Political Package: Movement of Muhammadiyah Political Elite in the Election of 2019

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Muhammadiyah is an interest group and its elites cannot remain silent in politics after interpreting situations other than that the Muhammadiyah elite does not interfere in politics but its members are involved in politics. The political attitude of the Muhammadiyah elite organisations is unclear in every election whether the presidential election, PILKADA or legislative elections, because of the fragmentation of the Muhammadiyah elite. The formulation of the problem in this study is how is the movement of the Muhammadiyah Ponorogo elite in the 2019 election? The question derived from the formulation of the problem above is first, who is included in the elite Muhammadiyah organisation in Ponorogo? Second, what is the tendency of elite movement? Third, what factors influenced the movement of the Muhammadiyah elite in the 2019 elections? Fourth, what is the motivation of Muhammadiyah's elite organisation in Ponorogo in making organisational policy decisions to determine the direction of the organisation's political movements, specifically religious organisations? The type of research used is descriptive qualitative in which the determination of informants using purposive sampling and the method of collecting data by observation, interview or document review. This study concludes that there is a political package determined by the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership and the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, and at the Regional Leadership level only socialises with the citizens. The influential elite group is at the central and regional level, while no figures outside the core management have a big influence in determining the organisational policies of the Muhammadiyah. Rationality, in determining candidates, is rationality over where the central and regional leaders hold full control over the choices that must be accepted by the regional leaders and the residents.

Key words: *Elite Movement, Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah Political Elite, Election.*

Background of the Study

This study will discuss the movement of the Muhammadiyah elite in the 2019 election. Harsono (2018) states that the elite of the Muhammadiyah organisation, especially in Ponorogo, is very influential on the political direction of the Muhammadiyah organisation; the elite gives the grassroots the flexibility to make their own choices (the elite does not have a clear political attitude).

The Muhammadiyah organisation founded by KH. Ahmad Dahlan a century ago was not identified as a political organisation, but it was a religious organisation engaged in the field of da'wah and education. However, the development of the era requires this organisation to participate in political activities as part of the activities of *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar* (inviting kindness and preventing misfortune) which has become the spirit of Muhammadiyah so far. (Argenti, 2017, p. 83) Muhammadiyah as a socio-religious organisation has an interest in maintaining its modernity attitude, which in the practical political activities the attitude of modernity is translated into political neutrality of the Muhammadiyah with practical politics from time to time. (Sholikin, 2018, p. 2) Muhammadiyah organisations in responding to certain issues, often experience differences and disagreements and have factions in their organisation (Sholikin, 2018, p. 2).

According to Gabriel Almond's understanding, even though Muhammadiyah is an interest group and does not intend to fight for public power directly in political events, such as elections, the elites cannot remain silent in the political arena after interpreting the situation. G.H. Bousquet stated that Muhammadiyah did not intervene in politics, but members of this organisation were involved in political activities and understood how it had implications for the internal dynamics of Indonesian organisations and external politics in the political scene in this country, especially in the electoral stage. (Effendi, 2010, p. 3)

A society is always found by a group of individuals who have influences that often determine the life and changes in society, even though the changes in society are not entirely dependent on the role that they. One individual or group of individuals is commonly called the elite. (Chalik, 2017, p. 26) According to Vilpredo Pareto, elite groups emerge because they have natural personal capacities that are superior to ordinary people (the masses). Pareto believes that in a community environment there are always people who are superior. Implicitly, for Pareto, the presence of the elite is natural. In contrast to Gaetano Mosca, the elite group (the ruling class) can rule not only because it has personal advantages, but also because it is relatively organised in politics so that the masses find it difficult to fight the elites. (Tejo, 2016)

David Effendi (2010) argues that the 2004 political failure did not traumatise the Muhammadiyah elite to manoeuver in the 2009 elections, despite the emergence of a strong anti-political camp that strengthened after the defeat of Amien Rais. (Effendi, 2010, p. 3). The role of local elites in regional autonomy both through the elections and redistricting has presented a different local politics compared to the previous period. This is because in the period before the fall of the New Order, local strongmen were guarded and even suppressed by the ruling regime. Pressure on strong people outside the proxy authority is carried out by the coercive apparatus of the regime in the regions. This condition is understood because the central authorities do not want the emergence of power centres other than central power in Jakarta. (Agustino & Yusoff, 2010, p. 27)

