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ISLAM AND STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY (THE PORTRAIT OF THE EXPERIENCES OF NAHDLATUL ULAMA (NU) AND MUHAMMADIYAH)

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Abstract

Socio-religious organizations have an important and specific role in strengthening civil society (Civil Islam) in Indonesia. This article attempts to portray the role of religious organizations, especially NU and Muhammadiyah in strengthening civil society. This research uses a descriptive qualitative method which based on the scholarly literature as books, articles, and documents that are relevant to the research theme. The research data is then reduced, displayed, verified and then concluded. The process of data analysis in this study was carried out according to the stages of research based on discourse analysis techniques, domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, componential analysis and theme analysis. The results of this study indicate that the religious organizations of NU and Muhammadiyah were formed not to pursue pragmatic gains, but are intended as media for educating and empowering the ummah. NU and Muhammadiyah, with their respective character movements, have brilliantly positioned their roles as agents of social change, partners in state dialogue, as well as shields for citizens in dealing with state and market hegemony. In actualizing the intellectual movement and community empowerment, NU and Muhammadiyah have been successful in conditioning the creation of a free public space, a climate of democratic political life, a tolerant social and political life, accepting plurality as a reality and encouraging the strengthening of insights about pluralism and multiculturalism, as well as continuing to fight for social justice.

Keywords: Community organization; NU (Nahdlatul Ulama); Muhammadiyah; Civil Society; Islam; Indonesia

الملخص

تلعب المنظمات الاجتماعية والدينية دورًا مهمًا ومحددًا في تعزيز المجتمع المدني (الإسلام المدني) في إندونيسيا. يحاول هذا المقال تصوير دور المنظمات الدينية ، وخاصة نهضة العلماء والمحمدية في تقوية المجتمع المدني. تستخدم هذه الدراسة طريقة وصفية نوعية تعتمد على مراجعة بيانات المكتبة في شكل كتب ومقالات ووثائق ذات صلة بموضوع البحث. ثم يتم تقليل بيانات البحث وعرضها والتحقق منها ثم الانتهاء منها. تمت عملية تحليل البيانات في هذه

الدراسة وفقًا لمراحل البحث بناءً على تقنيات تحليل الخطاب وتحليل المجال والتحليل التصنيفي وتحليل المكونات وتحليل الموضوع. تشير نتائج هذه الدراسة إلى أن مؤسسات نهضة العلماء والمحمدية الدينية قد تم تشكيلها ليس لتحقيق أرباح عملية ، ولكن كان الهدف منها أن تكون وسيلة لتثقيف وتمكين الأمة. لقد حددت NU والمحمدية مع شخصيات حركتيهما ببراعة دورهما كعوامل للتغيير الاجتماعي ، وشركاء في حوار الدولة ، فضلاً عن كونهما دروعًا للمواطنين في التعامل مع هيمنة الدولة والسوق. في تحقيق حركة التمكين الفكري والمجتمعي ، نجحت NU والمحمدية في خلق مساحات عامة حرة ، ومناخ للحياة السياسية الديمقراطية ، وحياة اجتماعية وسياسية متسامحة ، وقبول التعددية كحقيقة وتشجيع تعزيز الرؤى حول التعددية والتعددية الثقافية ، و الاستمرار في النضال من أجل العدالة الاجتماعية.

الكلمات املفتاحية: منظمات المجتمع (أورماس)؛ جامعة النيل؛ المحمدية؛ المجتمع المدني؛ الإسلام؛ إندونيسيا

Abstrak

Organisasi sosial keagamaan memiliki peran penting dan spesifik dalam penguatan Masyarakat Madani (Civil Islam) di Indonesia. Artikel ini berusaha memotret peran ormas keagamaan khususnya NU dan Muhammadiyah dalam penguatan Masyarakat Madani. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif yang berbasis pada telaah data kepustakaan berupa buku, artikel, maupun dokumen yang relevan dengan tema penelitian. Data penelitian selanjutnya direduksi, didisplay, diverifikasi dan kemudian disimpulkan. Proses analisis data dalam penelitian ini dilakukan sesuai tahapan penelitian berdasarkan teknik analisis wacana, analisis domain, analisis taksonomi, analisis komponensial dan analisis tema. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Ormas keagamaan NU dan Muhammadiyah dibentuk bukan untuk mengejar keuntungan yang bersifat pragmatis, tetapi dimaksudkan sebagai media pencerdasan dan pemberdayaan ummat. NU dan Muhammadiyah dengan karakter gerakannya masing-masing telah sangat cemerlang memposisikan perannya sebagai agen perubahan sosial, mitra dialog negara, sekaligus menjadi perisai bagi warga negara dalam berhadapan dengan hegemoni negara dan pasar. Dalam mengaktualisasikan gerakan pencerdasan dan pemberdayaan masyarakat, NU dan Muhammadiyah terbilang sukses mengkondisikan penciptaan ruang publik yang bebas, iklim kehidupan politik yang demokratis, kehidupan sosial politik yang toleran, menerima pluralitas sebagai realitas dan mendorong penguatan wawasan tentang pluralisme dan multikulturalisme, serta terus memperjuangkan keadilan sosial.

Kata Kunci: Organisasi Masyarakat (Ormas); NU (Nahdlatul Ulama); Muhammadiyah; masyarakat madani; Islam; Indonesia

A. Introduction

Islamic socio-religious organizations (read: Islamic organizations) in a long history have confirmed their role as an alternative force outside the state in educating and empowering the public. Islamic religious organizations, especially *Nahdhatul Ulama (NU)* and *Muhammadiyah*, have been successful in building civil society with a strong bargaining position in front of the state.

This study aims to depict the role of *NU* and *Muhammadiyah* religious organizations in strengthening civil society in Indonesia. There are many points of view that can be found from the results of research related to the conception and action agenda for strengthening civil society in Indonesia. These diverse viewpoints have the potential to be further elaborated in order to find a portrait of the role of *NU* and *Muhammadiyah* in objectively strengthening civil society.

