

The Political Movement of the Muhammadiyah Youth Exponent in Supports the President and Vice President Candidates in the General Election

Gerakan Politik Eksponen Pemuda Muhammadiyah dalam Mendukung Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden dalam Pemilu

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Received: January 21, 2022; Revised: February 8, 2022; Approved: February 25, 2022

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini berfokus pada strategi gerakan politik yang dilakukan oleh eksponen pemuda Muhammadiyah yang berkumpul di Gedung Indonesia Maju (RIB) dan Aliansi Pencerah Indonesia (API). Dalam hal ini eksponen pemuda Muhammadiyah adalah kader-kader muda Muhammadiyah yang pernah mengikuti proses pengkaderan dan secara struktural pernah mengabdikan diri di organisasi-organisasi otonom Muhammadiyah. Dalam membaca strategi gerakan politik tersebut digunakan kerangka teori gerakan sosial, yaitu struktur peluang politik, mobilisasi sumber daya, dan framing aksi kolektif. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dan analisis menggunakan software Nvivo 12 plus. Data penelitian diperoleh dari hasil wawancara, studi dokumen, dan penelitian sebelumnya yang saling berkaitan. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa para kader muda Muhammadiyah menyadari bahwa persatuan Muhammadiyah saat ini semakin menempati posisi strategis pemerintah. Tumbuh dan berkembangnya kesadaran tersebut telah memacu konstruksi pemikiran strategis, taktis dan futuristik di tengah banyaknya pilihan strategis dan artikulasi politik. Munculnya gerakan politik pada pemilihan presiden 2019 yang digagas oleh kader-kader muda eksponensial pemuda Muhammadiyah menjadi bukti adanya polarisasi yang terjadi pada kader-kader yang berdiaspora dalam ranah politik nasional.

Kata Kunci: Strategi Politik, Eksponen Pemuda Muhammadiyah, Pemilihan Presiden

ABSTRACT

This research focuses on the political movement strategy carried out by young Muhammadiyah exponents who have gathered in the Progressing Indonesia House (RIB) and the Indonesian Pencerah Alliance (API). Young Muhammadiyah exponents in this case are young Muhammadiyah cadres who

have attended the cadre process and structurally have served in Muhammadiyah autonomous organizations. In reading the strategies of the political movement, a theoretical framework is used, namely the structure of political opportunities, mobilization of resources, and framing of collective action. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach and the analysis uses the Nvivo 12 Plus software. The research data were obtained from the results of interviews, document studies, and previous research which were related to each other. The results of this study indicate that young Muhammadiyah cadres realize that the Muhammadiyah Association is currently increasingly occupying a strategic position, both in its existence and as a strategic partner of the government. The growth and development of this awareness has spurred the construction of strategic, tactical, and futuristic thinking amidst many strategic choices and political articulations. The emergence of a political movement in the 2019 presidential election which was initiated by Muhammadiyah young exponential cadres is proof that there is a polarization that occurs in Muhammadiyah young cadres and indirectly becomes a fighting arena for cadres who are diaspora in the realm of national politics.

Keywords: Political Strategy, Muhammadiyah Youth Exponent, Presidential Election

INTRODUCTION

The intricacies of Muhammadiyah's relationship with the State can be seen clearly in the course of history. Muhammadiyah's political role is described as experiencing ups and downs: the sweetness of the honeymoon and giving to each other, the bitter and the bitter that are applied to the trauma of being marginalized (Syahputra, 2014). Muhammadiyah is not trapped in a traumatic political confusion. In this era of liberal electoral politics, of course, Muhammadiyah must be proactive in empowering it so that when it supports and provides various important positions. So that it does not create the impression of inconsistency and confusion when it comes to conveying political policies (Arifin, 2018).

The public will always evaluate and wait for the accuracy of Muhammadiyah's political actions with the principle of benefit, the nation, and the people. Inconsistency of attitudes, especially when there is an action and choice of political practice between Muhammadiyah at the local level and actions at the central level, will be in the public spotlight (Amalia, 2019). To

raise support for the form of Muhammadiyah organization for candidates for DPD members, as happened in the Special Region of Yogyakarta and South Sulawesi in the 2014 election, apart from abandoning the “standard”, it is also considered contradictory. on the policies issued by the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership (Nashir et al., 2019)

So that Muhammadiyah is to revive its national political function. In one field it strengthens Muhammadiyah's political position even though it remains on a non-political path, in another, it increases the participation and political role of cadres (Budiman & Mulyer, 2019). Muhammadiyah officials need to know so that they are not wrong in choosing strategic options and political articulations (Saepulah, 2020). It is needed and encouraged to see political cases and problems in stages: critical strategy, interests, massive-systemic impact, and so on, as well as skills at the right moment to decide on political strategy (Argenti, 2017). Thus, Muhammadiyah can help this nation and country to stay on the right path in realizing an advanced, just, and prosperous Indonesia.

