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INFRASTRUCTURE AS DA'WAH: MUHAMMADIYAH AND OTHER FORMS OF DA'WAH

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Abstrak:

Berbagai kajian yang dilakukan terhadap dakwah masih didominasi oleh dakwah dalam bentuk lisan maupun tulisan. Penggunaan media atau suatu tindakan juga sudah memperoleh perhatian sebagai bagian dari dakwah, meski masih belum sebanding dengan dakwah lisan dan tulisan. Artikel ini mengangkat pembangunan fasilitas publik yang dilakukan organisasi Muhammadiyah sebagai bentuk dakwah. Pembangunan fasilitas publik ini kerap dianggap sekadar wujud filantropi. Penulis melihat bahwa pembangunan fasilitas publik adalah bagian dari dakwah yang dilakukan Muhammadiyah. Dengan perspektif komunikasi dari James W. Carey dan komunikasi profetik, proses komunikasi tidak hanya dilihat dalam bentuk lisan, tulisan, atau gestur/tindakan, tetapi juga bentuk lain seperti materi, dalam konteks artikel ini adalah infrastruktur fasilitas publik, yang ditujukan sebagai pengamalan nilai-nilai profetik, termasuk di dalamnya adalah dakwah. Perspektif infrastruktur puitis dari Brian Larkin memungkinkan infrastruktur tidak hanya dilihat dari aspek fungsionalnya saja, tetapi juga aspek politisnya, termasuk nilai-nilai yang dibawa lewat pembangunan infrastruktur. Muhammadiyah dengan nilai Islam modern menerapkan dakwah Islam modern lewat fasilitas publik sesuai kebutuhan masyarakat, pendidikan campuran agama dan sains, dan Kawasan Tanpa Rokok (KTR).

Kata kunci: Muhammadiyah; Dakwah; Filantropi; Infrastruktur puitis

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Abstract:

Various studies conducted on da'wah are still dominated by da'wah in oral and written form. The use of media or an action has also received attention as part of da'wah, although it is still not comparable to oral and written da'wah. This article discusses the construction of public facilities by the Muhammadiyah organization as a form of da'wah. The construction of public facilities is often seen as just a form of philanthropy. We see that the construction of public facilities is part of the da'wah carried out by Muhammadiyah. With the communication perspective of James W. Carey and prophetic communication, the communication process is not only seen in the form of spoken, written, or gesture/action, but also other forms such as material, in the context of this article is the infrastructure of public facilities, which are intended as the practice of prophetic values, including da'wah. Brian Larkin's poetic infrastructure perspective allows infrastructure not only to be seen from the functional aspect, but also from the political aspect, including the values brought through infrastructure development. Muhammadiyah with modern Islamic values applies modern Islamic da'wah through public facilities according to community needs, education that is a mixture of religion and science, and Non-Smoking Areas (KTR).

Keywords: Muhammadiyah; Da'wah; Philanthropy; Poetics of Infrastructure

INTRODUCTION

Religion teaches and has a number of aspects in it which can be divided into theological aspects and non-theological aspects. In spreading its ideas, religion needs a special space to teach its teachings and assert its existence to its followers. In Islam, this action is called da'wah. Da'wah is something that is mandated to Muslims, namely proclaiming and inviting others into the path of Allah with wisdom. In fact, every day da'wah – which in Arabic means “inviting” or “calling” - is heard five times a day in the form of a call to prayer calling people to prayer.¹ Da'wah is the process of transmitting Islamic teachings regarding the ultimate goal, happiness, and the hereafter based on the Qur'an and hadith.² The importance of da'wah in Islam requires a set of knowledge to understand da'wah, which is called the science of da'wah. The purpose of da'wah is to study the relationship

¹ Matthew J. Kuiper. *Da'wa: A Global History of Islamic Missionary Thought and Practice*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021, 1.

² Fahrurrozi, et al. *Ilmu Dakwah*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2019, 18.

between elements so that da'wah can be carried out properly and correctly.³ The elements of da'wah include da'i, messages, methods, media, and *mad'u* (others) who are preached.⁴ Da'wah actors are not only special da'wah activities, but all da'wah with media and methods according to the needs of the times.⁵

This article seeks to expand the knowledge of da'wah by not only observing the mediatization of da'wah, but also how the media becomes da'wah itself. The times have made Islamic organizations not only preach or carry out religious affairs, but also social problems. In this context, the author sees that the involvement of Islamic organizations in social issues cannot be separated from da'wah activities. One form of handling social problems by religious organizations is the construction of public facilities. Can the establishment of infrastructure based on non-theological aspects such as schools and hospitals based on the teachings of a certain religious group be called da'wah too? To see this, the author takes the example of Muhammadiyah as one of the Islamic religious groups in Indonesia which often establishes a number of infrastructures as evidence of the existence of da'wah activities through the established infrastructure. This article shows public facilities as da'wah in accordance with the times. This solves the problem Asror raised⁶ that the study of da'wah is too focused on religion as a major premise and forgets about social problems in society, or is characterized by idealism-transcendentalism.

