

Constructing Religious Organization Collective Identity through Online Media Coverage of Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence Discourse

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Abstract: This research aims to examine how two religious organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, have constructed their collective identity through online media coverage about the discourse of preventing and addressing sexual violence (PPKS). In this regard, this research analyses news stories published by *NU.or.id* and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* regarding PPKS discourse. Using a qualitative textual analysis method with thematic analysis and rhetorical analysis approach, the findings have revealed that NU and Muhammadiyah construct their collective identities as *da'wah* movements, civil society organizations, and cultural groups. As *da'wah* movements, NU and Muhammadiyah have conveyed their ideas about sexual violence rooted from Islamic values. As a civil society organization, NU has shown symbolic actions that utilize social capital, while Muhammadiyah has expressed through organization programs. As a cultural group, NU has used cultural memory in the form of *istigasah kubra*, *sowan* tradition, and Islamic boarding school activities. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah has used cultural memory in the form of symbols of *da'wah* works, schools, and campuses to represent itself as a community service and *da'wah* movement.

Keywords: Collective identity religious organization, sexual violence discourse, textual analysis, online media.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan mengkaji bagaimana dua organisasi keagamaan, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Muhammadiyah mengkonstruksi identitas kolektifnya dalam wacana pencegahan dan penanganan kekerasan seksual (PPKS). Berkaitan dengan hal tersebut, penelitian ini menganalisis wacana PPKS yang dimuat di media online: *NU.or.id* dan *Muhammadiyah.or.id*. Studi ini menggunakan metode analisis tekstual kualitatif dengan pendekatan analisis tematik dan analisis retorik. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa NU dan Muhammadiyah mengkonstruksi identitas kolektif mereka sebagai gerakan dakwah, organisasi masyarakat sipil, dan organisasi budaya. Sebagai gerakan dakwah, NU dan Muhammadiyah menyampaikan gagasannya tentang kekerasan seksual yang bersumber dari nilai-nilai Islam. Sedangkan sebagai organisasi masyarakat sipil, NU menunjukkan melalui tindakan simbolik yang memanfaatkan modal sosial, sedangkan Muhammadiyah mengekspresikannya melalui program-program yang dilakukan oleh organisasi. Sebagai organisasi budaya, NU menggunakan memori budaya berupa kegiatan *istigasah kubra*, *tradisi sowan*, dan pesantren. Sementara itu, Muhammadiyah memanfaatkan memori budaya berupa simbol-simbol karya dakwah, sekolah, dan kampus dalam merepresentasikan dirinya.

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Introduction

The discourse of prevention and handling for sexual violence has emerged after the Anti-Sexual Violence Bill (*Rancangan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual/RUU PKS*) was proposed to the House of Representatives of Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) to be included in the national legislation program (Prolegnas) in 2016 (Paraqbueq, 2016). That bill was a draft of policy that would manage sexual violence case comprehensively, start from the prevention, management, to the victim trauma healing (Komnas Perempuan, 2016). Since then, various social forces have urged the Indonesian parlement (DPR RI) to formulate this policy as soon as possible (Fikrie, 2016). However, some political parties within parliament and social religious organisations rejected the proposed law, mostly from Islamic groups, including the Prosperous Justice Party (Erdianto, 2019). Finally, PKS Bill was then changed to the Sexual Violence Crime Bill (TPKS) in 2021 and issued into law in April 2022 (Tempo, 2022). Each social group attempts to construct the reality of support or rejection of the PKS Bill by constructing the reality of sexual violence in accordance with their interests. There are two models of the reality of sexual violence constructed by them, namely for the group that supports the PKS Bill, the situation of sexual violence is already at an emergency level. Meanwhile, for those who reject the PKS Bill, it is considered possible that this proposed law could criminalize people who act as moral police. Hamad (2010) refers to the construction of reality as discourse. The PPKS discourse in this case provides legitimacy for the attitudes shown by each group.

The rejection of the PPKS policy was most intensely carried out by conservative Islamic groups, so this leads to give rise to the perception that the draft policy was contrary to Islam. Debates on the substance of the PKS Bill always clash with religious norms, especially Islam, both in parliament and in the public sphere. During this clash, NU and Muhammadiyah took a stand to defend the draft policy.

NU and Muhammadiyah is the largest Islamic civil organization in Indonesia which symbolized the main status quo in Indonesia Islamic society (Brown, 2019). They both have long history in the

development of Indonesia's society. Although they often seen as rivals, both NU dan Muhammadiyah decided to support PKS Bill. NU has been being doing supporting actions through Fatayat NU since the beginning of the bill's proposal (Ahmad, 2016). Muhammadiyah also urged the house to confirm PKS Bill since the beginning through Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, 2017; Suara Muhammadiyah, 2016).

