

## IS ELECTONEERING A RELIGIOUS PRACTICE? ELECTORAL POLITICS OF MUHAMMADIYAH CADRES AT THE REGENT ELECTIONS IN YOGYAKARTA PROVINCE,INDONESIA

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### Abstract

**As a biggest modern Musleem organization, Muhammadiyah has long experienced in the changing political system in Indonesia from authoritarian regime to procedural democracy. This research tries to explore the grass root Muhammadiyah's elite in direct regent election contestation. Mix-research method was employed with combining quantitative and qualitative analysis. All respondents of Muhammadiyah's Village Board were selected from three regencies, Bantul, Gunungkidul and Sleman in Yogyakarta Province as a capital of Muhammadiyah organization. This findings is contrary with Muhammadiyah electoral behavior at national level with three internal characteristics – a tendency to avoid partisan politics, independent rational investigation and divided elites<sup>1</sup>. However, in the election of local leaders (direct election), Muhammadiyah's electoral behavior is characterized with partisan politics, collective action and unified elites,**

**Keywords: Muhammadiyah, electoral behavior, partisanship, elite, partisan politics, democracy.**

### Introduction

The study on the electoral behavior of religious organization members is very interesting for many scholars of political science and religious studies. In Japan, Sokka Gakkai, a religious organization, had organized their activities in politics and electoral politics since 1960s for religious and social mission (McLaughlin, 2014). The work of Abram et.al (2010) emphasized the significant contribution of religious activities to the voting turnout that it can substantially alter the results of the elections. Hence, Abram et.al (2010) calls this phenomenon as the Informal Social Network (ISN). In India, although both Muslims and Hindus are extremely religious, only Muslims' religious attendance is strongly associated with political activity (Chhibber & Sekhon, 2015). Religious attendance has an important social dimension that encourages political participation (Campbell, 2013).

Since 1998, Indonesia experienced drastic social, economic and political change. To overcome the political reform in 1998, the Habibie administration issued some reform acts regarding local autonomy, military reform, political party reform, mass media liberation, and reformed the relationship between the central government and local governments. The Habibie administration promoted a “big bang” autonomous model through Law No. 22/1999. This law stipulated several radical changes: the declaration of regency/city governments as autonomous regions which are not hierarchically subordinate to the provincial government; election right of local legislative body for regents, mayors, and governors; and strong power of local councils. Article 4 (1) Law 22/1999 stated that in the context of the implementation of the decentralization principle, province, regency and city shall be formed and authorized to govern and administer in the interests of the local people according to their own initiatives based on the people’s aspirations. Moreover, Article 18 (1) states that the local council (DPRD) shall elect regional government heads. However, due to the weak implementation of such provisions, the Government issued Act No. 32 Year 2004 which offered significant changes pertaining to the position of local councils as an element of regional government administration and the election model of heads of local government. Article 56 (1) of Act No.32 mentions that “the regional heads and deputy regional heads shall be democratically elected in one pair of candidates through direct, free, secret, honest and fair manner.” Since implementing this article, some scholars noted that localization of power has produced greater political participation and contestation among local elites (Hadiz, 2011). Those who are competing on local power originated from local business, political party elites, local bureaucrat, strong families and mass or religious organization elites (Savirani, 2004; Hadiz, 2011; Hidayat, 2007). Since the implementation of direct election for local leader, the newness of Indonesia’s democracy is methodologically useful in using a ballot with an optional preference vote (Allen, 2012).

However, how does religious organization like Muhammadiyah respond to this political opportunities? In 1971, Muhammadiyah issued *Khitah* (Spirit) 1971: individuals were free to be political, but Muhammadiyah as an organization was not. Furthermore, in 2013, in order to maintain organizational cohesiveness, the National Board of Muhammadiyah issued regulation No 41/KEP/I.O/B/2013 on the political activity of Muhammadiyah leaders. In sum, Muhammadiyah’s leader who want to join the political party or become an electoral candidate needs to step down from Muhammadiyah executive board. However, the Muhammadiyah executive board at local level responded differently according to their implementation of local policies. Hence, there is a diverse and fragmented political behavior among Muhammadiyah cadres and members in terms of responding to local political opportunities (Efendi, 2015).