The authors did not find a study that looked at infrastructure as a form of da'wah. Most studies that look at da'wah focus on the form of da'wah through oral and written (*bil lisan*). In addition to the *bil lisan*, da'wah in the form of *bil hal* (da'wah with action) has also been studied, for example regarding da'wah through social entrepreneurship.⁷ Responding to the development of information technology, several studies have looked at da'wah through various media such as films,⁸ radio,⁹ and social media.¹⁰

³ Fahrurrozi, et al. *Ilmu Dakwah*, 40.

⁴ Sambas, 2004: 128, in Ahidul Asror. *Paradigma Dakwah: Konsepsi dan Dasar Pengembangan Ilmu*. Bantul: LKiS, 2018, 13.

⁵ Ahidul Asror. *Paradigma Dakwah: Konsepsi dan Dasar Pengembangan Ilmu*, 97.

⁶ Ahidul Asror. *Paradigma Dakwah: Konsepsi dan Dasar Pengembangan Ilmu*, 132.

⁷ Alfi Qonita Badiati, et al. *Dakwah Transformatif*.

⁸ Sri Wahyuningsih. *Film dan Dakwah: Memahami Representasi Pesan-pesan Dakwah dalam Film Melalui Analisis Semiotik*. Surabaya: Media Sahabat Cendekia, 2019.

⁹ Sunarwoto. "Salafi Dakwah Radio: A Contest for Religious Authority," *Archipel*, 91, (2016): 203-230.

¹⁰ Eva F. Nisa. "Social Media and the Birth of an Islamic Social Movement: ODOJ (One Day One Juz) in Contemporary Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 46(134), (2018): 24-43; Ayuwan Nandani. Utilizing Social Media as a Da'wah Facility for Muslim Academics. *Proceeding 2018 International Student Conference on Islamic Studies (ISCIS)*

Attention to the ways of certain figures has also received attention in various studies on da'wah, such as Felix Siau's da'wah¹¹ and KH Muhammad Zaini Bin Abdul Ghani's¹² or certain organizations, such as student organizations (KAMMI, HMI, PMII, and IMM).¹³ Likewise, other contemporary social phenomena such as the rise of middle class Muslims, neoliberalism, and commodification.¹⁴

Muhammadiyah as one of the Islamic organizations in Indonesia has also been widely studied,¹⁵ including da'wah activities,¹⁶ Muhammadiyah's philanthropy,¹⁷ or relations with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)—the other major Islamic organization in Indonesia.¹⁸ The development of various

“Contemporary Islam in the Eyes of Young Researchers” 31 Agustus-2 September 2018, IAIN Manado; Ufik W. Ahmad. The Influence of Social Media in Islamic Da'wah. *Proceeding 2018 International Student Conference on Islamic Studies (ISCIS)* “Contemporary Islam in the Eyes of Young Researchers” 31 Agustus-2 September 2018, IAIN Manado.

¹¹ Hew Wai Weng. “THE ART OF DAKWAH: Social Media, Visual Persuasion and the Islamist Propagation of Felix Siau.” *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 46(134) (2018): 61-79.

¹² Ulfia Nurhasanah Komariah and M. Ridho Sullam. Effect of Dakwah Method KH Muhammad Zaini Bin Abdul Ghani Against Religious Motivation of the People of South Kalimantan (Study of Social Media Account Followers' Behavior Thanks to our Teacher). *Proceeding 2018 International Student Conference on Islamic Studies (ISCIS)* “Contemporary Islam in the Eyes of Young Researchers” 31 Agustus-2 September 2018, IAIN Manado.

¹³ Abdul Basit. “The Ideological Fragmentation of Indonesian Muslim Students and Da'wa Movements in the Post-reformed Era,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 6(2), (2016): 185-208.

¹⁴ Oki Setiana Dewi and Ahmad Khoiril Fata. “Beragam Jalan Menjadi Salih: Model Dakwah Kelas Menengah Muslim Indonesia,” *Jurnal Bimas Islam*, 14(1), (2021): 1-32; Media Zainul Bahri. “The Phenomenon of “Celebrity Ustadz” in Indonesia on the Ethics of Dakwahtainment,” *International Journal of the Malay World and Civilisation*, 4(1), (2016): 15-29.

¹⁵ Hilman Latief and Haedar Nashir. “Local Dynamics and Global Engagements of the Islamic Modernist Movement in Contemporary Indonesia: The Case of Muhammadiyah (2000-2020),” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 39(2), (2020): 290-309; St. Nurhayati, et al. *Muhammadiyah dalam Perspektif Sejarah, Organisasi, dan Sistem Nilai*; Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy and Azaki Khoirudin. *Etika Muhammadiyah & Spirit Peradaban*. Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2017.

