

# QUESTIONING THE ROLE OF MILLENNIAL FOLLOWERS WITHIN THE CONTESTATION BETWEEN MUHAMMADIYAH AND NAHDLATUL ULAMA IN ONLINE MEDIA: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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## Abstract

This article discusses Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as two influential Islamic organizations in Indonesia. This study attempts to assess the impact of followers, particularly millennials, on the contestation dynamics of Muhammadiyah and NU in online media. This study uses a qualitative approach by using online media as a data source and NVivo 12 as a data analysis tool. By using this methodology, the author intends to conduct a more thorough analysis of case studies. Thus, by employing the ideas of contestation and followership, this article seeks to trace the involvement of millennial followers in cancelling a Preaching in the context of NU's 94th anniversary (Anniversary) in 2020 at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta. This study reveals that the contestation of Muhammadiyah and NU in the cancellation of Preaching in the context of the 94th NU Anniversary in 2020 at Kauman reveals a map of attitudinal responses, positive and negative sentiments of followership, particularly millennial followers of Muhammadiyah and NU Islamic organizations.

*Keywords:* Contestation, Muhammadiyah, Millennial Followers, Nahdlatul Ulama

## 1. Introduction

Sociologically, Muslims in Indonesia consist of various groups that are contained in many religious organizations. These religious organizations include Muhammadiyah, NU, Syarikat Islam, Persis, Al-Irsyad, Nahdhatul Wathon, Perti, Al Washliyah, Math'laul Anwar, As'adiyah, Alkhairat, Al Wahdah and so on. Most Muslims in Indonesia adhering to the Islamic theology of ahlul sunnah wal jamaah (Sunni) and fiqh based on the fiqh of the four mahzabs. Therefore, of the various religious organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) are Islamic organizations in Indonesia with many followers. These two Islamic organizations have proven to have a real functional role and are complementary. This aligns with Robin Bush's (2009) argument that explains how Muhammadiyah and NU contest for influence (dominance) in society. Bush (2009) continuously provides an overview of the historical roots of contestation between NU and Muhammadiyah that have occurred since the early days of the two organizations, and even persist today. However, the topics and media used have evolved and involve more followers.

In its early days, traditionalist Muslims viewed the development of reformist or modernist Islam, particularly the establishment of Muhammadiyah, as a threat to the core beliefs and practices that structured their religious life. In social discourse, Muhammadiyah designated itself as a *tajdid* movement, a renewal movement, a modern organization, which became the home of modernists (reformists), while NU as *ahlul sunnah wal jamaah* which upholds tradition and became a symbolic home for traditionalists. The discourse of modern Islam and traditional Islam has become a heated discourse among Muslims in Indonesia, so it can be said that they are competing for influence to represent Islam in Indonesia. This process of dichotomy and

stigmatization has been going on for quite a long time, even to some extent, it still occurs today, although with different tensions.

Moreover, in various contexts, such as religious areas, thought products, and social discourse to the national political context, Muhammadiyah and NU contestation often occurs. In addition, Ridho Al Hamdi (2019) explained that political contestation between Muhammadiyah and NU occurs not only in legislative politics, but also in executive positions, especially in the ministry. However, the political contestation expected by Muhammadiyah is not in the context of transactional politics for practical interests, but this is Muhammadiyah's effort to contribute to state administration.

However, the circulation of posters and flyers for a grand Preaching commemorating the 94th NU Anniversary, which will be held at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque in Yogyakarta, has heated up this contestation among followers (2020). This is because Kauman, besides being the birthplace of Muhammadiyah founder Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, is also the base of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. The friction that occurs and the absence of common ground showing violent actions and reactions at the root involving followers can be read as a contestation (competition) between the two Islamic organizations, Muhammadiyah and NU, both hidden and surface. What is really going on with the followers of each organization? This study is very interesting to see the dynamics of followers in both Muhammadiyah and NU departing from the case of canceling the Preaching in the framework of NU's Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque.

Based on the preceding explanation, this study will highlight increased competition from the "followership" side in both Muhammadiyah and NU from millennial followers' perspectives. Followers of the new generation of Islamic organizations in the digital era, notably online media, include the aspect of adherents that must be explored further in the context of competition. The millennial followers are the object of the author's research because the dynamics of the millennial generation seem unique. This study is a rare study by looking at the millennial response and its role in organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU. Based on the author's objective to examine the role of millennial followers in Muhammadiyah and NU contestation, the author set five research questions. However, this study is still in the early stages of research, and only one research question will be discussed. This research will analyze how the dynamics of millennial followership contestation between Muhammadiyah and NU related to the rejection of the 94th NU Anniversary commemoration at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque in Yogyakarta through digital media? In addition, because it is still in the early stages of research, the focus of this discussion will specifically discuss the role of millennial followers in the dynamics of contestation in online media. In the subsequent phase, this research will also investigate the contestation of Muhammadiyah and NU in the religious, socio-economic, and political fields of the post-reform democratization era in Yogyakarta, the characteristics of millennial followers, and social identity as a component of membership and activism influencing the attachment of millennial followers of Muhammadiyah and NU.

