STRENGTHENING CITIZEN POLITICAL EDUCATION TO MUHAMMADIYAH YOUTH

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Abstract: Islamic education as an agent of social change must always be dynamic in responding to all the problems that exist in society. The existence of youth organizations such as Pemuda Muhammadiyah must be able to provide new views and be proactive in carrying out activities including civic democracy. The method used is qualitative, primary data obtained from in-depth interviews with 8 purposively selected informants, especially those who are actively involved in running the organization. Observation of documents related to the implementation of organizational programs will produce secondary. Data analysis was carried out simultaneously during the data mining process using the interactive analysis model offered by Huberman and Miles. The results obtained are that Muhammadiyah Youth needs space in the context of self-existence, namely through strengthening the politics of recognition and redistribution. The research conclusions are that Muhammadiyah Youth to be able to build balanced power relations through their activists and institutionally can begin with the educational process and organizational learning in organizations outside of school, namely the Muhammadiyah Student Association and the Muhammadiyah Student Association.
Keywords: Democracy, Education, Muhammadiyah Youth.

Introduction

Youth as part of a community group in a democracy is defined as 'demos'. The main idea of democracy presupposes the existence and active role of citizens. The dominant formal democratic discourse at this time does not emphasize the existence of citizens in demos but on the idea of politics and the state as mere background. The practice of formal democracy like this took place massively in the reform era, not only at the state level but also spilled over to the smallest units in the village. Even horizontally, the practice of formal democracy is referred to as a reference in various mechanisms for selecting leaders in various social organizations, including the Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah.

Success in carrying out the practice of formal democracy in an orderly manner amidst the diversity, large population, and vast territory of Indonesia, has attracted the attention and assessment of various international institutions to the point that Indonesia has achieved what they call the Big Bang of Democracy (democratic explosion)[1]. However, this achievement has not given any meaning to the interests of the people, because it is still not able to guarantee the interests of the people substantially, even though the end of the implementation of a democratic system in the interests of the people themselves. Moreover, in reality, after successfully recording achievements with formal democracy, the democratization process in Indonesia is suspected to have stalled.[2]

Formal democracy with its various democratic institutions and institutions is indeed important as a frame for the democratization process, but it must be remembered that it is only useful when accompanied by transformations in the actual balance of power between various groups in society. This transformation process demands our critical power on existing power relations to prevent the hijacking of democratic institutions and institutions by the interests of oligarchic groups while at the same time making it possible for ordinary people, the populist sector, and also the middle class to fight for their rights.

In such a point of view, the urgency of citizenship as a series of citizen struggles – from the grassroots level to the middle class, including youth organizations – in getting justice in the form of cultural recognition, socio-economic redistribution, and political representation found

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[1] Simon Jenkins, *Big Bang Localism A Rescue Plan For British Democracy:* (London: Policy Exchange, 2004).

[2] Eric; Hiariej and Kristian Stokke, *Politik Kewargaan Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2018).

momentum. In this regardHiariej called citizenship a struggle against power relations that politically, economically, and culturally oppress and exclude certain groups of people. The essence of this struggle is the demand for cultural recognition, socio-economic redistribution, and political representation.

The struggle for this recognition is generally aimed at the state and other dominant forces in society. The argument from this study asserts that citizenship is formed and practiced through political struggle.[3] Using the citizenship theory mentioned above, this article tries to elaborate on education in the Muhammadiyah Youth movement in strengthening its civic identity, especially in obtaining cultural recognition and socio-economic redistribution.

Studies on youth struggle to gain recognition were carried out by several researchers, for example, Minza who concluded that the identity construction of the Youth Movement was often used as a basis for political action in demanding citizenship, but also became political action itself.[4] Furthermore, it was found that the Youth Movement is a movement that seeks to seize space for the expression of identity, both social and cultural, rather than based on interests. They represent different forms of action, often on a continuum between affirmative and transformative recognition politics and redistribution politics. Other Youth Movement education researchers lead to the same conclusion as that identity construction is often used as a basis for political action in demanding citizenship, but also becomes political action itself.[5]

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[3] Emma; Jones and John Gaventa, *Concept of Citizenship: A Review* (England : Institute of Development Studies, 2002); Cindy Horst, Marta Bivand Erdal, and Noor Jdid, "The 'Good Citizen': Asserting and Contesting Norms of Participation and Belonging in Oslo," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1671599; Margaret R. Somers, "Citizenship and the Place of the Public Sphere: Law, Community, and Political Culture in the Transition to Democracy," *American Sociological Review* 58, no. 5 (October 1993): 587, https://doi.org/10.2307/2096277; Veera Ilona Iija, "An Analysis of the Concept of Citizenship: Legal, Political and Social Dimensions," 2011.