¹⁶ Al Fauzi Rahmat. “Dakwah Digital: Eksplorasi Gerakan Filantropi Muhammadiyah Selama Covid-19 di Media Sosial Twitter ‘@muhammadiyah’,” *Ettisal*, 6(1), (2021): 1-19; David Krisna Alka. “Alam Digital Muhammadiyah Dakwah Islam Washatiyah Berkemajuan,” *Maarif*, 14(2), (2019): 85-92.

¹⁷ Aji Damanuri, *Puritanisme dan Kapitalisme: Pertarungan Spirit Ideologis pada Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah*. Ponorogo: Calina Media, 2020.

¹⁸ M. Adlin Sila. “Revisiting NU-Muhammadiyah in Indonesia: The Accommodation of Islamic Reformism in Bima,” *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 48(142), (2020): 304-322; Gustav Brown. “Civic Islam: Muhammadiyah, NU and the Organisational Logic of Consensus-making in Indonesia,” *Asian Studies Review*, 43(3), (2019): 397-414; M. Najib Azca, et al. *Dua Menyemai Damai: Peran dan Kontribusi Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama dalam Perdamaian dan Demokrasi*. Sleman: Pusat Studi Keamanan dan Perdamaian Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2019.

infrastructures carried out by Muhammadiyah has also been widely studied, both as philanthropy,¹⁹ Muhammadiyah's form of inclusiveness,²⁰ even an attempt to fend off Christianization.²¹ This article is different because it views infrastructure development as da'wah, not just philanthropy. Even though there have been studies that see philanthropy as da'wah,²² but not specifically on infrastructure development and in the end reduces the infrastructure itself and focuses on its functional aspects only.

The method that the author uses is qualitative looking for soft data in the form of words, sentences, photos, symbols, and others, looking at the social context, details, and processes.²³ The data collected through literature study is in the form of collecting secondary sources from news, scientific articles, books, and documents published by Muhammadiyah. The data was analyzed using the chosen theory, namely poetic infrastructure, to capture the political and da'wah aspects of the infrastructure of public facilities built by Muhammadiyah.

DISCUSSION

Theoretical framework

The author will look at the development of various infrastructures carried out by Muhammadiyah as part of their da'wah. To see this, the author uses the concept of infrastructure and the poetic infrastructure theory of Larkin.²⁴ Infrastructure is not only seen as a supporter of a process, as is often embedded in various phrases such as road infrastructure, information infrastructure, economic infrastructure, and others. Defining infrastructure, Larkin²⁵ see it as a network that facilitates the flow of goods, people, ideas and allows the exchange of ideas across space. The concept and definition of infrastructure from Larkin is very relevant because it looks at an infrastructure, which in the context of this article is a public

¹⁹ Amelia Fauzia. *Faith and the State: A History of Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

²⁰ Ridho Al-Hamdi, et al. (ed.). *Politik Inklusif Muhammadiyah: Narasi Pencerahan Islam untuk Indonesia Berkemajuan*. Bantul: UMY Press, 2019.

²¹ M. Isa Anshory and Syamsul Hidayat. "Politik Etis, Kristenisasi, dan Gerakan Muhammadiyah," in M. Amien Rais, et al. *1 Abad Muhammadiyah Istiqomah Membendung Kristenisasi dan Liberalisme*. Yogyakarta: MTDK-PP Muhammadiyah, 2010; Alwi Shihab. *Membendung Arus: Respons Gerakan Muhammadiyah Terhadap Penetrasi Misi Kristen di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1998.

²² Fahrurrozi. *Model-model Dakwah di Era Kontemporer (Strategi Merestorasi Umat Menuju Moderasi dan Deradikalisasi)*. Mataram: LP2M UIN Mataram, 2017.

²³ Lawrence W. Neuman. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (7th Edition). Edinburgh: Pearson, 2014, 167-169.

²⁴ Brian Larkin. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure. *Annual Review of Anthropology*," 42, (2013): 327-343.

²⁵ Brian Larkin. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure, 328.

facility built by Muhammadiyah, not only based on its practical function, but also its political aspect which provides space for Muhammadiyah to carry out da'wah through the construction of public facilities that society needs. It is necessary to distinguish between da'wah infrastructure and infrastructure as da'wah or what the author calls infrastructure da'wah. Da'wah infrastructure is a means that serves to convey da'wah, in contrast to infrastructure da'wah which sees the infrastructure itself as da'wah.

