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EFFORTS TO COMBINE HIGH-POLITICS AND LOW-POLITICS:

How Muhammadiyah Special Region of Yogyakarta Wins Its Cadres as Members of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia

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Abstract: The purpose of this article is to explain Muhammadiyah's personal branding strategy for the Special Region of Yogyakarta in winning its cadre, Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno, to become a member of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2024 election. Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno won 398,903 votes or 17.32% of the total percentage through this strategy. This political, institutional support is interesting to explain because it shows the practice of low politics, even though Muhammadiyah's political doctrine has been to play a role in high politics or national politics and not low politics, which is power-oriented. This article is the result of qualitative research, which uses interview techniques, observation, documentation, Focus Group Discussion, and Nvivo 12 Plus and Geographic Information System in its analysis. The discussion results show that the personal branding carried out by the Yogyakarta Special Region Muhammadiyah towards Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno can be understood as an effort to combine high politics and low politics in seizing power and policy space. The separation of high and low politics is not rigid in its implementation at the local level. This political flexibility does not mean opportunism because it remains within the framework of preaching reform or tajdid in the political field. To realize the interests of political da'wah, the electoral behavior of Muhammadiyah citizens is more effectively controlled institutionally so that the potential of the Muhammadiyah network can be optimized rather than given the freedom to choose.

Keywords: Muhammadiyah, Personal Branding, High-Politics, Low-Politics, Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno.

Abstrak: Tujuan dari artikel ini adalah untuk menjelaskan strategi personal branding Muhammadiyah bagi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta dalam memenangkan kadernya, Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno, untuk menjadi anggota Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia pada pemilihan umum tahun 2024. Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno meraih 398.903 suara atau 17,32% dari total persentase melalui strategi tersebut. Dukungan politik, kelembagaan ini menarik untuk dijelaskan karena menunjukkan praktik politik rendah,

padahal doktrin politik Muhammadiyah selama ini adalah berperan dalam politik tinggi atau politik kebangsaan dan bukan politik rendah yang berorientasi pada kekuasaan. Artikel ini merupakan hasil penelitian kualitatif, yang menggunakan teknik wawancara, observasi, dokumentasi, Focus Group Discussion, dan Nvivo 12 Plus serta Sistem Informasi Geografis dalam analisisnya. Hasil pembahasan menunjukkan bahwa personal branding yang dilakukan Muhammadiyah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta terhadap Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno dapat dipahami sebagai upaya memadukan politik tinggi dan politik rendah dalam merebut kekuasaan dan ruang kebijakan. Pemisahan politik tinggi dan rendah tidak kaku dalam penerapannya di tingkat lokal. Fleksibilitas politik ini bukan berarti oportunisme karena tetap dalam kerangka dakwah pembaruan atau tajdid di bidang politik. Untuk mewujudkan kepentingan dakwah politik, perilaku elektoral warga Muhammadiyah lebih efektif dikontrol secara kelembagaan sehingga potensi jaringan Muhammadiyah dapat dioptimalkan daripada diberi kebebasan memilih.

Kata Kunci: Muhammadiyah, Personal Branding, Politik Tinggi, Politik Rendah, Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno.

Introduction

In 2024, Indonesia will hold a political contest that includes the election of the president and vice president, members of the People's Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council, and the Regional Advisory Council. This article focuses on the personal branding strategy of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta Special Region in winning its cadre, namely Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno, as a member of the Regional Advisory Council. Four people were selected from nine candidates, namely GKR. Hemas, R.A. Yashinta Sekarwangi Mega, Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno, and Hilmy Muhammad. From these results, Ahamd Syauqi won 398,903 votes, or 17.32% of the total percentage. The electoral system in Indonesia is an open proportional electoral system, which gives voters the freedom to choose the candidate of their choice. However, candidates who rank at the top of the list are more likely to be selected. Thus, every candidate is obliged to campaign to get support for the vote.

