



Between Norm and Practice: Dynamics of Muhammadiyah Political Communications

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe the dynamics of Muhammadiyah political communication. The research is based on the background that Muhammadiyah is a civil society organization engaged in the socio-religious field in Indonesia and is non-political, but has political power. Muhammadiyah's political communication is studied within the framework of the theory of "social practices" developed by Anthony Giddens, and the theory of Social Reality Construction Analysis by Berger & Luckmann. The research method was carried out qualitatively with a constructive approach. The research data was obtained through official organizational documents and in-depth interviews. The results of the study show that the normativity of Muhammadiyah political communication is rooted in Muhammadiyah ideology which originates from the Al-Qur'an and as-Sunnah, and is transformed into religious understanding, social praxis, and its political communication strategy. Muhammadiyah's political communication strategy is mapped out in three forms of strategy, namely the political communication strategy of faith and good deeds, the strategy of political communication of power structure, and the strategy of national cultural political communication. The three Muhammadiyah political communication strategies



work collaboratively so they are referred to as the Collaborative Political Communication Model.

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INTRODUCTION

Socio-religious organizations generally do not directly participate in formal political institutions, but devote themselves to issues of development and cultural awareness. Middle Eastern countries, for example, expressly prohibit social organizations from entering the political arena (Halpern, 2015). In Jordan, for example, Law No. 33 of 1966 states that voluntary organizations can only be formed to provide social services without the intention of financial gain or other personal gain, including political gain. This limitation of movement makes them have no agenda, program or political goals (Wiktorowicz, 2002). Likewise in Indonesia, socio-religious organizations are more focused on public affairs and da'wah issues (Ar et al., 2022), one of which is Muhammadiyah.

Shepard (2004) categorizes Muhammadiyah as an "Islamic Modernism" group, oriented toward the development of an Islamic society, has no ambition of seizing power and creating an Islamic state, more interested in working on social and educational issues (Kurniawan et al., 2023). Muhammadiyah as a modern Islamic movement played a very important role in Indonesian politics during the colonial period

1912-1942. This role involves at least three main roles, namely as a religious reformer, agent of social change, and political power (Jayusman & Shabab, 2021).

Nakamura is of the view that Muhammadiyah has many faces. Muhammadiyah looks doctrinal from afar, but when viewed closely, it has its theological system which is a set of moral teachings taken from the Al-Quran and Hadith. Sometimes it looks exclusive, but it's open (Njoto-Feillard, 2016). Organizationally it looks burdensome, but Muhammadiyah is a group of individuals who appreciate personal dedication. It appears to be a very disciplined organization, but there is no effective disciplinary tool apart from individual awareness. It looks aggressive and fanatical, but the method of broadcasting is slow and tolerant. It seems anti-Javanese, but in many ways, it embodies the good nature of the Javanese people, in fact it is a case of a universal religion such as Islam which is a religious tradition that lives in the Javanese environment.

Muhammadiyah's political strength is not in practical politics and formal politics as befits a political party. Muhammadiyah's political role runs uniquely and uniquely

which Din Syamsuddin (in Efendi et al., 2021) calls allocative politics. That is a struggle to incorporate Islamic values as Muhammadiyah's mission into political decisions without having to become a formal political force. Likewise, Muhammadiyah's political role did not only take place on a national scale, but also took place in the regions as the centralized New Order government fell, and the birth of a more democratic and decentralized Reform Order era. The role of Muhammadiyah in the dynamics of local politics further confirms the existence of Muhammadiyah as a responsive and dynamic socio-religious organization including in the dynamics of local politics, For example, what was stated by Sulistyono (2006) that the political identity of the residents of Kotagede Yogyakarta cannot be separated from the influence of Muhammadiyah and Islamic teachings adhered to by the residents of Kotagede Yogyakarta.

The basic challenge for Islamic organizations, including Muhammadiyah, is to find ways to make their movements relevant to various dynamic situations and conditions. For this reason, the development of various approaches both in terms of historical normative rules is necessary to be able to draw various values and principles that are adaptive to the times but remain consistent with organizational values.

