

## **MODALITY AND NEW ARENA OF NU AND MUHAMMADIYAH IN THE LOCAL ELECTION GUNUNG KIDUL REGENCY**

Zulfa Harirah MS

Universitas Riau  
Kampus Bina Widya KM. 12,5 Simpang Baru, Pekanbaru, 28293, Indonesia

Correspondence Email: [zulfaharirahms@lecturer.unri.ac.id](mailto:zulfaharirahms@lecturer.unri.ac.id)

*Submitted: 25 March 2020, Reviewed: 12 April 2021 Published: 30 April 2021*

### **ABSTRACT**

The relation of NU - Muhammadiyah in the history of modern Indonesia is indeed very interesting. Throughout the course of this largest Islamic organization is often coloured by coordination, competition, and even confrontation. Reflecting on the Regent's election contestation in Gunung Kidul Regency, Yogyakarta became a real "battleground" for Muhammadiyah-NU organizations to show its existence. The stretching of the relationship between NU and Muhammadiyah is strongly influenced by the existence of their political machines, namely PKB and PAN. Therefore, this study focuses on identifying the modality owned by NU and Muhammadiyah and tracking the strategies undertaken between NU and Muhammadiyah in utilizing this capital in the simultaneous post-conflict local election as a structure of opportunities. To answer the questions above, this research was carried out through a case study method and used the modality framework as stated by Pierre Bourdieu. The results of this study indicate that there was no increase in exchange between CSOs and candidates in the election of the Regent in the Regency Gunung Kidul. The post-conflict local election only gives a new field to habitus that has been settled, because the exchange that occurs is a manifestation of relations that have been institutionalized before.

**Keywords:** Politics; Local Elections; NU; Muhammadiyah

### **ABSTRAK**

Relasi NU – Muhammadiyah dalam sejarah Indonesia modern memang begitu menarik. Sepanjang perjalanan organisasi Islam terbesar ini seringkali diwarnai korporasi, kompetisi, bahkan konfrontasi. Berkaca pada kontestasi pemilihan Bupati di Kabupaten Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta menjadi "medan perjuangan" nyata bagi ormas Muhammadiyah-NU untuk menunjukkan eksistensinya. Geliat relasi antara NU-Muhammadiyah sangat dipengaruhi oleh eksistensi mesin politik mereka, yaitu PKB dan PAN. Penelitian ini fokus untuk mengidentifikasi modalitas yang dimiliki oleh NU dan Muhammadiyah serta strategi yang digunakan keduanya dalam memanfaatkan modalitas yang dimilikinya. Untuk menjawab rumusan masalah tersebut, penelitian ini dikaji menggunakan metode penelitian studi kasus dan menggunakan kerangka modalitas menurut Pierre Bourdieu. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa tidak ada peningkatan exchange antara ormas dan kandidat pada pemilihan Bupati di Kab. Gunung Kidul. Pemilukada hanya memberi field baru terhadap habitus yang sudah settle, karena pertukaran yang terjadi merupakan manifestasi dari relasi yang sudah terlembagakan sebelumnya.

**Keywords:** politik, pilkada, NU, Muhammadiyah

**BACKGROUND**

Talking about democracy in Indonesia, Islamic-based mass organizations are often placed as pro-democracy actors and civil society organizations that support democracy after the fall of the New Order regime (Hefner, 2000). More than that, Islamic mass organizations, especially the largest: NU and Muhammadiyah, are placed as protagonist actors as one of the pillars of "Muslim democrats" and civil society who are nurturing the ideas of civic culture, tolerance, and inclusiveness.

Since Islamic groups gained freedom in politics, NU and Muhammadiyah no longer had to support PAN and PKB. Santri voters are more pragmatic and flexible in determining their choices in the elections (Nurjaman, 2017). After the election in 2019, the role and khittab in maintaining the unity of Indonesia is still well implemented by these two largest Islamic organizations (Budiman & Setyahadi, 2019). What NU and Muhammadiyah have demonstrated so far can serve as a steppingstone towards building a more liable formulation of an Indonesian in the future (Hilmy, 2013).

Institutional arrangements in the grand narrative of democracy and post-New Order decentralization have also provided a new political opportunity structure at the local level for intermediary actors to negotiate their existence and interests, which in turn results in dynamics of new political-economic contestation. Because each actor has different modalities, an exchange is a keyword for understanding the dynamics. Islamic-based mass organizations are also

not left behind to play a role in the new arena.

Democracy opens space for all sections of society to participate in a contest in political performance. In the political battle that takes place in Indonesia, it is common to see the candidates coming from politicians, but many also come from professionals and even from community leaders and religious figures or clerics. The kyai as a figure has an influence on the surrounding community, the position of the kyai as an informant leader has its own attraction that can be used as political capital to garner public support. Kyai as a figure has charismatic values inherently attached to a kyai. These values are inherent because their religious knowledge is so mastering that charismatic clerics become a very important social capital for the clerics.

The basic structure of the life of Islamic society in terms of quantity in the majority makes the position of Islamic organizations have their own privileges. Kyai as a symbol of Islamic mass organizations is considered to have vitality, a social, cultural, and religious strength inherent in him; so that there will be an inherent modality in the kyai. Unlike the other political elites, they must strive more to support their modalities, especially if it is used for contestation.

