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POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF MUHAMMADIYAH AS DIALECTIC OF STRUCTURE AND ACTION

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to understand the socio-politic situation as the source of the political behavioral change of Muhammadiyah post-new order regime and to analyze factors that contribute to that political behavioral change. This study used qualitative approach by perceiving the political behavior changes of Muhammadiyah post-new order regime through the logical inductive scheme and appropriate attention to the socio-political context situation. The result of this study shows that more transparent of political system, nonconductive condition of socio-politics for implementation of reformation programs and doubtful role of political party condition in society politics education, and internal dynamics of Muhammadiyah which are more predominated by intellectual than Muslim Scholar are factors of political behavior friction of Muhammadiyah from accommodative-cooperative to more transparent, critic, and corrective. Meanwhile the duality of structure of Giddens does not fully comply empirical facts on the ground. The duality of structure does not disappear in case of Muhammadiyah. In other words, what has become of duality for a group might still be a duality to the other groups. In order to develop the science, is recommended for further examination about the "enforceability" concept of duality versus duality in certain communities and the factors that support the enforceability. The study also recommends a clear format and comprehensive political policy for the Muhammadiyah.

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INTRODUCTION

Muhammadiyah in connection with the political activities is always 'on' and 'off'. At the very beginning of the establishment, Muhammadiyah declared itself as the *da'wah* movement that make no any contact with any political activities even though some of the figures are the *Sarekat Islam* party member. When Japan colonialized Indonesia, some Muhammadiyah figures established *Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia* (MIAI- A'la Islamic Group of Indonesia) as the Muslim political aspiration media which in which then become Masyumi Party and Muhammadiyah became a special member within the party. Along with the political dynamic of Indonesia, Islamic party hassle does not always have a good break. At the end of 1959's, Masyumi was dispersed by Sukarno; Indonesia first president, due to the accusation of PRRI/Permesta uprising (Al Hamdi, 2012: 4). The political crisis at the end of liberal democracy era had forced Muhammadiyah to take the invisible position in practical

politic activities in the form of *Khitta Palembang* 1959. However, Muhammadiyah interest in political activities raised again in the early of New Order Era by apparently supporting the *Partai Muslimin Indonesia* (Indonesia Muslimin Party). However, the political atmosphere at New Order Era did not benefit the Islamic group as Muhammadiyah become non-aligned with any political party. Muhammadiyah 38th Congress in Ujung Pandang (now Makassar) in 1971 resulted to decision that Muhammadiyah is not allowed to involve in any political party practices. This opinion was then called as *khittah* which stated that Muhammadiyah does not have any affiliation with any political party and give deliberation to the all members on their own political support as long as no contradiction with Islamic rule (Mulkhan, 2004: 31; Nashir, 2008 15-19). Since that time on, Muhammadiyah tend to have a moderate political attitude, accommodative, and cooperative. Muhammadiyah political behaviour conceptualized as actions or efforts of Muhammadiyah allocate a number or value and political superstructure in order to influence the process of decision -making and implementation binding because Muhammadiyah is not a political party and bound by *khittah*. The activity or action Muhammadiyah here understood as not

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in order to seize power seats but function join interest groups in order to control power (Collins, 2010: 7). Political behaviour which mentioned above was assessed according structuralism paradigm developed by Anthony Giddens. This perspective does not see structure and agency as two dichotomous nature of social practices that were born through the dialectic structure - agents, where the structure is not in a position over the individual determinants or otherwise (Lamsal, 2012:113; Donati, 2013: 85).

Giddens saw three major groups are the main structural principles, namely: tagging structure (signification) concerning the symbolic schemata, meaning, naming and discourse; force structure (domination) which includes schemata mastery over the political and goods (economics); structure of justification (legitimizing) or normative regulation or rule of law (Herry-Priyono, 2003:24). On the actor sides, Giddens distinguishes three dimensions of internal actors associated with the hierarchy of consciousness (1984:7), namely the unconscious motivation (unconscious motives), awareness of the practical (practical consciousness), and discursive consciousness (discursive consciousness). Unconscious motivation is the desire to direct the action potential, but not the action itself. Discursive consciousness refers to the capacity of individuals to reflect and give a detailed explanation for his actions, including actions motivated religion (Lichterman, 2012: 30). Practical consciousness refers to the group of practical knowledge that is rarely questioned again and cannot always be parsed.