Based on the Scopus database of research that focuses on Winning Strategy and Scope of Elections, 138 documents were found from 2019 to 2024. The data was analyzed using VOS Viewer to understand the goals and objectives of the previous study. The results of the Vosviewer analysis are shown in Figure 1 and Table 1.

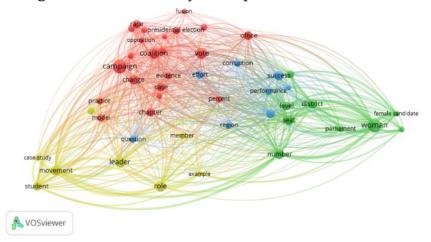


Figure. 1 Network analysis Scopus Database 2019-2024.

Table . 1 Network analysis Scopus Database 2019-2024.

Themes	Cluster
Campaign, Challenge, Change, Chapter, Coalition, Conclusion,	1
Consequence, Evidence, Fact, Fusion, General election, Model, Office,	
Opportunity, Opposition, Percent, Practice, President, President Election,	
Race, Vote	
District, Female Candidate, Impact, Legislative Election, Level, Number,	2
Parliament, Seat, Women	
Corruption, Country, Effort, Importance, Performance, Question, Region,	3
Success	
Case Study, Example, Leader, Member, Movement, Order, Role, Student	4

The table and Figure 1 show that the themes of previous research on winning strategy in elections relate to the campaign phases, general election, President's election, and Vote, which concentrate on cluster 1. This shows that previous research focused only on the president's winning strategy and didn't highlight the civil society's support for the candidate.

Election of Members of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia

Regional Representative Members branch in Indonesia called Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD), Senator in this case, have been elected directly by vote of Indonesia Citizens. In this case, the Regional Representative Members or DPD that each province has a four-seat quota for the Regional Representative Members to represent each province¹. In the case of Indonesia, the Regional Representative Members have some authority. First, Indonesia's Regional Representative Council represents regional concerns and legislatively advocates the region's needs. *Second*, Indonesia's legislative system is structured as a bicameral system, where the Regional Representative Council functions as the upper house alongside the People's Consultative Assembly. This dual structure places the Regional Representative Council as part of the counterbalance of the representative branch, so in this case, there are checks and balances mechanisms in the legislative body. *Third*, Indonesia's Regional Representative Council can significantly influence through decentralization, regional autonomy, and local governance policies, which impact local resources and communities.².

In the Indonesia general election 2024, the citizens also participated in electing the senator in each province in Indonesia. In this case of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the elected are GKR. Hemas, R.A. Yashinta Sekarwangi Mega, Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno, and Hilmy Muhammad. From the Result, Ahamd Syauqi reached 398.903 votes or 17,32% of the total percentage. The regional representative members play a slightly different role from the

"Tindak Tutur Direktif Dalam Pidato Presiden Ri Pada Sidang Tahunan Mpr, Dpr, Dan Dpd Tahun 2021."

Savirani, "Post-Election Politics In Indonesia."

Suswanta, Sulaksono, And Sundari, "Comparison Of Dpd Muslim Electoral Districts Of Bali, North Sulawesi, And East Nusa Tenggara In The Perspective Of The Powercube Theory"; Feni, Kedudukan Mantan Narapidana Korupsi Yang Mencalonkan Diri Sebagai Calon Anggota Dpr, Dpd Dan Dprd Pada Pemilihan Umum 2019.; Adi, Suhartono, And Nasution, "... Nomor 30/Puu-Xvi/2018 Dan Putusan Mahkamah Agung Nomor 65 P/Hum/2018 Tentang Pencalonan Anggota Dpd Pada Pemilu 2019"; Basri, "Strategi Komunikasi Politik Dpd Partai Golkar Pada Pemilu Legislatif Aceh Tengah 2019"; Azwar And Minto,

house representative. In contrast, the House representative is focused on representing the Indonesian Citizens, and the Regional Representative Members represent the region. In national policy cases, the role of Regional Representative Members is ³:

First, it provides input for regional development. Second, it represents the interests of the provinces and regions and balances the People's Representative Council so that the executive body hears the voices of each area. Third, as part of the legislative body, the Regional Representative Council members can supervise the House of Representatives as part of the Check and Balance mechanism.

