

AL-ALBAB

CONTENTS

Music in The Liturgy of The Catholic Community in Jakarta, Indonesia
Adison Adrianus Sihombing

Muhammadiyah's Criticism Towards Government Policies in The Era of
Din Syamsudin's Leadership
Tohari, Sjafriz Sairin, Muhammad Azhar, M. Nurul Yamin

Why Indonesia Prefers A Mono-Religious Education Model? A Durkhemian
Perspective
Mohamad Yusuf

The Borneo Islamic Heritage and The Significance of Idahan Jawi Manuscript
Suraya Sintang, Rosdiana Onga, Siti Aidah Hj Lukin, Asmady Idris

Hamka, Social Criticism and The Practices of Polygamy in Minangkabau
Saifuddin Herlambang

Social Capital and Civic Engagement in Times of Tension: An Evidence from
Interethnic Relation Developed in Stella Maris Credit Union Pontianak,
West Kalimantan
Alanuari, Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf

The Myth of Religious "Radicalism"
Amanah Nurish

The Style of Sufistic Interpretation: A Philological Study and Content Analysis of the
Manuscripts by Three Popular Ulemas in West Kalimantan
Syarif



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VOLUME 9 NUMBER 1 (JUNE 2020)

CONTENTS

1. Music in The Liturgy of The Catholic Community in Jakarta, Indonesia
Adison Adrianus Sihombing 3
2. Muhammadiyah's Criticism Towards Government Policies in The Era of Din Syamsudin's Leadership
Tohari, Sjafrin Sairin, Muhammad Azhar, M. Nurul Yamin 19
3. Why Indonesia Prefers A Mono-Religious Education Model? A Durkhemian Perspective
Mohamad Yusuf 37
4. The Borneo Islamic Heritage and The Significance of Idahan Jawi Manuscript
Suraya Sintang, Rosdiana Onga, Siti Aidah Hj Lukin, Asmady Idris 55
5. Hamka, Social Criticism and The Practices of Polygamy in Minangkabau
Saifuddin Herlambang 69
6. Social Capital and Civic Engagement in Times of Tension: An Evidence from Interethnic Relation Developed in Stella Maris Credit Union Pontianak, West Kalimantan
Alanuari, Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf 87
7. The Myth of Religious "Radicalism"
Amanah Nurish 107
8. The Style of Sufistic Interpretation: A Philological Study and Content Analysis of the Manuscripts by Three Popular Ulemas in West Kalimantan Syarif 123

Muhammadiyah's Criticism Towards Government Policies in The Era of Din Syamsudin's Leadership

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ABSTRACT

The liberalization policy through Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Natural Resources and Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas, elicited a strong reaction from the Muhammadiyah movement. In response to the laws, Muhammadiyah used their role as both a civil society movement and Islamic movement and took the step of constitutional jihad. This article looks at the steps and attitudes of Muhammadiyah's criticism towards government policies under the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY). The findings showed the constitutional jihad was based on the spirit of the Muhammadiyah indictment and the spirit of progressive Islam Muhammadiyah. It was within this spirit that the Muhammadiyah movement was encouraged to be critical of SBY's policies. This study also explores Muhammadiyah's critical attitude which has had an internal and external impacts on the movement as a whole and Muhammadiyah leaders. Muhammadiyah's critical attitude is a form of action and rational choice. The rational choice being made by Muhammadiyah through observation of the impacts of the application of the two laws. Muhammadiyah and its leaders indicate the rational choice of Muhammadiyah actors based on Muhammadiyah's spirit orientation, and the social conditions of the Indonesians in response to the application of both of these laws.

Keywords: Muhammadiyah; Criticism; Oil and Gas; Natural Resources; Law.

INTRODUCTION

The Muhammadiyah movement is based on the spirit of purification of the creed, social care as the core of the implementation of the true creed, preaching promotion of virtue and prevention of vice, and fighting in the path of Allah. The movement often faces social realities that are not in line with Muhammadiyah thought. The reform era has brought rapid, broad, and massive social changes. These changes led to liberalization which was marked by changes in regulations resulting in water resources being controlled. The problems occurring in the wake of the reform have since encouraged Islamic organizations to move more broadly (Jason F Asaacion, 2017). The Muhammadiyah movement played a part as a supervisory body by providing criticism to the government. The movement's evolving role shows there needs to be an institutional and legal formal role (Parmudi, 2015; Nashir, H at.al., 2019). The dynamics of social change during the reform period are fast, broad, and massive. The relationship between Islam and the state is seen as tenuous so that there is no criticism of the government (Moser, 2006). The order of political life that was originally authoritarian and confined strictly to being democratic and free after the reform movement, is based on the desire of Muslim groups to respond to changes in the first ten years of Suharto's leadership (Hakim, 1998). At the same time, economic liberalization has positioned capital owners to freely take the bigger role in controlling national economic life, which is contrary to the spirit of social democracy or social liberalism, not as individualistic liberalism (Eckersley, 2007).