[4] Hiariej and Stokke, *Politik Kewargaan Indonesia*.

[5] Arif Widodo, "Transformative Intellectual Discourse and Movement of Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM) ," *Iseedu: Journal of Islamic Educational Thoughts and Practices* 1, no. 1 (2017); Mochamad Sodik and B.J Sujibto, "The NU's Youth Among The Radical Movements in Yogyakarta," in *Proceedings of the 1st Annual Internatioal Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities (AICOSH 2019)* (Atlantis Press, 2019), 19–24, https://doi.org/10.2991/aicosh-19.2019.4; Tafadzwa Tivaringe and Ben Kirshner, "Learning to Claim Power in a Contentious Public Sphere: A Study of Youth Movement Formation in South Africa," *Journal of the Learning Sciences* 30, no. 1 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1080/10508406.2020.1844713; Thomas; Robbins, Dick; Anthony, and Thomas Curtis, "Youth Culture Religious Movements: Evaluating the Integrative Hypothesis," *The Sociological Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1975); Mitsuo Nakamura, "He Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of

Determining the focus of the study on the identity of Muhammadiyah Youth is not intended to overstate the formal legality of Muhammadiyah Youth as a Muhammadiyah Autonomous Organization. The legal status of the Muhammadiyah Youth is still understood as the basis of citizenship behind this study. Next how the existence of Muhammadiyah Youth is fought for from the injustice created by the existence of hegemony both internally in the organization and externally in the community that is the essence of the struggle for its citizenship identity. Thus, the struggle for the identity of the Muhammadiyah Youthunderstood as the result of struggle, struggle and struggle to gain recognition in society or other groups. Stokke said that this was an effort in the context of political recognition of culture (recognition), politics in the context of welfare (redistribution), and political representation.[6]

This study begins by identifying various forms of collective action of Muhammadiyah youth in translating their role as cadre organizations (people cadres, nation cadres, organizational cadres) and the existence of activists who feel oppressed or excluded by circumstances and struggle to demand recognition of identity (cultural) and social redistribution. -economy.

Referring to these problems, this study aims to examine the various struggles of Muhammadiyah youth in demanding their citizenship rights in several sectors (recognition, socio-economic, and representation), as well as how these struggles are placed in a larger structural context, both within the organization and within the organization. on the dynamics of democracy at the local level. The argument formed from this study is that citizenship is formed and practiced through a series of social movements against injustice. This movement is in the form of a series of their struggles to gain cultural recognition, the right to social-economic redistribution, and the right to political representation both within the organization and within the context of the dynamics of local government.

As the research assumption about "Power, Welfare, and Democracy"[7] that this study is expected to be able to equip Muhammadiyah

the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c. 1910s–2010," *JSTOR*, 2016, https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.101.0121; Mark Senter, "The Youth for Christ Movement as an Educational Agency and Its Impact upon Protestant Churches, 1931-1979 Impact upon Protestant Churches, 1931-1979" (Loyola University Chicago, 1989); Peter Selten, "THE RELIGIOUS FORMATION OF YOUTH. CATHOLIC YOUTH MOVEMENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS FROM 1900 TO 1941," *International Journal of the History of Education* 29, no. 1 (1993), https://doi.org/10.1080/0030923930290109.

[6] Hiariej and Stokke, *Politik Kewargaan Indonesia*.

[7] Purwo Santoso, "Power, Welfare and Democracy: What Should the Major Priorities in Research? " (Yogyakarta, August 26, 2010).

Youth Activists in critically assessing democratic practices at the local level. This will equip and lead activists to an understanding of their opportunities and challenges reconstructing its existence both as a youth movement and part of the strength of Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah in formulating policies for sustainable cadre education patterns. The findings of this study are also valuable for the democratic movement at the local level because it can be a provision to face the challenges of democratization in Indonesia in the future.

