The Typology of Religious Thought in Muhammadiyah

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ABSTRACT

In the perspective of religious thought, Muhammadiyah is often seen as an ambiguous Islamic mass organization. For example, in matters of worship, Muhammadiyah is very consistent in using the Bayani approach in understanding religious texts, but to determine the beginning of the lunar month associated with a time of worship, Muhammadiyah tends to use the Burhani approach. As a consequence, Muhammadiyah is often considered conservative, but at the same time also considered liberal. This perception does not arise if the methodology of religious thought in Muhammadiyah is comprehensively understood. Therefore, this study assessed the typological thinking in Muhammadiyah. A qualitative method was used for describing the characteristics of an individual, circumstances, symptoms, or certain groups based on the phenomenon of the problem reviewed in a comprehensive and depth way. There are three typologies of religious thought in Muhammadiyah, namely conservative typology, liberal typology, and moderate typology.

Keywords

Religious thought; Muhammadiyah; typology; conservative; liberal; moderate; Islamic scholars

INTRODUCTION

Muhammadiyah is known as one of the Islamic mass organizations that promote a jargon of "return to the Qur'an and Sunna" or al-rajii' ila al-Qur'an wa Sunnah and does not bind itself to a particular mazhab stream (Pasha & Darban, 2003). Muhammadiyah is often considered as an organization that has a literalistic understanding of puritan and fundamentalist impressions. This impression can be found from some researcher's opinions, such as Noer and Peacock. Besides, Muhammadiyah also stated as a modernist Muslim movement in Indonesia that opposed traditionalism (Sephard, 2004). Muhammadiyah was also narrated as a liberal Islamic reformist movement, which tended to be rigid and lead to revivalism (Alfian, 1989) and (Hefner, 1987). Abu Bakar Atjeh identified Muhammadiyah as a movement back to salaf teachings (Nashir, 2010), while some researchers included Muhammadiyah into the socio-cultural reform movement group (Geertz, 1985; Kahin, 1952; and Niel, 1984).

Those labels pinned to Muhammadiyah have serious consequences such as Muhammadiyah is considered as an anti-tradition mass organization and an Islamic puritanical movement. Besides, Muhammadiyah is categorized as an organization with less appreciation of the culture that existed in society. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah has also judged to eradicate the local traditions that apply in the communities due to contradicting with Qur’an and the Sunna. However, those perceptions that developed and given to Muhammadiyah are not entirely accurate. Ahmad Najib Burhani narrated Muhammadiyah as a tolerant movement in the era of KIA Ahmad Dahlan. Muhammadiyah fully appreciated Javanese tradition and culture in Yogyakarta, such as Gerebek tradition that exists until now (Burhani, 2004). Besides, the application of the astronomy method consistently by Muhammadiyah for determining the beginning of the lunar month has created a liberal stigma because its contrary to rukyah method stipulated in the hadith.
Muhammadiyah idealism is eager to create a universal, flexible, and up to date Islamic teaching without losing the essence of religious teachings. Muhammadiyah aims to filter out Islamic teaching characteristics that are permanent and temporal, universal and local, secular, and sacred, as well as static and dynamic. Besides, one of Muhammadiyah’s missions is maintaining permanent and universal characteristics as a core of religious teaching. The temporal and local teachings characteristic are considered as complementary to the core teachings of religion. (Nakamura, 1983), when described the Muhammadiyah response associated with Javanese traditions, Muhammadiyah was able to distill the essence of more universal Islamic teachings without losing Java's taste.

Therefore, this study aims to describe how the methodology of religious thought was adopted by Muhammadiyah and those religious thoughts' typology. To achieve those objectives, this study uses a qualitative method for describing an individual's characteristics, circumstances, symptoms, or particular groups based on the phenomenon of the problem that is reviewed in a comprehensive and depth way (Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh, & Sorensen, 2010). In addition, this study also uses a phenomenological approach that explains the study object factually associated with Muhammadiyah's views on an Islamic scholar's characteristics. The data collection was conducted by using observation and literature review and analyzed by the inductive method.