## **2. Research Methodologies**

This study attempts to analyze millennial followers and the dynamics of Muhammadiyah and NU contestation in Online Media with a case study of "Cancellation of Preaching in the Context of NU 94th Anniversary 2020 at Gedhe Kauman Mosque Yogyakarta". Therefore, the type of research used by the author in this study is a qualitative approach, which will be carried out with a descriptive approach in the form of a case study. The descriptive format of case studies is not characterized as water spreading on the surface but focuses on a particular unit of various phenomena. The qualitative descriptive format is more appropriate for examining problems in depth (Bungin, 2017). The types and strategies in this qualitative research are designed using a case study strategy. Study case research can be divided into four

classifications: exploratory case studies, second descriptive, third case studies interpret, test, or explain, and fourth case studies that are evaluative (Yusuf, 2014).

*2.1. Data collection:* The authors used online media as a data source for the qualitative approach in this study. Data was collected by exploring patterns and concepts of understanding the problem (Patton, 2014). Meanwhile, secondary data for qualitative uses data from news documents, books, reports, previous research results, and from online media that are related to "Anniversary NU 94 Masjid Gedhe Kauman" and "Kauman Memanggil" and Muhammadiyah-NU contestation.

*2.2. Research instrument:* To strengthen the data analysis, the authors collected online media that specifically discussed the case study in this research. This study's keywords for online media search are "Anniversary NU 94 Masjid Gedhe Kauman" and "Kauman Memanggil".

*2.3. Procedure:* The data collection technique used at this stage is Media Monitoring Analysis (which is taken through social media and online media in the February-March 2020 timeframe using software). The analysis process of this study starts with analyzing online media using Nvivo. To process and analyze the qualitative online media data collected, the authors used NVivo software specifically for processing data in qualitative method research. Nvivo software makes it easy for Authors to categorize data, and information, build data presentation models, and reduce Author subjectivity.

The reasons why Authors use QSR Nvivo (Dollah, Abduh, & Rosmaladewi, 2017), especially Nvivo 12, include:

- a) It has been tested in reliable and familiar use to assist in qualitative research.
- b) Ease of use
- c) Relatively rare features
- d) Data and information resulting from processing and analysis are easy to export and use for further research.

Qualitative research with its various variants requires creativity in data management with a variety of complexities of information obtained, thus requiring interpretations that are close to the real truth (Priyatni, Suryani, Fachrunnisa, Supriyanto, & Zakaria, 2020). Proficiency and sophistication are needed to find the right information patterns. The above will be greatly helped by the use of NVivo 12 software. Authors to analyze data such as coding or providing codes that will form some of the same nodes in different articles (Rahadi, 2020).

In the coding process, nodes are determined from several keywords, including:

1. Anniversary NU 94th
2. GP Anshor (Youth organization of NU)
3. Banser (GP Anshor's Civilian Security Guards)
4. Kokam (Muhammadiyah Youth's Security Guards)
5. Pemuda Muhammadiyah (Youth organization of Muhammadiyah)
6. NU
7. Muhammadiyah

This research aims to explain the dynamics of millennial followership contestation between Muhammadiyah and NU in relation to the rejection of the 94th NU Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque in Yogyakarta via digital media by employing the qualitative approach and the aforementioned research methods. A qualitative approach, narratives based on online media, and analysis tools using NVivo 12 can analyze the dynamics of this study conducted based on a prior perspective by the current authors.

### 3. Results and Discussion

3.1. *Online Media Analysis of the 94th NU Anniversary at Kauman Gedhe Mosque:* Based on chronological information on the plan to hold a grand Preaching commemorating the 94th anniversary of NU at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque in Yogyakarta, it has drawn pros and cons and even strong rejection from various elements of society. It begins with the takmir of the Gedhe mosque. These Kauman residents are the village where the Gedhe mosque is located and, at the same time, the base of Muhammadiyah followers and Pemuda Muhammadiyah (PM). Another group of people rejected the implementation of the 94th NU Anniversary commemoration, namely elements of society who are members of the Islamic Forum (FUI). However, this group did not appear and was 'captured' through online media coverage.

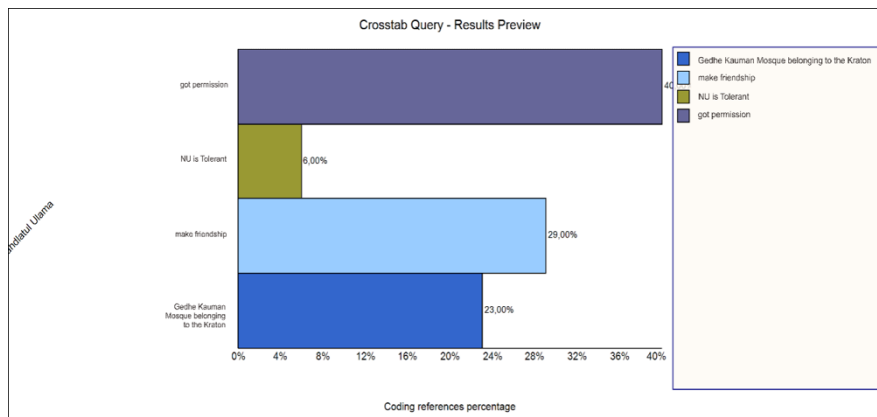
In the initial part, we tried to see how online media captures were analyzed through Nvivo 12 plus software related to NU's plan to hold the Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque. It is well known that the Gedhe Kauman Mosque is a historic location for Muhammadiyah, and Kauman is the base of Muhammadiyah. Why does NU plan to hold the Anniversary commemoration event in the heart of Muhammadiyah?

