

THE “THIRD SPACE” OF EDUCATION: HISTORY OF HIZBUL WATHAN MUHAMMADIYAH 1918-1949

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Abstract—*As a product of social practice, the presence of Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah successfully fills the void between the dysfunction of formal education institutions and society. It is the contemplation of the input-output oriented paradigm of former colonial education. Some graduates suffer from reality faltering when they are directly involved in society. Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah exists as the antithesis of the contradictory structure between formal schools and society. It fills the “third space” of education by serving as the intermediary to facilitate distinctive values, norms, and collective consciousness—which differ from the general Scout movement. The ideology of religious humanism, nationalism, and patriotism in Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah has moved beyond others*

Keywords: *third space, Hizbul Wathan, character values*

Abstract—*Sebagai produk dari praktik sosial, sejarah Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah hadir mengisi celah kosong di antara disfungsi sekolah dan masyarakat. Paradigma yang digunakan dalam penyelenggaraan pendidikan kolonial lebih berorientasi pada input-output. Ketika para lulusan harus terjun ke masyarakat, tidak sedikit dari mereka yang gagap realitas. Gerakan Kepanduan Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah hadir sebagai antithesis dari struktur kontradiktif antara sekolah dan masyarakat. Hadir mengisi ‘ruang ketiga’ pendidikan, gerakan Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah mengusung nilai-nilai, norma-norma, dan kesadaran kolektif yang khas, berbeda dengan karakter Kepanduan (Scouting) yang diselenggarakan oleh organisasi-organisasi lain. Ideologi humanisme religious, nasionalisme, dan patriotisme dalam gerakan Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah telah melampaui nilai-nilai karakter Kepanduan lain.*

Kata Kunci: *ruang ketiga, hizbul wathan, nilai-nilai karakter*

A. Introduction

School is one of the institutions whose function is to maintain the continuity of the society. From this institution, the younger generation obtains education to prepare their life and involvement in society.¹ Yet despite the strengths of an educational system, there are always impervious weaknesses within. Such weaknesses are the consequence of the specification in the modern educational paradigm in which there is a significant gap between formal school and society. The modern educational paradigm uses an input-process-output framework. Nevertheless, with the symptoms of function specifications between school and society, the output of educational institutions hardly adapts to society.² There is a gap overlooked in the modern education process, namely the creative space for school graduates to develop and implement their potential in the real-life community (outcome).

The weakness of our education system has been recognized by the Old Order regime. President Soekarno once criticized the national education system. On March 9, 1961, President Soekarno³ boldly criticized the function of 'third space' in the educational system, in front of the leaders of scouting organizations in Indonesia. He suggested the 'third space' or scouting as the connector between family and school with the society. The void within the national education system has actually begun to appear since the era of Dutch colonialism. K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah and a pioneer of modern Islamic schools in Java, began to notice the symptoms. Even though he was not an educational scholar, he was a *khatib amin* (a functional position in the Great Mosque of Yogyakarta) whose ability in recognizing the symptoms and signs of the era went beyond the abilities of educational theorists. When *Padvinder* as a Scout movement was initially held by the local people in Pura Mangkunegara, Surakarta,⁴

¹Emile Durkheim suggested the significance of education *as an institution interconnected with other institutions that carry out their respective functions in establishing a harmonious community structure*. See Zainuddin Maliki, *Sosiologi Pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2010), p. 89-90.

²See Mu'arif, *Liberalisasi Pendidikan: Menggadai Kecerdasan Kehidupan Bangsa* (Yogyakarta: Pinus Book Publisher, 2008), p. 89-97.

³"President's speech on Thursday, 9 March 1961, at 08:00 a.m. in front of the Leaders of Scouting as the representatives of Scouting organizations in Indonesia" in Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Madjlis Hizbul Wathan, *Tuntunan Hizbul Wathan*, p. 332-340 (Appendix 1).

⁴Mh. Mawardi, "Detik-detik Lahirnya Hizbul-Wathan" in Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Madjlis Hizbul Wathan, *Tuntunan Hizbul Wathan: Kenang-kenangan* (Jogjakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Madjlis Hizbul Wathan, 1961), p. 13.

K.H. Ahmad Dahlan immediately interested to incorporate it in the Muhammadiyah education system. Such an activity is included in the extracurricular program, which conceptually aims to fill the ‘void’ that connects formal school and society.

As a socio-historical fact, scouting is not merely seen as a symptom on the surface. Emile Durkheim declared that the social facts entail two dimensions of material and non-material.⁵ Materially, social facts are in the form of society, components of community structure, components of community morphology, and so on. In the context of non-material, social facts are manifested in norms, values, morality, collective consciousness, collective representation, and so on. In this context, the Scouting exists as an institution in a society that performs certain functions with particular structural components. Materially, scouting exists as an institution that becomes one of the structural components in society. Non-materially, it comes with values, norms, collective consciousness, and collective representation. In this study, Muhammadiyah scouting which was originally named *Padvinder Muhammadiyah* and later turned into *Hizbul Wathan* (HW) Muhammadiyah is an institution that performs particular functions—particularly in the context of Muhammadiyah education system—and promotes values, norms, collective consciousness, and collective representations that have been proved to play an important role in character education of the young generation. The role of Muhammadiyah Scout in fulfilling values, norms, collective consciousness, and collective representation outside the school is highly relevant to the needs of the society, which is to revive the concept of the intermediary between school and society.

In contemporary theories of social science, the critique toward logocentrism in the paradigm of modern social sciences—which triggered the concept of binary opposition—emerged from the Neo-Marxian adherents that offered spatial analysis with the model of trialectics.⁶ This spatial analysis theory generated the concept of ‘third space’ in response to the spatial dysfunction within society. In the educational context, particularly the role of Muhammadiyah Scout, the ‘third space’ is interpreted as a formal activity established to fill the ‘void’ caused by the dysfunction between formal school institutions and the society. It can be claimed that ‘third space’ is a connector of the ‘disconnected cycle’ in the Muhammadiyah education system.

⁵Maliki, *Sosiologi Pendidikan*, p. 88.

⁶George Ritzer, *Teori Sosiologi Modern* [trans. Triwibowo B.S] (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2015), p. 203-206.

The present study investigates Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah in the context of the 'third space' of education by using social science theories to explain its role on the character education of the younger generation in the dynamics of the socio-historical cycle.

B. Theoretical Framework

Neo-Marxist theories perceive the socio-historical fact as a dialectical process in time and space that should have a balanced focus. Neo-Marxists criticize the dialectical materialism, which is more focused on matter (historical materialism). Michel Foucault challenges that deviation has occurred in the focus of the Marxist sociological study, in which it ignores the aspect of space as it emphasizes more on time.⁷ Foucault's cue triggered the rise of "space theory" that was later developed by Neo-Marxian theorists, including Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soya, and David Harvey.

In *The Production of Space* (1974), Lefebvre confronts the general understanding about space as an independent material reality.⁸ For Lefebvre, space is a social product. The concept of the production of space is based on the understanding of space that is bound by social reality. Meanwhile, social reality is social practice in the dimension of practice, activity, and social relations. Lefebvre suggests space as a social product. He also mentions history as a social practice in the dimensions of practice, activity, and social relationships among actors who engage in certain social relationships.

