. Publishers.
- Walther, Wiebke (1993). *Women in Islam: From Medieval to Modern Times*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.
- Wanandi, Jusuf. (2002). Islam in Indonesia: Its History, Development and Future Challenges. *Asia-Pacific Review*, 9(2).
- Wilber, C.K.,& Jameson, K.P.(1980). Religious Values and Social Limits to Development. *World Development*, 8: 467-479.
- Wood, Geof. (1997). States Without Citizens: The Problem of the Franchise State'. In D. Hulme and M. Edwards (eds) *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close the Comfort?*, New York: St. Martin's Press
- Woodard, Mark (ed) (1996). *Towards a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought*. Tempe: Arizona State University Program for Southeast Asian Studies.
- Woodward, Mark. (2011). *Java, Indonesia and Islam*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- World Bank. (2007). *Meeting the Challenges of Global Development*. Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DEC/Resources/WBG-LTSE-Final.pdf>
- World Health Organization (2007). *Towards Primary Health Care: Renewing Partnerships with Faith-Based Communities and Services*. Geneva, Report of a WHO consultation with faith-based organizations (FBOs). 17–18th December.
- World Hunger. (Dec 2011). 2012 World Hunger and Poverty Facts and Statistics. *World Hunger*. Retrieved from: <http://www.worldhunger.org/articles/Learn/world%20hunger%20facts%202002.htm>
- Yin, Robert K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (4th edition). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Zaman, Nazim.,& Asutay, Mehmet.(2009). Divergence Between Aspirations and Realities of Islamic Economics: A Political Economy Approach to Bridging the Divide. *IIUM Journal of Economics and Management*, 17(1): 73-96.

Appendices

Appendix 1

AGENDA

The International Research Conference on Muhammadiyah (IRCM)
 “Discourse on the Search for a Renewed Identity of Muhammadiyah for its Post-Centennial Era”

University of Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM), Indonesia
 November 29 – December 2, 2012

Thursday, November 29											
13:00 - 17:00	Arrival and Registration										
19:00 - 19:45	Welcoming Remarks										
	1. Muhadjir Effendy (Rector of University of Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM))										
	2. Sukarwo (Governor of East Java)										
	3. Azyumardi Azra (Chair of the Steering Committee)										
19:45 - 20:00	Opening Speech										
	M. Din Syamsuddin (President of Muhammadiyah)										
20:00 - 21:00	Keynote Addresses										
	1. Ahmad Syafii Maarif – Maarif Institute, Jakarta										
	2. Mitsuo Nakamura - Chiba University, Japan										
Friday, November 30											
08:00 - 11:00	Panel 1 – History										
Chairperson	Ruhaini Dzuhayatin – Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta										
	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 60%;">James Peacock University of North Carolina, USA</td> <td>1970 to 2010: Continuities and change</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Endy Saputro Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta</td> <td>Inscribing <i>kemadjoean</i>, describing Islam: Politics of writing in the early <i>Soeara Moehammadijah</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gwenaël Feillard Centre Asie du Sud-Est (CASE), Paris, France</td> <td>The Economic Life of the Muhammadiyah: A Historical Perspective</td> </tr> <tr> <td>M.C. Ricklefs Australian National University (ANU), Australia</td> <td>Muhammadiyah in the History of Islamization in Indonesia</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Robin Bush Asia Research Institute, NUS, Singapore</td> <td>A Snapshot of Muhammadiyah – portrait of social change, values, and identity</td> </tr> </table>	James Peacock University of North Carolina, USA	1970 to 2010: Continuities and change	Endy Saputro Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta	Inscribing <i>kemadjoean</i> , describing Islam: Politics of writing in the early <i>Soeara Moehammadijah</i>	Gwenaël Feillard Centre Asie du Sud-Est (CASE), Paris, France	The Economic Life of the Muhammadiyah: A Historical Perspective	M.C. Ricklefs Australian National University (ANU), Australia	Muhammadiyah in the History of Islamization in Indonesia	Robin Bush Asia Research Institute, NUS, Singapore	A Snapshot of Muhammadiyah – portrait of social change, values, and identity
James Peacock University of North Carolina, USA	1970 to 2010: Continuities and change										
Endy Saputro Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta	Inscribing <i>kemadjoean</i> , describing Islam: Politics of writing in the early <i>Soeara Moehammadijah</i>										
Gwenaël Feillard Centre Asie du Sud-Est (CASE), Paris, France	The Economic Life of the Muhammadiyah: A Historical Perspective										
M.C. Ricklefs Australian National University (ANU), Australia	Muhammadiyah in the History of Islamization in Indonesia										
Robin Bush Asia Research Institute, NUS, Singapore	A Snapshot of Muhammadiyah – portrait of social change, values, and identity										

	Darwish Khudori University of Le Havre, France	Muhammadiyah in globalised world: Between radicalist and altruist types of religious movements
Discussants	M.C. Ricklefs - Australian National University (ANU), Australia Herman Beck – Tilburg University, the Netherlands	
11:00 - 13:30	Afternoon Break and Lunch	
13:30 - 15:30	Panel 2 – Philanthropy	
Chairperson	Sudiby Marko – Muhammadiyah	
	Amelia Fauzia Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta	Creating Muslim Civil Society without discrimination of religion and nationality: Muhammadiyah's philanthropic activities in the colonial period
	Hilman Latief University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY)	Seeking a new type of social concern for the public good: Muhammadiyah philanthropic activism and social entrepreneurship
	Rahmawati Husein University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY)	Extending transnational network: a case study of Muhammadiyah's collaborations with various actors in major disaster response in Indonesia
	Jonathan Benthall University College London, UK	Concentric vs. Accommodative Models of Toleration: Dilemma for the Philanthropy of Muhammadiyah?
	Mohammad Rokib Muhammadiyah University of Surabaya; Research fellow at the SEASREP-Toyota Foundation, Japan	The importance of faith-based organization in shaping natural disaster: Case study of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia
Discussants	Bambang Purwanto – Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta Jonathan Benthall – University College London, UK	
15:30 - 15:45	Break	
15:45 - 17:45	Panel 3 – Education	
Chairperson	M Amin Abdullah – Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University	