In 2005, when Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) came to power, there were several policies that benefited capital owners in controlling water resources. Between 2005 and 2015 there were 115 laws that harmed national interests, one of which was Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas, and Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources. The enactment of this law raised many problems because it sided with the capital owners. President Yudhoyono's policies tended to favor capital owners opposed to individuals and smaller communities. The policy thus introduced a series of criticism from the Muhammadiyah movement about the government, specifically suggesting the management of water resources be oriented to the welfare of the people as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution instead of serving larger state interests.

Muhammadiyah is an Islamic reformist movement that is constantly adjusting and evolving based on the context of larger society, driven especially by the insight of cadres within the sect. Muhammadiyah has a large role as an NGO on Indonesian society (Saguni, 2018). Its ethos is influenced by the idea of Islamic modernism (Parmudi, 2015), whereas as a civil society

it is influenced by the socio-political conditions of Indonesia in general. For example, Muhammadiyah educational institutions have contributed greatly in society despite being a minority religion (David Efendi, 2017). Additionally, the Muhammadiyah attitude is also modern and in support of democratic politics. This is based on Muhammadiyah's involvement in fighting for independence and being involved in controlling the New Order government (Argenti, 2017). Somer (2007) argues that changes in the perspective of Islam have set a milestone between conservative Islam and secular Islam, especially in countries such as Turkey and Egypt whose influences have stretched to Indonesia. Islamic movements can be flexible with the aim of avoiding repression from the state (Munson, 2001; Nursita, R & Sahide, A., 2019). The Islamic movement also supports the modernization of democracy and human rights (Freedman, 2009). Indonesia experienced a similar trajectory post their reform movement, and the results have been more accommodating towards contradictions and global capitalism (Hadiz, 2011).

The democratic climate allows Muhammadiyah to fight for Islamic values and interests in the public sphere. Muhammadiyah's criticism is inseparable from its position and values. Such criticism is also inseparable from the relationship between Muhammadiyah leaders and the reality of national and state issues. Various national problems have encouraged Din Syamsudin's criticism to make changes supported by his belief in Islamic teachings and modernist Islamic values. Muhammadiyah's critical attitude is considered to be in opposition, but it remains within the constitutional framework, so that the opposition movement is not destructive to the state and to the strengthening of civil society. The state authorities also do not see Muhammadiyah's criticism as a threat to the state ideology so that the opposition attitude of the Islamic movement, as represented through Muhammadiyah criticism towards the state in the Din Syamsudin era.

The Muhammadiyah Central Chairman, Din Syamsuddin, argued that the steps taken by the government were detrimental to his community, so Muhammadiyah took a stand by making an appeal to revoke the two laws. The attitude taken by Muhammadiyah was part of the work of promotion of vice and prevention of vice. During the two terms of SBY's leadership, Muhammadiyah made many criticisms of the government, with the aim of rectifying the direction of change initiated by the SBY government. This study aims to look at the attitude of the Muhammadiyah criticism during the leadership of Din Syamsudin in dealing with national issues, to analyze the cause of the Muhammadiyah system towards Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's government policy, and to examine how Muhammadiyah stabilized its choice

in criticizing the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono government.

THE EMERGENCE OF MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM

Muhammadiyah's prominent public attitude was developed through an in-depth study that influenced organizational decisions. Muhammadiyah's decision-making is very hierarchical namely going through processes of conference, *tanwir*, central leadership meeting, leadership work meeting, and *tahfidz* meeting as a meeting to determine the outcome of the decision. Current issues that develop through expert studies are presented in daily meetings and plenary meetings of the Muhammadiyah central leadership. Muhammadiyah's criticism was publicly conveyed through the central leadership, and a critical attitude towards government power was shown by Muhammadiyah in this research refers to the leadership of Din Syamsudin in his response to social, political, economic issues. As an organization that has political power. Muhammadiyah can put pressure on the government, especially policies that are contrary to the spirit of the Muhammadiyah *da'wah*.

