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Munirul Ikhwan
Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Tauseef Ahmad Parray
Government Degree College Pulwama (Higher Education Department),
Jammu & Kashmir, India

Umi Muzayanah
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

A.M Wibowo
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

Umi Masfiah
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

Mustolehudin
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

Language Advisor
Firdaus Wajdi
Jakarta State University, Jakarta, Indonesia
Luthfi Rahman
Walisongo State Islamic University, Semarang, Indonesia

Assistant to Editor
Nurlaili Noviani
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

Muhammad Purbaya
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

Mailing Address
Office of Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia
Jl Untungsurapati Kav 70 Bambankerep Ngaliyan
Semarang
Central Java, Indonesia
Email : analisajurnal@gmail.com

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INTRODUCTION FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARDS

Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion released a new edition vol.2.no.1.2017. This is the third edition published in English since its beginning in 2016. This volume released in the mid of various activities and the hectic schedule in the office. However, this edition is published as scheduled. Many people have contributed in this edition so that publication process of the journal is managed smoothly. The month of June in which this journal on the process of publishing is a month when Muslim people around the world celebrated the Ied Fitr, therefore we would also congratulate to all Muslim fellows to have happy and blessing day on that occasion.

This volume consistently issues eight articles consisting some topics related to Analisa scopes as follows; religious education, religious life, and religious text. Those articles are written by authors from different countries including Indonesia, Australia, India, and Greece. Three articles concern on the education, one article focuses on the life of Hindu people. Furthermore, three articles discuss about text and heritage, and the last article explores on the evaluation of research management.

The volume is opened with an article written by Muhammad Ulil Absor and Iwu Utomo entitled "Pattern and Determinant of Successful School to Work Transition of Young People in Islamic Developing Countries: Evidence from Egypt, Jordan and Bangladesh." This article talks about the effects of conservative culture to the success of school to work-transition for young generation in three different countries namely Egypt, Jordan and Bangladesh. This study found that female youth treated differently comparing to the male youth during the school-work transition. This is due to the conservative culture that affect to such treatment. Male youth received positive treatment, on the other hand female youth gained negative transitions.

The second article is about how Japanese moral education can be a model for enhancing Indonesian education especially on improving character education in schools. This paper is written by Mahfud Junaidi and Fatah Syukur based on the field study and library research. This study mentions that moral education in Japan aims to make young people adapt to the society and make them independent and competent in making decision on their own. This moral education has been applied in schools, family, community as well since these three places have interconnected each other.

The third article is written by Umi Muzayanah. It discussed about "The Role of the Islamic education subject and local tradition in strengthening nationalism of the border society. She explores more three materials of the Islamic education subject that can be used to reinforce nationalism namely tolerance, democracy, unity and harmony. Besides these three aspects, there is a local tradition called *saprahan* that plays on strengthening the nationalism of people living in the border area.

Zainal Abidin Eko and Kustini wrote an article concerning on the life of Balinese Hindu people settling in Cimahi West Java Indonesia. They lived in the society with Muslim as the majority. In this area, they have successfully adapted to the society and performed flexibility in practicing Hindu doctrine and Hindu rituals. This study is a result of their field research and documentary research.

The next article is written by Tauseef Ahmad Parray. It examines four main books on the topic of democracy and democratization in the Muslim world especially in South and South East Asian countries namely Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia and Indonesia. This paper discusses deeply

on whether Islam is compatible with the democratization or not. He reviews literature written by Zoya Hasan (2007); Shiping Hua (2009); Mirjam Kunkler and Alfred Stepan (2013); and Esposito, Sonn and Voll (2016). To evaluate the data, he also uses various related books and journal articles. Thus this essay is rich in providing deep analysis.

Agus S Djamil and Mulyadi Kartenegara wrote an essay entitled "The philosophy of oceanic verses of the Qur'an and its relevance to Indonesian context". This essay discusses the semantic and ontological aspects of 42 oceanic verses in the Qur'an. This study uses paralellistic approach in order to reveal such verses. Then the authors explore more on the implementation of such verses on the Indonesian context in which this country has large marine areas.

Lydia Kanelli Kyvelou Kokkaliari and Bani Sudardi wrote a paper called "The reflection of transitional society of mytilene at the end of the archaic period (8th – 5th century b.c.) a study on Sappho's "Ode to Anaktoria". This paper is about an analysis of poet written by Sappho as a critical product from the Mytilene society of Greek.

The last article is written by Saimroh. She discusses the productivity of researchers at the Office of Research and Development and Training Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic Indonesia. The result of this study depicts that subjective well-being and research competence had direct positive effect on the research productivity. Meanwhile, knowledge sharing had direct negative impact on the research productivity but knowledge sharing had indirect positive effect through the research competence on the research productivity. Research competence contributes to the highest effect on the research productivity.

We do hope you all enjoy reading the articles.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Editor in Chief

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DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE MUSLIM WORLD: AN EVALUATION OF SOME IMPORTANT WORKS ON DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTH/SOUTHEAST ASIA

TAUSEEF AHMAD PARRAY

Government Degree College Pulwama
(Higher Education Department), Jammu
and Kashmir, India
Email: tauseef.parray21@gmail.com

Abstract

Is Islam compatible with democratization in the context of Asian cultures? To address this important issue, a series of books have been published in the English language from 1990s (and especially from 2000s). Most of these books deal with the relationship between Islam, Muslims, and democratization with a sub-region in Asia: South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia. While others deal with same issues with a focus on the future, very few deal with the relationship between Islam, Muslims, and democratization in the context of Asian cultures from the perspectives of theory and empirical country studies from all three Asian regions. In this backdrop, this essay— by making an assessment and review of the literature, produced in the last decade, on this theme—focuses on the compatibility paradigm in South and South East Asian Muslim societies at the empirical level, with a focus on Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia. To achieve this objective, the essay follows the analytical and comparative methodology, and evaluates these four important books: Zoya Hasan (2007); Shiping Hua (2009); Mirjam Künkler and Alfred Stepan (2013); and John Esposito, Tamara Sonn, and John Voll (2016). A due support is taken from other related works (books and journal articles) as well in substantiating, supporting, and strengthening the argument(s) put forth in this essay.

Keywords*: Democracy; Democratization; Islam; Muslim Societies; South Asia; South East Asia*

INTRODUCTION

The compatibility and concurrence of the Islamic social and political concepts with the principles of democracy is an issue that surfaced (in the Arab world) from the final decades of the 20th century. It intensified after the events of 9/11 and the subsequent 'War on Terror', and once again gained a fierce fervor and momentum with the demonstrations of 2010-11 in the Arab world, known as 'Arab Spring'. The attacks of 9/11 and its aftermath have concentrated, as Nader Hashemi (in *Third World Quarterly [TWQ],* 2003: 563) wrote, "International attention to the *'democratic deficit'* in Arab and Muslim societies like never before" (*italics added*). Although, from the events of 9/11 to the occurrence of Arab Spring,

the issue has become a focal point of worldwide public debate in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Asia, the West, and in the rest of the world, but when we look back to the early 1980s and 90s, one finds that since then one of the oft-asked questions was: *Is Islam compatible with democracy?*

This question has, ever since, been raised, debated and discussed continuously; and there have been many vicissitudes—of varying degrees of importance—that have occurred in the Islamic democratic discourse throughout these few decades. No doubt, this question has regained importance most profoundly since the events of 9/11, and the 'Arab Spring' of 2010-11 added a new angle to this fiercely-debated question,

but what is also true is that this has resulted in a number of assertions and affirmations, theories, and paradigms. And broadly, there are two paradigms: the *Compatibility* and *Incompatibility* Paradigms. In addition, here, in this essay, I am concerned with the compatibility paradigm at empirical level—with a focus on South and South East Asian Muslim societies. This is because of two major reasons: that (i) in this debate more focus has been on MENA, and less on Muslim countries of South/ South East Asian regions; and (ii) the debate has become even more intense with the combination of Islamic and Asian values vis-à-vis democratization.

Is Islam compatible with democratization in the context of Asian cultures? To address it, and its interconnected crucial issues, no doubt, a series of books and research papers have been published in the English language (from 1990s and more from 2000s). Most of these works deal with the relationship between Islam, Muslims, and democratization with a sub-region in Asia (South Asia, or Southeast Asia or Central Asia); others deal with the same issue with a focus on the future, and very few deal with the relationship between Islam, Muslims, and democratization in the context of Asian cultures from the perspectives of theory and empirical country studies from all three Asian regions.

This review essay, in this backdrop, attempts to make an assessment and review of some of the significant and selected works, produced in the last decade, on this theme, with a focus on democracy in South and South East Asian Muslim societies—specifically Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia. To achieve this objective, the following books are reviewed:

- Hasan, Zoya (Ed.), *Democracy in Muslim Societies: The Asian Experience* (2007);
- Hua, Shiping (Ed.), *Islam and Democratization in Asia* (2009);
- Künkler, Mirjam & Stepan, Alfred (Eds.), *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia* (2013); and
- Esposito, John L., Sonn, Tamara, & Voll,

John O. *Islam and Democracy after the Arab Spring* (2016).

However, it is pertinent to mention that, keeping in view the theme/ objective of this essay, only those chapters of these four books will be evaluated and assessed which focus on these four countries of South and South East Asia: Pakistan and Bangladesh from South Asia, and Malaysia and Indonesia from South East Asia. However, it is necessary to highlight that many scholars support the assertion that the discourse revolving around the compatibility between Islam and democracy gained prominence only from the final decades of last century, especially in the 1980s and 90s. Therefore, it is apt to present, in the beginning, a brief overview of Islam—democracy compatibility and incompatibility paradigms.

ISLAM—DEMOCRACY (IN) COMPATIBILITY PARADIGMS: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Professor(s) John Esposito and James Piscatori, back in 1991 in *The Middle East Journal (MEJ)*, argued that in the Middle East, "the 1950s and the 1960s were dominated by Arab nationalism and socialism, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the rise of 'Islamic fundamentalism', challenging secular ideologies", while as the 1990s, witnessed the "continued strength of Islamic revivalism ... and the increased participation of Islamic movements in electoral politics" that brought into focus "the question of the compatibility of Islam and democracy" (Esposito and Piscatori, 1991: 428).