Awareness of Muhammadiyah's strategic position and role in the global and domestic spheres is the agenda and needs of all members of the organization, especially young Muhammadiyah cadres. Agenda in the sense of a series of practical events and activities (unity between practice and reflection) from the process of understanding Muhammadiyah's position and relations in internal and external dynamics and constellations (Sholikhin, 2018). The need from this perspective is that understanding Muhammadiyah's strategic position will be the rung that will guide it up and at the same time the pillar that can ignore the progressive transformative power of the ages.

It is time for strategic elites and even young Muhammadiyah cadres to seriously realize that this organization is now increasingly occupying a strategic position both in its existence and its role as a strategic partner of the government. The growth and development of this awareness will spur the construction of strategic, tactical, and futuristic thinking in many strategic

choices and political articulations (Noor, 2018). The political movement driven by young Muhammadiyah cadres in the 2019 presidential election shows a very constructive role for Muhammadiyah cadres in the national political arena.

Several strategic agendas are designed by young Muhammadiyah cadres who are ready to take full action in the national political arena (Anshari et al., 2019). Their determination, without waiting for Muhammadiyah's helping hand, they will move to develop and channel their potential and abilities to fill the articulation space of politics, law, economics, and others, in a much wider field than having to scramble to fill positions in Muhammadiyah charity (Nashir et al., 2019).

Cadres calling themselves young exponents of Muhammadiyah gathered at the Home Indonesia Progress (RIB) forum which supports the presidential candidate pair Joko Widodo and vice president Ma'ruf Amin, and the Indonesian Lightning Alliance (API) which supports the presidential candidate pair Prabowo Subianto and Vice President Sandiaga Salahudin. Uno. Young Muhammadiyah exponents, in this case, are young Muhammadiyah cadres who have participated in the cadre process and served structurally in Muhammadiyah autonomous organizations (Nurmandi et al., 2015). There are still some Muhammadiyah youth exponent movements that in the 2019 presidential election carried out national political *ijtihad*, both supporting the candidate pairs of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno.

Research is needed to examine the two Muhammadiyah youth exponential movements that are members of the Indonesian Maju Home (RIB) and the Indonesian Enlightenment Alliance to find out the political strategies used to support each candidate pair supported in the 2019 election. Many previous studies have examined the involvement of the Muhammadiyah youth generation in the 2019 election. As research by Anshari et al., (2019) examines the socialization of the role and position of the Muhammadiyah youth force in the 2019 election; Sukmawati & Rafni (2020) examined the involvement of the

youth organization of the Muhammadiyah Student Association in carrying out political education in the 2019 election; Suharto et al. (2021) examine the participation of Muhammadiyah Youth cadres in the 2019 elections; Redhani (2020) examines the involvement of KAMMI in the socialization of the 2019 Election to the millennial generation. The number of previous studies that examined the involvement of the Muhammadiyah youth in the 2019 elections was limited to studying socialization, political education, and participation in the 2019 elections.

Based on the literature review, it can be seen that there are minimal studies that compare the two Muhammadiyah youth exponential movements in winning the two pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 2019 election. Therefore, this study aims to examine the two Muhammadiyah youth exponential movements in winning the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. president in the 2019 election. The research focuses on the study of political strategies to find out how the two movements work in winning the two pairs of candidates supported. So that the results of the study can show how the two Muhammadiyah youth exponential movements work in winning the two pairs of supported candidates. To make it easier for researchers to examine the political strategies of the two movements, researchers use social movement theory which divides four dimensions including structure of political opportunities, resource mobilization, and framing of collective action (McAdam et al., 2001).