According to Kosasih & Suwarno (2010) Muhammadiyah leadership uses the Quran and Hadith as its core principles. Adhering to these all-encompassing principles means the Muhammadiyah movement is morally, socially, culturally, and spiritually obliged to address any political issues impacting the lives of its members. This view is similar to the *ijtihad* and *tajdid* movements. As Muhammadiyah is a modern Islamic movement (Setyawan, 2013), it understands and responds to complex problems, strengthened in its position as a modern organization and its ability to read social, political, and economic issues. Muhammadiyah's critical attitude in Congress in 2010 encompassed various fields, but most strongly in the economic field. In these discussions, Muhammadiyah criticized inconsistent economic paradigms, dualistic economic structures, dependent fiscal policies, financial and banking systems that did not side with the people, trade policies, liberal industries, and the grip of the neoliberal economy which introduced many dilemmas in building a constitutional economy that favors the people (Muhammadiyah, 2010).

Progressive Islam promotes substantive values including democracy, justice, social justice, etc. (Manalu, 2019). Muhammadiyah stated its position as a movement promoting substantive values by looking at the prevalent modern problems facing Indonesia. Din Syamsudin became a staunch critic of Yudhoyono's policies. His strong attitude was inseparable from Muhammadiyah's position as an established organization and together they were able to respond to critical issues as a unified front. Among their identified critical issues was Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources and Law No.

22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas. The attitude became a reform movement in the economic outlook (Setyawan, 2013). Muhammadiyah builds relationships with religious leaders pushing both issues to the public's attention.

Muhammadiyah's criticism of the Water Resources Law led to their submission of constitutional jihad. Constitutional jihad is a reform movement in the field of law and a corrective effort carried out through formal channels, namely by submitting a judicial review to the Constitutional Court on a number of laws that are considered contrary to the 1945 Constitution. The Petition for Judicial Review on Law Number 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources in 2013 was finally granted by the Constitutional Court. The Constitutional Court (MK) in its Decision Number 85 / PUU-XI / 2013, stated that Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources (UU SDA) is contrary to the 1945 Constitution, therefore it does not have binding legal force. In the decision, the Court also stated that Law No. 11/1974 concerning irrigation, should be reinstated. The consequence of this Constitutional Court decision was the immediate cancellation of all government regulations and various types of permits that had been issued under the Natural Resource Law regime, but their legality had to be recognized until the expiration of the permit period. This was in line with the principle of applying the law which could not be retroactive.

Din Syamsudin viewed that Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas opened opportunities for foreigners to control oil and gas resources in Indonesia. In addition to the establishment of BP Migas, the 2001 Oil and Gas Law reduced the state's role in water resources as a result of violations of article 33. Contracts signed by BP Migas and foreigners resulted in the state losing its freedom in managing its water resources (Simon Butt, 2013). Muhammadiyah criticism led to the constitutional jihad granted by the Constitutional Court regarding both Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas and Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources. Muhammadiyah's criticism of the water resource management law led to a judicial review derived from the results of the 2009 Tanwir session. Muhammadiyah, first, urged the government to implement a sustainable development that utilizes natural resources in an eco-democratic manner with economic political policies that favor the interests of the people and upholds the nation's morality and sovereignty. Second, Muhammadiyah urged the government (both central and regional) to save state assets and manage wealth and natural resources by prioritizing long-term interests and environmental preservation with the intent of using them for the prosperity of the people.

FACTORS INFLUENCING MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM

Muhammadiyah's criticism of SBY's government is inseparable from the subjectivity of actors, especially with the strong voice of Din Syamsudin. This interconnectedness reveals how subjective factors influence Muhammadiyah in voicing criticisms. Criticism has positive and constructive values with the purpose of improving the condition of the nation. According to Surbakti, factors influencing elites to participate include socioeconomic situations, organizational experience, political awareness, and trust in government (Simangunsong, 2004). This attitude has proven the relationship between religion and government politics (Kaptein, 2016). Din's subjectivity appears in his view of the socio-political situation. This attitude reflects the Muhammadiyah movement which is not only concerned with its group but also with Indonesian society as a whole. Modern and liberal democracy do not only see issues for their personal interests but also for the wider community (Couture, 2012). That was the attitude of Muhammadiyah in criticizing SBY's government policies.