The PPKS discourse later developed beyond PKS Bill to support every anti-sexual violence policy. Another anti-sexual violence policy which attracts a lot of public attention is Ministerial Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology Number 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention And Management Of Sexual Violence in the Higher Education (hereinafter referred to as Permendikbud PPKS). Discourse of Permendikbud PPKS was not much different than PKS Bill. But this time, Muhammadiyah were joined the repellent groups (Syambudi, 2021). Muhammadiyah rejected Permendikbud PPKS because it was legalized before consulted this various elements of society (Muhammadiyah, 2021). NU also had same attention to that point, but chose to showed support to the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kemendikbud Ristek) to correct that policy (Nahdlatul Ulama, 2021). Statement of Muhammadiyah that different with NU shows the different between those groups. That statement can be seen in the organization websites—*NU.or.id* dan *Muhammadiyah.or.id*—along with PPKS discourses that they have constructed since 2019.

NU and Muhammadiyah use the organization website as media to convey their view about sexual violence. According to Fraser (1997, in Gamson, 2009), media—either mass or alternative—is a means of public discourse that become central to the construction of collective identity. The ideas that they create are a form of creative narrative that are valuable in the tradition of social constructionism because they are able to relate public issues to groups using their own distinctive style and language (Ferree et al., 2002). It is the unique style and language that reveal the collective identity. Porta dan Diani (2006) explained that collective identity connects social actors based on their similar

interests, values, and history, also distinct every group based on those things. Even though they both are Islamic civil organization, it is no doubt that NU and Muhammadiyah have their own special characteristics that distinguish them to the other groups. That distinction of characteristics become the base of collective identity for both organizations.

Previous studies have shown that discourse is the means of identity expression (Arsam, 2013; Jayanto, 2019; Ningsih, 2022; Nurhadi, 2018; Rohma, 2018; Shahin, 2015). According to Shahin (2015), mass media can be beneficial for Islamic groups to show their social identity. Media content production become the step for group identity performance (Shahin, 2015: 341). *NU.or.id* and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* portrayed the same issue with different perspective. Some distinction can be seen from the discourse that publicize in both websites. Those distinction reinforce the notion that NU and Muhammadiyah are constructing different collective identity based on the PPKS discourse they created.

Collective identity is constructed and preserved by cultural memory, that is the collective memory embodied in things that historically associated with a group (Heller, 2001). That description has similar meaning to symbol on practice of rhetoric (Foss, 2018). Symbols store collective memories that can trigger audience's memories of something associated with that symbol (Heersmink, 2021). According to Hamad (2007), rhetoric is a part of language strategy that can be beneficial for identity construction in the discourse. Considering those assumptions, I argue that the collective identity of NU and Muhammadiyah were constructed in PPKS discourse by the used of rhetoric.

This research aims to identify the collective identity of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah which is constructed through the discursive rhetoric of PPKS. In this regard, the problem that will be answered in this study is "How do Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah construct a collective identity using rhetoric in the discourse on preventing and handling sexual violence?" this research analyzes the discourse of PPKS published on both two religious

organizations' online media, namely NU.or.id and Muhammadiyah.or.id by using a qualitative textual analysis method with thematic analysis and rhetorical analysis approach.

Collective Identity, Discourse, and Rhetoric

Literature Review

Collective identity is one of three tradition in the studies about identity (Owens et al., 2010). Collective identity is different with personal and social identity by the level of analysis that is on group/organization level. Porta and Diani (2006) quoted Pizzorno (1996) who stated that collective identity is strongly associated with recognition and creation of connectedness. Collective action cannot occur in the absence of a “we” characterized by common traits and a specific solidarity. The presence of feelings of identity and of collective solidarity makes it easier to face the risks and uncertainties related to collective action. Collective identity also connects and assigns some common meaning to the experience of collective action that changes over space and time (Porta & Diani, 2006: 93–95).

Collective action is described by Melucci (2003) as an outcome of goals, resources, and limitedness, as a goal orientation that is built through social relations in a system of opportunities and constraints (pp. 43). As a concept, collective identity is a definition or description that is interactively created together by some individuals or a whole group, associated with action orientation, and the opportunities and constraints where the action takes place. That definition is a result of negotiation happen in the interaction between individuals or groups (pp. 45). As a result of communicative action, the development of collective identity is a process of learning about how to build and preserve social movement. Collective identity keeps the sustainability and imperishability of social movement over time (pp. 49).

Collective identity is not necessarily formed and internalized in every member of the collective. According to Gamson (2009), media have a role in the process of collective identity formation and internalization. Every media, either mass media or alternative media such as community made forum. Couldry and Curran (2003) explained that mass media was the main force in the formation of collective identity for society before media convergence era. Later, internet exist as alternative media that giving opportunity for everyone—including peoples who have little cultural power—to develop collective identity (Gamson, 2009: 285–287).

Media practices are essentially discourse practices. Discourse is generally understood as the use of language to represent reality (Hamad, 2010). Hamad (2007) explained that discourse can show identity by language. Collective identity itself is the result of the clash between social actor self-representation and collective image that constituted by institution, alliance or opposition, public opinion, and media (Porta & Diani, 2006). Media has a role in constitution of collective image by constructing a discourse. Gamson (2009) in study of collective identity and mass media explained that discourse is used by collective to promotes policies that they encourage to the state. Mediation of that political interest is done through the media. The mass media has a dual function that runs at one time, namely as a place to promote meaning as well as a place to contest meaning. Various actors such as political parties, corporations, associations, and social movements try to shape, change, and articulate their constituent's interests through discourse in the mass media (pp. 283-285).