In Yogyakarta Special Province, Muhammadiyah’s local executive board have issued some unusual policies (i) to formally support candidate in local mayoralty elections (succeed in Sleman but failed in Yogyakarta City); and (ii) to mobilise its members and affiliates to vote candidate for a seat in Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representative Council) representing the Yogyakarta province. Surprisingly, the policy has been welcomed by Muhammadiyah members in the grassroots level especially by the youths. The formal support for candidates in the election are likely to give new cause and energy for social-religious and political activities beyond their routine jobs in the organisation (Wardana, 2014). In this study, we want to explain the voting turnout of Muhammadiyah members in Yogyakarta province as a capital of Muhammadiyah organization and its involvement as a religious organization in the local leader elections has been relatively unexplored.

## Literature Review

The main theoretical models of individual level voter turnout consists of the resource model, the mobilization model, the socialization model, the rational choice model, the psychological model, and the political–institutional model (Smets and van Ham, 2012). The role of religious organization on voter turnout is part of the mobilization model and the dominant variables are attendance of religious services, union membership, mobilization (partisan), media exposure, political advertising exposure, religious denomination, organizational membership and political advertisements. Furthermore, attendance of religious services is found to affect individual turnout roughly half of the time, which is reflected in the success rate that lies between 50 and 57% (Smets and van Ham, 2012).

Voting turnout of Muhammadiyah member or cadres in this study investigates Muhammadiyah's political behaviour in local and institutional context. Hence, Muhammadiyah's political behaviour is driven by its institutional logic, which places its religious and social duties before its political interest (Jung, 2014). In the mayoralty campaign of Ponorogo, Muhammadiyah's member and elite, he utilized the organizational symbols and clues to affect the voters (Wibowo, 2008). Given this data, there is a scarcity of references on the voting turnout among Muhammadiyah cadres. Hence, in this study the researchers will try to fill the knowledge gap on institutional and individual politics. The main question that this explored in this paper is to what extent does activism, political information, mobilization and social recognition, political affiliation and religiosity affect the voting turnout of Muhammadiyah cadres in the local election process.

### Activism: Membership and Religious Service and Voter Turnout

The study on the voting behavior of Muhammadiyah in the regional election is aimed at establishing the relationship between religious institutions (civil society) and electoral politics (Efendi 2008; Jurdi 2010). Warner (2000) had a study on the role of the Catholic church in Europe as a religious organization in trying to reach voters and keeping their ideology in terms of social and religious mission. In Indonesia, muslim community organizations play an active role in both social and political spheres to keep the organization's existence and survival (Alfian, 1989). Studies in other countries show that membership in the religious organization promotes an active participation in politics using clues and codes in the campaign (Calfano & Djupe, 2009). In Turkey, a religious organization offers endowments and give zakat in order to provide the public service to the poor which the government failed to deliver (Gulalp, 2001). Meanwhile in Morocco, a religious Islamic organization increased its services to people during the economic crisis in the 1990s (Lust-Okar, 2004). Similar to Morocco, in Egypt, the Ichwanul Muslimeen brotherhood obtained significant support in the general elections because of the social and economic services they provided to the poor (Tal, 2005).

The electoral behaviour model mentioned above focuses only on the behavioral study of a political party but has not seen how the organization behaves with the non party actors in an election. The research of Abram, et.al (2010) on the electoral behaviour of non party actors in election, proposes an informal social network (ISN) with the assumption that someone participates in the electoral process because of informal network, friendship, or

organizational recognition (social approval). With this approach, the informal social networks (of friends, family, work colleagues, etc.) is increasingly critical in voting behaviour:

P1: The high level of activism in religious organization is positively associated with the voting turnout.

#### **Political Information and Voting Turnout**

Many scholars found that communication via printed media or online had impact on political participation (Drago, F., Nannicini, & Sobbrino, 2014). Exposure to (political) news in the media arguably leads to higher levels of political information among citizens. Prior (2005), also found that increasing media choice does not lead to higher levels of turnout. Campaign advertisements are a way to get potential voters to focus on issues of interest to them (Soft, 2008). Nonetheless, although political campaigns are intended to get out votes, negative campaigns can also have a demobilizing effect (Stevens, et al, 2008). In sum, participating in the communication process of political information online has the strongest impact on internal efficacy, which turns to be a significant predictor of first-time voters (Moeller, J, et al, 2013).