	(UIN), Yogyakarta	
	Hattori Mina Nagoya University, Japan	Education reform toward a cooperative hybrid system: The role of Muhammadiyah as a community-based educational institution
	Claire-Marie Hefner Emory University, USA	Dreams of varied selves: Gender, education, and social ambition among young <i>kader</i> in Madrasah Mu'allimat Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
	Abdul Mu'thi & Izza Rohman N. Walisongo State Islamic Institute (IAIN), Semarang & University of Muhammadiyah - Prof. Dr. Hamka (Uhamka), Jakarta	"Muhammadiyah Christians": The Contribution of Muhammadiyah Education to Peaceful Religious Cohabitation in Christian Enclaves
	Alpha Amirrachman KITLV Leiden, the Netherlands	Education and peace in the Moluccas, Indonesia: Dismantling stereotypes and nurturing tolerant attitude
Discussant	Robert W. Hefner – Boston University, USA	
17:30 - 19:30	Break	
19:30 - 22:00	Watching <i>Sang Pencerah</i> , with Abdul Munir Mul Khan as commentator	
	Saturday, December 1	
08:00 - 10:00	Panel 4 – Reform	
Chairperson	Azyumardi Azra – Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta	
	Alyasa Abubakar Ar-Raniry State Islamic Institute (IAIN), Banda Aceh	Muhammadiyah and the implementation of shari'a in Aceh
	Siti Syamsiyatun Indonesia Consortium for Religious Studies (ICRS) and Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN), Yogyakarta	Creating <i>baldatun thoyyibatun</i> (peace, prosperous nation) through interfaith relations: Theorizing Muhammadiyah's level of engagements
	Mark R. Woodward & Inayah R. Arizona State University, USA & Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic	Sociological Perspectives on the Origins of Muhammadiyah

	University (UIN), Yogyakarta	
	Hyung-Jun Kim Kangwon National University, South Korea	Does Muhammadiyah have charismatic leaders?: Election and diffusion of religious authority in an Indonesian Islamic organization
	Herman L. Beck Tilburg University, the Netherlands	Muhammadiyah and Mysticism in Twentieth Century Indonesia
Discussants	Robin Bush – Asia Research Institute, NUS, Singapore Ahmad Jainuri – Sunan Ampel State Islamic Institute (IAIN), Surabaya	
10:00 - 10:15	Morning Break	
10:15 - 12:15	Panel 5 – Politics	
Chairperson	M Amin Abdullah – Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University (UIN), Yogyakarta	
	Syaifudin Zuhri Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN), Yogyakarta	From rituals to politics: Looking at the conflict between Muhammadiyah and PKS over al Muttaqun mosque
	Ken Miichi Iwate Prefectural University, Japan	Changing faces of Islamic organization and political party in Indonesia: analysis through opinion survey
	Priyambudi Sulistiyanto Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia	Local Power and Muhammadiyah in Kotagede
Discussants	Rizal Sukma – Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta Azyumardi Azra – Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta	
12:15 - 13:30	Lunch	
13:30 - 15:30	Panel 6 – Gender Issues	
Chairperson	Habib Chirzin – Muhammadiyah	
	Alimatul Qibtiyah Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN), Yogyakarta	Feminist Identity and Conceptualization of Gender Issues By Muhammadiyah/‘Aisyiyah Members
	Nelly van Doorn-Harder Wake Forest University, Winston	‘Aisyiyah Revisited: Agency and Identity in the Post-

	Salem, NC, USA	Suharto Era
	Nurwanto University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY)	Gender justice and injustice in the textbook of al-Islam and the response of Muhammadiyah Senior Secondary Schools' teachers
	Roy Tjong PT Remdecotama Swaprakarsa	The Role of Women on Disaster Mitigation
	Satomi Ogata Kyushu International University, Japan	Progressiveness and Conservatism with respect to Islamic Teachings among Grassroots Members of Muhammadiyah: Regional Differences and Comparisons with NU
Discussant	Siti Chamamah Suratno – Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta	
15:30 - 15:45	Break	
15:45 - 17:30	Panel 7 – Youth and Radicalism	
Chairperson	Dicky Sofyan – Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta	
	Din Wahid Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta	Muhammadiyah and the challenge of Salafism
	Munajat STAIN (Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri) Salatiga	Modeling religious violence: A comparative analysis of the activists of Front Pembela Islam (FPI) versus Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) approach
	Jamhari Makruf Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta	Youth and Radicalism in Muhammadiyah
	Pradana Boy ZTF University of Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM)	Another Face of Puritan Islam? Muhammadiyah and Radicalism among the Youth
Discussants	Martin van Bruinessen – Utrecht Univesity, the Netherlands Robin Bush – ARI, National University of Singapore (NUS), Singapore	
17:30 - 19:30	Break	
19:30 - 22:00	Watching <i>Mata Tertutup</i> , with Garin Nugroho and Fajar Riza UI Haq as commentators	

	Sunday, December 2	
08:00 - 10:15	Panel 8 – Muhammadiyah Studies	
Chairperson	Syafiq Mughni – Sunan Ampel Islamic State Institute (IAIN), Surabaya	
	Ahmad Muttaqin Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN), Yogyakarta	Between <i>Ihsan</i> and <i>Tasawwuf</i> : The Muhammadiyah’s Attitude toward Sufism and Its Promotion of ‘Authentic’ Islamic Spirituality
	Ahmad Najib Burhani University of California – Santa Barbara, USA	American Scholarship on Indonesian Islam: The Shift from Muhammadiyah Studies to Nahdlatul Ulama Studies
	Sunarwoto Tilburg University, the Netherlands	Cultural <i>Dakwah</i> of Muhammadiyah: Islamisation or indigenisation?
	Christian Harijanto Curtin University, Perth, Australia	Reflective <i>Habitus</i> in Muhammadiyah
Discussants	Mitsuo Nakamura - Chiba University, Japan James Peacock - University of North Carolina, USA	
10:15 - 11:30	Closing Reflections	
	Azyumardi Azra - Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta	
	M Amin Abdullah - Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN), Yogyakarta	
11:30 - 13:30	Lunch	
13:30 - 17:30	Visiting <i>Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah</i> **	

Appendix 2

How religious do you consider yourself on a scale of 0-5:

0	1	2	3	4	5
Do not believe in any religion	Have belief but not religious	Somewhat religious	Religious	Very Religious	Extremely religious

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	I am moderate person; I do my daily practices. I could be number 3.
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	Number 3- religious
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	N/A
Mr. Pradana Boy	In terms of practices- I am not very religious. But I seldom do that. In terms of belief in God- I belief in God. And certainly belief that so many things in my life has happened and when something was difficult something suddenly happened- so it can be like a problem solver in our daily lives and that has strengthened my belief. I am also lately trying to be socially religious- so it is okay to be practically religious and I think that if we are not accompanied or follow religion. Every person then becomes generous, good to people, well behaved people. for example in my job as a lecturer, I often come across religious people and find that some people are contradictory because they do not apply the piety in their life. I am trying to have a balance between social and religious. I am between 3 and 4.
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	Very religious- depends on the point of view. But according to her, she is very religious
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	I would not like to choose the middle one- but I realize that in myself there are something .- so 4 or 5. I believe in what I practice- I don't practice and then believe- I believe and I practice

“I”	Between 2 and 3. I am trying to be very religious but maybe what I am doing things may not be very religious.
Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	4 – very religious
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	My Western counterparts consider me very religious and puritan. I pray five times, fast and go to the mosque. But using Indonesian standards, I may not be very religious because there are different standards.
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	4- Very religious

3 people considered themselves to be religious

5 people considered themselves to be very religious

1 person considered to be between very religious to extremely religious

1 person did not respond to the answer

Appendix 3

How important or unimportant is religion in your personal life?