Porta and Diani (2006) taken collective identity as important for continuation of social movement because it has function to make the actors can be involve in conflicts and see themselves as a part of collective which connected to each other in the basis of interest, values, and historical similarities (pp. 113). That connection can be preserve using the cultural memory. According to Heller (2001), cultural memory is a collective memory that is manifested in objects that has shared meaning. The object of cultural memory can be any things, such as text, rituals, and particular places that have significant meaning

for the collective (Heller, 2001). Those forms of cultural memory are similar with what Foss (2018) explained about artifact in rhetorical analysis.

Rhetoric is explained by Foss (2018) as a practice of symbolic use to communicate. Foss seen that rhetoric is not different with communication because both exchanges meaning for reasons. The reason can be to persuade or invite other people to understand our perspective. Foss also explained that symbol in rhetoric can be anything which stand to represent the other things based on their relation, association, or convention. Heersmink (2021) argue that artifact plays symbolic role in the expression of collective identity. That artifact is a manifestation of discourse, so that discourse can be said as a medium to perform collective identity. In the formation of discourse, particular symbols are being selected to reinforce audience memories about a collective. According to Assmann (2011), symbols do not have their own memory, but they can reinforce audience memories because the association that created by those symbols. Therefore, symbol in rhetoric can be the mean of collective identity expression in a discourse.

Collective Identity of NU and Muhammadiyah

The collective identity of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah cannot be separated from the history of the formation and ideology that both organizations have. Muhammadiyah was first established in 1912 by Muhammad Darwis or well known as Kyai Haji (KH) Ahmad Dahlan. Two factors behind the establishment of Muhammadiyah were the subjectivity of Ahmad Dahlan (who learned Islam in Mecca, had high social sensitivity, preferred practical things, and got influenced by the Islamic reformers) and objectivity that was the actual condition of Indonesia society at that time which was relatively backward economically and educationally, and the absence of modern Islamic educational institutions. Unlike Muhammadiyah, NU was established in the midst of Muslim polarization between traditional group originating from pesantren (Islamic traditional educational institution) and modernist group who brought ideas of

purification and Islamic renewal. Based on the records of Haidar (1994), NU was found on January 31st, 1926 due to the disappointment of the traditional groups at Al-Islam Congress in 1926 which drove them to create their own power by established new organization. That decision was took after the meeting between influential kyai (preach, leader of pesantren) from all regions of Java driven by KH Abdul Wahab and KH Hasyim Asy'ari. Although it was established after Muhammadiyah, the pesantren ecosystem have already existed since long time in the Java and has formed its own culture and social structure (Mustaqim, 2015).

The NU's ideology is following *ablus sunna waljama'a* (aswaja) theology school which recognize the first four caliphs (*Khulafa-e-Rashideen*); the four imams in Sunni (Imam Hanafi, Imam Maliki, Imam Syafi'I, Imam Hambali), and Nusantara mythology of the nine *wali* or Walisongo (Haidar, 1994). In the reformation era, there were some people who asked for reaffirmation of NU's ideology which was threatened by the arrival of transnational Islamic ideas to Indonesia. Based on the investigation of Salik (2020), the idea to reaffirm NU's ideology first emerged in 2005, then later it became formalized as political ideology of NU named "Islam Nusantara" during 31st Muktamar NU in 2015. Islam Nusantara means the way of life of Muslims who live in contemporary era in Nusantara archipelago by applying Islam as a whole, while respecting the local cultural context and prioritizing *maslahah* or benefit for society (Salik, 2020).

Muhammadiyah in their first establishment period underlie their movement on the ideology of transformative Islam based on Ahmad Dahlan thought, which is a da'wah movement with fundamental religious view oriented toward changes among the *ummah* (Muslim people) and society to the better civilization or *madani* civilization. Muhammadiyah's ideology later organized more systematically as *Matan Keyakinan dan Cita-Cita Hidup Muhammadiyah* (MKCH) or "Muhammadiyah Belief and Ideals of Life" during Muktamar in 1969 (Nurhayati et al., 2018: 109–111). When they entered their second century, Muhammadiyah developed a discourse named *Islam Berkemajuan* or progressive Islam to explain the ideology and identity

of Muhammadiyah more clearly. Nashir (2015) explained that *Islam Berkemajuan* is a term used to explain Muhammadiyah's modern, reformist, and progressive ideology (pp. 27-28). Identity of Muhammadiyah is a reformist-modernist and progressive Islam that combines Islamic value in the substance (essence, content) and the organization (structure, pillars), between text and context, between purification and reform, as well as uniting all dimensions of Islamic teachings (*aqidah*/creed, *akhlak*/ethics, and *mu'amalah duniyah*) into a unified teaching system that is realized in personal, family, and social life (pp. 39-44).