On the other hand, the failure of the Muhammadiyah in the 2009 elections was due to the absence of a clear command unit (collective collegial), or Muhammadiyah could not play at the media level, while the grassroots' level of Muhammadiyah is led by elites who have diverse loyalties both to the party or to emotional ties. There are also those who argue that Muhammadiyah does not have a formulation in power politics. On the contrary, Muhammadiyah is to some extent deterring its citizens from engaging in practical politics. (Effendi, 2010, p. 8) In addition, within the Muhammadiyah organisation there was a fragmentation of the Muhammadiyah elite divided into 5 (five) groups/camps namely: political pragmatism, passive moderate, khittoism, and apolitical groups. The reasons for the fragmentation is firstly historical continuity, secondly 'foreign' ideological interventions, thirdly inclusive and autonomous organisational designs, and fourthly elite political pragmatism. (Efendi, 2014)

In line with David Effendi (2010), according to Mukhlis (2015) in his research he concluded that the Regional Election in Banyuwangi East Java gave rise to various kinds of support in the aspirations of political choices; this reflected the absence of a clear political attitude from the Muhammadiyah elite. In fact, this split of the political movement between the elites further led to tensions and differences in attitudes and differences of opinion among the Muhammadiyah elites. The fragmentation that occurs is not only related to movement but also thoughts as expressed by Mahsun. In addition, according to Mahsun, Muhammadiyah residents are divided into several fragments, namely *tajrid ushuli* (fundamentalist-puritan), others with the character of *tajrid 'ashri* (fundamentalist-modern), and part of *tajrid tahriri* (fundamentalist-liberal)". Furthermore, according to Mahsun, some of the Muhammadiyah elites had a pluralist style of thought, some were Salafi modernist and some were modern fundamentalists. (Yudi, 2017)

According to Harold R. Isaacs, the changes that occur in power relations will bring changes to the way how groups (in this case ethnic groups) interpret themselves and their relationships with other groups. Thus, changes in power relations can also have an impact on the local

political elite. Local political elites from certain ethnic groups that have been limited or constrained by structures, with changes in power relations, are very likely to get opportunities or be empowered by structures. Or conversely, with local political elites who have been seized by opportunities or empowered, these changes will be limited or constrained by the structure. (Haryanto, 2009, p. 141)

Armyn Gultom in a book entitled Muhammadiyah "Ahmad Dahlan", stated that Muhammadiyah's position and attitude in the 2014 presidential election experienced a paradigm shift in responding to the national political situation by not having a response identity so it was considered weak by other parties. (Gultom, 2015) This was said by Harsono in his 2017 research that in the absence of a clear political attitude by the Muhammadiyah elite there was no bargaining position for the government elite. (Harsono, 2018) According to Pradana, Muhammadiyah should not have been involved in the processes of power, so that fear arises if Muhammadiyah does not have a 'part' in the state and government, then Muhammadiyah's interests will not be accommodated. (ZTF, 2015, p. 295)

If seen from the background above, it can be taken as a *'benang merah'* (red thread) that the political stance of the elite of the Muhammadiyah organisation does not have a clear direction in every election either the presidential election, local elections or legislative elections. This becomes interesting to study further because in the absence of a clear political position or political direction of support by the Muhammadiyah organisation, as said by Gultom (2015) that this organisation will be considered weak and according to Harsono (2018) that ultimately this organisation does not have a bargaining position against the government elite. For this reason, this research is related to the movement of the Muhammadiyah elite related to the determination of political positions in the 2019 elections specifically in Ponorogo Regency where the elite sometimes have clear political attitudes and directions like the 2004 elections, but also sometimes do not have a clear political attitude as in the 2015 elections.