Two years after (in 1993), Gudrun Krämer (Free University of Berlin, Germany) in *Middle East Report [MER]*, asserted the view that since the 1980s the debate about Islam and democracy "witnessed some fresh thinking and considerable movement on the ground" as a growing number of Muslims intellectuals and Islamist activists, "called for pluralist democracy, or at least for some of its basic elements: the rule of law and the protection of human rights, political participation, government control, and accountability". In her theory, the "terms and concepts used are often

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rather vague or deliberately chosen so as to avoid non-Islamic notions" because many speak of S*hura* as "the idealized Islamic concept of participation-qua-consultation"; others refer to "Islamic democracy" and many others "do not hesitate to call for democracy" (Krämer, 1993: 2–8; *cf.* Krämer, in Rejwan, 2000: 127).

Similarly, two years after 9/11, Professor Noah Feldman (Harvard University, USA) wrote: the "crucial question", can Islam and democracy be compatible—either in principle or in practice—is, in the present times, "no longer merely of abstract or regional interest", because it has been "debated in scores of Arabic books, articles, and *fatwas* since the temporary success of Islamists in the Algerian elections of 1990" and from the mid-1990s tremendously in English works—produced by Muslims and non-Muslims alike—as well. So, in the present times (i.e., in the 21st century) it is absurd to perceive and discuss "Islamic democracy" as a "contradiction in terms" (Feldman, in Abou El Fadl, 2004: 59). Almost a-decade-after 9/11, Irfan Ahmad (presently at Australian Catholic University) reiterated that the interface between Islam and democracy, an important global debate, "intensified in the wake of 'Democracy's Third Wave'" (1974-1990) during which "30 countries made transition to democracy"; and, in contrast, of the world's 37 Muslim-majority countries only two were democratic between 1980 and 1991 (Ahmad, 2011: 459-60; see also, Huntington, 1991: 12–34). This absence of democracy in the 'Muslim world', Ahmad emphasizes, has generated many explanations, predominantly raising the "signature question": *Is Islam compatible with democracy*? It has resulted in two major poles in this debate, which Ahmad labels: the "Compatibility and Incompatibility Paradigms" (Ahmad, 2011: 460). Also, it resulted in the formulations like "*Arab-democracy gap/ deficit*" and in the theorization of "*Making Islam Democratic*", as put forward by scholars like Alfred Stepan, Graeme B. Robertson, Larry Diamond, and Asef Bayat (Stepan and Robertson, 2003: 30–44; Diamond, 2010: 93-104; Bayat, 2007).

While referring specifically to the English works on this debate, many scholars argue that the discourse started in 1990s/ mid-1990s (Esposito and Piscatori, 1991; al-Hibri, 1992; al-Solh, 1993; Krämer, 1993; Salame, 1994 ; Esposito and Voll, 1994, 1996)—and this is generally accepted view in this discourse in the context of scholarship of Arab intellectuals and thinkers. Thus, the question of democracy or Islam's compatibility with democracy has been widely commented upon, especially in the context of the Arab world. However, sometimes it is somehow ignored that majority of the Muslims live in South and South East Asian countries, like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, etc.

In statistical terms, as Zoya Hasan (2007: 17-18) puts it, 85% of the world's Muslims are non-Arabs and over 70% live in Asian states. The Muslims of South Asia (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) account for 40% of the Muslim world. Islam in these parts is even today qualitatively different. Thus, of more than 1.2 billion individuals who constitute the Muslim world today, the majority inhabits the Asian countries of Indonesia, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan.

As far as Islam-democracy discourse, both in theory and practice is concerned, the major concentration has been on the Arab world. This does not, however, undermine the fact that there is no scholarship on Islam-democracy discourse in South/ South East Asian context (see, for example, Parray, in *Islam and Muslim Societies*, 2011; ISEAS Library, 2011)[1]. In the empirical area, there have been many works focusing on this region, either specifically on South/ South East Asia, or on Asia in general, including South,

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[1]The Library of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) Singapore published a bibliography in January 2011 on '*Islam, Politics and State in Southeast Asia*', covering history, culture, politics, religion, legal and gender issues, inter-religious and conflicts, etc. of all countries of Southeast Asia (in alphabetical order and under various sections): Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand (see, ISEAS, 2011 in the bibliography).

South East, and Central Asia, or sometimes on a specific country of these regions. Some of the examples for these categories, in the alphabetical order, are: Abu Shah, 2004; Azra, 2006; Barton, 1997; Feldman, 2003; Hasan, 2007; Hefner, 2000; Hilmy, 2010; Hua, 2009; Hudson and Azra, 2008; Jamhari, 2005; Künkler and Stepan, 2013; Mujani and Liddle, 2009; Mutalib, 2004; Nagata, 2000; Nakamura, 2005; Reuter, 2010; Robinson, 2007; and Salim, 2008. Moreover, there are many works that focus on Muslim countries of different regions—from MENA to Asia. The three best examples of this category, of which this writer is aware of, are: John Esposito and John Voll's *Islam and Democracy* (1996); a seminal work, it includes six case studies of Iran, Sudan, Pakistan, Malaysia, Algeria, and Egypt, and provides an examination of this broad spectrum of experiences by providing "important insights into understanding the complex relationships between Islam and democracy in the contemporary world" (Esposito and Voll, 1996: 10). Paul Kubicek's *Political Islam and Democracy in the Muslim World* (2015), which—rather than blaming Islam for the lack of democracy in the Muslim world—examines the role of Islam and Islamic oriented actors in several countries of Africa, South and Southeast Asia, and the Middle East (like Turkey, Malaysia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Mali, Indonesia, and Senegal) of "relatively successful democratization" (Kubicek, 2015: 2). It "purposefully avoids essentializing Islam as inherently antidemocratic or democratic", and rather than asking "*if and how Islam undermines democracy",* the focus and objective of this study is "to uncover how democracy has taken root in Muslim-majority countries" and, in particular, the role of Islam in this process (Kubicek, 2015: 8; *italics added*). In Jeffrey Haynes (in *Democratization*, 2015)'s assessment, Kubicek's book is an "interesting, well researched" and "a welcome addition to studies of contemporary democratization", with "satisfyingly comparative focus on 'democratic success stories'". Esposito, Sonn, and Voll's *Islam and Democracy after the Arab Spring* (2016), on the similar lines, includes

seven (7) case studies of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, Senegal, Tunisia, and Egypt. It is on this rationale that these books are included and assessed (in chronological order) in this review essay.

PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTH AND SOUTH EAST ASIAN MUSLIM SOCIETIES: AN ASSESSMENT

Zoya Hasan (Ed.), *Democracy in Muslim Societies: The Asian Experience* (2007):[2] A study of six (6) Asian countries, overwhelmingly Muslim in terms of population, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Turkey, Indonesia, and Malaysia and the process of democratization therein, this edited volume seeks to discuss in detail "the impulses at work in Muslim societies and the dynamics of social forces shaping opinion and action" (Ansari, in Hasan, 2007: 7). It explores the character of the political transformation and democratic transition as well as assesses the extent of actual democratization in these six countries. Ultimately, this book concludes that there is no fundamental incompatibility between Islam and democracy in the Asian Muslim countries.

The six countries studied in this volume are covered in six (6) chapters, preceded by a brief, but very insightful, "*Foreword*" by M. Hamid Ansari (pp. 7-9) and "*Introduction*" by the Editor Zoya Hasan (pp. 11-45)—Professor, Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, India—and followed by 'Notes about Contributors' (pp. 258-260) and 'Index' (pp. 261-266). The '6' chapters are six country study papers (by 7 great scholars) contributing "to dwell on the democratic discourse and its outcome" in these countries—attempting to understand the process of democratization by looking to Asian societies to grasp the varieties of

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[2]My review on this book was published in *Islam and Muslim Societies—A Social Science Journal* [*IMS*], 4, 1 (2011): 5 pgs, online at http://www.muslimsocieties.org/Vol4/ Democracy%20in%20Muslim%20Societies%20The%20 Asian%20Experience.pdf (last accessed on 20th Jan, 2016)

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Muslim politics and multiple paths undertaken in the quest for democracy—from Turkey in the West to Indonesia in the East of Asia (Hasan, 2007: 8). Keeping in view the theme of the essay, here an overview and assessment of countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Malaysia only is presented.

In his 'Foreword', Ansari points out that the debate about democracy and democratization in Muslim societies "has acquired an edge in recent years", with different lines of arguments put forward, equally, by scholars and analysts of Muslim world and of West. None of these arguments and assertions, in Ansari's assessment, "makes allowance for revisiting the texts for evolving perceptions or for varied patterns of behavior amongst Muslims as groups in societies living in space and time in different lands" (Ansari, in Hasan, 2007: 7). For him, in the wake of immediate consequences of 9/11, the "effort to reform and modernize Muslim societies provided the rationale" for the thesis and commentaries of Samuel Huntington and Francis Fukuyama. And thus, the "promotion of democracy became the chosen instrument much as human rights had served a similar purpose in the Cold War" (Ansari, in Hasan, 2007: 8). In his assessment, the six essays and the introduction by Zoya Hasan, the editor, tests "the premises of the compatibility argument, in theoretical and empirical terms", showing that "a clear majority"—ranging from 98% in Bangladesh to 69% in Iran—"agree that 'democracy may have problems, but it's better than other forms of government'". This also demonstrates that although these studies "project a varied pattern in terms of perceptions and practice. Performance levels have inevitably been affected by the experience of each society in terms of governance. The central thesis of compatibility, nevertheless, does seem to hold" in all cases (Ansari, in Hasan, 2007: 8-9).

In the "Introduction", a descriptive assessment of the six papers, Zoya Hasan discusses the process of democratization, raising and answering many questions related to the theme of democratization of Muslim societies.