Discourse on Preventing and Addressing Sexual Violence

The discourse on sexual violence prevent and management (PPKS) began when the first PPKS policy (PKS Bill) was submitted to parliament in 2016. That bills was first drafted in 2014 and was submitted to the House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) in 2016 (Komnas Perempuan, 2017). Based on the statement of Rahayu (2022), PKS Bill was officially initiated by three members of DPR RI across factions, namely Rieke Diah Pitaloka From Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Nihayatul Wafiroh from National Awakening Party (PKB), dan Ammy Amalia from National Mandate Party (PAN). PKS Bill has faced many obstacles since it was first proposed due to lack of understanding of the substance of the bill and lack of gender perspective by members of parliament (Ariqi, 2019), as well as the minimal number of female members which made it hard to gained support (Kompas.com, 2014). The PKS Bill made progress in its second period (2019-2024), especially after being renamed to the Sexual Violence Crimes Bill (TPKS) on August 2021 (CNN Indonesia, 2021). The number of female members of parliament (MP) in this period also increased to 120 out of 575 MPs (20.87%), and 22 out of 81 MPs (27%) in the Legislation Body (DPR RI, 2022; Kusnandar, 2022). After being discussed by the house for almost six years, the bill was officially passed into Law No. 12 of 2022 concerning Sexual Violence Crimes on August 12th, 2022 (Tempo, 2022).

Debate over PKS Bill was actually happened only between Muslim groups. From within the parliament, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) was the only one party who reject PKS Bill. In fact, other Islamic parties stated that they supported this bill (Prabowo, 2019). Even the two initiators of the PKS Bill were came from Islamic party, that is PKB and PAN. The root cause of those debates was the different understanding of gender, the principle of sexual consent, and the term “sexual violence”. One of the Islamic group who massively showed they rejection was the Indonesian Family Love Alliance (AILA), which had conveyed in a public hearing meeting (RDPU) with the DPR RI based on the invitation of Commission VIII (Nugraha, 2019; Utama, 2021).

One of the popular discourse of sexual violence in public is the result of investigative journalism conducted jointly by *Tirto.id*, *VICE Indonesia*, and *The Jakarta Post* named “#NamaBaikKampus”. At the time, both University of Gadjah Mada (UGM) and the Kemendikbud Ristek still did not see sexual violence on campus as a critical issue (Zuhra & Adam, 2019). After many sexual violence cases in higher education leaked in social media, Kemendikbud Ristek took steps by issuing Permendikbud PPKS. This regulation is the first PPKS policy that has been successfully passed in Indonesia, which has formulated to overcome the problem of sexual violence in higher education, which is considered increasingly alarming (Kristina, 2021). Similar to the previous PKS Bill, the Permendikbud PPKS also receives a lot of rejection from groups that has rejected the PKS Bill. However, Muhammadiyah took step to reject this policy (Syambudi, 2021). Despite refusing, Muhammadiyah still supports the efforts of Kemendikbud Ristek in making PPKS policy, but pushed the ministry to listen to the aspirations of various groups engaged in education (Muhammadiyah, 2021).

This study uses the social constructionism paradigm that commonly used in research on dialogic identity formation (Lindlof, 2008). A qualitative approach was used because it uses non-numerical data, and it can provide in-depth description of the object of research. Discourse analysis with paradigmatic approach was used by collecting evidence from within the texts to become the data that can be used to answer the research problems (Hamad, 2007). The object of research is discourse texts which is a form of artifact that contains rhetorical symbols based on Foss (2018) statement. The artifacts studied are articles that tagged as “sexual violence” published by *NU.or.id* (NU official website) and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* (Muhammadiyah official website) throughout July 2020 to September 2022. The selection of *NU.or.id* and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* as artifacts source was because the whole production, start from writing, editing, to publishing, is done by the organization themselves.

The analysis process was first used thematic analysis method to group the artifact into several theme categories (Neuendorf, 2019), then later every group was analysed using rhetorical analysis to identify and interpret the symbols inside it (Foss, 2018). There are five themes that have been found from all articles, namely (1) sexual violence in the view of Islam; (2) sexual violence in the educational environment; (3) sexual violence in the community; (4) organization efforts to prevent and manage sexual violence; and (5) policies to prevent and manage sexual violence.

There are several limitations of this study. In terms of methodology, the *discourse* referred to in this study is small “d” discourse that represents identity linguistically, limited to the text level, and does not review the interactions resulting from discourse at large because it only focuses on analysing discourse texts publishes on the websites (*NU.or.id* and *Muhammadiyah.or.id*). In terms of finding and analysis, the

symbols identified are limited to the the researcher's knowledge. The collective identity identified also are limited to the representations found in the organization websites. The collective identity inferred are closely related to NU and Muhammadiyah's gender view in the PPKS discourse so that they cannot represent the whole organization.

Result and Discussion

Collective identity are formed on the basis of interests, values, and historical commonalities (Porta & Diani, 2006). Those commonalities are articulated in a narrative. According to Porta dan Diani (2006), a social movement need a narrative that can explain *who we are* and *what we are doing* so that the audience can have an image of the movement. It is the image that forms collective identity for a social movement. When NU and Muhammadiyah build narrative about sexual violence through their websites (*NU.or.id* and *Muhammadiyah.or.id*), they were making efforts to show *who* they are and *what* they do. As Melucci (2003) explained, collective identity explains orientation of action, as well as the places of opportunities and constraints where the action occurs.