Because Islam must be able to see the problem from two angles, heaven, and earth: God, but also human welfare. It is not surprising that from the very beginning, the discourse between normativity and historicity, between the interests of what is in the heavens – and the benefit of the earth, God – humans, has never stopped in the dynamics of Islamic thought, which is

sometimes also colored by intellectual and psychological tensions between the two. (Janah, 2018).

Previous research on the normativity and historicity of Islam has been carried out by Janah (2018) which focuses on the implications of normative and historical approaches in Islamic teachings. By conducting a literature review, the results show that the normative approach is still focused on respect for normative values and the sacredness of texts,. The implication is that the understanding of Islam becomes very formal and rigid. Islamic scholarship becomes repetitive and involutive, which is often a paradox with human problems. Meanwhile, the historical approach focuses more on the substantial meaning behind religious symbols and texts. The implication is that Islamic studies become more progressive and compatible with the progressivity of life. However, this approach is often criticized for making Islam lose its authenticity.

Previous research on Muhammadiyah Political Communication was conducted by Nisa (2019) which focused on examining the cultural characteristics of Muhammadiyah political communication from time to time. His research uses a theoretical framework in the process of political communication that places the domination of Muhammadiyah elite authority, both institutionally and individually as a determinant factor in the pattern and behavior as well as Muhammadiyah political communication. The findings show that Muhammadiyah's political communication stands between two interests, on the one hand, conveying political information from top to bottom, and on the other hand, conveying the interests of the people or ummah, to those in power.



Then, Tanthowi (2019) also wrote about how the reform era opened up opportunities for every political power to contest and fight for interests in a democratic process, including opportunities for Muhammadiyah. He commented that Muhammadiyah can play a political role as a political force that significantly influences the national political process, without having to change its identity to become a political party organization.

In its capacity as a socio-religious organization, Muhammadiyah must be able to present itself with more effective political articulation, as a form of moral responsibility in participating in directing the nation's historical path. However, this raises several research problems. Firstly, it is important to investigate the current extent and efficacy of Muhammadiyah's political articulation. Secondly, examining the alignment of Muhammadiyah's actions with the concept of 'Das sein das sollen,' exploring whether its political engagement reflects its intended moral values, becomes crucial. Moreover, given the urgency of the current socio-political landscape, understanding how Muhammadiyah's involvement could contribute to addressing pressing national issues becomes a vital area of research. Therefore, this research aims to delve into the effectiveness of Muhammadiyah's political articulation, analyze its alignment with its moral principles through the lens of 'Das sein das sollen,' and highlight its potential role in addressing urgent national challenges.

This research will look at Muhammadiyah's political communication from two theoretical perspectives, namely social practice, and construction of social reality. *First*, the perspective of social practice theory from Anthony Giddens

(1938) regarding structure theory. The focus of Giddens's study, the problem of social practice, is the activities of agents/actors, which are interrelated with one another and intentionally or not, consciously, or unconsciously, created through various activities. In the process of social activity by agents/actors, principally based on structure. Structure in Giddens' view is "rules and resources", which are always produced and reproduced, have a dual relationship with the agency, and eventually give birth to various social practices. In Giddens' view, structure and agency must be seen as a duality, two sides of the same coin. The relationship between the two is dialectical which influences each other and take place continuously. Giddens considers that there is no totality of phenomena because the dialectics of the two is not a hidden code as in the notion of structuralism, nor is it the interrelationship of parts of a totality such as the understanding of functionalists. Agencies are not always subject to structures in the form of control (Priyono, 2016).

Second, the perspective of the theory of social construction of reality (Social Constructed Reality) as quoted from Berger & Luckman (1990) in the book *The Social Construction of Reality, A Treatise in the Sociological of Knowledge* (1966). In the perspective of social reality construction theory, agents or humans continuously create a reality that is shared through actions and interactions that are factually objective and subjective. Individual and community actions and interactions are the key to creating and changing community institutions or creating social reality. So the process of social construction takes place in a social space, not a vacuum, in which agents are involved with all their interests.