She begins with the fact that the "tragedy of 9/11 and its aftermath focused the world's attention on Muslim politics", provoking "a number of hard questions about Islam and the Muslim world", including the questions about the compatibility of Islam with democracy and the democratic deficit in the Muslim world. Is democracy the exception rather than the norm in Muslim societies?" (Hasan, 2007: 11). This question, as pointed out in the introduction of this essay as well, or the "debate over democracy, its definition and fundamentals, as well as its impact on governments' domestic and foreign policies *have continued for a long time*" (Hasan, 2007: 11; *italics added*). She is well-aware of the fact that the question of Islam's compatibility with democracy has been widely commented upon, especially for the Arab world, as demonstrated, in her analysis, by the works of John Esposito (1984), Augustus Norton (1993), Narcholish Madjid (1994), and Ghasam Salame (1994). Importantly, she also highlights that the most influential perspective with regard to politics in the Muslim world "points to a democratic deficit", ascribing "the absence of democracy to the totalistic character of Islam, its ability to penetrate interstate boundaries, and the complete adherence of its believers to specific behavioural tenets of Islamic culture" (Hasan, 2007: 14). This view, in Hasan's analysis, became the basis of Huntington's and Fukuyama's thesis of "supposed incompatibility of Islam and democracy" (Hasan, 2007: 15).

On the basis of these arguments, analysis, viewpoints, and perspectives, Zoya Hasan concludes that "the problem of democratization in Muslim societies is not primarily of religion [Islam], but of history and political and economic development, and of Western and imperial domination of the region" (Hasan, 2007: 20). Also, as democracy exists and is working, in varying degrees, in many Muslim countries, the "main reason for the insistence that Islam and democracy are incompatible is, therefore, political and the fear that an Islamized political opposition would dominate the popular vote" (Hasan, 2007: 22). And this is highlighted by Hasan in these

lines: "The 54 Muslim countries have a variety of economic and political systems"; most of these Muslim states have "adopted modern written constitutions and secular attitudes towards institutional structures," and thus one finds that "there is no one political or judicial system prevailing in the Muslim world" (Hasan, 2007: 17).

It is on these considerations that attempts "to examine and analyze the process of democratization in Asian societies", by looking "at the growth of democratic politics and the politics of Islam within the context of state-society relations and the civil society/ democracy debate" (Hasan, 2007: 23) and reveals the two-fold fact that "there is remarkable historical differentiation and diversity within the Muslim societies", and that there is "diversity in Islam itself and across nations with majority Islamic populations". It also reveals very clearly that the "constitutional and political situation in Indonesia and Malaysia is very different from that in the Islamic nations of the Maghreb [Middle East] or Sub-Saharan Africa..., and South Asia is a particularly contested part of the Muslim world" (Hasan, 2007: 41). Hasan puts forth these observations:

> Comparison of political processes in Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Malaysia, therefore, questions the conventional view that the socio-political ethos of Muslim societies is opposed and insensitive to democracy. The experience of these six countries reveals a variety of political processes, political systems, and political transitions. ... Whilst there have been many ups and downs in their political trajectories, there is no evidence of any fundamental incompatibility between Islam and democracy. More noteworthy is the fact that Islamic norms of governance do not figure prominently in the organization of government. Indeed, the most striking feature is the varied forms of politics and political systems (Hasan, 2007: 41-2).

Four important points that Hasan detects and determines from the experiences of these Asian countries, include: (i) Asian countries highlight the positive potential for democracy and democratic transition in the Muslim world; (ii) as there is no one type of political system, there is no single model of democracy; (iii) that there is no fundamental incompatibility between Islam and democracy in the Asian Muslim world, and no systematic effort has been made to build an enduring Islamic political system to the exclusion of other alternatives; and (iv) Muslims are engaged in vigorous debate on the political system, and even though some people are disillusioned, they do not reject the democratic framework (Hasan, 2007: 43).

Covering a period of 35 years, from the birth of Bangladesh in 1971 to the end of 2006, Chapter 1, "*The Struggle of Democracy in Bangladesh*" by Amena Mohsin and Meghna Guhathakurta (pp. 46-74) provides a wide-ranging overview of the political trajectory in Bangladesh, arguing that the hostility between the ruling coalition and main opposition party (*Awami League*), a spiraling trend of violence, the government's utter disregard for the rule of law, the diminishing importance of parliament, and growing religious militancy have all delivered serious blows to democracy. Seeking to understand the polity of Bangladesh from the perspective of the political, ideological and economic underpinnings of democracy, and democratic practices, in this chapter Mohsin and Guhathakurta treat Bangladesh "not only as a society dominated by a Muslim majority population, but also as a developing economy where democratic practices and institutions are evolving in an ever-increasing globalized world" (Mohsin and Guhathakurta, in Hasan, 2007: 46). The authors find, among others, that since its birth in 1971 "democracy is in crisis in Bangladesh not because it is a Muslim society, but because it is a developing nation, where institutions of parliamentary democracy have not developed in the same way as in Western democracies" (Mohsin and Guhathakurta, in Hasan, 2007: 72-73). Although the democratic parties in Bangladesh are gaining ground at micro-level, the progress is indeed very slow at the macro level (Mohsin and Guhathakurta, in Hasan, 2007: 73).

Chapter 2, "*The Indonesian experience*

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in Implementing Democracy" by Andriana Elisabeth (pp. 75-111), focuses on the Indonesian experience in practicing democracy—where Muslims constitute the majority, and/ or is home to one of the largest Muslim community in the world. It specifically highlights two issues related to democracy in Indonesian Muslim society, viz. "state–society relations" and "the problem of religious freedom" (Elisabeth, in Hasan, 2007: 77). The depths of political and economic crises, and the weakness of national government to resolve them, Elisabeth underlines, have complicated the positive movement toward democracy in Indonesia and the major challenges before Indonesian democracy are: the "protection of minorities because the state has discriminative politically and economically"; "dealing with communal and political conflicts"; and tackling terrorism or "terminating terrorist acts by radical groups" (Elisabeth, in Hasan, 2007: 92).

Elisabeth observes: "Indonesia still needs to 'learn' democracy, but good, clean governance would be necessary for the success of the democratization process. The political and economic crisis is because of a weak and corrupt government. Islam has nothing to do with the failure of Indonesian democracy, partly because Islamic politics has never had a significant role in the Indonesian political system" (Elisabeth, in Hasan, 2007: 102). Indonesia has a long way to go before it can become democratic as massive corruption and socio-economic exploitation hamper the growth of democracy. The chapter concludes with this assertion that as "Indonesian Muslims are not homogenous", it is important to understand that "there is no single Islamic community that is able to interpret Islamic values for representing democracy in Indonesian politics"; and thus the "Compatibility between Islam and democracy remains debatable", among others due to varied interpretations of Islam, and "political reasons" as well (Elisabeth, in Hasan, 2007: 106-7).

Chapter 4, "*Islam and Democracy in Malaysia*" by Abdul Rehman Embong (pp. 128-

76), seeks to address by examining the case of Malaysia, questions such as: Can Muslim states institute governance that is democratic, just and transparent, and deliver the goods for their citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims alike? What are the success factors that lead to this, and what are the obstacles? What lessons can be learnt for modernizing Muslim societies in the 21st century? (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 130). To address and answer these questions, this chapter first briefly addresses Malaysian history with regard to its plurality and Islamization, as well as the impact of colonialism; then provides an analysis of Malaysian development performance within the context of relatively stable political and social systems. The next part examines a number of important experiences and lessons that have contributed to the relative success of the Malaysian experiment, including the political system, the leadership and the conflict of resolution mechanism, the role of developmental state and affirmative action, gender parity, as well as governance, ethics and integrity. The final section of this chapter discusses how the question of Islam and Muslims is being addressed by the country's leadership, the opposition and civil society in order to engage with modernity and globalization, as well as the contestations and tensions that have been emerging in the society (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 130-1). The central argument of the chapter is that the Islamization of Malay politics needs to be appreciated in relation to shifting socio-political ideas and boundaries that define the political process in Malaysia.

Embong reaches the conclusion that although Malaysia has five-decades-old experience of practicing democracy and general elections, it's political system is not regarded "as truly democratic" by many scholars, and thus Embong differentiates between "formal democracy" and "substantive democracy" (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 171). Embong substantiates his view with these observations of a prominent political scientist writing about the Malaysian political system in the 1990s: "it is hard to place Malaysia

in a clear-cut category between democracy and authoritarianism"; it is "neither democratic nor authoritarian ... [as] the Malaysian political system has been balancing between repression and responsiveness" (Crouch, 1996: 6-7). It is in this context that Embong differentiates between 'formal' and 'substantive' forms of democracy in the very beginning of this chapter as: "By *formal democracy* is meant *institutional democracy*, that is, the institution of an electoral system to elect the country's leaders who contest for power through their respective political parties. By *substantive democracy* we mean *participatory democracy*, or the space for the articulation of views based on the basic freedom of speech, space to participate in decision-making processes at different levels, access to opportunities, irrespective of ethnicity, gender and religion, and so on" (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 131; *italics added*). He also adds that no doubt the differentiating between the two is necessary; however what is also must to point out is that "democracy is not a static system, but one that is continuously evolving", and thus "while the framework has been based on a Western-type democratic system, the substance and implementation has been very much conditioned by the historical context as well as by the internal social and political dynamics that impact upon the system, leading to some modifications and changes" (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 171).

For Embong, it is difficult to predict the future of democracy (formal democracy) in Malaysia, but it is not unpredictable to see the "contestations" between '*what Islam*' and '*whose Islam*'—the forces which will "continue to dominate the political landscape in the coming years" in Malaysia (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 172; *italics added*). He finally concludes with this observation: "For Malaysia to move forward, the state must be responsive to challenges and popular demand, with leaders walking their talk. ... In this way, substantive democracy can be enhanced, which in turn will help strengthen formal democracy" (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 172-3).

About multi-ethnic and multi-religious aspects of Malaysia, Embong is of this opinion: "In terms of managing a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, Malaysia's experience in formulating the constitutional arrangements of the 'social contract' and power-sharing enshrined in the constitution has been shown to be a workable formula in the last five decades, though, of late, certain strains and tensions have emerged. These short-comings and tensions need to be examined critically and addressed effectively in keeping with the changing conditions of global competitiveness and new thinking on the matter". And at the same time, makes it sure that such a "rethinking is not to do away with the fundamental principles of power-sharing, but to strengthen the principles in spirit and in practice in the midst of the challenges of globalization and modernity" (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 171).