Political Marketing and Election

Political marketing plays an essential role in our lives in the information world. Politicians need to gain political scope and marketing targets to win the election.⁴In this case, there appear to be three different roles: First, political marketing ensures that the candidate can get the vote from every element and various social backgrounds. *Second*, effective marketing can significantly influence voter opinions. It can elevate underdog candidates, as exemplified by Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's grassroots movement.⁵, which uses strategic digital marketing. Well-crafted marketing approaches can engage voters by addressing their concerns and presenting solutions that align with their perspectives, thereby fostering a deeper connection. *Third*, a comprehensive political marketing campaign extends beyond mere advertising and social media management. Comprehensive political marketing can widen the content to attract citizens to choose a candidate and attach a more specific purpose to a particular target.

Indonesia's political marketing eventually targets not the people but, in another case, the political marketing also drags the Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) either as part of branding or becoming representative of those organizations. In the case of Indonesia, political marketing brings multiple ways of campaigning. "Governmental Market" refers to the dynamic interplay between political parties and the government. This interaction encompasses various activities to shape government decisions and policies, including lobbying, policy advocacy, and negotiations. Second, within each political party, an internal market plays a crucial role in shaping the party's dynamics. Party leaders engage in strategic planning, focusing on candidate selection, party organization, and internal communication. This internal market is essential for maintaining party unity and ensuring the party's overall effectiveness. Third, Political parties actively engage with voters during electoral periods through various means. They craft campaign messages, organize rallies, and advertise to influence public opinion and secure voter support. Fourth, political parties engage in non-

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³ Irawan, Komunikasi Dakwah Dpd Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Kota Padangsidimpuan Pada Pemilihan Legislatif Dprd Kota Padangsidimpuan Tahun 2019; Salman, "Peran Anggota Dpd Ri Provinsi Dki Jakarta Periode 2014-2019 Dalam Menyerap Aspirasi Warga Dki Jakarta"; Bahari And Hidayat-Sardini, "... Dpd Ri Dapil Jateng Dalam Meningkatkan Fungsi-Fungsi Perwakilan Daerah (Studi Kasus Anggota Dpd Jawa Tengah Periode 2014-2019)"; Al Fardi, "'Real Count Kpu Diy Dpd Ri 75,91%, Gkr Hemas Teratas.'

⁴ Handini And Dunan, "Buzzer As The Driving Force For Buzz Marketing On Twitter In The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election"; Duile, "Challenging Hegemony: Nurhadi-Aldo And The 2019 Election In Indonesia"; Firmansyah, Zulfikar, And ..., "Comparing Sentiment Analysis Of Indonesian Presidential Election 2019 With Support Vector Machine And K-Nearest Neighbor Algorithm."

⁵ Ocasio-Cortez, "Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez."

⁶ Ahmad, "Political Markets, The Party-Related Factors And Political Party's Market-Orientation In Indonesia's Democracy: Evidence From Indonesia's 2014 Parliamentary Election"; Deto And Putra, "Entering 2024: Establishing A Strong Brand Identity Of Indonesian Political Parties Through Websites."

electoral activities beyond electoral campaigns to foster long-term connections with their constituents. These initiatives include grassroots organizing, community service, and building lasting relationships through sustained interactions. *Fifth,* Political parties engage in a competitive media market, striving to secure favorable media coverage, manage their public image, and utilize social media platforms to disseminate information and shape public perception.