As stipulated in the Muhammadiyah development of Islamic thought, Muhammadiyah uses three approaches to respond to the issues or problems. These three approaches are bayani, burhani, and irfani approach. The bayani approach is commonly known as a linguistic method. The issues that emerge are always analyzed by using literal, grammatical, and other linguistic aspects. This approach was a representation of the Islamic jurisprudence as formulated by the Imam Syaf'i (Al-Jabiri, 1993). Therefore, the bayani approach is important for Muhammadiyah associated with its commitment to fully applied the text of Islamic teachings (Qur'an and Sunna) as a revelation of al-matlu and ghair-matlu, as well as Islamic intellectual heritage both salaf and khalaf. This approach will assist in capturing the contents of religious teachings text from the pronunciation aspect and linguistic rules used. However, Muhammadiyah seems to use this approach in restriction context, including special worship (mahdah) and religious teachings, which are assumed to be specific (qat'i). It is a consequence of Muhammadiyah's view that these two contexts are not objects to be discussed (ijtihad). The result of using excessive bayani approach leads to religious attitudes that tend to be literalistic, formalistic, and conservative. Therefore, the second approach is required that known as the burhani approach.

The burhani approach lays its method on an argumentative rational approach using the power of rationality through analytical instruments (induction, deduction, abduction, symbolic, process, etc.), and discursive methods (bahsthiyyah). This approach assumes that knowledge is obtained from texts such as the bayani approach and the senses, experiments, and the laws of logic. In other words, this approach creates the text and the context as well as their relationship as the source of the study. This approach is no longer focused on a textual-normative understanding of religion, but beyond that, for example, understand appreciatively on human desire. The text is not only understood from its pronouncements and meanings but also its moral and core ideas. Therefore, this approach is applied based on two main methods: ta'lli (qiyāsī) method, which explores the texts based on rationality, and benefit (maslahat) method, which understands the text based on the philosophy concept. Some aspects covered by the burhani approach are nature (kaantiyyah), historical reality (tārīkhiyyah), social reality (ijtiima'iyyah), and cultural reality (thuqaqfīyyah) (Majelis Tarjih, 2000). However, the burhani approach has some limitations associated with spiritual aspects where this approach merely rely on rationalistic thinking. As a result, Muhammadiyah is often referred to as a dry spiritual organization with law jurisprudence and a formalistic stream. Therefore, an irfani approach is required for filling the gaps.

The irfani approach in Islamic literature that relies on “taste” and “meaning” is commonly known as dhaaq, qalb, wijdan, bussirah, ilham and intuition (Al-Jabiri, 1993; Majelis Tarjih, 2000). The irfani approach is more concerned with meaning and spirituality than text pronouncements and formal religious legality obtained from rationality thinking. Therefore, the irfani approach is widely used to understand the text by using takwil to understand the text through Irfani heritage thoughts for grasping the text inner (Majelis Tarjih, 2000). The example of the irfani approach was applied for describing the inner experience of Prophet Muhammad when receiving the revelation, and the experience of Islamic scholars in their ritual practices of special worship. The application of those approaches should not be dominated by one approach, but the three approaches are used integrally. There will be no final or exclusive thought by implementing the integral’s strategy. Therefore, new possibilities may be more conducive for answering contemporary Islamic problems (Majelis Tarjih, 2000).

**DISCUSSION**

**Muhammadiyah’s Religious View**

The authentic formulation of religious understanding in Muhammadiyah was found in the Tarjih committee (HPT – volume 1) book, known as "Masā‘il Khamsah" or Five Problems, which contains about: religion, the world, worship, sabitililahi, and qiyās. Muhammadiyah emphasizes its religious paradigms associated with religion and the
world. Firstly, all religions brought by the prophets from the Prophet Adam AS to the Prophet Muhammad SAW were called Islam. In Muhammadiyah's view, the Prophet Muhammad was the last Prophet who brought the Qur'an. The recognition of other prophets after him, who carries a holy book other than the Qur'an is considered not part of Islamic teachings. Secondly, the sources of Islamic teachings are the Qur'an and the Sunna or Sahih Hadith. Those sources also serve as a direct reference for practicing religious teachings covered by Beliefs and Life Ideas of Muhammadiyah (MKCHM). In other words, religious practices in daily life must have a textual foundation from both sources. By sticking to these two sources and promoting the slogan of al-rujūʿ 'ilā al-Qur'an wa Sunnah, Muhammadiyah is consistent and committed not to bind to a particular mazhab stream other mass organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Therefore, Muhammadiyah concludes that the mazhab thoughts are not binding and can only be used as a consideration material in establishing the law (Abdurrahman, 2003).