He finds the solution for sustainability and strengthening of democracy in meeting out, and in being "responsive to the challenges and popular demands" by the state; by active participation of the civil society in representing "the interests of the people without fear or favour and participate effectively in decision-making": "In this way, *substantive democracy* can be enhanced, which in turn will help *strengthen formal democracy*" (Embong, in Hasan, 2007: 172-3; *italics added*).

Chapter 5, "*Functioning of Democracy in Pakistan*" by Muhammad Waseem (pp. 177-218), attempts to answer the question, in the context of post-9/11, 'why has democracy not been consolidated in Pakistan?' by highlighting those democratic norms and institutions that have failed to compete with the more powerful traditional forces that are highly resistant to change. The chapter looks critically "at the institutional approach, behaviouralist model, survey-based research and the civil society approach" and argues in favor of a "structural approach to the study of politics in Pakistan"; leading to "an analysis of democracy in terms of state formation along with the pivotal role of the army, as well as electoral dimension of politics".

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The chapter also discusses the questions of "economic growth, human development and human rights in Pakistan" and their relevance with democracy therein. In the final section, it looks at democracy and Islam in the context of Pakistan, and explores the way the "ideological framework of the state has interacted with patterns of authority inherited from British India" (Waseem, in Hasan, 2007: 178). For Waseem, "Pakistan is a serious candidate for democracy" and its politics is a classic example of "perennial democratization". Pakistan has passed through a "process of transition from military to civilian rule in the middle 2000s"; demonstrating a dual-fact: "the army's potential and willingness to intervene in politics as and when it deems fit", and the "resilience of the political community as well as the dynamism of the civil society at large, which struggled for restoration of democracy after each military takeover" (Waseem, in Hasan, 2007: 182). This chapter demonstrates that "Politics in Pakistan can be defined in terms of a perennial struggle for democratization", and in terms of "patterns of authority", Waseem (in Hasan, 2007: 212-13) outlines two models of democratic dispensations: (i) one, characterized by parliamentary sovereignty, the elected executive wielding supreme power and civilian control over military; examples include the Bhutto government (1971–77), and of Nawaz Sharif in 1997; (ii) second, based on a constitutional framework called diarchy, whereby the final authority of the state is shared between the parliamentary and non-parliamentary forces; examples of this diarchy (with 'president in uniform along with a nominated prime minister') include Zia–Junejo duo (1985–88) or the Musharraf–Shaukat Aziz combine (2004-08); other examples, in the form of what was known in the common parlance as the 'rule of troika'—represented a non-military president, a directly elected prime minister and the COAS—include two governments of Benazir Bhutto (1988–90 and 1993–96) and the first government of Nawaz Sharif (1990–93).

His observations clearly point to "the futility of a culturist approach" to the issue of democracy in Muslim-majority states such as Pakistan, and a "structural approach to politics has the necessary potential to explain the lack of democracy" in Pakistan (Waseem, in Hasan, 2007: 214). Waseem concludes his chapter with these observations: "the institutional imbalance" between the army and bureaucracy and Parliament and political parties has "created a dichotomy between state and democracy" [in Pakistan] ... As opposed to the culturist analyses of the relationship between Islam and democracy, the case of Pakistan points to the central position of the power structure and its institutional expression in Pakistan as the real source of Islamic ascendancy" (Waseem, in Hasan, 2007: 214).

All in all, these cases of Asian experience in this book highlights four important issues: (a) the positive potential for democracy and democratic transitions in the Muslim world; (b) no single model of democracy fits for whole Muslim world, as their political systems vary; (c) no fundamental incompatibility between Islam and democracy exists in Asian Muslim world; and (d) Muslims are engaged in vigorous debate on the political system. There are some significant trends that emerge from the assessment of the countries studied. Each country is anxious to demarcate its identity as being distinct from the Arab world; and all these countries (reviewed above) have a colonial past. Significantly, all countries have experienced military/ authoritarian rule at some point of time or the other; each country has followed a different historical and developmental trajectory in spite of having many common factors. To cut a long story short, *Democracy in Muslim Societies* is a great endeavor and attempt to bring forth the Asian experience of democracy, revealing that there is no fundamental incompatibility between Islam and democracy in the Asian Muslim countries. And at the same time, the book reveals the fact that a single model of democracy cannot work across these countries as each country has a different history and each

has tread on a different path in the search for democracy. In short, *Democracy in Muslim Societies* is a valuable and useful work on the thesis of compatibility of Islam and democracy in Muslim Asia—South and South East Asian Muslim countries.

Shiping Hua (Ed.), *Islam and Democratization in Asia* (2009[3]: The central question that this volume—edited by Shiping Hua (Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Asian Democracy at the University of Louisville)—seeks to answer is: Is Islam compatible with democratization in the context of Asian cultures? To address this important question, a series of books have been published, most of them dealing with the relationship between Islam, Muslims, and democratization with a sub-region in Asia—either South, or South East, or Central Asia—however, the unique feature of book that deals with the relationship between Islam, Muslims, and democratization in the context of Asian cultures from the perspectives of theory and empirical country studies in South, Southeast, and Central Asia. This volume seeks to help in filling this gap.

Most contributors in this collection, although, are affiliated with scholarly institutions in North America and Europe, most of them have their ethnic origins in Asia. Contributors in this collection include not only scholars but also practitioners, such as diplomats. The voices of this diverse group thus represent a variety of viewpoints—spanning from those who believe that Islam is compatible with democracy to those who have doubts about it (Hua, 2009: 2). Divided into 4 parts, the book consists of ten (10) chapters, preceded by, among others, an "Introduction" (pp. 1-9) by the editor, Shiping Hua, wherein he makes a descriptive analysis of all the chapters, a brief analysis/ review of the

literature or in other words, the uniqueness of this book. He also reveals the aim, objective, and purpose of this book, which is to cast some much-needed light on the relationship between Islam and democratization within the context of Asian cultures and institutions—ranging from South, South East, and Central Asia, including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, Afghanistan, China and Central Asia.

Islam and Democratization in Asia—having both theoretical and empirical chapters, on most of the Asian countries—on the whole is a good contribution to the ongoing debate of Islam-democracy compatibility in Muslim countries. It is a comprehensive study that offers a balanced understanding of the debated issue of democracy and Islam in post 9/11 interreligious, intercultural relations, covering both theoretical and practical aspects of Islam, Muslims, democracy, and democratization in Asian countries.

The chapters related to Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia are as follows: in its part II, on 'South Asia', two chapters discuss the relations between Islam and democracy in the context of Pakistan and the aspiring pluralist democracy and expanding political Islam in Bangladesh by Touqir Hussain and Tariq Karim, respectively (chapters 4 and 5, pp. 89-118 and 119-153). Similarly, a part on 'Southeast Asia' include chapters by Felix Heiduk and Naveed S. Sheikh, which discuss the role of democracy and political Islam in Indonesia (of post-Suharto era) and the process of Islam, democratization and the ambiguities of Islamic(ate) politics in Malaysia, respectively (chapters 7 and 8; pp. 183-209 and 211-239).

In chapter 4, "*Islam and Pakistan*," Ambassador Touqir Hussain (pp. 89-118) argues that Islam has provided a legitimate cause for Islamic activism in Pakistan. Since the birth of the nation had a weak national identity, Pakistanis have historically looked for a surrogate identity, and have often found it in religion. For him, years of authoritarian rule, degraded rule of law, social injustice, and weak institutional architecture had

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[3]My two reviews on this book were published in *Democratization,* 18, 1, (2011): 267-70; and in *Islam and Muslim Societies—A Social Science Journal [IMS],* 4, 1 (2011): 6 pgs, online at http://www.muslimsocieties.org/Vol4/Islam%20 and%20Democratization%20in%20Asia.pdf (last accessed on 20th Jan, 2016)

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its own consequence: encouraging the public tendency to resort to extremist solutions. Many Islamic thinkers are engaged in an intellectual effort to bring Islamic values to the center of the debate in the Islamic world, as a means of renewing their societies that are under siege from Western cultural and political assault. There is thus a new wave of predominantly religion-based revisionism in which religion has become a medium of expression of social discontent, economic dissatisfaction, political activism, and personal unhappiness, and the Islamists are riding this wave.

Much of this chapter focuses on a historical analysis of the rise of religious extremism in Pakistan and how it has come to pose an existential threat to Pakistan's state and society. It also focuses on where we go from here. Democracy could be a way to defeat extremism but faces defeat from extremism itself. Democracy may bring stability to Pakistan but can it survive instability? The chapter concludes with a section on the challenges Pakistan's democratization faces from Islamists, including the extremists (Hussain, in Hua, 2009: 107-9); "while Islam is rising in Pakistan, so is the surge for democracy, as witnessed in the unprecedented activism of the civil society in the agitation against Musharraf in 2008. A public opinion poll released in January 2008 by the U.S. Institute of Peace [USIP] found that the majority of Pakistanis want their country to be an Islamic democracy" (Hussain, in Hua, 2009: 110). "The fact is, it is not the idea of democracy that has failed [in Pakistan] but its practice; however, the majority of people do not realize that. Islam may be incompatible with a Western liberal democracy that rests on individual-ism and secularism, but it is not incompatible with democratic ideals such as basic human rights, respect for human dignity, and social justice. Right now, the democratic and the religious waves are not reconciling, but this is not to say that they are irreconcilable" (Hussain, in Hua, 2009: 111).