This study uses a qualitative method, describing the implementation of democracy in the perspective of Islamic education through the activities of the Muhammadiyah Youth to fight for its citizenship politics. Primary data were obtained from in-depth interviews with eight informants who were selected purposively, especially those who were actively involved in carrying out organizational activities. Secondary data was obtained through observation because researchers interacted intensely with research subjects and documents related to the Muhammadiyah Youth organization. Simultaneously with data collection, data is processed and analyzed during the data mining process using the interactive analysis model offered by Huberman and Miles which consists of data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and concluding.[8]

Islamic Education and Democracy

Islamic education as an agent of social change must be able to overcome problems that move dynamically and proactively towards progress and improve the way of thinking in youth. In general, education is the most important aspect for efforts to foster democratic attitudes and behavior[9] including in a youth organization group. In Islam there is no term democracy, Islam only recognizes the term deliberation. Therefore, deliberation is used as the main basis in various activities of community life.

Based on the concept of deliberation in Islam, the idea of democracy emerged, namely the idea that all political processes must be based on participation, freedom, and equality. There are three views on Islam and democracy.[10] First, Islam and democracy are two different political systems.

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[8] A. Huberman and Matthew Miles, "Understanding and Validity in Qualitative Research," in *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion*, 2012, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412986274.n2.

[9] Ulfa Masamah, "Democracy and Education Islam," *Ta'dib* 20, no. 2 (2015), https://doi.org/10.19109/td.v20i2.219.

[10] A; Ubaedillah and Abdul Rozaq, *Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan (Civic Education): Pancasila, Demokrasi, HAM, Dan Masyarakat Madani*, 3rd ed. (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2010).

Islam cannot be subordinated to democracy because Islam is a self-sufficient political system. Second, this second group agrees with the principles of democracy in Islam. However, it recognizes the difference between Islam and democracy. Third, Islam is a value system that justifies and supports a democratic political system as practiced by developed countries. Islam in itself is democratic not only because of the principle of shura (consensus) but because of the concepts of ijtihad and ijma (consensus).

Democracy and Social Movement Concept

The social movement is defined as a movement that encourages changes related to politics and public policy. This social movement has been used as an alternative to actions taken by community groups in overcoming the weaknesses that occur in the formal political system and policies that have been made by the government.[11] The existence of community resistance movements or social movements is a form of opposition to changes in public policy or political and social changes at the local, national and international levels. The existence of this social movement is of course also based on an acknowledgment of certain groups to show their existence on a government stage.

The study of social movements can be seen from two mutually contradictory approaches.[12] First, social science theory sees social movements as a positive phenomenon and can be used as a means of constructing social change. The second is a theory that sees social movements as problems that are identified with the ills of society, in this case, social movements are seen as always triggering conflicts from the structure of functionalism. In sociological theory, the structure of functionalism is that all the institutions in the social structure are all related and influence each other.[13]

Spencer mentions there are seven types of social movements when viewed from the point of view of their goals,[14] namely: (1) the Conservative Movement, which is a simple movement devoted to maintaining and safeguarding the values and ways of life of the group; (2) Reactionary

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[11] Dimpos Manulu, "GERAKAN SOSIAL DAN PERUBAHAN KEBIJAKAN PUBLIK Kasus Perlawanan Masyarakat Batak vs PT. Inti Indorayon Utama,Di Porsea, Sumatera Utara," *Populasi*, 2016, https://doi.org/10.22146/jp.12066.

[12] Mansour Fakih, *Masyarakat Sipil Untuk Transformasi Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1966).

[13] Idil Akbar, "DEMOKRASI DAN GERAKAN SOSIAL (BAGAIMANA GERAKAN MAHASISWA TERHADAP DINAMIKA PERUBAHAN SOSIAL)," *Jurnal Wacana Politik*, 2016, https://doi.org/10.24198/jwp.v1i2.11052.

[14] Oman Sukmana, *Konsep Dan Teori Gerakan Sosial* (Malang: Intrans Publishing, 2016).

Movement, namely a movement that wants an existing order to be returned to the past order, because it considers the past order to be better than the current one; (3) Reform Movement, which is a movement aimed at improving the problems that arise at this time, such as movements related to civil society rights; (4) Revolutionary Movement, is a movement that seeks to overthrow the current government, this movement can also use violence to achieve its goals; (5) Religious Movement (religious movement), is a social movement that aims at religious matters, such as mystical; (6) Ethnic or Nationalistic Movement (Ethnic Movement / Nationalist) is a movement that is currently very important in making a change around the world; and (7) the Utopian Movement, which is a movement that has a long-term goal, namely wanting a new type in a society that is different from the current one.

