

Comparative Analysis of Gulen Movement and Muhammadiyah: Their Internationalization Strategies and Integration with Governmental Systems

Audi Izzat Muttaqien

Department of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia
audiizzat@yahoo.com

Surwandono Surwandono

Department of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia
surwandono@umy.ac.id

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Abstrak

Studi ini mengkaji bagaimana Gerakan Gulen dan Muhammadiyah menyebarkan pengaruhnya untuk mencapai visi global dan hubungannya dengan pemerintah. Gerakan Gulen dan Muhammadiyah adalah organisasi non-pemerintah berbasis Islam dan merupakan salah satu yang terbesar di negara masing-masing dan dunia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metodologi kualitatif dan pengumpulan data menggunakan studi literatur; kemudian, penulis menganalisis penelitian dengan menggunakan teknik deskriptif. Kajian ini menemukan bahwa, pertama, dengan menggunakan pendekatan Aktivisme Transnasional Baru, peran internasional Gulen dan Muhammadiyah membawa manfaat baik bagi pemerintah asal; Muhammadiyah dengan peran yang signifikan dalam memberikan citra yang sangat baik bagi pemerintah Indonesia, begitupun Turki, terlepas dari perselisihan dan independensi Gulen, publik melihat Gulen identik sebagai wakil dari pemerintah Turki melalui peran internasional dan penggunaan media mereka. Kedua, dengan menggunakan pendekatan LSM Muslim Transnasional menjelaskan bahwa Gulen dan Muhammadiyah berorientasi untuk membantu sesama Muslim dengan fokus pada kelompok dan negara Muslim. Gulen membangun banyak lembaga pendidikan di negara-negara mayoritas Muslim seperti Azerbaijan dan Senegal. Sementara itu, Muhammadiyah menampung dan memberikan beasiswa penuh bagi mahasiswa dari wilayah mayoritas Muslim seperti Thailand Selatan dan Mindanao, Filipina. Muhammadiyah juga membantu memobilisasi bantuan kemanusiaan untuk Muslim Rohingya.

Kata Kunci: Gerakan Gulen, internasionalisasi, Muhammadiyah, pemerintah, peran LSM

Abstract

This study examined how the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah spread their influence to achieve their global vision and relations with the government. Both the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah are Islamic-based non-governmental organizations and some of the largest in their respective countries and the world. This study employed a descriptive qualitative method to analyze the data and a literature study to collect the data. The analysis revealed that, first, by using the new transnational activism approach, the international role of the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah brought benefits to both governments of origin. Muhammadiyah had a significant role in providing an excellent image for the Indonesian government. Meanwhile, despite the dispute and the Gulen movement's independence, the public has viewed the movement as identical to a representative of the Turkish government with its international role and media use. Second, the approach of transnational Muslim NGOs has explained that both the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah were oriented toward helping fellow Muslims with a focus on Muslim groups and countries. The Gulen movement built many educational institutions in Muslim-majority countries, such as Azerbaijan and Senegal. In contrast, Muhammadiyah accommodated and provided full scholarships for students from Muslim-majority areas, such as Southern Thailand and Mindanao, Philippines. Muhammadiyah also helped mobilize humanitarian aid for Rohingya Muslims.

Keywords: Gulen movement, internationalization, Muhammadiyah, government, NGO's role

INTRODUCTION

The Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah have demonstrated their existence by contributing widely to domestic and international roles. They operate in many fields, including religious activities, especially considering that they are Islamic-based non-governmental organizations. In addition, both of them also actively play a role in charity activities. There are apparent similarities between these two organizations, with the dominant focus on education because they are considered to have a significant contribution to spreading their ideology and influence. They can reach this point because of the government playing a role and helping their activities.

The Gulen movement has played a significant role in the domestic part, influencing Islamic activities and traditions in Turkey. The movement gradually focuses on Islamization in its approach. In general, the Gulen movement has been known for its contribution to education in Turkey and the international arena, with approximately 2,000 schools spread across 160 countries. Although the movement spreads its members' involvement into ranks in the political bureaucracy of the Turkish government, it separates itself from Islamic politics in any form to avoid disputes and conflicts with the government (Taş, 2017).

In 2010, the movement established 1,000 schools in five continents, hundreds of student residence halls, and six hospitals. It utilized funding, particularly donations from voluntary members, to build these facilities and various projects (Hendrick, 2013a). It is an effective strategy because it allocates funding to resources becoming the key to the recruitment and continuation of the movement, such as resources, networks, and school dormitories. Fitzgerald (2017) conceptualized the movement as being based on daily life but significantly utilizes social networks, communities, and media for activities to develop Islamic identity. In its teachings, the movement focuses on developing faith and practice involving small groups. It also facilitates charitable, religious, and community service (Yavuz, 2013). It has a long history in the Muslim community in Turkey, having such a significant influence that it has become a cultural map (Fitzgerald, 2017).

Muhammadiyah, one of Indonesia's largest and oldest Islamic organizations, also seeks to help and contribute to the social welfare of the world by establishing educational institutions, hospitals, and other facilities. In addition, as an international Islamic NGO, Muhammadiyah has an essential role in disaster management and regularly provides humanitarian assistance worldwide, especially in Muslim countries. Bush (2015) believed that Muhammadiyah has succeeded in bringing global influence to organizing religious groups in Indonesia through one of its associated bodies, the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC). Moreover, Benthall (2016) argued that Muhammadiyah should be further recognized internationally as Islamic social activism in its model. Along with the government, Muhammadiyah, through MDMC, has been collaborating with the National Disaster Management Body (BNPB) and the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) for disaster management. MDMC also works with the Indonesian Ministry of Health to build collaboration on domestic health issues. Muhammadiyah continues to collaborate with international institutions in various fields, such as education with AusAID and disaster health with USAID and AusAID. According to Baidhawiy (2015), this contribution indicates that Muhammadiyah's role through MDMC has succeeded in working inclusively toward all groups and gaining legitimacy both nationally and internationally. This research explains how the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah spread their influence globally to achieve their global vision and relations with the government.