In chapter 5, "*Bangladesh: The New Front-Line State in the Struggle between Aspiring Pluralist Democracy and Expanding Political Islam*," Tariq Karim (pp. 119-153) remarks that Bangladesh "presents itself as a most interesting case study of a third-world nation struggling to establish, preserve, and consolidate democracy against the grain of a legacy of deep-rooted political schizophrenia that is apparently embedded in its identity and history" (Karim, in Hua, 2009: 120). Bangladesh—considered until recently "as a possible role model for developing Muslim nations because of its inherited secular tradition, its democratic aspirations, and inclusive world vision"—has a long history of "struggle against authoritarianism for democratic rights, and is a democracy in which voting gives each individual a say in electing leaders of their choice and in governance issues". However, the progressive abdication of the pluralist vision of democracy and good governance by successive political parties elected to government, whose indulgence of a zero-sum politics relentlessly undermined and corrupted the core institutions upon which any democratic nation must rely, has been concomitant with creeping inroads made by Islamist extremism (Karim, in Hua, 2009: 120). In this context, Karim—as far as Islam-democracy compatibility in Bangladesh is concerned—brings forth the following two essential points: that the greater majority of the Bengali-Muslims of Bangladesh, while retaining their Muslim identity, demand democratic practice and governance (Karim, in Hua, 2009: 147); and the consolidation of democracy can only be achieved by a democratic process, not by authoritarian people; reassertion of constitutionalism cannot be achieved by suspension of the constitution and resorting to the indefinite use of emergency laws, and restoration of the rule of law cannot be done by bending or subverting the rule of law (Karim, in Hua, 2009: 147-8).

In chapter 7, "*Challenging Democracy? The Role of Political Islam in Post-Suharto Indonesia*", by Felix Heiduk (pp. 183-209) shares some insights on the impact Islamists have and the role they play in a Muslim majority democracy like post-Suharto Indonesia. Indonesia's transition to democracy has been challenged by

various problems such as a large scale economic crisis, the pauperization of large parts of its population, various legacies of the Suharto era like corruption and nepotism, armed separatism, intra-communal conflicts between Muslims and Christians, and Islamist terrorism, yet the country stayed on its course toward democracy. A majority of the population as well as the country's political elite regard the idea of turning Indonesia into an Islamic state as counterproductive to the democratization process of the country. Thus, if Indonesia's democratization remains stable and working, the country could become a role model for the compatibility of Islam and democracy for the Muslim world. Within this framework, the study seeks to analyze the role Islamists have played and continue to play in the context of Indonesia's democratization process. Heiduk's major argument is that in order to clarify the ambiguous relationship between democracy and political Islam in Indonesia, we need to go beyond an institution-centered understanding of democracy and look at the configurations of social forces that have determined the shape, scope, and practices of Indonesia's transition to democracy (Heiduk, in Hua, 2009: 186). On proceeding, and providing details on this argument, Heiduk first provides some insights into the historical relationship between Islam and politics in Indonesia, followed by an exploration of "the resurgence of political Islam after the ousting of Suharto"—with a focus on the specific and limitations of Indonesia's transition to democracy. This is followed, in the last section, "with an outlook on the prospects and perils of Islamism in Indonesia ten years after *reformasi*" (Heiduk, in Hua, 2009: 188). He concludes with these observations: the analysis of the substance of democracy as well as the realities of 'democratic' practices in post Suharto Indonesia show a widening gap between the formal aspects of democracy and the democratic rhetoric of elected elites (Heiduk, in Hua, 2009: 201), and the "growing importance of political Islam in Indonesia must be interpreted as a response to this gap", because "the decline of political Islam

in Indonesia is not irreversible" (Heiduk, in Hua, 2009: 201, 3).

In chapter 8, "*Islam and Democracy in Malaysia: The Ambiguities of Islamic (ate) Politics*", Naveed S. Sheikh (pp. 211-239) points out that: historically "Islam has been integral to Malay social identity and thus, too, to Malaysian political history"; the Malaysian constitution legitimizes "religio-political constructions in Malaysian politics" (Islam is declared as the official religion of the federation, but it does not provide for Malaysia to be a theocratic state, and clearly guarantees the freedom to practice other religions, as per Article 4(1); and thus, in this regard, various other religions such as Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism are allowed; and in Malaysia, "Islam has functioned as an ever-changing ideal: at times progressive, at other times reactionary; at times urban, at other times rural; at times pro-regime, at other times anti-regime; at times from above, at other times from below. In this sense, Islam has been a constant, yet a variable, in the socio-political landscape of the nation" (Sheikh, in Hua, 2009: 233).

Sheikh thus summarizes that "in Malaysia, Islam has been used both as a top-down strategy of legitimization (a descending imperative) by the state, and a bottom-up strategy of de-legitimization (an ascending imperative) by partisans seeking to challenge, and ultimately capture, state power". For him, as Islam has been used not only "horizontally, as social capital, to bind together a racial (in) group vis-à-vis minority (out) groups in the pursuit of distributive privileges", but also "as a civic resource for nation and institution building" so for the foreseeable future, the "up-shot" is two-fold: that "Islam is bound to remain a constant, if contested, feature in the Malaysian political landscape", and secondly, "the presence of the Islamic discourse alone bears no predictable correlation with either preference formation or policy choices of political actors". In Sheikh's final calculation, "in Malaysia too, God remains transcendent" (Sheikh, in Hua, 2009: 234-5).

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This is very aptly and comprehensively summarized by Paul Kubicek (2015: 30) in these lines: "Malaysia is a multiethnic and multi-confessional state, and Islam is wrapped up with Malay identity. Although political Islam did not play a pronounced role in the country's first years of independence, since the mid 1970s Malaysia has witnessed state sponsored Islamization while becoming, in many accounts, a 'semidemocratic' state".

Künkler and Stepan (Eds.), *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia* (2013)[4]: Indonesia's transition to democracy began with the overthrow of Suharto regime in 1998 and, since then, most observers are of the opinion that Indonesia has gone through a "democratization miracle". This transition, and afterwards consolidation of democracy in Indonesia has been discussed by various scholars, but there is no such comprehensive work that discusses the understanding of varieties of possible democratizations in Muslim-majority countries, like Indonesia (Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 4). This edited volume—a collection of nine (9) essays, divided into 4 parts, by eleven (11) leading academicians and analysts—explores various questions relating to Indonesia's democratic transition and the consolidation of democracy as well as the interplay of religion and politics in this country. Attempting to fill some cavities and gaps, the book takes into consideration the three dimensions of democratic consolidation: Attitudes, Behaviours, and Constitutionalism. The *attitudinal* dimension is dealt in chapters 3 and 4, the *behavioural* in chapters 5-7, and the *constitutional* in chapters 8 and 9.

It is preceded by the introductory/ theoretical part (Part I, "Introduction"), which consists of chapters 1 and 2: Mirjam Künkler and Alfred Stepan (the editors) in the opening theoretical chapter, "*Indonesian Democratization in Theoretical perspective*" (pp. 3-23) attempt to put Indonesia's transition to democracy and its

consolidation (or democratization in Indonesia), challenges and achievements, and the volume's structure. Künkler and Stepan, the editors, do reveal that although the contributors of this volume are somewhat "divided" as to whether we should consider democracy fully consolidated in Indonesia or not, however, the editors believe that there is a strong case to be made that before democracy can be considered consolidated in Indonesia, the democratic state will have to use more robustly its constitutionally embedded legal prerogatives to help craft a "hierarchy of law within Indonesia's legal pluralism" (Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 20). For them, although there are three "democratic legal mechanisms" available to the state to bring regional laws in line with national legislation and constitutional rights standards—including the Supreme Court's right to review regional laws and declare them unconstitutional—they emphasise that the "absence of a de facto hierarchy of law[s]", "Corruption, particularly of state officials", "state negligence", and other challenges to democratic consolidation are in their roots, however, "violations of state law and therefore primarily phenomena that the state needs to confront" (Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 20, 21, 22). Moreover, the "Militant Islamism, creeping shariazation [implementation of Islamic law] and the influence of the MUI (Majlis Ulama Indonesia, Indonesian Ulama Council) are all sources of illiberalism that the government needs to tackle" (Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 22).

In chapter 2, "*Indonesian Democracy: From Transition to Consolidation*" (pp. 24-50), R. William Liddle and Saiful Mujani—the 'doyen of Indonesian Studies in the US' and the Indonesia's leading Survey analyst, respectively—offer a conceptual and empirical examination of the end of authoritarianism in Indonesia, the beginning of the democratic transition, and the possibilities of democratic consolidation. They outline three dimensions of democratic consolidation—the attitudinal, the behavioural, and the constitutional—and the same constitute the basis of framework used by the editors in their division and selection of topics covered in the

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[4]My review on this book was published in *The Muslim World Book Review [MWBR]*, 34, 3 (2014): 43-45

volume. Liddle and Mujani argue that although the democratic consolidation has been achieved in Indonesia, but it "has not been complete or unproblematic" (Liddle and Mujani, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 25). The major obstacles and weakness it faces are: "the impact of a low level and slow rate of economic growth; the policy successes of Islamist social movements; the uneven quality of local governance; the continuing force of separatism, …; the link in the public mind between perceptions of economic well-being and support for democracy; uncertainty about electoral rules and the relationship between executive and legislative branches of government; weak rule of law institutions; and the concentration of economic power in the hands of a small political elite" (Liddle and Mujani, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 25). Basing their arguments on the work of Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan's *Problems of Democratic Transition to Consolidation* (1996), Liddle and Mujani identify "a number of actual or potential threats" with regard to the consolidation process—the "interacting arenas" which are the real "problems and weaknesses in Indonesian democratization" (Liddle and Mujani, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 44-5)—which include Civil Society, Political Society, Rule of Law, State Apparatus, and Economic Society (Liddle and Mujani, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 44-50).

This is followed by Part II, "Attitudes: The Development of a Democratic Consensus by Religious and Political Actors", which consists of chapters 3 and 4. Addressing the crucial questions of how democratic attitudes emerged within the major Muslim civil society groups, NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), Muhammadiyah, Künkler (in chapter 3) documents, in great detail, how key religious actors and organizations put Islam and democracy on the public agenda and, in the process, were instrumental in the collapse of the authoritarian regime and building democracy. She analyses the construction of a "pluralist democratic discourse" in Indonesia, as the emergence of a "liberal Islamic discourse" in Indonesia cannot be understood without appreciating the reasons of failure of "early attempts at establishing group rights and

religious law failed" (p. 54). In chapter 4, Franz Magnis-Suseno discusses "*Christian and Muslim Minorities in Indonesia*" and shows that the most important factor regarding religious tolerance in Indonesia—which has deep roots in traditional Indonesian cultures—is "state policies" (Magnis-Suseno, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 73).