RESEARCH METHOD

The type of research used in this research is descriptive qualitative. This type of qualitative research helps researchers to explore and understand the meaning in more detail of the political strategies of the two young exponential movements of Muhammadiyah, namely Rumah Indonesia Berkemajuan and the Alliance of Indonesian Enlightenments in winning the

two pairs of candidates in the 2019 General Election (Creswell, 2019). Sources of data in this study are divided into two, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from in-depth interviews with several resource persons from Rumah Indonesia Berkemajuan and the Alliance for Enlightening Indonesia. While secondary data was obtained from several scientific articles, social media, and books that have relevance to the research being studied. The data analysis technique in this study uses an interactive model technique (Miles & Huberman, 1992), which is a data analysis technique that divides three dimensions in the analysis including data reduction to sort primary and secondary data according to research needs, data presentation, namely writing the results of data sorting and finally drawing conclusions to find out the results of the study. In addition, data analysis was also carried out using Nvivo 12 plus software with a crosstab analysis feature to make it easier to reduce research data and word similarity to facilitate secondary data analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In reading the strategies of the young Muhammadiyah exponent's political movement, the social movement approach is used, namely the structure of political opportunities, resource mobilization, and framing of collective action (McAdam et al., 2001)

Strategy for Forming Socio-Political Movements

The following are the results of data analysis using the Nvivo 12 Plus Software, the Crosstab Query-Rate feature related to the strategy for the formation of socio-political movements in figure 1:

According to the data graph above, it shows that the Jokowi-Ma'ruf candidate pair who were driven by young Muhammadiyah exponents, namely Rumah Indonesia Progress in a framing strategy aimed at Muhammadiyah millennial circles amounting to 50%. This value turns out to be comparable to the Prabowo-Sandi candidate pair driven by the Indonesian Enlightenment

Alliance, which also received 50% targeting Muhammadiyah members. This shows that the framing strategy driven by RIB and API has the same advantage in targeting their respective mass bases.

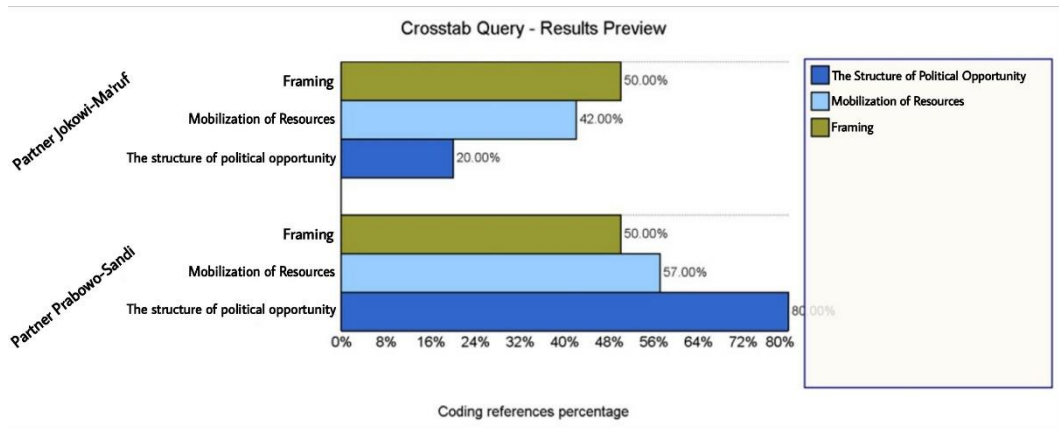


Figure 1. Strategy for Forming Socio-Political Movement

Source: Data Processed by the Authors, 2022

The political movement strategy used by Rumah Indonesia Progress in order to support the presidential and cawapres pair Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin is to be more incessant in media framing which is massive, structured and systematic and concentrates on informal networks targeting Muhammadiyah millennial circles. because of kinship and fraternal relations that have a common mission in supporting the candidate pair Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin. The framing was intensively carried out through social media and several declarations made by the volunteer team of the Rumah Indonesia Progress.

Furthermore, the Indonesian Pencerah Alliance (API) concentrated on the formal Muhammadiyah network, which structurally had the same political opportunity in supporting candidate pairs Prabowo Subianto and Sandiag Uno. This is supported by the presence of Prof. Suyatno as general treasurer of PP Muhammadiyah who served as the Steering Committee. This strategy is implemented by optimizing the role of Muhammadiyah's main cadres in mastering new ideas and identities. The implementation of this strategy

requires the capacity and competence of Muhammadiyah activist cadres in framing fresh and always renewable ideas, the identity of the movement, and the challenges that will be faced. In addition, skills are needed in diagnosing elements and stakeholders, defining problems and their sources, predicting elements that will move to become dominant, and identifying strategies in solving problems that arise.