When constructing PPKS discourse, NU and Muhammadiyah always started by built narratives about the reality of sexual violence. For example, when they talked about the organization efforts to prevent and manage sexual violence, NU and Muhammadiyah created sexual violence situation that is emergency and difficult to overcome. In other category, for example PPKS policies, NU and Muhammadiyah used various metaphors and irony to construct the reality of the absence of law that can accommodate the needs of victims. The narratives built by NU and Muhammadiyah emphasized their position as the supporter of PPKS policy.

Islamic Organization as Collective Identity

NU and Muhammadiyah both have identity as Islamic organizations. NU since the day it was established have already

affirmed their identity as *ahlus sunna waljama'a* or aswaja (Haidar, 1994), while Muhammadiyah have affirmed their identity as progressive organization (Nashir, 2015). To preserve these identities, NU and Muhammadiyah built the theme of sexual violence in the view of Islam. This theme has four subthemes, namely (1) the description of sexual violence; (2) the prevention of sexual violence; (3) the handling of sexual violence; and (4) gender view. NU used the symbols of “*tawbeed*”, “*istighfar*”, and “humanity” to emphasized that sexual violence is very against values of Islam. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah used the symbols “the limits of happiness” to describe the purpose of Qur’anic law that is violated in the act of sexual violence based on the view of Hamim Ilyas, a contemporary *tafseer* expert and Deputy Chairman of the Assembly of Tarjih and Tajdid of PP Muhammadiyah (Muhlisin et al., 2022).

The prevention of sexual violence subtheme and the handling of sexual violence subtheme both talked about the common solution that NU and Muhammadiyah provide to overcome the problem of sexual violence. They emphasized the important of sexual education that based on Islamic principles. *NU.or.id* used the symbol “quiet place” and “getting close to the opposite sex” to explained more about the prevention of sexual violence based on Islamic view that is through self-control effort such as keeping one’s gaze, not doing lovemaking or *khalwat* (being alone with the opposite sex in a quiet place), wearing clothes that cover intimate parts or *awrah*, not to mention avoiding being in a quiet place alone (Nawangsari, 2015). *Muhammadiyah.or.id* itself used the symbol “taboo” that refers to people’s beliefs regarding communication of sexuality as something taboo that is based on the Indonesia Health Demographic Survey which found 54,5% of boys never discussed about wet dreams before they experienced it (BPS, 2017), also the survey conducted by Durex Indonesia which found 84% teenagers aged 12-17 years old had not received sex education (Putri, 2019). In the handling of sexual violence subtheme, *NU.or.id* used a metaphor of “loving yourself” that similar to self-love which is considered to help victims of sexual violence to regain their confident and heal from their trauma, and the metaphor of “call of faith” as a

symbol to mobilize solidarity among religious community. *Muhammadiyah.or.id* used metaphor of “breaking away from religious barriers” to emphasize the urgency of utilizing zakat funds to help victims of sexual violence.

Each organization also conveyed their member’s view of gender. For example, *NU.or.id* used metaphor “security and inclusiveness” that based on the view of NU branch of United States of America and Canada to explain the purpose of sexual consent and respond to the rejection of PPKS policy because of sexual consent substance in the policy. But, it does not mean that all of NU women accommodate that view. There is a segregation between NU women to three major groups—conservative, moderate, and liberal—who always have different stance on terms of marriage, economy, politics, crime, and health. Even so, these three groups still try to reach an agreement by relying on the juridical basis of the yellow books and consideration of the current sociological condition of society (Ma’mur, 2014). *Muhammadiyah.or.id* itself used metaphor “Allah’s khalifah” which is associated to the equal role of all mankind in the earth regardless of gender. Ilyas (2015) in a *focus group discussion* (FGD) on Muhammadiyah’s view on women explained that the Muhammadiyah constitution guarantees equal right to men and women but must be balanced with women’s domestic role derived from their reproductive duties that is part of their *kodrat* (constructed nature). Both organizations accommodate the principle of gender equality to their cultural discourse.

Civil Society Organization as Collective Identity

NU and Muhammadiyah also show their identity as civil society organization (CSO). Civil society is explained by Hikam (1996) as areas of organized social life characterized by voluntarism, self-sufficiency, self-help, high independence from the state, and attachment to legal norms or values followed by citizens. Couldry and Curran (2003) considered it as alternative power than mass media who have been controlled by the state. Based on the view of Brown (2019) on Islamic civil society in Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah are two

Islamic organization who play an important role in reproducing democratic norms and ensuring the state's commitment to religious pluralism. In the context of PPKS policy, the PPKS discourse that constructed by NU and Muhammadiyah describe their role in the implementation of Indonesian democracy.