In the context of previous research and theoretical concepts, this study of Muhammadiyah's political communication has four main reasons: First, Muhammadiyah's political history cannot be separated from the national political dynamics that surround it. Second, as a socio-religious organization, Muhammadiyah's religious views influence its political views. Third, as a social organization, Muhammadiyah has a very strong political magnet. Fourth, the dynamics of Muhammadiyah's political communication, which is responsive to every national political development,t.

Thus, the question to be answered in this study is how the normativity of Muhammadiyah political communication is seen from its historicity praxis as well as through the relationship between normativity and historicity.

METHODOLOGY

This research focuses on the study of normativity and historicity and their implications in the development of the Muhammadiyah political movement. This type of research is qualitative with a constructivist approach. The subject of this research is Muhammadiyah, and Muhammadiyah's political communication is the object of study. The qualitative method was chosen because it places more emphasis on social processes and meanings that are not tested or measured strictly based on quantity, intensity, or frequency, instead on reality based on social experience formed and given meaning (Creswell, 2014).

In addition, the reality of political communication to be revealed in this study is a past event (Daulay & As'adi, 2021). This study uses a historical approach that includes four main steps, namely; (1) heuristics is gathering sources, (2) verification is

historical criticism to test the validity of sources, (3) interpretation is analysis and synthesis, and (4) historiography is storytelling or historical reconstruction (Boncori & Williams, 2023; Frodeman & Briggie, 2016; Mayo-Wilson et al., 2017; Wineburg, 2017)

This study uses primary data sources and secondary data. Primary data sources rely on the results of in-depth interviews with Muhammadiyah figures, especially historical actors. Meanwhile, secondary data sources are in the form of official decision documents of the Muhammadiyah organization, as well as political statements by the Muhammadiyah management as representations that are related to the research objectives.

Technically, the data collection procedure refers to John W Creswell (2014) which shows the steps for collecting data starting from determining the location or individual, then building access and rapport, selecting informants who meet the criteria, carrying out data collection in the field, and returning to the initial step.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Ideology as the Root of Muhammadiyah Political Communication

Muhammadiyah political communication has strong roots in its ideological foundation, which is a source of inspiration and construction as well as practical steps in various organizational activities including political communication.

Since its establishment in 1912 until 2005, various constructions of thought have been born that have become the ideological foundation of Muhammadiyah, namely: Muqoddimah of the Muhammadiyah Statutes of 1945, Characteristics of Muhammadiyah in 1962, Statement of Faith and Aspirations of Muhammadiyah Life in 1968, and Guidelines for Citizens' Islamic Life



Muhammadiyah 2000. This reflects that the ideology of Muhammadiyah is not dogmatic and static, but dynamic, contextual, and open to change.

Muhammadiyah in developing its ideology as the basis of the movement, or "Muhammadiyah's system of beliefs, aspirations, and struggles to create a truly Islamic society". The intended ideology includes (1) Islamic understanding or religious understanding in Muhammadiyah, (2) the nature of Muhammadiyah as an Islamic Movement, (3) Mission, Function, and Muhammadiyah struggle strategy (PP Muhammadiyah, 1968). Thus the political ideology of Muhammadiyah is not only normative but also covers practical/technical matters concerning choices, as a system of struggle to realize Islam as a political ideal or power in the state (Ardianto, 2021).

From Religious Understanding to Political Construction

Muhammadiyah's political communication cannot be separated from religious understanding as its ideological basis. Muhammadiyah's religious understanding can be seen in religious concepts, which are often used as a reference in every step of its political communication, including *ijtihad*, *tajdid*, *jihad*, and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*.