Based on the above rationale, this study assumes that the political behaviour of Muhammadiyah not be in the vacuum situation. It is in a particular social habitués, which is led by beliefs, values, and certain norms that always be in a specific socio-political context that has been institutionalized. Muhammadiyah political behaviour as understood as a sociological reality: First, due to the structure; established social system that is described by Giddens in three main structural groups: signification, domination and legitimating. Structures that inhibit/suppress (constraining) and also allows (enabling) the actors Muhammadiyah activists and officials perform political acts. Secondly, due to the action of the actor and activist board Muhammadiyah autonomous and creative based on the level of consciousness: unconscious motives, consciousness practical and discursive consciousness. Muhammadiyah political behaviour post-New Order change from accommodating - cooperative into open, critical, and corrective behaviour. It is seen in various statements and political actions played by Muhammadiyah, both formally through organizational and Muhammadiyah leaders and top officials. This is the objective of this study find a scientific explanation regarding the shifting views of the situation and the socio - political context of the shift into the well as the factors that have promoted a shift in the political behavior.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study used a qualitative approach. Through this approach, researcher is trying to understand the political behaviour of Muhammadiyah through inductive logic flow with adequate attention to the socio - political context accompanied by theocentric awareness action. In addition to using the data

obtained directly from the field through observation and interviews, this study also utilize the information that has been documented, such as books, research, journals, scientific papers, organizational decision, organizational letter and official decree of Muhammadiyah. Observation and in-depth interviews were also conducted to obtain the maximum data in order to gain a deeper understanding behind the phenomenon of Muhammadiyah political behaviour changes. The focus of the observation was made to "life tables" that are expressed in social practices, and expressions of activists and officials of Muhammadiyah that related to political actions. Before this study conducted, there has been "accidental" observation of political action of Muhammadiyah figures that frequently appear in the medias, both print and electronic medias. In order to find the meaning behind the "life table" as stated above, documentation and observations require further understanding explored by conducting in-depth interviews (in -depth interviews), especially to agents or social practitioners, in this case the activists and officials of Muhammadiyah. In here the applied analysis of strategic is utilized for structuralism research (Giddens, 1984:288-289). This means, the researcher gave more attention to the discursive and practical consciousness by focusing on the activities of certain groups of actors in contextual situations. The process of data collection and interpretation take place simultaneously and are taking place simultaneously throughout the research process. The processing and interpretation of the data apply interactive models offered Miles & Huberman (1994), in which the process of data collection, data reduction, data presentation and verification / inference is that cycle processes take place simultaneously and interact with each other.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Socio-political Context of Muhammadiyah after New Order

Changes in Political System

A more open political system since the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998 allows Muhammadiyah articulate political roles freely and openly. As one of national component Muhammadiyah feel obliged to implement a political reform agenda in the development of a more democratic political atmosphere. Moreover, the reform movement has been led by one of the best cadres and former chairman of Muhammadiyah, M. Amien Rais. In this context Muhammadiyah together with other pro - reform involved the birth of the National Mandate Party (PAN) and appointed M. Amien Rais as first chairman.

Reform Agendas Not Running as Mandated

The general elections and general assembly in 1999 had delivered K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) as the fourth President of Indonesia. This gave new hope for resolution and improvement of the nation's future in the sense of corruption, collusion and nepotism free. However, after three months running the government, the trust and legitimacy gradually disappeared following the controversial policy issued by government in addition of Bruneigate and Buloggate scandal. The peak of rejection to the government caused conflicts that

lead to the issues of first and second House of Representatives Memorandum Decision to bring down the President. Observing the uncertain condition of the nation, Muhammadiyah sees the need of national leadership in efforts to rescue the constitution. Therefore, there should be wisdom, sincerity and great statesmanship to allow the rescue the national trust. Muhammadiyah has become a "big tent" of the nation in carrying the Gus Dur's candidacy for president again feel compelled provide moral support to Megawati to take national leadership in the rescue effort for the sake of the constitutional future of the nation. In the era of President Megawati's political situation a little more stable. Compared to Gus Dur, Megawati appeared calmer, orderly and not like a controversial maneuver. But as long as he leads, implementation of reformation also exhibit serious treatment. Low capability, unclear vision and inability to communicate causes the wheel to become ineffective in governing the nation. Thus, megawati's leadership failure in the reform mandate started to disappoint many people. Some group of people, include students who had helped paved the way for the appearance of the rule started shouting aloud "*reformation has died*". National leadership crisis is one important reason why multidimensional crisis effort has shown no significant progress, even prone to setbacks.