This framing is important to build collective awareness and at the same time reinforce and strengthen the militancy of Muhammadiyah when dealing with outsiders. The organization's cadres try to bring and communicate the organization's ideas, identity, position and attitude in various matters to the target groups that have been determined, such as the media, political parties, government officials and the international community. Furthermore, in terms of resource mobilization carried out by API on the Prabowo-Sandi pair, 57% were more dominant in moving Muhammadiyah members structurally and culturally, this was superior to the Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair who were driven by RIB, amounting to 42% who were driven by Muhammadiyah millennial circles.

The mobilization structure is a collective vehicle, both formal and informal, of an organization, this vehicle which will later mingle in collective action. The Indonesian Pencerah Alliance (API) concentrates on the formal Muhammadiyah network, which structurally and institutionally has the same mission in supporting candidate pairs Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uni. Meanwhile, Rumah Indonesia Progress (RIB) concentrates on informal networks that target Muhammadiyah millennials and are established because of kinship and brotherhood who have a common mission in supporting candidate pairs Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin. From the structure of the mobilization mechanism, the space for the mechanism for the structure of political opportunities and framing of action will open up (Nashir et al., 2017).

Furthermore, in terms of political opportunities obtained by RIB for the Jokowi-Ma'ruf candidate pair of 20% and API for the Prabowo-Sandi pair 80%. The emergence of RIB and API is considered as a momentum of political

opportunity for Muhammadiyah youth cadres who have a diaspora in the realm of national politics. It is undeniable that the political contestation for the presidential election, which apparently also involved Muhammadiyah members, went quite hard and even led to fears and conflicts that would break the life of the people and the nation. Because of that, several times PP. Muhammadiyah reminded Muhammadiyah members in particular to maintain good morals, respect differences and maintain national unity so that Indonesia remains intact and follows / obeys the existing laws and regulations when there is a dispute over the election results. Furthermore, the researcher also presents a political strategy driven by young Muhammadiyah exponents in the 2019 presidential election, as follows figure 2:

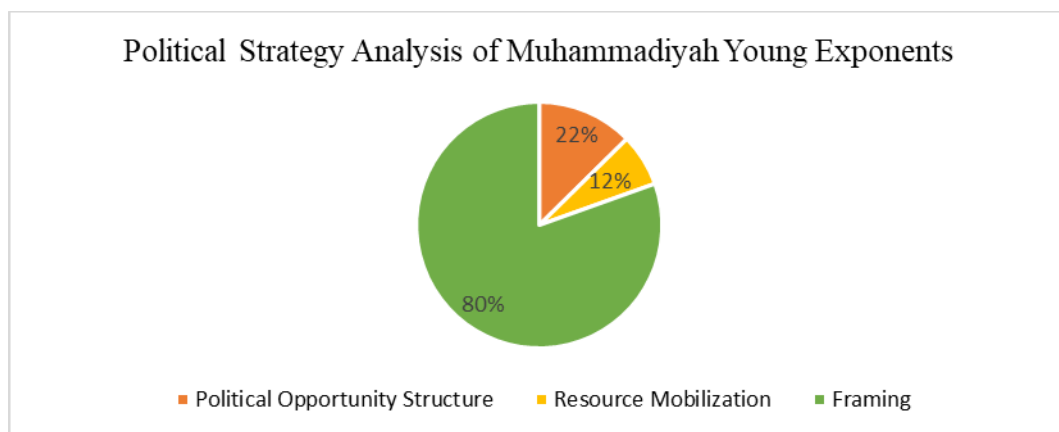


Figure 2. Political Strategy Analysis of Muhammadiyah Young Exponents

Source : Data Processed by the Author, 2022

According to the graph presented, it shows that the two young Muhammadiyah exponents were more prominent in playing framing with a score of 66% aimed at each mass basis. Furthermore, the political opportunity reached 22% and then the mobilization of the resources obtained 12%. The social movement strategy with a political opportunity structure approach, resource mobilization, and action framing has similarities between the Progressing Indonesian House and the Indonesian Pencerah Alliance, which are both driven by young Muhammadiyah exponents who have national political *ijtihad* during the 2019 Presidential election, the realm of the base.

the target masses differ only from the perspective of age (Jurdi, 2010). Furthermore, the researcher presents the social media analysis data for the two young Muhammadiyah exponential movements described figure 3 above:

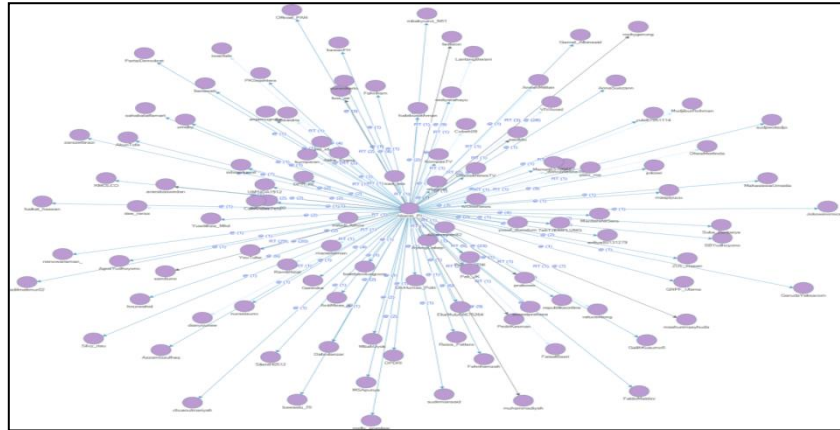


Figure 3. Young Exponential Movement of Muhammadiyah

Source: Data Processed by the Author, 2022

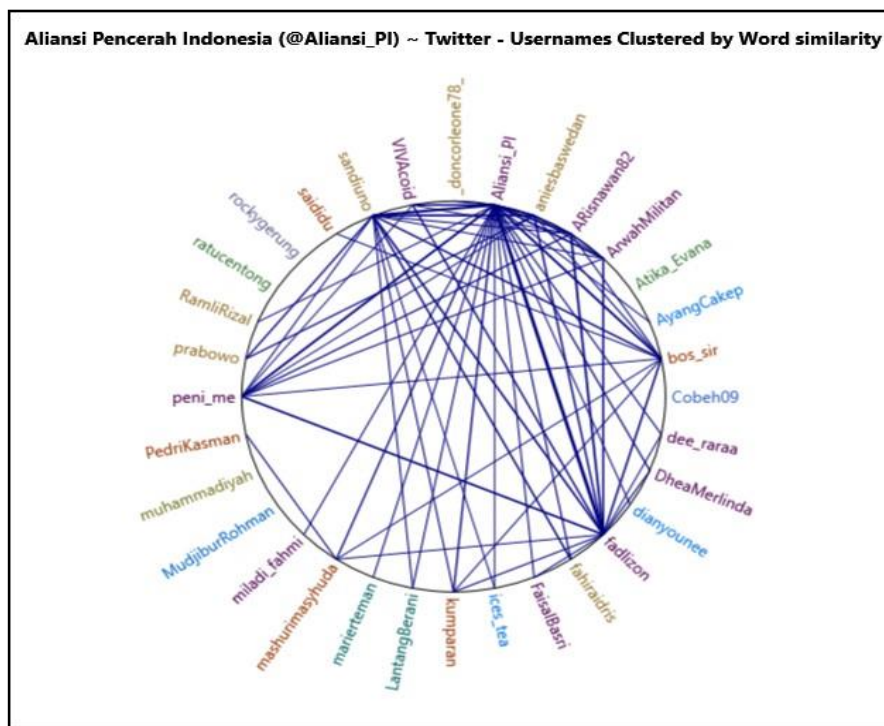


Figure 4. Young Exponential Movement of Muhammadiyah

Source: Data Processed by the Author, 2022

According to the data presented in figure 3 and figure 4 above, it shows that the young exponential movement of Muhammadiyah, namely the Indonesian Pencerah Alliance, has a cyber team that is on social media and is

moving massively. Several influential actors or accounts have direct contact with the Prabowo-Sandi candidate pair (Nashir et al., 2019). This indirectly affects resource mobilization and framing aimed at the mass base through social media. Furthermore, the researcher presents similar data but this time based on hashtag (#) which is a massive and structured step in forming framing to mobilize a mass base, which of course raises a variety of issues 555(Nubowo & Jefferson, 2019).