As a support, infrastructure becomes the same as technology. But in Larkin's definition, infrastructure is different from technology. Infrastructure is an object that provides a container for other objects to operate, and simultaneously that infrastructure operates as a system.²⁶ Highlighting the political aspect of infrastructure, Larkin introduces the poetic of infrastructure. The use of the poetic concept comes from Roman Jakobson, a linguist, who identifies various functions of speech acts, one of which is poetic. Rather than referential meaning, the poetic function emphasizes the quality of the signifier. In the infrastructure contest, the main thing is not the function (referential meaning; main designation), but other meanings that may arise from the infrastructure material that are different from the referential meaning.²⁷ In other words, infrastructure needs to be seen as a semiotic and aesthetic vehicle aimed at addressees. Infrastructure can give rise to desires and fantasies that resemble a fetish that is autonomous from its technical functions.²⁸

One form that Larkin highlights is the vision of modernity from infrastructure,²⁹ but also includes bodily experiences with infrastructure.³⁰ As a vehicle for aesthetics and semiotics, while simultaneously harboring desires and fantasies, infrastructure is like a mode of communication and it is also possible to see infrastructure not only as a means of da'wah, but as da'wah itself.

Communication by Carey³¹ has two definitions, the first is as transmission (the dominant definition) and the second is communication as a symbolic process that produces, maintains, improves, and transforms reality.³² The two definitions of communication proposed by Carey can be useful for analyzing infrastructure as a mode of communication, especially da'wah.

²⁶ Brian Larkin. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure, 329.

²⁷ Brian Larkin. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure, 333-334.

²⁸ Brian Larkin. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure, 329.

²⁹ Brian Larkin. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure, 332.

³⁰ Brian Larkin. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure, 336.

³¹ James W. Carey. *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Revised Edition). New York: Routledge, 2009.

³² James W. Carey. *Communication as Culture*, 19

Da'wah can mean calling, inviting, presenting, pleading, and advising³³ all of them refer to the teachings of Islam which is a religion of da'wah.³⁴

Da'wah itself as a form of communication for Muslims does not only aim to spread Islamic teachings. According to the Qur'an, da'wah aims to increase faith, uphold human nature, carry on prophetic duties, guide people to the right path and be blessed, and make humans into *kaffah* Muslims..³⁵ In various communication models in the Islamic perspective identified by Nashori, et al.,³⁶ This infrastructure da'wah is included in da'wah communication which sees Islamic communication as a study to broadcast Islamic teachings and prophetic communication which sees Islamic communication as a communication effort to realize prophetic goals..

Muhammadiyah Profile

Muhammadiyah was founded by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan in Kauman, Yogyakarta, on 8 Dzulhijjah 1330 H (18 November 1912 AD). Muhammadiyah is a da'wah-based organization based on the Al-Quran and Hadith.³⁷ Anggaran Dasar Muhammadiyah Chapter III Article 6 explained the aims and objectives of Muhammadiyah: "to uphold and uphold the Islamic Religion so that a true Islamic society can be realized."³⁸ The establishment of Muhammadiyah was initiated by some religious, moral and social concerns and concerns. Muhammadiyah carries forward Islam that seeks to advance Islam and overcome various problems of anxiety that are considered to be hampering the progress of Islam. This social unrest occurs because of the backwardness of the people in terms of intellectual and economic. Religious anxiety arises because they see that there is a lot of mysticism that causes backwardness in religion. As stated in the Anggaran Dasar Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah aims to modernize the thinking of Muslims in Indonesia. As a social organization, Muhammadiyah does not only deal with educational problems, but also develops community services such as health, giving laws (fatwa), orphanages, counseling, and others. This is evidenced by the establishment of many schools, hospitals, mosques, orphanages, universities, nursing homes and others that are

³³ Matthew J. Kuiper. *Da'wa*, 22.

³⁴ Fahrurrozi, et al. *Ilmu Dakwah*, 40.

³⁵ Alfi Qonita Badiati, et al. *Dakwah Transformatif*. Kartosuro: Taujih, 2018, 25-31.

³⁶ Fuad Nashori, et al. *Ilmu Sosial Humaniora dalam Perspektif Islam*. Sleman: Sevenbooks, 2020, 76.

³⁷ St. Nurhayati, et al. *Muhammadiyah dalam Perspektif Sejarah, Organisasi, dan Sistem Nilai*. Bantul: TrustMedia, 2018, 2.

³⁸ PP Muhammadiyah. *Anggaran Dasar (AD) Muhammadiyah*. Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2005, 2.

affiliated with Muhammadiyah. In addition, within the Muhammadiyah organization itself, there are also many autonomous assemblies, institutions and organizations that deal with religious and social issues.³⁹

The slogan “Islam Berkemajuan” was also displayed by Muhammadiyah in relation to the era of globalization. The term “Islam Berkemajuan” is also defined as “Cosmopolitan Islam”, namely Muhammadiyah people as part of the world’s citizens who have a high sense of solidarity and a sense of responsibility regardless of differences. So with this understanding, Muhammadiyah’s role will be wider in the social and educational fields, namely providing humanitarian assistance as happened in Palestine, Somalia, Syria, Central Africa, and so on. Then can also conduct comparative studies related to the importance of education so that it can bring Islamic civilization in the future.⁴⁰

