

From Puritanism to Cosmopolitanism: Tracing the Intellectual Transformation in Muhammadiyah Thought

Sholihul Huda

Univeristas Muhammadiyah Surabaya, Indonesia
sholikhsby@gmail.com

Abstract

This article systematically reviews how scholarship published up to 2020 has interpreted the intellectual transformation of Muhammadiyah from a movement commonly categorized as puritan-modernist toward an increasingly progressive and cosmopolitan Islamic orientation. Using a qualitative systematic literature review and thematic synthesis, it analyzes 19 scholarly works and three official or institutionally attributable Muhammadiyah texts. The synthesis identifies five themes: the culturally embedded character of early reformism; the consolidation of puritanism and institutional rationalization; the reopening of cultural and civic engagement; the articulation of progressive and cosmopolitan Islam; and the continuing limits of theological and organizational pluralization. The findings show that the transformation was neither linear nor a replacement of purification by pluralism. Purificatory commitments to tawhid, the Qur'an and Sunnah, and tajrid remained an enduring doctrinal core. What changed was the movement's intellectual repertoire: modern education, disciplined organization, cultural da'wa, democratic citizenship, Pancasila, interfaith cooperation, humanitarian service, and global solidarity increasingly became legitimate fields of Islamic action. Cosmopolitanism is strongest in Muhammadiyah's educational, social, national, and humanitarian discourse, while doctrinal boundary-making and conservative currents persist. The article proposes a layered model in which a purificatory core supports rational-modernist infrastructure, cultural-civic negotiation, and a cosmopolitan-humanitarian horizon. This model explains Muhammadiyah's transformation as cumulative, contested, and institutionally mediated rather than as a simple ideological conversion.

Keywords: Muhammadiyah; puritanism; cosmopolitanism; Islam Berkemajuan; Islamic modernism; intellectual transformation.

INTRODUCTION

Muhammadiyah has frequently been classified as a puritan, reformist, modernist, or orthodox Islamic movement. These labels capture important features of its commitment to tawhid, scriptural authority, ijtihad, and the purification of religious practice from what its activists described as takhayul, bid'ah, and khurafat. Early academic studies consequently emphasized Muhammadiyah's opposition to syncretic religious customs and its effort to standardize belief and worship according to the Qur'an and Sunnah (Federspiel, 1970; Peacock, 1978). Yet the same movement also established modern schools, hospitals, orphanages, publishing networks, women's organizations, and civic institutions. The category of puritanism alone cannot explain this extensive engagement with modern knowledge, organizational rationality, nationalism, social service, and public life.

More recent scholarship has therefore described a widening intellectual trajectory. Muhammadiyah is increasingly associated with cultural da'wa, civil society, progressive

Islam, humanitarianism, plural citizenship, and cosmopolitan ethics (Baidhawiy, 2017; Bachtiar et al., 2015; Burhani, 2016; Khoirudin et al., 2020). Official formulations such as the 2010 Second-Century Thought Declaration and the 2015 concept of Indonesia as *Dār al-‘Ahd wa al-Shahādah* likewise place Islamic commitment within national covenant, public responsibility, and universal humanity (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2010, 2015). This development raises a central question: has Muhammadiyah moved away from puritanism, or has it expanded the practical and intellectual meanings attached to reform?

The title ‘from puritanism to cosmopolitanism’ can easily imply a linear sequence in which an exclusive doctrinal phase is replaced by an inclusive global one. The literature does not fully support such a simple progression. Purification remains visible in Muhammadiyah's legal reasoning, religious instruction, and attitudes toward ritual and local custom. At the same time, cosmopolitan language has become prominent in education, social ethics, humanitarian work, and national discourse. The movement contains liberal, progressive, conservative, and scripturalist currents that compete over the interpretation of *tajdid*, culture, pluralism, and public engagement (Burhani, 2013, 2020; Bush, 2014). Intellectual transformation is therefore better understood as cumulative and contested than as a complete ideological reversal.

Historical scholarship also complicates the assumption that early Muhammadiyah was culturally detached. Studies of Ahmad Dahlan and the movement's Javanese setting show that reform was articulated through existing social relationships, moral idioms, and local forms of association (Burhani, 2005; Nakamura, 2012). Muhammadiyah criticized religious practices that it judged inconsistent with scriptural Islam, but its institutional survival depended on negotiation with Javanese society. Puritanism emerged through history; it was not a socially disembodied essence present in an unchanged form from 1912 onward.