The literature employed refers to and is categorized into two groups: literature that explains the Gulen movement, its role in building education, and the dynamics of its relationship with the Turkish government. Other literature describes Muhammadiyah's mission to advance education and international contributions in its humanitarian role and mutual relations with the Indonesian government. Balci (2013) defined the Gulen movement in a country in detail. Similarly, Angey (2018) described the movement and its influence on international education through a study focusing on one

of the countries the movement addressed—Senegal. The most fundamental difference between Balci's and Angey's literature is that Balci tended to mention the Turkish government briefly in its representation of Turkey's role. Geier et al. (2018) utilized reconstructive analysis to examine the movement's educational actions in Germany, with a focus on the religious practices of male students.

In contrast to Angey (2018) and Balci (2013), Geier et al. explained in depth within a narrower research scope, even though both employed case studies of a country. Fitzgerald (2017) studied the Gulen movement's focus on individual transformation, attempts to influence broader elements in the institutions involved in society's social life, and the magnitude of its influence on culture. Meanwhile, Tungul (2021) investigated the movement's challenges in internationalizing its power, especially after the coup; an approach from a media perspective was applied to view the importance of media power. Both Tungul and Fitzgerald's literature highlights the different focuses of the discussion of the Gulen movement, where Fitzgerald examined in-depth the conceptual form of the movement in general, contrasting the discussion approach taken by Angey, Geier et al., and Balci, which practically discusses the movement's involvement abroad with a focus on a country.

Literature on Muhammadiyah adopted several research works. To begin with, Bush (2015) discussed Muhammadiyah's active role in humanitarian issues as one of Indonesia's most influential Islamic organizations in terms of social contributions. How Muhammadiyah plays a role in disaster management was examined by Baidhaw (2015) by looking at the approach with a theological perspective that Muhammadiyah has employed in viewing disasters. Baidhaw underlined institutions under Muhammadiyah, such as MDMC, in dealing with disasters. Similar to Bush, who also utilized significant past events as case studies, Baidhaw tended to focus theoretically on Muhammadiyah's views on overcoming disasters by referring to its theological principles. Baidhaw mentioned Muhammadiyah's role in international works, such as Bush's literature, but did not explicitly discuss relations with the Indonesian

government. The role of Muhammadiyah in all dimensions of activities has been discussed by Latief and Nashir (2020), which is one of the most comprehensive and in-depth literature related to Muhammadiyah's activities, including discussions of humanitarian and political affairs and involvement in peace efforts.

In contrast to the literature of Bush (2015) and Baidhaw (2015), applying case studies of significant past events, Latief and Nashir focused on recent tragedies and the more complex role of Muhammadiyah in the target countries. Muhammadiyah's ideas for advancing its educational institutions have been discussed briefly by Gunawan and Firdaus (2020), emphasizing Muhammadiyah universities in reaching a global level by collaborating with an institute in Australia, as well as by Hatmanto and Purwanti (2021), having a similar approach as the discussion focusing on Muhammadiyah's educational goals, which strive to achieve a global vision. Both works help to illustrate Muhammadiyah's efforts to advance its educational institutions through international cooperation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two approaches were employed to compare the roles of the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah. The new transnational activism approach examined their roles in international politics as a transnational movement and their relations with nations or governments. Additionally, transnational Muslim NGOs described their typology.

NEW TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM

The initial concept of transnational activism has a complex history. Against the background of the too-fast development of global processes in contemporary sociology, challenges arise when researchers are required to explore social movements that tend to be inspired by history in sociology. The relationship between global institutions and transnational social movements is often considered (Friedman et al., 2005); structural forces are also essential. In-depth, the relationship between state action, the movement of capital, and unrest caused by social movements is traced; activism is increasingly driven against the system in the capitalist economic world (Wallerstein, 1990). As time passes, organizations become

increasingly crucial due to the various issues affected by social movement organizations, such as human rights, justice, peace, and others (Smith et al., 1994; Smith et al., 1998). Global problems in many countries exhibit that supranational institutions, such as the UN, directly experience the impact of social movement mobilization (Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005). The concept of transnational activism initiated by Keck and Sikkink (1998) consists of six actors: NGOs, media, foundations, local social movements, state officials, and parts of government organizations. Meanwhile, Keohane and Nye (1973) perceived it as limited to two actors: the actor and his agenda, like Tarrow (2005), who also divided it into two types but in more depth. As seen by Keck and Sikkink (1998), transnational activism includes actors with an international scope of work and a tendency to be motivated by collective values. Transnational activism can emerge due to the right momentum or opportunity.

Meanwhile, new transnational activism is an approach examining the local and global in its varied processes more broadly. Inspired by and following the traditional form of transnational activists, the expanded dimension includes more diverse forms of involvement to be identified. Tarrow saw internationalization and globalization in the process, creating opportunities for transnational activism to create new forms (Tarrow, 2005). This approach was utilized to explain the behavior of the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah in achieving their international role. The six forms or processes offered by Tarrow could explain in depth the clarity of complex relationships between actors, such as the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah, in the involvement of transnational activism in a new form.