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	For me, maybe since I was born in a religious family and my dad is a liberal leader, religious local leader in my area. So I believe religion is very important for our life because Religion actually guides us, how to be a good person and how to be important and how to be useful to another people. And we were thought religion is like a plane with a help-navigation. I do believe that it is important. And then the source of the religion in Islam is Qur'an and Sunnah. And I do believe it is the complete guidance for us but the problem is how can we understand about the Qur'an and Sunnah. I never found difficulty on how to become a religious person actually. And I have never found that the guide from Qur'an and Sunnah or Islam disturbs our life and I believe that it is feel free and then feel more peace when we raise our children with religious things because to become religious person is actually the natural demand of human being.
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	Yes, religion is the way of life. In religion there are many information for the way to live.
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	N/A
Mr. Pradana Boy	It is important- maybe because environmentally and genetically brought up in a religious environment. I was educated in a very strict religious manner- had to attend religious classes early in the morning every day after fajr prayer, except Friday because it was a holiday. Every morning after fajr prayer I would learn Qur'an surahs. But I am not a very strict and conservative – so if the teachings fit my life then I follow it otherwise I don't.
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	First Feminist in Indonesia was-ibu Kartini Since 1912, since the founder of Muhammadiyah starting speaking about Dawaah- women has also been paid attention. Up to now, there is a rise of feminism.Muslim Organization that realizes and activates using religion. The members act according to what the God orders them. Therefore, humans are on earth for <i>ibadaah</i> .

Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	Yes, of course! Religion is very important. Because it is a way of life- islam gives me all aspect of life- islam claim that it is universal religion. So it consists of both this world and hereafter.
“I”	I think it’s a good deal- it gives me a good orientation and Islam has given me guidance. We have the orientation, the purpose so that is the basic for me ; number 2 is that while it has value, it also has practices in the practical life, so I get examples from leaders, parents- what does it mean to be meaningful to the society. It gives me examples.
Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	Islam is guidance- and the view of Islam is very true for me about God and relation to God, to social relationship, also guidance to communicate with ecology and also for myself – Islam is a guidance for all my life, inside and outside. I am a Psychologist- I try to differentiate between Secular Psychologists and Islamic psychologists. And I try to inform the students- because I am a lecturer at the Islamic University, I try to inform to my students to use the perspective from Islamic Psychology to try to develop Islamic Science.
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	For me Islam is a way of Life so It is very important- so what I am doing is the impact – so do good with people. especially when I joined Muhammadiyah all my life was colored with religion. The way my life is actualized using religion, through Muhamamdiyah I can impact more people.
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	N/A

Appendix 4

Do you prefer that religion should be limited to private life or should it be expanded to public life? If yes, in what ways. If not, why not?

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	Religion is not only about the personal thing for me. so Religion is to guide us to how to be part of the community. Yeah, absolutely Religion should take place at the community. I do not understand that if religion is only important for the personal... there probably they will crush in the community for some people who do not believe in the religion and people who believe in the true essence of religion. And as to Why religion should be bring into the community and to the public area. To build and bring understanding to what kind of religion that chooses., how that person do the practicing of the religion, how each other could respect each other about people who do the religion or not.
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	Religion should be reflected outside the home. In Muhammadiyah, I am a Muslim; there is the Shariah and dahwah, which means that we have to expand our religion to everyone. And religion is way of life of humans and everyone should know about religion.
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	N/A
Mr. Pradana Boy	I think it should be in private life. In our current situation there are people that are excessively religious – they can appropriate position themselves to be religious or not and cannot differentiate between what is religious affairs and what is not. Something like fundamentalist Muslims in Indonesia tend to harmonize everything and any single entity in our lives, any single thing in our lives during our daily situation, they try to use religion. In a multicultural state like Indonesia, it is not appropriate. So private should be kept private. But in Indonesia, religion is not a private matter because your identity card identifies your religion.
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	Religion is very useful for us. In the domestic affair and public affair- religion is very important.

Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	Islam is not only private it is also public. So that's why how specially when the religious aspects fall in the public life. The social ethics- how I come on time because its religious. So the social aspect- working hard is religious. And Muhammadiyah has been able to campaign for this teaching- Islam is more than practicing salaah, fasting and zakat so that's why Muhammadiyah said no, islam is more than that, that's why muhamamdiyah formally adopted some aspects that were very strange for some people at that time.
"I"	In term of ethical, it should be expanded to public because it gives the society guidance. Religion has some idea on the directions and together with other ideologies. Society is different- some are plural and homogeneous societies so we need to have some ways to resolve the differences and conflicts of the public so the govt becomes the empire or referee.
Dr. Siti Susilaningih	Expanded to Public Life- Islam is Universal. It is a guidance because Islam has universal message that could be implemented in all of life whether they are muslims or not.
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	For me, religion in terms of personal devotion you can do it in private life. But in term of how you socialize because humans are not alone person so you have to interact so in those directions you have to include religion as a public. Therefore it is not easy if religion should be private or public- for me its both. For example, whether you want to fast or not you cannot force someone to fast but you can invite them to do it but you cannot force them. A call from your own spirit to devote yourself to god. In terms of social life- then you have to bring the values, the norms, the spirit of religious to the community, otherwise you detach from the community and you put religion in only one terms of practices so it becomes a routine and not for the helping of the people to do good.
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	To both- because Islam deals with social, political and personal issues

Appendix 5

In your opinion, does religion play any important role in the daily lives of Indonesian people? How and why?