The consolidation of a stronger puritan tendency during the 1930s is particularly important. Burhani (2006) argues that Muhammadiyah's ideological orientation shifted from a more culturally flexible early phase toward a stricter purificatory position. This consolidation provided doctrinal clarity and organizational identity, but it also narrowed the legitimate space for cultural expression. Later initiatives such as cultural *da‘wa* and the Young Intellectual Muhammadiyah Network can be read partly as responses to the limits produced by this narrowing (Bachtiar et al., 2015; Hidayat, 2004).

Cosmopolitanism in this article does not mean rootlessness or the abandonment of Islamic particularity. Appiah (2006) defines cosmopolitan ethics through obligations to others combined with respect for legitimate difference, while Aljunied (2017) emphasizes Muslim cosmopolitanism as openness, mobility, ethical pluralism, and participation in diverse social worlds. These concepts are used as analytical lenses rather than as categories directly formulated by Ahmad Dahlan. In Muhammadiyah studies, cosmopolitanism refers to an enlarged horizon in which scriptural commitment is connected with universal dignity, intercultural engagement, national citizenship, science, humanitarian service, and global solidarity.

Existing scholarship offers rich but fragmented accounts. Historians examine reform,

Javanese culture, and ideological consolidation; political studies discuss civil society, democracy, and nationalism; educational studies analyze modern knowledge and social reconstruction; and intellectual histories explore JIMM, Islam Berkemajuan, liberal-conservative contestation, and cosmopolitanism (Alfian, 1989; Burhani, 2013; Fuad, 2002, 2004; Harijanto & Chalmers, 2013). What remains insufficiently integrated is an explanation of the mechanisms connecting these fields and the reasons doctrinal continuity can coexist with intellectual expansion.

This article systematically reviews literature published no later than 2020 to answer three questions. First, how has scholarship characterized the purificatory and modernist foundations of Muhammadiyah thought? Second, through which historical, organizational, and intellectual mechanisms did cultural, civic, and cosmopolitan orientations develop? Third, what limits and internal tensions qualify the claim that Muhammadiyah has moved from puritanism to cosmopolitanism? The article contributes a layered model that distinguishes an enduring purificatory core, a rational-modernist infrastructure, a sphere of cultural-civic negotiation, and a cosmopolitan-humanitarian horizon.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative systematic literature review to synthesize historical, intellectual, political, educational, and organizational scholarship on Muhammadiyah. A review design was appropriate because the transformation under examination is discussed across different disciplines and source types rather than tested through one consistent empirical tradition. The procedure followed the general logic of systematic identification, selection, appraisal, extraction, and thematic synthesis described by Tranfield et al. (2003), Thomas and Harden (2008), and Snyder (2019). PRISMA 2009 informed transparency principles, although no numerical flow is fabricated where record-level search logs were unavailable (Moher et al., 2009).

The review used an inclusive upper publication boundary of December 31, 2020. Earlier works were retained because they established influential classifications of Muhammadiyah as orthodox, puritan, or modernist and documented its historical development. Candidate sources were identified through scholarly databases, Indonesian journal portals, publisher platforms, library catalogues, citation chaining, and searches combining Muhammadiyah with puritanism, reformism, modernism, culture, cosmopolitanism, progressive Islam, pluralism, civil society, nationalism, education, and interfaith relations.

A source was included when it was traceable, available for substantive assessment, published in English or Indonesian, and directly relevant to at least one research question. The verified analytical corpus contains 19 scholarly works and three official or institutionally attributable Muhammadiyah texts. The scholarly corpus includes journal articles, academic books, a book chapter, and a working paper. Official texts were used as evidence of institutional formulation, not as independent proof that their ideals were implemented uniformly across branches or institutions.

The sources were coded for historical period, characterization of puritanism, relationship to culture, interpretation of modernity, organizational mechanisms, civic orientation, interfaith relations, progressive or cosmopolitan vocabulary, and identified contradictions. Initial codes were grouped into five analytical themes. The analysis distinguished historical evidence from later interpretation and official self-description from empirical practice. Because several sources use broad labels differently, the review treats puritanism, modernism, progressivism, and cosmopolitanism as contested analytical categories rather than fixed organizational stages.

