

The Muhammadiyah Movement in Social and Politics

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ABSTRACT

The Muhammadiyah organization, initially non-political, has struggled to completely disassociate from politics due to the prevailing belief among its members that Islam encompasses both a state and a religion. Since its inception in 1912, Muhammadiyah has experienced fluctuating relationships with political power, oscillating between closeness and distance. This qualitative study explores Muhammadiyah's involvement in the Islamic Defense Action, revealing a significant contribution of its resources to this social movement. The concept of resource mobilization, a key component of social movements, elucidates how Muhammadiyah's residents, facilities, and leaders played pivotal roles in the success of the Islamic Defense Action. Despite its non-political origins, Muhammadiyah, in collaboration with other Islamic groups, has indirectly engaged in social movements as part of its civil society function. This research underscores Muhammadiyah's nuanced relationship with political authority and its strategic use of resources to participate indirectly yet significantly in civil society's social movements.



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1. INTRODUCTION

There will always be more to explore concerning Muhammadiyah and politics. Delving into this topic is consistently intriguing, even from the early stages. Furthermore, these discussions tend to be more captivating before pivotal political events, such as presidential elections, state legislatures, regional heads, and appointments at both local and federal levels. This discourse may intensify if the political landscape reveals underrepresentation of Muhammadiyah "representatives" in authoritative positions, whether legislative, executive, or other public roles.

Discussing the relationship between Muhammadiyah and politics is not inherently erroneous, as Muhammadiyah has positioned itself as a "political movement," notwithstanding its origin as a non-political party or organization. Muhammadiyah carries various labels, with being an Islamic movement being just one of them. Emphasizing its Islamic roots, Muhammadiyah upholds the doctrine of amar makruf nahi munkar, derived from the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah.

Historical records indicate that Muhammadiyah emerged within a political context, encompassing resistance to Dutch colonialism and religious politics involving the competition for religious influence in the Islamic world, including the Arabian Peninsula and the archipelago. After the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate in February 1924, the religious conflict transformed into a

political one. The Arabian Peninsula witnessed a power struggle among kingdoms vying for control over the next caliph and the restoration of the caliphate. This inclination to revive the Islamic Caliphate stemmed largely from disappointment with the often neglectful Ottoman Caliphate towards the Arab people.

Muhammadiyah's foundation was also influenced by internal variables, reflecting the syncretic nature of Islamic teachings blended with elements from ananthropic, Buddhist, Hindu, and dynamic traditions. Founded as a response to the challenges faced by Muslims and Indonesian society, Muhammadiyah addressed issues such as neglect of the Quran and Sunnah, the rise of bid'ah, shirk, and khurafat, the lack of ukhuwah Islamiyah, organizational deficiencies, and the failure of Islamic educational institutions.

In addressing the challenges of the times, Kiai Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, recognized the need for Muslims to engage with other religions. Even within Muhammadiyah's educational institutions, non-Muslim educators were employed to teach foreign languages, law, and international understanding.

Muhammadiyah's interaction with politics has been persistent throughout its existence, primarily in terms of values rather than actual power. Although never evolving into a political party, Muhammadiyah adeptly utilized colonial institutions for public education during the Dutch colonial period, defending progressive Islam while engaging with the Dutch—a distinct approach compared to other religious movements.

The foundation of Muhammadiyah's political stance was shaped by Kiai Dahlan's mindset, characterized by a dynamic interaction between Muhammadiyah's religious knowledge and the political realities of its time. Muhammadiyah demonstrated a tolerant attitude toward the Dutch, yet could become hostile when the Netherlands acted against Islam. The continuous engagement with politics arises from the necessity dictated by political realities, sometimes leading to challenges and instability in the relationship between Muhammadiyah and politics. Efforts to build relationships may aim to maintain proximity or distance from various political forces, reflecting the complex dynamics between Muhammadiyah and politics.

2. METHODS

The methodology used in this research is a qualitative approach, namely a research method that emphasizes the aspect of in-depth data in order to obtain quality research results, the researcher is the main tool, the data collection method is carried out triangulation (combined), the analysis is inductive/qualitative, and the research findings emphasizes meaning rather than generalization (Sugiyono 2016, 14). This research approach is based on the philosophy of postpositivism.