Although there had been encouragement provided and moral support to perform as president replacing Gus Dur, Megawati Sukarnoputri figure is not an ideal leader for the Muhammadiyah. Encouragement and support solely as a rescue effort after the national leadership of Gus Dur lost legitimacy and morality of the House and the people of Indonesia. For the sake of political stability, the position remains secure Megawati as president until 2004. Parties to support and lift it give assurance to maintain it. However, looking at the leadership of Megawati's inefficacy resolve the problems of the nation Muhammadiyah argued that in the 2004 elections required a leader who is more agile and more willing to take important decisions in governing the country in order to purge corruption and save the nation's economy and roll back the wheel of national reform. In Megawati's leadership, the perceived agendas stalled. Muhammadiyah political stance that requires a change of national leadership after the 2004 elections reflected in Statement issued March 9, 2003. Statement, among others, states that prolonged multidimensional crisis in the nation's body caused by errors and irregularities in the basic care of the state / government, rampant corruption, political and economic policies that are not democratic, non-authoritative leadership and loss of confidence, as well as conditional factors that are not able to be controlled by a system of national life that is already vulnerable. Political attitudes and behaviour of Muhammadiyah post- New Order more open and critical appears it cannot be separated from these organizations concerns the multidimensional crisis experienced by the nation of Indonesia, even after fifteen years after the reform hoist. Muhammadiyah will always try to straighten Mecca nation today has much deviated from the constitution

Political Party Dependence on Community Organisations (ORMAS)

This has become a tradition that whenever general election is held in this country, the organization has always been an object

of mass politics. Community organisation or ORMAS is a non-political mass base is politically advantageous. Therefore, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and other mass organizations has always been an easy target for political parties to seek support. The existence of political parties in Indonesia affected the flow of political organizations, almost all political parties to make the mass organizations as the mass base of supporters and activists and leaders of organizations make the recruitment source of political party leaders. The number of activist organizations involved in political parties, making organizations cannot be separated completely from practical politics. The conditions of political parties that have not had enough independence and confidence was, of course, still raise some doubts among the community about how the political party would educate the community. Moreover, activists and party officials in general is still relatively "new entrants" in the political arena so untested idealism and commitment to the interests of the nation. These conditions, making organizations such as Muhammadiyah feel morally compelled to do political education to the people in accordance with his personality as a missionary movement commanding the good and forbidding the evil.

Democracy Implementation has not Resolved National Problem

According Syafii Maarif, the implementation of democracy in Indonesia is still in groping stage. The reason is that democracy since independence in 1945 has not resulted to the expected results. Currently the national immoral index is nearly perfect while some political players are behaving immorally. New Order Era in practical did not bring welfare but suffering. For Muhammadiyah, political reform is not just the implementation of procedural political democracy, but also having to resolve the substance of national problems that can rise from adversity, include selecting the national leaders who capable to govern in good governance style. When the nation is worrying and lose confidence in their leaders, Muhammadiyah charged with a leader in the emerging political *ijtihad* (serious effort) all done in the framework of propaganda commanding the good and forbidding the evil for the sake of the safety of the nation. Muhammadiyah is not satisfied if the nation's large and potentially torn apart by certain parties in the interests of a group or class and is instantaneous.

Muhammadiyah Internal Dynamics

Political behaviour of Muhammadiyah post-New Order regime cannot be separated to internal dynamics of Muhammadiyah and it also relates to the opinion development and friction of Muhammadiyah leadership from Muslim scholar to intellectual. Muhammadiyah in a period of New Order power, especially under leadership by K.H. AR Fachruddin (1971 - 1990) and K.H. Ahmad Azhar Basyir (1990 - 1994) tend to behave the cooperative-accommodative. Political policy of New Order which tend to "resistant to Islam" forces Muhammadiyah present the warier politics behavior and also more signaling of *amar ma'ruf* principles (inviting to do a kindness) than principles of *nahi munkar* (preventing badness). This matter is also supported by culminate leader character of Muhammadiyah at that time presenting cold leadership style, clever, wise as its position as Muslim scholar.

Appearance of Amien Rais at the top elite of Muhammadiyah in 43th congress in 1995 in Banda Aceh brought the significant change to political behavior of Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah under Amien Rais' leadership was the first time led by an intellectual, namely figures who not based on the traditional religion education (*pesantren*). As intellectual, Amien Rais had the ability to analyze and deeper understanding of social data of recent politics which have implication to the appearance of Muhammadiyah national schema. Based on the high class political strategy and also visionary leadership, Amien Rais brought new face to political behavior of Muhammadiyah that show coherence and bravery to do the criticism openly to New Order deviation. Besides Amien Rais, other Muhammadiyah elites are also predominated by intellectual group. This indicates that the Muhammadiyah have entered the new generation of leadership which is beyond of Muslim scholar control. Under leadership of Amien Rais which is dominated by intellectual, Muhammadiyah is more assertive and opened to criticize to government deviation (New Order).