Democracy and Citizenship Politics

Common understanding views citizenship as the legal (formal) status of a citizen along with the rights and active citizenship associated with that status.[15] This study uses the modern concept of citizenship offered by Stokke, which views citizenship as formed from four dimensions, namely: membership, legal status, rights, and participation.[16]

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[15] Gerard Delanty, *Citizenship in the Global Age: Culture, Society and Politics* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000); Christian Joppke, "Immigration and the Identity of Citizenship: The Paradox of Universalism," *Citizenship Studies* 12, no. 6 (2008), https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020802450445; Keith Faulks, *Citizenship* (London: Routledge, 2000).

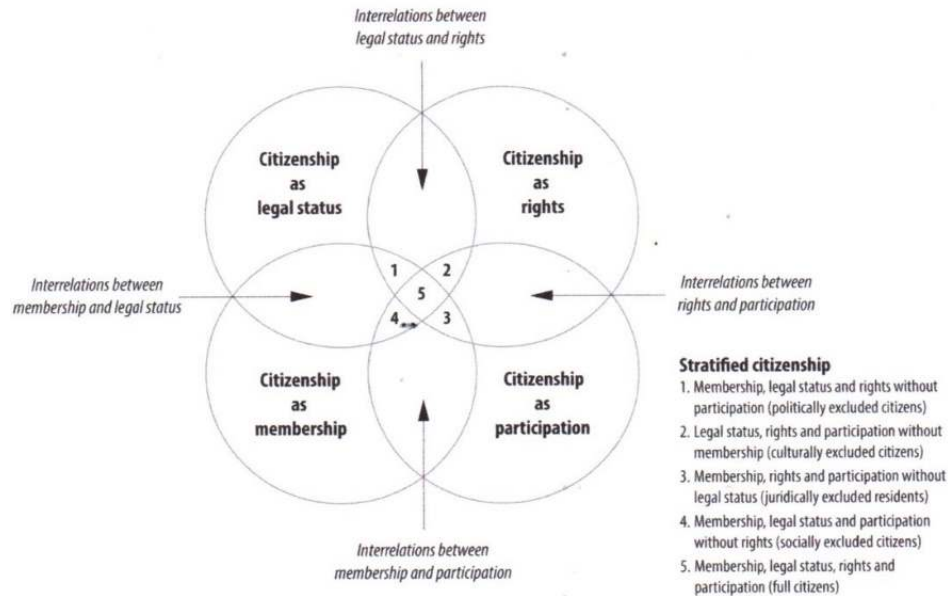[16] Hiariej and Stokke, *Politik Kewargaan Indonesia*.

Figure 1. 4 Dimensions of Citizenship

These four dimensions are key components that are interrelated and form each other. Demonstrate different starting points and potential priorities in understanding citizenship as a comprehensive framework without being tied to any one dimension or perspective. The membership dimension is the basis of legal status, which then has an effect on the structuring of various rights and participation as citizens. Although the four dimensions appear to be presented linearly and sequentially, according to Stokke, the interrelationships between the four dimensions are very complex and multi-directional. The citizenship dimension is a complex entry point and foothold as well as political processes that are always open in fighting for citizenship.

Citizenship is often just a foreign formality in the socio-cultural context that should be transformed. In fact, what is more, important in this case is the question of the existing power relations, which allows for the process of forming subjects – instead of citizens – and the main struggle against subjectivization. In this case, citizenship becomes a struggle against power relations that politically, economically, and culturally oppress and exclude certain groups of people. Therefore, Stokke defines civic politics as a struggle over injustice to gain recognition of substantive and institutionalized membership, legal status, rights, and participation or in other words the

struggle for cultural justice, legal, social and political status. The core of this struggle is the demand for cultural recognition (membership and legal status), recognition of redistribution rights (rights), and recognition of political representation (participation). In general, these demands are aimed at the state and other dominant hegemonic powers. Every individual and the social class tries to construct their civic identity as an effort/demand to obtain cultural recognition (recognition politics), enforcement of social and economic justice (redistribution politics), and representation.[17] Strategies to meet the demands of citizenship can take place by keeping a distance or by engaging directly with hegemonic power holders.