As the largest Islamic mass organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah become two of the players in the contestation in the new arena. Clifford Geertz's study can be an important reference for how NU and Muhammadiyah play intermediate works that intersect between the state and society (Jurdi, *Elite Muhammadiyah dan Kekuasaan Politik*;

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

Studi tentang Tingkah Laku Elite Lokal Muhammadiyah Sesudah Orde Baru, 2004). It is about historical modality, network, and organizational infrastructure that often becomes a bargaining position for them in dealing with other actors, both NU and Muhammadiyah as an institution and the key actors in it. It cannot be denied also the dynamics within the mass organizations to fight over the resources within it.

This discussion becomes interesting because there is a simultaneous local election phenomenon, one of which was also held by the Gunung Kidul government. The direct election has a negative impact on the people, therefore NU and Muhammadiyah give a critical evaluation (Yusuf & dkk, 2017). From this phenomenon, it can be seen how the people of NU and Muhammadiyah took a stand, negotiated social capital and existing obstacles to think about the future of NU. The relation of NU - Muhammadiyah in the history of modern Indonesia is indeed very interesting (Mulkhan, 2001). Throughout the course of this largest Islamic organization is often coloured by coordination, competition, and even confrontation. The examples of how Muhammadiyah very strongly questioned Superstition, Bid'ah and Churafat (TBC) towards NU made the gap between the two organizations wider at the organizational elite level and at the grassroots level in society. Muhammadiyah is often regarded as 'modernists' with most of its mass base being educated (rationalists), while NU is often regarded as 'traditional' because it is still very thick with elements of local culture mixed with religion (Efendi, 2014).

However, the growing process of democratization and the strengthening of civil society lately has made the NU-Muhammadiyah relationship fluid (Jurdi, 2010). Nowadays, they are not struggling with the problem of which teachings are true and blame other teachings but tend to understand each other's differences. The emergence of other Islamic organizations that have more radical ideologies is also suspected to make the NU-Muhammadiyah 'synergized' to jointly face the 'common enemy'. Even at the community level, it can be said that the relationship between NU and Muhammadiyah is ideal today, not as in the past in which Muhammadiyah had castrated local traditions.

This relationship cannot be separated from the dynamics of political parties under two mass organizations: PKB as a political machine from NU and PAN from Muhammadiyah's political machine. The relations between these two political parties, especially at the level of the elections, inevitably influence the relationship between NU and Muhammadiyah. Like when a child fights with other children it is natural for his mother to protect him. Once entered the realm of support in the elections, there could be an intimate relationship between NU-Muhammadiyah organizationally or vice versa when the political machine is different in supporting one Regional Head candidate then it is not impossible that NU-Muhammadiyah relations tend to be 'warmer'. In Gunungkidul Regency, the stretching relationship between NU and Muhammadiyah was strongly influenced by the existence of their political machines. Muhammadiyah cadres who became

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

Gunungkidul Regents also directly affected Muhammadiyah's position in its relationship with NU.

Discussing the relationship patterns of the social organizations of NU and Muhammadiyah in Gunung Kidul Regency, it is very important to see the social capital owned by each of these religious-based organizations. The importance of seeing social capital and the obstacles that are owned by both is because the political situation in Indonesia is increasingly complex and moves dynamically. It is important for the people of NU and Muhammadiyah to build a mass base that can use the social capital of NU to overcome obstacles in the world of politics in Indonesia.

The modalities of NU and Muhammadiyah are used as bargaining positions in the realm of fighting for existence. Politically, the modalities played by the two largest religious organizations of NU and Muhammadiyah are carried out to track the resources that underlie these two streams in determining their standing position in the Indonesian political arena. The modality will be identified as knowledge to determine the basis for determining attitudes. Therefore, this paper wishes to identify the capital owned by NU and Muhammadiyah and to track the strategies undertaken between NU and Muhammadiyah in utilizing this capital in the simultaneous post-conflict local election as a structure of opportunities.

One of the difficulties of observers in understanding the political dynamics of Islamic mass-based organizations is understanding the interests of these organizations. When only using a rational

perspective, observers find little theoretical relevance to the reality on the ground that they often use ideational claims in the face of the political dynamics they face. Coalition making and politico-ideological orientation of the political party in Indonesia offers four typologies coalition which are a small ideological coalition, a small pragmatic coalition, a grand ideological coalition, and a grand pragmatic coalition (Makhasin, 2016).

In the social sciences, there are at least three thought traditions that try to explain the position of actors and structures, namely the structuralism tradition, the tradition of voluntarism and the tradition that seeks to bridge the two. Phenomenology, Dramaturgy, Rational Action Theory (RAT), and Weber's meaningful theory of action are among these perspectives. At the opposite pole, objectivism, determinism, and structure are perspectives that view the actions and attitudes of individual agents are determined by objective social structures, especially relating them to the concepts of class, ethnicity, gender, and language. In this connection, the thoughts of Durkheim, Marx, Levi-Strauss, Saussure, and Althusser are included in this perspective.

At first, Bourdieu defined social capital as "capital of social relations which, if needed, would provide useful 'supports'; self-respect and honours capital are often needed if people want to attract clients into positions that are socially important, and which can be a medium of exchange, for example in political careers".