There are six processes in three types, as described by Tarrow (2005). Each type contains two processes; the first is a type of domestic politics that is exclusive but caused by global factors or above the nation-state level, with the first process, namely global framing, where groups frame domestic conflicts to mobilize international symbols. Another process of this type is internalization, in which supranational pressures influence domestic events. The second type is where the domestic and international political arenas are connected, with the first process,

diffusion; there are domestic and international political linkages, there are shifts in demands or conflicts, and another process is a shift in the scale where collective action is shifted, from one level to another. The last type occurs at the international level, beginning from the process of externalization with the involvement of foreign actors or the occurrence of domestic claims against international institutions; another form is the formation of transnational coalitions by forming networks with actors from various countries with the same goal. Tarrow believed that international institutions only exist to help achieve the state's interests, while the main political actor remains the state. Transnational activism is deeply rooted within the country, not as a political competition (Tarrow, 2005).

Muhammadiyah, through its international roles and contributions, can advance the interests of the Indonesian government by being involved in international agendas. Still, the government of Indonesia remains the main political actor in the global sphere. The assistance provided by Muhammadiyah in humanity, education, and others has an impact on the public image of the Indonesian government in general. Hence, the agenda carried out by Muhammadiyah also benefits the Indonesian government. The Gulen movement had the same pattern before the 2016 coup accusations, such as cooperation in many fields, especially education. Both the Gulen movement and the Turkish government established education cooperation. The Gulen movement's international role in establishing many educational institutions impacted Turkey's image because the movement tended to be perceived by local people as a Turkish institution. However, after the alleged coup, the movement has had a separate relationship with the Turkish government and independently pursued its agenda outside of Turkey. However, local people in the countries where the movement operates tend to recognize it as a Turkish institution. The movement has also utilized the media to carry out global framing and spread its influence. Globalization and internationalization help both organizations carry out their international activities.

TRANSNATIONAL MUSLIM NGOS

The concept of transnational Muslim NGOs offered by Petersen (2012) is the result of his development in researching the international Muslim NGO movement through interviews of volunteers, staff, and administrators at relevant NGO offices from 2007 to 2013 to obtain in-depth information and material regarding Muslim NGOs operating in transnational networks, especially studying their ethnography and ideology. In contrast to Kaag (2008), whose analysis of transnational Muslim NGOs spreads ideology secretly, most tend to be open in discussing the assistance they provide and emphasizing the development of Islamic education, which they are trying to do to fight Western colonialization. In examining his concept, Petersen prioritizes understanding how these Muslim organizations present themselves to play a role in social activism based on Islamic values as symbols of good Muslim entities (Petersen, 2012). Kaag's (2007) view on international Muslim NGOs portrays Muslim organizations that not only contribute through aid but also participate in national politics (Callaghy et al., 2001; Ghandour, 2002; Salih, 2002) by influencing the behavior of people community called the umma—those who believe and faithful to Islam. Meanwhile, Benthall and Bellion-Jourdan (2003) discovered their tendency to evolve toward professionalization over time. Several research on the international Muslim NGO movement is limited to a general explanation of how they direct their interests through their actions based on Islam. In contrast, Petersen's concept of transnational Muslim NGOs deeply identifies the categorization of various movements of international Islamic NGOs. Petersen's findings unveiled changes in the identity, relationships, and forms of Muslim NGOs caused by the dynamics and changes in social, political, and economic situations, thus depicting four types of transnational Muslim NGOs.

Furthermore, Petersen (2012) explained four typologies of transnational Muslim NGOs: solidarity-based, da'watist, jihadist, and secularized. First, the solidarity-based typology is oriented toward a strong desire to help fellow Muslims while emphasizing neutrality by avoiding conflict. These Muslim NGOs

focus on assisting Muslim groups or countries. This typology aligns with both the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah, where the Gulen movement accepts and focuses Muslim groups on attending schools affiliated with it, such as the Gulen school in Germany attended by Turkish Muslim immigrants and the construction of universities and several schools in countries with many Muslims, such as Azerbaijan and Senegal. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah provides education for Muslim-majority areas of origin, such as full scholarships for students from Mindanao, Philippines, and accommodates hundreds of students from Southern Thailand studying at Muhammadiyah universities. Concerning humanitarian assistance, Muhammadiyah has been involved in mobilizing aid for Rohingya Muslims.

The second is the da'watist typology, oriented toward religious preaching and promoted through the humanitarian assistance provided. This phenomenon has been present since the 1970s by Muslim NGOs. As in humanitarian aid, there are also forms of competition with non-Islamic and Western NGOs as a reference and motivation to compete and show that Muslim NGOs can also provide significant assistance (Petersen, 2012). The da'watist typology does not suit the Gulen movement, not even Muhammadiyah. Even though Muhammadiyah has actively been involved in humanitarian missions, especially in helping fellow Muslims by being committed to helping people affected by disasters or conflicts. However, the presence of NGOs from the West, including those based on religion, is not necessarily seen by Muhammadiyah as competition and threats. Instead, Muhammadiyah actively establishes cooperation, including with non-Muslim international NGOs.

Meanwhile, the third is the jihadist typology, which cannot be applied to both the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah because it is oriented toward militancy involving violence, where these Muslim NGOs support the mujahideen, such as by providing weapons and assisting in operations in the camps, including recruiting members. Finally, the last one is the specialized typology, where transnational Muslim NGOs see many opportunities to cooperate with Western organizations, even though the regulations are more stringent. It

demonstrates that the secularized typology rejects the da'watist-like approach. This typology also has a different approach to solidarity-based, where instead of focusing on Muslim groups, secularized see the assistance given to universals as its value to provide aid not based on Muslim communities or groups but on humanity (Petersen, 2012). Thus, the secularized typology cannot be applied to both the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah.