First, *Ijtihad*. *Ijtihad* can be carried out individually or collectively, or following an expert's decision (*ittiba'*) for those who are unable to carry it out. Muhammadiyah, through the Tarjih Council, which was formed in 1927, facilitated *ijtihad* or "formulated" the foundations of Muhammadiyah theology, to end the hegemony of the "four schools" in Islam. In its development, the object of *ijtihad* is not limited to religious issues, but also political issues (Laisouw, 2019).

Second, *Tajdid*. Muhammadiyah is known as a purification movement for deviant religious practices such as

superstition, heresy, and *khurafat* (TBC). The realm of *tajdid* also broadens, touching on social and political practices, because Muhammadiyah must produce changes and creative religious ideas, social and political practices must be touched by *tajdid* as well (TvMu, 2022)

Third, *Jihad*. This doctrine of defending religion is interpreted contextually, including the struggle to uphold religion, the war against ignorance, poverty, decline, moral decay, and human dignity (Ilham, 2022).

Finally, *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*. This movement is not limited to the realm of religion. *Amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* can be used as the basis for political movements in the form of corrections regarding the phenomena of corruption, collusion, nepotism, or political corrections such as preventing the cult of individual rulers (Redaksi, 2020). This doctrinal interpretation legitimizes political activity by elites and Muhammadiyah leaders as a *da'wah* strategy.

From Social Praxis to Political Construction

The charitable potential of Muhammadiyah's efforts to become a large social capital has significant political implications and political power (political magnitude). Muhammadiyah's social capital as well as Muhammadiyah's real political power can be seen in three aspects, namely: the number of members and sympathizers of Muhammadiyah, charitable efforts or social work in the fields of education, health, and other social matters, and the organizational structure network, which is rooted down to the branch level that is village-based throughout Indonesia.

In terms of the number of Muhammadiyah members and sympathizers, in 2019, Muhammadiyah was considered the second-largest Islamic organization in Indonesia in terms of the number of members and sympathizers, with



a total of around 60 million members (Redaksi, 2022).

Even though the number of Muhammadiyah members and sympathizers is relatively small, another strategic value of Muhammadiyah can be seen from the potential of the largest charitable business in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah's charitable efforts bridge the role of Muhammadiyah in involvement in Indonesian civil society. Charity plays a bigger role in maintaining and developing the Muhammadiyah organization as a whole and most supports the spread of the organization to various regions. Muhammadiyah's charitable potential can be seen in the table. 1:

Table 1. Number of Muhammadiyah Business Charities in 2020

No.	Types of Business Charity	Total
1.	Elementary school	2.694
3.	Junior high school (SMP/MTs)	1.722
5.	Senior High School (SMA/Aliyah)	687
6.	Vocational high School (SMK)	278
8.	Islamic boarding school	67
13.	Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah College	162
14.	Hospital, maternity hospital, BKIA, BP	457
15.	Orphanage	318
16.	Nursing home	54
17.	Disability Rehab	82
18.	Aisyiyah Bustanul Athfal Kindergarten	2.289
19.	Extraordinary school	71
20.	Mosque	6.118
21.	Mushola	5.080
22.	Waqf Land	20.945.504

Source: Muhammadiyah Profile Compilation and Publishing Team (2020)

On the other hand, the strength of the organizational network also becomes the political power of Muhammadiyah. The organizational network is not only at the central level, but also rooted down to the district/city, sub-district, and village levels. Muhammadiyah's organizational network can be seen in the following table:

Table 2. Muhammadiyah Leadership Network in 2020

No.	Leadership Level	Total
1.	Pimpinan Wilayah	33
2.	Pimpinan Daerah	417
3.	Pimpinan Cabang	3.221
4.	Pimpinan Ranting	8.107

Source: Muhammadiyah Profile Compilation and Publishing Team (2020)

The relationship between Muhammadiyah social praxis in the form of members and sympathizers, charitable efforts, and organizational networks reinforces the opinion of Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba in *The Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nation* that organizational membership is closely related to political involvement and participation. Organizations that do not explicitly have political goals usually have a greater involvement in politics (Almond & Verba, 2015).