Literature Review

Elite Theory

Huntington's terminology of the elite illustrates that the influence of the elite may change as does the political transformation that surrounds it. The legitimacy of elite power may be partially obsolete so that it is replaced by a completely new modality to gain power. The collapse of elite politics could be started from the collapse of flow politics minus the charismatic leadership. Or indeed the distribution of power in religious-based organisations is very evenly distributed and not centralised so that this diversity also impacts the form of political response. (Effendi, 2010, pp. 8-9) Elite Muhammadiyah is a group of people or individuals who are or have served/been in the top of the leadership of the organisation, either

at the central or regional level. However, in the context of this work, it is limited to elites at the central level who have a reputation, influence, and role in making organisational policies that influence the political choices of members. (Efendi, 2014, p. 24)

In 1970 or since the leadership of AR Fakhruddin, a new elite phenomenon emerged within the Muhammadiyah body, namely the elite bureaucrats who worked as government employees and were still active in Muhammadiyah organisations. The emergence of a new elite in the membership structure and leadership of Muhammadiyah certainly gives its color and gives rise to new social shifts. This is a platform of moderate political culture that is compatible with the *Khittah* struggle of Muhammadiyah and models or patterns of political behaviour that develop among the Muslim elite, are used. The behaviour of the Muslim elite was formulated by Haedar Nasir (2000) first, idealistic, namely political behaviour which tends to build an Islamic-style political order. Second, accommodations are the political behaviour of the Muhammadiyah elite which tends to develop cooperation and make adjustments to government policies. Third, political behaviour that tends to integrate itself in the power structure and the interests of the ruling government or politics, is pragmatic (Nasir, 2000, pp. 107-108).

In the view of Robert Michels, he argues that the emergence of elite groups is due to the structure of modern social organisations that began to be complex and therefore began to require a clear division of labour (Munafrizal Manan. 2005: 52). The division of labour directly affects the people who have the competence to occupy existing positions. They are needed by organisations, be they political or economic, to preserve their interests and achieve their stated goals. Therefore, they can preserve these positions so that they are at the top of the strata of society. (Tejo, 2016) Positional analysis places the elite as a group that is in the structural position of the organisation; they are the ones who contribute the most in the decision-making process for the community. Reputational analysis positions the elite as a group that influences the decisions of an organisation, even though it is not in the organisational structure or an informal position in society. Decision analysis positions the elite as a group that influences the organisation, so that ideas and thoughts can be used as a source or preference for organisational decisions. In other words, the elite is defined as the ability to influence the collective decision making process. (Sholikin, 2018, p. 6)

The concept of the elite at least fulfills the criteria, first, the elite is a minority choice group. Second, the elite has full political power. Third, it can influence and determine the direction of social change within the scope of its power. Fourth, the elite is an organised and structured group. Fifth, the elite can carry out orders against people other than them or the disorganised masses. (Al-Hamdi, 2012, p. 169) According to Abdurrahman, the Islamic elite can be categorised into two groups, namely the *ulama* elite and the elite of Muslim scholars. First, the elite of the *'ulama'*. *'Ulama'* have three criteria: (1) has a depth of *makrifatullah*, such as

having deep knowledge, a high level of piety, a large number of pious deeds, and good morals; (2) the depth of *syariah* knowledge in a broad sense includes the science of *aqeedah*, legal science, and moral science; (3) the depth of knowledge about the verses of *kauniyah*, namely knowledge that is based on empirical and experimental knowledge. (Al-Hamdi, 2012, p. 171) Muhammadiyah as a socio-religious organisation has an interest in maintaining its modernity attitude, which in the practical political activities the attitude of modernity is translated into political neutrality of Muhammadiyah with practical politics from time to time. Muhammadiyah organisations in responding to certain issues, often experience differences and disagreements. Divisions within an organisation are common, especially when seeing the increasing number of political parties that have experienced divisions recently. (Sholikin, 2018, p. 2)

Religion Rational Action Theory

The Muhammadiyah renewal movement is basically an effort to restore the understanding of Muslims to the teachings of Islam by using a measure of needs in accordance with the demands of the times. Because basically the reform movement always emphasises the context that is being faced as well as providing solutions to existing problems, both those of a domestic religious and social nature. (Wahab, 2015, p. 125) The practice of social movements (social movement theories) illustrates that some Islamic movements in Indonesia are not merely expressions of emotional actions that do not take into account aspects of rationality, as theorised by collective behaviour theories, but are actions that are considered rational, have profit and loss calculations, but still relies on the act of seeking martyrdom (istisyahad / martyrdom) which hereinafter referred to as the Religion Rational Action Theory. (Darajat, 2015, p. 76)