RESEARCH METHOD

To limit the scope, this study focused on research elaborating on the roles of the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah in achieving their goals and their relationship with the government in the country of origin. The research time was set on the events from 2012 to 2018 but was not limited to other significant events in different years. This period depicts a crucial timeline where the Gulen movement's role could be seen from two sides, before and after the Turkish government's coup attempt. At the same time, Muhammadiyah, in that range, had an ongoing agenda to continue to be an influential Islamic-based organization in Indonesia and internationally.

Both the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah continued to run by expanding and spreading their ideology and influence in their ways. Both possessed great power in domestic and international education, and their base and followers have spread widely. The Indonesian government seemed to support the role of Muhammadiyah. Meanwhile, the Turkish government believed that its international position was threatened because of the Gulen movement's part, continuing to expand in the global sphere, even though it also indirectly represented the Turkish government. This research seeks to explain how the roles of the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah realize their goals within and outside the country and their interaction and relationship with the local government.

This research employed a qualitative method by elaborating, analyzing, and observing in-depth the collected data (Lofland et al., 2022) to explain how these Islamic NGOs realized their goals inside and outside the country and their interaction and relationship with the

local government. Data were gathered through a literature study on articles and news sources. Data analysis was performed descriptively by analyzing and describing (Patton, 1987; Lofland et al., 2022) the roles of both Islamic NGOs in realizing their goals within and outside the country, as well as interaction and relationship with the local government.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

EDUCATION AS CONTRIBUTION FOCUS IN INTERNATIONAL ROLES

Regarding the backgrounds of the Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah, both have possessed a fundamentally strong influence in their respective countries. The Gulen movement has represented Islam in Turkey and bridged intercultural dialogue (Tungul, 2021). Besides, it has also played a significant role in the education sector, making it play a substantial role since its contribution in the 1980s and increasingly after 2002 to Turkey's economy and politics. The Gulen movement's globalization role escalated in 1999 after its exile to the US and eventually became one of the largest and most influential transnational movements (Tee, 2016). Meanwhile, regarding the relationship with the government, during President Suharto's leadership, Muhammadiyah experienced a form of integration with the government in the state bureaucratic government system. At that time, Muhammadiyah played a significant role and strongly influenced education, dominantly in the Ministry of Education for its contribution to the government. After that, in the 2000s, Muhammadiyah experienced dynamics in its role and position as an Islamic organization. It tended to decline along with the increasing politicization of Islam and the establishment of a government that became aggressive in its policies toward social service providers (Bush, 2015).

GULEN MOVEMENT'S EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The Gulen movement has demonstrated its existence globally by impacting the world and independently financing its operations, especially in its focus on education. This movement had its operation in

Germany, with a focus on religious practices through the culture of Islamic education attended by Turkish Muslim students being immigrants. It sought to give young Turkish Muslims a recognized role and position while contributing to the surrounding community. Geier et al. (2018) explained that this movement's members in Germany were relatively small, with only 150,000 participants before the alleged coup in 2016 and only 70,000 in 2018. As of 2018, this movement established 28 schools, but three were closed due to political issues (Geier & Frank, 2018). In Germany, this movement emphasized the practice of informal education with its relevance to education in a religious approach. It sought to encourage participants to contribute and practice religious knowledge in education, making its existence in Germany able to mobilize middle and upper social classes and make them inclusive (Geier et al., 2018).

Fethullah Gulen is an essential figure in the Islamic community through the Gulen movement. Over time, it has become a world transnational Islamic movement and has influenced and inspired the idea of a country, one of which was Azerbaijan. Many large networks, especially private secondary schools, and parties, such as businessmen and educators in Turkey, supported the Gulen movement. After becoming independent due to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Gulen movement emerged quickly through modern education channels, which were successful in influencing Azerbaijan's secular and modern education. The Gulen movement ended religious activism but had the aim of encouraging the revival of Islam, especially after the Soviet anti-religious campaign. Thus, Islam in Azerbaijan was weakened. It depicts the strong influence this movement had achieved in Azerbaijan in its role through education. In the late 1980s, Fethullah Gulen instructed his students to cross the Soviets, aiming to become a significant movement through education, media, and commerce as their strengths. As soon as it arrived, this movement played a role by promoting its influence on Azerbaijan to raise international contribution and power (Balci, 2013).

A company called TUSIAB, part of the Gulen movement, managed educational institutions in Azerbaijan: one Islamic-based university and two high

schools. They targeted smaller provincial cities to establish managed schools. These schools had supporting facilities and intensive study programs to prepare students for university, with an 80% success percentage being accepted by the university. The fees were expensive, but students with poor backgrounds could be sponsored. Eventually, this school was inaugurated in 1995 and became one of Azerbaijan's best private educational institutions (Balci, 2013). Education in Azerbaijan was entirely secular, with no religious education except for optional choices. Hence, Gulen and his followers spread religious principles subtly, such as informally, during their leisure time. The Gulen movement tended to be invisible abroad, making it challenging to assess the progress of its followers. Still, as of 2013, there was one university, 12 schools, 13 courses, 2,000 students, and 250 teachers, with almost half of them coming from Turkey. According to Balci (2013), the movement's success was none other than its non-aggressive, subtle way of gaining support from the local community. Moreover, many Azerbaijanis were Muslims. This movement employed the education sector as the most effective propagation of ideology by utilizing an extensive network of schools beyond the borders of the former Soviet Union. This commitment was evident from 500 educational institutions spread across 60 countries and originating from five continents.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND THE GULEN MOVEMENT'S INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION

The Gulen movement has always shown respect for national law and loyalty to the regime for its long-term existence, such as in Azerbaijan. This movement emphasized through education in schools to respect the national symbol, the president, and all the country's interests. While the Turkish government was suspicious of the relationship between this movement and Azerbaijan, it also observed the actions of the movement secretly. Then, the Turkish government symbolically supported the promotion of Turkish Islam, and Turkish diplomats in Azerbaijan could attend ceremonial educational activities. Turkish government saw the same

goal of promoting the Turkish language and educating new elites, especially Turkey's foreign policy for the former Soviet country in education. Schools managed by the Gulen movement significantly assisted Turkey's foreign policy in providing opportunities for hundreds of Caucasian and Central Asian students as a program of the Turkish government. The Turkish government held a meeting with Turkish ambassadors in the Caucasus and Central Asia to discuss the report on the positive role of the Gulen movement school. It was discovered that their activities did not hinder Turkey's diplomatic role and instead contributed to Turkey's visibility across the region (Balci, 2013).

This movement built more than 100 schools, spreading across 50 countries on the African continent (Angey, 2018). It possessed a wide-reaching network in many sectors and collaborated with the Turkish government in the development process. However, the lack of a national or international hierarchy has characterized this movement's strategy to expand its organization to become transnational (Hendrick, 2013b). The Gulen movement tended to adopt a secrecy approach to some of its agenda, with members or institutions associated with it denying any connection to the movement, whereby the branding of the schools related to this movement claimed to have been founded by local organizations, even though the founders were Fethullah Gulen's followers. However, it was effective because local authorities, parents, and students were unaware that these schools were international Muslim networks, making them accept these institutions and schools. This movement had good relations with Turkey through collaboration with the AKP party for ten years, from 2003 to 2013. Its role abroad helped Turkey, where education and business establishments were considered by African authorities to strengthen their diplomatic relations with Turkey. It signifies that private actors were also considered in some countries, such as Africa, in their transnational role (Angey, 2018).

Furthermore, Angey (2018) explained that the Gulen movement schools in Senegal had unique characteristics and continued to grow. In two Senegalese cities, Dakar and Thies, this movement established seven schools. The schools also involved locals in the operations. In Gulen movement schools in most countries, only 40% were

Turkish, while the remaining 60% were local people. The schools established in Senegal have been successful since 1997 when they were first established in Dakar (Angey, 2015). The schools have contributed as a whole, and given national results, even many local figures or rich local people have involved themselves with contributing operationally EUR 5,000 per year. It lasted until finally, in the aftermath of the 2016 coup, the Turkish government intervened through the Turkish embassy in Senegal by calling the movement a terrorist one. The Senegalese authorities finally approved the transfer of school management. The AKP Party within the government sought to weaken this movement due to its increasingly powerful transnational role. The government was also seriously focusing its out-of-border policy on this movement by setting up a semi-public foundation to dominate it (Angey, 2018).

In 2017, Gulen movement schools were finally closed without clarity, even though they were initially planned to be handed over to the Maarif Foundation, owned by the Turkish government. According to Angey (2018), the Senegalese authorities were reasonable about the Turkish government's policy of suppressing the Gulen movement outside Turkey. The Turkish government tried to stop the movement by accusing it of heresy. For example, in 2017, during the Turkish government's intelligence operation to arrest three individuals considered affiliated with the Gulen movement in Malaysia, the Turkish government also threatened to strip 130 people of their citizenship if they did not return in three months (Öztürk & Taş, 2020). In the same year, the Turkish government asserted that the movement weakened the identity of Turkish Muslims and had a hidden agenda spreading through media under Turkish control. Because Fethullah Gulen met with world non-Muslim religious leaders, followed by the establishment of a global inter-religious organization by his followers, it led to indictments, where prosecutors stated that the Gulen movement tried to implant Christianity in Turkey (Ilgit, 2017; İnan, 2016). Previously, at the end of 2016, Fethullah Gulen was accused of being a Jew, providing an excuse for the government after the coup to question his and his followers' Islamic identity (Kilinç, 2019; Kilinç, 2021).

In 2018, in Pristine, Kosovo, six Turkish citizens were arrested and sent back to Turkey via private plane (Colborne & Edwards, 2018). Still, the Turkish government claimed that this action was by procedures for repatriating criminals. The Turkish government's efforts resulted in a massive flight of Turkish citizens seeking asylum in the European Union. Asylum seekers doubled from around 4,000 in 2015 to almost 22,000 in 2018. From the intense campaign carried out by the Turkish government to reduce the movement's influence outside Turkey, the propaganda impacted the movement's survival, such as the closure of many Gulenist educational institutions and the significant reduction of Gulenian members in Germany from around 150,000 to 80,000 (Karakoyun, 2018; Öztürk & Taş, 2020).

MUHAMMADIYAH EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION WITH FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS

Muhammadiyah has recognized the development of globalization, with increasing and tight competition for human resources, causing many Muhammadiyah universities to collaborate with international institutions. The collaboration with a significant impact, for example, was between Universitas Muhammadiyah Tangerang (UMT) and the Holmesglen Institute from Australia, initiated in 2014, and as of 2018, it had achieved 10,000 graduations in its English program. Holmesglen Institute provided the teachers and collaborated to hold student exchanges, where UMT sent its best students to Australia for language and culture study. Apart from the UMT, Holmesglen Institute has collaborated with many Muhammadiyah foundations since 2014. Muhammadiyah realized that with its members reaching 30 million in 2015, it has become a vast and influential non-governmental Islamic organization. Hence, cooperation was established between Muhammadiyah and the Holmesglen Institute to provide training for English teachers and lecturers at Muhammadiyah universities (Gunawan & Firdaus, 2020).