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	<p>Yah, yah I think so. I do really that religion has a role in the development of Indonesia because ...I am not too sure because the practicing of religion in Indonesia who are mostly muslim is more used for political purpose not for the....They say that it is for the best interest of the people in Indonesia but for me it is more for the...how to reach our purpose in life. Whether Islam In Indonesia because more are Islam...I think in Indonesia we have two kind of large organizations which is faithbased organization and also Islam, Muhammadiyah and NU, I believe that Government cannot serve the community or improve the situation without the support of the Muhammadiyah and NU. If you consider actually Muhammadiyah and NU are quite best and use Islamic guidance. And but if you see to the grassroots situation where many young people who use drugs High and many HIV numbers, and high HIV number in Indonesia...we will do a re- question, is it true that Islam influence really the daily lives of Indonesia. If it is true then the situation suppose not to exist and people should understand how to become good person and not in touch with the hazards of the danger things for the love of their community surrounding them...but in fact... You know that ...for me to become a religious person you have to know how to internalize religion into your life into your heart and then how to show in your daily activities...for example our government, Indonesia is number 3rdof the corrupted country in the world, so if Indonesia is the largest Muslim population in the world. Then why is there corruption? That is really ironic</p>
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	<p>Yes, I think so. For example, people in Indonesia think that religion is important in their lives. And they expect and there is the belief, they pray and their everything.</p> <p>They really believe that religion is not only in the world but they believe in the afterlife- there is life after. So I think the way to get is to be religious.</p>
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	Religion is important for the daily lives of the Indonesian

	<p>people. they are the people who are not religious- they don't care about the religion. But it seems that the number of people who are seriously following religion is increasing. Because we are seeing more mosques built- more mosque ceremonies- more people going for Hajj- there are more people who are performing praying during the Eid prayers- more women covering with headscarves. That is what I mean by increase in religious. This is because of education- everybody must learn about religion- from elementary to higher education- whether they are Muslims, catholic, Christian, Hindus, Buddhist- they should learn about their religion.</p>
Mr. Pradana Boy	<p>Yes, exactly! It is not only important but excessively importantly and they try to harmonize everything. Because they have been brought up in manners in which religion is very important. As Indonesians we are thought to be religions and we are required to follow any one of the religions as per the constitution. In Indonesia by definition you have to follow at least one of the religions- Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism</p> <p>There is no room for aethiests – but I don't know at practical normal but normatively you have to choice one of the religion</p>
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	<p>Yes, because religion arrange me a life- every day of our Muslim life is arranged by religion. Religion makes us important – if I feel difficulty then I pray to God for help- we should therefore think about God.</p>
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	<p>I really think all muslims have to practice all what the religion say- but in fact the Indonesians Muslims don't practice all of religion. They are always comparing Indonesian Muslims with the western societies. I see there that there was no muslims but I see islam there in the western countries. How people interact- nearly 90 percent of the population is Muslim but they are not practicing it.</p> <p>Indonesians have to identify themselves with a religion</p>
“I”	<p>Yes, recognized openly or not. Religion gives us guidance how to bring up our children. Also our local regulations and customs is somewhat have religious flavor to it.</p>

Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	Yes, even in the average life, in the politics, in all of the part of the aspect of life its important, in economy, we have sharia banking, right now even a lot of artists want to be good muslim by wearing hijab, so in my opinion muslim is different is different that 20 years- why artists because artist life is far from religion but right now many artists have been influenced to become more religious
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	As we all agree as Indonesians, the first principal of the Indonesian constitution is the belief in God. It means that this is our practice, our foundation that religious or believing in God is very important to our daily lives. Then whatever we do and we actually act in a fine way.
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	<p>Yeah- Indonesia has been known for religious people- but their understanding of religion is limited to religious ceremonies because between ceremonies and good behavior there is always a bit difficulty.</p> <p>There are many “Hajji’s” but then you see a lot of corruption.</p>

Appendix 6

Do you consider religion to be crucial to the improvement of societies? If yes, in what ways? If not, why not?

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	<p>Yes, if we understand how religion guides us through Al Qur'an- if we understand deeply about this then yes but if people only understand Al Qur'an or religion from the surface I don't think its necessary. Maybe in European countries that are not religious countries can say that we have a good guidance on how to attain corruption, so if you can understand deeply and interpret it using the appropriate context then yes.</p> <p>We need to refer to Al Qur'an and try to understand what the Qur'an has for the situation. It doesn't mean that we have to go to it every time for everything but try to understand what exactly Al Qur'an wants in that situation. AL Qur'an is not the status-quo so we will have a different interpretation and our own situation. And many many sentences in the Al Qur'an orders us to think and think and so we have to understand how to use that ayat in Al Qur'an.</p>
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	N/A
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	<p>Yes, because religion is the thing that can guide people. to respect others , to help others, to protect themselves and other people from danger from moral decay . religion make everybody spiritually strong. When they are facing problem in their lives, they become more stern , stronger and perseverance.</p>
Mr. Pradana Boy	<p>Religion is like playing double role in my opinion- in the Indonesian case it can be positive and it can be negative- depending on how people interpret religion and how they value religion in their lives. If they value religion and say that religion is positive but in practice it contradicts. For example, we have to cover and dress Islamic dress- while this is not corresponding with the understanding of religion. I did my research on the Islamic student organization and religious orientation in Malang and I researched three of them and one was affiliated to</p>

	Muhammadiyah, one to NU and one professionally affiliated to Muhammadiyah. These three were moderate but I also interviewed mosque student movement – campus dawah- and my finding was that the religious group does not correspond to the comprehensive understanding of Islam but on the other hand these moderate group maybe physically they are not Islamic but their mastery of Islamic and Islamic discourse was very good.
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	N/A
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	N/A
“I”	N/A
Dr. Siti Susilaningih	N/A
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	N/A
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	N/A

Appendix 7

Have you benefited from religion yourself? If yes, how and in what ways? If not, has it caused you or anyone else you know damage or harm in any form

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	I have not been harmed but yeah it has benefited me without doubt. I have a purpose in my life because of religion. But I am not a person who didn't have a religion so I cannot compare myself and say if religion can harm because I always have religion.
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	Yes, I think so. Because Islam is the way of life and I believe that Islam is the true religion. I can get many benefits when I am a Muslim because there are many rules in Islam. When we help people we feel good, we have to understand to love one and have to love ourselves.
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	Yeah- I have learned to be discipline. Generous to other people, helping other people, respecting other people-become more knowledgeable
Mr. Pradana Boy	<p>Spiritually and emotionally I have benefited from Islam. There is a funny story about me-it was in 2005 when I was doing my Masters in Australia and I had a classmate from Spain- so at the time of Dhur prayer he was surprised. He was asking me what prayer and he was surprised and said " I cant imagine how people can have religion" and then I said that as a muslim I have to pray five times a day and then he asked me another question asking me to explain the prayers and he was very excited and continued asking me about my religion. And then he realized that he was a lecturer of Islam and then he said "thanks to religion otherwise you wouldn't have a job!". So many people understand religion differently. So materially yes, I have also benefited from religion. I am often invited to talk about Islam and religion.</p> <p>Also in terms of knowledge, by studying religion I am gaining more knowledge- the knowledge that makes me</p>