In this context, Muhammadiyah, with its social capital, has a strategic role in building democracy in Indonesia. This is because democracies need social organizations, even if they do not have a particular political nature. They will still serve as a source for social and political engagement. Furthermore, non-political societal organizations usually have vital political ramifications because they can use interrelationship institutions to conceptualize relations between members of society, political parties, and governments. The functions of these social organizations



are, of course, very significant in building democratic life (Cooley & Rieff, 2017).

Muhammadiyah Political Communication Strategy

Muhammadiyah's political communication strategy can be mapped into three interrelated formulas, namely:

1). Faith and Charity Political Communication Strategy

The political communication strategy of faith and good deeds is an attempt by Muhammadiyah to convey political messages that are theological and good deeds as a manifestation of a sense of faith. Muhammadiyah's political communication strategy can be read in several official text formulations, namely: First, the twelve steps of Muhammadiyah produced in 1938-1940, especially point number 1 (deepening the entry of faith), point 2 (expanding religious understanding), point 3 (producing character), and point 4 (guidance of Intiqad).

Second, the six steps of Muhammadiyah in 1947, especially chapter 1 (holding special preachers and preachers in carrying out Islamic da'wah), point 2 (publishing Islamic guidelines for schools), point 3 (giving help to orphans of heroes who fall), and point 4 (aligning worship equipment in Mosques and Surau).

Third, the eight steps of Muhammadiyah in 1950, especially point 1 (to revive the spirit of worship and pure monotheism), point 2 (doing the Islamic religion must be with conviction), point 4 (in the era of independence, more efforts had to be made, especially given that there were rival movements non-Islamic), point 5 (Muhammadiyah struggles in the practice of "bathinul hayatiddunya", while other bodies or political parties struggle in "dzahirul hayatiddunya"), point 6 (movements such as preaching, teaching, PKU, Aisyiyah, and youth, so that the back

and more intensified), point 7 (deepening the sense of Islamic brotherhood in the Muhammadiyah family household).

Fourth, the seven steps of the Basic Strategies of Palembang 1956-1959 include the members personally, especially the leadership of Muhammadiyah, carrying out *uswatun repertoire*, strengthening the organization and tidying up the administration, increasing and enhancing charity, raising the quality of members and forming cadres, strengthening *ukhuwah*, and guiding members' livelihoods.

2). Power Structural Political Communication Strategy

Politics has the meaning of power obtained through practical political forces, namely political parties. Several steps of Muhammadiyah's political communication strategy which are oriented towards structural politics of power are contained in several formulations of the official texts, as follows: first, become a special member of the Masyumi Party. Muhammadiyah's special membership in the Masyumi party is reflected in the Muhammadiyah steps of 1950 known as the eight steps of Muhammadiyah. His entry as a special member of the Masyumi party was only at the level of the central leadership. The slogan echoed by Muhammadiyah members is; that Muhammadiyah is a charity place, Masyumi is a place to fight, and other bodies are places to work (Jung, 2014).

Second, gave birth to the establishment of the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi) in 1968. The establishment of the Parmusi party was by the mandate of the 1966 Tanwir Session in Bandung which was strengthened in 1967 at the Tanwir Session in Yogyakarta, by recommending that the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership initiated the formation of a political forum for Muslims who had not yet party. It was also stated that the



establishment of the Parmusi party was a "joint project" and received a good understanding from the former Masyumi Central Executive. This political step was further strengthened by the 1969 Tanwir decision in Ponorogo, East Java, which was codified under the title Khittah. The clause of Tanwir Ponorogo's mandate regarding political activities: "Da'wah Islam and amar-ma'ruf nahi-munkar as intended must be carried out through two channels/fields simultaneously: (a) State politics channel (practical politics), (b) the channel community (formula number three). Muhammadiyah, as an organization chooses and positions itself as "Islamic Movement and Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar in the Field of Society". As for the means of struggle in the field of state politics (practical politics), Muhammadiyah forms a political party outside the Muhammadiyah organization (formulation number five). This clause is accompanied by a note that seems ambiguous, "Muhammadiyah must realize that: between Muhammadiyah and the party there is no organizational relationship, but still has an ideological relationship (formulation number six)."