P2: The high level of political information is positively associated with the voting turnout.

#### **Social Recognition or Mobilization and Voter Turnout**

Social networks constitute another important arena that can contribute to the mobilization of individuals. Political discussions often occur in non-political institutions of adult life --the working place, voluntary associations, or the church (Verba et al., 1995). Since some voluntary organizations are also politically active, people may in part join them for the same reasons they vote, the point here is simply to note their potential effect on the salience of informal networks (Abrams, et al, 2010). However, the impact of partisan and non-partisan mobilization is thought to be mediated by a more general propensity to vote and is therefore not expected to affect all voters in a similar way (Dale and Strauss 2009).

P3: The high level of social recognition in religious organization is positively associated with the voting turnout.

#### **Political Party Affiliation and Voting Turnout**

While it is seemingly evident that levels of political involvement are positively related to the voting turnout, the proximity of the concepts of political involvement and political participation is often considered problematic as the decision to vote is very similar to the decision to acquire political information and knowledge (Rubenson et al., 2004; Denny and Doyle, 2008). Cognitive abilities are correlated with educational levels and it has been suggested that the large impact of education on voting turnouts found in many studies may be overestimated due to a lack of control for measures on cognitive ability (see Denny and Doyle, 2008). Our meta-analysis shows that on the whole party identification, political interest and political knowledge are indeed positively related to the voting turnout.

## Religiosity and Voting Turnout

In the mobilization of the group, the members are given incentives to vote as means of promoting the interests of the group. This is considered an ethical function of group members. In the view of ISN, NGO or Muhammadiyah being politically active by mobilizing members to support candidates suggests social approval or disapproval to the members who refuse to vote or support the candidate. The large network and the informal membership based on familial relationships influence the behavior of selecting among NGO members (Abram, et.al, 2010). In his research in USA, Abram, et.al (2010) found that membership in the organization, the level of religiosity, and the participation in every church activity influences the behavior of group in choosing candidates. Moreover, a political party also makes use of these religious groups for an effective media campaign in increasing the number of votes.

Religion can function not only as a source of communal loyalty and sharing and understanding identity, but also a powerful ideology, as a set of principles and claims on how the world should function (Busse, 2012). According to Busse (2012), the electoral behaviour of religious institution consists of (1) voting and political behavior; (2) the power of religious bodies as institutional players; (3) lobbyists and coalition partners; (4) religion's role in the origins of institutions and long-term political outcomes; (5) the impact of religion on attitudes toward and policies of social welfare; and (6) its broad influence on regime type and durability.

The research on electoral behavior is a growing field in political science with its country-unique electoral system and cultural-social phenomena (Strom, 1999). Meanwhile current voting behavior in Indonesia focuses on ideology and voting behavior (Pepinsky, et al, 2009), clientism and voting and rent opportunities (Nathan, et al., 2015). Even when adding a range of district and party level control variables to the model, rent opportunities have a significant effect on preference voting rates. In a specific research on Muhammadiyah member's voting behavior, Jung (2014) found that Muhammadiyah's political behaviour is driven by its institutional logic, which places its religious and social duties before its political interests. Although there have been attempts by some elites to take advantage of Muhammadiyah for their own political gains, Muhammadiyah has managed to refrain from building or supporting a particular political party at the organizational level.

## Methodology

Yogyakarta Special Province is selected as research area based on some reasons. First, Yogyakarta is the capital of the Muhammadiyah organization. In Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah has 587 Muhammadiyah Village Boards in all 438 administrative villages or 134.01% of the number of village (LPCR, 2012). Moreover, three regencies were selected based on the quality of lowest level of Muhammadiyah Board organization activity (Bantul, Gunungkidul and Sleman). A survey was done by the Intitute of Muhammadiyah Branch Development (*Lembaga Pengembangan Cabang dan Ranting*) and the results showed the activity of Muhammadiyah Community Board (*Pengurus Ranting Muhammadiyah*) which described and summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Levels of Activity in the Muhammadiyah Board