Jufri in his previous research writing about *"Masyarakat Madani dan Penguatan Demokrasi Politik di Indonesia"* [Civil Society and Strengthening Political Democracy in Indonesia], revealed that the process of consolidating and strengthening political democracy in Indonesia so far is still only procedural and does not fully reflect the characteristics of civil society. Therefore, an action agenda is needed to strengthen civil society by encouraging Islam to become a moral, cultural, and political force at the same time.[1]

Ekawati also wrote about *"Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Sebagai Civil Society di Indonesia"* [Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a Civil Society in Indonesia]. The results of this research reveal that *Nahdatul Ulama (NU)* is a religious organization in Indonesia that has effectively functioned and acted as social control over the government. In addition, *NU*'s activities in the fields of education, democracy development, and other social activities make *NU* still exist in social and political life in Indonesia.[2]

Muslih, also wrote about *"Wacana Masyarakat Madani: Dialektika Islam dengan Problem Kebangsaan"* [Civil Society Discourse: Islamic Dialectic with National Problems]. One thing that is highlighted in this paper is the relationship between *NU* and the idea of Civil Society in Indonesia. In this case, Muslih revealed that the revival of civil society discourse within NU began with the momentum of NU's return to the 1926 *Khittah* in 1984, which later led *Aburrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)* to become the General Chair of NU. Gus Dur introduced a cultural approach in dealing with the state so that he was known as a cultural Islamic group, which was distinguished from a Political Islam group. From the womb of NU was born the principle of harmonious duality between Islam and the state, and this principle can be said to be the basis for NU to accept the single principle of Pancasila. The reason for NU's acceptance of *Pancasila* is related to the concept of civil society, which emphasizes the understanding of pluralism, namely: (1) vertical aspects, namely the plurality of the people *(QS al-Hujurat 13)* and the existence of one universal humanity, in accordance with the Perennial Philosophy (Philosophy of the Last Day). or Religion of the Heart which is based on the principle of unity *(tawhid)*; (2) the horizontal aspect, namely the benefit of the people in deciding cases both political and religious; and (3) the historical

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[1] Andi Jufri, "Masyarakat Madani Dan Penguatan Demokrasi Politik Islam Di Indonesia" 5, no. 2 (2020): 285–307.

[2] Esty Ekawati, "Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Sebagai Civil Society Di Indonesia," *Nuansa* 13, no. 2 (2016): 234.

fact that *K.H A. Wahid Hasyim* was one of the formulators of *Pancasila*, in addition to the 1935 NU's *Mukhtamar fatwa* in Palembang.[3]

The results of *Ozi Setiadi*'s dissertation research on "Civil Society and *Muhammadiyah*: Aspects of Criticism" also reveal that civil society in the context of *Muhammadiyah* has distinctive characteristics; such as criticism, fraternity, productive networks, and correlation. Muhammadiyah builds productive networks by making Islam the basis of ideology. Islamic values are formulated into applicable ideologies and doctrines known as *"al Ma'un theology"*. This theology makes ignorance, poverty, and social pathology as common enemies. the correlation can then be seen that Muhammadiyah has economic independence through business charity, increases criticism through education, carries out development politics that are free and active, and has a productive network which it gains through cultural activities. [4]

It takes a series of relevant scientific theories to analyze how the role of religious organizations NU and Muhammadiyah in strengthening civil society in Indonesia. According to *Sondang P Siagian*, an organization is a combination of individuals who work together, and are formally involved in a hierarchical bond to achieve common goals.[5] In addition to *Sondang*, several Western scientists such as *Chester Bernard, Kootz, Kate, Immanual Kahn, Myers* and *Talcot Parson*, as quoted by *Ruwiyanto* also define that the organization is a social forum to carry out activities that are organized and structured with the division of tasks, authorities, responsibilities, and the roles of its members to achieve common goals.[6]

One form of organization that is formed and developed in Indonesia is religious social organization (read: religious organizations). This religious mass organization is a non-profit organization formed by the community (citizens) voluntarily on the basis of similarity in religion and belief to participate in efforts to achieve national goals. *NU* and *Muhammadiyah* organizations can be used as examples in this sense. Socio-religious organizations *NU* and *Muhammadiyah* have distinctive features compared to social organizations in general. These privileges and specialties can be identified through several indicators, including; formed not for pragmatic purposes; its existence is outside the territory of the government organization; its activities are more focused on the interests of the citizens (community); and its membership is massive.

The *functional analysis theory* proposed by sociologist *Robert K Merton* can then be used to describe more specifically the function and role of NU and Muhammadiyah socio-religious organizations in strengthening civil society in Indonesia. According to *Merton*, function analysis refers to the goals of the organization as well as the consequences that cannot be directly caused.[7] Furthermore, *Isbandi Rukminto Adi*, views that in general, social organizations aim to realize unlimited empowerment and prosperity for their members. The purpose of this organization is

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[3] Mohammad Muslih, "Wacana Masyarakat Madani: Dialektika Islam Dengan Problem Kebangsaan," *Tsaqafah* 6, no. 1 (2010): 131, https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v6i1.142.

[4] Ozi Setiadi, "Masyarakat Madani Dan Muhammadiyah: Aspek Kritisisme" (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2021).

[5] Sondang P Siagian, *Teori Pengembangan Organisasi* (Bumi Aksara, 2017).

[6] Wahyudi Ruwiyanto, "Pengaruh Faktor-Faktor Dinamika Organisasi Lembaga Pendidikan Karya Terhadap Manfaat Sosioekonomi Warga Belajar," 1988.

[7] M Chairul Basrun Umanailo, "Talcot Parson and Robert K Merton," no. October (2019): 1–5.

closely related to economic factors, political factors, legal factors, cultural factors, ecological factors and social factors.[8]

Referring to the organizational theory above, the authors view that in strengthening civil society in Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah do not position themselves as single players outside the state, but rather play a role as a mediating structure.[9] The term Mediation Structure can be defined as an "institution that positions itself in the middle area between private individual lives with state institutions and public markets." As a mediating structure, socio-religious organizations act as an intermediate structure that bridges the interests of the wider community and the government. The perspective of this theory explains that the strengthening of social-religious organization is an indication of the strengthening of the bargaining positions of the people in front of the state.

B. Method

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method based on a review of library data in the form of books, articles, and documents that are relevant to the research theme. This method is used to reveal the specificity of the models and strategies for strengthening civil society carried out by NU and Muhammadiyah in Indonesia.

Moleong (1991:103) says that the principle of qualitative research is finding theory and data. Qualitative data is non-numeric data in the form of words, sentences, statements and documents. While seen from the process and its use, qualitative data consists of primary data and secondary data. The qualitative data found in this study were then analyzed using qualitative analysis techniques, namely through verstehen or interpretation. [10]

The process of data analysis in this study was carried out according to the stages of the research based on several data analysis techniques, including: First, the technique of critical discourse analysis (Critical Discourse Analysis), namely analyzing the discourse in the reference text along with the context and background history of the discourse,[11] second, domain analysis technique, which describes in general the complexity of the research problem. Third, the taxonomic analysis technique, namely analyzing the sub-themes of the main themes raised in the study. Fourth, componential analysis techniques, namely finding meaning through identifying contrasting elements in the domain that is the focus of research. Fifth, the technique of analyzing cultural themes, namely analyzing the interrelationships between data elements related to the cultural aspects of the research focus. [12]

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[8] Isbandi Rukminto Adi, "Kemiskinan Multidimensi," *Makara Human Behavior Studies in Asia* 9, no. 1 (2005): 27–33.