Modernization of Islam, Modernization of Charity

Article 4 of the Anggaran Dasar (AD) of Muhammadiyah describes the charities and activities in order to achieve the aims and objectives of upholding the teachings of the Islamic religion, namely: optimizing and deepening the knowledge of the Islamic religion; strengthen faith, worship, and morals; develop education and culture; add science and technology according to Islamic teachings; invites the public to establish and maintain places of worship and endowments; promote the dignity of women according to Islamic teachings; guide the younger generation to be useful for the homeland, nation, and religion; encourage people to improve their lives and economic livelihoods according to Islamic teachings; turn on charity to help in terms of virtue and piety in the fields of social, health, prosperous family, and community development; play a role in national development; and foster Muhammadiyah kinship and *ukhuwah Islamiyah*.⁴¹

Human Resources is very important because it is one of the driving pillars of the organization in Muhammadiyah’s charitable efforts in achieving the goal of *amar ma’ruf nahi munkar*. One form of human resource development efforts, especially those within Muhammadiyah, is the emergence of philanthropy or charity aspects. Muhammadiyah is the first organization to transform the traditional practice of giving into organized

³⁹ Abdul Munir Mulkhan. *Pemikiran Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan dan Muhammadiyah dalam Perspektif Perubahan Sosial*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1990, 20

⁴⁰ Kahfi, Muhammad, “Peranan Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam Berkemajuan di Era Modern,” *Al-Risalah*, 11, 2 (2020): 121.

⁴¹ Isma Asmaria Purba and Ponirin. “Perkembangan Amal Usaha Organisasi Muhammadiyah di Bidang Pendidikan and Kesehatan,” *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Sosial Politik*, 1(2), (2013): 102-103.

philanthropy by mobilizing the community to produce social change in the name of religion.⁴² The philanthropy carried out by Muhammadiyah is a manifestation of Muhammadiyah's modernist vision itself because it does not only focus on the fiqh issues of the philanthropy, but focuses more on its management, including the content of transparency.⁴³ Muhammadiyah's modernist approach to philanthropy also does not hesitate to adopt the practices of Christian organizations.⁴⁴ Philanthropy is considered to be one of the keys to Muhammadiyah's success in perpetuating its existence in Indonesia.

Charity or philanthropy, in Muhammadiyah, is a concrete form of al-Maun's theology. Al-Maun is the 107th surah, al-Maun (useful items) which was revealed after the surah al-Takatsur (Boasting). K.H. Ahmad Dahlan teaches about Surah Al-Maun and invites him to practice it.⁴⁵ According to the Muhammadiyah, al-Maun's ethos and theology are related to al-Takatsur. Al-Takatsur—which means only hoarding wealth for its own sake so that it is close to the regime of capitalism—will only bring “misery and deprivation that is felt by some human beings”.⁴⁶ Al-Takatsur was transferred to fit the ethos and theology of al-Maun into the spirit of al-Takatsur which means “capitalization that cares about poverty and oppression, and is devoted to defending and empowering the poor and the poor in their charity, capacity and authority, and not merely capitalization currency to double the capital itself”.⁴⁷

Al-Maun's theology comes from the teachings of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan who taught the principle of “*beramal ilmiah, berilmu amaliah*” as the basis for running the Muhammadiyah movement in daily life and from this principle were born educational institutions, hospitals, orphanages, social institutions, and various Muhammadiyah charities in various parts of the country.⁴⁸ The practice of al-Maun's theology, in the dimension of muamalah worship, is believed by Muhammadiyah as a way to create prosperity and reduce poverty

⁴² Amelia Fauzia. *Faith and the State: A History of Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia*. Leiden: Brill, 2013, 139.

⁴³ Amelia Fauzia. *Faith and the State*, 141.

⁴⁴ Amelia Fauzia. *Faith and the State*, 142.

⁴⁵ Haedar Nashir. *Muhammadiyah a Reform Movement*. Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2015, 251.

⁴⁶ Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy and Azaki Khoirudin. *Etika Muhammadiyah & Spirit Peradaban*, 44-45.

⁴⁷ Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy and Azaki Khoirudin. *Etika Muhammadiyah & Spirit Peradaban*, 45.

⁴⁸ Majelis Pustaka and Informasi Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. *100 Tahun Muhammadiyah Menyinari Negeri*. Yogyakarta: Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, tt, 17.

which is Muhammadiyah's vision..⁴⁹ Muhammadiyah philanthropy is also marked by the existence of PKO (Penolong Kesengsaraan Oemoem) which reflects the inclusiveness of Muhammadiyah.⁵⁰ Not only from an inclusive perspective, from a gender aspect, Muhammadiyah is also quite advanced because the wing of Muhammadiyah's women's organization, Aisyiyah, also provides various public facilities, such as early education for women which is now a network of Aisyiyah Kindergarten.