Level of Activity	Bantul	Sleman	Gunungkidul
Active	31 (29%)	13 (25%)	16 (13%)
Less active	67 (64%)	94 (68%)	77 (61%)
Inactive	7 (7%)	10 (7%)	33 (26%)
Number of Muhammadiyah Member	72,400 (7.94% of population (911,503))	85,100 (12.6% of population (675,382))	65,300 (5.84% of population (1,117,176))

Source: Lembaga Pengembangan Cabang dan Ranting, *Peta Kondisi Cabang dan Ranting Muhammadiyah di Provinsi DI. Yogyakarta (Mapping Muhammadiyah Branch in Yogyakarta Province)*, Yogyakarta. 2012.

Aproximately 292.700 population of 3.480.904 (8,4%) of Yogyakarta Special Province are Muhammadiyah members. Sleman Regency has higher number Muhammadiyah member or 85.100 (12.6%) than Bantul (7.94%) and Gunungkidul regency (5.84%) has. Also, regarding to the degree of organizational activity, Gunungkidul regency has 33 inactive Muhammadiyah Community Board. Seventy five (75) Muhammadiyah Village Boards (12.78%) were selected proportionally from 587 Muhammadiyah Village Boards.

The second reason in choosing the regencies is based on the elected Muhammadiyah elites as a regent in local electoral process and the involment of Regencial Board of Muhammadiyah in supporting their cadres, such as Sri Purnomo in Sleman and Siti Badingah in Gunungkidul. In Sleman regency, Sri Purnomo as a Muhammadiyah cadre has succeeded in winning the election for Regent three times (2004, 2010 and 2015). Siti Badingah and Immawan Wahyudi, Muhammadiyah activist won in Gunungkidul in 2010 and 2015 (kindly refer to Table 2.

Table 2. The Ballot in Three Local Regent Elections (2010 and 2015)

No	Regency	Candidate	Link with Muhammadiyah	2010 (%)	Note	2015 (%)	Note
1	Bantul	Sri Surya Widati	Non cadre	330,615 (67.8)	Won	233,677 (47.2)	Lost
2	Gunung kidul	Siti Badingah	Cadre	146,849 (36.03)	Won	167,915 (39.52)	Won
3	Sleman	Sri Poernomo	Cadre	174,571 (35.2)	Won	297,267(56.63)	Won

Source: Local Electoral Commission, 2015.

The use of mix-research method aims to explain the influence of activism, political information, mobilization and social recognition, political affiliation and religiosity in the voting turnout of Muhammadiyah cadres in local election process. There are 342 respondents from the member of 75 Village Boards of Muhammadiyah (Pengurus Ranting Muhammadiyah) in three regencies. To have a deeper understanding on the actual data, the

data collection is carried out by the ad-hoc winning team created by Muhammadiyah (Success Team) for the regencies in Sleman and Gunungkidul.

**Results**

Table 3 shows that in Gunungkidul and Sleman Regencies, Siti Badingah and Sri Poernomo won the elections respectively. Both of them are Muhammadiyah cadres. Also, table 3 shows that Badingah and Poernomo were able to improve the percentage of their winning from the 2010 to the 2015 electoral results. In 2010, Siti Badingah won with 36% of total votes while in 2015, she won with 39%. Similarly, Sri Poernomo had 35% of votes in 2010 and made it to 56% in 2015. On the other hand, Sri Surya Widati in Bantul, failed to win the 2015 elections and this can be attributed to his non-cadre status in Muhammadiyah.

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Source: Local Electoral Commission, 2015.

Table 4. Descriptive Data

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Pol-infor	114	15,00	0,00	15,00	6,4123	2,50949	6,298
Activis	114	43,00	2,00	45,00	18,3509	9,38081	88,000
Social Recognition	114	48,00	0,00	48,00	11,5789	5,60483	31,414
Religiosity	114	18,00	0,00	18,00	8,9298	2,52674	6,384

Also we can see this findings on the table 5 as follows.