[9] Heru Nugroho, "Demokrasi Dan Demokratisasi: Sebuah Kerangka Konseptual Untuk Memahami Dinamika Sosial-Politik Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 1, no. 1 (December 14, 2015): 1, https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v1i1.23419.

[10] Yudi Fachrudin, "Analisis Penelitian Kualitatif," *Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta*, 2013, 5–10.

[11] Ibnu Hamad, "Lebih Dekat Dengan Analisis Wacana," *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi* 8, no. 2 (2007): 325–44, https://doi.org/10.29313/mediator.v8i2.1252.

[12] Matthew B Miles, A Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (Sage publications, 2018).

The data analysis technique as described above is then carried out through the following steps: First, Editing, namely collecting, reducing, and translating data according to the research focus. Second**,** categorization/coding, namely the categorization of the data on the themes to be analyzed, taking into account the similarities and differences in the research problems. Third, interpretation, namely giving meaning through the process of connecting, comparing, and describing data. [13]

C. Result and Discussion

1. Islam and Strengthening Civil Society Islam

The term civil society has become popular in Indonesia since Dato Anwar Ibrahim (a Malaysian Muslim intellectual and politician) revealed it at the *Istiqlal* vested in September 26, 1995. The idea received a positive response in the socio-political dialectic in Indonesia at the beginning of the reformation. *Anwar Ibrahim* explained in detail that the characteristics of civil society can be described as multi-ethnic culture (heterogeneity), mutual control (reciprocity), and willingness to respect and understand each other (lita'arafu). According to him, civil society is the basis for upholding the principles of morality, justice, rigor, deliberation and democracy[14]

If *Anwar Ibrahim*'s explanation is examined more deeply, it can be understood that the genealogy of the idea of Civil Society that he carried, actually refers to the concept of Civil Society which is correlated with Gelner's idea of "High Islam" (high Islamic culture) which is actually among Indonesian Malay Muslims, as recorded in the stretch of Islamic history in Southeast Asia[15]

Apart from *Anwar Ibrahim*, an Indonesian Muslim scholar who has commented on civil society a lot is Nurcholish Madjid. The concept of civil society that he stretches refers to the contextualization of the Medina community which was built by the prophet Muhammad in *Medina al-Munawwarah. Nurcholis Madjid* revealed that the socio-political system built by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions in Medina, can be understood as the embodiment of the basic idea contained in the vocabulary *"madinah"*, which etymologically means "a place of civilization", commensurate with the etymological meaning of the vocabulary. the Greek word "polis" which means city. *"Medina"* in that sense, is the same as *"hadaarah"* and *"tsaqaafah"* which are often translated with civilization and culture, respectively. Furthermore, this word etymologically also means a pattern of sedentary life, as opposed to *"badawah"* which means a nomadic pattern of life. Therefore, according to him, the word Medina in modern terminology, refers to the spirit and understanding of civil society, an English term which means a polite, civilized and orderly society[16]

In the social history of Indonesian society, Islamic socio-religious organizations have played a strategic role in strengthening civil society, since the pre-independence era until the current reform order. The role played by this organization is not limited to

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[13] Fachrudin, "Analisis Penelitian Kualitatif."

[14] Jufri, "Masyarakat Madani Dan Penguatan Demokrasi Politik Islam Di Indonesia."

[15] Michael Lessnoff, "Islam, Modernity and Science," *Ernest Gellner and Contemporary Social Thought*, 2007, 189–226.

[16] Nurcholish Madjid, "Menuju Masyarakat Madani" Dalam Tim Maula," *Jika Rakyat Berkuasa: Upaya Membangun Masyarakat Madani Dalam Kultur Feodal, Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah*, 1999.

the traditional role in fostering religious life, but has also played a strategic role in socio-political life.

Religious organizations (NU and Muhammadiyah) in Indonesia's long history, through their broad socio-religious movements and influence, have taken on a much larger role than the figures of each of these organizations. Both are more successful in playing a political role than the Islamic parties that have ever existed.[17] In the context of discourse, the public hears even more the moral and intellectual appeals of Muhammadiyah and NU than official political forces.

NU and Muhammadiyah, as stated by *Fachri Ali*, were not only present much earlier, but also have a longer breath of life, so these two non-political organizations have proven in history as suitable vehicles for the political empowerment of the people, let alone other forces. What distinguishes religious organizations from political organizations is that their political activities do not involve the practical interests of power, but rather the continuation of democracy itself.[18]

Both NU and Muhammadiyah have organizations at the national, provincial, district, and sub-district levels, and each has approximately 30 million members. Most NU members live in rural areas, while most Muhammadiyah members live in urban areas. NU and Muhammadiyah are very actively involved in social development, education, health and *da'wah*. NU is better known for its *pesantren*, while Muhammadiyah is known for its programs of hospitals, schools (from kindergarten to university), and orphanages.[19]

Although each organization has a different way or approach in applying Islamic teachings to some aspects of furu'iyah or in modern terminology *al-mutaghayyir* (flexible elements), both adhere to the doctrine of *Sunni Islam*. Muhammadiyah differs from NU in several ways, for example: Muhammadiyah rejects the implementation of customs such as salvation, visiting sacred graves (grave pilgrimage) or reading *al-barzanji* in the Koran, while NU allows it as a tradition (local wisdom) of Muslims that does not conflict with the main principles. Islamic doctrine. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah maintains the view that *ijtihad* (independent interpretation of the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*) is open, and opposes *taklid* to any of the four schools of *fiqh*, while in the NU tradition, it is not allowed. Furthermore, the role of *ulama* in Muhammadiyah leadership is not as prominent as in NU.

Muhammadiyah and NU organize their members throughout Indonesia and have the potential to develop the socio-cultural and Indonesian spheres of life without becoming political parties. Both Islamic civil society organizations have a wealth of experience in organizing Indonesian people as a way to support their potential and to facilitate communities in solving problems. This effort can be categorized as "political education" for the community in a broad sense, for example, individual awareness of problems that arise in society, participation in decision-making, and the like. Furthermore, NU and Muhammadiyah transmit religious values that are relatively in

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[17] Kuntowijoyo Dkk, "Muhammadiyah Dan Pemberdayaan Rakyat," *Cetakan Pertama*, 1995, xvii +158.