3.1.1. *Online Media Themes:* The author collected some data from online media related to the "Anniversary NU 94th at Gedhe Mosque". Based on the results, the data collected follows the themes the author adjusted. The three themes identified from the online media analysis by the authors are:

- Theme 1: Reasons for NU Organizing the 94th NU Anniversary Ceremony at the Kauman Gedhe Mosque
- Theme 2: Muhammadiyah's Reasons for Rejecting NU's 94th Anniversary at Gedhe Kauman Mosque
- Theme 3: NU Yogyakarta's Response to the Rejection of NU's 94th Anniversary Ceremony

#### 3.1.2. Research Findings:

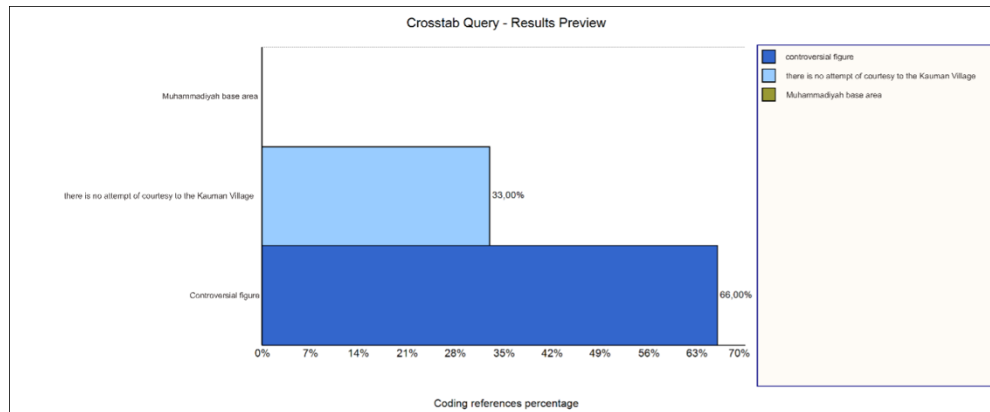
Theme 1: Reasons for NU Organizing the 94th NU Anniversary Ceremony at the Kauman Gedhe Mosque



**Figure 1.** Reasons for NU Organizing the 94th NU Anniversary Ceremony at the Kauman Gedhe Mosque

Based on Nvivo Analysis 12 of online media coverage of the plan to hold the 94th NU Anniversary event at the Gedhe Kauman mosque, the reason for holding the NU Anniversary is that NU has received permission from the Kraton as the legal owner of the Kauman Gedhe mosque with a percentage of 40%. In addition, NU also understands that the Gedhe Kauman Mosque belongs to the palace with 23%. The NU Anniversary event also establishes friendships with Muhammadiyah residents who have been prospering the Gedhe Kauman Mosque with a percentage of 29%, and NU has been tolerant at 6%.

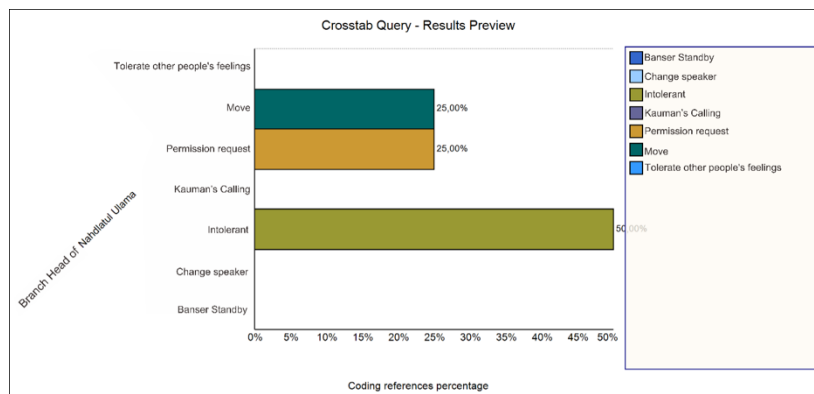
## Theme 2: Muhammadiyah's Reasons for Rejecting NU's 94th Anniversary at Gedhe Kauman Mosque