The sexual violence in educational environment theme shows the concern that NU and Muhammadiyah have for the educational institution under their auspices. According to Hamami (2021), both NU and Muhammadiyah are engaged in education field with the similar aim of eradicating ignorance, backwardness, and poverty in society, although they both have different view of education. NU develop education that more focus on religious teaching in the pesantren and madrasah (Islamic school), while Muhammadiyah develop modern integrative-holistic education system that integrates Islam and science through the ideology of *tajdid* (Hamami, 2021). The four subthemes in this theme, that are (1) the causes of sexual violence in educational settings; (2) child protection; (3) educational institutions reputation; and (4) the urge to overcome sexual violence in educational environment, all direct attention to the educational institutions associated with each organization. For example, *NU.or.id* used various symbols such “not what pesantren have taught”, “behavior that harms pesantren”, “tahfidz school is not a pesantren”, and “*nama baik kampus*” (campus reputation), to explain how the impact of sexual violence cases that occurred in pesantren affected people's trust on the Islamic educational institutions. *Muhammadiyah.or.id* used metaphors such “*nama baik sekolah*” (school reputation), “*nama baik kampus*” (campus reputation), and “den of bullying” as a form of autocriticism for Muhammadiyah-owned schools and campuses.

The sexual violence in the community theme shows the organization's attention to society in general. There are two subthemes in this theme. The first one is “the cause of sexual violence in community” which contains symbols that explain things that can lead to acts of sexual violence. For example, *NU.or.id* used metaphor “unequal relations”, “lonely situations”, and “disharmonious communication”, which refer to conditions that everyone has that

could lead them to being exposed to sexual violence. Meanwhile, *Muhammadiyah.or.id* used metaphor “nation unifying content” and “predators of character building” which refer to contents on the internet that could damage people’s morals, as well as “problematic figure” which refer to public figure who are considered unfit to appear in the mass media. The other subtheme is “the support for the handling of sexual violence” which contains symbols that emphasize the urgency of handling sexual violence. For example, *NU.or.id* used metaphor “outside the court” which means the resolution of sexual violence cases outside the legal system or restorative justice, and metaphor “sane people” which describe people who do not participate in rejecting sexual violence in the educational environment as the opposite of mentally health people. This theme is related to the next theme, that is “the organization efforts to prevent and manage sexual violence”, which tells the story independent efforts made by organizations to help overcome the problem of sexual violence.

NU illustrated its role as a CSO with symbolic actions such as open letters and position statements. When they stated their position, NU mentioned Indonesian Female Muslim Clerics Congress (KUPI)’s social network. Social networks is part of social capital according to Fathy (2019), which is capital derived from social relations that can be utilized for the benefit of the organization. CSO rely heavily on social capital to empower community (Fathy, 2019). NU utilized KUPI’s social networks to intervened with the state. These actions can be considered as collective action according to Melucci (2003) explanation. Collective action can only be carried out if social actors have collective identity that is able to unite them into one subject and act as one body. It was the collective identity as Muslims concerned with sexual violence encourage NU and its social network to put pressure on the state.

Muhammadiyah itself illustrated the role they play in effort to prevent and manage sexual violence with the symbols such as “bridge” and “ease the state’s obligations”. Both show their contribution as a mass organization to carry out what should be done by the state and absorb the aspirations of the community that were neglected by the

state. The concrete efforts they have made are also described as “da’wah work”, means that these efforts are their form of da’wah as an Islamic CSO. Muhammadiyah showed the resources that they have allocated to build civil society.

The role of NU and Muhammadiyah as alternative power is seen in the policies of sexual violence prevention and management theme. This theme has many subthemes, namely (1) form of PPKS policy; (2) description of PPKS policy; (3) obstacles in the ratification of PPKS policy; (4) activities to support PPKS policy; and (5) criticism for the government’s draft PPKS policy. *NU.or.id* mentioned five policies, that is Law of TPKS, Permendikbud PPKS, Draft Decree of the Minister of Manpower (Kepmenaker) PPKS in the Workplace, Circular Letter of the Secretary General of Ministry of Religious Affairs, PPKS Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) on Higher Education Institution. NU mentioned policies produced by its members who hold public positions. Meanwhile, *Muhammadiyah.or.id* only mentioned three policies, that is Law of TPKS, Permendikbud PPKS, and Government Regulation No.70 of 2020 (PP 70/2020). The views expressed by Muhammadiyah regarding these policies were in their capacity as a CSO.

The difference between NU and Muhammadiyah can be seen in the PPKS policies theme. For example, in the description of PPKS policy subthemes, *NU.or.id* uses many metaphors such as “nation savior”, “concrete answer”, “form of state presence”, “sweet candy”, and “superior policy”. In the context before the ratification, TPKS Bill was described as “nation savior”, “concrete answer”, and “superior policy” because it was considered to fulfill the people’s need for a comprehensive sexual violence prevention and management system and free Indonesia from sexual violence. In the context after ratification, the Permendikbud PPKS was described as “form of state presence” and “sweet candy” because it enlightened people that had been waiting for PPKS policies from the government. Meanwhile, a prominent symbol in *Muhammadiyah.or.id* is the metaphor of “*jihad* against violence” which describes the PPKS policy as an effort to fight violence in the way of Allah.