Ending of regime of New Order followed by the democratization process, it creates also new phenomenon in life of Muhammadiyah community as it is also experienced by other community in Indonesia. The New phenomenon is in the form of changes of orientation and political choice in General election of multi-party of 7 July 1999. The birth of National Commendation Party (PAN) led by Amien Rais also brings the new political growth among Muhammadiyah. Almost of most elite and citizen of Muhammadiyah in various active levels are as initiator of forming PAN and also a lot of among those who become the manager or head of PAN. In certain limited, attendance of PAN creates the political emulation among internal members of Muhammadiyah. This matter is caused by though most elite and active citizen of Muhammadiyah support the PAN, some of other still support the old party like Party of Development Association (PPP), Functional Group (Golkar) as well as supporting new party outside of PAN like Party of Star-Month (PBB) and Justice Party (PK). This Islam Society Organization is more progressively plural since political articulation of Muhammadiyah activist is more various.

Variety of orientation tendency and this political choice of Muhammadiyah citizen settle the neutral position of Muhammadiyah to political party and progressively confirm the strategy of high politics as choice in articulating its politics importance of nation and state life.

Political Behavior of Muhammadiyah as Dialectic of Structure and Action

Significant structure as elaborated above suppose the certain "interpretation frame" about meaning of Muhammadiyah discourse as religious movement and *tajdid* which does not join to practice politics but still care and active to political attitude of nationality. Muhammadiyah considers the political aspect as integral part and is not locked out of by Islam rule. In this case, politics is viewed as one of life aspect as one part of in business of *muamalat duniawiyah* which its execution loaded with the *ijtihad* opinion of human being. Based on to such political theology, Muhammadiyah considers the important and does not reject the politics. Since Muhammadiyah does not stay in the vacuum world, hence

consideration of socio-politics context become very urgent in specifying struggle strategy. Pursuant to past experience having the character of traumatic to practical politics and consideration of social-politics context as elaborated previously, Muhammadiyah chosen to struggle in non-political practice band. Muhammadiyah articulates the politics role as interest group through strategy of high politics. Political action and attitude of Muhammadiyah relied on structure representing rule and resources (both rule pursuing and powering). *Khittah* have limited the Muhammadiyah for having practical politics orienting to power. But by same *khittah* have also given the facility for Muhammadiyah to act actively in nationality politics in order to develop good governance and civil society. Political behavior of such Muhammadiyah reflects the fact of duality. Image as religious organization and *tajdid*, self competence related to human resources, economic, and also organizational method, and also norms of applicable law in this fatherland represent the component of structure building which is counted forever and meant as size measure in specifying political actions and steps of manager and activist of Muhammadiyah in agency level.

On the contrary, organizational method in the form of *khittah* and other organization decisions represent the individual awareness of Muhammadiyah citizen in structure level. Political action of Muhammadiyah is not structure predominate manifestation for individual as functional structural perspective view and or social fact paradigm, and also is not result from individual free desire as social action paradigm view. Political behavior and attitude of Muhammadiyah is result from structure duality, namely dialectical between structure and agent. Sometimes political discourse or idea of Muhammadiyah emerge from Muhammadiyah managers individually and then responded by Muhammadiyah organizationally. Idea of high politics and forming of PAN come from political and *ijtihad* idea of Amien Rais himself and then responded by Muhammadiyah through *Tanwir* of Semarang. On the contrary, organization orders which have been specified formally responded by individual of Muhammadiyah as basis for action as shown at *khittah* implementation in citizenship life.

Conclusion

Political behavioral friction of Muhammadiyah post-New Order regime is caused by relative democratic of political system and uncertain condition of socio-politic, and political party condition depending to Society Organization. Muhammadiyah internal dynamics is also predominated by intellectual as factor of the political behavior change. The change of political system and leadership predominated by intellectual brings Muhammadiyah to be more critic and free to articulate its political role with the "safety principle" without haunted by the care of existence of threat and trouble for religious organization of Muhammadiyah. Besides, uncertain condition of socio-politics post-New Order regim becomes moral obligation for Muhammadiyah to do political expansion in order to saving nation. Included in this matter, political party condition in this time still depends on society organization because the society organization is considered as especial bases of political mass. In order to develop the science, is recommended for further examination of the "enforceability"

concept of duality versus duality in certain communities and the factors that support the enforceability. The study also recommends a clear and comprehensive format of its political policy. As a propaganda organization, Muhammadiyah cannot be separated from political interests. However, until now Muhammadiyah does not have a mechanism of political accountability to its members who involve into practical politics. In reality, Muhammadiyah members who choose to struggle through political channels practically as if have unlimited freedom to express their political interests without any control mechanism from the organisation.

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