	aware of mediating.
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	Yes, a lot. For example, if I want to get something- I cannot achieve what I want to get so I think “oh perhaps God arranged me to get something else” this always happened- this according to religion means- if you get something then you should be thankful to God.
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	<p>Yes, of course! I believe that if I practice religion it will guide me to the right path.</p> <p>Although it is difficult, because the system is not Islamic the negative potential- so if people are doing something wrong, many people protest, that’s what we are always doing. What is the practice of the wrong doing? It is coming from the muslim society.</p> <p>Everybody is committed to Islamic teachings. Most muslim people neglect the values of Islamic teachings</p>
“I”	<p>Yes, atleast from Islam that my family and my society has been living – women and men have been given opportunity to study abroad. I did my masters at McGill in 1995 and in Jogya they encouraged women to study abroad. So the ideal of Islam to go hard is actually given opportunities for girls to seek knowledge. The Islam has given me the opportunity.</p> <p>But some of the regime or government for instance, like, going to Umrah and Hajj, we have to have a <i>Mahram</i> (lawful man figure)- it’s a very small thing but we need to have three names in order to get visa from Saudi- but this is not just an Islamic country but also to western countries. So we need to have family name in order to allow me to travel outside so I need to have my fathers last name in order to travel.</p>
Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	<p>Yes, of course. Everything that I do, my life, my life, my family, my work, when I have promotion in my work, and have certain thing that is good for me, I believe it’s from god.</p> <p>Since 1990s until now I am on the committee of women studies and the call me one of the founders of the women’s studies in my campus, Islamic university. I have a focus on study on the women and religion/ Islam. We</p>

	<p>have group – so in my life, all my life has been influenced by Islam.</p> <p>Islam has given me very easy to do something. Went to Amercia with Hijab from 1975-80 We have been to Netherlands, Sydney, I am involved with many people who are not muslims and I am completely okay with it.</p>
<p>Dr. Rahmawati Husein</p>	<p>For me practicing Islam is liberating me. Let’s see, wearing Hijab is liberating me because I can do whatever I do without being afraid or something. In Indonesia and even in USA- I was staying there for seven years- And I don’t have any problem for wearing Hijab and In Indonesia no one will touch you if you are wearing hijab so its very nice so they respect you. Being a Muslim then it liberates from doing something criminal. So by being muslim I wont do anything bad because its always under the control of religion and not doing criminal and temptations and things like that. Also, I don’t have any fear to other humanbeing but only fear for God. So whatever I do I don’t care, i mean I don’t care in term of harming people as in harming people but no fearlike because you only fear God. So as long as you do, you benefit people, you do good as a citizen then it is very important because there is always the same level in Islam so that is liberating me; specially being a Muhammadiyah member I am not afraid to call or talk to the president or whatever- we are all the same thing- a humanbeing.</p> <p>Restrictions: Never felt that way- I can do whatever. So far, I haven’t had problem. Although people say you cannot drink, but I don’t feel like drinking. So I don’t feel bad that I cant drink. I don’t feel any problem. Sometimes I feel lucky like in US not everyone wear hijab then I can be easily recognized in conferences – its nice to make networking and specially when you are a minority. Even in Indonesia, I have no problem in interacting. I have never felt anything bad.</p>
<p>Dr. Ahmad Maarif</p>	<p>By sticking with the principles of Islam- I have never</p>

	<p>faced any difficulty in practicing Islam</p> <p>Yes, religion is a moral guidance for humankind. There is a practical guidance in Islam.</p>
--	---

Appendix 8

Is there a clear distinction between religious practices and cultural practices in Indonesian culture? If yes, please explain and provide examples. If no, please provide examples and how it has affected the lives of people

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlannigrum	<p>Yea, for us some people I guess you know if you want to say that we are divided into organization, if we can say that, half of...no, not half....some of Indonesians understand the distinguish about the religion and culture, but some of Indonesians believe that culture and religious is two complementary for Indonesians because for Indonesians that Indonesians- Indonesians is not consist of religion but also consist of culture. For some people who believe that culture should be maintained and kept in the daily lives of Indonesia, I think they make it lower because in Indonesia we have Islam <i>Kejawyn</i>. Some of the people say Islam <i>Kejawyn</i>; so Islam <i>Kejawyn</i>, they usually do practicing salaah but they also praying to some stuff such ...animism...but they don't believe that animism but they say this is Islam because they say that Islam came before culture was established in Indonesia. So our Wali Sumu is our th wali to introduce Islam in Indonesia and their strategy was to using culture so introduce Islam using the culture.</p>
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	<p>In Muhammadiyah, lets make a distinction with NU. In NU to make a distinction between culture and religion is very difficult. Muhammadiyah tries to practice in the pure form of religion in Muhammadiyah. So Muhammadiyah can make a distinction between culture and religion.</p> <p>In think there is a lot- before Islam came into Indonesia, there was Hinduism- came first. So there are many cultural practices that is mixed of Hinduism. Like in our tradition there is a party after someone is death- after 7 days and 40 days which is culture</p>
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	N/A
Mr. Pradana Boy	<p>From point of view of Muhammadiyah- actually this is a sensitive question for Muhammadiyah. Because Muhammadiyah declares that they eliminate traditional and purify the religion. And they believe that – for example, we have something called Salamatan which is</p>

	<p>when I have something and want to God then I invite people for food and there is a certain ritual in which a certain elder will lead the dua- which is not only in Arabic but a mix of Arabic and Javanese- so how can you divide what is religious and culture. I myself participate in this kind of salamatan which is a kind of thanksgiving because in my house is only one kilometer from here, people are very traditional and my neighbor often invites me...personally I am those who doesn't practice this but I have to be tolerant and come. But from the point of view of religious studies, this is a true example of how religion and culture are mix.</p> <p>As long as the practice does not contradict the faith, its okay.</p>
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	<p>First, we are speaking about what culture is. What do you mean by culture? Some people think culture is art! Culture is what we think, what we do, and what we put up with ourselves. There are seven cultural levels.- book titled, Kluckhol wrote and said that there are seven levels of culture.</p> <p>In Java for example, there is something called kejawayn.</p>
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	<p>Indonesian culture is very pluralistic- formed from many different religions, islam, Christianity, hindu, Buddhist. For me, religion is the main source of culture. What is formed, how people have to behave, act, etc, is based on religion. The most important one is how to communicate with different behaviours so the therefore the muslims- we have a slogan “ diversity in Unity” so in the comparative study of religion we say to agree on the disagreement. Islam promotes this idea.</p>
“I”	<p>I think its not very clear cut! Because for example, a person from Java, the religion in Java- Javanese people have a good way of observing different elements of religion. So what is now practiced in Javanese that's the new way of understanding religion. So its not – because culture is becoming part of religion and religion is becoming part of culture.</p>
Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	<p>Islam is already a culture in Indonesia.</p>