[18] Zaenal Mustakim, Fachri Ali, and Rahmat Kamal, "Empowering Students as Agents of Religious Moderation in Islamic Higher Education Institutions," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (2021): 65–76.

[19] Zulfan Heri, *Muhammadiyah Dan Pemberdayaan Rakyat* (Kelompok Studi Lingkaran Dan Lpm3 Um, 1995).

line with democratic principles, such as; tolerance, openness, freedom of speech or opinion, and deliberation (shura = consideration in making decisions).[20]

During the Old Order regime of the Soekarno government, NU and Muhammadiyah were involved in the political process under the umbrella of *Masyumi*, which acted as a pan-Islamic political federation. NU withdrew from Masyumi in 1952, then established its own political party [active in politics]. Until 1973, *Suharto* forced NU to join with three other political parties by forming the politically ineffective *PPP party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)*. NU withdrew completely from the political arena in 1984 so that the organization could concentrate fully on organizing social and religious programs and activities. Muhammadiyah left the political party arena earlier than NU, continuing its activities as an organization not affiliated with political parties in 1960. Such experiences were invaluable for NU and Muhammadiyah members in understanding the political realities in Indonesia at the start of its independence. [21]

Prior to the reform era, NU and Muhammadiyah were actively involved in civil society programs, including democratic education, through the synergism of Islamic teachings with Western democratic principles. During the reformation period, Muhammadiyah and NU have been involved in democratization programs and have a commitment to build and maintain democracy in various areas of life through programs organized by the two organizations.

Prior to the 1999 elections, NU and Muhammadiyah were actively involved in voter education programs. Both are involved in disseminating values that are in line with the principles of civil society, such as; conditioning a free public space, democratic education, strengthening tolerance and moderation, strengthening the insight of pluralism and multiculturalism, and continuing to fight for social justice. The commitment of NU and Muhammadiyah in fighting for the upholding of the principles of civil society is carried out through community development projects, using a participatory and bottom-up approach.

2. *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)* and Strengthening Civil Society

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) was founded in 1926 by *Hadratus sheikh KH. Hasyim Asyari*, and *KH. Wahab Chasbullah* (Javanese cleric) who aspire to protect the Islamic traditions of the archipelago while at the same time encouraging the unity of Indonesian Muslims against the hegemony of secular nationalists, communists, and puritans such as *Wahhabis, Salafis,* and similar religious ideologies. The existence of NU is a manifestation and reaffirmation of the values of religious political traditions that have been institutionalized in a more established structure and pattern of life, including: Islamic boarding schools, *kiai, santri*, and *jama'ah*. Through this traditional institutional structure, NU then becomes relatively easy to develop its organization. This phenomenon is reflected in the support and sympathy of the kiai and the pesantren community in general towards NU when NU for the first time plunged into practical

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[20] Muh Syamsuddin, "Gerakan Muhammadiyah Dalam Membumikan Wacana Multikulturalisme: Sebuah Landasan Normatif-Institusional," *Jurnal Pemberdayaan Masyarakat: Media Pemikiran Dan Dakwah Pembangunan* 1, no. 2 (2018): 335–70.

[21] Safari Daud, *Re-Orientasi Politik Nu Pada Masa Orde Baru*, 2021.

politics. This great support and sympathy is the impact of the influence of *Hadratus Shaykh KH. Hasyim Asyari'* in all Islamic boarding schools in Java. [22]

In the construction of socio-political dialectics, NU holds the principles of Sunni ideology *(Ahlussunnah wal jama'ah)* such as the principles of *tawassuth* (moderate), *I'tidal* (upholds justice), *tawazzun* (equality) and *tasamuh* (tolerance) as the basis of its political culture. In addition, NU makes *fiqh* one of the main pillars of the building of its intellectual tradition. *Fiqh* is considered as a guide in attitude and behavior, as well as a guide in making decisions in various aspects of life, including in the world of politics. In responding to various public problems, NU views that Muslims must be guided by the holy book of the Qur'an, the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, and the results of ijtihad from the four schools of jurisprudence in the Sunni school, namely; *Hanafiy, Shafi'iy, Malikiy*, and *Hanbaliy.*

In determining its political position, NU uses six principles of *ushul fiqh* as its main reference, namely:

a. *Al-Muhafadzatu ala al qadim ash-Salih wa al-akhzu bi al-jadid al-ashlah.* (maintaining what is already running and still relevant and trying to find new ideas that are much better).
b. *Al-ashlu baqau ma kana 'ala ma kana,* (As long as there is no change in the rules or principles, the existing rules or principles must be maintained).
c. *Maa la yudraku kulluhu laa yutraku ba'dluhu,* (We must take what we have achieved, even though the achievement is beyond our expectations).
d. *Shultaanun dzalim khairun min fithnatin dhaimah* (The unjust ruler who can guarantee the stability of the state and society is better than continuous violence).
e. *Daarul mafaasid muqaddamun 'ala jalbil mashaalih,* (Preventing damage is better than taking advantage).
f. *Tasharruf al-Imaan 'ala al ra'iyah manuthun bi al mashlahah*, (Policies and actions of the authorities must be in accordance with the interests of the community).[23]

In the portrait of its socio-political role since its establishment until now, it is illustrated that NU makes the first principle above to maintain local Islamic traditions (local wisdom). In this context, NU respects and adopts local traditions as a tool to motivate its members to do good deeds. NU also uses the first principle to respond to contemporary issues. This first principle makes it easier for its members to be more responsive and respect plurality. NU then used its second, third, and fourth principles in playing its socio-political function during the old order as the basis for moral legitimacy for its cooperation with the Soekarno regime.[24]

NU's involvement in the old order regime and its approval of *NASAKOM*, was to defend the interests of the people. NU used this principle to support the government in defending the nation-state (the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) where at that time there were rebellions and symptoms of national disintegration in various provinces.

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[22] Denys Lombard, "Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai," *Archipel* 28, no. 1 (1984): 220.

[23] Syaikhul Islam Ali and Lc M Sosio, *Kaidah Fikih Politik; Pergulatan Pemikiran Politik Kebangsaan Ulama* (Harakah Book, 2018).

[24] mukrimin Mukrimin, "Islamic Parties And The Politics Of Constitutionalism In Indonesia," *Journal Of Indonesian Islam* 6, no. 2 (December 1, 2012): 367, https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2012.6.2.367-390.