Then he corrected his views as follows:

*"Social capital is the number of resources, actual or virtual, gathered in an*

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

*individual or group because it has a long-lasting network of reciprocal introductions and acknowledgements that is more or less institutionalized."*

Bourdieu argues, it is impossible to understand the social world without knowing the role of 'capital in all its forms, and not merely in one form that is recognized by economic theory'. (Bourdieu, In other Words; Essay Towards a Reflexive Sociology, 1990) Bourdieu's work on social capital was almost ignored by Coleman and Putnam, as well as by other social scientists. This is because Bourdieu does not see the dark side of social capital. Although his attention to inequality and power is a very useful correction for Putnam and Coleman, one-sided emphasis on the benefits of social capital for its owner is believed to be a weakness. Bourdieu sees social capital that seems a bit old-fashioned and individualistic.

Based on the foregoing, the choice of understanding that seeks to bridge the agency position and structural dynamics is not without reason. With such an understanding of the relevance between actor rationality and the structure conditions, it can be searched (Giddens, 1997). Bourdieu (1930-2002) is one of the thinkers in the third tradition. He introduced the concept of habitus, capital, and the realm in the scope of his practical theory to release from the confines of dualism in the social theory. Through the method of "generative structuralism" or "genetic structuralism", Bourdieu builds and connects these concepts in his ambition to bridge between objectivism on the one hand and subjectivism on the other, or in his words

"absurd contradictions between individuals and society. (Ritzer & Goodman, 2009)

According to Bourdieu (in Cheleen Mahar, et al, 2005: 13) habitus is:

*"A disposition system that lasts long and is changeable (durable, transposable disposition) that functions as a generative basis for structured and objectively integrated practices"*

In other words, habitus is the "mental or cognitive structure" that individuals use to deal with the social world. The individual is equipped with a series of schemes and patterns through which he feels, understands, realizes, evaluates, and evaluates the social world, society, and others, even habitus shapes the lifestyle of an individual or class (Bourdieu, 1984)

Moreover, habitus results from the experience of individuals occupying certain social functions and positions in objective structures in the social world. And it results from a long historical period so that it can adjust (change) to the historical period in which the action took place. Habitus can also change in the sense that it can be transferred from one field to another. Therefore, the theory of practice developed by Bourdieu seeks to break away from determinism/objectivism and volunteerism/subjectivism because the social world is built on the "dialectics of internalizing externalities and externalizing internalities"

It should be noted that the functioning of habitus is not deterministic, which determines everyone's behavior in the social world, but only as "mediator". He only provides "choices for action" for individuals, so that individuals can improvise depending on the objective

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

structure faced. No less important than Bourdieu's concept of practice is the realm. In Bourdieu's view the realm means an individual's "field of struggle" for recognition. The realms in Bourdieu's view (Jenkins, 2004) are:

*"As a network, or a configuration of objective relations between positions that are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determination, they impose on adherents, human beings or their institutions, with their present situation and potential situation ... in the structure of the distribution of power (or capital) whose authority directs to the specific profit that is at stake in the realm, or by their objective relations with other positions "*

Bourdieu sees in the realm of operating capital. Because with the existence of modality a new realm is meaningful. Capital in Bourdieu's view is defined as something that belongs to an individual/class to be able to dominate another individual/class. Bourdieu divides the capital into four forms namely social capital (meaningful social networks), economic capital (welfare), cultural capital (education, social status) and all of which can be exchanged with symbolic capital (authority to define meaning).

In Bourdieu's view, the realm of power (politics) is the most effective domain, because by mastering this political realm the individual / class can master other realms. An effective weapon in winning the "war" in the political sphere is capital control and of course political habitus. Thus, political practice is formed by capital and habitus in a domain or in the mathematical formulation of Bourdieu [(Habitus x

Capital)] + Domain = Practice (Bourdieu, 1984)

Islamic boarding schools as Islamic educational institutions provide a different perspective in the eyes of the community as a vehicle for creating intelligent individuals in the science of religion. Therefore, Islamic boarding schools are considered to bring their own blessings for some members of the community, especially those who live around the pesantren area.

In Pierre Bourdieu's concept, the forms of capital which see the modality consist of various sources of capital; namely economic, social, and cultural capital. According to Bourdieu, to fight over the existing arena, one of the very determining factors is regarding the capital owned by someone in fighting for power. The influence of the clerics on the agility of Islamic organizations is quite large. In the context of the kyai as the leader of the pesantren, it is very clear to have a strong cultural base among the pesantren community.

The pesantren culture which highly respects its kyai as Rais or leader is one of its own assets for the kyai. The words of the kyai are considered as having special blessings as a religious person. Likewise, pesantren relations are very strong both between pesantren and the alumni ties of their students. So that culture like this becomes its own capital for the kyai, the community's perception of the image of a sacred kyai also makes the community's faith remains strong in the kyai.

The modality of a kyai greatly influences his position as an elite. Large capital is certainly very profitable and can make the potential for victory in greater

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

contestation. This capital is then supported by agencies who are very loyal to the kyai. Conversely, a small capital also makes the potential for victory in the contest to get smaller power. The kyai figure in Indonesia has a strong vitality including social, cultural, and religious strength.

With the kyai participating in political contestation and even winning the contestation is proof that the presumption of scientists such as Geertz who said that the kyai and the pesantren's life are only in terms of "graves and rewards" is wrong. The desire to fix the problems of the Ummah makes the kyai use the modality he must participate as *ulil amri* or a leader in society.

In the life of a pesantren, of course, the kyai has absolute power and authority over the pesantren community. This will also have an impact on the social life around the pesantren. As a religious figure or a pious implication on the position of clerics in the community is so highly valued, especially in rural communities around the pesantren. Besides, the kyai also has a network of fellow pesantren kyai so his position as an elite in the community is very calculated even in political matters. So, seeing the role of the cleric who is quite influential in regional and national politics is fairness with a variety of modalities owned.