To understand the concept of the production of space, Lefebvre proposes the triadic concept of: 1) spatial practice, which is the dimensions of practice, activity, and social relations, 2) representation of space, which is the material, imaginary, and conceptual dimensions of the 'space,' 3) representational spaces, which is the reverse dimension of the concept of 'spatial representation' and closely linked to 'spatial practice.'⁹

In general, space is divided into two types: absolute and abstract. Absolute space is a real, natural space that includes the material, imaginary, and conceptual dimensions of something called space in general. Meanwhile, the abstract space is a widely open space beyond the material dimension of imaginary and conceptual concepts, or beyond

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Robertus Robet, "Ruang Sebagai Produksi Sosial dalam Henri Lefebvre" <https://caktarno.wordpress.com/2014/09/06/ruang-sebagai-produksi-sosial-dalam-henri-lefebvre/> (Accessed on 3 May 2018). See Ritzer, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, p. 202-205.

the general perception. Lefebvre defines this space as the third space, namely a differential space where various social practice experiences of individuals and social groups, the birth of new conceptions, and patterns of particular social relations outside perceptions in general.

Edward Sonya in Ghoustonjwani Adi Putra,¹⁰ suggested the ‘third space’ is constructed from the interpersonal and social interaction that triggers a space for debate. The nature of this space is dualistically associated as ‘formal’ and ‘informal’. Formal space is an activity carried out by powerful economic groups, i.e., bureaucratic, business, intellectual officials—that establish a new type of movement or institution. Informal space is an activity carried out by economic groups who generally want to seek economic benefits.¹¹ The ‘third space’ filled by the activities of powerful economic groups that establish certain movement or institution is survive due to its bureaucratic mechanisms based on modern principles, along with the power and authority of its driving actors.

In the present study, the theory of ‘third space’ in the contemporary social sciences is used to read the symptoms of dysfunction of two types of social institutions, i.e., schools and society, resulting in new space or social practice. In this context, the ‘third room’ emerges as a response against the dysfunction of school, which is deemed of incapable in accommodating the aspirations of society. As a consequence, an abstract space is present to accommodate them. The form of ‘third space’ in education is the emergence of idea—until the final stage of the establishment of new institution outside the formal ones—that are seen as capable of representing the aspirations of society.

Despite the position of new institution is outside the formal educational and community institutions, it has the function of both, leading to its function as the bridge of the breaking cycle. This new institution is *Padvinder* that organizes extracurricular activities in accordance with certain values and norms. Scouting and other institutions has interconnection with each other in carrying out their respective functions, particularly in shaping the humanist community structure.¹² Likewise, scouting performs the educational-community function by advocating particular values and norms.

¹⁰Ghoustonjwani Adi Putra, “Identifikasi Urban Actors Pada Pembentukan Ruang Ketiga (*Third space*) di Ruang Publik Urban: Studi Kasus Koridor Jl. Bandung, Malang” *PAWON, Jurnal Arsitektur*, 1(I), p. 2.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹²Maliki, *Sosiologi Pendidikan*, p. 90.

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In the context of Islamic education, Hizbul Wathan plays a vital role in the process of character building of the younger generation. The values and norms promoted by Hizbul Wathan are those in accordance with the character building program for Indonesian nation. Furthermore, extracurricular practices and activities are manifestation of character education. Character education is a process of giving guidance to learners to become perfect human in the sense of soul, mind, body, and feeling and intention.¹³ The process of character education is in line with the objective of national education, which is to develop the capability, character, and civilization of the nation for enhancing its intellectual capacity, and is aimed to develop learners' potentials so that they become persons imbued with human values who are faithful and pious to one and only God; who possess morals and noble character; who are healthy, knowledgeable, competent, creative, independent; and as citizens, are democratic and responsible.¹⁴

C. Research Method

The type of the present qualitative research is historical research.¹⁵ Initially, it uses descriptive-qualitative method which aims to comprehensively describe the background of the initiators of Muhammadiyah Scouting and their social relations.¹⁶ Furthermore, to find out how the social practice process amongst the initiators of this movement and the social relations among them, the sociological-historical analysis method is used to read the features, character, nature, and model of social interaction in the establishment process of Muhammadiyah Scouting. This analysis method is mainly used to find out the social interaction between Muhammadiyah Scouting and similar organizations in Indonesia.

The subject of this research is Hizbul Wathan (HW) Muhammadiyah, which was established in 1918 as a unit of Muhammadiyah education system. Recently, it exists as an active movement since its re-activation

¹³Rofiyatun Nurul Khasanah, "Pendidikan Karakter Melalui Kegiatan Ekstrakurikuler Hizbul Wathan di SMP Muhammadiyah 2 Masaran, Sragen, Tahun Pelajaran 2015/2016" (Thesis, Faculty of Teacher Training and Islamic Education IAIN Surakarta, 2017), p. 23.

¹⁴Dikdik Baihaqi Arif, "Optimalisasi Gerakan Kepanduan Hizbul Wathan untuk Pembinaan Karakter Warga Negara Muda" in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional: Pengembangan Pendidikan Karakter Bangsa Berbasis Kearifan Lokal* (Malang: Lembaga Kebudayaan Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2011), p. 90.

¹⁵Wina Sanjaya, *Penelitian Pendidikan: Jenis, Metode, dan Prosedur* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2013), p. 47.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

in post-Reform era of 1998. To facilitate the process, the scope of study is deliberately limited from 1918 to 1940. However, the analysis of the establishment of this movement requires data about the social practices in 1916-1917 and subsequent years 1941-1949, hence the study of establishment of HW is framed within the historical dialectics.

Furthermore, the object of this study are the historical documents, which include Statutes and bylaws, transcript of speech, articles from the mass media, testimony of the perpetrators, and others.

D. Discussion

1. Historical Periodization of HW

History has the connotation of space and time, the representation of space. Meanwhile, space and time of the past is a historical social product. Social practices of the past have produced a representation of space within the historical dialectics. Yet they are beyond the spatial meaning of space—and time—span of movement, history is the product of social (human) practices, in terms of material and non-material, which is ‘dialectical’ as stated by Lefebvre. Thus, history is the product of human who undergo a dialectical process in space and time in the past. It requires stages or identification processes of feature, character, nature, and model of social interaction of a subject in historical studies. Similarly, in a study of HW as a historical object, it takes stages and processes of identification of the features, characters, nature, and models of social interaction because the historical dialectics is not linear.

Based on the collected data and the verification process, it can be declared that the historical dialectic of HW is not linear. It forms a unique ‘leap,’ if it is assessed based on the flow of historical dialectics. It occurred when the initiators of HW dialectically linked new concepts in facing the appearance of scout movement, and later modified it with distinctive formulas and objectives. The leap of thought that produced dialectical new thinking had generated the concept of ‘third space’ in education.

The historical dialectics of Hizbul Wathan include: 1) initiation phase (1916-1917),¹⁷ 2) establishment phase (1918-1921)¹⁸ and, 3)

¹⁷The initiation phase is the pre-establishment stage of HW movement and institution in the context of the process of interaction between the initiator and the socio-historical reality of the time, hence early concept were creatively modified by involving several actors. The time span of this phase (1916—1917) is a loose concept considering the historical data used in this paper is in the form of narrative (oral history). It is very important to identify this phase for revealing the original motifs of HW.

¹⁸The establishment phase is a formal stage when HW is officially formed as an

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internalization phase (1922-1949).¹⁹ Each historical phase of HW has distinctive features, character, nature, and models of social interactions. This study focuses on the initiation, establishment, and internalization of HW which, based on the historical dialectics, has succeeded in discovering 'new space' as an antithesis toward the disconnected institutional relationship between school and society.

2. The Initiation Phase

The initiation phase in the history of HW is the production phase of 'third space,' which gathers, accommodates, and forms aspirations and concepts in the abstract sphere beyond the concept of spatial representation in general. It is a differential space due to various backgrounds of social practice of the initiators—who have different interests, aspirations, and concepts. It is called a representational space (the opposite of the representation of space) that is realized in the form of modern institution and movement formerly called *Padvinder Muhammadiyah* into *Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah Scout*. Initial concepts of new perceptions, new imaginations, new aspirations, and space formulations in the form of the Scout movement fill the 'third space.'