NU also uses the principles mentioned above to show that NU will continue to consistently reject radicalism and violence in the name of religion, as well as affirm its support for a gradual change agenda. And principle (f) is used to supervise the policies of the state (government) and the effectiveness of their implementation.

In the practical political arena, NU ended its involvement in *MASYUMI* earlier than Muhammadiyah, and subsequently in May 1952, NU became an independent political party. NU resigned from its membership in *MASYUMI* because it felt that the representation of *NU*'s involvement in the management of the *MASYUMI* party was irrelevant to the number of constituents it represented. In fact, the management structure and representation of *MASYUMI* representatives in the Constituent Assembly are dominated by modernists.[25]

In the late 1980s, the Suharto regime showed its accommodation to "Islam," but relations between NU and the state (the New Order regime) were not harmonious. The alienation of NU in the New Order era is shown by the reluctance of the New Order regime to involve NU as a partner in the development process, even though NU and Muhammadiyah have jointly contributed to the survival of the New Order and undermined the hegemony of communism in Indonesia. The political attitude of the New Order regime which is not accommodating towards NU can be illustrated through the following New Order regime policies;

a. NU leaders find it difficult to gain access to executive positions (bureaucracy), especially in religious affairs (Ministry of Religion);
b. The New Order regime did not provide enough space for NU leaders (politicians) to hold leadership positions in political parties (PPP/United Development Party;
c. The New Order regime forbade intellectuals and NU leaders from Islamic boarding schools, madrasas and NGOs to be active in intellectual activities;
d. NU has a large number of members (approximately 300 million), but only a few NU members have representatives in parliament; and
e. *NU was not involved in the establishment of ICMI (Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association).*

The conflict between the New Order regime and NU seemed to be getting worse because the New Order regime involved modernist Islamic groups as partners in the development process. [26]

There are several perceptions that have been built on why the New Order regime did not show an accommodative attitude towards NU, including; the regime does not believe that NU members are adequately educated to be able to hold technocratic positions in economics, politics and technology, and modernist Islamic groups such as Muhammadiyah have more educated members than NU since the colonial period. Therefore, Muhammadiyah is considered more capable of holding technocratic positions in various fields. Modernists then benefited from the accommodative attitude

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[25] Jainuddin Jainuddin, "Islam Dan Politik Orde Lama;'Dinamika Politik Islam Pasca Kolonial Sejak Kemerdekaan Sampai Akhir Kekuasaan Soekarno,'" *Sangaji: Jurnal Pemikiran Syariah Dan Hukum* 3, no. 2 (2019): 225–43.

[26] Nurul Shobacha, "Strategi Politik Nahdlatul Ulama Di Era Orde Baru," *Jurnal Review Politik* 2, no. 01 (2012): 100.

of the New Order, but not for NU. Even according to Hefner, some modernist leaders strongly supported the Suharto regime. [27]

The development of civil society by NU only found its form after this organization reoriented the movement back to the 1926 khittah in 1984. In this reorientation of the movement, NU tried to leave the practical political stage towards a cultural movement based on community empowerment so that it could become a balancing force against the state. The portrait of NU's role in strengthening civil society in Indonesia, can be analyzed from the concerns of NU's involvement and pioneering in presenting the free public sphere, democracy, tolerance (tolerance); pluralism (pluralism); and social justice in various forms of religious social movements.[28]

In strengthening civil society and conditioning the democratic climate in Indonesia, NU has at least two important roles that cannot be denied, namely:

a.   *ASWAJA*'s Ideological Transformation

Through the momentum of Returning to the NU *khittah 1926*, NU has been very successful in transforming its orthodox understanding of Aswaja and fiqh in response to contemporary issues. This transformative movement then made NU develop into a force that is more critical and open to contemporary issues. The intellectual transformation (fikrah) of NU is carried out through revitalization and reinterpretation of the ideology of *ahlu al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah*, into the concept of al-is (justice), musawwat (equality), at-tawazzun (balance), al-itidal (justice). social) and *Amar Ma'ruf – Nahi Mungkar* (Call for good and prevent evil). The 1926 *Khittah NU* emphasized that NU was born to build and maintain the balance and progress of Islam, as well as to develop critical ideas about the problems faced by Muslims in the community.

This intellectual transformation then provides more space and social stage for the younger generation of NU to be further involved in the construction of discourses on the relationship between Islam and Indonesian politics and democratization. In subsequent developments, the younger generation of NU was able to show critical attitudes and ideas towards the hegemony of the New Order regime. They are called organic intellectuals. They have a background in classical Islamic knowledge (pesantren), as well as being very open in responding to modernity. They integrate classical studies and modern approaches.

With such an organizational development platform, NU exists as a religious organization that respects and defends local traditions as the nation's social and cultural heritage. Such awards provide more opportunities for local traditions to develop in the midst of NU's religious activities, as well as become a field of exploration for research on the development of Nusantara culture through research on lifing the *Qur'an* and living hadith.

To put the idea of a moral movement into practice, NU has implemented programs that support the intellectual capacity of NU citizens, especially the younger generation, through discourses on Islam and contemporary issues around civil society and democracy, such as; Islamic politics, liberalism, popular sovereignty, pluralism, tolerance, and gender equality. In this context, they have conducted an analytical study

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[27] Robert W Hefner, "Islam, State, and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class," *Indonesia*, no. 56 (1993): 1–35.

[28] U Ubaidillah and Abdul Rozak, "Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan (Civic Education): Demokrasi, Hak Asasi Manusia Dan Masyarakat Madani, Cet. Ke-6," *Jakarta: Prenada Media Group*, 2010.

of classical Islamic works as a reference *(kutub al-Maraji) al-Gazali (Nashihatu al-Muluuk* or advice for the rulers), *Baqillani*, and *Ibn Taimiyyah* in the field of Islamic politics; as well as fiqh an-nisa (Islamic legal rules on gender) with regard to the issue of "Islam and women's reproductive rights."

b. Critical Tradition Development

The development of critical traditions among citizens, especially the younger generation of NU, cannot be separated from the spirit and mission of the "call back to *Kittah 1926*". According to *Hanik Yuni Alfiyah*, the "call back to *Kittah 1926*" contains five main agendas that support transformation within NU, namely: *tawâsuth, tawâzun, tasâmuh, 'adâlah,* and *amr ma'ruf nahî munkar*. These five main agendas are Aswaja's new terminology which is understood as a flexible manhaj al-fikr (method of thinking) in viewing all actual social realities. Based on this mindset, NU is called upon to return to its original mission as; socio-religious institution (Jam'miyyah) which aims at the development of education, da'wah, and other social activities, and not on the political stage.