**Figure 2.** Muhammadiyah's Reasons for Rejecting NU's 94th Anniversary at Gedhe Kauman Mosque

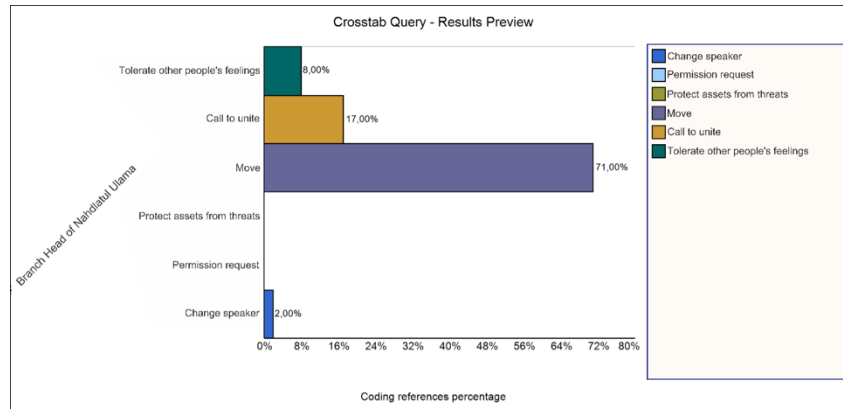
From the author's findings, it was found that Muhammadiyah rejected NU's Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque first because of the controversial figure of the preacher with 66% and there was no unggah-ungguh (manners) to the Kauman village by 33%. From the figures above, Muhammadiyah voiced against NU's Anniversary plan at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque dominantly because of the controversial speaker Gus Muwafiq. He had received strong protests from the community because he was considered insulting/harassing the Prophet Muhammad and the rest. After all, there was no improper communication between Kauman village and the Gedhe mosque in Kauman Village. The assessment that there was no improper communication that occurred could be because the PCNU did not know the licensing process for using the Gedhe Mosque or due to other factors.

## Theme 3: NU Yogyakarta's Response to the Rejection of NU's 94th Anniversary Ceremony



**Figure 3.** Negative Response of PC NU Yogyakarta

The results of the author's search using Nvivo 12 plus software show the negative response of PCNU Yogyakarta City. The negative response shows that PCNU did a 'counteraction' against rejecting the 94th NU Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman mosque with intolerant narratives against groups that refused to carry out the NU Anniversary. The intolerant narrative is quite large, reaching 50%. PCNU also accused that the rejection by Muhammadiyah occurred due to poor communication issues, not doing preconditions, excuse me, aka kulonuwun first, the narrative of accusations of lack of communication related to greetings (kulonuwun) reached 25%. The picture also shows that PCNU admitted that the relocation of this place was very heavy, and its voice aspirations reached 25% in the news.



**Figure 4.** Positive Response of PC NU Yogyakarta

Positive sentiment from PCNU, they responded to the pressure to move well received by PCNU; this is shown from the findings of online media analysis using Nvivo 12. The sentiment or positive response in the table shows a large number, reaching 71%. In addition, PCNU also gave a positive response for the sake of the unity of the people, which amounted to 17%, and tepo seliro towards community groups who rejected the Anniversary event by 8%. As for the insistence on replacing the preacher, the smallest number is 2%. The figure above shows that NU legowo moved for the sake of the unity of the people in Yogyakarta but still carried out the Anniversary event, and with the preacher remained as before, not replaced.

**3.2. Responses and Attitudes of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Millennial Groups:** The 94th anniversary of Nahdlatul Ulama experienced tension between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama groups in Yogyakarta. This tension arose with banners refusing to participate in activities at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque in Yogyakarta. Millennial groups from both organizations were most active in responding to the phenomenon of the 94th NU Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque. This millennial group consists of Pemuda Muhammadiyah and Kokam, which are part of Muhammadiyah. While Gerakan Pemuda Ansor and Banser are part of Nahdlatul Ulama.

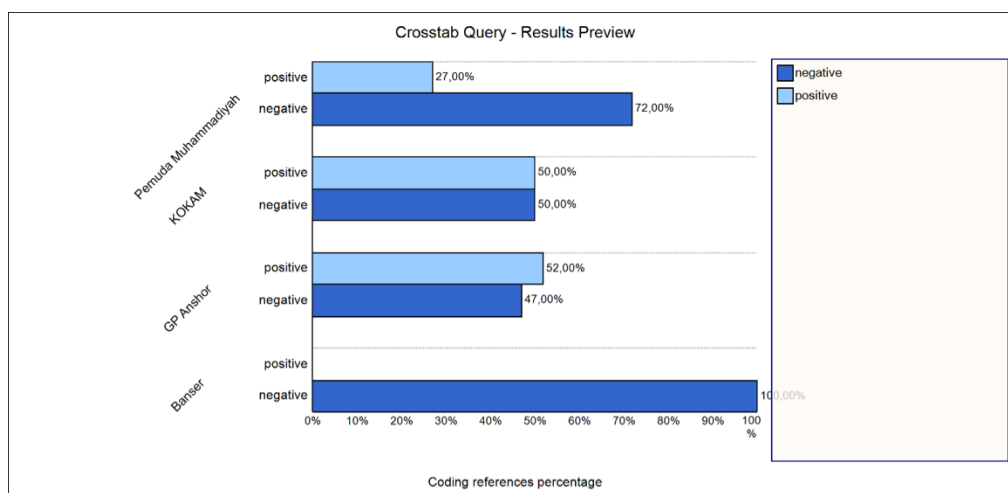
The author extracted data on the responses of these two young groups of community organizations through online media that reported the 94th NU Anniversary event at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque Yogyakarta. This data search used Nvivo 12 plus software so that the results were found in mapping the responses and reasons of these two millennial organizational groups, namely Muhammadiyah Youth, Kokam, Banser, and Gerakan Pemuda Ansor. The following are the results of theme identification and coding from Authors in obtaining information in online media to show how the responses of these two organizations:

**3.2.1. Online Media Themes:** In addition to the above themes, the Authors also analyzed and identified online media related to the opinions of Muhammadiyah and NU millennial groups towards the 94th NU Anniversary. The six themes identified from online media analysis by the authors are:

- Theme 1: Response to the 94th NU Anniversary from NU and Muhammadiyah millennial groups
- Theme 2: Pemuda Muhammadiyah's negative sentiment response
- Theme 3: Kokam's negative response to NU Anniversary
- Theme 4: Reasons for the Muhammadiyah millennial group to respond to NU's Anniversary
- Theme 5: Reasons for rejecting the Muhammadiyah millennial group's response to NU's Anniversary
- Theme 6: Responses and reasons of the Gerakan Pemuda Ansor and Banser in responding to the 94th Nahdlatul Ulama Anniversary activities at Gedhe Kauman Mosque Yogyakarta.

### 3.2.2. Author's Findings:

#### Theme 1: Response to the 94th NU Anniversary from NU and Muhammadiyah millennial groups



**Figure 5.** Response to the 94th NU Anniversary from NU and Muhammadiyah millennial groups

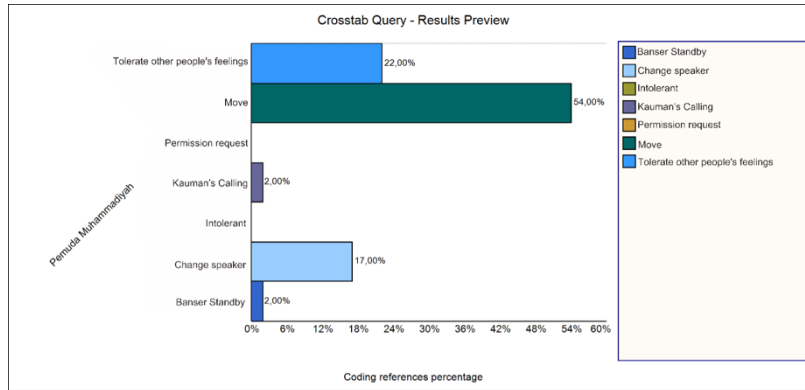
From the Authors' findings above, the two millennial groups, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, responded differently to NU's Anniversary activities. As from the Muhammadiyah millennial group, the Pemuda Muhammadiyah sentiment response narrative tends to be a negative sentiment. Although there are some positive online media responses, but the majority tend to be negative, with 72%. Kokam has the same numerical weight in responding to NU's Anniversary, namely 50% positive and 50% negative.

While from the young Nahdlatul Ulama group, the Anshor Youth Movement tends to respond positively, namely 52% and negatively 42%, although the number of positive and negative response sentiments is not much different. And Banser responded to the sentiment of the activities carried out at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque in Yogyakarta with a negative sentiment, namely 100%.

From the Authors' findings in using the Nvivo 12 plus software above, positive and negative sentiments arise due to differences in opinion in responding to the tension of activities to be carried out at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta. The authors try to review one by one the opinions of each millennial group from both the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama groups. To understand what it means for this group to respond with negative and positive sentiments.

#### Theme 2: Pemuda Muhammadiyah's negative sentiment response

The author's search using Nvivo 12 plus software results show that Pemuda Muhammadiyah tends to respond to the 94th Nahdlatul Ulama birthday activities with negative sentiment connotations. The meaning of this negative response from Pemuda Muhammadiyah is as follows:

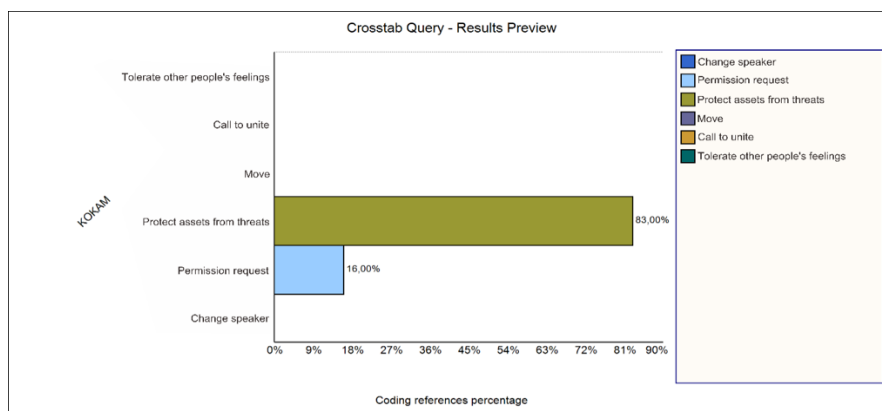


**Figure 6.** Pemuda Muhammadiyah's negative sentiment response

Authors' findings tracing the negative sentiment response of Pemuda Muhammadiyah using Nvivo 12 plus show that first, the narrative of encouragement to move the location of Nahdlatul Ulama Anniversary activities are dominant, namely 54%. The attitudes expressed by Pemuda Muhammadiyah in online media encourage a change of location. Furthermore, the second is the tepo seliro narrative, namely 22%. Tepo seliro means tolerance, the meaning of the emergence of this tepo seliro phrase is a message to the Nahdlatul Ulama group to appreciate the attitude of the Muhammadiyah group based in the Kauman village. Kauman village is a historical place for the birth of Muhammadiyah, and most Kauman residents have Muhammadiyah backgrounds. Third, Pemuda Muhammadiyah responded by asking to change the preacher who would fill in the Gedhe Kauman mosque, which was 17%.