As a socio-historical fact, the birth of HW cannot be merely explained in the year of its establishment (1918)²⁰ or the founder (K.H. Ahmad Dahlan).²¹ They may be perceived as a representation of space in historical dialectics. Meanwhile, based on the perspective of social sciences, particularly the Neo-Marxian theory, there is a process of social practice and interaction (directly and indirectly) carried out by individuals and social groups, involving traditions, norms, and beliefs

institution under the School Division of *Hoofdbestuur* Muhammadiyah. The internal sources claimed that HW was formed in 1918.

¹⁹The internalization phase is the process of internalizing values, the establishment of the ideology of religious humanism, nationalism and patriotism that accentuates the organizational traditions. The time span of 1922—1949 was a peak period when HW contributed in the physical revolution in the post-World War II.

²⁰Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah was established in 1918. See "Kebangkitan HW dan Sejarah Kepanduan di Indonesia", <http://hizbulwathan.or.id/kebangkitan-hw-dan-sejarah-kepanduan-di-indonesia/> (Accessed on 17 March 2018). See H. Surono W, "Peristiwa-peristiwa Bersejarah dalam Muhammadiyah" in Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Majelis Pustaka, *Almanak Muhammadiyah 1394 H/1974 M* (Jogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Majelis Pustaka, 1974), p. 19.

²¹Initiator of Muhammadiyah scouting is K.H. Ahmad Dahlan. He gained the inspiration after seeing the *Javansche Padviders Organisatie* (JPO) in Mangkunegaran, Solo. See Mh. Mawardi, "Detik-detik...", p. 13.

within a particular social system. As the initiator, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, was interested or affected by the concept of Scouting (*Padvinderij*) of his time. In fact, they had created an ‘abstract space’ for the perception and concept of ‘the other’ outside school and society. In the initiation phase (1916-1917), by understanding the background of HW based on such a perspective, it will potentially reveal the motives that serve as a logical argument for the significance of scout movement.

Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah established on 18 November 1912,²² is factually a representation of space, similar to other indigenous institutions or organizations legalized by the colonial government. Nevertheless, based on the historical dialectics, Muhammadiyah is actually a representational space or a dialectical response against the socio-religious practices of Muslims that suffered from stagnation. Social practices, in the concept of religious teachings, the activity of religious worship, and social interaction with other groups, are deemed to have violated the authentic sources. H. Mh. Mawardi testified:

Kyai A Dahlan was very concerned about the lifestyle of Muslims. Their charity of worship is far from the authentic Islamic teachings. Their Beliefs inclined to Shirk. Charms, spells and love charm, as well as *bid’ah* and *churafat* were widespread. Such practices in everyday life had exceeded the religious guidance. They included excessive foods, dressing and properties. The path of Islam was far from its purity.²³

In addition to being understood as a dialectical response to the religious socio-religious practice of the time, the Muhammadiyah movement was also the articulation of the K.H. Ahmad Dahlan’s thinking process—which was formulated in a structured movement (organization) as a typical of modernist movement. With the support of the youth of Kauman, members of Budi Oetomo (BO) and students of

²²In the Javanese tradition, the names ending with “ah” or “yah” are usually connoted with female name. Kiyai Syuja’ (Daniyalin) once asked why the name of this *Persyarikatan* was like a female name? See Junus Salam, *K.H. Ahmad Dahlan: Amal dan Perjuangannya* (Jakarta: al-Wasath, 2009), p. 65. K.H. Ahmad Dahlan then explained that the name was taken by attributing it to the Prophet Muhammad. By attributing to the Prophet, it is aspired that Muhammadiyah will become the end-time people as the followers of the Prophet. See Kyai Syuja’, *Islam Berkemajuan* (Jakarta: al-Wasath, 2009), p. 67. Riklafs mentioned Muhammadiyah means “The Way of Muhammad.” See M.C. Riklafs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2005), p. 356. See also Mustafa Kamal & Adabi Darban, *Muhammadiyah sebagai Gerakan Islam: Perspektif Historis dan Ideologis* (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengamalan Islam, 2000), p. 116.

²³Mh. Mawardi, “Perkembangan Perguruan Muhammadiyah (I)” *Suara Muhammadiyah* (No. 9 Th. Ke-58/1978), p. 15.

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Kweekschool Jetis, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan established Muhammadiyah. It was recognized as a religious movement that upholds new formulations in religious understanding, as well as from the physical forms of symbols, letters of endorsement, organizational structure, head office and so on. In addition to those elements, there must be an involvement of social practices among initiators who interacted with social groups and structures at that time. For instance, symbols were certainly derived from specific concepts or imaginations, or an official letter of validation certainly involved the role and the relation of the initiators in the structure of the colonial rule at that time.

Prior to the establishment of Muhammadiyah, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan actually had emphasized a concern on improving the 'education' of Muslims, particularly through *tabligh* and teaching in Yogyakarta. Facing the fact of the stagnant socio-cultural practice of Muslims, he realized a sharp effort through the cognition process was required to build a collective consciousness that directly involved each Muslim community in the Dutch East Indies. Empowerment became the main choice and later was devised in the form of *tabligh* and teaching (education) for the youth. H. Mh. Mawardi stated, "To restore the authenticity of religion, particularly for the future, so as to prevent any protracted decline, it is essential to prepare the young generation as the actors of renewal. The only way is through education."²⁴

K.H. Ahmad Dahlan emphasized education, instead of politics, as the focus of the early movement of Muhammadiyah. Thus, Muhammadiyah was relatively alienated from the whirl of political movements, unlike *Sarekat Islam* (SI) which altered its organizational direction from social organization into a political party.

In its early *establishment*, the purposes of Muhammadiyah are: "(a) to spread the teachings of the Religion of His Majesty Prophet Muhammad (May the Lord bless him and give him peace) among the indigenous inhabitants in the Residency of Yogyakarta, and (b) to advance the religious teachings to the members."²⁵ By conducting a 'progressive education', it is expected that each Muslim will possess quality and character which able to compete with other nations. Indirectly, the formulation of this purposes positioned the practice of religious teaching by the indigenous Muslims dialectically with the colonial teaching practice. Diction of 'to advance the religious teachings has the connotation that Islamic education at that time suffered a hindrance. It

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Muhammadiyah Statuten* of 1912 Article 2.

reveals that previously, there was a thesis as a reference of an advanced teaching model, presumably the colonial education system.

Along with the growth and development of Muhammadiyah schools,²⁶ K.H. Ahmad Dahlan was aware that the synthesis of education that he adopted from the boarding school and the Dutch schools still left a ‘void’ (third room), thus there was a gap between madrasah and the society. In this case, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan formulated a contradiction between boarding school and the Dutch school. Instead of negating the contradiction, he absorbed the positive features of those models and created the third model: *Madrasah*.²⁷ Therefore, the first education institution established by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan was *Madrasah Diniyah Ibtidaiyah*, which was a synthesis of two educational models at that time.

In reality, *Madrasah* was insufficient in accommodating the aspirations of people—who were oppressed by the Dutch colonial system. Aspirations, imaginary concepts of ‘abstrac pace’ (‘third space’) flourished from the experience of each individual and the collective consciousness under the colonial rule. It was the ‘void’ or ‘third space’ which was eventually answered with the presence of *Padvinder*. It was started when K.H. Ahmad Dahlan saw *Javaansche Padvinders Organisatie* (JPO) in Mangkunegaran Square for the first time, he was immediately attracted in such activity with the expectation it could fill the ‘void’. The presence of the scout movement in Muhammadiyah school/*madrasah* was aspired to fix the disconnected cycle.