The research method used is the descriptive method, which is one way of conducting research that describes, summarizes the various conditions, situations or variables being studied, and describes the state of the object being studied as it is, according to the situation and conditions when the research was carried out (Ibrahim 2015 , 59).

The main theories used in this research are resource mobilization theory, social movement theory, and civil society theory. The elements of Muhammadiyah as a civil society force-voluntary, self-supporting, independent, and obedient to legal norms-can be better understood by using a civil society theoretical framework..

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

a. Muhammadiyah Political Movement.

Apart from being a da'wah movement of amar makruf nahi munkar, Muhammadiyah was founded as a "political movement" and not as an organization or political party. The actions taken by Kiai Dahlan in the early stages of his organization, which also established political relations with other parties, are an indication that the building was a "political movement".

Muhammadiyah has firmly stated that it is not a political movement since 1912 and 1926. However, the political characteristics of Muhammadiyah cannot be denied. In particular, KH. Ahmad Dahlan is a person who has a close relationship with KH. Misbah (Communist) and Budi Utomo, Sarekat and others, were close to the Ahmadiyah community. Many Muhammadiyah activists were involved in Sarekat Islam and Budi Utomo, as well as KH. Ahmad Dahlan himself. KH Mas Mansur even had a hand in the formation of the Indonesian Islamic Party (PII) in the following period. Muhammadiyah decided to give KH. Mas Mansur, who at that time served as Chairman of Muhammadiyah, to lead PII at Tanwir Muhammadiyah in 1938.

Muhammadiyah participated in the founding of the Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia (MIAI) in 1937, together with NU and PSII. Muhammadiyah was also involved in the birth of Masyumi, whose formation was made possible in 1943 by

Japanese Government. Ricklefs called the founding of MIAI an attempt to subdue Islam. Meanwhile, Benda emphasized that the establishment of Masyumi - which received legal recognition on the same day as its founding - was undoubtedly a political victory for Japan over Islam. One of Japan's strategies to control Muslims was to establish Masyumi.

Islamic figures including Agus Salim, Abi Kusno, Mohammad Natsir, Wali Alfatah, Sukiman, and Gafar Ismail met in September 1945 to organize the founding of a party after Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allies in August 1945. Government Declaration Number issued on November 3, 1945, reinforced this idea. Leaders of the Islamic community praised the government's recommendations. The Indonesian Muslim Congress was held in Yogyakarta on 7 and 8 November 1945. This Congress made the decision to establish a political party, which would be the only political party in Indonesia that represented Muslims and functioned as a channel for their political ambitions. Majelis Shura Mulimin Indonesia (Masyumi), the name of the Islamic Political Party, was approved for this party.

Muhammadiyah and NU were made special members of this new political organization. Due to Muhammadiyah's participation in Masyumi, it can be shown that this was the first time these organizations had systematically merged to form a political party. Muhammadiyah gave up its special membership before Masyumi collapsed in 1960-more precisely in 1959-which meant that Muhammadiyah's membership in Masyumi also ended.

Muhammadiyah has also gone through difficult times politically. Some Muhammadiyah members attempted to establish Muhammadiyah as a political party in the early 1960s, but this attempt was opposed by mainstream Muhammadiyah members and was prevented. Muhammadiyah had to make the same decision during the political transition from the Old Order to the New Order: join with other Islamic organizations to form a new political party, revive Masyumi, or become a political party itself. The highly politicized Khittah Ponorogo and Khittah Ujungpandang in 1969 and 1971 showed the discomfort of Muhammadiyah's political status. Points 5-9 of Khittah 1969, which was the result of Tanwir Ponorogo, were very politically charged:

Point 5: The Muhammadiyah organization identifies itself as "the Islamic Movement and Amar Makruf Nahi Munkar in the social sector." Regarding struggle tactics in the field of state politics, or "practical politics", Muhammadiyah established a political party that was independent of the Muhammadiyah organization.

Point 6: Muhammadiyah needs to understand that political parties are its goal and must support it.

Point 7: There are ideological ties but no organizational ties between Muhammadiyah and the party.

Point 8: Everyone moves autonomously while understanding each other and working to achieve the same goal.