The pesantren community as a separate structure makes the kyai have a very strong bargaining position in politics. The relationship between the pesantren and national diversity organizations is also very strong, even the leadership and the board of considerations of Islamic organizations are a pesantren kyai. In addition, the use of various other symbols such as skullcap and turban is a symbol of wisdom for the kyai.

So that the culture of Muslim communities also tends to follow or emulate the clerics in dressing as worshipping.

As religious leaders, clerics have charismatic values. Mastery of deep religious knowledge makes people respect each of their decisions. The decision of the kyai is considered as a solution to provide benefits for the people. So that there is a hope that the kyai should not only think of the pesantren community and its surroundings but also give attention to the benefit of more people.

The strength of social and cultural capital possessed by the kyai is the basis for the confidence of an advanced kyai in political contestation. Maximizing the networks of the ulama in the support period also do not escape the efforts of the kyai in contestation. In addition to social and cultural capital, political contestation also undeniably drains the economic power of the candidates. In general, the clerics are indeed figures.

## **METHOD**

This research is qualitative research with case study approach which try to describe, explain, and analyze phenomenon, event, activity, belief, perception and thinking individually and in a group. This research is a qualitative study which according to Denzin and Lincoln in Lexy J. Moleong is a study that uses a natural setting, with the intention of interpreting phenomena that occur and is carried out by involving existing methods. The type of research used is the descriptive type which is a method used to find the widest possible knowledge of the object of research at any given moment. (Moleong, 2009)

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

This study used a qualitative approach with the technique of determining the informant is by purposive technique. This means that in the context of this research the informants were chosen based on their authority and involvement in the research problem being studied. With the case study method, the facts about NU and Muhammadiyah as a mass-based organization can utilize its modalities to win votes in the simultaneous local election in Gunung Kidul Regency

Data collection techniques which were used in this study were as the following methods: 1) in-depth interviews, this technique aims to get detailed information about the research problem. 2) Document search, this method is used to complete data from the first party, namely from research informants so that authentic data and facts are obtained in this study. Data analysis in qualitative research according to Miles and Huberman is classified into 3 (three) techniques, namely the first data reduction namely the form of analysis that sharpens, classifies, directs, discards unnecessary and organizes data in such a way that the final conclusions can be drawn. Second, the presentation of data is the activity of collecting, compiling information to give possibilities in drawing conclusions. Third, drawing conclusions which are the results of analysis of data obtained and analyzed using relevant theory (Miles & Huberman, 2007).

This research was conducted in Gunung Kidul Regency because there was a simultaneous local election phenomenon, one of which was also held by the Gunung Kidul Regency. From this phenomenon, it could be seen how the people of NU and Muhammadiyah took a stand, negotiated

social capital, existing obstacles to think about the future of NU. This research data consisted of primary data and secondary data. In this research, the primary data was taken from the key informants and secondary data was data obtained from the institution or authorized institution in the form of NU and Muhammadiyah.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

This research is directed to find the social and cultural capital owned by NU and Muhammadiyah in the contestation of regional head elections in the Gunung Kidul district. The social and cultural capital owned by NU and Muhammadiyah would then be tracked for their influence on the dynamics of the struggle for votes. The democratic process in Indonesia cannot be separated from the orientation of identity politics (Nasrudin & Nurdin, 2018). Although NU and Muhammadiyah stated that they were not involved in politics, personally there was a role for each of these institutions (Edwinarta & Dwijayanti, 2016).

As the largest religious-based mass organization in Indonesia, it turns out that NU - Muhammadiyah has several fundamental differences, both in theology, differences in resources and infrastructure that affect the operability of the organization and their relations. The difference resulted between NU - Muhammadiyah having a clear dividing line - tending to be wide - and influencing the dynamics of national and religious development. The difference may come from the background of the establishment of organizational culture (Rohmah, 2016). Muhammadiyah and NU's neutral position



Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

as Islamic organizations can be understood as the standing position of religious institutions that focus on the benefit of Muslims. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah as the two largest Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia have proven to contribute to the process of democratization. NU and Muhammadiyah carry the same concept to show the peaceful face that can unite with the differences (Niam, 2019).

The regent election contest in the Gunung Kidul Regency in Yogyakarta became a real arena for Muhammadiyah and NU mass organizations to seize control. This Regent Election became the "battlefield" of CSOs to gain recognition. Although Muhammadiyah and NU stated that both were not political organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah could not be separated from the political dimension. Cadres who advanced as candidates for regents were said not to depart on behalf of the institution but on personal initiative.

The neutrality of Muhammadiyah's electoral politics has been interpreted as an ambiguous attitude that can be utilized in accordance with their respective interests (Sholikin, 2018). Whereas NU tends to be more open in the decision-making process but not in the form of practical politics. The pattern of communication between NU and Muhammadiyah is a representation of an elite circulation process (Edwinarta & Dwijayanti, 2018)

The results of this study indicated that there was no increase in exchange between CSOs and candidates in the election in Gunung Kidul Regency. There was no modality exchange between mass

organizations and candidates. The post-conflict local election only provides a new arena for habitus that has been settled, because the exchange that occurs is a manifestation of relations that have been institutionalized before.