According to Kaptein (2019), Muhammadiyah is an organization that is tolerant of minorities, especially in regard to social and economic issues. Kaptein refers to this notion as a communal tolerance. This has become an objective social, economic, and political condition as Muhammadiyah's reason for criticism. The objective conditions include economic liberalization and an impact upon its people, Muhammadiyah as a civil society, a democratic constitutional system, and Muhammadiyah as a reformist movement. Trade and industrial policies are still oriented towards liberalization and thus do not protect domestic products, or provide enough impetus for the creation of added values. As a result, domestic industries lack competitiveness and are vulnerable to the invasion of imported products, which means they tend to export raw materials and semi-finished goods. Furthermore, the existing policies cause the growth of the manufacturing sector to be low.

The old views of the classical doctrine of democracy are concerned with the common good and the people's will (Schumpeter, 1942). To realize this, the state needs to position itself to fulfill the will of the people. Mark E. Warren and Hilary Pearse (2008) argue that in the social science paradigm, those who control the agenda can control the outcome and that the setting of the political agenda must be consistent with the current issue. Muhammadiyah has become one of the institutions that controls setting the agenda, though the position is outside the government. Muhammadiyah is based on democratic deliberation. In a deliberative democracy, it is necessary to institutionalize ideas, possible actions, and listen to the people's opinions. Muhammadiyah

takes actions so that the government and the House of Representatives will not arbitrarily make regulations considered contrary to the 1945 Constitution. Overlapping regulations have caused problems in the system of law drafting in Indonesia, such as laws on oil and gas and natural resources which are clearly contrary to the 1945 Constitution. Wiratraman (2018) asserted that there is a need to strengthen the judicial apparatus of the court so that there is no law contrary to the 1945 Constitution.

Muhammadiyah's criticism was influenced by the Muhammadiyah leadership's mindset and the SBY government's social, political, economic circumstances, and economic liberalization efforts, wherein the policy of undoing the law had the potential to destroy the people's economic activities. Criticism of Muhammadiyah demonstrates the concern of Muhammadiyah and his leadership, as well as the perception of Muhammadiyah as a movement of civil society that has to govern the nation. Criticism by Din Syamsudin demonstrates the need for allocative policy against the state to allow the nation to be powerful and not to become an instrument of global capitalism. Din Syamsudin was strict on policies that affected Muslims. Reforms have strengthened the position of civil society in order to increase its political role in determining the direction of the nation and state. Muhammadiyah as part of civil society has a very important role to determine the direction of action for the creation of empowered society. Muhammadiyah is not the only civil power in Indonesia. There are many other civil forces. But as a reform movement, Muhammadiyah's active role in criticizing the government shows that Muhammadiyah is capable of being a locomotive for others. This is inseparable from the Muhammadiyah movement as a modern Islamic movement through its *tajdid* and social and political movements. Modernization is a movement to reform Muhammadiyah thought to find solutions to the various problems they face. The Reform Movement in Muhammadiyah is based on the belief that Islam aims to create a socio-political system on a strong ethical and moral foundation in order to actualize the principle of *rahmatan lil alamin* in certain space and time.

THE INTERNAL IMPACTS OF MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM

Muhammadiyah's central position has made major contributions to Indonesia's socio-political dynamics. Din Syamsudin, the central leader of the Muhammadiyah, showed an attitude of brotherhood amongst his people (Munson, 2001), and as a pluralism movement that saw major issues for the community (Mu'ti, 2016), a substantial Islamic movement by looking at all aspects (Parmudi, 2015). Muhammadiyah's critical attitude had an impact on Muhammadiyah's organization, causing conflict within the organization. The

opposition also gave the same attitude specifically regarding the issue of law. But the government on behalf of the state seeks to strengthen the position of the state in maintaining the stability of social order. Muhammadiyah's criticism of the administration of President SBY was seen as weakening the government in controlling the stability of the country. Therefore, the government tended to be negative towards the Muhammadiyah elite.

Muhammadiyah's criticism of the government had an impact on Din Syamsudin as a person. The relationship between Din Syamsudin and state officials, especially with President SBY, became strained. For example, Din Syamsudin was not included in the list of religious leaders who were invited by SBY to a meeting at the state palace in 2011. Din seemed to be purposefully kept away from state policy makers. This seemed to be detrimental to Din politically. However, the opposite happened in reality when Muhammadiyah was able to follow up on its criticisms about mismanagement of the state by showing many laws that were contrary to the 1945 Constitution. Constitutional jihad, a term that was put forward by Din Syamsudin and Muhammadiyah, brought success in conducting a judicial review of a number of laws that were considered detrimental to Indonesia's sovereignty.