Winning Strategy on Election and Personal Branding

Building personal branding is part of an election-winning strategy. Personal branding is the process of forming the public's perception of aspects of a person's possessions, including personality, abilities, or values, and how all of this creates positive perceptions from the public, which can ultimately be used as a marketing tool. Meanwhile, an election-winning strategy is a comprehensive plan that outlines how a candidate or political party aims to achieve electoral success. This plan involves a series of coordinated actions and decisions designed to maximize the chances of winning the election. It is a structured roadmap that outlines the goals, strategies, and critical tactics for reaching, mobilizing, and persuading voters, supporters, and donors. The campaign or candidate manager usually creates a plan, including essential components such as research, voter demographics, field planning, and the campaign. Messaging. This strategic plan guides the campaign, ensuring that resources are utilized efficiently and that the campaign stays focused on its goals. 7. A winning strategy in politics involves crafting and executing explicit strategies to build adequate political support necessary for achieving objectives while advancing the values of democratic institutions. It involves making precise decisions that lead to the desired outcome, often electoral victory.8.

As explained, various aspects can impact the winning strategy in an election. ⁹: *First*, Effective strategies in political campaigns enable the efficient allocation of limited resources such as time, money, and workforce. Campaigns can maximize their impact and achieve their objectives by concentrating on crucial demographics, swing states, and critical issues; this approach ensures that resources are utilized effectively, thereby increasing the chances of success. *Second*, a winning political strategy involves developing consistent and compelling messaging that helps create a solid political brand; this approach enables candidates to resonate with voters, making them memorable and relatable. ¹⁰Effective political campaign strategies focus on driving get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts by motivating supporters to participate in the electoral process. This aspect is crucial for achieving electoral success, as it ensures that supporters turn out to vote and contribute to the campaign's overall outcome.

Attama Et Al., "Does The Imposition Of A Candidate At Party Primaries Increase The Probability Of Winning An Election?"; Levy, "Winning Cures Everything? Beliefs About Voter Fraud, Voter Confidence, And The 2016 Election."

⁸ Osama, "How A Populist Remains In Politics: An Indian Muslim Politician's Winning Style"; Varma, Paramasivam, And Nimehchisalem, "Linguistic Construction Of A Winning Apology."

Morgan And White, The Presidential Image: A History From Theodore Roosevelt To Donald Trump; Nuvunga And Salih, "Party Dominance And Electoral Institutions: Framing Frelimo's Dominance In The Context Of An Electoral Governance Deficit"; Lopes, Albuquerque, And Bezerra, "'2018, The Final Battle': Lava Jato And Bolsonaro In An Anti-Corruption And Anti-System Campaign."

Nggilu, Novendri Mohamad, et al. "Indonesia's Constitutional Identity: A Comparative Study of Islamic Constitutionalism." De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syar'iah 16.2 (2024): 480-500.

Previous research explains the winning strategy in presidential cases. This is the literature gap in the last study that only focused on the winning strategy of presidential cases; the Novelty of this research is that it explores the winning strategy of Muhammadiyah to support the cadre on senator election in the electoral region of DI Yogyakarta with the specific case of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno. There are two problem formulations for this article :

- 1. What political campaign narrative appears on Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno's social media?
- 2. What are the stages of personal branding of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta Special Region for Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno as a cadre to be elected as a member of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2024 election?
- 3. What is the meaning of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta Special Region's political support for Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno so that he was elected as a member of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024?

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach and a descriptive approach to describe the value of the analysis. This article uses digital data, such as social media and news data. In this case, the data was collected using Ahmad Syauqi's Instagram and Twitter accounts. Besides that, the analysis of this research used qualitative data analysis software (Q-DAS), in this case, Nvivo 12Plus software. They also use the narrative from Geographic Information Systems analysis based on the result of the Regional Representative Member Election in D.I.Yogyakarta. This research there are consists of 4 steps, as explained:

First, the data in this step was collected from various sources like the news, social media, and literature. Second, filtering data after the data is collected, the data must be filtered as parts to make the data proper. Third, after the data have been filtered, the data must be analyzed using several analyses, such as Nvivo 12Plus and GIS analysis. Fourth, the steps of the result of data have been presented using a table, figure, and narration to explain the meaning of values.

Results and Discussion

This analysis includes three parts of the winning strategy: first, an analysis of themes on media and social media about Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno; *Second, an* Analysis of the Marketing and Personal Branding Target of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno. *Third,* Analysis of the meaning of Muhammadiyah Support Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno. Besides the analysis of winning strategies, there is also an analysis of Campaign Narration called analysis of narration. The analysis is explained in figures and tables.