NU's attitude towards the Permendikbud PPKS seems ambiguous compared to Muhammadiyah. In the criticism for the government's draft PPKS policy subtheme, *NU.or.id* appeared to be criticizing the Permendikbud PPKS like *Muhammadiyah.or.id* by using the word "counterproductive" which referred to the sexual consent phrase in the policy substance. *NU.or.id* also called it an "obstructed good intention" and "old tape" because they thought that it would make this policy discourse unproductive. Muhammadiyah itself was more of the view that it was unfavorable for the protection of victims of sexual violence and the climate of Muhammadiyah universities. The two attitudes shown by NU towards Permendikbud PPKS show the internal dynamics of the organization, which on the one hand is detrimental to collective identity in the struggle to eradicate sexual violence, but on the other hand shows the distinctiveness of the organization which is open to all views if they are still based on *aswaja* ideology.

NU and Muhammadiyah expressed criticism and support for the PPKS policy in different ways. In the subtheme of obstacles in the ratification of PPKS policy, *NU.or.id* used the metaphor of "different paradigms" which means that differences in perspectives between parliamentarians make the discussion of PPKS policy take a very long time; and "sense of crisis" which means satire for parliamentarians regarding sensitivity to crisis situations. Meanwhile, *Muhammadiyah.or.id* used the metaphor "shackles of patriarchy" to illustrate that Indonesian society is still shackled by patriarchy, which is the root cause of sexual violence, making it difficult to understand the urgency of the PPKS policy. In the subtheme of activities to support PPKS policies, *NU.or.id* published *istighatha kubra* activities and receives *sowan* from the Minister of Education as a symbol of organizational support for PPKS policies. Meanwhile, *Muhammadiyah.or.id* described the input provided by Aisyiyah for the TPKS Bill as a "gong" as expressed by a member of the House of Representatives when praising the input provided by Aisyiyah for the TPKS Bill because it united various existing opinions to produce comprehensive recommendations.

Identity of Culture Group

NU and Muhammadiyah also construct their identities as cultural groups. Martin dan Nakayama (2018: 87) explained that culture is something shared and learned that can be seen from contextual patterns of communication behavior. Each group has its own language, beliefs, and traditions that create a feeling of unity and solidarity among its members. The long history of NU and Muhammadiyah has formed a group culture based on the origins and ideology of each organization. For example, NU originated from a traditional group that brought the culture of santri and pesantren (Fauzi, 2012), while Muhammadiyah originated from a Javanese priyayi group that came into contact with Minangkabau reformist Muslims and other regions, thus experiencing cultural dialectics within the organization (Burhani, 2006).

When talking about group culture, Heller (2001) mentioned how a civil society can have a collective identity. Civil society basically does not need to form an identity. However, to form a movement that operates long-term and has an orientation towards the future, a collective identity is needed to maintain the unity of social actors. Looking back at its founding history, NU has a long-term vision to create a society that follows the Qur'an, sunnah, consensus, and respects tradition (Haidar, 1994). Muhammadiyah itself has a long-term vision to build a progressive Islamic society (Nashir, 2015). In this case, Heller (2001) argued that a cultural memory is needed to maintain this unity.

NU and Muhammadiyah used several collective memories to built collective identity in the PPKS discourse. NU carried out *istighatha kubra* and *sowan* activities to encourage PPKS policies. *Istighatha kubra* and *sowan* have historical meaning for *santri* (Islamic traditional student). As the narrative told by Mustaqim (2015), NU was formed by pesantren community that consist of *kyai* and *santri*. The pesantren community had rooted cultural ties before being united into an organization. The prevailing social structure in pesantren is *kiai* as the ruler and *santri* as followers. *Istighatha kubra* and *sowan* are two traditions that illustrate the relationship between *kyai* and *santri*.

Istighatha is a ritual in Islamic Javanese society tradition to ask help to God almighty in a quiet place, peaceful, and far from crowd. In the development, the meaning of *istighatha* had changed by the double motives and carried out in an open-public space. The practice of *istighatha* in the reformation era was tightly related to NU political performance. *Istighatha kubra* was often carried out during political momentum, became a political power show with huge mass, and a show of power by presenting important figures (Rubaidi, 2009).

Not very different with *istighatha kubra*, *sowan* is also a political symbolic performance. When we trace the history of *sowan*, it is a practice that has been carried out for hundred years by the Islamic Javanese people by visiting their *kyai* to ask for spiritual advice and input for problems they faced. *Sowan* is a form of communication by Islamic Javanese people that in origin is closely related to spiritual nuances rather than just transactions. However, *sowan* later become a symbol of *kyai*'s power legitimation and frequently commodified by politician to get political support from that *pesantren*'s ruler (Zuliansyah et al., 2017).

The historical bound between NU and *pesantren* make NU used many rhetorical symbols to keep *pesantren*'s reputation. When they talked about sexual violence in educational environment theme, most of the articles they made mentioned about *pesantren*. NU even mentioned Pesantren Act to refute the association between Tahfeez House which sexual violence took place with *pesantren*. NU also used symbols to argue the *pesantren* involvement that had been said as systematic in some sexual violence events. That strategy was carried out because the strong association between NU and *pesantren*. *Pesantren* become a cultural memory that construct collective identity for NU people. Therefore, NU felt responsible to protect *pesantren*'s reputation that has been damaged by the sexual violence cases which happen in some institutions. They consider this action equal to protecting their own collective identity.