Point 9: In general, it is unacceptable to have concurrent positions, especially leadership positions between the two, for the sake of an orderly division of work. Muhammadiyah tried to break away from political parties through Khittah Ujungpandang, as if to correct Khittah Ponorogo, although it still held a positive view of Parmusi and other parties. In 1971, the 38th Congress decided Khittah Ujungpandang. In Khittah Ujungpandang point (3) it is stated that:

"3. To further strengthen Muhammadiyah as an Islamic Da'wah Movement after the 1971 Election, Muhammadiyah implemented the Amar Makruf Nahi Munkar regularly constructive and positive towards the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi) and also towards other political parties and organizations."

At Tanwir in 1978 in Surabaya, Muhammadiyah made Khittah more explicit in its relations with political parties. This tanwir took place after the 1977 elections. Parmusi had joined the United Development Party (PPP), a new Muslim political organization,³⁶ so Muhammadiyah had reason to avoid Parmusi and other parties. The Surabaya Khittah Decree of 1978 contained the following matters.

1. Muhammadiyah is an Islamic Da'wah Movement that is not affiliated or has organizational ties with any political party or group. Muhammadiyah is a humanitarian movement that operates in all areas of human life and society.

2. In accordance with their human rights, all Muhammadiyah members are prohibited from joining or leaving other organizations, provided that the new organization complies with all applicable laws, bylaws and articles of association. Muhammadiyah stated its acceptance of the principles of Pancasila in Indonesia

The 41st Congress took place in Surakarta on 7-11 December 1985. The Congress made several decisions during this session, one of which was to amend Muhammadiyah's Articles of Association to conform to Law Number 8 of 1985 concerning Community Organizations. "This association is called Muhammadiyah, is an Islamic Movement and Da'wah Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar with Islamic beliefs and is based on the Koran and Sunnah."

"This association is based on Pancasila." "The purpose and purpose of the Association is to uphold and uphold the religion of Islam so that a leading, just, and prosperous society is realized that is pleased with Allah Subhanahu wata'ala". This sums up the dynamics and ups and downs of the relationship between Muhammadiyah and politics which is very dynamic. The choice between "approaching" and "keeping a distance" is a problematic one. There is a desire to "keep distance" from all political forces, but there is also a desire to "keep closeness" to them. Muhammadiyah's relationship with political parties: ups and downs.

b. Civil Society

Since the writings of Hobbes, Locke, and Alexis D. Tocqueville, ideas about civil society have changed. Hobbes believed that civil society was under the strict control of the state, which had absolute power. Civil society was initially associated with its relationship with the state. Civil society was then defined by liberal democratic theorists such as Locke as a community that upholds the basic rights to life, liberty and property (Hikam, 2000: 128-129). Civil society is an area that guarantees the continuity of autonomous behavior, activities and reflection, not limited to material existence, and not absorbed by and into the network of official political organizations, according to A.S. Hikam (2001: 123-131).

Material existence, and not being absorbed into the network of recognized political organizations. Free public space is a necessary but implicit prerequisite for civil society. a location that ensures citizens can communicate freely. Hikam added that various community-based organizations that are independent from the government are examples of open communication and relationships between citizens. Manifestations of civil society give rise to associations, interest groups, non-governmental organizations, and social and religious organizations.

Thus, the main attributes of civil society are as follows: (1) a high level of social and individual independence; (2) an open public space where citizens can actively engage in politics for the good of society as a whole; And (3) the ability to restrain state authorities from violating citizens' rights or acting in an authoritarian manner.

Social progress and democracy both benefit greatly from the involvement of civil society. They have the power to empower marginalized groups, drive constructive change, and act as agents of change in society. Social assistance, education, and other services that the government or commercial sector may not be able to provide can also be provided by civil society.

However, depending on the social, political and cultural conditions in various countries, the influence and function of civil society may also change. In certain countries, civil society may face obstacles, including government limitations or unequal distribution of resources.

The term "citizen participation" describes people's active involvement in public and political life, which can include a wide range of actions intended to influence social, political, or cultural transformation. One of the basic principles of democracy is citizen involvement, which is essential to achieving inclusive, transparent and accountable government.

c. Social Movements.