Muhammadiyah Youth in Ponorogo Regency

Pemuda Muhammadiyah is one of the autonomous organizations that accommodate the potential of the young generation in the Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah. As an autonomous Muhammadiyah organization, Pemuda Muhammadiyah is a struggle organization that aims to collect, foster, and mobilize the potential of Muslim youth for the realization of organizational cadres, ummah cadres, and national cadres to achieve Muhammadiyah goals, so that every movement and step must be an embodiment of Islamic teachings.

The Muhammadiyah Youth Organization is located at the central, regional, regional, branch levels, even up to the branch (village). Currently, the Muhammadiyah Youth Organization, especially in Ponorogo, has one Regional Leadership unit with 79 management members and 15 Branch Leadership units, each of which has 50 management members, plus thousands of members spread over hundreds of branches throughout the Ponorogo district.

As an autonomous organization from the second-largest religious mass organization in Indonesia, the existence of Pemuda Muhammadiyah, including those in Ponorogo, is formally unquestionable for reasons of age, the number of members, as well as its role and function in nurturing youth. Its "legal" status as the only autonomous youth organization within the Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah at least provides legitimacy, space, and opportunity for actualization in the community. Parallel to this assumption, the Articles of Association of the Muhammadiyah Youth emphasize the role and function of the Muhammadiyah Youth as the pioneers, organizers, and

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[17] Jan Hesselberg, "Politics of Citizenship in Indonesia," *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography* 74, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 72–72, https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2020.1733652.

perfectionists of Muhammadiyah's charities so that they are required to be able to position themselves as part of the Amar ma'ruf nahi Munkar da'wah movement, especially among young people. Based on these assumptionsMuhammadiyah Youth in Ponorogo Regency as a large organization is expected to be able to transform in all aspects of life.

The formal recognition and legal status of the existence of Pemuda Muhammadiyah as an autonomous organization in Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah do not need to be debated. However, as acknowledged by the administrators and their activists, the existence of Pemuda Muhammadiyah Ponorogo in a fairly long period until the 2010s, substantively its existence is not widely taken into account both internally and externally by Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah. His presence was only limited to being an accessory with all his uniform labels and formal roles representing the youth component on various ceremonial agendas, both internal and external to the Muhammadiyah Association.

Its existence and capabilities as a cadre organization as well as a pioneer as the roles and functions defined in the articles of association did not surface either due to limited capabilities or the hegemony of greater power. Internally, for example, the opportunity and a very limited role for Pemuda Muhammadiyah to hone and show their abilities during policy orientation and domination by their seniors is a challenge and the reality of injustice experienced. Meanwhile externally, the currents of socio-political dynamics have worked within the rules of the game as well as the control of the actors, which feels far from the traditions and reach of the habits of the Muhammadiyah Youth.

In addition to internal problems ranging from the spirit and ability of the management, weak consolidation and limited cadres are some of the strategic problems that affect the existence and role of Muhammadiyah Youth. Although the regeneration process is carried out periodically according to the term of service, it is difficult to get cadres designed through the Baitul Arqom training mechanism, especially at the branch and rating level, which is always experienced by Muhammadiyah Youth so that the organization does not get the cadre supply it needs. Of course, this results in organizational activities and acceleration in responding to dynamics both within Muhammadiyah and during community life.

Muhammadiyah Youth as a Social Movement

The social movement is defined as a movement that encourages changes related to politics and public policy. In this regard, social movements are used as alternative actions taken by community groups in overcoming weaknesses that occur in the formal political system and policies that have been made by the government. Understanding the existence of Pemuda Muhammadiyah as a social movement means placing Pemuda Muhaamdiyah as a movement that is expected to be able to encourage political and policy changes both within the Muhammadiyah Persyarikatan and at the existing local government level.

This role is certainly not excessive because as a youth organization from Indonesia's second-largest mass organization, Muhammadiyah Youth, including in Ponorogo Regency, has strong legitimacy and networks, both among Muhammadiyah Youth throughout Indonesia or with other social movement groups and the media as a source of disseminating information and ideas in taking action. together. So that the requirement that Muhammadiyah Youth as a social movement is fulfilled.[18] Moreover, as a social organization with its collective identity as cadres and pioneers, it will mobilize Muhammadiyah Youth to utilize the resources they have to play the intended role. As emphasizedJohnston & Klandermans with a collective identity (collective identity), there will be mutual interaction and sharing produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and focus their orientation on the action and the opportunities and constraints where the action occurs.[19]

Social groups in their actualization always want to have a clear identity and status in the social structure, so it is assumed that Muhammadiyah Youth will try to maintain its existence in the public sphere by using the resources they have. This normative logic is recognized by Muhammadiyah youth administrators and activists, but the internal political reality of Muhammadiyah Youth and the hegemony of rules and other major forces both within Muhammadiyah and in society has become a separate trap for the actualization of Muhammadiyah Youth. In such a socio-political construction, As a social movement, of course, there is not much that can be done to encourage changes, both at the level of policies, rules of the game, or socio-political dynamics both internally and externally of Muhammadiyah.