	In the clothes, everywhere women wear a scarves and many mosques and masjid and when people want to stop and pray, its okay. We also practice say “SAalamalikum” “InshaAllah” and they are not even muslims.
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	Yeah...It is blended and mixed. Not really exactly for me when you say this is culture and this is religion. Yes, there are some because there are so many different tribes and ethnicity- some believe in God and some not practically religious- like in Java it is very strong; there are seventy different types of beliefs in supernaturals so they are not practicing a particular type of religion but in Indonesia – as an Indonesian citizen you have to identify your religion in your id card- so whether Islam or Christian- so people just put it but they don’t practice it but they believe in all the cultural beliefs. But they are not believing in any particular religion but they belief in God and they sacrificing for stones or the animism – and they go to Mount Merapi here to do sacrifices, their culture is very strong. And its not only in Java, I think we have more than 350 ethnicity- so the ethnicity influences the mix between religion and culture – so even though they are muslims but sometimes they believe in sacrifices- not for Allah- but God knows for supernatural so syncretism is very strong.
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	Sometimes its blurred- people think something is religious and sometimes cultural. There are local religions, animism- a lot of penetration of practices. There is a mix of Islam and local culture. But still, Islam has a good future.

Appendix 9

How would you describe the status of women in Indonesia?

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	<p>Before Islam entered in Indonesia, we had the biggest kingdom in Indonesia which was Majapahit and Majapahit they have a woman king at the time so I think ...but that is different because a king or a raja had a special position compared to common people so we cannot translate it. Before Islam into Indonesia actually Indonesia had a good understanding about the respecting of the woman because of the special situation. But after Islam entered, a lot of struggling and yeah even until now I still believe that the justice...what should I say...the Islam, how Islam explain about position, male and women is not clear in Indonesia even if we say Modern society because in Modern society all female also until now we have no ...even our former president...but she was the daughter of the our first president. If she was nobody, no one will choose her. Everyone choose her because of her father not because of her. I do believe if she runs for the president and she is not the daughter of Sokarno she won't be elected.</p>
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	<p>In politics women in Indonesia – now is their involvement in politics is important in their lives. So they strived to election- In politician rule- women should be 30 percent so therefore they must involve women</p>
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	<p>Property rights: we have concept of <i>Konakily</i>- when husband and wife is divorced the money is divided into two- and is subjected to Islamic law if they are religious. And Muslims do have a choice whether they follow they Indonesian Secular law which is dividing the inheritance differently between men and women.</p> <p>The couples can choose if they want .</p>
Mr. Pradana Boy	<p>From my experience – I would like to compare my experience with my hometown lamongan and malang- these are two different areas that represent two different geograophic entities. My hometown is a coastal community so they have a different lifestyle and way of</p>

	<p>life, they have different attitude and culture. In Malang they have fertile soil. So the status of women is interesting in both cities because both men and women work cooperatively in Java.</p> <p>For example, in Lombongan, if my father went to the rice field then my mother will come later with food. So my mother stay at home prepare food and then come to the rice field and then stay and work together so they work cooperatively.</p> <p>Javanese have their own local wisdom of how women and men cooperate in life. Although in Javanese case there is a simple but interesting idea that women are <i>konjovonging</i> – <u>meaning</u> that women are supporting companion...but in the back</p>
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	<p>The status of women now – we have many participants in the parliament- also a lot of women ministers. Also had women president-</p> <p>Islam urges the women to be clever, smart and intelligent.</p>
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	<p>I think comparing to other muslim countries, Indonesia is very liberal in terms of women. Once my professor (in Canada) told me how can a women, a young woman go out freely on a motorbike or car? She said that it couldn't in middle-east and even in Pakistan!</p> <p>Islam has helped women- women are more active compared to men doing the activities</p>
“I”	<p>In general women in the public life, is much smoother than private life. Public life acknowledges and women have no difficulty become a director or bank manager etc but in private life, women to become the head of the household- no way!</p> <p>Sometimes the change in the private life is much more difficult. For example, to increase the marriage age today is 16 yrs but we would like to increase it. So we have two laws, marriage law and children law which is youth below 21yrs so that's difficult. The number of parents who want</p>

	<p>to get their daughters married at 14 and 15 is high because marriage is considered a domestic affair.</p> <p>In Mathura for example, it is not against the law and they say that they made a dichotomy between fiqh and Indonesian law. So they pick and choose what fits their lifestyles. So domestic life is challenging compared to public life.</p>
Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	<p>I think that 1990 exactly – there is an increase of women in politics, there is an appreciation of women. I give example in my campus, during 1990s, many, talking was not good among men and exactly I tried to, give gender sensitive training to our staff in my campus and maybe in 10 years, the division between men and women is different. Position of women is okay now but before women was not good to take some positions. Also in politics I think Indonesia that completion between men and women.</p> <p>Islam plays a role in the development of women in Indonesia. Islam forces women to take charge in the public life and also you know that Islam is many. Some small groups right now try to restrict women at home and for the family and practice polygamy. But Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah said that polygamy is an emergency choice for the community, when there are many women who are unmarried or widow and then many orphans then in that case its okay.</p>
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	<p>For comparing to other Muslim countries - I have been traveling a lot. I have also joined the women organization and also used to be the national commission on women. So I know the women's status in other countries so in Indonesia its pretty good, in terms of salary but of course there is a lot of problem in Indonesia like violence against women is high, problem of the poverty and also the belief that women have to work outside as a domestic worker everywhere. So there is still a lot of problem and the status is still struggling but in terms of rights, to get the same salary, to get the same opportunity to go to school, women in Indonesia are better off compared to other</p>

	muslim countries. I have heard there is a lot of problem; although here I have heard a lot of problem but in terms of opportunity and the number of women organizations in Indonesia is very high.
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	Women have freedom in Indonesia- examples in Parliament- in terms of religion- I have no objection to pray after women.

Appendix 10

In your opinion, what are some of the challenges that both men and women face when it comes to education in Indonesia?