The actions of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan made himself accused of being a Christian *kiai* (*kiyai Kristen*) or a fake *kiai* (*kiyai palsu*) and the educational institution he founded was an infidel school (*sekolah kafir*).⁵¹ K.H. Ahmad Dahlan holds the principle of *tajdid* (reform) together with Junus Salam and Mohammad Djazman Al-Kindi and is called a *mujadid* Islam and the manifestation of *tajdid* is an act of charity which also helped raise Muhammadiyah.⁵² Knowledge from K.H. Ahmad Dahlan is well established on Tafsir Al-Manar, Al-Manar Magazine, and Tafsir Juz 'Amma of Muhammad Abduh; Al-Urwatul Wustqa from Jamaluddin Al-Afghani; also inspired by the Tawhid of Muhammad Abduh; Kanzul 'Ulum, Dairatul Ma'arif from Farid Wajdi; Fil-Bid'ah from Ibn Taimiyyah, Al-Islam wa al-Nashraniyyah from Muhammad Abduh; Idharulhaqq from Rahmatullah Al-Hindi; and the hadith of the Hambali School of Religion.⁵³

Muhammadiyah is not only active in various charitable activities in the form of providing public facilities, but Muhammadiyah itself lives from charity. Njoto-Feillard⁵⁴ noted the role of donating merchants in the early development of Muhammadiyah. Data from Muhammadiyah in 1922 stated that the merchants contributed □ of the total donations, even though this group was only of the total members. Muhammadiyah's political maneuvering also needs to be given attention because its cooperative attitude in the colonial period allowed Muhammadiyah to obtain subsidies from the government. The Yogyakarta Sultanate also contributed to Muhammadiyah.

After independence, Muhammadiyah's relationship with the state was also maintained by taking a neutral position and prioritizing activism in the

⁴⁹ Aji Damanuri. *Puritanisme dan Kapitalisme*, 63-64.

⁵⁰ M. Najib Azca, et al. *Dua Menyemai Damai*, 84.

⁵¹ Hyung-Jun Kim. "Praxis and Religious Authority in Islam: The Case of Ahmad Dahlan, Founder of Muhammadiyah," *Studia Islamika*, 17(1), (2010): 76.

⁵² Haedar Nashir. *Muhammadiyah a Reform Movement*, 81.

⁵³ Haedar Nashir. *Muhammadiyah a Reform Movement*, 85.

⁵⁴ Gwenail Njoto-Feillard. "Financing Muhammadiyah: The Early Economic Endeavours of a Muslim Modernist Mass Organization in Indonesia (1920s-1960s)," *Studia Islamika*, 21(1), (2014): 1-46.

development of various public services, since the New Order until now.⁵⁵ The above shows how long and strong this charitable or philanthropic teaching has been carried out by Muhammadiyah so that it can take root among its followers. From a political, theological, and social point of view, the teachings of charity or philanthropy carried out by Muhammadiyah are in line with Latief⁵⁶ that religious affiliation and self-perceived religiosity greatly influence the practice of philanthropy. According to data obtained in 2017 by the Majelis Ekonomi dan Kewirausahaan Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah manages 21 million square meters of waqf land which is manifested in the form of public infrastructure such as: 457 hospitals/clinics, 635 orphanages, 176 universities, 19,951 schools, 765 sharia people's credit banks, 13,000 mosques/mushola, 437 baitul mal, and 102 Islamic boarding schools.⁵⁷

Poetic Infrastructure and Modernist Vision

The construction of various public facilities by Muhammadiyah is based not only on Islam, but also on the modernist vision of Muhammadiyah, especially that compiled by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan. As the realization of a vision, infrastructure can no longer be seen as an object that ontologically only performs its function. More than that, infrastructure communicates something. Infrastructure is like poetry. The words are no longer fully arranged according to their relation, but are arranged to achieve a rhyme that is considered to be able to convey a unique message to the reader or listener, as well as infrastructure. Referring to Larkin, infrastructure needs to be seen as a vehicle for a semiotic, an intentional interpretation of signs, or in other words, political.

Poetic infrastructure makes infrastructure able to reflect the ideology brought by infrastructure. The various infrastructures of public facilities established by Muhammadiyah are no exception. Along with infrastructure development, Muhammadiyah does not only embody the practice of religious teachings, but also acts as da'wah. Muhammadiyah itself sees the act of developing public service infrastructure by Christian organizations in the colonial period of the Dutch East Indies as Christianization or an effort to Christianize the Dutch East Indies population.⁵⁸ So infrastructure

⁵⁵ Hafidz Arfandi, "Motif dan Strategi Gerakan Filantropi Muhammadiyah," *Muhammadiyah Studies*, 1(1), (2016): 127-155.