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[18] Jeremia Ronaldo H, "Memahami Gerakan Sosial Lama Dan Gerakan Sosial Baru ," https://jendelakita.id, June 1, 2020, https://jendelakita.id/uncategorized/memahami-gerakan-sosial-lama-dan-gerakan-sosial-baru/.

[19] Hank Johnston, *Social Movements And Culture*, *Social Movements And Culture*, 2013, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315072562.

That's why since Muhammadiyah Youth management for the 2010-2015 period along with the program implementation agenda, organizational steps are taken by carrying out consolidation, especially managing the organization at the branch and branch level and preparing cadres, both organizational cadres, functional cadres, and da'wah cadres to strengthen the organization's da'wah agendas in suburban areas. Furthermore, in the 2015-2020 management period, amid efforts to assert self-identity to gain cultural recognition and socio-economic and political rights as a youth organization both internal and external to Muhammadiyah, consolidation steps continued to be strengthened and expanded, including penetration efforts to gain opportunities. and space plays a wider role in socio-economic and political dynamics during people's lives.

This is done as part of the construction of self-identity that is parallel to the struggle for citizenship rights (citizenship politics). This identity construction becomes the basis for the action to fight for socio-economic rights, including the right to political representation. In producing and adopting their identity, internally Muhammadiyah youth have to deal with the hegemony of policies and the role of seniors in the ranks of Muhammadiyah leadership, the social stigma attached to their status as pioneers, and regeneration organizations. Meanwhile, from an external perspective, the consolidation and penetration of the movement were carried out as part of a form of adaptation and adjustment to be able to play socio-political roles amid a single interpretation of the authorities regarding dynamics, order, and stability.

Islamic Education in Citizenship Democracy: Strengthening the Politics of Recognition and Redistribution

Every individual and the social class tries to construct their civic identity as an effort/demand to obtain cultural recognition (recognition politics), enforcement of social and economic justice (redistribution politics), and representation.[20] The study in this sub is intended to examine the various struggles of Muhammadiyah Youth in demanding citizenship and rights carried out in some sectors, as well as how these struggles are placed in a larger structural context, particularly in the dynamics of Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah and socio-political dynamics at the local level. The argument formed from this study is that citizenship is formed and practiced through a series of movements or struggles against injustice.

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[20] Hesselberg, "Politics of Citizenship in Indonesia."

In general, this struggle is carried out with two strategies, namely by keeping a distance or getting closer to the dominant power, both internally at the Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah and the local government through discursive and non-discursive methods. The discursive method is intended as an effort to examine the weaknesses of the existing rules and regulations to obtain improvements. While the non-discursive method refers to protest actions, making petitions, lobbying, and building networks with various key forces for the success of the struggle. In this way, it is possible to open up opportunities for the fragmentation of the struggle as a reflection of the diversity of injustices and their positions in Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah and society, and at the same time are also influenced by the existing socio-political dynamics.

First, the Politics of Recognition. The politics of recognition or the struggle for recognition of the identity of the community as a youth organization is a central issue for peopleMuhammadiyah Youth. The construction of identity (legal status) as a youth group parallels its struggle for citizenship rights (citizenship politics), and this becomes the basis for the actions or struggles of Muhammadiyah Youth in gaining recognition and their citizenship rights, both redistribution and representation rights. For Pemuda Muhammadiyah, legal status as an autonomous youth organization does not automatically provide a way to gain recognition, legitimacy, as well as the substantive meaning of its existence both internally and externally.

As a social movement, Muhammadiyah Youth must carry out the construction of its civic identity as an effort/demand to obtain cultural recognition (recognition politics), enforcement of social and economic justice (redistribution politics), and representation.[21] This sub-discussion begins by identifying their various forms of collective action in translating their roles and functions as youth organizations (which in the articles of association are referred to as cadres) as well as the existence of activists who feel oppressed or excluded by circumstances that demand recognition.