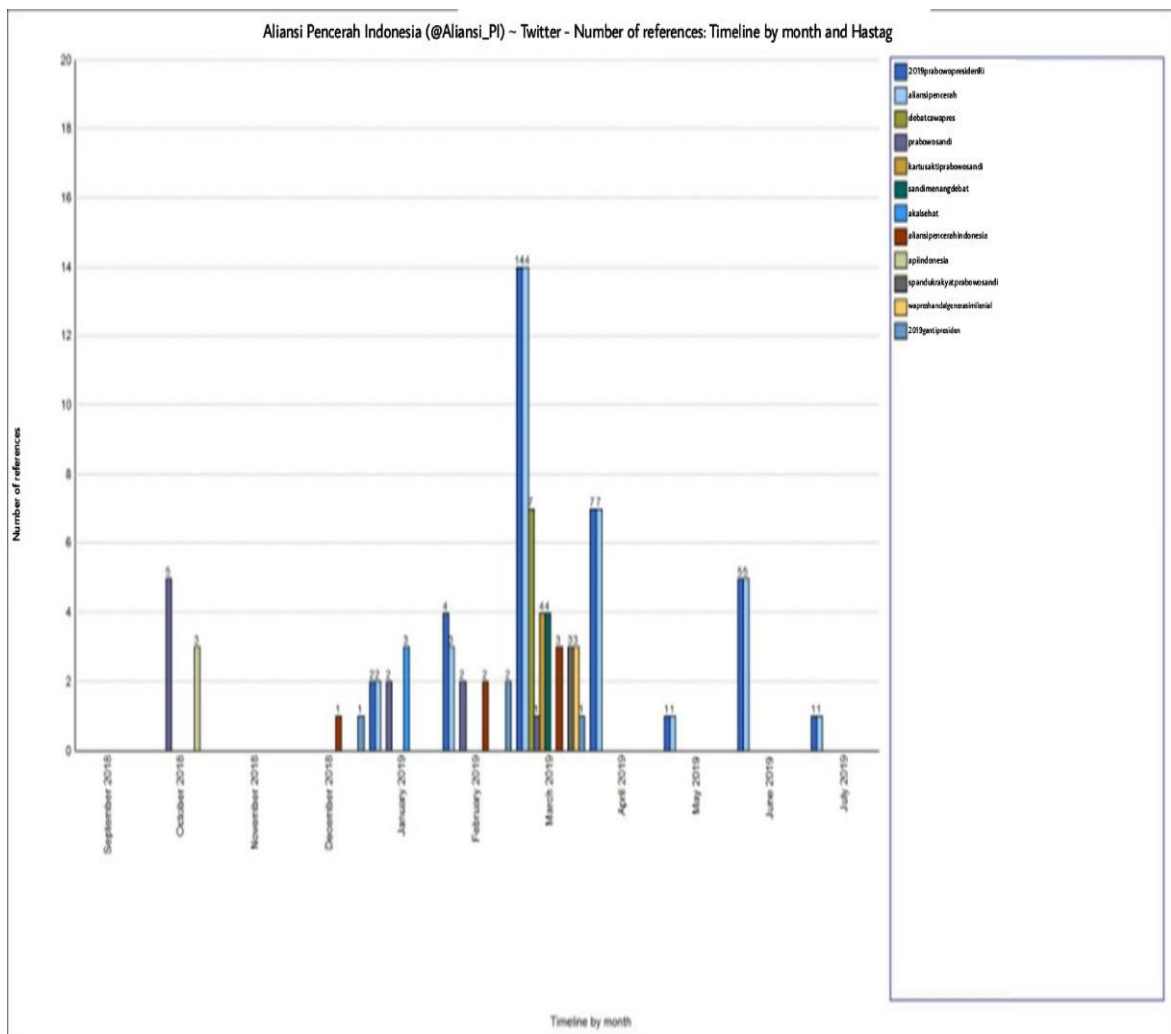


Figure 5. Onslaught of the Media Universe

Source. Data Processed by the Author, 2022

The data figure 5 above shows that the "onslaught of the media universe" began in October 2018, which in the narrative presented by the researcher in the discussion above that the API began to declare in March

2019, but the movement in social media has been done long before (Al-hamdi, 2013). And in that month the entire cyber team of the Indonesian Enlightenment Alliance mobilized various issues in the form of hashtags on a large scale. What can be seen in the data above that the most dominant are (# 2019prabowopresidenri) and (#aliansipencerah). Until it started receding in April 2019. Furthermore, the researcher will present similar data, but this time it is the movement of young Muhammadiyah exponents who are members of the Progressing Indonesia House (RIB).