Muhammadiyah also used cultural memories to construct collective identity. In the PPKS discourse in the websites *Muhammadiyah.or.id*, Muhammadiyah described their efforts to

prevent and manage sexual violence by the symbol of “*da’wah* work”, “referral school”, and “exemplary campus”. The symbol of “work”, “reference”, and “example” can not be retrieved from the *da’wah* movement carried out by Muhammadiyah. As Nurhayati et al. (2018) narrated, Muhammadiyah since its first establishment has done *da’wah* oriented to the eradication of poverty, stupidity, and backwardness. Muhammadiyah adhered to the theology of *al-Ma’un* which is concerned the fate of nation and indigenous Muslims who had been oppressed for centuries by local rulers and colonizers. Suwarno (2018) explained that Muhammadiyah’s *da’wah* is identical with education and public health as the efforts to prospering the community.

When carrying out program to prospering the community, especially helping the victims of sexual violence, Muhammadiyah described their actions as “*da’wah* work”. The *da’wah* work become a motto to unite all members of Muhammadiyah when carry out the community services. The cultural memories which have physical form is stored in Muhammadiyah’s schools and campuses building that are spread across Indonesia. The amount of educational institutions which Muhammadiyah owned by the year of 2022 is 440 *pesantren*, 20.233 kindergartens, 2.817 elementary schools, 1.826 junior high schools, 1.346 senior high schools, and 171 colleges (Muhammadiyah, 2022).

The cultural memories that was used by NU and Muhammadiyah in the PPKS discourse are loaded with Islam. According to Heller (2001), religion become the biggest source for the construction of cultural identity, beside ethnic and geographic location together with the political institution which construct a religion practice. Beside of that, social movement that they carry out are also associated with Islam, along with the culture they construct. Religion become the main source for collective identity that is showed by NU and Muhammadiyah in the PPKS discourse.

Findings obtained from PPKS discourse texts on the websites *NU.or.id* and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* show how media play the role of medium to expressed the collective identity. It suggest that the symbols which was used in the discourse—either metaphor, irony, satire, or hyperbole—shown the view and collective identity of NU and

Muhammadiyah. The collective identity construction in the PPKS discourse shows their actions as a civil society organization in the life of democratization, at the same time affirm their position in the structure of Indonesia Islamic society.

Conclusion

NU and Muhammadiyah construct the collective identity in the PPKS discourse as a social movement, civil society organization, and cultural group. They both constructed the negative reality of sexual violence as their narratives to show their position as PPKS policy supporter. Some symbols had been used to describe sexual violence. For example, *NU.or.id* used the symbols of "the loss of *tawheed*", "the great sin that can not be erased by *istighfar*", and "the destroyer of humanity". *Muhammadiyah.or.id* itself used the symbol of "the violation of the limits of happiness" to describe the sexual violence against the *Qur'an*. Both websites also used symbols that implicit the Islamic view of sexual violence prevention and management. Islamic values not only founded in the sexual violence in the view of Islam theme, but also in every themes that exist. Religion in this case become the main source of the collective identity of NU and Muhammadiyah. Both conveyed their thought concerning sexual violence based on Islamic views in every theme constructed.

When constructing the identity as civil society organization, NU showed more symbolic actions which utilized social capital, meanwhile Muhammadiyah showed more programs carried out by organization independently. The symbolic actions were realized by the open letter which delivered by Fatayat NU Kulon Progo branch and position statement which delivered by KUPI along with their social network. Muhammadiyah showed a teacher training program to deal with sexual violence in schools with the symbol "referral school", a legal aid centre (*pos bantuan hukum*) with the symbol "*da'wah* work", and zakat for victims of sexual violence with the symbol "breaking away from religious barriers".

The identity as cultural group constructed by NU and Muhammadiyah used cultural memories which have historical

meaning for every organization. NU used cultural memories in form of *istighatha kubra*, *sowan*, and *pesantren* to describe themselves as a *da'wah* movement which based on traditions and local cultures. *Istighatha kubra* and *sowan* become pesantren cultural symbol to convey an interest. NU interest in this case is the eradication of sexual violence in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah itself used cultural memories in form of “*da'wah* work”, schools, and campuses to describe themselves as a *da'wah* movement based on community service. *Da'wah* work become a motto for Muhammadiyah members when carrying out community services. Schools and campuses become the symbol of Muhammadiyah movement to prospering the community.

Research about the religious organization collective identity in the public issues can be developed to explore how an organization organized their movement for *maslahah* or public benefit. This research has given a new insight for people about the role of NU and Muhammadiyah to release Indonesia from sexual violence. Some evaluations need to be consider for future research, especially in terms of methods that only analysed in the level of text and only took sample from the websites of *NU.or.id* and *Muhammadiyah.or.id*. The research development could be done by examining discourse practice and social practice to generate richer and deeper conclusions, as well as have discussion with more experts to deepen the analysis of problem under study.

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