Consisting of chapters 5—7, Part III focuses on "Behaviors: Challenges to the Democratic Transition and State and their Transcendence". In chapter 5, Marcus Miezner assesses the role of Indonesia's military as a political veto player in several periods (from 1945 to 2005) and evaluates the current armed forces' political engagement in the current polity. It concludes that although the military remains influential, its importance "in shaping the political system tends to be overstated" (Miezner, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 106) as TNI's (Tentara Nasional Indonesia / Indonesian National Military) "potential veto power" seems "no longer the *most pressing*" *issue* in Indonesia (Miezner, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 108; *italics added*). Sideny Jones's contribution (chapter 6) tackles the high level of complicity of some military officers in prominent post-1998 religious armed conflicts and argues that violence by Islamists strengthened state security institutions, but civilian ones rather than military ones. The biggest issue for Indonesian democracy, for Jones, is "*not terrorism, but intolerance*, which is moving from the radical fringe into the mainstream", and to curb this radical thought, government should think of how to inculcate "religious tolerance among young citizens" (Jones, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 125; *italics added*). Edward Aspinall (chapter 7) discusses the "*State Disintegration and Democratic Consolidation*" in comparative perspective (p. 126), and tries to answer a crucial question, "how did Indonesia survive?" by highlighting three main factors: (i) the series of concessions offered by Indonesian national leaders to the regions; (ii) the policies of force they applied there; and (iii) the legacy of the institutional form taken by the sub national units in Indonesia's state structure prior to democratization (Aspinall, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 128). By way of

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conclusion, Aspinall argues that

> "The Indonesian experience helps to demonstrate that state structures that accommodate ethnic and regional diversity may be a source of state fragility *during* democratization, but a source of democratic robustness *after* it. ... Both democratic progress *and* state survival were the result [of Indonesia's democratic transition]" (Aspinall, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 146; *italics in original*).

Part IV—"Constitutionalism: The Role of Law and Legal Pluralism"—begins with John R. Bowen's "*Contours of Sharia in Indonesia*" (chapter 8), in which he discusses what the growing use of *Shari'ah* law means and does not mean for Indonesia. He indicates the phenomenon of the sharia based laws as a new sign of provincial or regional distinctiveness and authenticity, and reaches the conclusion that *Shari'ah* is above all "a loose collection of signs" which are deeply situated in the Indonesian history and in the debates about the "relative role of religion in the country's law and politics, differentiated by "province, region, and city and difficult to capture in opinion polls or infer from election results" (Bowen, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 167). In the final chapter, Tim Lindsey and Simon Butt (chapter 9) seek to assess how far Indonesia's legal system has come along its path from the "institutional shambles" of 1998 to the rule of law, focusing on the role of the Supreme Court (Lindsay and Simon, in Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 169). They argue that the democratic political system in Indonesia, as a set of laws, is correctly spelled out constitutionally and that the power to define and shape the legal relationship between state and citizens is formally in the hands of the Constitutional Court and Supreme Court.

All in all, the volume throws light on various aspects of the process of democratization in Indonesia—from transition and consolidation—and its ability to serve as a model for other Muslim majority countries. Künkler and Stepan in this volume bring together leading academicians and analysts of political science, Indonesian studies, anthropology and scholars of religion, and thus explore the various facets of the religion—politics nexus in Indonesia. Thus, keeping in view all these facts and features, Künkler and Stepan, reach the conclusion that "given the problems that existed in 1998, the speed and depth of Indonesia's democratization are impressive. Both Indonesia's accomplishments and continued problems are worth greater attention in democratization studies, particularly by activist and analysts who want to learn how the world's most populous Islamic country crafted a political system that the overwhelming majority of its citizens see as appropriate for their society...the world's repertoire of democracies" (Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 22-23).

In sum, the diverse range of inter-connected and inter-related topics, multi-disciplinary approach, comprehensiveness and cohesiveness, experience and expertise of each contributor, make *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia* a significant contribution as well as a must-read volume for everyone interested in knowing about the democratic transition and possible consolidation in an Islamic country like Indonesia—the world's most populous Muslim-majority country—which has the ability to serve as a model for other Muslim countries.

John L. Esposito, Tamara Sonn, and John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy after the Arab Spring* (2016): In light of the Arab Spring uprisings and their apparent failures, Esposito, *et. al.* in this book revisit the question of Islamic approaches to democracy, by analyzing seven (7) Arab-majority and non-Arab states, as case studies, which include Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, Senegal, Tunisia, and Egypt. Tracing the trajectory of struggles for good governance, this book examines the current state of democratization efforts in the subject states. Taking into consideration critical factors such as the impact of colonialism, the Cold War, and changing demographics, they argue that the Arab Spring uprisings represent only the most recent developments in struggles for good governance and popular sovereignty in Muslim-majority countries, struggles that have been on going for well over a century (Esposito,

et. al., 2016: 4). In this volume, the seven case studies are presented "as a way of opening further discussion on Islam and democracy in the 21st century". Among these are included Pakistan and Indonesia—two countries each representing South and South East Asia respectively. While Indonesia is an early manifestation of the new politics in its transformation of military and dominant party rule into functioning democracy, Pakistan allows an analysis of the continuing conflictual relationships between a politically powerful military and supporters of a greater degree of civilian-controlled democracy (Esposito, *et. al.*, 2016: 24). All in all, examining the experience of these seven Muslim-majority countries leads them to conclude that "Islam and democratic governance are far from incompatible, but democratization is a work in progress" (Esposito, *et. al.*, 2016: 253). This analysis also makes it clear that in the second decade of the 21st century, there had been elections, among other Muslim countries, in Indonesia and Pakistan in 2013-14. "While these elections may not be a fourth wave of democracy, they show the long-term commitment of the majority of the world's Muslims to democracy. The basic question is not if Islam is compatible with democracy. Most Muslims have already answered that question affirmatively. The question now is what forms a democratic state can take in a Muslim-majority society. The variety of visions and programs from North and West Africa to Southeast Asia shows that Muslims are actively engaged in this task" (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 254). Chapters 4 and 5, from this volume, that are included and reviewed here, are: "*Pakistan: A Work in Progress*" (pp. 79-114), and "*Indonesia: From Military Rule to Democracy*" (pp. 115-148), along with some observations from the "Conclusion" (pp. 237-54).

In "*Pakistan: A Work in Progress*" (pp. 79-114), they explore the political history of Pakistan—the world's second-largest Muslim country with a population of 180 million, and 146th in the world—that was created specifically as a democracy, "a democracy for Muslims" in 1947 (Esposito, *et. al.*, 2016: 79). They very neatly highlight that Pakistan

was created as a democracy, but has struggled with authoritarianism throughout its brief history, and thus has oscillated between military dictatorship and weak and fragile democracy. Though Pakistan has not been plagued with foreign powers seeking control of its resources, the global geopolitics have definitely affected its governance (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 244). Since its inception, "Pakistan's government has been dominated by the military, abetted by a compliant elite structure of feudal and tribal aristocracy and industrialist" (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 243), but it was in 2013 that Pakistan experienced its first peaceful turnover of democratic governance through elections (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 245). It was through 2008 elections that the PPP-led civilian government elected after the death of Benazir Bhutto served the first full five-year term of any democratically elected government in Pakistan's history. "The question in Pakistan, therefore, is not about whether or not Islam and democracy are compatible, or choosing between religious and secular governance, or even whether or not there is a special kind of Islamic democracy" (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 245). No doubt, it has not achieved all the objectives and goals it set for itself over sixty years ago (in its "Objective Resolution"), but it is fatuous to call it a "failed state"—a popular jargon used by many political pundits for Pakistan—rather, it should be seen, in the terminology of Pakistani anthropologist Naveeda Khan (in *Muslim Becoming: Aspiration and Skepticism in Pakistan*; 2012: 11), "*as a work in progress* toward its goals of 'democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, etc.'" (*italics added*). "The continued calls for Islamic governance in Pakistan", the authors conclude, reflects "the struggle to fulfill Pakistan's Islam inspired objectives of good governances" (Esposito *et. al.,* 2016: 114).

In "*Indonesia: From Military Rule to Democracy*" (pp. 115-148), they highlight that Indonesia's modern political development appears similar to the experiences of many other countries that gained independence following WW-II. It was in the 1990s that democratic

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opposition began to emerge as a powerful political force in Indonesia, and in 1998 the demonstrations and organized opposition of what came to be called the "*reformasi*" movement overthrew the military dictatorship there. In the decade following the success of *reformasi*, the new democratic system that was established in 1998–99 successfully evolved (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 245-6). "The process began when the long standing authoritarian military regime of Suharto came to an end in 1998 as a result of the demonstrations and political pressures of the *reformasi* movement" (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 116). The experience of Indonesia provides important insights into the processes of democratization in the contexts of the 21ˢᵗ century world. While there is no simple single plan of action for successfully creating effective democratic structures, the recent history of Indonesia provides significant examples of how common issues are resolved in the framework of a major political community. This chapter examines how the Indonesian political system developed, noting the interactions among three critical groupings the modernizing nationalist political elite, the major Islamic organizations, and the Indonesian military. The overthrow of Suharto in 1998 represented a major transition point in the political roles of these elements. The evolution of each of these groupings will be examined and then their roles in each of the national elections since 1998 will be dis-cussed. Within this framework, the presidential election of 2014 was seen as an occasion in which an emerging political force outside of the long-established elites became visible with the election of Jokowi (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 116-17).

The successful outcomes of the 21ˢᵗ century democratization in Indonesia are shaped by distinctive features in Indonesian society. Three major groupings interacted in building the Indonesian political system the modernizing nationalist political elite, the major Islamic organizations, and the Indonesian military (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 245). The ability and willingness of the major political forces to cooperate even as they compete with each other are key to the democratization process in Indonesia. The elections in 2014 were a culmination of many developments, which will determine what the future of democracy will be in their country (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 247).