Tarrow in Oman Sukmana (2016: 4-5) defines social movements as collective resistance by individuals who have solidarity and the same goals in an ongoing dialogue with authorities, opponents and elites. According to Tarrow, a movement is an act of resistance against elites, authority, group rules, and other established cultures; carried out to support the same claims against opponents, authorities, and elites; based on a sense of solidarity and collective identity; and in order to advance the goals of collective action, resistance is transformed into a social movement.

Greene in Sukmana (2016: 5-6) emphasizes that social movements are a type of group behavior that is long-lasting, well-organized and logical. Greene mentions several characteristics that define social movements, including: (1) large number of participants; (2) shared goals to promote or oppose change; and (3) a structure with widely recognized leadership and long-term activities. Comparatively, social movements are more structured and long-lasting than other forms of group behavior.

Freeman in Sukmana (2016: 6) explains that it is a social movement. The following prerequisites must be met: (1) a communication network must be built; (2) options for disseminating the movement's ideas must be provided; (3) the crisis must be a catalyst for engagement; and (4) there must be an effort to unite the parties

interested parties into a movement.

According to Sujatmiko (quoted by Sukmana, 2016: 3), social movements are a type of collective action with different conflictual orientations towards certain social and political opponents, carried out by actors connected by a strong sense of solidarity and collective identity, which goes beyond forms of ties in coalitions and joint campaigns, and which take place in the context of close cross-institutional networks.

Sociopolitical movements are a type of political engagement that aims to improve the socio-economic conditions of society, promote justice, and bring about social change. In general, this movement aims to solve social problems that are considered unfair or incompatible with human values. The following are some characteristics of social political movements:

1. Social Justice Goals: The main goals of social political movements are the elimination of economic inequality, the defense of human rights, the elimination of discrimination based on race or gender, and increasing access to social services such as housing, health, and education.

2. Activism: To raise awareness of important issues, these groups often incorporate political activism through the use of protests, marches, petitions, and social campaigns.

3. Membership Groups: Nonprofit organizations that concentrate on specific social issues, labor unions, civil rights advocacy groups, and other groups are examples of membership groups that are often involved in sociopolitical movements.

4. Community Empowerment: Through outreach, education, and citizen mobilization, these movements often aim to empower communities to recognize their rights and take part in social change.

5. Social Solidarity: A key component of social political movements is solidarity. Members of these movements often feel bound to one another by shared identities, values, or goals.

Islam's place in social politics varies from country to country and is often influenced by political, cultural, and local interpretations. Islam is a major source of legislation in many countries, but has only a partial impact on policy in others. Additionally, there are various Islamic sects and groups that have different perspectives on social issues, which can range from more conservative to more progressive.

4. CONCLUSION

Muhammadiyah was born long before Indonesia became independent. Muhammadiyah has made countless contributions to this nation and state, especially in the fields of social, health, education and preaching amar makruf nahi munkar. Therefore, in relation to politics, we must place the "parents" of this nation in their proper place.

Muhammadiyah will also take a proportional stance, focusing only on its status as a religion that avoids party politics and consistently focuses on national politics. Muhammadiyah must be positioned proportionally in at least two ways:

1. Muhammadiyah believes that elected officials and political parties in the legislature and executive can create political products, such as policies, which are fully intended to advance the welfare of society. In fact, it often happens that the results of political policies are contrary to the interests of society and its members.

2. Political parties must be able to persuade Muhammadiyah to compete for political office by presenting candidates who are in line with the organization's missionary mission and the interests of the people. Avoid offending the feelings of Muhammadiyah in particular and Muslims in general by, for example, raising political candidates from dirty circles who are not only useless for this country, but also create problems for this country.

The fact that Muhammadiyah leaders and members of the wider community, along with other facilities such as the PKU DKI Jakarta ambulance, are present and actively involved in social movements shows that Muhammadiyah has adopted a different approach to becoming a civil society in Indonesia. This engagement shows that Muhammadiyah has adopted an alternative approach to involving Muslims in Indonesian civil society. Muhammadiyah is known for its unique approach to social services, health and education. Together with other Islamic organizations, this organization followed the path of involvement in the Reformation era through the social movement Action to Defend Islam.

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