Similar to UMT, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta (UMS) also collaborated with the Holmesglen Institute to strengthen vocational education in 2018 (Saputro, 2018). Additionally, the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education (FKIP) at UMS collaborated

with the Faculty of Education at Khon Khaen University, Thailand. Collaboration has been established since 2017 in the student exchange program, research, and community service (UMS, 2021; Sholikah, 2021). A year later, cooperation was established between UMS and the International University of Africa (IUA) Sudan to develop human resources and carry out joint student, publications, and lecturer exchange (UMS, 2018). Until 2021, UMS had collaborated internationally with 74 institutions (Wasita, 2021). Providing scholarships for developing countries was one of the assistance and forms of international cooperation carried out by Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM). Most of its 300 international students were scholarship recipients. UMM also collaborated with Erasmus Mundus scholarships (Anam, 2018). In 2018, collaboration with Mate Care Japan was performed to facilitate Nursing Science alumni from the Faculty of Health Sciences (FIKES) to work in hospitals under Mate Care. Later, UMM decided the collaboration was intended for new students from 2018 who immediately received competency and language training (Irawati, 2018; Cahyono, 2018).

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) has also pursued collaboration with foreign institutions. In 2018, 135 UMY students were sent for one semester to universities in five Asian countries, encompassing Malaysia, Thailand, Taiwan, South Korea, and China, to achieve an international reputation and improve the university's quality. Some of the universities targeted included National Cheng Kung University (NCKU) in Taiwan and Thammasat University in Thailand (Syarifudin, 2018). Apart from sending its students, UMY also brought in international students in 2016, such as the international Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) program, which collaborated with Singapore Polytechnic (SP). There were 11 UMY students and 16 SP students; international students were provided with training, including Indonesian language lessons. This KKN program focused on village research in Indonesia with direct observation (Susanti, 2016). UMY has had a long-standing collaboration with SIAS International, China, since 2006. UMY students could participate in Mandarin language studies and related programs through

collaboration with SIAS. The Indonesian government ambassador to China responded by supporting this collaboration, seeing the suitability of UMY with national interest in strengthening many sectors, especially education improvement (Ilmie, 2017). Similar to UMM, UMY has also collaborated with Erasmus since 2017 and sent four lecturers on the Erasmus exchange program to Spanish universities in 2018 (Alwi, 2018; UMY, 2018). UMS, UMM, and UMY were some of Muhammadiyah's best universities (Kompas, 2021). Besides these three and UMT, Muhammadiyah has thousands of other educational institutions with international cooperative relations.

A critical step in the internationalization of Muhammadiyah was for education, with the establishment of the Board of Special Branch Muhammadiyah (PCIM), functioning as the Muhammadiyah movement abroad by providing social, health, and religious services for residents as a humanitarian mission. In 2022, PCIM was recorded to have spread to 23 countries, such as Australia, the United States (USA), and the United Kingdom (UK) (Burhani, 2015; Muhammadiyah, 2022a). The presence of PCIM in Australia contributed to the establishment of a school there, which later became Muhammadiyah's serious commitment, with this plan being discussed intensively with the Muhammadiyah Central Board. The purchase of land in Melbourne, Australia, covering an area of 10 ha, was followed by designing an educational curriculum and obtaining permits to establish the school. This idea, initiated in 2012 (Hatmanto & Purwanti, 2021), was successfully realized in December 2021 after obtaining permits from the Australian government. Three months later, in February 2022, to be precise, 36 students were recorded as the first batch class of this school (Muhammadiyah, 2022b).

Muhammadiyah has regularly held forums and conferences to share knowledge by discussing politics, history, culture, and others. For example, the Muhammadiyah major event commemorated 100 years of its establishment. This international conference involved various international parties, including the USA, UK, France, Germany, and Singapore. The International Research Conference on Muhammadiyah

(IRCM), which was held by UMM in 2012, was attended by participants from nine countries. Muhammadiyah provided many scholarships for researchers worldwide, and many researchers from the US and European countries joined these scholarships. Strong networks not only in schools but also in medical, mosque, and disaster relief areas were the main strengths of Muhammadiyah. Additionally, Muhammadiyah has the most notable role in education by successfully adapting to modernization and religious and general education in a balanced way. It has been the Muhammadiyah's curriculum since its inception, even being a pioneer around the world as one of the first to provide Islamic education to female students. Muhammadiyah schools also periodically update educational models, such as pedagogical education, to keep abreast of developments (Hefner, 2013).

MUHAMMADIYAH'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO FOREIGN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

From 2005-2010, Muhammadiyah established three institutions that increasingly helped it internationalize its contribution: MDMC, the Zakat Board of Muhammadiyah (LAZISMU), and the Council of Community Empowerment (MPM). LAZISMU, supported by MPM and approved by the government of Indonesia, has become the most fundamental unit because it is the source and management of funds within Muhammadiyah organizational bodies (Mohamed & Oferinger, 2015). Muhammadiyah's role in the global sphere, according to Latief and Nashir, has been solid with its funding and mechanism for sending aid through its humanitarian team, as well as Muhammadiyah's activities, stimulated to continue to transform and contribute to development in other countries, especially Southeast Asia. Indeed, it has demonstrated that Muhammadiyah's role is not limited to another period of growth. Moreover, Muhammadiyah's international position aims to reframe religious views regarding the Islamic modernist movement and promote Indonesian Islam to the global community, with Muhammadiyah's goal of spreading its influence internationally (Latief & Nashir, 2020).