The phenomenon that their existence is excluded internally and externally is an undeniable political reality that has occurred for a long time and is recognized by its administrators. In Muhammadiyah internally, various policies and formal rules of the association (from the leadership and business charities) have become a limit as well as a narrow space for youth. Muhammadiyah to get recognition and show its existence. Existence is the same as not existing because its existence is only limited to fulfilling the completeness of the organizational structure of the Muhammadiyah

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[21] Ibid.

organization. This can be traced from the attitudes and policies of the Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah, where Muhammadiyah Youth is traditionally only addressed within the framework of an institutional ceremony.

The limitation if it cannot be said that there is no acknowledgment of the presence of Pemuda Muhammadiyah as a youth entity also occurs externally. For some reason, because of the dominant cultural framework, they are often treated like they are not part of the community so that they are not considered as citizens – as in general the existence of citizens – who can claim their rights. Dynamics and changes in the field of youth and society continue to take place by proclaiming without considering the presence of Muhammadiyah Youth, an ironic fact amid their clear presence in public areas. The dominance of cultural power externally is one of the reasons,

Realizing this reality, since the management for the 2010-2015 period, efforts have been made to continuously improve through consolidation steps, increasing the capacity and capability of both individual administrators and institutions to strengthen their identity and regain self-recognition for their existence as a youth organization. In general, a strategy of collaboration and self-involvement is chosen while occasionally keeping a distance from the dominant forces that exist as part of the organizational strategy. Meanwhile, the methods taken to interact with power are more non-discursive than discursive, such as petitioning, protesting, lobbying,

Internally, Muhammadiyah builds narratives and opinions on its existence as a cadre, which is continuously produced both individually by its activities and collectively to strengthen the penetration of the existing hegemony. Audience forums are often chosen by Muhammadiyah Youth to submit petitions and protests against various policies of Muhammadiyah leaders and Muhammadiyah business charities which are seen as non-linear with the interests of Muhammadiyah and Muhammadiyah Youth. The last thing is their critical attitude in responding to the leadership's decision to provide pragmatic (financial) support for the 100-day program of the Ponorogo Regent-Vice Regent for the 2020-2024 period, while at the same time many Muhammadiyah agendas require large funds. In addition, to strengthen the access of Muhammadiyah Youth to Muhammadiyah organizations and charities, they are also critical of the selection of leadership or employee recruitment which is carried out by lobbying and building coalitions so that they can influence existing processes and policies. The involvement of Muhammadiyah Youth in various strategic agendas of the leaders and managers of Muhammadiyah business charities cannot be separated from the achievements of this struggle.

As with the internal struggle pattern of Muhammadiyah, non-discursive methods, especially by building communication, lobbying, and networking cooperatively with various other youth forces, especially Pemuda Ansor, existing socio-political forces, as well as with the local government began to be built to gain recognition for their existence. themselves and their expected roles. This method was chosen because Muhammadiyah Youth has been alienated for so long because of its attitude so that to penetrate the existing domination, adaptation and adjustment must be made to the existing socio-political conditions. In this way, at least for now, Muhammadiyah Youth is starting to be considered and taken into account in various discourses on youth, society, and government dynamics in Ponorogo both by the legislature, executive, and others.

Second, Redistribution Politics. As emphasized in the study of the theory that citizenship politics is a series of interrelated struggles. When Pemuda Muhammadiyah struggles to gain recognition for its identity and legal status at the same time it is also struggling to get its welfare rights (politics of redistribution) both within Muhammadiyah and in the wider interaction of life in society. The struggle for recognition of identity is a door for Muhammadiyah Youth to demand other rights, one of which is the right to welfare (redistribution).

Internally, the dominance of seniority in the leadership line and the logic of professionalism with all the attributes of justification that are formulated in the rules and policies as well as formal institutions that maintain this dominance are a dividing wall for Muhammadiyah Youth to access their welfare rights (redistribution politics). It is not easy for Muhammadiyah Youth to obtain justice for welfare rights (redistribution) both in the ranks of Muhammadiyah leadership in the form of involvement in institutionalized strategic agendas and in Muhammadiyah charities in the process of selecting leaders and recruiting employees. All of them are the reality of injustice felt by Muhammadiyah Youth in getting their welfare rights.