#### Modality of NU and Muhammadiyah as a Fight for Existence

The increasing demands for democratization and democratic discourse are desires to achieve a more ideal socio-political and economic life. Democracy is used as political rhetoric to gain legitimacy, one of which is through elections. The phenomenon of involvement of religious community organizations in a regional election is a normal phenomenon. The political context is a means of testing the existence of NU and Muhammadiyah as religious organizations with an orientation to empowering the people rather than being oriented to power (Asyari, 2009). Understanding the modality framework as stated by Pierre Bourdieu, then capital is defined as something that belongs to individuals/classes to be able to dominate other individuals/classes.

#### **a. Social Capital of NU vs Muhammadiyah**

The identification of social capital in NU and Muhammadiyah mass organizations consists of a mass base, shaded institutions, and networks in the bureaucracy. First, the mass base is one of the social capitals owned by NU and Muhammadiyah. The mass base is a source of strength for mass organizations to move, making mass organizations a new commodity in the world of practical politics

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

(Harahap & Sardini, 2019). In Gunung Kidul District, the composition of the mass base between Muhammadiyah and NU mass organizations tends to be balanced and spread across various districts and villages, although the number of members is uncertain. Membership cannot be tracked with a membership card because the data collection is indeed not optimal. One way to determine whether a person belongs to an NU or Muhammadiyah organization is seen based on his muamalah (Ayodya, 2018). The mass base portion included in the NU and Muhammadiyah mass organizations in Gunung Kidul tends to be balanced. There are regions with very many NUs, there are NUs in a region that are minorities, but there are also those who choose not to join NU or Muhammadiyah.

Second, social capital is seen from the institutions under the auspices of NU and Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah mass organizations themselves oversee other organizations such as Aisyiah, PDAs, holy sites of Muhammadiyah, Hizbul Wathon and PDM. The composition of the organization under Muhammadiyah in Gunungkidul district is quite complete except IMM or Muhammadiyah student ties in Gunungkidul because there is no Muhammadiyah campus base in Gunungkidul. In the Muhammadiyah youth organization movement, there are various fields such as advocacy and politics which must obtain permission from PDAs and PDM in their movements. In addition, Muhammadiyah as an Islamic organization has a youth movement such as the AMM or the Muhammadiyah youth generation. In the Gunungkidul district, AMM was very solid in its various activities. The mass base

owned by AMM became one of the movements calculated by the authorities.

While the composition of the organization under the auspices of NU in Gunung Kidul Regency is quite complete, starting from NU, Muslimat, Anshor, PBNU and Fatayat. The composition of this organization occupies an important position as a very strong bargaining position with the Regional Head or Regent in power. The bargaining position is related to the fulfillment of the needs of the institutions sheltered by the Nadhatul Ulama. NU women's participation can be proven through ukhuwah Islamiyah (as the main support of NU) to be the main factor that drives Muslimat, Fatayat and IPPNU to go directly support candidates to the villages (Moesa & Yusuf, 2012). Various organizations which are under the auspices of NU in Gunungkidul Regency are also NU's capital so that they have a very strong bargaining position with regional heads.

Third, in terms of the bureaucratic network, the relationship between Muhammadiyah and the regional head and bureaucracy is also a capital for Muhammadiyah as an Islamic organization in Gunungkidul. This makes it easier for Muhammadiyah to carry out its work program. The regional head who won the quick count version in the 2015 simultaneous local election was Aisyiah's cadre who was also an organization under Muhammadiyah who happened to be an incumbent candidate. As a mass organization that has a very large group of pilgrims, it is very possible various parties to visit with the intention of asking for support from Muhammadiyah mass organizations to advance in political contestation.

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

Especially if the ones who advance in the political contestation are cadres from Muhammadiyah itself. Emotional ties between cadres automatically provide political support, although what is brought in support is not by wearing Muhammadiyah clothes.

Pilkada became a special moment for the candidates for Gunung Kidul Regent to increase friendship to religious mass organizations in Gunung Kidul Regency. This is very evident in the phenomenon of prospective regional heads who are board members of Muhammadiyah and NU. The emergence of several regional head candidates who are NU cadres makes the estimated votes be split into three votes. One of the factors in the phenomenon of an incumbent partnership breaking out was the weakening of the NU support (Fajriyah, 2017). In contrast to Muhammadiyah, it only has one cadre who advance in the Gunungkidul elections so the support of Muhammadiyah is centred into one. With the solidarity among Muhammadiyah cadres, there would be great potential in winning the number one pair who are Aisyiah's cadres.

Fourth, Muhammadiyah in its journey as a large Islamic mass organization in Indonesia has a da'wah base that is realized in various educational activities. Initially Muhammadiyah formed primary and secondary school education, but to date Muhammadiyah is one of the very large educational foundation institutions in Indonesia. Judging from the political constellation of national education, Muhammadiyah turned out to be relatively independent when formulating its educational goals (Ali, 2016). With so many

Da'wah lines owned by Muhammadiyah through schools, universities, hospitals, and religious studies, Muhammadiyah has become one of the mass organizations that has a position considered by the State and government. Most of Indonesia's population makes Muhammadiyah have many worshipers who follow the da'wah taught in Muhammadiyah religious studies.

On the other hand, NU as the parent has two educational institutions, so it can be said that NU's routine activities are to take care of education, one of which is Maarif. In the health sector, the focus is currently on the process of building the Gunungkidul Islamic Hospital. In addition, the field of service deals with both the field of service relating to mosques and prayer rooms. The social activities carried out by NU in the context of the post-conflict local election are to provide community empowerment freely by not leading community choices everywhere. The NU gave equal opportunities to the Head of the Area candidates to provide information, presenting their vision and mission. It is intended that the participation rate to participate in the election is high, then another thing is that all the Regent and Deputy Regent Candidates have their respective advantages and disadvantages. So, the one who has the right to judge is not the institution (NU) but returns to each community's conscience.