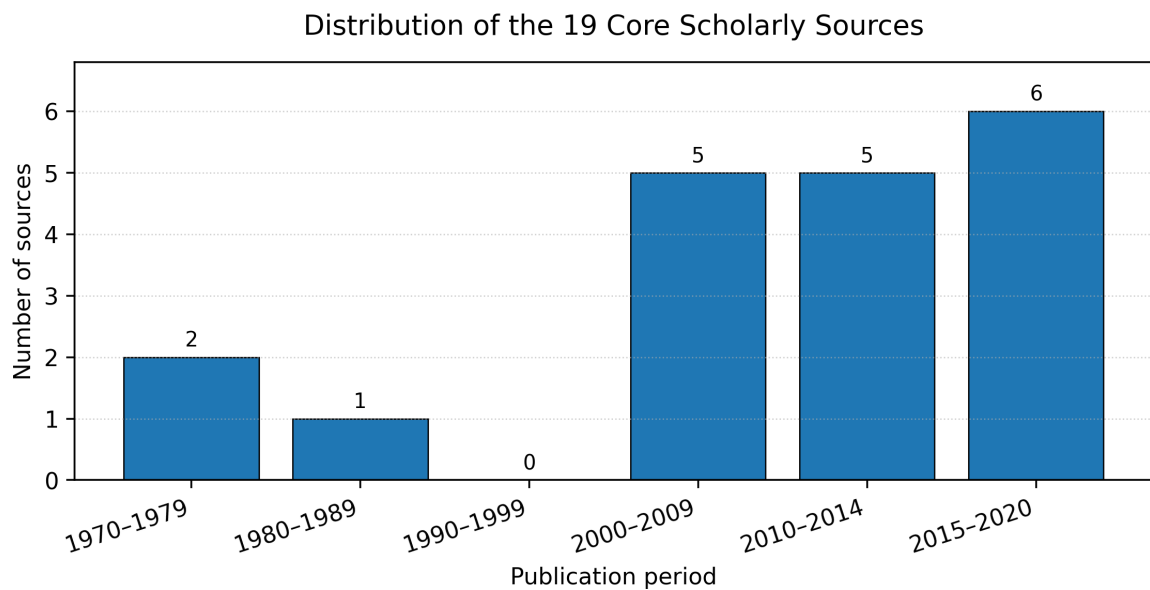
Quality and relevance were appraised according to source type. Historical works were assessed for documentation and distinction between evidence and interpretation. Conceptual studies were assessed for clarity, consistency, and engagement with competing accounts. Institutional documents were assessed for issuing authority, date, and relevance. Sources were not excluded because they presented conservative or critical interpretations; contradictory readings were retained to identify the uneven character of transformation.

Table 1 *Review protocol and analytical boundaries*

Element	Specification
Review design	Qualitative systematic literature review with thematic synthesis
Temporal boundary	Sources published no later than 31 December 2020
Languages	English and Indonesian
Source classes	Peer-reviewed articles, academic books/chapters, working paper, and official Muhammadiyah texts
Core corpus	19 scholarly works and 3 official/institutional texts
Main search concepts	Muhammadiyah; puritanism; modernism; reformism; culture; cosmopolitanism; progressive Islam; pluralism; civil society; education; nationalism
Inclusion rule	Traceable source with substantive relevance to at least one review question
Synthesis focus	Historical continuity, mechanisms of change, intellectual contestation, institutional mediation, and limits
Reporting caution	No fabricated PRISMA identification counts; verified final corpus only

Note. The review reports the verified final corpus. Record-level identification counts are not supplied because the original search log was not retained in a form that permits reliable reconstruction.

Figure 1 *Publication distribution of the core scholarly sources*



Note. The figure presents only the 19 scholarly works in the analytical corpus; the three official or institutionally attributable texts are excluded from the publication-period count.

Table 2 *Characteristics and analytical contribution of the 19 core scholarly sources*

Source	Type	Primary focus	Contribution to synthesis
Federspiel (1970)	Journal article	Orthodox movement	Foundational classification of doctrinal reform and scriptural discipline
Peacock (1978)	Academic book	Purification	Classic anthropological interpretation of Muhammadiyah puritanism
Alfian (1989)	Academic book	Modernism and politics	Links reformist identity, organization, and colonial political behaviour
Fuad (2002)	Journal article	Civil society	Identifies democratic potential and organizational limits
Fuad (2004)	Journal article	Education and modernity	Shows selective appropriation of modern educational forms
Hidayat (2004)	Journal article	Cultural da'wa	Reopens cultural engagement while retaining purification
Burhani (2005)	Journal article	Javanese reformism	Challenges the neglect of local cultural elements
Burhani (2006)	Journal article	Ideological shift	Locates puritan consolidation in the 1930s
Burhani (2011)	Journal article	Interfaith relations	Shows tension between theological boundaries and practical cooperation
Nakamura (2012)	Academic book	Local history	Demonstrates long-term negotiation between movement and Javanese society
Burhani (2013)	Book chapter	Liberal-conservative contest	Explains competing post-Reformasi projects of reformist Islam
Harijanto & Chalmers (2013)	Journal article	Historical narrative	Identifies an enlightenment-oriented rewriting of Muhammadiyah history
Bush (2014)	Working paper	Identity and values	Documents organizational differentiation and shifting markers
Bachtiar et al. (2015)	Journal article	JIMM cosmopolitanism	Articulates plural knowledge and global intellectual engagement