This intellectual transformation of NU, in turn, encourages social transformation which is manifested in changes in NU's attitude in responding to social and community problems. In the NU congress in 1984, NU stated that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia*, (NKRI)* is a nation state with *Pancasila* as the basis of its state. NU's approval of *Pancasila* as the sole principle in the state, shows that NU has developed political awareness among its members and the wider community. Furthermore, Abdul Rahman Wahid as the elected general chairman in the congress supports and encourages the growth of political awareness of Muslims, especially "civil Islam", by upholding the principles of democracy as the basis of the Indonesian political system by respecting individual rights (freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of organization, and equal rights). *Gusdur* then emphasized that the main goal of the NU movement was not to establish or create an "Islamic State", but to create a Muslim society that supports justice, freedom, and the spread of development to all elements of society.[29]

To achieve political democracy, according to Abdurrahman Wahid, Pancasila must be upheld by religious organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah and others as the only principle (to avoid sectarianism). He further argues that the development of true democracy in Indonesia requires three main conditions: the separation of the state and the demands of society, the separation between civil society and government, and the separation of powers within the government: the system of checks and balances. NU finally succeeded in building an independent political stance in relation to the state (the New Order regime). NU proved this attitude from the day the New Order was formed until 1995.

Vatikoitis described that NU is free to carry out its activities without government interference because NU has publications, internal newspapers, public meetings, and oral orders. When NU was marginalized by the Old Order regime, NU sought to maximize the role of civil society to articulate its political stance. NU has also sought its

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[29] Siti Chumairoh, "Nu Pada Masa Orde Baru: Studi Tentang Respon Nu Terhadap Pemberlakuan Asas Tunggal Pancasila" (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2014).

support for the socio-political awareness of its members and the wider community in relation to the New Order regime without confrontation (through cultural movements).[30]

In the 1980s and 1990s, NU added a new element to its organization, namely the NU NGO. The NU Non-Governmental Organization was presented to encourage democratization and pluralization of NU's political culture by spreading critical ideas to the wider community. The NU elite, especially Abdurrahman Wahid, succeeded in building public opinion and networks among those who were concerned about democratization in Indonesia. To support his ideas about democracy and "religion of civility." *Gus Dur* together with his colleagues later founded the Democracy Forum (FORDEM). The forum's strategy emphasizes strengthening support for the idea of democracy and religious tolerance. [31]

3. Muhammadiyah and Strengthening Civil Society

Muhammadiyah was founded in Yogyakarta, Java on November 18, 1912 by *Ahmad Dahlan*. He was educated in Mecca, and his thinking was heavily influenced by the work of the Egyptian reformers, especially Muhammad Abduh. Abduh supported the purification of Islamic religious thought and practice and defended Islam from all criticism.[32]

Muhammadiyah is an Islamic socio-religious organization with the formulation of the goal for the first time, "Promoting and encouraging the teaching and learning of Islam in the Netherlands East Indies." The formulation of the goals of the Muhammadiyah association has been refined from time to time based on the objective needs of the organization. The most recent formulation of the objectives of the Muhammadiyah Association refers to the 1985 formulation, namely: "The realization of Muslim human beings who are devoted, have noble character, believe in themselves, love the homeland and are useful for society and the State, do good deeds towards the realization of a primary, just and prosperous society that is blessed by *Allah SWT*".[33]

In promoting its goals, Muhammadiyah carries out an agenda of resistance against "taklid, bid'ah, and superstition" which is widely practiced by Indonesian Muslims. Then Muhammadiyah expanded its activities to various fields-religious, social and educational through a wide network of youth and women's organizations, clinics, hospitals, and a modern Islamic education system.

In its history of development, Muhammadiyah has never been a political party. However, Jalaluddin Rahmat stated that Muhammadiyah through its mission, programs and activities has very impressively produced modernist students who in turn are actively involved in the process of building the Indonesian nation. The involvement of

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[30] david Henley, "Indonesia in Transition; Rethinking'civil Society','region', and'crisis'" (JSTOR, 2006).

[31] Ngainun Naim, "Abdurrahman Wahid: Universalisme Islam Dan Toleransi," *Kalam* 10, no. 2 (2017): 423, https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v10i2.8.

[32] Cecep Suryana, "Kiprah Politik Dan Sejarah Organisasi Muhammadiyah Di Indonesia," *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 4, no. 14 (2009): 625–38.

[33] Mohamad Ali, "Membedah Tujuan Pendidikan Muhammadiyah," *Profetika: Jurnal Studi Islam* 17, no. 01 (2016): 43–56, https://doi.org/10.23917/profetika.v17i01.2099.

many Muhammadiyah members in many aspects of this development can confirm that the Muhammadiyah cultural movement actually has indirect political consequences. [34]

During the Old Order, Muhammadiyah, together with NU and other Islamic organizations/groups, initiated and encouraged the formation of a confederation of Islamic political parties, *MASYUMI (Majelis Syura 'Ala Muslimin Indonesia).* Muhammadiyah became a member of Masyumi until the party was dissolved by President Sukarno in 1960. After the dissolution of MASYUMI by President Soekarno, in 1972 the organization formally declared itself to no longer be involved in practical politics, and subsequently focused more on strengthening social, economic, educational and Islamic da'wah programs. This illustrates that like NU, Muhammadiyah also rotates the orientation of its political struggle from structural to strengthening political culture. With this pattern, many Muhammadiyah members were absorbed into the political power structure through ICMI at the end of the New Order era, when President Suharto showed his accommodative attitude towards "Islam".[35]

The accommodative attitude of the New Order regime towards Islam since the early 1990s can be observed through several policies that can be seen as providing structural, political, infrastructure and cultural benefits for Muslims. The structural accommodation referred to is the provision of access for Muslims to education, economic activity, and positions in the government bureaucracy (accelerating the recruitment and promotion of the military and Islamic bureaucrats to higher levels) and establishing *ICMI (Ikatan Cendikiawan Muslim Indonesia)* at the end of 1990. [36]

In addition, the Suharto regime also issued regulations: Establishing the obligation to use religious subjects in non-madrasah schools (state and private schools) in 1988; Strengthening the role of religious (Islamic) courts in 1989 in deciding matters of marriage, divorce, reconciliation, and inheritance; 1991 Islamic marriage law compilation; Institutionalize or ratify *Bazis,* the *zakat* collection and distribution agency; Revised the 1991 policy that prohibited Muslim female high school students from wearing the hijab; and Revoking the *SDSB* (social philanthropist with Prizes) in 1993.