Mainstream Muslims like Muhammadiyah assert that jihad does not necessarily mean war, but that all seriousness and working hard in every good is one form of jihad. Furthermore, according to Zakiya Darajat, *jihad* in the form of war is carried out when Muslims are attacked by the enemy as defensive rather than offensive. (Darajat, 2015, p. 78) Just as understanding jihad in general, Buya Haji Ahmad Rasyid Sutan Mansyur or commonly known as H.A.R. Sutan Mansur (General Chair of the Muhammadiyah period 1956-1959) defines jihad as working wholeheartedly which must go through three stages and conditions that must be taken, namely the existence of a holy spirit that connects a creature with its *Khaliq* (God), then the holy spirit creates an active dynamic force that knows to do something concerning denagn place, time and circumstances, and finally begins with *'ilmu yaqin'* with an increase in faith to *'ainul yaqin'*. (Darajat, 2015, p. 79)

Jurgen Habermas, in Piliang (2004) explains that rational acts are purposeful actions. Piliang argues that political rationality is related to choices of actions and decisions taken in order to

achieve a particular political goal. Rational actions in a person's political attitude are taken by considering all risks to be accepted because it is contrary to the mainstream and the spirit of collectivity. Furthermore, Jugen Habernas distinguishes two types of rationality. First, rationality from below, namely rationalisation that develops naturally among the people, grassroots, without any command from above. Second, rationalisation from above, namely rationalisation that is controlled or engineered from above by elite groups in the context of mass politics. Piliang then distinguishes between political rationalisation in two ways: first, based on the practical mind that the goal of changing leadership is to achieve a pragmatic condition of well-being, happiness, and general prosperity. This is called by Piliang as the substance of practical rationality. Second, for this, he calls the purpose of leadership change is the way to create change. Affan Gafar (2002) consider that a cultural approach is still relevant in understanding contemporary Indonesian politics. He further added that the pattern of forming support and political mobilisation during the election period would be very appropriate using a cultural approach rather than structural.

Methodology

The method used to analyse the data in this study is descriptive, where the descriptive method is to analyse and present facts systemically so that they can be more easily understood and concluded. The conclusions given are always a clear factual basis so that everything can always be returned directly to the data obtained. There are two stages, namely data reduction and data presentation. Data reduction is the process of combining and uniforming all data collected into one form of a script (script) to be analysed. The results of the interview and the results of the documentation are converted into written form in accordance with their respective formats. Data reduction means summarising, choosing the main thing, focusing on the important things, and looking for patterns and themes. Data reduction has been clearly explained in the previous chapter so that this chapter will present data. The presentation of data is intended to make it easier for researchers to see the overall picture or certain parts of researches.

Discussion

Decision Making in Muhammadiyah Organisations

Broadly speaking, the division of tasks in the Regional Leadership of Muhammadiyah Ponorogo (PDM) is by appointing one chairman, one secretary and 13 (thirteen) deputy chairmen who directly oversee each field. Decision making in this organisation is collegially collective, where every decision always involves related parties and is decided by consensus and through a spirit of togetherness. Every decision taken specifically related to the policy of political direction, will involve related parties such as the Chairperson, Secretary and the

institution in charge of PDM namely the Wisdom Institution and Public Policy through joint deliberations. For strategic decisions according to Sugeng Wibowo, a plenary must be carried out with a mechanism from the daily leadership level.

Influential People in Muhammadiyah Organisations

Every policy that is taken by the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership (PDM) normatively, is always based on a consensus agreement and no person or group from outside this organisation has a major influence to influence every policy that will be taken. This is related to the independence of the Muhammadiyah organisation. Patronage in the Muhammadiyah body allows anyone outside the leadership of Muhammadiyah to influence the policies taken by the leadership, but is limited to providing advice or input for certain cases where the highest authority in decision making remains in the hands of Regional or structural leaders.