Respondent	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	<p>Nowadays I don't see there is a challenge for men and women to get education because I do believe that nowadays families are trying to give the same education for the children whether girl or boys but in the past maybe it may be a problem because the economic situation made it where the family should choose whether they will send boy or the girl to the school and because they thought that a boy have a more responsibility in the future when they have a family so they send the children..the boy to the school rather than the girl. And because they said, "oh a girl in the future will be a wife and the wife's responsibility is in domestic area so they prefer to ask the children to learn in the kitchen and the domestic area. But in the future I don't see the problem with that.</p>
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	<p>I think there is a challenge for women in Indonesia. But sometimes the challenge is not from ours but sometimes from themselves. Because there are many belief of women that they have to obey to the men because the men are higher than the woman so they have to sit at home and the man work outside.</p> <p>And this feeling is because of culture and not religion.</p> <p>Muhammadiyah has many autonomous organizations so we can organize many things together or sometimes organization focusing ourselves.</p> <p>Sometimes there is a conflict between Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah but I think when people come together it is normal to get into conflict. Members usually discuss their opinions.</p> <p>Example of how women in Muhammadiyah used religion is stop polygamy.</p>
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	N/A

Mr. Pradana Boy	<p>Today I think no! because now we can see that both men and women can get exactly equal access to education. The only hinder is due to some personal excuses in certain parts of Javanese societies. For example, they say, why should you go to education- you are only women. This kind of idea still runs in our society. But we can still find very rare cases where women are not allowed to get access to education due to some belief that women are at home why they would go to university.</p> <p>Religion has both promoted and addressed this attitude. Because those who promote this kind of life for women uses religion but those who prevent or discourage public enrollment of women uses religion as well.</p>
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	Education can be costly- so the parent thinks which one? Boy or girl. So they think and try to save money.
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	Not only women, but even men- they lack in education and therefore Muhammadiyah is helping in this sector.
“P”	Access is open- but sometimes the requirements are not very woman friendly. For example , for certain scholarships they put the age limit for male and women but it becomes difficult for female lectures because women under 35 are busy with their reproductive and their time is ticking whereas men do not have the same restriction. So as female, if we want to apply then we have to leave our hometown and if they don't have support from the family then its difficult. So access is open but the support is still very limited. And finally there are very few women who can participate in such activities.
Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	not really
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	There are several challenges for women- first is, women as I mentioned, Indonesia is still a developing country. The poverty is still high and usually the poverty hits more the women; and culturally women are not working

out-the breadwinner- so that's why women do not have the power to make decisions. So if she is cooking and spending in the home then she is afraid to articulate. the women in the core family, lets say the man men go to the urban area for work, so all the household becomes the women's responsibility. And then if the man cannot send money back to the village then its also a problem. So the poverty usually hits more the woman. Because women are culturally responsible for the home and then the second is Health- because of the still problem for such a thing that has gender perspective then the budget for health related for women, like reproductive rights, and then also for reproduction and family planning they have to pay more and the never encourage for man, and all the women for family planning using the contraception and everything is always forced on the women and mostly culturally and then using if they have access to it of not, really widely campaign for men to use the condom because the condom is for sexual and not for family planning but in terms of the family planning then the women is responsible . so these are the challenges facing women in Indonesia. So Reproductive rights, and more budget for the concentration and decreasing the mortality for delivering the baby and nurturing kids – education as well because there are still 17 percent of the total population are under poverty line and half are women and culturally men are educated before women so education challenge, economy challenge, social challenge, religious challenge because sometimes even till now women cannot be an imam. The textual interpretation is dominated by men.

We have a regular discussion in Nistayatual ulama around Qur'anic text. Invite women scholars and council of the fatwa and discuss regularly about women's issues using the Qur'an and Islamic script. We have to equip women so they know why they do what they do. some people blame that "oh you go out without Mahram for example," we go out to do good things. I travel in all provinces for university – that that needs new interpretation. And even the issue of domestic worker- how you have to work outside without *mahram* (*male relative*). what does Islam talk? Thus the new interpretation of the text is very important. We see that

	<p>Muhammadiyah giving the opportunity for learning, at least, although there are some, because this organization is big, ... the partition and orthodoxy view is everywhere- so because its very big, some of them are liberal, some conservative, that you still cannot sit in the same room. Sometimes I am the only women in the room during meetings. The spirit of Muhammadiyah is doing good- regardless of whether you are male or female.</p>
<p>Dr. Ahmad Maarif</p>	<p>Not now.</p> <p>Women- in terms of gender- women still have to fight and compete with enrollement.</p> <p>Indonesian women have a better status compared to other muslim populated countries.</p> <p>Role of Muhammadiyah has to be noted for promoting education among both men and women.</p> <p>Mosque were under the umbrella of Muhammadiyah- only 10 percent people were literate after independence.</p>

Appendix 11

Has Muhammadiyah been successful in addressing practices that prevent women from education and participation in the society? If yes, please identify and provide example. If not, give example(s).

Responded	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	<p>Yeah , yeah. In seventeen years I do believe that because maybe before Muhammadiyah established, women are really only have activity in the domestic area but after Muhammadiyah established and Aisyiyah follow the Muhammadiyah. Aisyiyah have fully right to have activity outside of the house and then Aisyiyah could have public services and health. And Aisyiyah...and Ahmad Dahlan always ordered to, to all of you my daughter go to study become doctor , engineering and go to Muhammadiyah and serve Muhammadiyah. In his words, he never mentioned men or women because he always say generally so I think also that Muhammadiyah ...Ahmad Dahlan is the initiator for asking women to become women as leaders in one group even if it is not unisex group and female group, Ahmad Dahlan ordered it and supported it.</p> <p>But since Muhammadiyah has several autonomous organizations, Muhammadiyah divided the autonomous organization by sex and age. So we can see that in Muhammadiyah we are trying to make a bloc or box to woman- that is the problem. Because Aisyiyah really wants to become part of the election of the Mautamar (i.e chairperson) in Muhammadiyah. Aisyiyah says, “ If Aisyiyah is part of Muhammadiyah so Aisyiyah should can elected in the congress of Mautamar of Muhamamdiyah but men in Muhammadiyah say “No, Aisyiyah stay in Aisyiyah- you don’t have to know what – you don’t have to involved in Muhammadiyah” and even women or male involved in Muhammadiyah they will be in low position as coordinator . even the chairmen of the council we never found a female become a chairman of council.</p> <p>I don’t think it is the interpretation of the religion but it is the ego of the men, this is what I believe. I ever found a</p>