Muhammadiyah's influence and power, such as in the Myanmar crisis related to the Rohingya in 2017, moved this Islamic organization to participate in mobilizing Indonesian aid through Muslim organizations. Muhammadiyah oversaw Muhammadiyah Aid, collaborating with the Indonesian Humanitarian Alliance (IHA). Once the funds were collected, volunteers consisting of medical teams, such as doctors and nurses recruited from Muhammadiyah universities, were immediately sent to Bangladesh to distribute aid to refugees (Latief & Nashir, 2020). Muhammadiyah's approach involving itself in matters of the Muslim community, especially in Southeast Asia related to armed conflicts, such as in the Philippines and Southern Thailand regarding the demands for independence, was its way of expressing its international role (Jory, 2013). Between the late 1990s and early 2000s, Muhammadiyah communicated with the Thai government. Many Thai Muslims in southern Thailand were familiar with the Muhammadiyah movement because of its significant influence in Indonesia, making it easier for Muhammadiyah to have diplomacy in Thailand. The King of Thailand even asked Muhammadiyah leaders to get involved in 2006. This diplomatic step benefited Muhammadiyah by successfully accommodating hundreds of students from Southern Thailand to Muhammadiyah universities as a strategy and focus on education (Latief & Nashir, 2020).

The tension between the Philippines and Bangsamoro was also part of Muhammadiyah's involvement in its international peacekeeping role. Muhammadiyah was a third party using a diplomatic approach and soft power in peace talks. The deadlock in the discussion between the Philippines and the Bangsamoro was the right moment for Muhammadiyah to mediate and assist as a third party. Like Southern Thailand, Muhammadiyah also focused on education by providing full scholarships to study at Muhammadiyah universities for students from Mindanao, the Philippines, with the Muslim majority. This step was supported by the government of the Philippines and even Thailand. International exposure has been increasingly visible here, with Muhammadiyah's primary focus on promoting peace and humanitarian

issues. As Muhammadiyah's global role has significantly strengthened in humanitarian missions, the Indonesian government, through BNPB, assigned Muhammadiyah to address the humanitarian issue in Nepal by sending medical personnel from Muhammadiyah and other institutions from Indonesia. Muhammadiyah's contribution continued in Bangladesh regarding the Rakhine state, Myanmar. Through LAZISMU, donations were collected and forwarded as humanitarian aid, and a medical team was sent to Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, Muhammadiyah was involved with other international and local NGOs (Latief & Nashir, 2020).

In 2014, Muhammadiyah donated humanitarian aid amounting to IDR 2.5 billion to the Palestinian people, which was part of a series of aid that Muhammadiyah has provided to Palestine. Previously, through the Indonesia-Palestine Friendship Initiative (PPIP) organization, Muhammadiyah donated USD 50,000. The assistance was funded by funds collected from other organizations under the auspices of Muhammadiyah, such as MDMC and LAZISMU (Utami, 2014). Din Syamsuddin, when he was the chairman of Muhammadiyah, played a significant role in sending humanitarian aid to Palestine through the PPIP, which he also chaired through the UN system in the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). The delivery of humanitarian aid, food, and medicine needs could be carried out smoothly and effectively distributed to the affected community in Gaza (Kompas, 2014). In 2017, Muhammadiyah Aid was officially established, continuing the aid contributions that Muhammadiyah had made to Palestine. Muhammadiyah assisted IDR 1.5 billion in the education sector in 2017. Following its international role, Muhammadiyah has received various awards abroad, including the Japanese government's Order of the Rising Sun, which Emperor Akihito awarded in 2018 (Muhammadiyah, 2021).

Muhammadiyah invited many other international institutions to cooperate, and it channeled donations following its extensive network and distribution mechanism (Bush, 2015). Anam (2012) stated that Muhammadiyah's experiences played a significant role in becoming an essential pioneer of humanitarian

assistance. In addition, Muhammadiyah has also been involved by the government of Indonesia in ensuring the safety of Indonesian citizens abroad through a strategy to protect Indonesian migrant workers. NGOs with a religious basis could become more influential and persuasive during the diplomatic process for this protection mission. Muhammadiyah has become one of the Islamic NGOs from Indonesia with the most prominent diplomatic role in Malaysia (Anam et al., 2022). Muhammadiyah contributed as an essential partner to international institutions by establishing cooperation with foreign government agencies, such as USAID, international NGOs, such as Save the Children, and even UN agencies in the 2004 massive disaster, the Aceh tsunami. Muhammadiyah also cooperated with religion-based organizations. This collaboration has been seen by Bush (2015) as the most effective due to the similarity of mass-based Muslim organizations, such as Youth Off the Streets (YOTS), based in Australia. Collaboration with YOTS focused on children who have lost their parents by setting up orphanage tents. Muhammadiyah also played an essential role in legitimizing religion and politics, focusing on religion and culture in Aceh (Husein, 2012).

THE GULEN MOVEMENT'S MEDIA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO SPREAD INFLUENCE

Fethullah Gulen and his followers utilized the media to spread his ideology and influence, such as through TV channels and newspapers. He also had access to political leaders and various religious figures to keep in touch and interact. Over time, he had an image as a liberal religious leader who was tolerant and supported Turkish secularism in 1995. Balci argued that the 1990s was the peak of Fethullah Gulen's success due to the prowess of his followers crossing national borders to spread his influence in Turkey. Turkish diplomats failed due to a lack of vision. In contrast, Fethullah Gulen was able to present the specific policies introduced to the post-Soviet Central Asian countries. His followers were the first to settle in the new countries by setting up educational and publishing institutions in 1992 for income. Various sponsors and associations in Turkey also helped fund the

project, which was later used to jointly publish a daily newspaper in the country's national language with a local editorial office to keep up-to-date with developments in Caucasus and Central Asia. The media was called Zaman and has been the best information outlet in the region since the 1990s (Balci, 2013).