Muhammadiyah determines the terminology of Sunna or Sahih Hadith as the Sunna that fulfills the criteria of hujjah as regulated in the discipline of hadith and tarijih committee Muhammadiyah (Abdurrahman, 2003). In other words, Muhammadiyah is not only referring to shahih hadith but also hasan hadith. Historically, the hadith classification before Imam Turmuzi was divided into two, namely the shahih hadith and the daif hadith. Another hadith classification was called hasan hadith, where this hadith can be used as a reference (Abdurrahman, 2003).

Thirdly, the core of Islamic teachings that consists of commands, restrictions, and instructions. In the Muhammadiyah point of view, religious teachings are limited to obedience in carrying out orders and avoiding prohibitions and contain instructions for the happiness of living in this world and hereafter (Abdurrahman, 2003). For example, forming an organization to create da'wah more effective and efficient is categorized as the guidance (al-irshād) of religion. Therefore, each person who does this should be included in practicing religious teachings.

Fourthly, the religious paradigm is dealing with world affairs. In the law jurisprudence literature, there are three elements associated with world affairs that are not the Prophet's duty. As long as there are no commands and prohibitions, human beings are free and do not have to follow what the Prophet practiced. These three elements are as follows: 1) the Prophet's behavior related to human aspects naturally (tabi'ah insāniyyah), such as how to stand, sit, walk, eat, and drink; 2) the experience of the Prophet (khittarah insāniyyah), such as how to farm, war strategy, and medication; and 3) life practices that are specific to the Prophet, such as marrying more than four women, and the obligation to recite the midnight prayer (Khallaf, 1978).

Muhammadiyah scholars urge that discussing religious and world issues is considered very important as a Muhammadiyah's affirmation that world affairs are part of religious affairs. Religion and the world are like two sides of a coin that cannot be separated. Therefore, Muhammadiyah refuses the secularism stream. The description of religion and the world in Muhammadiyah's view is then associated with explaining the worship concept. In Muhammadiyah's view, worship aims to get closer to Allah by carrying out all of His commands, avoiding His prohibitions, and doing what He allows. The original definition of worship is as follows (Majelis Tarjih, 2018):

**العبادة هي التقرب إلى الله باعتثال أوامره واجتناب نواهيه والعمل بما أذن به الشارع وهي عامة وخاصة. فالعبادة كل عمل أذن به الشارع. والخاصة ما حدده الشارع فيها بجرائب وشروط وكميات مخصوصة.**

The following statement "to observe all that was allowed by God (wa al-'amal binā adizina bihī al-shārī') indicates that doing world affairs is part of the religious teachings with worship value. In sum, the relationship between "religion", "world" and "worship" is observed.

Furthermore, Muhammadiyah divides worship into two parts, namely public worship ('ibādah 'āmmah) and special worship ('ibādah khāshah). Public worship reflects the obedience of human to the God commands special worship is submission to God by carrying out His commands according to predetermined technical principles and provisions. In the special worship context, a submission must not be different from the religion's principles and technical provisions. Otherwise, it would be called heresy.

The concepts of public worship and special worship are then linked to the object of independent interpretation (ijtihad), where public worship is the object of independent interpretation (ijtihad). Therefore, the role and function of reason or common sense for creating and inventing are very dominant as an instrument for independent interpretation (ijtihat). On the other hand, the independent interpretation (ijtihat) is prohibited associated with special worship. This special worship is usually known as mahdah worship (Majelis Tarjih, 2018). Muhammadiyah is eager to restore the religious teachings in an original, literal, and using bayani approach associated with the mahdah worship. This thinking seems to be influenced by Islamic reformers who criticize the Islamic traditionalist groups that blend the Islamic teachings with local customs. The consequence of mixing Islamic teachings with local customs might lead to the practices of superstition, heresy, and churafat.
Another religious view as part of Masa’il Khamsah that referred by Muhammadiyah is sabilillah (the way of Allah) as defined in the HPT (Majelis Tarjih, 2018):

سبيل الله هو الطريق الموصى إلى ما يرضاه الله من كل عمل أذن الله به لإعلاء كلمته وتنفيذ أحكامه.