However, the scout Movement is actually not the initiative of the indigenous people, including JPO in Mangkunegaran Square. Based on its history, it was first established in England in the post-World War I. Baden Powell,²⁸ is the military actor behind the Scouting. He was

²⁶Mh. Mawardi, “Perkembangan Perguruan Muhammadiyah (II)” *Suara Muhammadiyah* (No. 10/Th. Ke-58/1978), p. 10.

²⁷Mu’arif, *Modernisasi Pendidikan Islam: Sejarah dan Perkembangan Kweekschool Moehammadijah 1923-1932* (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2012), p. 72.

²⁸Baden Powell was born in England on 22 February 1857. In *Aids to Scouting*, Powell described his first experience when training 21 English young men at Boys Brigade to have adventure, camping, and investigation at Browns Sea Island for eight days. The activity turned out to be successful hence it became a model for character building for younger generation in the UK. In 1908, Baden Powell in *Scouting for Boys* explicated the scouting training experiences that became an attraction for several countries in Europe. Powell then set up a scouting organization for a boy named Boys Scout. In 1912, assisted by his sister, Powell established *Girl Guide* as a scouting organization for young women. See “Sejarah Pramuka Dunia,” <https://pramuka.or.id/>

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inspired to foster the youth engaged in violence and crimes. Hence, he devised various activities such as camping, exploring, stalking enemies, and others.²⁹ Suyatno, a Professor in Universitas Negeri Surabaya, asserted that Baden Powell arranged scouting based on four principles: 1) happiness (cheer, joy, sincere, voluntary, and grateful), 2) health (healthy, energetic, and dynamic), 3) handicraft (prolific, productive, creative, innovative), 4) helpfulness (caring, environmentally friendly, sociable, loyal). These principles are constructed in accordance to 'universal humanity' as declared by Baden Powell, "The real way to get happiness is by giving to other people."³⁰ Such activities had positive implications, even very useful in the character education of the younger generation hence similar movements were disseminated in many countries.

In the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), a movement that adopted the concept of Baden Powell's scouting was initiated in 1916 called *Javansche Padvinders Organisatie* (JPO), which was based at Puro Mangkunegaran, Surakarta.³¹ JPO is the first scouting institution in Indonesia which aims to prepare the Mangkunegaran Legion. In 1917, the colonial rule established a scouting organization in Batavia named *Nederlandsch Indische Padvinders Vereeniging* (NIPV).³² In addition, other movements organized by social organizations to political parties began to rife, i.e., Algemene Studie Club's *Nationale Padvinders Organisatie* (NPO), Sarekat Islam's *Sarekat Islam Afdeling Pandu* (SIAP), Boedi Oetomo's *Nationale Padvinderij*, Jong Islamiten Bond's *Nationale Islamitisch Padvinderij*, and Muhammadiyah's Hizbul Wathan.

K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, the President of *Hoofdbestuur* (HB) Muhammadiyah, gave regular religious teaching in *Sidik Amanah Tabligh Vatolah* (SATV),³³ every Sunday evening in K.H. Muchtar Buchori's house in Solo. In his way home, he saw the activities of *padvinder* as a unit of JPO in Pura Mangkunegaran Square. Arriving in Yogyakarta, he discussed it with Somodirdjo (chief teacher of *Standardschool* Suronatan), Sjarbini (teacher of Muhammadiyah

sejarah-pramuka-dunia-2/ (Accessed on 17 March 2018).

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰See <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/746953/ini-cara-baden-powell-mendidik-kaum-muda-dunia-hidup-bahagia> (Accessed on 28 March 2018).

³¹Mh. Mawardi, "Detik-detik Peristiwa", p. 13.

³²*Ibid.*

³³*Ibid.* See also Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Aliran Pembaruan dalam Islam dari Djamaluddin Al-Afghani Hingga K.H.A. Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Persatuan, n.d), p. 82.

Bausasran), and teacher of Muhammadiyah Kotagede. He said, “I just returned from Solo this morning from *Tabligh*. In front of Pura Mangkunegaran Square, I saw many children marched, while some played a game. They wore uniform. It was superb! What is it?”³⁴ After a brief explanation from Soemodirdjo, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan expressed his intention to create Scouting in Muhammadiyah and said, “It will be great if the children of Muhammadiyah families are also educated such activities to serve (*Djawa leladi*) God,” K.H. Ahmad Dahlan.³⁵

After noticing the *Padvinders* activities, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan performed reflection and contemplation, despite of the insufficient information about what and how Scouting was. He was utterly fascinated by ‘marching’ (discipline/unity), ‘uniform’, ‘games’ (creativity) in *Padvinders*. Also, Soemodirjo confirmed that such series of activities reflected the values of joy, health, dynamic, creative, and mutual help, which indeed part of the educational activities outside of formal school. K.H. Ahmad Dahlan was more interested when recognizing that JPO was intended to prepare the candidates of Mangkunegaran Legion. Moreover, the process of JPO’s education and training involved the outdoor activities, community services, special identity symbols, and learning through play method—which are suitable for the psychological condition of children. Thus, this concept is likely to cover the ‘void’ in the Muhammadiyah’s family education system and school.

K.H. Ahmad Dahlan was very keen in implementing the JPO’s approach to educate the young generation of Muhammadiyah. It implies that the adoption the scouting model in Muhammadiyah was the outcome of social practice that was directly related to social relations at that time. It was followed by the process of contemplation and reflection of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan’s attraction on the JPO activities. Nevertheless, he did not necessarily adopt the model as a whole, but undergoing the creative and innovative process directed to the Scout movement for the purpose of ‘serving God’. His reflection on the JPO model generated a new creativity with the nuance of Islam since he intended it as ‘the devotion to Allah.’

By adopting the scouting model with creative and innovative process, the initial format was altered into a typical scouting of Muhammadiyah. The ‘goal’ of scouting desired by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan is to ‘serve to Allah SWT’. Unlike the concept of scouting pioneered by Baden Powell—which is based on the principle of ‘universal

³⁴Mh. Mawardi, “Detik-detik Peristiwa...”, p. 13.

³⁵*Ibid.*

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humanity' ideology, Muhammadiyah scouting was formed on the basis of 'religious-humanism' (Islam).

After the President of HB Muhammadiyah declared the urgency to establish the Scouting, Soemodirdjo, Sjarbini and some teachers of Muhammadiyah formed an *ad hoc* team for the preparation. In *Tuntunan Hizbul Wathan* (1961), the early establishment of Muhammadiyah scouting is described:

“After the meeting with Muhammadiyah teachers as initiated by Mr. Soemodirdjo and Mr. Sjarbini, it was decided to prepare a program for children outside school and home. Initially, the teachers would apply the activities themselves. It would be followed by registration. The exercises were held every Sunday afternoon at Muhammadiyah Suronatan. It was concentrated on marching and sport. The participants increased day by day. It was no longer restricted to the teachers, but also young men of Kauman. People started to attract to the line of marching led by Mr. Sjarbini—a young man who received adequate Dutch military training and a former “onder-officer.” With his gestures and manners, he received so much attention from the youth who were eager for a soldier as the leader...”³⁶

The interest towards the *Padvinders* signalled an insistent need for the values, norms, and characters that should have been born from the Muhammadiyah educational institutions.³⁷ As Muhammadiyah adopted more of the colonial (Western) education system, albeit with a typical nuance of creativity and innovation, there was still a 'void' (the third space) that should connect the educational realm with society. In this context, the 'void' is formulated in the activities or expressions of each individual against a set of lessons that align with real life in society.