Because of the openness, NU explicitly said that they accepted the four pairs of candidates for the Regional Head to socialize with NU residents conveying their vision and mission. There was no taboo from NU in responding to the activities of the candidates for the Regional Head to win

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

the sympathy and support of the community. The four candidates were allowed to come to institutions under the auspices of the NU even to the pesantren even if they did not make commitments or political contracts, coming only to convey the vision and mission. The most important thing is that the candidates were given assets to communicate, and then to choose the return to the community.

Despite their ideological and reorganizations typological differences, the two Islamic organizations can provide dedication and outstanding contribution to the civilization of Indonesia (Rahem, 2017). The phenomenon of the revival of Islamic identity politics can also occur through efforts to build a self-image to maintain the demarcation of power and interest of political elites in the name of religion (Sari, 2016).

### **b. Cultural Capital**

If examined based on cultural capital, then NU and Muhammadiyah have their own culture. The difference was very apparent in the difference in the mindset of NU - Muhammadiyah. NU adheres to the Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah, a mindset that takes a 'middle ground' between the aqli extremists (rationalists) and the naqli extremists (scripturalists). Therefore, the source of NU's thoughts is not only the Qur'an and Sunnah but also uses the ability of reason coupled with empirical reality.

While Muhammadiyah, as the name implies, seeks to restore all irregularities that occur in the process of preaching. Muhammadiyah emerged as a movement in the spirit of *tajdid* which was brought about by the synergy of Islamic

society in Indonesia with syncretism. Singkretis Islam developed in the community was the cause of Muhammadiyah founded by KH. Ahmad Dahlan to straighten people who already believe in mystical things. These deviations often cause Islamic teachings to mix with local customs for adaptation reasons. The spirit taught by Ahmad Dahlan includes rationality in religion. For example, Superstition is the opposite of rationality in thinking, so Muhammadiyah strongly condemns the actions of Muslims who support themselves in superstition.

The Dynamics of the Relationship between NU and Muhammadiyah in Gunung Kidul Regency

Normatively, Muhammadiyah states as an organization that is not affiliated with politics. The involvement of the Muhammadiyah elite in the political process was not institutional. But personally, at the elite level, there is a role played by each of these institutions (Edwinarta & Dwijayanti, 2016). Muhammadiyah's struggle in practical political practice is difficult to avoid because politics has strong attractions such as power, wealth, popularity, and worldly facilities. Although Muhammadiyah mass organizations are not involved in politics, it does not mean that Muhammadiyah ignores the world of politics (Solikin, 2018). Muhammadiyah plays a significant role as strength of civil society in the national political arena, although the role played is only limited to moral politics (Argenti, 2017).

The establishment of Muhammadiyah was motivated by the enthusiasm to do social work, such as education, health, to support the

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

mustadl'afin and tabliq. At the beginning of its establishment, Muhammadiyah did not enter the practical political sphere to gain power. But in this journey, plunging into politics became a necessity, because Muhammadiyah carried out a strategy to continue to survive from time to time. A regional election in one of implementation of people sovereignty carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and fairly. But a regional election is often coloured by identity politics (Lestari, 2019).

Some people considered Muhammadiyah to be a critical idealist but in other conditions, it could also be pragmatic. This becomes natural so that the Muhammadiyah movement can survive in the face of increasingly changing conditions. So far Muhammadiyah has not appeared to be a radical community organization with a confrontational and revolutionary pattern. Muhammadiyah as a social organization plays a role that upholds the values of peace. Meanwhile, to understand NU as jam'iyah diniyyah correctly, it is not enough to only be seen from a formal angle. Because long before NU was born in the form of organization, religious social activities carried out were quite strong. The normative attitudes of NU affect its perspective in seeing the political life of the state (Fahry & Effendy, 1986). NU on the political arena, attempt to return as a religious organization which is has a greatest vision for making importance agenda and welfare of the members of umat life (Febrina, Mustika, & Dedeas, 2014).

In Gunung Kidul Regency, Muhammadiyah sought to unite all support to support one candidate who was indeed from Muhammadiyah. The method was

carried out as a strategy to win the regional head election process and as a form of a desire to maintain existence. The concern to be treated unfairly was one reason to unite the votes in favor of one of the candidates. The results of an interview with Muhammadiyah Youth Chairman of Gunungkidul Regency, Mr. Anto said: *"If the Bupati is elected from the Muhammadiyah cadre, then all will be treated fairly, but if the elected are not from the Muhammadiyah cadre, then this organization will be 'exhausted'"* (Interview 4 December 2015)

This can be interpreted in two ways: First, the Regent is a Muhammadiyah cadre whose position is made as a 'bargaining position' to appoint Muhammadiyah in Gunungkidul Regency. Secondly, it indirectly agrees that if Muhammadiyah wants to continue to exist in Gunungkidul Regency, absolute support must be given to Mrs. Badingah to run in the 2015 elections. This is confirmed by the fact that the 'unanimous' Muhammadiyah and its autonomous organization and its political machine - PAN - support the Badingah-Immawan Wahyudi couple.