Muhammadiyah affirms that all worldly issues, including economic, social, political, could be considered worship as long as it is under the sabilillah framework. Therefore, this framework is a kind of bridge for connecting the aspect of world affairs, religion, and worship. This perspective was used by Kiai Ahmad Dahlan when conducted education modernization in schools by introducing several Western education concepts (Mulkkan, 2000a).

The last view discussed in HPT is qiyas, where the terminology used has a similar meaning as ijtihad (independent interpretation) in the view of Syafi’iyyah scholars (Abdurrahman, 2003). Muhammadiyah uses collective ijtihad (ijtihad jama’i), which is held in an institutional forum called Tarjih Committee. To create an accountable result, the Tarjih Committee formulates two ijtihad methods, namely ijtihad method associated with Islamic law and ijtihad method, in developing Islamic thought. The differences between these two methods are presented in Table 1 (Majelis Tarjih, 2000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Islamic Law</th>
<th>Development of Islamic Thought</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>Formulate legal provisions</td>
<td>Examining issues in reality, outside the law, which are restricted by time and space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Assumptions</td>
<td>Limited text reference, cases unlimited</td>
<td>There is a difference between Islam and Islamic thought (normative Islam and historical Islam)</td>
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<td>Ijtihad territory</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Besides the law</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principle</td>
<td>Maintaining the benefit of humans (religion, soul, sense, descendent, and wealth)</td>
<td>Conservation (al-Mura’ah)</td>
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<td>Innovation (at-Tahatsi)</td>
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<td>Creation (al-Ibtkari)</td>
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<td>Method</td>
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<td>Approach</td>
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<td>(at-tafsir al-itima’i al-ma’asir)</td>
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<td>Historical (at-tarikhiyyah)</td>
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<td>Sociological (as-Susaijujiyyah)</td>
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<td>Anthropological (al-Antrafujiyyah)</td>
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<td>Technique</td>
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<td>Qiyas</td>
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<td>Mashulih Marsalah ‘Urf</td>
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Source: Tarjih Committee and Development of Islamic Thought, 2000

Religious Thought Typology in Muhammadiyah

The typology of religious thought in Muhammadiyah was determined based on the approach used by Muhammadiyah intellectuals in responding to a problem or issue. The dominance of one of the three approaches, as discussed earlier: bayani, burhani, and irfani, will generate three typologies of religious thought in Muhammadiyah. The dominance of the bayani approach will create conservative thinking while the dominance of burhani and irfani approaches will lead to liberal thinking. The integrated uses of those three approaches will produce moderate thinking. The author found that Burhani mentioned only two typology thoughts, namely conservative and liberal. Therefore, the author thinks it is necessary to consider a moderate religious thought as a complement of Najib Burhani’s opinion. Those three typologies are further discussed in the following subsection.

Conservative Typology

Bruinessen defined Islamic thought's conservative terminology as the movement that tends to construct a social system by neglecting the modernist, liberal, and progressive interpretation (Bruinessen, 2013). This definition emphasizes a strong rejection of using a liberal and progressive approach for interpreting Islamic thought and tends to maintain the standardized interpretation and social system. The bayani approach is one of the reasons why the conservative group is resistant to the reinterpretation and refresher of religious teachings that have standard norms. Therefore, this group argues that the texts of religious teachings must be interpreted literally because they have precise meanings with no interpretation chance. In other words, no other method is acceptable by a conservative group. Considerations based solely based on human reason or pure ratio must be rejected (Burhani, 2013).
According to Burhani, the emergence of conservative thinking was actually a reaction to liberal thinking in Muhammadiyah. The friction of these two factions was observed when Muhammadiyah chairman's election was held in the 43rd Congress (Aceh) and the 44th Congress (Jakarta). The 43rd Congress in 1995 elected Amin Rais as the chairman, and some issues that emerged at that time were the friction between "progressive vs. conservative," "liberal vs. anti-liberal," liberal vs. moderate", "liberal Islam vs. Islam" (Burhani, 2013).