In terms of infrastructure, the New Order regime gave instructions to Muslims to build mosques and religious institutions, send imams to transmigration areas, and establish (in 1992) an Islamic Bank and Insurance *(Bank Muamalat Indonesia).*

At that time, the state also proved its cultural accommodation by using Islamic idioms (such as the use of the words sultan, khalifatullah, musyawarah) in government documents, adopting Islamic greetings *(assalamu'alaikum)* as a national greeting, providing support for the organization of Islamic cultural festivals *(Istiqlal Festival).* in 1991 and 1995); and pioneered an Arabic language teaching program on national television.

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[34] Ida Zahara Adibah, "Pendekatan Sosiologis Dalam Studi Islam," *INSPIRASI: Jurnal Kajian Dan Penelitian Pendidikan Islam* 1, no. 1 (2017): 1–20.

[35] Ilham Muhamad Nurjaman, Samsudin Samsudin, and Sulasman Sulasman, "Peran ICMI Masa Kepemimpinan BJ Habibie (1990-2000) Dalam Pembangunan Nasional," *Hanifiya: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 5, no. 1 (2022): 59–70.

[36] Taufikurrahman Taufikurrahman and Wahyu Hidayat, "Dinamika Politik Kelas Menengah Indonesia: Pergulatan Politik ICMI Membangun Demokrasi Di Era Orde Baru," *Panangkaran: Jurnal Penelitian Agama Dan Masyarakat* 3, no. 2 (August 15, 2020): 149, https://doi.org/10.14421/panangkaran.2019.0302-01.

In this context, Muhammadiyah's adaptive attitude towards the new order regime since the early 1990s has been largely supported by the political culture and leadership of Muhammadiyah which is based on basic Islamic principles regarding the relationship between the state and the *ummah*, such as: *amar ma'ruf and nahy munkar. hablum min an-naas* (social relations). *ijtihad* (use of independent studies and ratios among scholars) and tajdid (reform), al birri (good deeds) masalihul ummah (public interest), attaqwa (taqwa), mauidzah hasanah (policy and advice), and mujlah bil ihsan (debates that are good). The basic principles of Islam are constructed by Muhammadiyah as a practical social attitude in responding to problems that arise in society. Besides that, Muhammadiyah also plays a role in the principles of egalitarianism, rationality, and collegial leadership in making political decisions within the organization.

These principles are elaborated into the vision of the New Muhammadiyah, namely: *first,* the doctrine of monotheism must be built as a foundation or basis in all dimensions of life. The concept of monotheism must not only be elaborated in the aspect of belief (aqidah), but also muamalah ma'a an-naas (social relations). *Second,* Muhammadiyah must develop an enlightenment process to produce enlightened [intelligent] Muslims. Muhammadiya must continue these efforts in developing human resources, science and technology. *Third,* Muhammadiyah must continue its efforts to support and develop good deeds. *Fourth,* Muhammadiyah must create cooperation with various groups, namely other Muslim groups, non-Muslims, the military, and the government; and *Fifth*, Muhammadiyah does not have to be apolitical.

According to *Haedar Nasir,* Muhammadiyah's political views are thought to have a relationship with the 'political elite bias' of Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah produced many highly educated people through its schools and universities, and some were recruited to fill several positions in Suharto's government. It is estimated that 78% of the educated group [elite] are in the government sector, as civil servants. And perhaps this factor makes them (and their organizations) less critical of the state. This culture of silence causes Muhammadiyah to seem less critical and even loyal to the regime in power. Furthermore, *Haedar Nasir* stated that Muhammadiyah's closeness to the New Order government was the government's acknowledgment of the role of Muhammadiyah in preparing educated human resources. Muhammadiyah has been involved in improving the quality of Indonesian human resources through education (schools and universities). The government views that Muhammadiya has reduced the burden on the state in education, and on the contrary, according to Muhammadiyah, the government should support the efforts that have been made by Muhammadiyah. Therefore, financial assistance from the state can be interpreted as a stimulant factor [stimulant] to develop education which is attempted by Muhammadiyah.

Muhammadiyah's closeness to the New Order regime was confirmed by several sources and figures for various reasons. Amin Rais, for example, acknowledged that Muhammadiyah supported the new order, but Muhammadiyah did not issue a blank check. Muhammadiyah supports the new order regime as long as the regime is still committed to the public interest, eradicating corruption, and also injustice. If the new order regime has no more commitment, Muhammadiyah will oppose the new order regime.

In 1993, Muhammadiyah showed a different stance from the previous times. *Amin Rais*, one of the central leaders of Muhammadiyah, raised the issue of the succession of Indonesian national leaders. Amin and his like-minded friends argued that Suharto was not the only person capable of leading the Indonesian republic for the rest

of his life. In addition, Suharto has abused the mandate of the Indonesian people for his personal and group interests (corruption and cronyism).

At the annual national level meeting *(tanwir)* Muhammadiyah issued a decree for Indonesia to carry out reforms to create a democratic Indonesian nation and state. This statement was also reaffirmed in 1995 through the Muhammadiyah Congress in *Banda Aceh*. On that occasion, Amin Rais supported political reform – which was later understood as a critique of the new order regime. Through the 1995 Muhammadiyah congress, *Amin Rais* was elected as the general chairman of the Muhammadiyah central leadership. Amin Rais' critical ideas *(Adiluhung Politics),*[37] then encouraged the birth of a new awareness among the younger generation of Muhammadiyah.

In the view of the younger generation of Muhammadiyah, Amin's idea of a noble politics is very important for several reasons: the first**,** Muhammadiyah was born earlier than this republic. Muhammadiyah has a strong inner spirit (for example, the spirit of renewal *(tajdid)* and interpretation *(ijtihad)* that can make Muhammadiyah open and able to respond to criticism from various social problems, including critical issues such as human rights, political rights of minorities, and equality. The views of the younger generation of Muhammadiyah are in line with the ideas of Amin Rais, who said that Muhammadiyah leaders seemed exhausted and tired so they could not respond to drastic changes in society [social dynamics]. has lost its spirit of reform which was held in 1912. Therefore, Muhammadiyah needs to renew itself to be more responsive and smarter in realizing the spirit of *tajdid* and *ijtihad* to deal with various social issues such as social justice, human rights, corruption, nepotism, and human rights. minority group rights.