On the other hand, NU in this case was not very active, did not conduct coordination relations in terms of support with Muhammadiyah, stood alone and tended to cause internal divisions in the 2015 elections. Gunung Kidul itself had four prospective regents and deputy regents, but what is interesting in this case was that NU's support for candidates for regents and deputy regents was divided into three. NU's support is not one voice in supporting existing candidates. In contrast to Muhammadiyah which tended to be one

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

voice in supporting the Candidates of the Regent and Deputy Regent of Gunung Kidul. Deputy Chairperson of the PC NU of Gunungkidul Regency declared NU as a mass organization open to all candidates for regional heads who advanced in the 2015 elections. Unfortunately, the conditions in the field of support from NU tended to be fragmented, unlike Muhammadiyah, which was 'unanimously' behind the incumbent candidate.

NU clearly emphasized not to practice politics but if there were cadres who chose the path to practice politics or in this case was nominating themselves as a candidate for regent and deputy regent, the NU allowed and supported because the choice to practice politics was personal rights, the conditions were only prohibited carry the name Nahdlatul 'Ulama. This caused NU support to split for 3 candidates. First, NU's political engine, PKB, clearly gave support to Regional Head Candidate No. 4, Subardi-Wahyu Purwanto, but unfortunately, this form of support was 'without the blessing' of the Gunungkidul PCNU. Second, PC NU itself tended to provide support to the Regional Head Candidate No. 2 in the Djungkung Sudjarwadi - Endang Subekti pair. Third, LP Ma'arif NU gave support to Candidate Regional Head Number 3 in the pair Benyamin Sudarmaji - Mustangid, because Mustangid was the administrator of LP Ma'arif NU.

The outbreak of this support was suspected to be the absence of NU cadres who were considered qualified as candidates for Regional Head. Delivered by Mr. Mukhotib that "*Actually there are many NU cadres who are capable of being*

*capable of contesting in the Gunungkidul Regional Election. However, the candidate is a civil servant and does not want to risk the rules for resigning if he wants to advance as a regional head candidate.*" (Interview 4 December 2015)

Spontaneous formation of identity and social divisions between Islamic Political imaginations resulted in preferred preferences in the contestation of a democratic party (Prayogi, 2019). This condition also did not make NU to 'compromise' with Muhammadiyah to support the couple that was promoted by Muhammadiyah, as seen in the pattern in Sleman Regency. In Gunungkidul, these two largest mass organizations stand by themselves. Muhammadiyah is behind PAN in supporting Badingah-Immawan. NU took the position of 'not together' PKB in supporting the couple Subardi-Wahyu Purwanto.

## CONCLUSION

Capital in Bourdieu's view is defined as something that is owned by an individual/class to dominate other individuals/classes. This capital can be exchanged for symbolic capital (the authority to define meaning). However, the practice that occurred in the regional head elections for Gunung Kidul, NU & Muhammadiyah districts showed different things. From the explanation above, it can be concluded that there was no increase in the modality exchange between mass organizations and candidates in the direct election Gunung Kidul Regency. The post-conflict local election only provided a new arena for habitus that had been settled, because the exchange that occurs was a

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index

manifestation of relations that had been institutionalized before. The exchange could be seen in filling strategic positions, especially in Echelon 2 and Echelon 3 in the Regional Government by asking for the consideration of the chairman of the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership (PDM). In addition, with the presence of Muhammadiyah cadres in the government, the submission of budget activities become relatively easier. This indicates that political vehicles are a source of strength and dependence on the continuity of CSOs to supplement deficiencies in the intermediary realm. This finding has implications for the theory that modalities are not always used to dominate other parties. It was proven in the post-conflict local election of Gunung Kidul Regency; NU and Muhammadiyah organizations did not increase their exchange of capital to regional head candidates.

## REFERENCES

- Ali, M. (2016). Membeda Tujuan Pendidikan Muhammadiyah. *Profetika Jurnal Studi Islam* 17 (2), 43-56.
- Argenti, G. (2017). Civil Society dan Politik Moral Muhammadiyah. *Jurnal Politikom Indonesiana Vol 2 No 2*, 82-103.
- Asyari, S. (2009). *Nalar Politik NU dan Muhammadiyah*. Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Ayodya, B. P. (2018). Modal Kandidat Gus Ipul dalam Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur 2018. *Representamen* 4 (1).
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction A social Critique of The Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A sosial Critique of The Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *In other Words; Essay Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Budiman, S. A., & Setyahadi, M. M. (2019). Peran Ormas Islam dalam Menjaga Stabilitas Politik Sosial Budaya Indonesia Pasca Pemilu 2019 (Kajian Pustaka pada Organisasi Terbesar NU dan Muhammadiyah). *Jurnal Renaissance* 4 (02), 560-563.
- Edwinarta, C. D., & Dwijayanti, R. (2016). Komunikasi Politik Elite NU dan Muhammadiyah dalam Pilkada Kediri. *Jurnal Kajian Media* 2 (1).
- Edwinarta, C. D., & Dwijayanti, R. (2016). Komunikasi Politik NU dan Muhammadiyah dalam Pilkada Kediri. *Jurnal Kajian Media Vol 2 Nomor 1*.
- Edwinarta, C. D., & Dwijayanti, R. (2018). Komunikasi Politik Elite Nu dan Muhammadiyah dalam Pilkada Kediri. *Jurnal Kajian Media Vol 2 No 1*, 20-29.
- Efendi, D. (2014). *Politik Elite Muhammadiyah; Studi tentang Fragmentasi Elite Muhammadiyah*. Yogyakarta: Reviva Cendekia.
- Fahry, A., & Effendy, B. (1986). *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam; Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Masa Orde Baru*. Bandung: Mizan Press.
- Fajriyah, P. (2017). Pecah Kongsi Petahana dalam Pencalonan Kepala Daerah di Pilkada Kabupaten Mojokerto 2015. *Jurnal Politik Muda* 6 (3), 186-193.
- Febrina, R. H., Mustika, B. U., & Dedeas, A. R. (2014). Nahdlatul Ulama: Bebas untuk Oportunis? Menelisik Kontestasi Politik pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Kabupaten Banyumas Periode 2008 dan 2013. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* 18 (2), 99-113.
- Giddens, A. (1997). *Central Problem in Social Theory*. Barkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