A. Analysis of the Winning Strategy of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

This analysis is divided into three sub-analyses: first, an analysis of themes on media and social media about Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno; second, an Analysis of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno's marketing and personal branding target; and third, an Analysis of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno's branding. The analysis uses Crosstab Analysis in Nvivo 12Plus with Figures and Tables.

Jackson And Bazeley, Qualitative Data Analysis With Nvivo; Dalkin Et Al., "Using Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Caqdas; Nvivo) To Assist In The Complex Process Of Realist Theory Generation, Refinement And Testing."

1. Analysis of themes on social media and media about Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno
This analysis tries to analyze the themes of social media and media perceptions about Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno, using crosstab analysis, the analysis in Figure 2 and Table 2.

Figure. 2 Themes Analysis of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Themes Analysis of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

Table. 2 Themes Analysis of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Coding references percentage

Themes	Area	Vote	Syauqi	Total
Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno	28,57%	31,43%	40%	100%
Total	28,57%	31,43%	40%	100%

Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

Figure 2 and Table 2 show the media and social media themes about Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno. The analyses show that Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno has three themes: Daerah (Region), Suara (Votes), and Syauqi. In this case, the themes of Syauqi are the dominant, with a total of 31,43%. Parts of Ahamd Syauqi Soeratno's branding are shown in this case. Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno, as a candidate, shows strong personal branding by using his middle name as part of his branding. As a politician, Personal branding is vital for political success because it highlights a politician's commitment to their principles, distinguishes them from others, and builds trust among voters. Whether a candidate or a political party, a robust brand is essential for securing elections and positively impacting society ¹². In the case of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno, who uses the middle name as part of branding for political parties, a cohesive and recognizable brand promotes unity among supporters by linking positive attributes to the party's identity. This branding boosts support and helps sway undecided voters to the party's side ¹³.

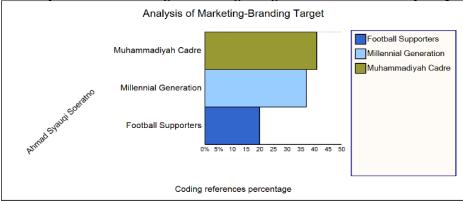
2. Analysis of Marketing and Personal Branding Target of Ahmad Syauqi Soeartno

Boulianne And Theocharis, "Young People, Digital Media, And Engagement: A Meta-Analysis Of Research"; Moorman, "Commentary: Brand Activism In A Political World"; Vaccari And Chadwick, "Deepfakes And Disinformation: Exploring The Impact Of Synthetic Political Video On Deception, Uncertainty, And Trust In News."

Valenzuela, Correa, And ..., "Ties, Likes, And Tweets: Using Strong And Weak Ties To Explain Differences In Protest Participation Across Facebook And Twitter Use"; Mcclure And Seock, "The Role Of Involvement: Investigating The Effect Of Brand's Social Media Pages On Consumer Purchase Intention"; Aral, "The Hype Machine: How Social Media Disrupts Our Elections, Our Economy, And Our Health--And How We Must Adapt."

This analysis tries to explain Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno's marketing and branding target. This analysis uses crosstab analysis to explain Ahmad Syauqi Soeartno's marketing and branding target—the analysis in Figure 3 and Table 3.

Figure. 3 Analysis of Marketing-branding Target case of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno



Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

Table. 3 Analysis of Marketing-branding Target case of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Target	Football Supporters	Millennial Generation	Muhammadiyah Cadre	Total
Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno	20,69%	37,93%	41,38%	100%
Total	20,69%	37,93%	41,38%	100%

Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

Figure 4 and Table 3 show that the Marketing and branding targets are dominant to the Muhammadiyah Cadre, with a total of 41,38%. This case shows the dominant branding and marketing of Syauqi more in the Muhammadiyah Cadre, as we know that Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno is a Muhammadiyah cadre. Also, in this case, it indicates that Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno tries to secure the Muhammadiyah voice on his side. Not just the Muhammadiyah Side, Ahmad Syauqi also focused on others like the Millennial Generation and Football Supporters. The Millennial generation is a target because Ahmad Syauqi is also known as a millennial figure in the Yogyakarta region. The football supporter Ahmad Syauqi also participates in the Football Region Organization (Asprov Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta).