	<p>troubling discussion between a chairperson of Aisyiyah and chairperson of Muhammadiyah, I cannot say the name, this lady has a good understanding about Al-Qur'an and Sunnah and she is explaining how Al Qur'an and Hadiths give opportunity, wide opportunity for female to become a leader- but this man as one of the chair in Muhammadiyah, he still insisted that "No woman cannot be leader in one community- unless only for women group"; and he cannot provide any reason using religion.</p>
<p>Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni</p>	<p>N/A</p>
<p>Dr. Syafiq A Mughni</p>	<p>Very important- Muhammadiyah and NU are two most active and influential FBOs in East Java.</p> <p>Contributed mainly in education- thousands of educational institutions- build hospitals, clinics, orphanages.</p> <p>It depends on us, how we understand religion. If we understand religion correctly then the religion becomes the factor to develop for better life. But when the religious understanding is outdated then it becomes hinderance for progress. Sometimes it is interpreted between culture and religion. Religious understanding can be influenced by cultural and local culture can also be influenced by religious understanding. What we do is the meeting the understanding of religion. For example, the status of women. In traditional cultural and religious way out of spirit understanding then women are subservient to men- men can divorce women at any will. So there for us, this is not Islamic. The religious understanding of the spirit of women is not correct- that has to change.</p>
<p>Mr. Pradana Boy</p>	<p>In Muhammadiyah's case- they encourage the equality of women and men. The founding of Aisyiyah was motivated with the ideal that women should have the same access as men and public lives and in their contribution to the society. Aisyiyah also runs</p>

	<p>educational units although it is limited to Kinder Garden. So this is a kind of practice that Muhammadiyah encourages both men and women.</p> <p>Muhammadiyah uses religion because in Aisyiyah case there is like a book that should be read by Muhammadiyah women which is “The Ethics of Women in Islam”- this book was semi-mandatory for members to read. Among other things, it talked about the equal opportunities and contributing in the society religiously, educationally- everyone has a role to play.</p>
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	N/A
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	<p>I think that since the early times, Muhammadiyah has encouraged women to be active outside the home. So that’s why, Muhammadiyah I think the first, so Aisyiyah was founded after Muhammadiyah was founded as women’s organization. Muhammadiyah helped women to come out of home and help them seek knowledge.</p> <p>In Muhammadiyah there is no difference between male and female in terms of offering services- but inside the organization it was a little different so that’s why they created Aisyiyah.</p>
“P”	<p>Muhammadiyah is the pioneer who campaigned for providing access to women- so if you look at the history of Islamic education you will see Muhammadiyah and then NU was following it. Muhammadiyah is pleased that anyone is providing education to women. Also about polygamy, also there are some who did polygamy, the occurrence is very low compared to NU. The idea of limiting polygamy is good for many reasons – if we see at what is happening about polygamy in Java its very scary. For example, in Brobilingo is very bad. Women become an object and men and women see themselves with no power and the only way for women to get highest status and get social status – so this is very sad. Women do not see opportunities that the only way is to become married regardless what number. Muhammadiyah have more room for women to have power.</p>

Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	I think, this is part of job of MU and vision of MU, since the beginning of MU in 1912. And at that time the founding father, Ahmad Dahlan tried to educate women also with his wife and after the help of, a group of women and five years after they started Aisyiyah and Aisyiyah tried to go together with MU. So we call Aisyiyah the women wing of MU. And also 1928, Aisyoyah was one of the founding to establish women conference in Indonesia. Many women organizations came together and Aisyiyah was in the forefront.
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	For example, in some villages or communities when they don't get the education like the urban areas the women has less mobility so through the interpretation like surah Al-Nisa, male and women can participate, women can move out and then moving out for the meeting is very important because it endorses and encourages women to be more articulated and independednt. Endorses women to do things without waiting for husbands. Therefore through the activities organizatized by Nashiyatulal Ulalam they can go out but culturally sometimes the men say " why do you go out- all these meetings?". So when they organize cooperatives and microcredits they see what Naishiyahtul and Aisyiyah do good things, and they slowly accept or allow the gurls and boys to go out . and also like studying Islam, we have Maulimeen and Maulimaat, in the past why women do interpretation of Islam, so its not culturally practice for women to have high rank for Islamic interpretation. I think that women should take part in economic, social, to open up for women to participate ; culturally, women specially in java, when muhamamdiyah was born, there is a term that women is "konjchuwongin" <i>women is the friend in the back-</i> so only in kitchen and bed. And that has changed because of Islam and education. Education has opened up that women should not be left behind. Women can participate in all activities.
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	Yes, Muhammadiyah has been successful. The culture at that time was hostile because there is a javenese term- "Women just in the back"- her place is in the kitchen."

	<p>Muhammadiyah's motivation is the Qur'an- in the Qur'an men and women are treated equal. Therefore we now have to introduce that to the public.</p>
--	---

Appendix 12

Agree or Disagree and Why: “Should Muhammadiyah become a secular organization”

Responded	Response
Ms. Herni Ramdlanningrum	N/A
Ms. Akhtim Wahyuni	Disagree- because the spirit of Muhammadiyah is Islam.
Dr. Syafiq A Mughni	N/A
Mr. Pradana Boy	N/A
Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno	N/A
Dr. Ahmad Jainuri	<p>Muhamamdiyah is build on Islam but the difference is how is it understood. Muhammadiyah uses rationality unlike NU. Muhamamdiyah is open to other culture.</p> <p>Muhamamdiyah is always on Islam. So that’s why the ideology derived is from Islamic teachings.</p> <p>Some aspect of Muhammadiyah is secular- but not secularism like the western understanding of separation of religion and social aspect of life.</p>
“P”	Muhammadiyah means the followers of Muhammad.
Dr. Siti Susilaningsih	No- because since the beginning Muhammadiyah has the spirit of Qur’an and Hadith. We try to integrate Islam and secular. My husband is professor and writes on how to make Scientification of Islam. I try to understand Islamic psychology.
Dr. Rahmawati Husein	People already say that Muhammadiyah is secular organization. We are not a religious institution but religious organizations. There is no imam, we have a president, elections etc.
Dr. Ahmad Maarif	No, never. Muhammadiyah is better in following the authentic Islam.



SAINT MARY'S
UNIVERSITY SINCE 1802

One University. One World. Yours.

PATRICK POWER
LIBRARY

Department Office

T 902.420.5534

F 902.420.5561

Research Ethics Board Certificate Notice

The Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board has issued an REB certificate related to this thesis. The certificate number is: 12-296 .

A copy of the certificate is on file at:

Saint Mary's University, Archives
Patrick Power Library
Halifax, NS
B3H 3C3

Email: archives@smu.ca
Phone: 902-420-5508
Fax: 902-420-5561

For more information on the issuing of REB certificates, you can contact the Research Ethics Board at 902-420-5728/ ethics@smu.ca .