The resignation of Suharto in 1998 marks a significant turning point in the political history of independent Indonesia (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 125). The transition from Suharto to Habibie was the first of six significant transition points that show the broad trends that are reshaping Indonesia as a democracy in the 21ˢᵗ century. The second came quickly in 1999, with the election of Abd al-Rahman Wahid as president, and the third involved his replacement by Megawati as president. The elections in 2004, 2009, and 2014 were similarly important in reflecting the ongoing progression of Indonesian politics (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 126). They point out that

> "The elections in 2004 begin a new era in the post-Suharto political history of Indonesia. The three sets of national elections in 2004, 2009, and 2014 reflect the dynamic development of electoral democracy and they show the continuing transitions of political life. As in the first three post-Suharto transition points, three groupings—the nationalist elites, the religious organizations, and the military—continue to be central. ...The dynamism of the reformasi movement had succeeded in replacing an authoritarian regime with a regime that was increasingly recognized as the world's third-largest democracy "(Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 137).

The elections of 2009 mark a fifth important transition in Indonesian politics, emphasizing the change from "post-Suharto politics" to an era of new democratization (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 141). The elections of 2014 provide another transition point in the dynamic evolution of Indonesian politics (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 143). The Indonesian experience of transition from an authoritarian military regime to a functioning democracy is an interesting case study (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 146); Indonesia might (or might not) be a model for other countries to follow as they pursue democratization. However, Indonesia is an important example of how the transition from authoritarian military rule to democracy

can take place without inciting reverse waves or eliminating important groups of people (Esposito, *et. al.,* 2016: 148).

A BRIEF COMPARISON

By way of comparison, it would be apt here to summarize very briefly the major arguments, and main theme, of the four books reviewed/ evaluated above. Here are few such observations:

Exploring the character of the political transformation, democratic transition, as well as assessing the extent of actual democratization in the six Asian countries, Zoya Hasan's (2007) work puts forth these main arguments: that (a) there is no fundamental incompatibility between Islam and democracy in the Asian Muslim countries; (b) there is a positive potential for democracy and democratic transitions in the Muslim world; and (c) a single model of democracy cannot work across these countries as each country has a different history and each has tread on a different path in the search for democracy.

'Is Islam compatible with democratization in the context of Asian cultures?' is the central question that Shiping Hua's (2009) work tries to answer, while dealing with the relationship between Islam, Muslims, and democratization in the context of Asian cultures—both in theoretical and empirical perspectives. This volume, on the whole, is a good contribution to the on going debate of Islam-democracy compatibility in Muslim countries, as well as is a comprehensive study offering a balanced understanding of this debated issue in post 9/11 scenario.

Künkler and Stepan*'s* (2013) joint venture discussed in detail Indonesia's transition to, and afterwards consolidation of, democracy, as well as explored the interplay of religion and politics in this country. The volume also throws light on various aspects of the process of democratization in Indonesia and its ability to serve as a model for other Muslim majority countries. Through these explorations, they aptly conclude that "given the problems that existed in 1998, the speed and depth of Indonesia's democratization are impressive. Both Indonesia's accomplishments

and continued problems are worth greater attention ... [for it is an example of] the world's repertoire of democracies" (Künkler and Stepan, 2013: 22-23).

Esposito, Sonn, and Voll (2016) in their collective effort revisit the question of Islamic approaches to democracy, in post Arab Spring scenario, by analyzing seven (7) Muslim countries as case studies, including Pakistan and Indonesia. They present these case studies as a way/ stage for advancing the discussion on Islam and democracy in the 21st century.

Regarding Indonesia and Pakistan—two countries each representing Southeast Asia and South Asia respectively—they argue that Indonesia is an early manifestation of the new politics in its transformation of military and dominant party rule into functioning democracy; and Pakistan is a 'work in progress' as far as democratic consolidation is concerned—as it is a country that has always oscillated and fluctuated between powerful military dictatorship and democracy. Thus, they argue, on the basis of an extensive examination of the experience of these seven Muslim majority countries, that "*Islam and democratic governance are far from incompatible, but democratization is a work in progress*" (Esposito, *et. al.*, 2016: 253).

Furthermore, it is pertinent to add some of the opinions of Paul Kubicek, as put forth in his well-nuanced work, *Political Islam and Democracy in the Muslim World* (2015) regarding the process of democratization in the countries studied, reviewed and analyzed, in this essay—viz. Pakistan and Bangladesh among the South Asian countries, and Malaysia and Indonesia from the South East Asian region:

Though Pakistan, "possibly the first country to self-consciously attempt to 'invent a model' of '*Muslim democracy*'" became independent in 1947—a decade before Malaysia—"it did not have national-level elections until 1970 and its most sustained experience with democracy began only in 1988, after it had experienced a decade of non-democratic, state-sponsored Islamization"

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(Kubicek, 2015: 30). Political Islam has played a more assertive role in Pakistan than in any other country of South or South East Asia, and it has also had "a more inconsistent democratic record" than any of the other Asian Muslim countries. And thus, by the 2010s, "there were again signs of democratic progress, but whether democracy can be consolidated remains very debatable".

Having oscillating between democratic transitions and military dictatorships, Pakistan, as Kubicek (2015: 144) concludes, qualifies "as a 'democracy'", but "for a small part of its history"; and "one sees that the nebulously defined relationship between politics and Islam" has given rise to "Islamization". And thus, one finds that: "While there have been subsequent attempts to democratize, these have been rather shallow, meaning the state has not been assertive in supporting of panoply of rights and freedoms generally associated with democracy. If Pakistan was to be an example of 'Islamic democracy', it is clear, over sixty years after its formation that the Islamic component has largely prevailed over the democratic one".

Bangladesh, which shares much of its political history with Pakistan, from its first two decades of independence (1971-1991), "has experienced, like Pakistan, several military coups and state-sponsored Islamization. In 1991, power was returned to civilians, and Bangladesh had a relatively strong democratic record until the early 2000s, when it began to experience political violence, instability, and, eventually, another military coup". He also points out that "Bangladesh, like Pakistan, has several Islamic-oriented parties, and what role Islam plays in the ups and downs of its democratic record is a subject of analysis and debate" (Kubicek, 2015: 30).

Malaysia, which inherited democracy from the British in 1957 when it became independent, is "a multiethnic and multiconfessional state, and Islam is wrapped up with Malay identity". Although political Islam did not play a pronounced role in the country's first years of independence, since the mid-1970s Malaysia has witnessed "state-sponsored Islamization while becoming, in many accounts, a 'semi democratic' state"; and thus the relationship between Islam and democracy, as well as prospects for change as opposition parties has more assertively challenged the long-ruling party, in Malaysia (Kubicek, 2015: 30).

In Indonesia—the world's largest Muslim-majority country—even though "Islam has long been politically important, the state did not make it the sole official religion". After gaining independence from Netherlands in 1945, the country was ruled for over forty years by two authoritarian leaders: Sukarno (1945-67) and Suharto (1967-98); the latter one forced from office in 1998 due to widespread support for political change, including from Islamic-oriented actors, and thus paved the way for Indonesia's "transition to democracy" (Kubicek, 2015: 205). "Despite problems such as corruption and tensions among sectarian groups, it has ranked among the 'most democratic' of any Muslim-majority country since the 2000s" (Kubicek, 2015: 31). Highlighting in detailed all the issues and concerns related to the process democratization in Indonesia, Kubicek (2015: 241) thus concludes as:

"There are, to be sure, problems with Indonesia's democracy, particularly with respect to minority rights, and some may feel the state has gone too far in catering to a religious agenda. These are legitimate areas of concern, and may point to limitations of building a truly 'liberal' democracy in a Muslim country". Besides these issues, what is significant to mention is that "Indonesia reveals how Islam can be construed and interpreted to demand and respect democracy", and is so far a strong and "a successful case of democracy in the Muslim world".

Or as is more correctly summarized by Giora Eliraz, author of *Islam in Indonesia: Modernism, Radicalism and the Middle East Dimension* (2004) in one of his research monographs published by *Hudson Institute*, USA

in 2007: "Indonesia's transition to democracy is a significant landmark, and it challenges the claims that democracy and Islam are incompatible. Yet this process of democratization has raised puzzling questions about the relationships between Islam and politics, and about the future ideological course of the Indonesian polity. While certain Islamic political parties—the PKS [*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*, or Prosperous Justice Party] being the most noteworthy—have greatly lowered the profile of their Islamic political agenda and rhetoric during the parliamentary elections of 2004, it is likely that many within their ranks have not abandoned the vision of Indonesia as an Islamic state or the imposition of sharia on at least its Muslim population. These parties have indeed accepted the rules of the democratic political game and they are now seen as partners in the building of Indonesian democracy. It is possible that if they take further steps toward moderation and accommodation to the widely accepted national ideals of plurality and religious tolerance, their commitment to the democratic process will get stronger. But it is also possible that, if their political power significantly increases, it could generate an ideological shift in the Indonesian polity toward an Islamic orientation. In the near future, however, it seems much more likely that the distinctive character of Indonesian society will prevent dramatic ideological changes in the Indonesian polity" (Eliraz, 2007: 16).

In a nutshell, the four countries, mentioned in this review essay, have shown strong support for some form of democracy for well over a century, and their histories also reveal support for some form of democratization as well.