Source	Type	Primary focus	Contribution to synthesis
Burhani (2016)	Academic book	Puritanism–cosmopolitanism	Provides the central interpretative trajectory examined here
Baidhawiy (2017)	Journal article	Islam Berkemajuan	Connects Qur’anic ethos with compassion and civilization
Burhani (2020)	Research monograph	Service and tolerance	Shows practical moderation alongside continuing cultural conservatism
Khoirudin et al. (2020)	Journal article	Social reconstruction	Links education with humanitarian and cosmopolitan ethos
Qodir et al. (2020)	Journal article	Progressive movement	Maps contemporary public and civilizational agendas

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The 19 scholarly works are distributed unevenly across the review period. Foundational classifications appeared in the 1970s and 1980s, while studies published after 2000 increasingly examined cultural negotiation, civil society, ideological contestation, interfaith relations, progressive Islam, and cosmopolitanism. Figure 1 does not demonstrate a quantitative intellectual trend by itself; it shows the growing scholarly attention to transformation in the later literature.

The thematic synthesis produced five findings: early reformism was culturally embedded rather than purely oppositional; puritanism consolidated alongside organizational rationalization; cultural and civic engagement reopened through internal debate; Islam Berkemajuan and cosmopolitanism provided broader interpretative vocabularies; and the transformation remained uneven because doctrinal boundaries and conservative currents persisted.

1. Early Reformism: Scriptural Renewal within a Javanese Social World

Federspiel (1970) and Peacock (1978) established influential portrayals of Muhammadiyah as an orthodox or purifying movement. Their analyses correctly identify tawhid, scriptural authority, opposition to superstition, and disciplined reform as important markers. However, later historical research shows that these markers should not be detached from the social world in which Muhammadiyah emerged. Ahmad Dahlan worked in Kauman, interacted with court, merchant, religious, and educational networks, and translated reform into institutions intelligible to urban Javanese Muslims (Nakamura, 2012).

Burhani (2005) argues that Javanese elements in Muhammadiyah reformism have often been neglected. The early movement did not simply import a Middle Eastern ideological package and impose it upon an inert local culture. It negotiated language, authority, social relations, and institutional form. Its adoption of schools, associations, and welfare services was innovative precisely because these practices connected scriptural reform with the concrete problems of colonial society.

This finding changes the meaning of puritanism. Purification was a method of religious criticism, but early Muhammadiyah was not wholly anti-cultural. It selected, rejected, and reworked practices according to its understanding of Islamic norms. The tension between scriptural purification and social accommodation was therefore present from the beginning. Cosmopolitan possibilities did not appear from nothing in the late twentieth century; they drew upon an older capacity to learn from external institutions and to translate Islam into new organizational forms.

Modern education illustrates this dual movement. Fuad (2004) shows that Muhammadiyah's educational programme engaged modernity through curriculum, organization, and public service. The movement could adopt elements associated with Western schooling without accepting colonial domination or secular ideology. Modernity was treated selectively: knowledge and institutional technique were appropriated, while religious purpose remained central. This selective openness became an important precondition for later cosmopolitan thought.

2. Puritan Consolidation and Rational-Modernist Infrastructure

The literature identifies the 1930s as a period in which puritan tendencies became more consolidated. Burhani (2006) describes an ideological shift from earlier cultural flexibility toward stricter opposition to practices classified as TBC. This development strengthened organizational boundaries and created a recognizable reformist identity. It also encouraged the standardization of worship, legal reasoning, and religious instruction.

Puritan consolidation did not make Muhammadiyah socially passive. On the contrary, doctrinal discipline operated alongside rational organization, education, healthcare, publishing, women's mobilization, and charitable work. Alfian (1989) and Fuad (2002) show that Muhammadiyah's modernist identity supported civic organization and created resources that could later sustain democratic and social engagement. Purification and modernization were not opposing forces; they were mutually reinforcing elements of organizational construction.

This combination is analytically significant. The purificatory core defined legitimate belief and worship, while the rational-modernist infrastructure organized action in the world. Ijtihad allowed new institutional responses; education normalized scientific and administrative knowledge; and voluntary association developed disciplined participation. The movement's later cosmopolitan capacity depended on this infrastructure. Without schools, universities, publications, professional networks, and national organization, cosmopolitanism would have remained an elite discourse with little organizational reach.

Yet the same consolidation produced limitations. Strong boundary-making could encourage suspicion toward local culture, theological plurality, and forms of interreligious intimacy. What empowered Muhammadiyah to preserve identity could also narrow its interpretative repertoire. The intellectual transformation reviewed here emerged partly from attempts to resolve this internal contradiction.