The second Muhammadiyah must play an important role in breaking down the violence of the new order regime. This is part of the effort to implement Islamic teachings about amar ma'ruf nahy munkar (advocating good deeds and forbidding bad deeds). Amin Rais' leadership is expected to bring about change within Muhammadiyah and motivate Muhammadiyah so that it can take an important role in the reform process in Indonesia. According to the younger generation of Muhammadiya, Amin's leadership can motivate Muhammadiyah to develop its role beyond just being a social organization and da'wah organization. Muhammadiyah can also provide a more critical and progressive role as a civil society organization. Although Muhammadiyah is not directly involved in the political arena, it is hoped that it can play a role in criticizing the abuse of power.[38]

According to the younger generation of Muhammadiyah, especially critical groups, as stated by Zuly Qodir;[39] Currently, Muhammadiyah and NU have been involved in the anti-corruption movement. This action is a manifestation of high-level politics. Muhammadiyah should also be able to support peace movements, mediate conflicts that occur in society, and be able to promote small-scale businesses (“people's economy”). These activities show examples of noble politics, as initiated by Amin Rais.

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[37] Zinia Bibiana Fransiska, “Pengaruh Konsep Adiluhung Amin Rais Terhadap Perilaku Elite Politik Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan Pada Pilkada 2010” (IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2011).

[38] Sardiman Sardiman, “Masyarakat Madani, Muhammadiyah, Dan Politik,” *Informasi* 28, no. 1 (2000).

[39] Zuly Qodir, “Islam, Muhammadiyah dan Advokasi Kemiskinan,” *La_Riba* 2, no. 1 (2008): 133–44, https://doi.org/10.20885/lariba.vol2.iss1.art9.

The 44th Muhammadiyah congress, which was held in Jakarta in 2000, was a further confirmation of the agenda for strengthening civil society in Indonesia. The results of this congress mandated that Muhammadiyah develop its role as an effective power of interest, [interenst group] that supports amar ma'ruf and nahi munkar. Muhammadiyah is neither apolitical nor a political party, but supports critical ideas, which can be used to anticipate and make state policies related to the administration of the nation state or the public interest. Muhammadiyah must develop a political ethic that serves as a guide for Muslim politicians. Muhammadiyah must develop political awareness among its members and the wider community through political education, and inculcating the values or principles of civility and democracy. Muhammadiyah must oppose injustice that occurs in the midst of society and use the media to convey aspirations, political attitudes, interests and the like for Muhammadiyah *ummah* and the wider community. Muhammadiyah must strive to empower the community to develop civil society based on the basic principles of the New Indonesia society.

Haedar Nasir,[40] emphasized that Muhammadiyah is an organization that upholds the culture of modernity. Nasir refers to the open-mindedness of Muhammadiyah residents in responding to modern ideas. In this case Haedar Nasir views that Muhammadiyah has implemented democratic principles in its daily activities, both in making organizational decisions, as well as in managing organizational assets, all of which are managed based on the principles of accountability and transparency. Therefore, the issue of democracy and civil society is not a serious problem for Muhammadiyah members.

If we look closely, we will find that Muhammadiyah has made an extraordinary contribution to the development of civil society and democratization in Indonesia through its human resource development programs. Muhammadiyah is recorded as having contributed 10% of the total number of schools in Indonesia, and 169 universities. Through these schools and universities, Muhammadiyah produces educated people who are concerned with strengthening civil society. [41]

In addition, Muhammadiyah has promoted and developed democracy and civil society through various means:[42]

First**,** Muhammadiyah has succeeded in eliminating the feudal mentality and forming a democratic attitude. Muhammadiyah has succeeded in building egalitarian relationships, by developing the concept that everyone in the Muhammadiyah organization is considered to have the same potential so that they must believe in themselves, and do not need to depend on elite groups. This is Muhammadiyah's biggest contribution in implementing the basic foundation for democracy and civil society.

Second**,** Muhammadiyah has developed a desire to be able to help others as a tradition among its members, and as a basic principle for the autonomy of its associations (infrastructure). Such awareness is the basic basis for creating social and economic infrastructure, which in turn can support the development of democracy and civil society (civil Islam).

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[40] Haedar Nasir, *Islam dan Prilaku Umat di Tengah Perubahan*, *Yogyakarta: Pustaka SM*, 2002.

[41] Nelly Yusra, "Muhammadiyah: Gerakan Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam," *POTENSIA: Jurnal Kependidikan Islam* 4, no. 1 (2018): 103, https://doi.org/10.24014/potensia.v4i1.5269.

[42] Yusra.

Third**,** Muhammadiyah can build a harmonious relationship (not based on patron-client) with the government. The government cannot pressure Muhammadiyah administrators to move their members to pursue the interests of the regime, because Muhammadiyah does not preserve the culture of patrimonialism.

Fourth**,** Muhammadiyah has developed a theology for the environment that is rooted in Islamic teachings regarding the prohibition of damaging (fasad), including doing evil and being corrupt.

Fifth, Muhammadiyah was the first Islamic organization that initiated the establishment of a women's organization (Aisyiah) in 1918 which aimed to develop the potential of women and to provide wider space for women to voice their aspirations (related to gender issues).

Sixth**,** Muhammadiyah has succeeded in shaping more rational behavior, reducing the influence of superstition, and increasing critical thinking and freedom of opinion.

Seventh, Muhammadiyah members are involved in state issues, for example; K. Bagus Hadikusumo, was a member of the ad hoc committee on the formulation of the 1954 Constitution. Similarly, after the 2004 general election, Muhammadiyah issued a decree affirming that all Muhammadiyah members must be committed to the national agreement on the results of the general election.

D. Conclusion

Strengthening civil society can actually be interpreted as a reaffirmation (reaffirmation) of Islam as a critical force. The meaning is that Islam is drawn from the entanglement of exclusivism and fundamentalist movements and privatization-secular and liberal, into a public religion that emphasizes civility. Insights about public religion are manifested in the form of a democratic state, which respects civil rights, equality, and justice. In addition, religion becomes more functional in social life and is free from the trap of religious and political "black holes of infidelity", which actually makes it uncritical.

Socio-religious organizations NU and Muhammadiyah have a distinctive role in strengthening civil society in Indonesia compared to other social organizations in general. NU and Muhammadiyah have proven their role as the main agents of strengthening civil society in Indonesia through the movement for intelligence and community empowerment. Equally important, the NU and Muhammadiyah organizations have been very successful in positioning and portraying themselves as dialogue partners, sources of moral legitimacy for state power, as well as shields as citizens from the tendency of state and market hegemony.

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