Priority Support

The determination of the candidates to be carried out in the 2019 elections is a *"political package"* given by the Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders to Ponorogo Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders or also called PDM. The support of Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership in the 2019 elections depends on the decisions of the Central and Regional Leaders because in principle, for the Regional leaders continue to make decisions. Decisions and appeals from PDM greatly influence the support given by citizens at the grassroots' level. Sometimes the leadership is also not too strict to require Muhammadiyah people to only choose candidates that have been determined by the leadership. This is because Muhammadiyah does not have a tradition of forcing the will of the leadership to be obeyed by its citizens. Political *ijtihad* and the direction of political policy are usually given and socialised by Muhammadiyah leaders through official forums attended by Muhammadiyah members, but this organisation will still provide freedom of opinion and choose according to the choices of each citizen. The *Political package* is in the form of candidates that will be supported by Muhammadiyah organisations, including candidates from the Presidential Candidates, Central DPR, Provincial DPRD, Regency DPRD, and DPD. Furthermore, the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership was only tasked with socialising the *political package* to its citizens. The level of consistency of the Muhammadiyah organisation tends to be high if it supports a predetermined *political package*. But further according to Aries, Muhammadiyah people are now smart in choosing their leaders but PDM will not reject anyone who comes. The criteria for candidates to be supported by the Muhammadiyah Organisation are competence, integrity, being trustworthy, prioritising the interests of the people, as well as the criteria that refer to the nature of the Prophet Muhammad, *sidiq, fatonah, tabliq, amanah.*

Faction in the Muhammadiyah Organisation

The Muhammadiyah organisation is a large organisation but in this organisation, there are no factions at all, but further according to Sugeng Wibowo, it is inevitable if the political affiliation of every Muhammadiyah member varies. Ponorogo Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders itself, because it consists of many members, it is inevitable if they have affiliations to different political parties. But in commitment, Muhammadiyah only refers to one political party, the National Mandate Party as part of the political ijtihad of the Muhammadiyah Organisation.

Returns from Support Provided by Muhammadiyah Organisations

There are no rewards from candidates who are brought in the form of material, but candidates who win in elections at any level will have the responsibility to develop the requirements and to branding the Muhammadiyah organisation. Besides, the inclusion of Muhammadiyah representatives at the legislative level will be able to help prioritise the development program of the organisation.

Appeal from Leaders to Grassroots

The appeal made by the Muhammadiyah leadership is to grassroots through informal activities and the term is *"please pray"* which can be through meetings or discussions.

Besides, the candidates also felt a significant influence from Muhammadiyah's participation and role in supporting the candidates. According to Muhammadiyah members, there is no more specific appeal or official letter from the Muhammadiyah Central Leader but more on information through social media groups.

Conclusion

Looking back at the conceptualisation of Religion Rational Action, the Muhammadiyah Organisation has a *"rational from above"*. Rationality from above means that rationality is controlled or engineered from above by elite groups in the context of mass politics. If in the 2019 election case in Ponorogo Regency, the elite means the upper elite and is the Central and Regional Leadership of Muhammadiyah.

The determination of candidates to be promoted in the 2019 elections is for the purpose of replacing leaders who want to change towards better welfare or what the term said by Habermas in Brokers is as "practical substance". Actions for determining candidates in the 2019 elections are rational calculations containing profit and loss. The rationality of profit

and loss here is not in the form of material but how supported leaders can bring the flow of change and prosperity for the people. Besides, by determining leaders according to the nature of the prophet, the great hope of getting a good leader like the Prophet is the next rationality which is called by Darajat as an act to seek martyrdom (religion rational action theory).

Candidates who will be promoted by the Muhammadiyah Organisation will have the term "political package" in the form of candidates who will be supported by Muhammadiyah organisations, including candidates from the President Candidates, Central DPR, Provincial DPRD, Regency DPRD and DPD; decisions or results of deliberations at the level of Region or Centre and PDM is one form of political *ijtihad* that can only be *sami'na waato'na* (followed) to the decisions of regional leaders. Furthermore, the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership was only tasked with socialising the *political package* to its citizens. The criteria for candidates to be supported by the Muhammadiyah Organisation are competence, integrity, trustworthiness, prioritising the interests of the people, as well as the criteria that refer to the nature of the Prophet Muhammad, *sidiq, fatonah, tabliq, mandate.*

The influence of the Muhammadiyah Organisation elite which is given at the the grassroots' level is only in the area of informality or specifically only appealing. The socialisation by the Muhammadiyah leadership was carried out through non-official forums attended by Muhammadiyah residents but this an organisation would still provide freedom of opinion and choose according to the choices of each citizen. The principle of freedom of opinion and choice in the 2019 elections given by the Muhammadiyah organisation further makes the votes that can be obtained that cannot be predicted. Every policy of the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership (PDM) normatively is always based on consensus agreement and no person or group from outside this organisation has a major influence to influence every policy that will be taken by the PDM.

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