The Gulen movement was a transnational movement, with a vast network reaching 160 countries in the 2010s alone. This movement's success in expanding outside Turkey was supported by the AKP party, an alliance of the government that has been in power for a long time (Yavuz & Balci, 2018). The alleged coup by Fethullah Gulen in 2016 forced him to only focus on the international role. After 2016, Fethullah Gulen employed the media to frame coordinated campaigns in public lobbying and against the government. Tungul (2021) saw Fethullah Gulen's framing as a transnational social movement strategy. He argued that foreign online media platforms supporting the Gulen movement framed Fethullah Gulen as a victim and the Turkish government as a threat to the EU to increase Fethullah Gulen's legitimacy. Another aim was to give Fethullah Gulen a successful chance to gain domestic power by persuading relevant international actors. According to Angey, the Gulen movement focused on and succeeded in its transnational and diplomatic role in the Sub-Saharan Africa region (Angey, 2018). The movement employed the 9/11 attack as a momentum for the discursive presentation of Islam (Lacey, 2014). To build a positive image of their alliance, the AKP, in the West, the movement utilized the media as its primary instrument from 2002 to 2012 and won the AKP three times in that period (Cagaptay, 2017). This movement also benefited from AKP's support for its business activities, including those abroad. One of the media utilized was devoted to non-Turkish readers in Europe (Nocera et al., 2015) to make Europe see this movement as an essential part of Turkey in achieving its humanitarian mission, democracy, and integration in the EU. Foreign relations continued, and this movement built communication with political actors and foreign diplomats to gain a place in destination countries (Tungul, 2021).

CONTRAST DIVERGENCE OF THE GULEN MOVEMENT'S AND MUHAMMADIYAH'S APPROACHES

The Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah faced challenges in achieving their organizations' goals and visions with different processes and results. Compared to Muhammadiyah, the Gulen movement had a more significant role in advancing institutional education, with the spread of schools, universities, and other educational institutions abroad, to the level of intense cooperation with the local government for the establishment of its educational institutions, with support from the authorities in the target countries, such as Senegal and Azerbaijan. In contrast to the Gulen movement, which was at the stage of massively building educational institutions abroad, Muhammadiyah tended to strengthen the quality of education in the home country by collaborating with foreign educational institutions to achieve global quality with hundreds of Muhammadiyah universities domestically. Similar to the Gulen movement, Muhammadiyah has also tried to expand its influence globally by building educational institutions abroad. Muhammadiyah focused on its international role through humanitarian affairs in the international sphere to gain international recognition and spread its influence further. Meanwhile, for the Gulen movement, the media, particularly newspapers and television, became the main forum for expanding its global network and influence. International cooperation in overcoming humanitarian issues was Muhammadiyah's main contribution to the international sphere, such as when the international community asked it to be involved in Myanmar and Thailand.

The relationship between the two organizations and the government had a contrasting form. Especially the Gulen movement, which was initially a political alliance with the government but later became an opposition and was at odds in terms of ideology over time until finally, the 2016 coup shifted the relationship between the movement and the government, tended to compete to have a more substantial influence on each other domestically and internationally. While Muhammadiyah did not have a political approach as strong as the Gulen movement's, contribution to the good of Indonesian

society and the world was Muhammadiyah's priority. The role that Muhammadiyah has carried out domestically and abroad has received support from the government, and collaborations have been carried out together. The relationship between Muhammadiyah and the Indonesian government tended to be mutually beneficial through cooperation and mutual support for each other.

CONCLUSION

The Gulen movement and Muhammadiyah played and contributed actively to the international sphere as well as within the country. Education was the primary approach that both employed as an instrument to grow and develop, as well as spread their influence. Apart from education, both were also active in humanitarian issues. They succeeded in developing and raising their names, which was close to the role of the state government in the process. In the case of Muhammadiyah, the government of Indonesia has been open and fully supported Muhammadiyah's many activities by involving it in handling some government agendas. The government has also seen Muhammadiyah as having a significant role in Indonesia's progress. At first, the Gulen movement collaborated with the AKP, a pro-government party. The Gulen movement and the Turkish Government had a good relationship until 2013, but there was friction and different views. The Gulen movement's role in the domestic aspect began to erode because the government saw it as an opposition, especially since the 2016 coup. This movement finally focused on the role internationally and moved secretly into target countries.

Both organizations focused on international contributions to the education sector through several different approaches. The Gulen movement considered the global role in education as a place to recruit young members to become successors, establishing many schools and universities abroad. In comparison, Muhammadiyah's international role in education remained in the realm of cooperation with educational institutions abroad. Cooperation was performed in several forms, such as student exchanges or the arrival of foreign educational institutions to teach children in Indonesia, such as the Aceh Tsunami case. Hence,

domestic interference was still potent for this Muhammadiyah agenda, including the involvement of the government of Indonesia as a representative and administrative matters. To spread its influence, the Gulen movement utilized the media with messages delivered in various forms, including religious messages and political and informative information, to make local people interested. Some political messages tended to be conveyed explicitly, allowing this movement to settle in foreign countries. Muhammadiyah employed a similar approach in education, with many international collaborations performed on humanitarian issues. Muhammadiyah has become known as an active NGO contributing significantly to affected countries requiring assistance.

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