⁵⁶ Hilman Latief, "Agama dan Pelayanan Sosial: Interpretasi dan Aksi Filantropi dalam Tradisi Muslim dan Kristen di Indonesia," *Religi*, 9(2), (2013): 176.

⁵⁷ Abdul Kohar. "Mental Muhammadiyah" *Media Indonesia*. Accessed from https://m.mediaindonesia.com/podiums/detail_podiums/1994-mental-muhammadiyah, at 15 November 2021, 01.11 WIB.

⁵⁸ Alwi Shihab. *Membendung Arus*

development can also be considered as da'wah, not just fulfilling obligations. As a form of da'wah communication, the role of infrastructure is still receiving less attention and more attention is paid to the performance of its functional aspects.⁵⁹ In fact, this infrastructure development can also be considered as a typical Muhammadiyah da'wah style.

The construction of public facilities targeted by Muhammadiyah in the form of infrastructure—built based on aspects of community life such as health and education—means Muhammadiyah's da'wah efforts to be close to the community and build a mass power base from there. This is in line with the words of Fathurrahman, Chairman of the Majelis Tabligh PP Muhammadiyah, at the 46th Mukhtamar Muhammadiyah (2010) namely, "Muhammadiyah's da'wah movement to build infrastructure is one of the da'wah methods to realize the strength of the people who build a civilized life."⁶⁰

The development of infrastructure is not only done by Muhammadiyah. Although Muhammadiyah can be said to be an Islamic organization that pioneered philanthropy through the development of public service infrastructure, since the time Muhammadiyah started, many have taken similar actions. Charity, donors, or philanthropy are actually nothing new. Muhammadiyah itself was established and survived because of charity and donors, but Muhammadiyah with its modernist vision produced a different vision of infrastructure development which could be considered as a da'wah style to spread modern Islam promoted by Muhammadiyah, as in educational institutions or Non-Smoking Areas which will be explained below.

Refers back to Muhammadiyah's modernist vision seen in the field of education. Muhammadiyah until now is the organization with the most private educational institutions in Indonesia.⁶¹ This educational institution is a da'wah from Muhammadiyah, not just infrastructure in other forms of da'wah, let alone just philanthropy. Since its establishment, Muhammadiyah has always been highly committed to education, as K.H. Ahmad Dahlan for the first time in 1911. Muhammadiyah has carried out a unique educational model for a long time, which includes modern general subjects such

⁵⁹Rosialia Sciortino, Neni Ridarineni, and Brahmputra Marjadi. "Caught between Social and Market Considerations: A Case Study of Muhammadiyah Charitable Health Services," *Reproductive Health Matters*, 18(36), (2010): 25-34; Aji Damanuri. *Puritanisme dan Kapitalisme*.

⁶⁰Muhammadiyah.or.id. "Jangan Lalai, Dakwah Muhammadiyah Bukan Soal Infrastruktur Saja," *PP Muhammadiyah Cahaya Islam Berkemajuan*. Accessed from <https://muhammadiyah.or.id/jangan-lalai-dakwah-muhammadiyah-bukan-soal-infrastruktur-saja/>, at 16 November 2021, 05.09 WIB.

⁶¹Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. *100 Tahun Muhammadiyah Menyinari Negeri*, 49.

as general education even though it is under the auspices of an Islamic organization, this can be seen when K.H. Ahmad Dahlan built the first Muhammadiyah school named Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Diniyah Islamiyah.⁶²

The basics of education established by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan has several points: first, incorporating religious lessons into the model of Western (Dutch) educational institutions. The comparison between the two methods ranges from 10%-15% of the entire curriculum. Second, the application of the Western education system in Islamic religious-based educational institutions. The method in question is education that was applied by the colonial government so that it gave birth to a new education system which was a fusion between the colonial and traditional education systems. This new model eventually became the foundation of the education system within Muhammadiyah itself.⁶³

The establishment of a Muhammadiyah educational institution with such a model creates an institution by teaching religious education as a compulsory subject. Meanwhile, linguistics and exact sciences are taught in Muhammadiyah as subjects that balance religious subjects (aqidah, akhlak, al-Qur'an, and tarikh).⁶⁴ The system used by Muhammadiyah strengthens the Islamic side but also in a different form from the traditional system. This was also based on the education held by the Dutch East Indies government which prioritized "*ilmu umum*" so that it was oriented to worldly (secular) problems. So it can be said that the addition of "religious knowledge" which is oriented to the hereafter is also a form of da'wah carried out by Muhammadiyah at that time.

It doesn't stop there, this modernist vision has been carried over to this day by making the educational institutions built by Muhammadiyah not use terms that are often associated with Islam or in Arabic like other Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia.: Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI), Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTS), and Madrasah Aliyah (MA), but using general terms like Sekolah Dasar (SD) which is equivalent to MI, Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP) which is equivalent to MTS, and Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA) which is equivalent to MA. This can be seen directly on the Majelis Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah (Dikdasmen) PP Muhammadiyah's website⁶⁵ which currently (2021) has a total of 3,334 schools in 34 provinces

⁶² Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. *100 Tahun Muhammadiyah Menyinari Negeri*, 19.