3. Cultural Da'wa, Civil Society, and the Reopening of Interpretation

From the late New Order and especially after Reformasi, Muhammadiyah became a significant arena of debate over democracy, culture, political participation, and pluralism. Fuad (2002) identifies both the potential and limits of Muhammadiyah as a civil-society organization. Its institutional autonomy, educational reach, and associational networks support public participation, but internal hierarchy and ideological caution can constrain critical engagement.

Cultural da'wa represented one attempt to widen the movement's relationship with society. Hidayat (2004) explains that cultural engagement was intended to expand da'wa through art and culture while retaining purification as a normative filter. The initiative did not endorse cultural relativism. It recognized culture as a field of communication and creativity, yet continued to reject elements judged contrary to *aqidah* and *sharia*. This hybrid position illustrates transformation through negotiation rather than abandonment.

Muhammadiyah's interfaith stance reveals a similar pattern. Burhani (2011) finds a gap between formal theological boundaries and practical cooperation. The maxim *lakum dīnukum wa-liya dīnī* can support religious differentiation, but Muhammadiyah's institutions and leaders have also participated in interfaith relations and public cooperation. Tolerance is often expressed through coexistence and social service more readily than through theological pluralism.

Political engagement likewise developed through selective reinterpretation. The movement's modernist organizational culture supported democracy and national participation, yet it continued to debate the appropriate distance from political parties and Islamist agendas. Harijanto and Chalmers (2013) identify a new narrative of enlightenment in Muhammadiyah historiography, while Bush (2014) documents shifting markers of identity and values. These developments show that organizational memory itself became a site for redefining reform as enlightenment, service, and public ethics rather than purification alone.

4. Progressive Islam and the Cosmopolitan Turn

The Young Intellectual Muhammadiyah Network, or JIMM, became an important symbol of intellectual diversification. Bachtiar et al. (2015) describe its cosmopolitan vision as an engagement with plural knowledge, global intellectual traditions, humanism, and contemporary social problems. JIMM did not represent the whole organization, but it expanded the range of positions that could be articulated from within Muhammadiyah identity.

The struggle was visible in debates between liberal and conservative discourses. Burhani (2013) shows that the post-Reformasi organization contained competing projects for defining reformist Islam. Liberal and progressive intellectuals promoted pluralism, cultural openness, democracy, and critical hermeneutics, while conservative actors

emphasized doctrinal boundaries and resistance to liberal Islamic thought. Intellectual transformation occurred through this contestation, not through institutional consensus.

Islam Berkemajuan provided a broader and more institutionally acceptable language for expansion. The Second-Century Thought Declaration presents Islam as a religion of progress, enlightenment, humanity, and civilizational contribution (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2010). Baidhawiy (2017) connects this orientation with Qur'anic ethics, compassion, knowledge, and liberation. Burhani (2016) explicitly interprets Muhammadiyah's development as a movement from puritanism toward cosmopolitanism, while the edited volume by Mu'ti et al. (2016) places the cosmopolitan horizon within debates surrounding the 2015 congress.

The concept of Indonesia as *Dār al-'Ahd wa al-Shahādah* represents a civic expression of this widening horizon. It frames the Pancasila state as a national covenant and a field in which Muslims bear responsibility to demonstrate ethical contribution (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2015). The concept does not secularize Muhammadiyah's identity; it theologizes participation in a plural nation-state. National belonging becomes part of Islamic responsibility rather than a compromise external to religion.

Educational and humanitarian thought further extend the cosmopolitan turn. Khoirudin et al. (2020) describe Muhammadiyah's social reconstruction through humanitarian and cosmopolitan approaches. Qodir et al. (2020) portray the organization as a progressive Islamic movement addressing education, health, environmental concerns, peace, and the competitiveness of the ummah. Cosmopolitanism here is practical as well as intellectual: it appears in public institutions, disaster response, professional service, and the claim that Islamic goodness should benefit humanity beyond organizational boundaries.

5. Continuities, Limits, and Uneven Cosmopolitanism

The final theme concerns the limits of transformation. Burhani (2020) observes that Muhammadiyah's social-service ideology can encourage pragmatic moderation and distance from utopian Islamism, yet attitudes toward tolerance and religious difference remain contested. The movement may be cosmopolitan in humanitarian practice while conservative in theological judgment. This discrepancy should not be concealed by a single progressive label.