Table 5. Probit Estimates of the Determinants of Voter Turnout

	Bantul Regency (Model 1)	Gunungkidul (Model 2)	Sleman (Model 3)
Activism	0.095***	0.742	0.086***
Political information	0.000**	0.047**	0.000***
Social Recognition	0.039**	0.354	0.078**
Political Party Affiliation	0.741	0.038**	0.592
Religiosity	0.039**	0.712	0.100*
Pseudo R	0.438	0.241	0.451
N	112	115	115

Note: Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*  $p < 0.10$  (two-tailed tests)

Tables 4 and 5 present descriptive statistics and the regression's test of this study's measures, respectively. Most of the independent variables have impact on voting turnout, particularly in Bantul and Sleman regency.

H1: The high level of activism in religious organization is positively associated with the voting turnout

This hypothesis is supported by the empirical data of impact of activism on voting turnout in Bantul and Sleman. In Gunungkidul where, the high proportion of in active Village's Muhammadiyah Board compare with Bantul and Sleman has direct impact on the activism level of their cadres. In other word, the institutional logic that kept it from fully entering into electoral politics, although it cannot fully control individual members (Eusook, 2014). Since the organization cannot control its members, the voting turn out of Muhammadiyah grass root leaders in Gunungkidul varies depending on the relationship with the candidate. If they think that the regent candidate may be beneficial for Muhammadiyah mission, they will give political support. In Bantul, there was no Muhammadiyah cadre running for election, thus, they tend to have a divided local elite. In the intitutional logic, electoral behavior in Sleman Regency is defined with organizational support initiated by Sleman's Regency Muhammadiyah Board. This unique Muhammadiyah board started the political contestation with the internal political convention in order to achieve institutional decision.

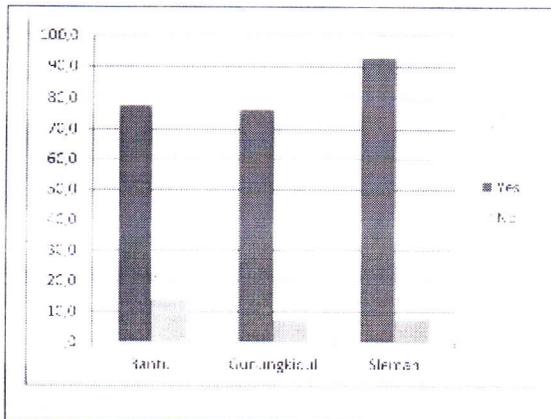


Fig.2.Support for Muhammadiyah Candidate (%)

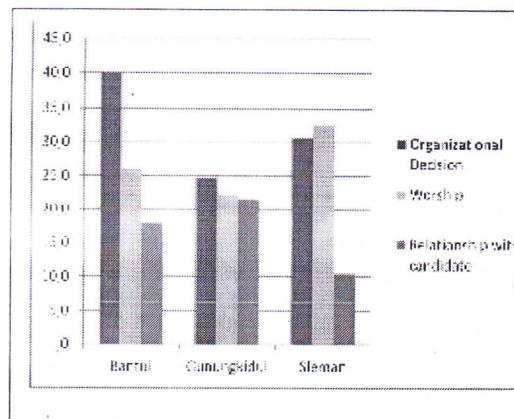


Fig. 3. Reasons to support Muhammadiyah Candidate (%)

Majority of respondents said that they agreed to support Muhammadiyah cadre who will run as regent in the local election. It is very interesting that organization policy is important factor that affects the voting turnout, 40.2% in Bantul and 33,5% in Sleman. Meanwhile in Gunungkidul, where the organization has lesser activities, the relationship between the candidate and local elites is stronger than in Bantul and Sleman. This data also confirms that the religiosity has an insignificant influence on voting turnout in Gunungkidul, because personal relationship with regent candidates is preferred by the electorates. In sum, the activity and the level of solidity of PRM and PDM is significant as it reflects how Muhammadiyah organization facilitates their members to vote their cadres collectively.