The success of the judicial review shows the strength of Muhammadiyah as a civil society in regards to state power. Civil society includes areas of social life that are organized and characterized by, among other things, volunteerism, self-sufficiency, and high independence in dealing with the state from being attracted by legal norms and values followed by its citizens (Parry, 2011). Din Syamsudin's attitude reflects the right choices and rational attitudes that reflect Muhammadiyah's modern perspective. Rational choices tend to follow culture and religion (Zafirovski, 2016). In the context of bringing Muhammadiyah as a civil society, Din was considered successful in strengthening Muhammadiyah's position when dealing with the state. The rational choice of the leaders of Muhammadiyah, especially the actors representing Muhammadiyah in expressing criticism to the government, yielded more benefits than Din's good relations with the president at that time.

Muhammadiyah's criticism found a successful channel in a democratic state system. Muhammadiyah is seen as a civic organization that is not in conflict with the system or the interests of the government because the state has provided a channel of participation for civil society. However, personal criticism of the Muhammadiyah elite towards the government had an impact on the absence of Muhammadiyah cadres in the second United Indonesia Cabinet structure. The attitude of the Muhammadiyah elite who frankly supported the other pair in the 2009 Presidential Election revealed that there was no position in the

government for Muhammadiyah cadres. The support of the Muhammadiyah elites was more likely given to Jusuf Kalla, even though Muhammadiyah during SBY's leadership still gained space as an Islamic organization.

EXTERNAL IMPACTS OF THE MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM

Muhammadiyah's criticism of SBY's government had a positive impact on society. Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources granted the right to the private sector to use water widely while participating in managing water resources. An understanding of social and economic functions arises and the privatization and commercialization of water resources is detrimental to the community. With the cancellation of Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources, the community is free to use water resources in accordance with the constitutional basis of the 1945 Constitution Article 33 Paragraph (3) (Kurniawan, 2013). This means that access for the community in utilizing Water Resources becomes wide open.

The annulment of Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning natural resources has gained momentum by the government to improve itself by drawing up pro-people and equitable water resource management rules for all parties. Law No. 11/1974 concerning irrigation as a legal umbrella was reinstated which means the state again has the right to control water resources. The top priority to control water is given to state-owned enterprises (BUMN) and regional government-owned companies (BUMD). The impact of the annulment of Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources is a breath of fresh air for BUMN and BUMD to further develop and carry out the main tasks of the functions of state-owned and regional-owned enterprises, in addition to being profit-oriented, it is also permissible to leave the service function to the community (Kurniawan, 2013).

Muhammadiyah's criticism of the management of oil and gas which led to the cancellation of some articles of Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas has had an impact on legal protection of state assets. Articles regulating BP Migas as BUMN were canceled. To fill the legal vacuum, SKK Migas was formed to continue the duties of BP Migas, which no longer has legality. SKK Migas is not a State-Owned Legal Entity (BUMN) like BP Migas but is a work-unit under the minister (Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources). That is, the government fully controls the management of oil and gas as a fulfillment of the needs of public services, and therefore the government can be petitioned to meet these needs permanently and routinely for the welfare of the people.

The methods undertaken by the government in meeting the intended needs is the case with individuals. They have attempted to do this namely by entering into a contractual relationship with another party. Contract legal

instruments become a very important legal corridor as an effort to protect the law of state assets. Cooperation Contracts are rules of the game for parties acting as contractants involving the government as one of the parties. The characteristics of these contracts are not fully subject to private law. One of the most important aspects of contracts involving the government is the immunity of the government when it is sued in court. In order to protect the country's financial assets there are regulations that also function as efforts to protect the country's wealth.

Muhammadiyah's various criticisms of the Indonesian Government under President SBY departed from the empirical reality of the Indonesian Nation which was indeed confronted with the torrent of liberalization. The rationality established by the government that liberalization as a door to prosperity seems to have received many protests because liberalization is only beneficial for capital owners. Muhammadiyah's critical attitude is reminiscent of Emmanuel Kant's philosophy of criticism which tries to correct rationalism and empiricism (Khuza'i & Kamil, 2015). The truth derived from the power of the ratio is not always in line with the truth felt at the practical level. Ratio or thought about exploitation of water resources that brings prosperity is not always true, because empirical facts show the existence of natural damage that is not proportional to the welfare enjoyed by the people. On the contrary, the prosperous life enjoyed by the people is often considered irrational when compared with the figures for the increase in future exploitation.

MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM AS A RATIONAL CHOICE

Muhammadiyah criticism in the Din Syamsudin era appeared as a correction to the rationalism of policies issued by the state during SBY's administration. Analysis of Muhammadiyah criticism based on rational choice theory rational choice is a choice based on values (Hechter, 1997) that rational choice takes into account the issues and voices of the people (Jung, 2017). According to McBride (2016) rational choice in religious authority takes into account the objectives and benefits, and the groups that accept their impact. The laws regarding oil, gas, water resources from a Muhammadiyah perspective are laws that are detrimental and unfavorable to the community. They only form new capital groups through the IMF. Ostrom (1991) argued that rational choices made by Muhammadiyah as a normative analysis of problematic laws, explaining the problems and impacts of the policies, and retelling the purpose of the 1945 Constitution on natural resources that must be managed for the welfare of the people.

Muhammadiyah measures have shown that the oil and gas and natural resources

law has great potential to impose new capital domination. Muhammadiyah criticism is seen from the perspective of rational choice theory, which is a rational choice of the Muhammadiyah elites. This is seen particularly in Din Syamsudin's decisions based on rational considerations. However, the assumption of rational choice theorists is that individuals are rational and selfish (Andrew Hindmoor, 2015). The criticism voiced by Din is inseparable from the spirit of promotion of virtue and prevention of vice which is based on the values of spiritual and transcendent teachings. The transcendent aspect felt by the individual is not captured as a reality so Din's argument is built from his actions to achieve some goal or self-interest.

Din's attitude as an ethical choice whose consequences lie in individual responsibility (Dekker, 2017), makes it so that the attitude taken is the decision of his and Muhammadiyah's moral attitude. Each social behavior is basically an exchange of something useful for individuals with rational considerations (van Aaken & Kurtz, 2019). Din, as an actor, made a decision along Muhammadiyah lines. Based on the condition of the state that can be monopolized by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Muhammadiyah saw this action as having a negative impact on society and gave advantages to investors. Van Aaken & Kurtz (2019) saw Muhammadiyah's position as an actor who understood the problem so it decided through a meeting of the central leadership. Rational choice theory has character tenants that lie within the actor. As a social theory, rational choice builds the actor's action model with the social context that is happening (Hechter, 1997). Muhammadiyah's long-standing understanding and experience in driving change shows that he understands the prevalent social reality. The social conditions in the above views are in line with Hoffman (2015).

Muhammadiyah's decision, according to the rational-actor model, is based on logic or rationality to achieve organizational goals or interests. This means that actors or elites who convey criticism to the Yudhoyono's government associate their personal benefits with that of the organization. Rational choice theory views one's actions as beneficial (Ratcliffe, 2014). Actions taken by an actor need to pay attention to several things, such as making difficult policies implementable. In this position, Muhammadiyah was able to control power with constitutional jihad so that the oil, gas, and water resources laws were annulled. Second, considering the macro and micro aspects, both of these apparatus, as put forward by Ratcliffe (2014), are aspects that influence each other. Actors need to understand the phenomenon and its impact so they know the effect. Rational choice theory views a person's action as an act of "utility maximizing approach", namely someone will make a choice that is

very beneficial for them. Rational choice theory has six postulates, namely: (1) every social phenomenon is a result of one's choices, behavior, attitudes, etc. (2) behavior can be understood (3) behavior arises as a result of reasons in the mind (4) the reasons for the choice of a behavior are based on the assessment of the consequences of that choice (5) the assessment of the consequences is based on the consequences that will be felt by individuals making decisions (egoism) (6) individuals will make choices that are most beneficial for them (Boudon, 2003).

Muhammadiyah's attitude is explained by Al-ansi, Sulistyaningsih, & Kartono (2019) that the organization has a very important role in binding in Muhammadiyah's moral practice. Muhammadiyah's attitude as a practice of collective morality follows the teachings of the Qur'an such as justice, equality, brotherhood, love, solidarity, and freedom of choice. This attitude can be described as having three associations: first, how the environment influences the individual into action; second, how action orientation influences individual actions; and third, how actions affect social outcomes (Peter Hedström, 2011).