Cosmopolitanism is also uneven across organizational levels. National intellectual discourse, universities, and elite publications may articulate plural citizenship and global humanism, while local branches continue to prioritize purification and routine service. Conversely, local institutions may cooperate inclusively in practice without using cosmopolitan terminology. Official doctrine, intellectual production, and everyday implementation therefore require separate analysis.

The review identifies four enduring tensions. The first is between purification and cultural recognition. The second is between universal humanitarian service and theological

exclusivism. The third is between progressive national declarations and local organizational variation. The fourth is between institutional professionalism and critical intellectual renewal. These tensions are not accidental deviations; they are constitutive of a large, socially diverse movement.

The phrase ‘from puritanism to cosmopolitanism’ is therefore most accurate when interpreted as a change in emphasis and repertoire. Puritanism remains a doctrinal grammar, while cosmopolitanism enlarges the domains in which Muhammadiyah imagines Islamic responsibility. The movement has not crossed from one closed category into another. It has layered new civic, cultural, and humanitarian orientations upon an enduring reformist foundation.

Table 3 *Thematic synthesis and unresolved tensions*

Theme	Core finding	Representative sources	Unresolved tension
Culturally embedded reformism	Early purification developed through Javanese social networks and selective appropriation.	Burhani, 2005; Nakamura, 2012	How much flexibility existed across local settings?
Puritan consolidation	Doctrinal standardization grew alongside modern organization and institutional service.	Burhani, 2006; Peacock, 1978	Boundary clarity versus cultural narrowing
Cultural-civic reopening	Cultural da’wa, civil society, democracy, and interfaith practice widened engagement.	Fuad, 2002; Hidayat, 2004; Burhani, 2011	Practical tolerance versus theological exclusivism
Progressive-cosmopolitan articulation	JIMM, Islam Berkemajuan, Pancasila, and humanitarianism enlarged Islamic responsibility.	Bachtiar et al., 2015; Baidhaw, 2017; PP Muhammadiyah, 2010, 2015	Elite discourse versus organizational diffusion
Uneven transformation	Purificatory, progressive, and conservative repertoires continue to coexist.	Burhani, 2013, 2020; Bush, 2014	National declarations versus local implementation

Discussion

The synthesis challenges two opposing interpretations. The first treats Muhammadiyah as essentially puritan and therefore incapable of deep cultural or cosmopolitan engagement. The second celebrates Islam Berkemajuan as evidence that the movement has already overcome doctrinal exclusivism. Both interpretations flatten historical complexity. Muhammadiyah's development is better explained by the accumulation of intellectual and organizational layers whose relationships remain contested.

At the base of the proposed model is a purificatory core. Tawhid, the authority of the Qur'an and Sunnah, tajrid in matters of worship, and criticism of TBC practices provide continuity. This layer establishes identity and regulates theological boundaries. It should not be treated simply as an early phase, because it continues to shape contemporary preaching, education, and religious judgment.

The second layer is a rational-modernist infrastructure. Muhammadiyah's adoption of modern schooling, science, administration, publishing, and professional social service created institutional competence. This layer explains why puritan identity did not lead to withdrawal from the modern world. Ijtihad and organizational rationality allowed external knowledge and institutional forms to be appropriated selectively. Modernism became the bridge between scriptural authority and social innovation.

The third layer consists of cultural-civic negotiation. As Muhammadiyah encountered democratization, mass media, cultural plurality, and new social movements, it had to reconsider how purification related to culture and citizenship. Cultural da'wa, civil-society participation, interfaith cooperation, and the reinterpretation of Pancasila widened the movement's legitimate field of action. These developments did not eliminate boundaries, but they shifted attention from religious correction alone toward communication, coexistence, and public contribution.

The fourth layer is a cosmopolitan-humanitarian horizon. In this layer, Islam is represented as a source of universal dignity, knowledge, compassion, and global responsibility. JIMM, Islam Berkemajuan, cosmopolitan educational philosophy, and humanitarian discourse provide the clearest examples. Appiah's (2006) combination of universal obligation and respect for difference helps clarify this horizon, while Aljunied's (2017) account of Muslim cosmopolitanism highlights the capacity to inhabit diverse intellectual and social worlds without surrendering religious identity.

Figure 2 represents these layers as cumulative rather than sequentially substitutive. Movement upward does not erase the layers below. Purification supports identity; rational modernization supplies institutions; cultural-civic negotiation regulates engagement; and cosmopolitanism extends the horizon of responsibility. Internal contestation and organizational learning create feedback across the model. New encounters can produce reinterpretation, while doctrinal reactions can narrow previously opened spaces.