In the colonial education system, its orientation was emphasized on the cognitive aspects. Moreover, the curriculum was designed for pragmatic purposes, namely to prepare educated human resources who would occupy a structural position in the government bureaucracy,³⁸ while the output was mostly the intellectuals. In colonial educational institutions, the constructed habit was feudal since the political purpose

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁷Mh. Mawardi, “Perguruan Muhammadiyah (I)”, p. 15.

³⁸Robert Van Niel, *Munculnya Elite Modern Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2009), p. 92.

of education was to produce feudal social structure. Consequently, Muhammadiyah which combined general science and religious teachings (the concept of *madrasah*) endured the ‘void’ as the weakness of the colonial education system. The design of the curriculum, particularly the role of religious teachers, was different from the colonial concept, yet the Muhammadiyah school culture still reflected the feudal social class. Nevertheless, there was an innovation in which the weaknesses in the colonial and Muhammadiyah education systems were responded by a concept of the combination of school and dormitory system (*internaat*). The first boarding school forged by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan was *Al-Qismul Arqa*, the embryo of Muhammadiyah Boarding School (*Pondok Muhammadiyah*), despite of its exclusivity since it was oriented to prepare the ‘leading cadres’ of Muhammadiyah.³⁹

By establishing the Scouting as a sub-system within the Muhammadiyah education system, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan had essentially prepared an alternative to fill the ‘void’ in the system, in addition to activities in *internaat*. Aspirations and expressions of each individual in the school could be appropriately accommodated in a series of activities—which are linked to daily life in society. Hence, there were two alternatives proposed by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan to fill the ‘third room’ of education: *first*, the implementation of boarding school system (*internaat*), and *second*, the extracurricular of Scouting in Muhammadiyah education system.

The concept of Scouting was apparently significant in the context of the cultivation of values and also the character building of Muslims, particularly among the younger generation, so as each individual has a quality relevant to the needs of the era. These values and characters were crucial for Muslims to have a superior quality compared to other social groups, particularly from the colonial nation that was economically, politically and culturally dominating people in the Dutch East Indies.

The early process of the Muhammadiyah scouting began with the marching with the military-style command system. It obviously attracted the local communities, which depicted their psychological condition that was “eager for a soldier as the leader.” Herein, the values and the character of soldier—in terms and perception of the people of Kauman at that time—met with the values and character of scouting as practiced by Baden Powell. The values of integrity, willing to sacrifice, discipline, togetherness, unity, independence and creativity, apparently

³⁹Mu’arif, *Modernisasi Pendidikan*, p. 112.

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were not generated from the Islamic education system (*madrasah*) and the colonial education system.

In addition to the motives of the initiators of Hizbul Wathan, the convivial response of the people of Kauman became an external motive that people also needed figure leader outside the religious teachers or intellectuals. They also expected a leader with military capacity and the spirit of patriotism and nationalism, which marked a new chapter in the nationalist-socialist movement in the homeland within the context of colonialism. It can be claimed that in the national history, the establishment of Hizbul Wathan is a phase of 'physical pre-revolution' by preparing trained individuals with soldier characteristics who are willing to sacrifice for the country.⁴⁰

As a former *onder-officer* of the Dutch military, Sjarbini has a tremendous role in the establishment and characterization of HW. He graduated from *Kweekschool* in Ungaran and decided to quit the Dutch military service to continue his study at Pondok K.H. Ahmad Dahlan in Kauman, Yogyakarta. In 1916, he was appointed as a teacher at the Muhammadiyah School in Bausasran. When an ad hoc team was formed for the preparation of the Muhammadiyah scouting, he was appointed as a member who carried out the mandate as the 'commander' in marching and leadership sections. The materials presented by Sjarbini were a basic foundation in building patriotic and nationalist characters. In 1961, Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah Assembly titled Sjarbini as "the pioneer of Hizbul Wathan."⁴¹

3. The Establishment Phase

The establishment phase is the process of institutional structurization, identification, and the formation of bureaucratic mechanisms that puts HW as a *representational space* to fill the 'void' (third space) between the educational institution and society. At this stage, the process of institutional characterization with norms, values, and collective consciousness that is different similar movements in the country.

In 1918, the structure of *Hoofdbestuur* (HB) Muhammadiyah experienced rejuvenation as indicated by the presence of young

⁴⁰In subsequent developments, many activities of HW joined the army/Hizbullah. See Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Aliran Pembaruan dalam Islam*, p. 83, and Ahmad Adabi Darban, *Sejarah Kauman: Mengungkap Identitas Kampung Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2010), p. 78.

⁴¹Mh. Mawardi, "Detik-detik Peristiwa...", p. 15.

intellectual cadres as the adherents of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan. At the same time, *Padvinders Muhammadiyah* was founded. It was presumed to be in line with the ‘new spirit’ in the leadership of Muhammadiyah—which was undergoing an ‘intellectualisation’ process. It heavily affected the organizational development in establishing the division of School (education), *Tabligh* (propagation of the message of Islam), *Taman Pustaka* (literacy affairs), and PKO (community empowerment). In the period of leadership of 1912-1917, the structural authority was concentrated in HB Muhammadiyah, but since the process of intellectualization, the authority has been specified.

The first structure of the Muhammadiyah Scouting is as follows:

Chairman : H. Muchtar
Vice chairman : H. Hadjid
Secretary : Somodirdjo
Treasurer : Abdul Hamid
Organization : Siradj Dahlan
Commander : Sjarbini
Damiri.⁴²

The first structure of the Muhammadiyah Scouting represents the leadership of the middle-class group that has educational and professional background. Haji Muchtar as the chairman was a wealthy merchant, a member of HB Muhammadiyah, and a *muballigh*. He graduated from a boarding school and was the youngest member of HB Muhammadiyah and an activist. Somodirdjo was a *mantri guru* (chief teacher) at Standardschool Muhammadiyah Suronatan, member of HB Muhammadiyah, and contributor in *Suara Muhammadiyah Magazine*. Abdul Hamid was an entrepreneur, a member of HB Muhammadiyah, a *muballigh*, and an activist. Siradj Dahlan graduated from Al-Irsyad University, member of HB Muhammadiyah and activist. Sjarbini, a teacher at Muhammadiyah School of Bausasran, had previously started a career in the military. Meanwhile, Damiri was a batik entrepreneur in Kauman and a member of HB Muhammadiyah.

The establishment phase of 1918-1920 was a crucial stage in the institutionalization process of Muhammadiyah Scouting. The initiation phase succeeded in opening a ‘third space’ with new concept, imagination and formula that transcended the *representation of space* of the general Scouting. It entered the establishment phase that was initiated with the structurization and the name of the movement—as

⁴²*Ibid.*

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a *representational space*. The name of 'Padvinders Muhammadiyah' was then selected. It is interesting that the movement initiated by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan was realized in a dynamic formal institution through structurization process with specific tasks and authority. Since the institution was still in the establishment phase, it required bureaucratic instruments hence the position of *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah in the HB Muhammadiyah structure resembled an *ad hoc* team which function was specifically to carry out scouting activities the formal school hours. Given the significant position of *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan as the president of HB Muhammadiyah directly led this movement. Moreover, four supporting divisions were formed (School, *Tabligh*, *Penolong Kesengsaraan Oemoem*, and *Taman Pustaka*) in 1920, and *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah was included in the structure of HB Muhammadiyah of School Division.⁴³

The decision to incorporate *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah into the School Division was an effort to fill the 'void' or 'third space' in Muhammadiyah education system. It was not an autonomous institution, but a sub-structure within HB Muhammadiyah. Meanwhile, the scouting activities reflected the integration between the educational realm and the reality in society.