However, the sentiment response attitude of Kokam, which is part of the Pemuda Muhammadiyah group, slightly differs from Pemuda Muhammadiyah in responding to NU's, although Kokam's numbers are more directed towards negative sentiment. However, the number of positive sentiments in responding to NU's anniversary is also quite high. The following are the author's findings regarding the positive and negative sentiments of Kokam;

### Theme 3: Kokam's negative response to NU Anniversary



**Figure 7.** Kokam's positive response to NU Anniversary

Kokam's positive response in responding to NU's Anniversary from the author's coding shows that Kokam aims to protect assets from threats if there is a clash between NU and Pemuda Muhammadiyah groups. Furthermore, Kokam responds to positive sentiment by narrating for kulo nuwun, which the Nahdlatul ulama group should do. The kulo nuwun in question is to the Muhammadiyah Kauman residents. This is because



Kauman is the birthplace of Muhammadiyah, and most of Kauman residents are affiliated with the Muhammadiyah organization.

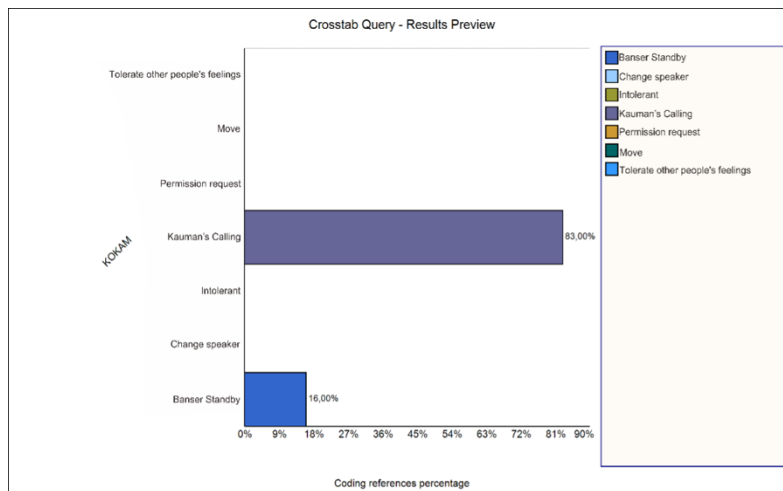


Figure 8. Kokam's negative response to NU Anniversary

Furthermore, the authors explored data using Nvivo 12 plus about the negative response from Kokam in responding to NU's Anniversary. The tendency obtained by the author was that Kokam made many statements about Kauman memangil. Kauman memanggil means that Kauman residents must be guarded if a conflict ends physically. The Kokam calling narrative emerged due to the narrative issued by NU youth groups, both Banser and GP Ansor, about the Banser standby narrative.

In addition, the authors traced using Nvivo 12 plus the reasons of the Pemuda Muhammadiyah group in responding to the 94th Nahdlatul Ulama Anniversary in Yogyakarta. The following analyses are the author's findings on the reasons for the Muhammadiyah millennial group.

Theme 4: Reasons for the Muhammadiyah millennial group to respond to NU's Anniversary



Figure 9. Reasons for the Muhammadiyah millennial group to respond to NU's Anniversary

Looking at the findings of the picture above, Pemuda Muhammadiyah responded 100%, rejecting the NU Anniversary activity at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta. Kokam, on the other hand, did not provide a stance on whether it supports the NU Anniversary activity at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta or rejects it. However, it can be shown from earlier studies that Kokam also provides a narrative to safeguard Muhammadiyah organizations. With that, it indicates a tendency to adopt the Pemuda Muhammadiyah stance, rejecting the NU Anniversary activities at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta.

Furthermore, the authors traced the reasons for rejecting Pemuda Muhammadiyah through narratives obtained from online media. Both central online media and online media at the local level. The following analysis is the findings of authors in tracing the narrative using Nvivo 12 plus;

Theme 5: Reasons for rejecting the Muhammadiyah millennial group's response to NU's Anniversary