This framework explains why Muhammadiyah can appear simultaneously progressive and conservative. Its hospitals, schools, disaster-response bodies, and civic declarations may express universal service, while some actors maintain restrictive positions on culture or religious pluralism. The apparent contradiction reflects different layers being activated in different fields. Social ethics can become cosmopolitan more rapidly than theology; institutional cooperation can advance further than doctrinal recognition.

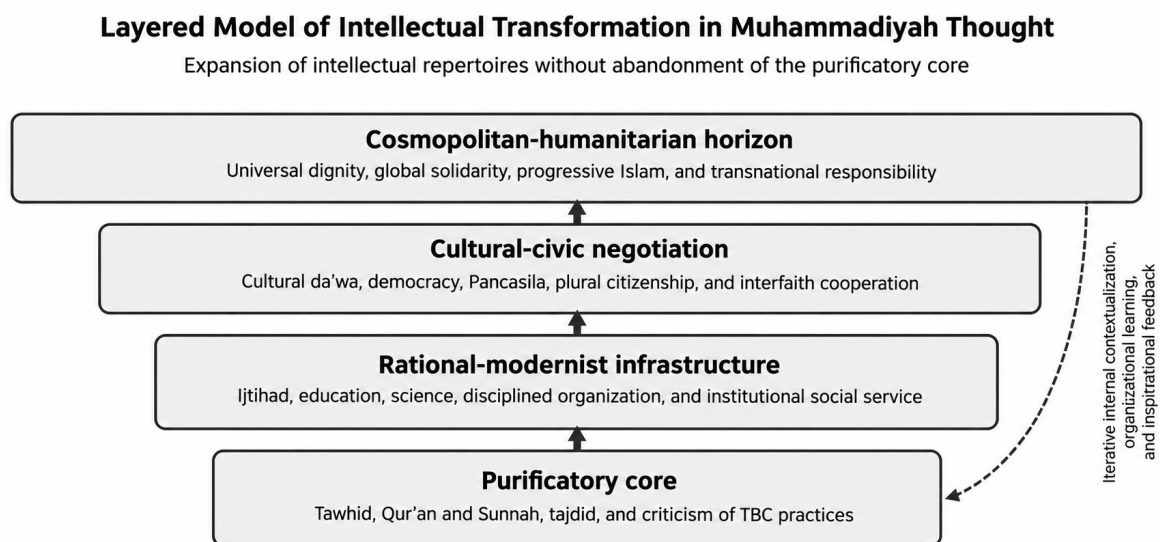
The review therefore distinguishes three meanings of cosmopolitanism. First, intellectual cosmopolitanism involves engagement with diverse scholarly traditions and global debates. Second, civic cosmopolitanism recognizes equal citizenship, national covenant, and cooperation across differences. Third, humanitarian cosmopolitanism directs institutions toward universal benefit and solidarity. Muhammadiyah has developed all three, but not with equal depth or organizational acceptance.

Four conceptual propositions follow. First, purificatory commitment remains an enduring doctrinal core rather than a discarded historical phase. Second, rational-modernist infrastructure mediates the relationship between scriptural identity and institutional openness. Third, intellectual networks, organizational differentiation, and official civic formulations expand Muhammadiyah's cultural and cosmopolitan repertoires. Fourth, cosmopolitanism is strongest in education, social service, nationalism, and humanitarian action, but remains uneven in theological pluralism and local implementation.

The framework also changes how intellectual transformation should be evaluated. Progress cannot be inferred solely from the appearance of new terminology. Researchers must examine whether cosmopolitan concepts influence curricula, leadership recruitment, institutional access, treatment of minorities, cultural policy, and public advocacy. Conversely, inclusive practice should not be ignored merely because local actors do not employ cosmopolitan vocabulary.

For Muhammadiyah studies, the principal contribution is a move beyond binary classification. Puritanism and cosmopolitanism are neither mutually exclusive essences nor stable endpoints. They are repertoires organized at different levels of thought and practice. The central analytical question is not whether Muhammadiyah is puritan or cosmopolitan, but how its actors combine, rank, and contest these repertoires in particular historical and institutional settings.

Figure 2 *Layered model of intellectual transformation in Muhammadiyah thought*



Note. The model is cumulative and non-linear. Higher layers expand the movement's repertoire but do not erase the purificatory and rational-modernist foundations below them.