The initiative of PDM Sleman created the winning team for Sri Purnomo is based on the organizational capacity and organization activity at the village to handle potential conflict. PDM Sleman had issued a decree of winning team for Sri Purnomo candidacy in 2010 and 2015 lead by Parwoto, a Deputy Leader of PDM Sleman. By doing the indepth interview with Parwoto, it revealed that there are two main reasons to “take risk” in the context of organizational compliance. First, the role of regent in Sleman as an actor is expected to maintain *religious mainstream* in Sleman regency according to the Muhammadiyah way. Empirically the political behavior of Sleman PDM justifies political pragmatism and can adopt procedural democracy but there is a real dilemma when it touches normative democratic values, particularly when it confronts their ideology (Asyari, 2013). In 2013 Sleman Regent, Sri Purnomo had declared “a beloved sunnah community,” a community who have intention to reject Syiah (KR, 16/12/2013) in Universitas Gadjahmada Mosque when some NGOs critized the Sri Purnomo’s partisanship. On the other hand, the second reason in taking such “risk” is that having a cadre as the Regent in government will definitely improve the Muhammadiyah *dakwah* and its acivities (education, health and social service). Thus, the possible gains of taking such risks are greater and for the “good” of the organization in general.

**H2.** The high level of political information is positively associated with the voting turnout

This hypothesis is significantly relationship between two variables. Moreover, the results presented in Table 5 shows the three models or regencies, the political information

variable is positive and statistically significant at the  $P < 0.01$  level and  $P < 0.05$ . This result confirm that Muhammadiyah board members in three regencies have been informed and use it independently for making decision in local election, as it was confirmed Bush (2014) finding only 10% of Muhammadiyah members seek guidance from religious figures on political affairs, whether concerning elections of village heads, political parties, regents, or various other political issues. As shown in Fig 1 below, the information of regent elections in Bantul and Sleman were dominantly disseminated by upper Muhammadiyah board (district and regency level). However, the role of extended family in Gunungkidul is as important as the role of the organization.

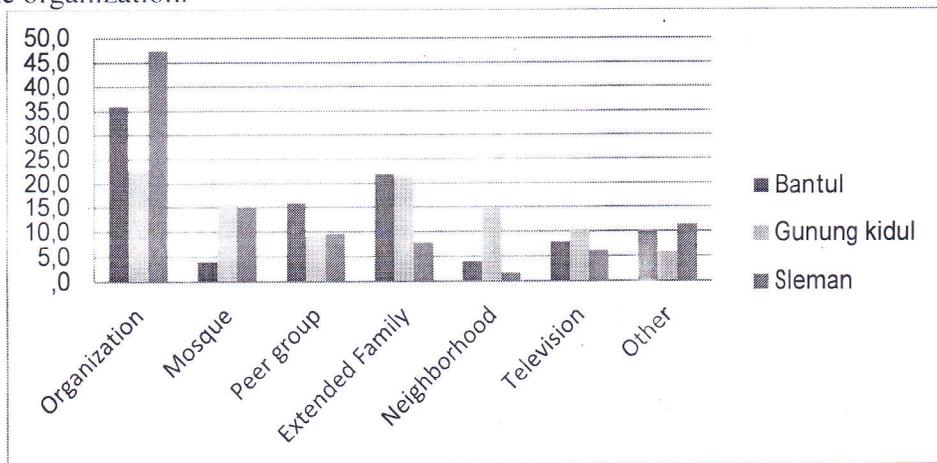


Fig. 4. Political Information Source on Regent Election (%)

### H3. Social recognition have impact on voting turnout in the local.

The influence of social group on the voting turnout is also significant similar with the influence of activism. This means that some members of the Muhammadiyah board have developed mechanisms in enforcing voting–reward agreements across group members which is practically possible in the consolidation phase of a new democratic country in Indonesia. This findings show that the voting behavior of Muhammadiyah activists is a function of group incentives. This function is basically affected by the quality of Muhammadiyah community board and the existence of their organization in the community. The quality of Muhammadiyah as an organization and the effectiveness of its leadership is related to increasing activism in Muhammadiyah. Further, it is interesting to study the insignificant influence of activism in the voting turnout in Gunungkidul.

### H4 Political Affiliation has significant impact on Voting Turnout

The affiliation on political party refers to the National Mandate Party, the party which was founded by M Amien Rais, the former leader of Muhammadiyah National Board. From the statistical test, we found out that there is no significant influence of party affiliation on voting turnout in Bantul Regency and Sleman Regency except in Gunungkidul Regency. By looking at Fig.5 below the highest number respondents (52.6%) in Gunungkidul said that they were closer to National Mandate Party than others.