In order to promote the movement, under the direction of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, Haji Hisham assisted the *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah to conduct a comparative study to JPO in Solo. It was the first interaction of Muhammadiyah scouting with similar institution in the country. The initiative to have a special uniform to differentiate the members of *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah came from this event. The first uniform of *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah was a set of yellow drill fabric, blue fabric, and neckerchief. In fact, the cloth for the red-with-black spots neckerchief (Javanese: *kacu 'kedele kecer'*) was chosen unintentionally due to economic consideration since it was the only available stock.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, other equipment was also provided, i.e., stick, drum-band, hat, and so on.

The comparative study between *Padvinder* Muhammadiyah and *Javansche Padvinders Organisatie* (JPO) in Mangkunegaran Square, Solo. It became the first momentum of their joint show force in the

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁴*Ibid.* According to Djarnawi Hadikusuma, in subsequent developments, HW uniforms consisted of dark blue pants refers to oceans, brown shirt refers to land, bamboo hat refers to the wealthy homeland. The members wore red neckerchief on their necks (later, green) implying the duty of defending the truth, and jasmine emblem implying their readiness to fight. See Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Aliran Pembaruan*, p. 83.

public sphere. It was also followed by the continuous communication between them. In 1924, JPO was officially invited in the Annual Meeting of HB Muhammadiyah.⁴⁵

In the interaction between *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah and JPO, each member showed respective characteristics. Despite of similar activities between them, the gestures, uniforms, and manners of the members were different. *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah had begun to identify itself and positioned a distinctive position among similar institutions. Comparative study was continually conducted, both with those organized by colonial government and other social groups, i.e., Chinese and Arabian groups. The activities of *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah became more massive and popular in Yogyakarta at that time.

In the identification process, particularly after the comparative study to Solo, the *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah board started to initiate a name for the movement to distinguish it from others. Moreover, the *Padvinders* Muhammadiyah is a part of *Persyarikatan* Muhammadiyah, which definitely has distinctive mission and vision from other social movements. The name ‘Hizbul Wathan’ (HW) was finally preferred in which it has a special meaning, namely the relationship between the initiators of HW and the national and international political constellation.⁴⁶ At that time, the nationalist movement echoed in Turkey, especially the figure of Mustafa Kamal Pasha who established *Hizbul Wathan* political party.⁴⁷ In Indonesia, particularly in Surabaya, K.H. Mas Mansur established *Nahdlatul Tujjar* and *Nahdlatul Wathan*. The spirit of ‘nationalism’ among Muslims was rampant and the phrase “*Hubbul-Watan Min al-Eemaan*” was so popular. Regarding with the name of HW, Djarnawi Hadikusuma testified:

“The Scouting of Muhammadiyah is finally established called “Hizbul Wathan” abbreviated as HW. The name is adapted from an Egyptian national party, *Hizbul Wathan*, which was founded by Mustafa Kamil in 1894 and also from al-Hukama, “Love of homelands is of the faith.”⁴⁸

⁴⁵See “Tjatetan (Notulen) Rapat Tahoenan Moehammadijah 1342 H. 1924 M.” *Soeara Moehammadijah* (No. 8 of 1924), p. 115.

⁴⁶Mh. Mawardi mentioned Hadjid who proposed the name Hizbul Wathan. See Mh. Mawardi, “Detik-detik Peristiwa...”, p. 16.

⁴⁷Hadikusuma, *Aliran Pembaharuan*, p. 82.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

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Therefore, the basic characters built in the establishment of HW were the spirits of 'nationalism' and 'patriotism,' even though Indonesia had not been a nation-state at that time. The spirit of nationalism in HW is dissimilar from the vision of other organizations, i.e., the *Nationale Padvinders Organisatie* (NPO) and *Nationale Padvinderij*. HW carries the vision of modernist Islam as upheld by Muhammadiyah hence it is imbued by the characteristics of Islam.

HW was increasingly popular in Yogyakarta. Muhammadiyah, which was established by the royal servants (*abdi dalem*) of Kraton Yogyakarta (including K.H. Ahmad Dahlan as an *abdi dalem* who served as a *khatib* in Kauman Great Mosque), could not be detached from the interaction process with the structure of Yogyakarta Kingdom. On January 30, 1921,⁴⁹ K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, Haji Hisham, Haji Mochtar, Haji Fachrodin, Hadjid, Sjarbini, and Damiri led the HW members in performing marching and performances at the North Square in the coronation of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono VIII as the New King. In this second show force of HW in the public space, Djarnawi Hadikusuma quoted the phenomenal speech of Haji Fachrodin:

K.H. Fachruddin once had a speech in front of the members of HW, "The stick resting on your hands and shoulders will turn into rifle and gun." It seems that his words turn to be true. In the Japanese occupation, our members joined Heiho and PETA ((Defenders of the Homeland). Among them were Muljadi Djojomartono, Yunus Anis, Kasman and Sudirman. Even Sudirman is the first commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces."⁵⁰

The statement of Haji Fachrodin is the affirmation of the author's analysis that one of the motives of HW is linked to the phase of 'pre-physical revolution.' The Muhammadiyah Scouting was established based on the motive of preparing the trained individuals with the spirit of nationalism and patriotism that later, will be useful to defend the homeland in actual physical battle. In the discussion of the peak phase (the period of Japanese occupation to Dutch military aggression), the role of HW was noticeable, particularly in the character building of the younger generation since it was successful to generate the nationalist and patriotic leading figures.

⁴⁹Mh. Mawardi, "Detik-detik Kelahiran...", p. 17.

⁵⁰Hadikusuman, *Aliran Pembaruan*, p. 83.

The institutionalization phase through the establishment of bureaucratic mechanisms was incessantly carried out along with the reinforcement of values, norms and characters of HW in the post-second show force in 1921. In 1923, at the Muhammadiyah Annual Gathering (*Jaarvergadering*), one of the leaders of HW conveyed the urgency of HW among Muslims, the dissemination of new identity and the expansion of structural scope accompanied by the requirement of minimum member.

“The representative of Hizbul Wathan explained the intention of HW. That is the necessity for Muslims to own characteristics and behaviours as aspired by HW. Hence, the branches of HW should be immediately established. The HW (headquarter) in Yogyakarta has provided show force and assistance. So, there are Soldiers for the Relief of Suffering, who are 12 members of HW...”⁵¹

HW that promoted the spirit of ‘nationalism’ and ‘patriotism’ on the basis of the principle of ‘religious humanity’ (Islam) was deemed urgent and imperative. Nevertheless, HW had situated itself as a nationalist and patriotic movement, facing directly the colonial political system at that time. The new identity of HW arose when the HW board identified the members of HW as the ‘Soldiers for the Relief of Suffering’, which was the combination of military concepts in scouting and religious humanity. Moreover, it was explicitly asserted that the members of HW were called ‘*pradjoerit Hizboel Wathon*’ (Hizbul Wathan Soldier)—which marked the maturation of the physical revolution. Furthermore, the development of the institutional structure was seen from the requirement of 12 members at minimum for forming a HW branch.

In addition to carrying the spirit of nationalism and patriotism, introducing new identity as ‘Soldiers for the Relief of Suffering’, and establishing institutional bureaucratic mechanisms, in 1923, HW started to instil the values and character of the movement by introducing three songs of *Maskumambang*, *La Marseillaise*, and *Dunya Zaman*. In the 1923 Annual Gathering (*Jaarvergadering*), it was noted:

⁵¹See “Peringatan Perkumpulan Tahunan Muhammadiyah pada 30 Maret sampai dengan 2 April 1923 di Djokjakarta,” *Soewara Moehammadijah* (No. 5 & 6 Tahun 1923), p. 105.