Table 4 *Conceptual propositions and directions for empirical examination*

Code	Conceptual proposition	Suggested empirical examination
P1	Purification remains an enduring doctrinal core rather than a discarded phase.	Historical comparison of tarjih, preaching, curricula, and local religious practice
P2	Rational-modernist infrastructure mediates scriptural identity and institutional openness.	Comparative studies of schools, universities, hospitals, and professional networks
P3	Intellectual networks and official civic formulations expand cultural and cosmopolitan repertoires.	Network analysis, discourse tracing, and studies of organizational diffusion
P4	Cosmopolitanism is strongest in education, service, nationalism, and humanitarianism but uneven in theological pluralism and local implementation.	Multi-level surveys, ethnography, and comparative branch studies

Practical and Scholarly Implications

The model has implications for Muhammadiyah education and cadre formation. Islam Berkemajuan should be taught as a historically developed interpretative project rather than a slogan replacing earlier reformism. Curricula can connect tawhid and tajdid with intellectual openness, scientific inquiry, cultural literacy, citizenship, and humanitarian responsibility. Students should encounter internal debates so that organizational identity is formed through critical understanding rather than simplified chronology.

For leadership and institutional governance, cosmopolitanism requires more than international branding. It should be visible in equitable access to schools and hospitals, protection of minority users, gender-inclusive participation, intercultural competence, and willingness to cooperate on public problems. Institutional professionalism should be accompanied by ethical reflection so that service does not become detached from Muhammadiyah's enlightenment and humanitarian claims.

For cultural and interfaith engagement, the literature suggests that practical cooperation is a strong entry point but cannot substitute indefinitely for intellectual clarification. Muhammadiyah can maintain theological particularity while developing more explicit principles of dignity, equal citizenship, non-coercion, and reciprocal public responsibility. Dār al-'Ahd wa al-Shahādah offers an institutional vocabulary through which these principles can be grounded in both Islam and Indonesian nationhood.

For JAIS and related scholarship, future work should distinguish official discourse, elite intellectual networks, institutional policy, and local practice. Treating national congress documents as evidence of uniform transformation would overstate consensus. Critical Muhammadiyah studies should examine the conditions under which progressive concepts travel, encounter resistance, and alter organizational decisions.

Limitations and Future Research

The review has several limitations. First, it synthesizes English- and Indonesian-language sources and does not systematically include Arabic, Dutch, or unpublished archival materials. Second, the corpus combines historical studies, conceptual essays, official

documents, and organizational analyses that make different kinds of claims. Third, the phrase 'puritanism to cosmopolitanism' is itself partly derived from later intellectual discourse and may privilege elite narratives over ordinary organizational experience.

Fourth, official documents express normative institutional positions but do not demonstrate uniform implementation. Fifth, source-identification logs were not retained at a sufficiently granular level to report a verified numerical PRISMA flow; only the final corpus is stated. These limitations require caution in claiming a completed or organization-wide transformation.

Future research should compare national leadership, universities, schools, hospitals, autonomous organizations, and local branches. Historical studies should examine how purification and cultural accommodation differed across regions. Ethnographic and survey research could test whether cadres understand cosmopolitanism, how they relate it to *tajdid*, and whether it affects attitudes toward minorities and culture. Institutional studies should evaluate whether Islam Berkemajuan influences admissions, service access, governance, curriculum, partnerships, and humanitarian priorities.

Comparative research with Nahdlatul Ulama, Persis, and Muslim movements outside Indonesia would also clarify what is distinctive about Muhammadiyah's trajectory. The four propositions in Table 4 provide a basis for such empirical work without assuming that intellectual transformation follows one uniform path.

CONCLUSION

This systematic literature review examined how scholarship up to 2020 has interpreted Muhammadiyah's intellectual movement from puritanism toward cosmopolitanism. The evidence does not support a linear narrative in which a closed doctrinal past was replaced by an open progressive present. Muhammadiyah's purificatory commitments remain active, but the intellectual, civic, and humanitarian domains attached to Islamic reform have expanded.

Early reformism was socially and culturally embedded even while criticizing religious practices. Puritan consolidation strengthened identity and standardization, while rational modernization created educational, organizational, and professional capacities. Later debates over cultural *da'wa*, civil society, interfaith relations, JIMM, Islam Berkemajuan, and *Dār al-'Ahd wa al-Shahādah* widened the movement's interpretative repertoire toward plural citizenship, universal humanity, and global solidarity.

The article therefore proposes a layered transformation model: a purificatory core, rational-modernist infrastructure, cultural-civic negotiation, and a cosmopolitan-humanitarian horizon. These layers coexist and interact through internal contestation and institutional learning. The model explains why Muhammadiyah can be progressive in social service and nationalism while retaining conservative doctrinal boundaries.

Cosmopolitanism should consequently be evaluated through practice as well as discourse. Its significance depends on whether Muhammadiyah's institutions cultivate intellectual openness, equitable citizenship, intercultural cooperation, universal service,

and accountability to diverse communities. The movement's transformation remains unfinished, but its history demonstrates that scriptural commitment and cosmopolitan responsibility need not be treated as mutually exclusive.

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