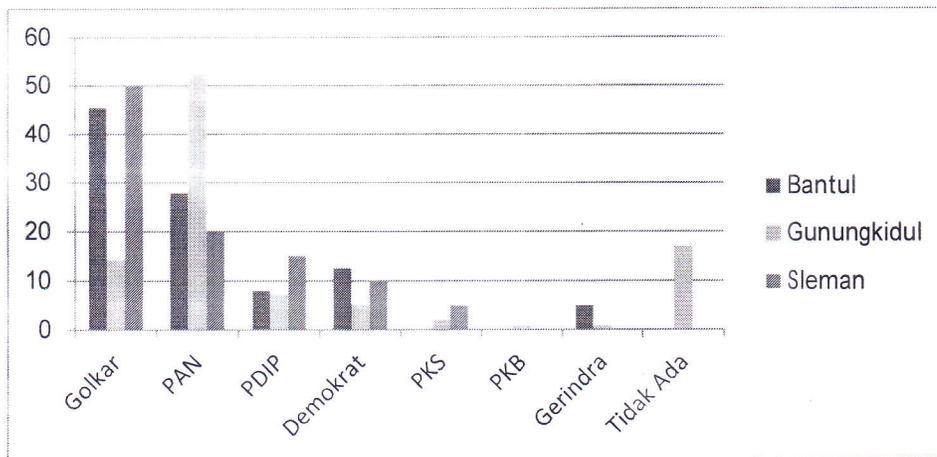


Fig.5. Political Party Affiliation (%)

H5. Religiosity is also associated with voting turnout in local election.

Based on test of hypothesis, it revealed that the religiosity has significantly influence on voting turnout in Bantul and Sleman, and insignificant in Gunungkidul. This phenomenon is further analyzed in the discussion below. The initiative of PDM Sleman created the winning team for Sri Purnomo is based on the organizational capacity and organization activity at the village to handle potential conflict. PDM Sleman had issued a decree of winning team for Sri Purnomo candidacy in 2010 and 2015 lead by Parwoto; a Deputy Leader of PDM Sleman. By doing the indepth interview with Parwoto, it revealed that there are two main reasons to “take risk” in the context of organizational compliance. First, the role of regent in Sleman as an actor is expected to maintain *religious mainstream* in Sleman regency according to the Muhammadiyah way. Empirically the political behavior of Sleman PDM justifies political pragmatism and can adopt procedural democracy but there is a real dilemma when it touches normative democratic values, particularly when it confronts their ideology (Asyari, 2013). In 2013 Sleman Regent, Sri Purnomo had declared “a beloved sunnah community,” a community who have intention to reject Syiah (KR, 16/12/2013) in Universitas Gadjahmada Mosque when some NGOs criticized the Sri Purnomo’s partisanship. On the other hand, the second reason in taking such “risk” is that having a cadre as the Regent in government will definitely improve the Muhammadiyah *dakwah* and its activities (education, health and social service). Thus, the possible gains of taking such risks are greater and for the “good” of the organization in general.

How the PDM Sleman did interpret the political condition and organization environment? The interpretation above is based on the dynamic theological frame which is not a fixed social construct that could be amended, reformed, or reinterpreted through a process of mutual constitution between agency (religious/moral authority leaders) and structure (institutional culture and the relations between the religious group and the state) (Arifianto, 2012). Under the current local government system, the regent appoint senior civil servant for the head of government agency (echelon 2). Under this institutional logic, the senior civil servant try to help secretly a potential candidate in the campaign period even though it is illegal.

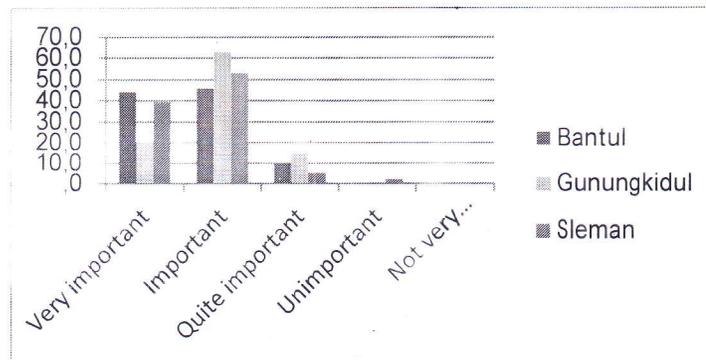


Fig. 6. How is important Echelon2 for Muhammadiyah cadre (%)

There is a large presence of Muhammadiyah cadres in local government bureaucracy. One important opinion of PDM elite profound that they encourage Muhammadiyah cadre to become the high rank local government bureaucrats (echelon 2) in each local government. Hence, almost 90% of respondents said that those positions are very important for Muhammadiyah *dakhwah* interests.