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“(There are) three pledges, *first* “Weeping before God” through *Maskoemambang*. *Second*, “*Hubbul-Watan Min al-Eemaan* or love of one’s homeland (country) is from faith” through *Marseillaise*. *Third*, the brotherhood of the Muslims all over the world through *Doenja Zaman*.”⁵²

The preference of those songs as an organizational instrument to foster the spirit of nationalism and patriotism had peculiar background. The spirit in *Maskumambang* signals the process of human birth in accordance with the nature.⁵³ This song also contains the spirit of confession and submission, which relevant to the early stages of self-purification, submissive spirit, and discipline guidance. Hence, it is aesthetically expressed, “Weeping before God through the song *Maskumambang*.” Meanwhile, the song *La Marseillaise*—which is the French National Anthem—was selected since it motivates the spirit of nationalism and patriotism.⁵⁴ Likewise, *Doenja Zaman* is an Arabic song that contains the call to unite, build the spirit of nationalism and patriotism.⁵⁵

In its establishment, the institutional instruments of HW endured a long process in accommodating the concepts, perceptions, and formulations of the movement (material and non-material) as the synthesis to the practice of general Scouting organized by various elements in society, both those affiliated to the colonial rule and the indigenous. The structural development of HW continued to expand while its bureaucratic mechanisms (rule and regulation) also experienced a significant growth. Social stratification in the structure of HW began to form from the formation and continued to progress conceptually in subsequent phases.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³See “Reportase: Maskumambang Mijil” (Jabang Bayi Lahir), <https://majlisgugurgunung.com/reportase-maskumambang-mijil/> (Accessed on 29 April 2018).

⁵⁴See https://id.m.wikipedia.org/La_Marseillaise/ (Accessed on 29 April 2018). Djarnawi Hadikusuma testified *La Marseillaise* was introduced by Sjarbini. See Hadikusuma, *Aliran Pembaruan*, p. 85.

⁵⁵See “Peringatan Perkumpulan Tahunan Muhammadiyah pada 30 Maret sampai dengan 2 April 1923 di Djokjakarta,” *Soewara Moehammadijah*, (No. 5 & 6 Tahun 1923), p. 105.

4. The Internalization Phase

The internalization phase of HW was a phase of social practice in the non-material dimension that proceeded when the determined motives entered the structurization and the implementation of bureaucratic mechanisms within HW. This phase was the process of internalizing ideological values, i.e., the reinforcement of the ideology of 'religious humanism', the consolidation of the spirit of 'nationalism' and 'patriotism', so as to inculcate the habits that characterized the special identity and model of the HW movement. Yet subsequently, the habits continually change in accordance with the dynamics of the era and the social relations.

The development of HW was so rapid after the show force in the procession for the coronation of HB VIII in 1921. The HW troop marching from the North Square of the Sultanate Palace to Ambarukmo gained incredible attention from the local community, particularly after their performance with HW special uniform (brown shirt, dark blue pants, red neckerchief, bamboo round hat, and jasmine emblem). The identity of HW successfully affected the collective consciousness of Muslims in Yogyakarta. Later, there were *HW Landa* (Dutch) and *HW China* that referred to scouting activities organized by other social groups.⁵⁶

The 'collective consciousness' gained by HW was due to its distinctive characteristics. Along with its attainment in identifying its movement, the characterization process continued in the practice of social relations in the form of support, motivation and invitation from other groups. In 1924, NIPV, the Scouting of Colonial rule under the leadership of M. Raneff, invited HW Muhammadiyah to join them. At least, NIPV submitted three invitations to HW for joining the Scouting organization under the Colonial rule. *First*, in 1924, when NIPV was officially invited in the Annual Meeting of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. *Second*, in 1926, when Muhammadiyah held a Congress in Surabaya.⁵⁷ *Third*, after the Congress in Surabaya, NIPV initiated a meeting with the HW board in Yogyakarta. Mh. Mawardi explicated the invitations as follows:

"A meeting was initiated by the representative of NIPV in Yogyakarta, in which they invited HW to join NIPV. Nevertheless, HW insisted to be an independent Scouting and refused the proposal

⁵⁶Mh. Mawardi, "Detik-detik Peristiwa", p. 17.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 18.

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of M. Raneff since HW is not a mere *padvinder*. It has distinctive values that might be hardly accepted by *padvinder* in general.”⁵⁸

The HW board consistently rebuffed the official proposal from NIPV since the concept, perception, structure, organizational instruments, and bureaucratic mechanisms in Muhammadiyah Scouting had been undergone a long process that ultimately generated certain attributes, characters, and models that could not be paralleled with general *padvinder*. The representative of HB Muhammadiyah attending the meeting with NIPV was Haji Fachroedin. He was outstanding for his determination, radical outlook, and revolutionary acts.

The ‘religious humanism’ ideology had undergone internalization within the body of the HW movement hence it was complicated to automatically accept the invitation to join another Scout movement. The strength of faith became a fundamental indicator in shaping the character of the movement. The excerpt of the minutes of the 1924 Annual Meeting of Muhammadiyah is as follows:

“Hizbul Wathan consists of the soldiers for the relief of the suffering. Indeed their duty to relieve the misery of others as promoted by Islam. HW soldiers who left their house must intend to help others. They must fill their soul with faith. They must have a faith that there will be no misery except coming from Allah.”⁵⁹

In fact, ‘religious humanism’, ‘nationalism’ and ‘patriotism’ had been embedded in the HW movement. They accentuated the structure, values, norms, and collective consciousness of the members/activists of HW and differentiated them from similar movements. The preference of *Hizbul Wathan* or nationalist party as the name of the movement explicitly reflects its patriotism-nationalism ideology. Meanwhile, its organizational instruments, i.e., uniform, symbol and official songs, have ignited the patriotic spirit. Djarnawi Hadikusuma explicated the symbolic meaning of ‘Jasmine’ as:

“Jasmine has been associated with the fighting spirit of the freedom fighters and national heroes, including Pangeran Diponegoro. Thus, in the independence war against the Dutch, those who die are depicted as: “*Pecah sebagai ratna, gugur sebagai melati* (shattering

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹See “Pemandangan” in “Tjatetan (Notulen) Rapat Moehammadijah Tahoen 1342 H. 1924 M,” *Soeara Moehammadijah*, (No. 7/1924), p. 101.

like a diamond, dying like a jasmine.”⁶⁰

“*Pecah sebagai ratna, gugur sebagai melati*” is a symbolic language to utter the patriotism in the HW movement. With the resolute ideology that had been crystallized as owned by both institutional and individual, it was highly unlikely that HB accepted such an alluring proposal to join the NIPV.

Despite the HW movement had its typical ideological structure, yet in the realm of social practice, particularly in routine activities, it had similarities with other movements. The concept of HW is basically the synthesis of the colonial education system and Islamic education system, thus it still possesses the features of those two systems. The minutes of the Muhammadiyah Meeting in 1924 noted: “*Marching, singing, horse riding, playing fiets, having discussion, scavenging, and other skills. JPO collaborated with HW, for sure.*”⁶¹

The dissimilarities between HW Muhammadiyah and other *padvinder* in general, especially NIPV, are presented in the table below.