Also, it is pertinent to mention the following oservations and insights of Esposito, Sonn, and Voll, as put forth in their recent work, *Islam and Democracy after the Arab Spring* (2016). They are of the opinion that (i) although the debate about the future of democracy is global, the process of democratization has been ongoing in Muslim majority countries for well over a century and has taken a variety of forms; (ii) in the 1990s, the major argument—in the discourse and debate on Islam and democracy—was *whether or not Islam and democracy are compatible* (which is no doubt, still raised by many, but is marginal); but in the second decade of the 21st century, the relationships between Islam and democracy are in a new phase, reflected in the evolution of the political systems of various countries, from MENA to Asia; (iii) most Muslims around the world view democracy, in this second decade of third millennium, as desirable and see no conflict with their religious faith; and (iv) the basic questions now go beyond the simplistic question of essential compatibility, and involve the nature of the democratic experiences in the Muslim world (Esposito, *et. al.,*: 2016: 237-40)

CONCLUSION

The above discussion—on the Islam-democracy compatibility paradigm in South and South East Asian context (like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia)—leads us to the conclusion that in addressing the central and crucial question, *'Is Islam compatible with democratization in the context of Asian cultures?'*, the books evaluated and analysed above go beyond the paradigm of 'Is Islam compatible with democracy', or 'whether or not Islam and democracy are compatible', and highlight that the question at hand is 'what forms a democratic state can take in a Muslim majority society'. And Muslims throughout the world, especially in the South and Southeast Asian countries, are actively engaged in this task. The democratic experiences (and the times and trials they have passed through over the decades) of these four countries, especially Indonesia, reveals that they have enough potential and adequate prospective to become role models for other (developing) Muslim majority countries on the condition that democracy and democratization in such country shows stability, sustenance, and strength. And while looking towards them as examples of stable democracies, one should not overlook to the problems, issues, and challenges democracy and democratization faces in these Asian Muslim countries—which are of diverse nature: religious,

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cultural, ethnic, political, and economic.

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8. Research findings and discussion
9. Conclusion
10. Acknowledgement (optional)
11. Reference
12. Index (optional)

WRITING SYSTEM

1. Title
   a. Title should be clear, short and concise that depicts the main concern of the article
   b. Title should contain the main variable of the research
   c. Title should be typed in bold and capital letter

2. Name of the author/s
   a. The author/s name should be typed below the title of the article without academic title
   b. The author/s address (affiliation address)

should be typed below the name of the author/s

c. The author/s email address should be typed below the author/s address

d. If the author is more than one writer, it should be used a connecting word "and" not a symbol "&"

3. **Abstract and key words**

a. Abstract is the summary of article that consists of background of the study, data collecting method, data analysis method, research findings.

b. Abstract should be written in one paragraph, single space and in italic

c. Abstract should be no more than 250 words

d. The word "abstract" should be typed in bold, capital letter and italic

e. Key words should consist of 3-5 words or phrases.

f. Key words should be typed in italic

4. **How to present table**

a. Title of the table should be typed above the table and align text to the left, 12pt font Times New Roman

b. The word "table" and "number of the table" should be typed in bold, while title of the table should not be typed in bold (normal).

c. Numbering for the title of table should use an Arabic word (1, 2, 3, and so forth)

d. Table should be appeared align text to the left.

e. To write the content of the table, it might use 8-11pt font Time New Roman or 8-11pt Arial, 1.0 space.

f. Table should not be presented in picture, it should be type in real table-office word formating

g. Source of the table should be typed below the table, align text to the left, 10pt font Time New Roman.

h. Example:

Table 4. Number of Rice, Corn and Sweet potato Production

product	2010	2011	2012	2013
Rice	1.500 Ton	1.800 Ton	1.950 Ton	2.100 Ton
Corn	950 Ton	1.100 Ton	1.250 Ton	1.750 Ton
Sweet potato	350 Ton	460 Ton	575 Ton	780 Ton

*Source: Balai Pertanian Jateng, 2013.*

5. **How to present picture, graph, photo, and diagram**

a. Picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram should be placed at the center

b. Number and title should be typed above the picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram.

c. Number and the word of the picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram should be typed in bold, 12pt *Georgia* and at the center, while title of them should be typed in normal (not bold).

d. Number of the picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram should use an Arabic word (1, 2, 3 and so forth).

e. Source of the picture, graph, figure, photo and diagram should be typed below the table, align text to the left, 10pt font Georgia.

f. Picture, graph, figure, photo, and diagram should not be in colorful type, and in high resolution, minimum 300-dpi/1600 pixel (should be in white and black, or gray,).

Example:

Figure 1
Indonesian employment in agriculture compared to others sectors (% of the total employment)
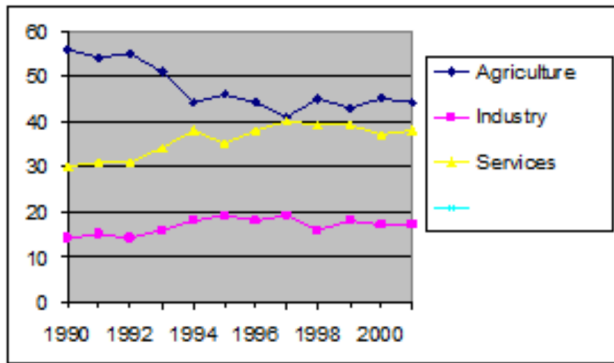
Source: World Development Indicator, 2005

6. Research finding

This part consists of the research findings, including description of the collected data, analysis of the data, and interpretation of the data using the relevant theory

7. Referencing system

Analisa uses the British Standard Harvard Style for referencing system.

a. Citations (In-text)

Analisa uses in note system (in-text citation) referring to the British Standard Harvard Style referencing system; format (last name of the author/s, year of publication: page number).

- Citing someone else's ideas.

  Example:

  Culture is not only associated with the description of certain label of the people or community, certain behaviour and definite characteristics of the people but also it includes norm and tradition (Afruch and Black, 2001: 7)

  Afruch and Black (2001) explain that culture is not only associated with the description of certain label of the people or community, certain behaviour and definite characteristics of the people but also it includes norm and tradition.

- Citations; quotation from a book, or journal article

  Quotations are the actual words of an author and should be in speech marks. You should include a page number.

Example:

Tibi (2012: 15) argues that "Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world."

It has been suggested that "Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world" (Tibi, 2012: 15)

- Citations - Paraphrasing a book or journal article

  Paraphrasing is when we use someone else ideas/works and write them in our own words. This can be done two ways, either is correct.

Example:

Batley (2013) argues that some of the detainees in the bombing cases were members of JI.

It has been suggested that some of the detainees in the bombing cases were members of JI (Batley, 2013).

- Citing a source within a source (secondary citation)

  Citing the source within a source, it should be mentioned both sources in the text. But, in the reference list, you should only mention the source you actually read.

Example:

Tibi (2012, cited in Benneth, 2014: 15) argues that Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world.

It has been suggested that Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world (Tibi, 2012 as cited in Benneth, 2014: 15).

- Citing several authors who have made similar points in different texts

In text citations with more than one source, use a semi colon to separate the authors.

Example:
Understanding the cultural differences is an important element for mediation process (John, 2006: 248-289; Kevin and George, 2006: 153-154; Kriesberg, 2001: 375; Alaeda, 2001: 7).

- Citations - Government bodies or organizations
If you reference an organization or government body such as WHO, the Departments for Education or Health, the first time you mention the organization give their name in full with the abbreviation in brackets, from then on you can abbreviate the name.

Example :
The World Health Organization (WHO) (1999) suggests that…..

WHO (1999) explains that ……

- Citing from the internet
If you cite a source from the internet (website), write last name of the writer, year of the uploaded/released: page numbers. If there is no author in that page, write the name of the body who release the article in that website, year of release.
Please do not mention the address of the url in the in-text citation.

Example:
Syrian uprising has been prolonged for almost six years and has caused thousands people death as well as millions people has forced to flee from their homeland to seek safety (Aljazeera, 2016).
Religion is an important aspect for the life of many people in the recent era. The believe

system of religion plays as a guidance for some people (David, 2015: 12-13)

b. Reference list
- Book
Last name of author/s, first name of the author/s year of publication. *Title of the book*. Place of publication: name of the publisher.

Example:
Aly, Anne. 2011. *Terrorism and global security, historical and contemporary perspectives*. South Yara Australia: Palgrave Macmillan.

Effendy, Bahtiar. 2003. *Islam and the state in Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

- Chapter of the book
Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. "Title of the chapter". In title of the book. Editor name, place of publication: name of publisher.

Example:
Dolnik, Adam. 2007. "Suicide terrorism and Southeast Asia." In *A handbook of terrorism and insurgency in Southeast Asia*. Tan, Andrew.T.H (ed). Cheltenham, UK and Northamtom, USA: Edward Elgar.

- Journal article
Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article". *Name of the journal*. Volume. (Number): Page number.
Example:
Du Bois, Cora. 1961. "The Religion of Java by Clifford Geertz." *American Anthropologist, New Series*. 63. (3): 602-604

Sirry, Mun'im. 2013. "Fatwas and their

controversy: The case of the Council of Indonesian Ulama." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 44(1): 100-117.

- News paper
Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article". *Name of the newspaper*. Date of publication.

Example:
Eryanto, Hadi. 2010. "Menyiapkan Jihad di Aceh." *Kompas*. 18 March 2010.

- Internet
Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article or writing". Date of access. Web address

Example:
Suhendi, Adi. 2012. "Dana Osama bin Laden dipakai untuk bom Bali 1" (Osama bin Laden's fund was used for Bali Bomb 1). Accessed August, 20, 2014 from: http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/03/26/14001755/Dana.Osama.bin.L aden.Dipakai.untuk.Bom.Bali.I

- Internet
If there is no author in that page, write the name of the body who release the article in that website, year of release, date of accessed, address of the website
Example:
Aljazera. 2017. The voices missing from Syria's peace talks. Accessed 23 June 2017, from: http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/03/syria-war-missing-voices-syria-peace-talks-170322073131728.html

- Unpublished thesis/dissertation
Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. *Title of the thesis/dissertation*. Name of the university.

Example:
Muhtada, D. 2005. *Zakat and Peasant Empowerment: Case Study on Zakat Organizations in Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: Unpublished Master thesis for graduate school of social work at State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga.

- Article/paper presented at seminar/conference
Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the paper." Article presented at seminar/conference, host of the seminar, place of the seminar, date of the seminar.

Example:
Anwar, K. 2007. "Mengungkap Sisi Akidah dalam Naskah Syair Kiyamat." Paper presented at a seminar on text of religions, hosted by Office of Religious Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic Indonesia. Jakarta, 30 November 2007-03 December 2007.

8. Transliteration system

Transliteration Arab-Latin system refers to SKB Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Education and Culture Republic of Indonesia Number 158 year 1987 and 0543/b/u/1987

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