Third, even though the outline of politics has been determined several times, Muhammadiyah still stumbles into political currents. A very monumental and sensational event took place in 2004 when the former chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, M Amien Rais, ran for president in the first direct general election in Indonesia. PP Muhammadiyah chairman A. Syafi'i Ma'arif and Haedar Nashir issued a circular supporting the candidacy of M Amien Rais as a presidential candidate.

3). *National Cultural Political Communication Strategy*

Muhammadiyah considers themselves as "moral force" and "interest group" in the dynamics of national life. The

period of intimacy with political parties ended at the 38th Muktamar Ujung Pandang, which issued the 1971 Khittah Ujung Pandang edict regarding the Muhammadiyah Statement (Confirmation) regarding "Muhammadiyah Relations with Parties and Other Organizations" (PP Muhammadiyah, 1971).

Three points of the basic principles of Ujung Pandang 1971 include: (1) Muhammadiyah is neutral towards practical politics and political parties, (2) Parmusi is outside Muhammadiyah, (3) Muhammadiyah gives political freedom to citizens to use or not use their political rights (Nashir, 2009).

The non-political path was emphasized in the decision of the 39th Muktamar Surabaya: Khittah Surabaya 1978, "In the political field, Muhammadiyah strives according to its strategy, by preaching amar ma'ruf nahi munkar in the true sense and proportions. This decision was confirmed by Tanwir Muhammadiyah in Denpasar: Outline of Denpasar 2002, boldly underlined the title: "Basic Strategies of Muhammadiyah in the Life of the Nation and State". Muhammadiyah is neutral towards the world of practical politics, taking part in the dynamics of the nation without being trapped in the function of political parties (Nashir, 2009).

In this case, Muhammadiyah intends to make its organization the basis of moral strength. However, this decision invites multiple interpretations: (1) Muhammadiyah organizationally does not deal with political parties and the world of practical politics, the function of political struggle is attached to organizational cadres with the condition that cadres who are engaged in practical politics should not concurrently, (2) Muhammadiyah carries out politics proactive or moral strength and interest groups that carry out the mission of amar ma'ruf and nahi munkar.



Political roles and political attitudes are expressed through lobbying, public statements or views and demands, friendly relations, cooperation with various components of the nation, and encouraging prevention of acts of abuse of state or government power. Muhammadiyah carries out the role of social transformation for empowerment, liberation, guidance, development, and enlightenment of society or the nation (Haedar,2009).

b. Between Normative and Practical

Every Islamic movement has a strategy to survive, sometimes the Islamic movement takes a purely cultural direction and sometimes squeezes itself with political power. Not a few of the Islamic movements in certain periods turned into political parties, and in other periods they remained as Islamic movements. This reflects the dynamics of the Islamic movement and it is seen as an appropriate strategy to exist.

Muhammadiyah also experienced such a phenomenon. Normatively, the relationship between Muhammadiyah and politics has been regulated in the organization's official documents, which contain normative provisions regarding the outlines of Muhammadiyah as an Islamic movement, da'wah, and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, which are non-political.

Organizationally, since 1971, Muktamar declared itself as having no political affiliation with any political party, not practicing politics, and freeing its citizens to vote in general elections (both legislative elections, presidential elections, and post-conflict local elections). In various formulations of political ideology, Muhammadiyah is positioned as an Islamic movement that preaches amar ma'ruf nahi munkar.

Even so, Muhammadiyah's political strategy is not always linear and not just a formal text. When Muhammadiyah is confronted with objective political context

and reality, the implementation of the normative provisions mentioned above is not simple. There is not always a parallelism between what is written, normative, and aesthetic with what turns out to be or reality.