More or less the same reality is experienced by Muhammadiyah Youth in gaining access to their welfare rights externally. The reality of his absence for a long time combined with the strengthening of the dominant role of existing youth organizations and the single interpretation of power over-involvement in youth and social dynamics is the meeting point that locks the situation. Therefore, it is not strange if the dynamics and currents of change in the world of youth and social society in Ponorogo take place without Muhammadiyah Youth. It is in situations like this that injustice on socio-economic rights or welfare is experienced by Muhammadiyah youth.

The discursive way of struggle could be an option because it promises a more comprehensive solution, but because of the limited data access to policies and rules and the limited ability to dissect the existing problems, non-discursive methods were chosen. At the internal Muhammadiyah level, for example, through formal means such as alternate and simultaneous hearings, various petitions and protests were produced to assert their socio-economic rights, while informally lobbying and building coalitions with various existing powers to penetrate the walls of power both in the leadership area Muhammadiyah and Muhammadiyah charities. This method was successful in influencing the process of selecting Muhammadiyah leaders for the 2015-2024 period.

At the external level of political communication, network building, collaboration, coalitions according to existing habits and culture continue to be built by Muhammadiyah Youth individually by their activities and collectively, both with the dominant strength of existing youth organizations, with existing socio-political forces, as well as with the government. local. This has been done since the leadership period of 2010-2015 and was strengthened in the leadership of the Muhammadiyah Youth for the next period. Gradually, welfare rights that have been excluded can be accessed again, as evidenced by the involvement of Muhammadiyah Youth activists as Sub-district Election Committees, Program Facilitators in District/Village, involvement in the management of Karang Taruna at the Regency level, involvement in the management of KONI,

Implementation of Democracy based on Islamic Education for Muhammadiyah Youth in Ponorogo Regency

Referring to the general assumption about citizenship, the status of Pemuda Muhammadiyah as a youth organization of Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah is often only limited to the formalization of citizenship in a socio-cultural context that should be transformed. More than just a matter of legal status which does not need to be debated, what is more, important in this case is the issue of the power relationship between the Muhammadiyah Youth and various dominant forces outside of itself that allows for the process of forming subjects - instead of citizens - and fighting. the main resistance to the subjectivization produced by power.

The interests of the Muhammadiyah Youth in this regard refer to the struggle against power relations that are culturally, economically, and politically unfair, oppress, or exclude their existence. The essence of the struggle is the demand for recognition, economic rights, and political

representation aimed at the dominant forces in Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah, namely the leadership element of the organization and the management of Muhammadiyah's charities and the dominant force in the life of the people of Ponorogo, namely the hegemony of youth organizations and local government power. which exists.

In the democratic education process carried out by Muhammadiyah Youth in Ponorogo Regency, it can be seen that there is a relationship between the social activities held and the main goal of a social movement in an organization is one of the goals of Islamic education. In the previous section, Islamic education as an agent of social change must be able to provide solutions to problems that exist and arise dynamically. Youth organizations must proactively accept the challenges that lie ahead through problem-solving skills and rational thinking.

In another understanding, Islamic education is an effort to provide physical and spiritual guidance in individual and social life to develop human nature, in that sense the education in question requires Islamic laws to form an ideal human being with a Muslim personality and commendable character. The existence of youth community organizations will certainly provide new hope in democratic education for youth starting at school, in Muhammadiyah the existence of Muhammadiyah Student Association, Muhammadiyah Student Association certainly provides greater space for the democratic education and learning process.

Conclusion

Citizenship is not just a matter of identity as the status of Pemuda Muhammadiyah as a youth organization, but rather a political process whose formation involves competition, tension, conflict with dominant forces that exclude citizenship rights. Nevertheless, the identity of the Muhammadiyah Youth remains the basis of the struggle as well as its actions to get the right of recognition (politics of recognition) and rights of welfare (politics of redistribution), even to a certain extent the right of representation both within Muhammadiyah and in the dynamics of society.

Steps to involve oneself and occasionally keep the distance from the dominant power through non-discursive means are carried out to penetrate power with all its instruments of domination built behind various rules and policies to gain recognition as well as the right to redistribution. The solid door of power has begun to open, a good sign for building a more balanced and democratic power relationship with dominant forces both within

Muhammadiyah and in society. Homework for Muhammadiyah Youth to be able to build balanced power relations is to increase the capacity and capability both personally for activists and institutionally, starting with the educational process and organizational learning that exists within organizations outside of school, namely the Muhammadiyah Student Association and the Muhammadiyah Student Association.

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