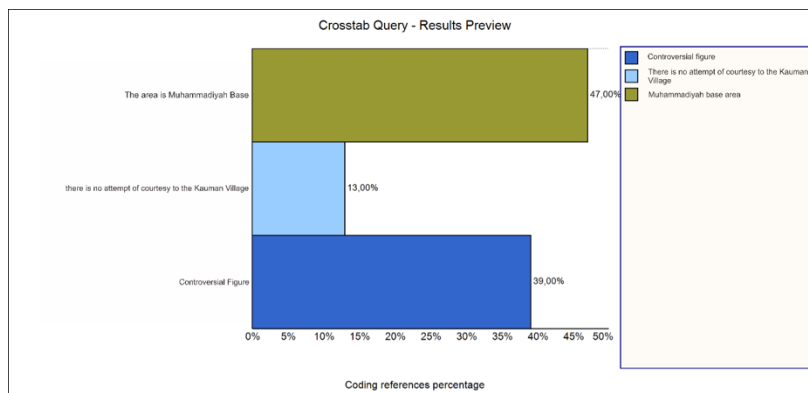


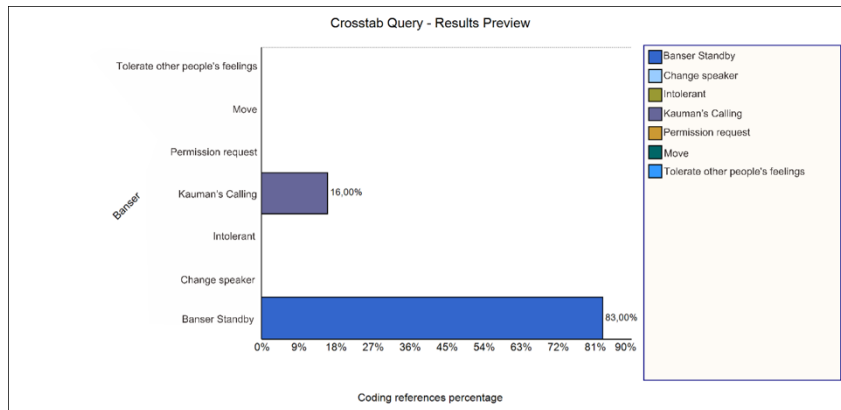
Figure 10. Reasons for rejecting the Muhammadiyah millennial group's response to NU's Anniversary

The research findings show that the rejection of NU's Anniversary activities at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta, 47% emerged from the narrative that Kauman is a Muhammadiyah base area. When the authors explored why this was the dominant reason narrated by Pemuda Muhammadiyah, it was the absence of kulo nuwun from the committee towards Kauman residents. From this point, this correlates with the assumption that there is no unggah ungguh to the residents of Kauman village. Furthermore, Pemuda Muhammadiyah assumed that they rejected the activity that the speaker presented as a controversial figure at that time. The controversy in question is the assumption of the Muhammadiyah Youth cadre that the speaker, in this case Gus Muwafiq, insulted the Prophet Muhammad.

Theme 6: Responses and reasons of the Gerakan Pemuda Ansor and Banser in responding to the 94th Nahdlatul Ulama Anniversary activities at Gedhe Kauman Mosque Yogyakarta.

Gerakan Pemuda Ansor and Banser are Nahdlatul Ulama millennial groups that will carry out Anniversary activities at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta. The authors coded how these groups responded to the rejection of NU's Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman mosque. If you look at the previous figure, the response of Banser is 100% leading to negative sentiments. At the same time, the Gerakan Pemuda Ansor tends to have differences, some with positive sentiments and some with negative sentiments.

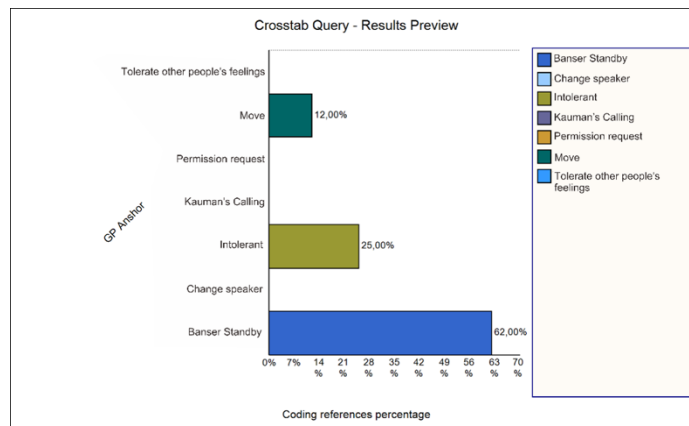
The authors will explore what the meaning of the Banser response, which has a majority of negative connotations, following the findings of Authors in tracing through online media coverage, both central and local using Nvivo 12 plus software as follows;



**Figure 11.** Banser's negative sentiment response to the rejection of NU's Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta.

From the Authors' findings, the picture above shows a dominant narrative, namely "Banser Siaga" around 83%. Authors try to interpret the meaning of the negative sentiment narrative regarding the alert Banser, which is an expression raised by the Nahdlatul Ulama millennial group in response to the rejection by the Muhammadiyah group. This alert Banser certainly has something to do with responding to the narratives issued by the Muhammadiyah millennial group, in the author's findings through Nvivo 12 plus, there is a 16% connection between the emergence of the Kauman calling narrative.