The dissimilarities between HW and NIPV

Organization	HW	NIPV
Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious humanism • Nationalism • Patriotism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanism
Character values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religiosity (faith, worship guidance, sincerity, grateful, charity) • Nationalism (love for the homeland, aspiration for independence) • Patriotism (devotion, sacrifice, brave, fight for the homeland) • Happiness (joy, cheers, voluntary) • Health (healthy, energetic, dynamic) • Handicraft (prolific, productive, creative, innovative) • Helpfulness (environmentally friendly, affectionate, loyal) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Happiness (joy, cheers, voluntary, sincerity and grateful) • Health (healthy, energetic, dynamic) • Handicraft (prolific, productive, creative, innovative) • Helpfulness (environmentally friendly, affectionate, loyal)

⁶⁰Hadikusuma, *Pembaruan Islam*, 83.

⁶¹See “Tjatetan (Notulen) Rapat Mochammadijah Tahoen 1342 H. 1924 M,” *Soeara Moehammadijah*, (No. 7/1924), p. 115.

Organization	HW	NIPV
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Five times prayer, reciting the Holy Qur'an, praying, giving charity/social services, reflection of gratitude (<i>pengajian</i>) • The presence of Soldiers for the Relief of Suffering, and the songs of <i>Maskumambang, La Marseillaise</i> and <i>Dunya Zaman</i>. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Singing, dancing, playing games, charity, social works, ceremony, and so on. • Sports, games, camping, hiking, and so on. • Handcrafting, discussion, study group, scout knots, Morse codes, and so on. • First aid, reforestation, sanitation, grouping, and so on.

Source: Data processing.

The internalization of the values and characters of HW had been fortified along with the repressive politics in Indonesia, restricting the indigenous movement to determine the options for the future. All the political instruments of the Dutch colonial rule were employed to confine the space for indigenous people in expressing their aspirations. In other words, concepts or imaginations in the “abstract space” were dominated by the ‘truth’ as stipulated by the colonial rule under the guise of ‘order.’ In 1932, the colonial rule issued the law of Wilden Scholen Ordonantie. This law has surely affected the dynamics of Muhammadiyah education, especially the HW movement, through assorted responses and attitudes of the HW’s actors because of its limited space. Nevertheless, the Tanwir Assembly led by K.H. Ibrahim in 1932 decided that *Hoofdbestuur* (HB) Muhammadiyah would consistently carry out the educational system and method in line with the vision and mission of *Persyarikatan*.

Approaching the early 1940s, there was a change of world political map with the outbreak of World War II. HW experienced the ‘peak’ of the internalization process regarding with the ideology of religious humanism, nationalism and patriotism. Most of HW members/activists were the students or graduates of Muhammadiyah schools, who had undergone the maturation of physical revolution. Some of the leading figures in the physical revolution, i.e., Mulyadi Djojomartono, Yunus Anis, Kasman Singodimedjo and Sudirman, had the strategic military role during the Japanese occupation. Djarnawi Hadikusuma explained

that during the Japanese occupation, many HW's leaders and activists joined Heiho and PETA (Defenders of the Homeland). Furthermore, Sudirman, the cadre of Banyumas region, succeeded in becoming a central figure in the military structure and appointed as the commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces.⁶²

The maturation of the physical revolution occurred during the Japanese occupation to the period of Dutch military aggression I (1947) and II (1948). Ahmad Adabi Darban suggested that the strategic role of HW was fused within the Hizbullah movement in facing the Dutch military aggression.⁶³ In Kauman, Yogyakarta, a legion was initiated and mobilized by HW leaders and activists under the name of *Asykar Perang Sabil* (APS). The structure consisted of K.H. Mahfudz, K.H. Ahmad Badawi, and K.R.H. Hadjid (Executive Board), Ki Bagus Hadikusuma (Advisor), M. Sjarbini (Commander), M. Djuraimi (Vice commander), M. Bakri Sjahid (Chief of Staff), Siradj Dahlan (Information Division), Abdul Djawad (Procurement), and M. Bakri Syujak (Armament). Regional-scale battle occurred between the APS and the Dutch army in Yogyakarta (1949) and Bantul (Sonosewu).⁶⁴ A number of HW cadres scarified their lives during the physical battle. Nevertheless, they died with faith and self-esteem because the ideology of nationalism and patriotism had been embedded within the members of HW. Those who were injured and even killed in the battlefield are illustrated by Djarnawi Hadikusuma as "*pecah sebagai ratna, gugur sebagai melati.*"⁶⁵

E. Conclusion

From the results of this study, several conclusions can be drawn as follows:

1. Based on the perspective of historical dialectics, the history of HW is the social product of the initiators' social practices. The initiators of HW are engaged in social relationships with diverse components of society and as a result, certain attributes, characteristics and models are formed. The periodization of the history of HW is relevant considering there is a crucial phase between the initiation, the establishment and the internalization of values, norms, and collective consciousness.

⁶²Hadikusuma, *Pembaruan Islam*, p. 83.

⁶³Adabi Darban, *Sejarah Kauman*, p. 78.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 81.

⁶⁵To commemorate and honour the heroes of APS, the Local Government built APS monument in the north of the Great Mosque of Yogyakarta.

Mu'arif

2. The history of HW is the synthesis process of finding a 'new space' in addressing the dysfunction between the role of school and society. This space is called the 'third space,' a dialectical interpretation of social practices that make up the negation between the role of school and society. It emerges from the concepts, aspirations, and political strains in the 'abstract space' that fill the void between school and society in the form of an extracurricular activity called Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah Scouting.
3. The third space of education is differential. It is an accommodation of diverse concepts, aspirations, and strains hence the formulation is dynamic in line with the experiences undergone by the initiators and actors. Faced with the contradiction between the values and norms of scout movement in the colonial period, the ideology of HW has surpassed the humanism ideology. In the colonial period, the third space succeeded in establishing its structure. The ideologies of nationalism and patriotism are urged to fill the 'space of truth' in the historical dialectics of HW. Basically, the ideologies of HW are religious humanism, nationalism and patriotism.
4. The characters of HW are distinctive from other movements from the religious humanism, nationalism and patriotism that have accentuated the structure, norms and collective consciousness of HW. In the context of routine activities, the character of scouting, namely the principles of happiness (happy, joy, voluntary, sincere, and grateful), health (healthy, energetic, dynamic), handicraft (prolific, productive, creative, innovative), helpfulness (caring, environmentally friendly, affectionate, loyal), might be similar to the characters of HW, yet the appreciation and realization of religious humanism, nationalism and patriotism situate the characters of HW beyond those of Scout movements in general.
5. In fact, during the outbreak of the physical revolution, the characters of HW had been crystallized, encouraging the youth as the revolutionary generation with self-sacrifice and fighting spirits for the nation and state. The involvement of the members of HW as freedom fighters is an evidence of the patriotism in this scout movement. Even a cadre of HW, General Sudirman, has been titled by the Indonesian government as the Father of Indonesian National Army (TNI).

F. Remarks

Study of the Muhammadiyah movement by involving new theoretical framework and approach as done in this study has not been done by many researchers. In fact, the historical studies about the Muhammadiyah movement generally employ *tajdid* theories that incline to the Islamic movement in Mecca (conservative) and Egypt (rational). The Muhammadiyah historiography models are relatively simple, particularly for the autobiographies that commonly use the traditional historiography model (inward looking, worshiping and local scope).

The development of historical research on Muhammadiyah Studies by using the approach of contemporary social sciences is required. The progress of social sciences, especially the contemporary historical studies, has been significant. Currently, the implementation of a single approach is no longer relevant. They require a multidisciplinary approach with an analytical framework that is able to link the local events and their relevance to global events. A study entitled "Membuka Ruang Ketiga Pendidikan: Sejarah Hizbul Wathan Muhammadiyah 1918-1949" is an effort to provide a new perspective of Muhammadiyah historiography with the theoretical framework of the contemporary social sciences.

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