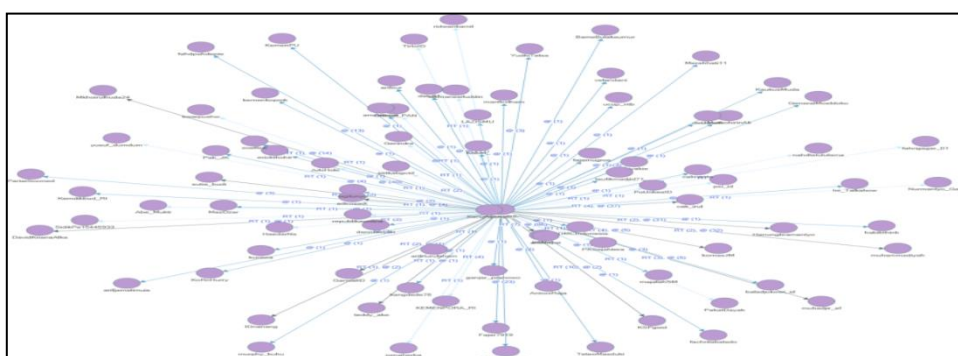


Figure 6. Media Framing Driven

Source: Data Processed by the Author, 2022

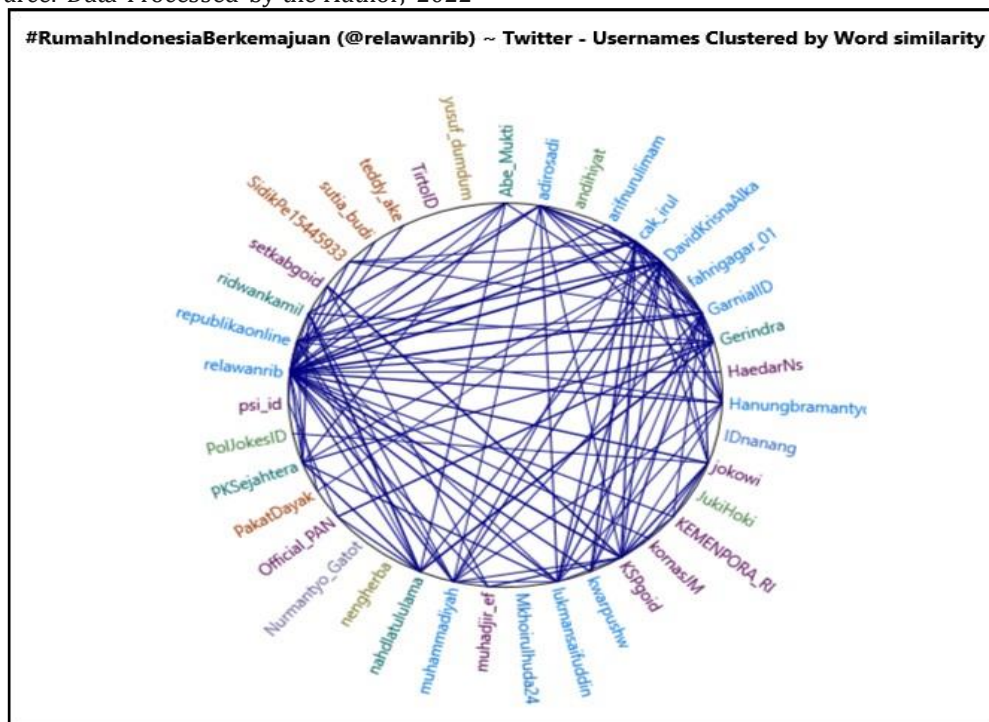


Figure 7. Media Framing Driven

Source: Data Processed by the Author, 2022

Based on figure 6 and figure 7, it shows that the media framing driven by the Progressing Indonesia House is massive, structured and systematic. What makes it interesting is that several social media accounts belonging to the government and political parties which during the campaign declared to be the opposition candidate for the Jokowi-Ma'ruf candidate pair also participated in the framing process (Solokhin, 2018). Furthermore, the researcher tries to present similar data, but according to the issues being rolled out, or more familiarly known as hashtags. See figure 8.