Historically, the researcher noted four important events related to Muhammadiyah's political decisions related to the implementation of Muhammadiyah's political strategy when dealing with objective political realities as follows: First, Muhammadiyah together with other Islamic figures pioneered the establishment of the Majelis Shura Muslimin Indonesia Party (Masyumi) in 7- November 8, 1945. When the Masyumi Party was formed, there was an acknowledgment that Muhammadiyah needed a channel for political aspirations and struggles, there was also a pledge that Masyumi was the only Islamic political party for all Indonesian Muslim organizations (Syaifullah, 1997).

Second, the recognition of Muhammadiyah's double face by the Old Order and New Order governments, namely Muhammadiyah as a social organization, and at the same time functioning as a political mass organization, so that Muhammadiyah places many of its people in the Central DPR and in the Mutual Cooperation MPR, as well as in the DPRD.. The recognition of mass political organizations occurred at the end of the Old Order government, on January 5, 1966, and was confirmed by three letters at the beginning of the New Order government, namely the letter of Deputy Prime Minister for Social and Political Affairs (Adam Malik) dated April 27, 1966, No. 19/WPM/SP/1966; Letter of the Minister of Home Affairs (Basuki Rachmat) dated June 24, 1966, No. 22/2/32; and the letter of the Minister of Home Affairs dated August 8, 1966 No. 22/2/47 (Syaifullah, 1997).



Third, the Muhammadiyah elite established an alternative Islamic party, namely the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi). The event of Parmusi's birth with Presidential Decree No. 70 dated 20 February 1968 which was initiated by Muhammadiyah and other Islamic figures. The establishment of the Parmusi Party was a manifestation of the mandate of the 1966 Tanwir Session in Bandung and the 1967 Tanwir Session in Yogyakarta. At the Muhammadiyah Tanwir Meeting in 1969 in Ponorogo, East Java, it was the policy strategy or outline of the Muhammadiyah struggle that was decided (Syaifullah, 1997).

Fourth, Muhammadiyah supported the nomination of Amien Rais as a candidate for President in the direct presidential election in 2004. The decision of the plenary session of the Central Executive of Muhammadiyah together with the Regional Chairman of Muhammadiyah regarding Muhammadiyah's policy towards the 2004 elections was signed by A. Syaifi Ma'arif as Chairperson and Haedar Nashir as Secretary on February 10, 2004. Muhammadiyah, according to the decisions of the 2002 Denpasar Tanwir and 2003 Makassar Tanwir Sessions, expressed its full support for Prof. Dr. HM. Amien Rais as the best cadre and former Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive and a reform figure to fight for the continuation of reform and saving the nation in the Presidential election in the 2004 Election.

The four Muhammadiyah political decisions mentioned above when referring to Giddens's structuration view show that the normativity of Muhammadiyah's political communication strategy as a structural strength when dealing with socio-political historicity is faced as dynamics that occur in actors or agents experiencing implementation flexibility. For some internal members of Muhammadiyah, the four Muhammadiyah political attitudes

mentioned above are considered that when dealing with the objective reality of politics, Muhammadiyah has been trapped in activities that can be categorized as practical political activities, which are not the core of the Muhammadiyah movement. Meanwhile, for some others, the flexibility of Muhammadiyah's political communication is considered to be still within the frame of Muhammadiyah's political strategy.

According to researchers, these differences occur because of differences in views in interpreting Muhammadiyah's political outline. On the one hand, some see it in a normative textual perspective, which tends to be structuralist, and some others use a historical contextual perspective which tends to be functional. From a structural perspective, normative textual, it seems that the articulation of Muhammadiyah's political communication has gone too far into the realm of practical politics. Moreover, support for parties such as Masyumi, Parmusi and M. Amien Rais' candidacy is carried out in writing and produced by official organizational forums and mobilized through organizational networks. This causes the Muhammadiyah organizational network to play roles and functions that should only be carried out by political parties.