The rejection of conservative groups against liberal groups became even harder when Syafii Ma’arif was elected as the general chairperson of Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah during the 44th Congress in Jakarta in 2000. As an alumnus of Yogyakarta Muallimin and a student of Fazlurrahman, a figure of Islamic neo-modernism at the University of Chicago, he was known as a prominent liberal figure in Muhammadiyah. In addition, Syafii Ma’arif was supported by figures who were considered as a liberal and succeeded to be elected as PP Muhammadiyah members during the conference such as Amin Abdullah, Abdul Munir Mulkan, and Dawam Rahardjo. These figures who are considered liberal succeeded in renewing thinking in the context of Muslim and non-Muslim relations by bringing up the issues of pluralism, liberalism, and the use of hermeneutics to understand the Qur’an (Burhani, 2013).

To deal with the liberal group, a conservative group consolidated internally by issuing "Tabligh Magazine" as a funnel and media to publish ideas and arguments for rejecting liberal scholars. The conservatives group also condemn the ideas of pluralism, liberalism, and the use of hermeneutics, which are considered viruses or poisons to destroy Islam. The conservatives group also argued that the concept of pluralism and liberalism would equate all religions, and their salvation outside Islam is unacceptable because it is contrary to the religious doctrine, which only recognizes Islam as a true religion. Furthermore, the hermeneutics method must be rejected because it was not neutral and deliberately brought in from Western civilization to weaken Islam (Burhani, 2013).

**Liberal Typology**

The typology of liberal thought in Muhammadiyah is essentially born as a criticism as well as an antithesis to the conservative typology. Liberal groups consider that Muhammadiyah's thoughts and responses to the current problems and issues are inadequate and solutive. Therefore religious understanding in Muhammadiyah needs to be refreshed with a progressive and liberal understanding. This group encourages the Muhammadiyah elite to leave the Bayani’s Islamic understanding, which tends to be textual and conservative, by widely opening contemporary discourses using the Burhani and Irfani approach. Besides, liberal groups reject the dominance of conservatives groups in claiming the truth and consider their ways of thinking are not creative, rigid, stagnant, and backward. Allegations made by conservative clerics to them by saying "poison", "virus,” and "Jewish" and USA agents are considered a crime (Burhani, 2013).

Liberal groups criticize the phenomenon among Muhammadiyah people who are starting to make sacred religious thought contained in the book HPT. They are considered no longer able to distinguish between normative (nash) and historical (HPT) areas. Abdullah explained that a number of Muhammadiyah scholars were still afraid to question or even change the contents of the HPT. They will try to defend it even though the argument to change it stronger. In addition, they are not aware that HPT has not had a strong and operational epistemologist foundation yet. The potential of blind obedience in Muhammadiyah might emerge, something that is most despised.

Liberal groups also expressed criticism of the Muhammadiyah's *tajdid* concept. They argue that the concept of *tajdid* in Muhammadiyah needs to be sharpened, if Muhammadiyah claims to be a *tajdid* movement. The sharpening of the *tajdid* concept is considered important because Muhammadiyah always links between normativity and historicity and textuality and reality. Muhammadiyah's obligation in order to perform *tajdid* is to re-read the revelations, thoughts and reality (al-qira’ah al-muntijah), not al-qira’ah al-mutakarrirah (repetitions or duplications). Therefore, Muhammadiyah could put its religious thought in an effective historical record. The previous premises would create an opportunity for Muhammadiyah to continuously perform *tajdid* wa al-iftikár continuously on various issues, including socio-religious, socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic environment, genetic engineering, biotechnology, human right, democracy, gender, civil society, and religious spirituality. If *tajdid* is laid out in this framework, its implementation will automatically be seen in the practice of *ijtihad*, which is carried out continuously and never stops (Azizy, 2003).