In this case, the target of marketing and branding is essential to politicians, in this case, Ahamd Syauqi, as Political campaigns can leverage marketing techniques to categorize the electorate into distinct target groups based on demographics, interests, and behaviors. This targeted approach enables more tailored and effective communication strategies, enhancing the campaign's overall impact. ¹⁵.

3. Analysis of the Personal Branding target of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

¹⁴ Emzaed, Ali Murtadho, Ibnu Elmi AS Pelu, and Shakhzod Tokhirov. "Islamic Law Legislation in Indonesia: Anomalies of the Relationship between Political Configuration and Zakat Legal Product during the Reform Era." Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam 17.1 (2023): 97-112.

Lehdonvirta Et Al., "Social Media, Web, And Panel Surveys: Using Non-Probability Samples In Social And Policy Research"; Jacobson, Gruzd, And Hernández-García, "Social Media Marketing: Who Is Watching The Watchers?"; Sobaih, Hasanein, And Elnasr, "Responses To Covid-19 In Higher Education: Social Media Usage For Sustaining Formal Academic Communication In Developing Countries."

This analysis tries to explain Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno's branding. It uses crosstab analysis to describe the brand's target. The analysis is in Figure 4 and Table 4.

Analysis of Branding Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Young - Millennial Candidate

Young - Millennial Candidate

Muslim-Muhammadiyal

Young - Millennial Canc

Muslim-Muhammadiyal

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Muslim-Muhammadiyal

Young - Millennial Canc

Coding references percentage

Figure. 4 Analysis of Branding Target case of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

Table. 4 Analysis of Branding Target Case of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Branding	Expertise in regional Organization	Muslim- Muhammadiyah Members	Young - Millennial Candidate	Total
Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno	25%	42,05%	32,95%	100%
Total	25%	42,05%	32,95%	100%

Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

Figure 4 and Table 4 show that the branding target tends to be dominant among Muslim-Muhammadiyah members, with 42,05%. It's relevant to the Target that is dominant to the Muhammadiyah Cadre. This case shows that Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno is relevant to Syauqi as a member of the Muhammadiyah. On the other hand, Syauqi uses Branding for Young Millennial Candidates, with 32,95%; this also shows that Syauqi uses multiple branding to gain a voice across the group. Branding is becoming critical for politicians to show the origin of politicians. In the case of Syauqi, branding is a crucial strategic component that enables politicians to convey their message effectively, forge connections with voters, and ultimately achieve success in their political pursuits. In this case, branding plays a crucial role in defining a politician's identity, rendering them instantly recognizable to the public. This encompasses visual components such as logos, color schemes, and messaging that effectively communicate their core values and policy positions.

B. Analysis of narration case of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

This analysis explores the narration that was spared about Ahmad Syauqi Soeratnoon's social media, using Wordcloud analysis in Nvivo 12Plus. The analysis is in Figure 5.

Figure. 5 Analysis of the Narration Case of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

Nihayah Et Al., "Pemilu Serentak: Evaluasi Tata Kelola Sumber Daya Manusia Pada Tingkatan Kelompok Penyelenggara Pemungutan Suara (Kpps)"; Karo Et Al., "Peran Ketua Masyarakat Hukum Adat Mewujudkan Pemilihan Umum Serentak Yang Bermartabat Pada Tahun 2024"; Adhani, Lahmuddin, And ..., "Kebijakan Komunikasi Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara Pada Pemilu 2019 Dan Pengaruhnya Di Dunia Pendidikan Islam."



Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

Figure 5 shows that the narration spread on social media about Syauqi can look for some perspective, such as the narration of Syauqi, which references his middle name as part of his branding. Other narration shows that the Muhammadiyah, the syauqi, becomes a member. Another narration also appears that DPD shows Sayuqi as the candidate for DPD members. This case indicates that the dominant narration of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno focused on Ahamd Syauqi's branding.

C. Analysis of Meaning of Muhammadiyah Support Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno

This analysis analyzes the urgency of Muhammadiyah's Support of Ahmd Syauqi Soeratno. It has three parts: First, a GIS Analysis of The Winning Ahmad Syauqi as Regional Representative Council Member in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Second, an Analysis of Muhammadiyah's Strategies to Support Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno. Third, an Analysis of Muhammadiyah's dilemma on Political Contestation in Indonesia.

1.GIS Analysis on The Winning Ahmad Syauqi as Regional Representative Members Member in Yogyakarta Region.

This case shows the mapping of supporting Ahmad Syauqi as a regional representative member of the Yogyakarta Region. The analysis is in Figure 6.

Figure 6. GIS Analysis of The Winning Ahmad Syauqi as Regional Representative Members Member in Yogyakarta Region.

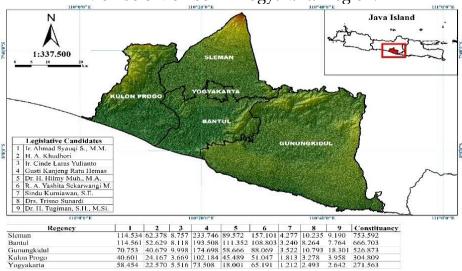
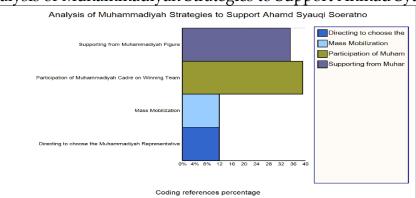


Figure 6 shows that Ahmad Syauqi, as Candidate no 1, has won 3rd place in all four regencies and one city in Yogyakarta Province. In this case, showing the support of Ahmad Syauqi can be defined in two aspects. First, Ahmad Syauqi is quite popular in Yogyakarta province and part of the Asporv Special Region of Yogyakarta in the football sector; besides that, he is also known as Muhammadiyah, an active member with a wide area. Second, the campaign strategy is Ahmad Syauqi using social media in a conventional way as part of the campaign. Ahmad Syauqi uses social media to get support from the young generation and traditional media to attract the general swing voters.

1. Analysis of Muhammadiyah Strategies to Support Ahamd Syauqi Soeratno

This analysis analyzes Muhammadiyah's strategies for supporting Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno as a Regional Representative Member in the general election of 2024. It uses four criteria as examples: Directing to choose a Muhammadiyah Representative, Mass Mobilization, Participation of Muhammadiyah Cadre on the Winning team, and Support from a Muhammadiyah Figure. This analysis uses crosstab analysis with the analysis explained in Figure 7 and Table 5.

Figure. 7 Analysis of Muhammadiyah Strategies to Support Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno



Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

Table. 5 Analysis of Muhammadiyah Strategies to Support Ahamd Syauqi Soeratno

Organization	Directing to choose the Muhammadiyah Representative	Mass Mobilization	Participation of Muhammadiyah Cadre on the Winning Team	Supporting from Muhammadiyah Figure	Total
Muhammadiyah	12,5%	12,5%	39,58%	35,42%	100%
Total	12,5%	12,5%	39,58%	35,42%	100%

Source: Nvivo12 Plus, 2024

This analysis tries to analyze the strategies of Muhammadiyah to support Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno as a Regional representative Council member. In this case, the fourth criterion shows that Muhammadiyah tends to Muhammadiyah releases its cadres on political practice; in this case, have been shown on The Muhammadiyah Cader as part of the winning team of Ahmad Syauqi with 39,58%. This case has been proven from a small scope, like what happened in the Muhammadiyah Gamping sub-district, which became one of the

bases of the winning team in Sleman.¹⁷. Besides that, there is also massive support from the Muhammadiyah Figure; in this case, the support is 35,42%. The support like happened the Head of the Muhammadiyah Region of Yogyakarta, Ikhwan Ahada, who invited and reminded the entire Muhammadiyah Region of Yogyakarta's family to support the nomination of Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno to become a senator, namely a Member of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia for the Special Region of Yogyakarta—in this case, showing that Muhammadiyah Cadre have supported each other in case to gain public goods for a better society.