Another interesting political case in Muhammadiyah's Yogyakarta Provincial Board is the senate election. In the last two general elections (2010 and 2015), the Provincial Muhammadiyah Board formally supported Muhammadiyah cadres to become Regional Representative Council members. Under No.02/KEP/II.0/D/2013, Muhammadiyah Provincial Board appointed Husni Amriyanto Putera (Dosen UMY) as the head of the selection committee and campaign team. The team consists of unified units of local Muhammadiyah Board from regencies, districts and villages.

## Discussion

Generally speaking, activism, political information, social recognition and religiosity has significant influence on voting turnout of Muhammadiyah activist at grass root level, although in Gunungkidul has different result. This study contributes a new perspective of religious organization's role in procedural democracy in interdisciplinary perspective in which once political environment has change, the role of religious organization has also change dynamically depend on local context. This means Muhammadiyah's elites of different level will respond differently, because politics at the centre is dissociated from politics at the periphery in many ways (Ufen, 2011). Whereas in Jakarta political parties are in control of major decision-making processes, elites at the local/regional level stand above these parties, in contrast, in provinces, districts and municipalities, executive leaders are often independent of political parties and rely on bureaucratic and business forces, and sometimes on ethnic and/or religious groups as well (Uffen, 2011).

This study contributes to the scholarly researches on religious organization and the changing political system. The change in political system from authoritarian to procedural democracy causes modifications in the political behavior of religious organization, especially on their electoral behavior. This study finds electoral behavior leveling in Muhammadiyah organization. However, in achieving social and religious vision, there are differences in the electoral behavior of Muhammadiyah's elite at the national and the local level. Consequently, such variance in the electoral behavior has direct effects on the pattern of political organizing, the relationship between elites, and political affiliation, of a religious organization and the

political candidate share the same interests (or they share the same vision), religious organization then extends political support to such candidates. Hence, the positive support of the religious organization boosts its ability in shaping political support in the process of democratic elections. Stronger political support reflects the strength of the religious organization in maintaining potential conflicts.

Table 6 . The Differences Electoral Behaviour of Muhammadiyah’s Elite

Electoral Behavior in	Local Election of Regent/Mayor/Governor and Representative Council	National Election on Legislator or President
Elite Solidity	Solid elite	Divided elites (Jung, 2014, Bush, 2012, David, 2014)
Political Affiliation	Partisanship politics	No partisan politics
Dependency	Collective action	Independent rational investigation (Jung, 2014,

**Conclusions**

This study contributes a new perspective of religious organization’s role in procedural democracy. From religious study perspective, the results show that the theological frames, political identities, and preferences of religious groups adapt to new sociopolitical realities (Arifianto, 2012; Jung, 2014). The Political science perspective suggests that mobilization approach should be dominantly studied in religious organizations. Borrowing new institutional economic theory, Muhammadiyah as an organization, indeed, is a close-knit group through institutional mechanism encompasses the deeper causes because they shape the incentive structure for organizations and individuals (Nee, 2005). The norm of close-knit groups can contribute to the realization of the organization’s goal if the interest is embedded in welfare-maximizing norms (*read as a religious and social value maximizing*) (Nee, 2005). The Muhammadiyah local elite translate new theological frame for local regent election in the context of religious value-maximizing. This finding is contrary with Muhammadiyah electoral behavior at national level with three internal characteristics – a tendency to avoid partisan politics, independent rational investigation and divided elites (Jung, 2014). However, in the election of local leaders (direct election), Muhammadiyah’s electoral behavior is characterized with partisan politics, collective action and solid elites.

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