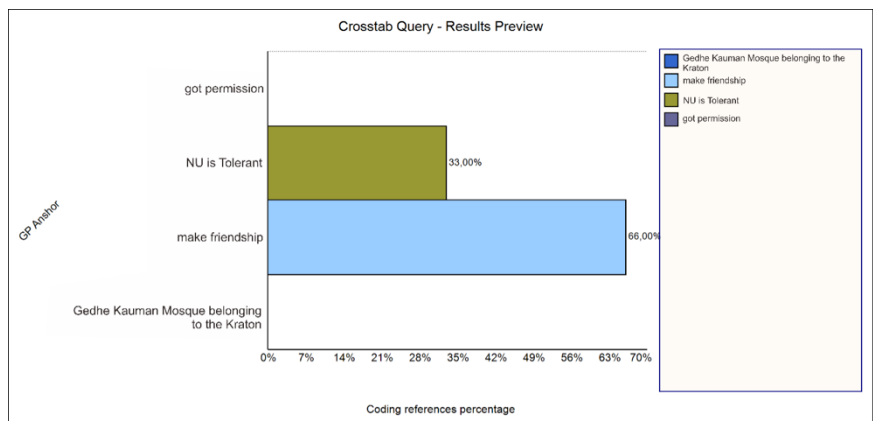
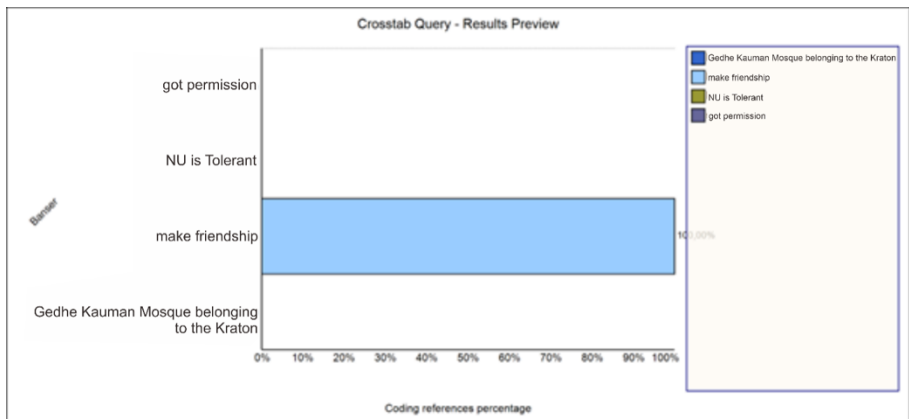
The Gerakan Pemuda Ansor's response to the rejection of NU's Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta slightly differs from Banser's 100% negative sentiment. The Anshor Youth Movement also tends to respond to the rejection of the NU Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta by leading to negativity. The following are the findings of the Authors looking at the negative narrative of the Anshor GP in responding to the rejection of the NU Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman mosque.



**Figure 12.** GP Ansor's negative sentiment response to NU Anniversary rejection

From the Authors' findings, the picture above shows a dominant narrative, namely "Banser Siaga" around 62%. The authors try to interpret the meaning of the negative sentiment narrative regarding the alert Banser, which is an expression raised by the Nahdlatul Ulama millennial group in response to the rejection by the Muhammadiyah group. Furthermore, a response narrative that leads to negative sentiment is the assumption that the refusal by the Muhammadiyah group is a form of intolerance. In the author's findings, it appears around 25%, so Banser considers this assumption of intolerance to be alert in maintaining unity and integrity.

Furthermore, the authors searched using Nvivo 12 plus on social media to see the reasons for the millennial Nahdlatul ulama group, in this case, GP Anshor and Banser, to support activities at the Gedhe Kauman mosque. The following are the author's findings;



**Figures 13, 14.** Banser's reason for supporting NU Anniversary activities at the Gedhe Kauman mosque in Yogyakarta

From the picture above, the author's findings show that the reasons for the Anshor Youth Movement and Banser have similarities, namely establishing silahturahim and NU is considered tolerant. Supporting by being held at the Gedhe Kauman mosque, which is the base of Muhammadiyah cadres, is considered by the Nahdlatul ulama millennial group as a place to build silahturahim.

#### 4. Conclusions

Currently, Muhammadiyah and NU, two Islamic organizations with large followers, cannot be avoided from contestation. With the emergence of the case of the cancellation of a Preaching in the context of NU's 94th anniversary in 2020 at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque in Yogyakarta, it clearly illustrates how Muhammadiyah and NU are contesting and how the millennial followers of each organization respond in Yogyakarta, especially in online media. By employing the concepts of contestation, leadership, and followership concepts, this study shows the responses of millennial followers of Muhammadiyah and NU with narratives and counter-narratives that are carried out with both positive and negative sentiments. In addition, after examining the six aforementioned themes, this study discovered that these narratives and counternarratives from both groups had distinct viewpoints in online media. This shows that the contestation between

Muhammadiyah and NU is not only limited to the ground but also through online media. Thus, online media has also become an arena of militant operations for millennial followers and to express the respective narratives of the two groups.

This can be seen based on the Muhammadiyah millennial group's attitude towards the 94th NU Anniversary at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque in Yogyakarta was quite unfavorable. In the meantime, the NU millennial group responded to this issue by stating that the Muhammadiyah group's rejection constituted intolerance. From this point, it can be argued that even the millennial groups from Muhammadiyah and NU played a significant part in the contestation between the two groups. Finally, this study also found, philosophically and theologically, the followership of Muhammadiyah and NU followers can be read from the event of the cancellation of NU's Harlah in Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah which is speculated as a tolerant, reformist, egalitarian group, in this case sentiment and emotional are very strong and dominant and this is very contrary to tolerant and rational openness. This, of course, does not exactly describe Muhammadiyah's "reformist" term.

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