However, from a functional perspective, and objective historical context, the articulation of Muhammadiyah political communication has always been influenced by the socio-political conditions of its time. Such an articulation of Muhammadiyah political communication has its roots in the Muhammadiyah political culture, which is a link in the chain from pre-independence to the reform era. This at the same time shows that political relations and Muhammadiyah are very dynamic, so an appropriate political communication strategy is needed. Although sometimes normative, the textuality of



Muhammadiyah's political outlines is seen as a deviation but not historically contextual.

Collaborative Strategy

Muhammadiyah's political communication strategy reflects a political communication model that combines two social forces, namely structural strength on the one hand and cultural strength on the other. The cultural approach does not empty Muhammadiyah's awareness of politics. This is in line with the view of D. K. Emmerson (1976) that cultural Islam is not an apolitical Islamic concept. The dimensions and political content are not "who gets what" (who gets what) and focus on gaining power. This kind of Muhammadiyah political communication strategy by David Easton is called the "allocative politics" movement, articulated with Islamic values and ethics inclusively.

The structural/integration approach reconciles Muslim commitments with the practical needs of society through the involvement of "intellectual agents" in the state structure. Thus, the integrative approach aims to transform the prophetic side of Islam in the political process.

The cultural and structural perspectives mentioned above as Muhammadiyah's political perspective communication strategy are in line with Giddens' view of structure and agency, which are seen as two inseparable things. Structure and agency, according to Giddens, must be seen as a duality, two sides of the same coin. The relationship between the two is dialectical, in the sense that structure and agency influence each other, and this goes on continuously, without stopping.

However, what distinguishes the phenomenon of Muhammadiyah political communication from Giddens's thesis is that Muhammadiyah's political

communication model does not only combine social structural power and socio-cultural power, but Muhammadiyah's political communication strategy has a strong theological and ideological foundation as part of its political communication strategy. The collaboration of the power of spiritual values and structural social strength, as well as socio-cultural strength, is carried out optimally by Muhammadiyah in every political momentum and situation. The Muhammadiyah political communication model, which combines these three strengths, is called the Collaborative Political Communication Model or Collaboration Political Communication Model.

In this collaborative political communication model, Muhammadiyah can set one foothold in a certain condition and use the other political foothold in another situation. Or even in certain political realities, step both together. One foothold of Muhammadiyah's political communication is in the realm of social culture, and another foothold of Muhammadiyah's political communication is in the realm of structural politics. The two footholds of Muhammadiyah political communication sometimes take turns, depending on the socio-political situation and conditions that are taking place, but they also sometimes walk together. However, what must be noted is that whatever political steps are taken, they are still within the frame of Muhammadiyah's theological ideology.

We call it a structural political communication strategy when the political struggle uses technical structures and political symbols such as the bureaucracy, state institutions, parties, and all efforts that lead to political decision-making as the main party that becomes the target of messages. Muhammadiyah politics. Meanwhile, the cultural-political



communication strategy, when Muhammadiyah's political messages are more directed only concerning society, is what Ralph Linton calls a design for living or a framework of life, an outline of social behavior (Ralph Linton, 1988).

CONCLUSION

Muhammadiyah Political Communication has roots in organizational ideology, namely the Al-Quran and as-Sunnah which are implemented in religious understanding and social practice. In the implementation of Muhammadiyah political communication, sometimes there is a gap between textual normativity and contextual historicity. Then, Muhammadiyah's political communication strategy is mapped into three big strategies, namely the political communication strategy of faith and good deeds, the political communication strategy of power structure, and the strategy of national cultural political communication, which takes place collaboratively.

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Muhammad Nurul Yamien: Writing-Conceptual Draft, Methodology, Data Curation, Draft Compilation, Investigation, Supervision, Reviewing, and Editing.

DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTEREST

We certify that there is no conflict of interest with any financial, personal, or other relationships with other people or organizations related to the material discussed in the manuscript.

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