Judging from the decision making through the organizational process model, Muhammadiyah's criticism is the collective behavior of management involved in the decision making process. The management must be bound by the rules of the organization as written in the Statute and the unwritten habits in decision-making meetings such as daily meetings, plenary sessions, *tanwir* sessions, and conferences. The decision making model through this organizational process will suppress the interests of individual management. That is, the argument of rational choice theory that a person's actions are to achieve his own interests is not entirely true. In addition, according to Bateson (2010), rational choice draws a logical reasoning of decision makers to describe results. Muhammadiyah's choice to conduct constitutional jihad has considered logical reasoning and the results to be achieved (Bateson, 2010; Peter Hedström, 2011).

The general will becomes an incentive in the choice of ratio by observing the wishes of the public (Hoffman, 2015). In this light, Muhammadiyah made extensive criticism of the oil, gas, and water resources laws, and Muhammadiyah saw a visible gap between people at the lower economic class. If the law is enacted, it creates an even bigger inequality gap for these individuals and possibly kills the small economic movement pioneered by Muhammadiyah. The rational choice view of the Muhammadiyah's attitude has shown that the constitutional jihad movement is a moral movement. Dekker (2017) considered that bad results are not generated by immoral humans but by human interaction with the system. Dekker's views in several

studies also assess that theories are categorized as rational or irrational due to wrong perspectives about a case, and not human behavior. The ability of Din Syamsudin to accumulate the strength of Muhammadiyah to reject government policy is different when compared to some countries that are not able to accommodate socio-political forces using their leadership to address problematic external conditions (Faris & Parry, 2011). However, the position of moderate and progressive Islamic organizations advocates for greater protection of people's rights (Freedman, 2009).

The collective-action approach, especially regarding environmental problems, modifies the regulatory structure (Villamayor-Tomas, Thiel, Amblard, Zikos, & Blanco, 2019). These modifications create a collective action of large organizations that are concerned with these issues, so that policy instruments are born only in the form of strict regulations. But Sweetman, Maio, Spears, Manstead, & Livingstone (2019) assumed that the larger a group of interests, the smaller the significance of the involvement of individuals within it. Meanwhile, the benefits achieved if the interest group succeeds in pushing its interests in the policy process will be felt by all group members, without considering the contribution of each member to the group. Such an attitude is politically motivated toward the people and groups who are unfortunate due to policy thus making a message of mass mobilization. However, the form of protest should be staged through descent ethics or deliberation (Sweetman et al., 2019). The form of protest in deliberations reflects the application of democratic ideals in Islamic organizations, (Kaptein, 2016; Susanto, 2011; Svolik, 2019).

CONCLUSION

This work suggests that Muhammadiyah's criticism was based on SBY's government policy in issuing Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources which was assessed as a result of the strong pressure of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on the government, both of these laws have given a large private role to manage Indonesia's natural resources and contrary to the principles of Indonesia's economy where all-natural resources are managed by the state for the prosperity of Indonesia. Muhammadiyah took the step of constitutional jihad as a formal step to cancel both of these laws, criticism, and jihad of the Muhammadiyah constitution ended in the cancellation of the oil and gas law and natural resources. The factor influencing the Muhammadiyah system was Din Syamsudin's view as Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership and other Muhammadiyah leaders. The policy of the jihadist constitution was adopted through Muhammadiyah hearings.

Muhammadiyah's attitude in responding to the law as a form of organization has had an important role in society, the role is binding in the moral practices of Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah's attitude as a practice of collective morality following the teachings of the Qur'an such as justice, equality, brotherhood, affection, solidarity, and freedom of choice. Muhammadiyah's criticism was influenced both by Din Syamsudin's leadership factors, Din Syamsudin's views regarding the socio-political situation, and his thoughts prompted him to be critical of the government. Din Syamsudin's attitude towards economic liberalization shows Muhammadiyah's strong character in the role of civil society. Muhammadiyah's criticism had a huge impact on society, with the repeal of Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources and Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas. As a result, the management of water and natural gas returned to the state is no longer controlled by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Muhammadiyah's attitude gave rise to internal and external impacts on Muhammadiyah due to the constitutional jihad carried out by Muhammadiyah, the impact of which was that Din Syamsudin's relationship with the state was hindered. Din's step is an attitude that the consequences are on the individual, but the attitude of Din Syamsudin and Muhammadiyah has reflected the moral attitude of Muhammadiyah which is in favor of economic justice, equality, and brotherhood.

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