- Harahap, D., & Sardini, N. H. (2019). Peranan Front Pembela Islam dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah dan Wakil Kepala Daerah Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibu Kota Jakarta Tahun 2017. *Journal of Politic and Government Studies Vol 8 No 2*, 111-120.
- Hefner, R. (2000). *Civil Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Asia Fondation.
- Hilmy, M. (2013). Whither Indonesia's Islamic Moderatism? A Reexamination on the moderate vision of Muhammadiyah and NU. *Journal of Indonesian Islam 7 (1)*, 24-48.
- Jayanto, D. D. (2019). Mempertimbangkan Fenomena Populisme Islam di Indonesia dalam Perspektif Pertarungan Diskursif: Kontestasi Wacana Politik antara Gerakan Nasional Pengawal Fatwa Ulama (GNPF). *Jurnal Filsafat 29 (1)*, 1-25.
- Jenkins, R. (2004). *Membaca Pikiran Pierre Bourdieu*. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.
- Jurdi, S. (2004). *Elite Muhammadiyah dan Kekuasaan Politik; Studi tentang Tingkah Laku Elite Lokal Muhammadiyah Sesudah Orde Baru*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Jurdi, S. (2010). *Muhammadiyah dalam Dinamika Politik Indonesia 1966-2006*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Lestari, D. (2019). Dinamika Politik Identitas di Indonesia. *JUPE: Jurnal Pendidikan Mandala Vol 4 No 4*, 12-16.
- Makhasin, L. (2016). Orientasi Ideologi dan Pragmatisme Politik Model Pembentukan Koalisi dalam Pilkada Serentak di Jawa Tengah. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Vol 19 No 3*, 234-250.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. (2007). *Analisis Data Kualitatif Buku Sumber tentang Metode-Metode Baru*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.
- Moesa, A. M., & Yusuf, S. (2012). Nahdlatul Ulama dan Pilkada Gubernur Jawa Timur. *Jurnal Politik Indonesia 1 (1)*, 35-44.
- Moleong, L. J. (2009). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Mulkhan, A. M. (2001). *Menggugat Muhammadiyah*. Yogyakarta: Fajar Pustaka.
- Nasrudin, J., & Nurdin, A. A. (2018). Politik Identitas dan Representasi Politik (Studi Kasus pada Pilkada DKI Periode 2018-2022). *Hanifiya: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Vol 1 No 1*, 34-47.
- Niam, Z. W. (2019). Konsep Islam Wasathiyah sebagai Wujud Islam Rahmatan lil 'alamin: Peran NU dan Muhammadiyah dalam Mewujudkan Islam Damai di Indonesia. *Palita: Journal of Social Religion Research 4 (2)*, 91-106.
- Nurjaman, A. (2017). Cleavage Agama di Tingkat Lokal, Indonesia: Identifikasi Partai tanpa Komitmen Elektoral. *Jurnal Sospol Vol 3 No 2*, 43-65.
- Prayogi, I. (2019). Populisme Islam dan Imajinasi Politik dalam Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017. *Politeia: Jurnal Ilmu Politik Vol 11 No 2*, 31-43.
- Rahem, Z. (2017). Gerakan Progresif Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama Menjaga Marwah Pendidikan Keislaman di Nusantara. *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Studi Keislaman 7 (1)*.
- Ritzer, G., & Goodman, D. J. (2009). *Teori Sosiologi*. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.
- Rohmah, U. (2016). Interaksi Sosial Warga NU dan Muhammadiyah Studi Kasus di Desa Punduhsari. *Journal of Government (Kajian Manajemen Pemerintahan dan Otonomi Daerah) Vol 1 No 2*.
- Sari, E. (2016). Kebangkitan Politik Identitas Islam pada Arena Pemilihan Gubernur Jakarta. *KRITIS: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Hasanuddin Vol 1 No 1*, 145-156.
- Sholikin, A. (2018). Perbedaan Sikap Politik Elektoral Muhammadiyah



Vol.7, No.1, 2021  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v7i1.26725  
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

Pusat dan Daerah. *Jurnal Polinter*  
*Vol 3 No 2*, 1-22.

Solikin, A. (2018). Perbedaan Sikap Politik Elektoral Muhammadiyah antara Pusat dan Daerah. *Jurnal Polinter: Kajian Politik dan Hubungan Internasional* 3(2).

Yusuf, M., & dkk. (2017). Etika Islam dalam Ranah Politik: Respons dan Tinjauan Kritis Nahdatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah Provinsi Jambi terhadap Penyelenggaraan Pilkada Langsung 2005-2015. *Miqot Vol XLI No 1*, 139-154.