⁶³ Karel A. Steenbrink. *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1989, 54-55.

⁶⁴ Basinun. "Modernisasi Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia: Respon Muhammadiyah terhadap Model Pendidikan Barat," *At-Ta'lim*, 16(2), (2017): 270.

⁶⁵ Majelis Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah PP Muhammadiyah. Dapodikmu Jumlah Sekolah. Diakses dari <https://dikdasmenppmuhammadiyah.org/dapodikmu-jumlah-sekolah/>, pada 16 November 2021 pukul 05.50 WIB.

in Indonesia. However, as stated by Pradana Boy ZTF,⁶⁶ not only build Islamic boarding schools and schools, but build systems and traditions. For Muhammadiyah, modern education is effective in advancing the people and creating intellectuals and scholars.⁶⁷

The uniqueness of Muhammadiyah's other da'wah that occurs in public spaces is manifested in the no-smoking area (KTR). Since cigarettes were declared haram (fatwa) by Yunahar Ilyas as Chairman of the Ketua Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah in 2010.⁶⁸ Muhammadiyah regulates the smoking ban in all business charities, facilities, and Muhammadiyah forums in order to increase awareness, willingness, and ability to live a healthy life of the community as high as possible as an investment for the development of community resources which according to them is in line with Law No. 36 of 2009.⁶⁹

Infrastructure that carries this value makes various public facilities owned by Muhammadiyah unable to be arbitrarily regulated. The values of Islamic modernization must remain the main guide for managing the infrastructure of public facilities. But these values face the challenges of the times. For example, the educational infrastructure of Muhammadiyah, which Nakamura observes⁷⁰ has lost competition with various other educational institutions. The establishment of Islamic educational institutions is no longer dominated by Muhammadiyah, but also the presence of integrated Islamic schools or Islamic schools funded by Salafis. Likewise, the quality of health facilities, such as hospitals, is lagging behind other hospitals. In terms of management vision, Muhammadiyah hospitals also become the same as commercial hospitals that seek profit, instead of the manifestation of Islamic values and da'wah.

Kuntowijoyo has made this criticism a long time ago,⁷¹ that Muhammadiyah is less responsive to real problems in society. This shift does not make Muhammadiyah's public facilities more relevant, but instead is swallowed up by other values that are no longer in accordance with Al-

⁶⁶Pradana Boy ZTF "Konvergensi Muhammadiyah-NU?," in Abdul Mu'ti, et al. (ed.) *Kosmopolitanisme Islam Berkemajuan*, 234.

⁶⁷Biyanto. "Islam Berkemajuan dan Islam Nusantara," in Abdul Mu'ti, et al. (ed.) *Kosmopolitanisme Islam Berkemajuan*, 102.

⁶⁸Wisnu Widiatoro. "Fatwa PP Muhammadiyah: Merokok Haram!." *KOMPAS.com*. Accessed from <https://amp.kompas.com/entertainment/read/2010/03/09/10123349/nan> at 16 November 2021, 06.14 WIB.

⁶⁹Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. *100 Tahun Muhammadiyah Menyinari Negeri*, 52.

⁷⁰Mitsuo Nakamura. "Identitas Muhammadiyah," in Abdul Mu'ti, et al. (ed.) *Kosmopolitanisme Islam Berkemajuan*, 81.

⁷¹David Krisna Alka. "Muhammadiyah dan Kaum Miskin Kota," in Abdul Mu'ti, et al. (ed.) *Kosmopolitanisme Islam Berkemajuan*, 341.

Maun's Theology which clearly shows siding with the poor or *mustadhafin*. The technopolitical aspect of Muhammadiyah's public facilities has shifted from Al-Maun's Theology to commercialization and in other words, reduces the quality of Muhammadiyah's Islamic modernization da'wah itself.

CONCLUSION

The Islamic perspective in viewing da'wah and various other forms of communication needs to be expanded. Charity or philanthropic activities in the form of public service infrastructure development still receive less attention as part of da'wah. By looking at communication from a different perspective, assisted by viewing infrastructure not only for its practical function, but also having a political aspect, infrastructure development can be seen not only as a form of religious practice, but as part of da'wah. As a form of da'wah, infrastructure development has a unique style that is also adapted to the party who founded it, namely Progressive Islam or Islamic modernization. Analyzing the charity of Muhammadiyah through the construction of various public facilities reflects the political aspect of the infrastructure as well as the distinctive style of Muhammadiyah preaching, as can be seen from the manifestation of Islamic values Advanced and Islamic modernization in various Muhammadiyah public facilities, ranging from modern schools to Non-Smoking Areas (KTR) which are based on Muhammadiyah fatwa which forbids smoking.

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