3 Muhammadidyah facing a dilemma in political practice?

Previous research has told us that Muhammadiyah can be classified as support from the cadre to participate in political practice as long as the name of Muhammadiyah is not used as part of legitimate political practice. ¹⁸. In this case, from Ahamd Syauqi, if we look from a deeper perspective, the support is not from Muhammadiyah as an institution but the support from the Muhammadiyah cadre for each other who want to participate in political contestation. In this case, showing that Muhammadiyah. This kind of example, the case of Ahmad Syauqi, shows that Muhammadiyah as an institution has been kept in a neutral position but given freedom through the cadre who want to participate politically.

Muhammadiyah, as a civil society, should maintain its institutions' neutrality on political and practical matters. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah has a strong neutrality principle on political issues. ¹⁹Those principles show the integrity of Muhammadiyah as a Civil society focused on public goods and services. On the other hand, Ahmad Syauqi's becoming the Regional Representative Member can show that the Muhammadiyah cadre is capable in the political sector, not just in philanthropic ways.

The discussion results show that the personal branding carried out by the Yogyakarta Special Region Muhammadiyah towards Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno can be understood as an effort to combine high politics and low politics in seizing power and policy space. The separation of high and low politics is not rigid in its implementation at the local level. This political flexibility does not mean opportunism because it remains within the framework of preaching reform or tajdid in the political field. To realize the interests of political da'wah, the electoral behavior of Muhammadiyah citizens is more effectively controlled institutionally so that the potential of the Muhammadiyah network can be optimized rather than given the freedom to choose.

Conclusion

The analyses show some points. *First,* Ahmad Syauqi Soeartno, a candidate, leverages his middle name as a critical branding element. Personal branding is crucial for the success of

¹⁷ Hartatnto, "Rapat Kerja Tim Pemenangan Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Ri Ir. Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno Mm."

Saputra, "Muhammadiyah Tegaskan Netralitas Pada Pemilu 2024"; Afandi, "Sukses Gelar Uji Publik, Muhammadiyah Tegaskan Tidak Ingin Memberi Cek Kosong Bagi Capres-Cawapres Di Pemilu 2024"; Fauziyah, "Muhammadiyah Masa Orde Baru: Sikap Politik Muhammadiyah Terhadap Kebijakan Pemerintah Orde Baru Tahun 1968-1989."

Ridho, "Arah Politik Muhammadiyah Dalam Pilpres 2019"; Masmuh, "Peran Muhammadiyah Dalam Membangun Peradaban Di Dunia"; Tanthowi, "Muhammadiyah Dan Politik: Landasan Ideologi Bagi Artikulasi Konstruktif."

politicians because it showcases their dedication to their principles, sets them apart from others, and fosters trust among voters. *Then*, Syauqi's branding strategy is heavily influenced by his affiliation with Muhammadiyah, a dominant force in his political endeavors. This marketing and branding highlights his attempt to secure the support of the Muhammadiyah community. *Also*, Syauqi's branding is a vital strategic tool that enables politicians to effectively communicate their message, build connections with voters, and ultimately achieve success in their political pursuits. *Second*, the dominant narrative surrounding Ahmad Syauqi Soeratno's branding focuses on his brand, emphasizing his unique identity and values. Third, the GIS analysis shows it has won 3rd place in all four regencies and one city in Yogyakarta Province. Besides that, Crosstab analysis shows Muhammadiyah members support each other who want to participate in political practice, and this also becomes the bold statement that Muhammamdiyah as an institution keeping the principle of not participating in political practice but giving freedom to the cadre that wants participate in political ways.

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