There are three main factors, which are the reasons why liberal groups, especially among young intellectuals, were born in Muhammadiyah (Fata, 2008). First, the dominance of conservatives in Muhammadiyah. Second, the Muhammadiyah generation's interaction with generations outside of Muhammadiyah, and third, the rapid development of Islamic discourse. The domination of the conservatives, as the first factor, has made Muhammadiyah as a pure charity movement (karakah 'amaliyah) that give more attention to the routine and practical charity with an emphasis on physical and quantitative matters. According to Muhammadiyah researcher from Japan, Mitsuo Nakamura, Muhammadiyah experiences a bureaucratization process due to the routine handling of thousands of charitable businesses owned (Nakamura, 1983). As a consequence, Muhammadiyah was like fat and heavy elephant that was not agile anymore. This condition was also recognized by Maarif, who stated that Muhammadiyah had
already been known as a charity movement rather than an intellectual movement. Therefore, Muhammadiyah paid less attention to the intellectual aspects (harakah ‘ilmiyah), intellectual discourses, and scientific forums.

The second factor is the intensive interaction of the Muhammadiyah generation with generations outside the Muhammadiyah. The exchange and sharing of scientific discourse that is packaged in a relaxed way through debate and mutual criticism generate new cultures and traditions in Muhammadiyah. Finally, the rapid development of Islamic discourse does not seem to be followed by critical studies of its vision, mission, and strategy. Therefore it is complicated to imagine that Muhammadiyah can respond to contemporary problems with a conservative culture.

**Moderate Typology**

Moderate typology tries to take the middle stream (wasatiyyah) between conservative typology and liberal typology. The moderate character is Muhammadiyah character, which does not take an extreme left (liberal) and extreme right (conservative) position (Nashir, 2019). The moderate typology was born as an anti-climax of the friction of idealism between conservatives and liberals. Moderate groups appear to bridge when the frictions of these two groups increasingly peak.

Moderate groups argue that not all religious texts can be understood with the bayani approach or the burhani approach. Some religious texts contain trans-historical where the mind is unable to explain its true intentions and meanings. These trans-historical texts are believed to contain wisdom that humans cannot know everything like GOD. Humans should not be arrogant because they have limitations and weak creatures. Therefore, moderate groups divide religious texts into two categories, namely qat‘i (certain) and zanni (relative) or permanent (al-thaw) and dynamic (al-mutagayyirat).

Moderate groups criticize liberal clerics who are too dominant in using the burhani and irfani approaches. Burhani approach seems to eliminate the written text, so the text loses its sacredness. In addition, the irfani approach is very subjective because a person's religious experience will be different from others. Therefore, the irfani approach cannot satisfy everyone. Moderate groups also criticize conservative groups that are too dominant for using the Bayani approach in understanding texts. The bayani approach tends to be partial, independent, ijmali and juz‘i and without being linked to other relevant texts because it is fixated on a very literalistic study text. This method is usually used in the classical and middle ages (Amal, 1993; Wadud, 1999). Fazlur Rahman in (Amal, 1993) mentioned at least three weaknesses of this method, namely, 1) lack of attention to the historical elements, 2) too textual, and 3) not holistic understanding. The consequence of using the dominant bayani approach is the construction of thought that tends to be 1) polemic because the truth claims are unilateral, 2) manipulative because it is used only to justify personal arguments, 3) rhetoric because it is used only to defeat opinions that opposite, and 4) dogmatic because it is only used for self-defense (Ainurrafiq, 2002).

**CONCLUSION**

Muhammadiyah is entering its 108th year in 2020. In this relatively long age, Muhammadiyah is continuing to experience significant growth. Muhammadiyah’s ability to defend itself amid the current social change is due to the ability of Muhammadiyah to adapt to the contemporary world development. The two authentic sources of religious teachings, namely the Qur’an and Hadith, are maintained with always renewal understanding without releasing the source’s critical roles. Despite the emerging of religious thought typology in Muhammadiyah, it must be understood as part of the dynamics thought of freedom that cannot be controlled. Therefore, Muhammadiyah could be categorized as a charity movement (harakah ‘amaliyah) and an intellectual movement (harakah fikriyah). The emergence of Muhammadiyah thought trends ranging from conservative, liberal, and moderate should be understood as a dynamic process of thinking developed in Muhammadiyah. Each of these thought trends has its orientation and thoughts but has the same goal: to advance Muhammadiyah. However, this dynamic thinking will occur when the three groups can dialogue to synergize among them.

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