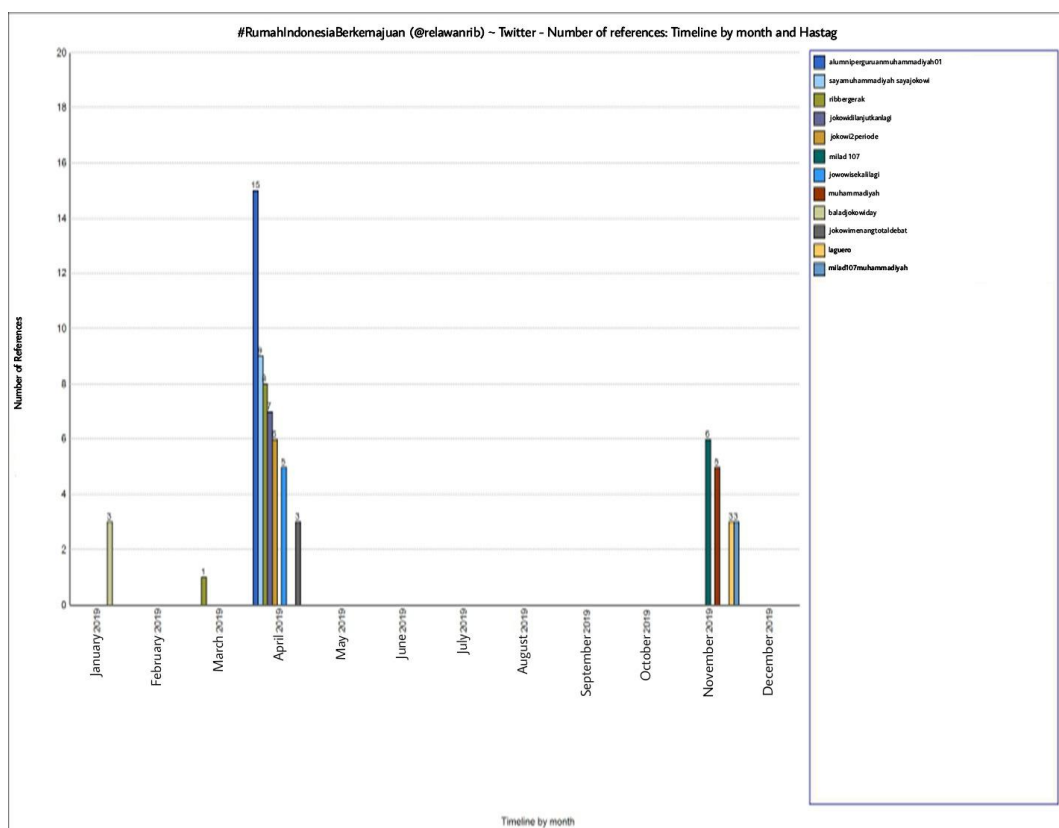


Figure 8. Media Framing Driven

Source. Data Processed by the Author, 2022

From the analysis of RIB's social media accounts, it shows that the movement started in January 2019, until it continued on a large scale in April 2019 by rolling out hashtags (#alumniperguruanmuhammadiyah01) and (#sayamuhammadiyahsayajokowi), this indirectly targeting the mass base which is Muhammadiyah campus alumni and Muhammadiyah members who support the Jokowi-Ma'ruf candidate pair but do not dare to voice their

aspirations, because the majority of Muhammadiyah residents are mobilized to support the Prabowo-Sandi candidate pair.

CONCLUSION

Muhammadiyah gives freedom to its cadres to be involved in the political process, but still keeps Muhammadiyah from being scattered because of politics. This is where maturity and understanding are needed so that in the face of political turbulence, Muhammadiyah can still survive. One of the most important things is to maintain communication and friendship between Muhammadiyah cadres. Muhammadiyah also prioritizes deliberation in every important decision making and becomes a common reference for all members of the Association. As for the political movement strategy used by the Progressing Indonesian House in order to support the presidential and vice presidential pairs Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin, they are more incessant towards massive, structured, and systematic media framing. What makes it interesting is that several social media accounts owned by the government and political parties which during the campaign declared to be the opposition candidate pair Jokowi-Ma'ruf also participated in the framing process and concentrated on informal networks targeting Muhammadiyah millennials and were established because of the relationship. kinship and brotherhood who have a common mission in supporting the candidate pair Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin. From the structure of the mobilization mechanism, the space for the mechanism for the structure of political opportunities and framing of action will open up.

Furthermore, the Indonesian Pencerah Alliance (API) concentrated on the formal Muhammadiyah network, which structurally and institutionally had the same mission in supporting candidate pairs Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno. This is supported by the presence of Prof. Suyatno as general treasurer of PP Muhammadiyah who served as the Steering Committee. In general, the political movement strategy used with the political opportunity

structure approach, resource mobilization, and action framing has similarities between the Progressing Indonesian House and the Indonesian Pencerah Alliance, which are both driven by young Muhammadiyah exponents who have national political *ijtihad* during the 2019 Presidential election. , the realm of the mass base that is targeted is Muhammadiyah members, both in structure and culturally and only with different age points of view.

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