Socio-Cultural Transformation of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Communities in East Java Prismatic Society

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Abstract

This research focuses on the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU) communities in the prismatic communities of East Java (i.e., Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang). This condition cannot be separated from transforming various sectors in people's lives that make it a prismatic (transitional) society. Therefore, this research seeks to find and understand the basic framework for the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU communities in society. From the unit of analysis, this study uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic research, while the data collection techniques use in-depth interviews, participatory observations, field notes, and documentation. This research uses interactive data analysis by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana. This research finds that Muhammadiyah and NU communities have relatively different characteristics. In these three districts, members of Muhammadiyah and NU tend to be stagnant and unaffected by their various oppositional organizational doctrines. However, their socio-cultural transformation occurs triggered by external and internal factors dialectically related to themselves. The implication is that the modernist corporate identity attached to Muhammadiyah and the traditional community identity to NU is relatively irrelevant, especially when there is a progressive and alternating socio-cultural transformation between the two communities.

Keywords: *Socio-cultural; Traditional; Modern; Prismatic Communities.*

Abstrak

Riset ini memfokuskan pada transformasi sosio-kultural komunitas Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU) di masyarakat prismatik Jawa Timur (yaitu: Jember, Bondowoso, dan Lumajang). Kondisi ini terjadi tidak lepas dari transformasi berbagai sektor dalam kehidupan masyarakat yang menjadikannya sebagai masyarakat prismatik (transisi). Oleh sebabnya, riset ini berupaya menemukan dan memahami kerangka dasar transformasi sosio-kultural komunitas Muhammadiyah dan NU di masyarakat tersebut. Dari unit analisis tersebut, riset ini memakai pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis riset entografi, sedangkan teknik pengumpulan data menggunakan wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipasi, catatan lapangan, dan dokumentasi. Analisis data dalam riset ini menggunakan analisis data interaktif Miles, Huberman, dan Saldana. Riset ini menemukan bahwa komunitas Muhammadiyah dan NU memiliki karakteristik yang relatif berbeda dengan komunitas di masyarakat lainnya. Di tiga kabupaten ini, warga Muhammadiyah dan NU cenderung stagnan dan tidak terpengaruh oleh berbagai doktrin organisasi mereka yang oposisional. Namun transformasi sosial-kultural mereka terjadi dipicu oleh faktor eksternal dan internal diri mereka yang berelasi secara dialektis. Implikasinya, identitas keorganisasi modernis yang dilekatkan ke Muhammadiyah dan identitas komunitas tradisional ke NU relatif tidak relevan. Terutama ketika terjadi transformasi sosial-kultural yang progresif dan silih berganti antar kedua komunitas tersebut.

Kata Kunci: *Sosio-kultural, Tradisional, Modern, Masyarakat Prismatik*

INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on the socio-cultural transformation amid Indonesia's largest religious community organizations, namely Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU). However, society tends to view the dichotomy between the two institutionally and socio-culturally. This dichotomous view arises because it is based on the view that the Muhammadiyah movement appears to have a purification pattern (refraction), and NU tends to be flexible and accommodating (reflection). Even between these two patterns, it can be assimilated and is also able to stabilize politics as a proponent of social harmony.[1] In addition, they still become power brokers at the local level,[2] even though there have been conflicts between the two organizations based on politically based sectarianism rather than ideological ones.[3]

There would be no essential difference between Muhammadiyah and NU communities if it were viewed from a philosophical perspective. Because their normative foundation in the form of beliefs and philosophy of life lies in religious values, both have different religious interpretation methodologies and implications for sociological differences.[4] It can be seen from the socio-cultural conditions of the two organizations' communities when looking at and responding to various local traditions in their environment, including in responding to ideological discourses that exist in society, such as the concept of the *Khilafah*. Muhammadiyah tends to reject it as a system and accept it as a culture, and NU categorically refuses.[5] This pattern also impacts the different perspectives of the social superstructure. One example, when looking at politics, the two have different attitudes, although both have a relatively significant role in the country's political patronage system.[6] On the one hand, it is also prone to polarization when political elites are interested in supporting the communities of the two organizations.[7]

Another trigger is the contrasting organizational identity attached by the community between the two. Muhammadiyah is said to be modernist,[8] while NU itself is called

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[1] Muhammad Adlin Sila, *Revisiting NU-Muhammadiyah in Indonesia: The Accomodation of Islamic Reformism in Bima*, Indonesia and the Malay World 48(142) 2020, 304-322.

[2] Greg Fealy & Robin Bush, *The Political Decline of Traditional Ulama in Indonesia: The State, Ulama and Nahdlatul Ulama*, Asian Journal of Social Science 42(5) 2014, 536-560.

[3] Alexander R. Arifianto, *From Ideological to Political Sectarianism: Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and the State in Indonesia*, Religion, State and Society 49(2) 2021, 126-141.

[4] Greg Barton, *The Gulen Movement, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama: Progressive Islamic Thought, Religious Philanthropy and Civil Society in Turkey and Indonesia*, Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 25(3) 2014, 287-301.

[5] Musawar & Gatot Suhirman, *Khilafah in the View of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdhatul Wathan (NW) Ulema in Lombok*, al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies 59(2) 2021, 317-346.

[6] Jeremy Menchik, *Moderate Muslims and Democratic Breakdown in Indonesia*, Asian Studies Review 43(3) 2019, 415-433.

[7] Arief Akhyat, *Reinterpretasi Konflik NU-Muhammadiyah di Pedesaan Jepara Jawa Tengah*, Afkaruna: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman 8(2) 2012, 135-148.

[8] Zuly Qodir, et al., *A Progressive Islamic Movement and its Response to the Issues of the Ummah*, Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies 10(2) 2020, 323-352.

traditional.[9] Even now, this identity is "preferred" by Muhammadiyah and NU communities themselves. Likewise, in the districts of Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang, the identity of being "preferred" is strongly attached to the organization. For example, this identity benefits them for mass mobilization and political interests in NU circles. Whereas socio-culturally, NU has transformed insight, intellectuality, and even religious behavior. At this time in the organizational genealogy of NU, a new generation with broad insight and a high educational stratum appears.

Research by Niam concludes that since the 21st century, NU has born intellectual Muslims from the education development system.[10] Laode Ida's research explains that in progressive NU, three groups continue to transform: transformists, radicals, and moderates.[11] NU is currently undergoing a transformation that cannot be separated from its community moving forward. Enlightenment and community empowerment, developing an egalitarian ideology, and building critical thinking have become NU's organizational traditions. However, in his research, Amal indicated a strengthening of the conservative wing that had grown to cause the resignation of NU's role as a fighter for tolerance and democracy.[12]

Muhammadiyah community experienced the same thing with their modern identity, but they were immersed in the myth. It has implications for the stagnation in the *tajdid* of Muhammadiyah community which is relatively less dynamic. Muhammadiyah is busy uniting two opposing contemporary thought groups that tend to criticize each other. This dynamic was also explicitly described by Biyanto when he unraveled the birth of the *Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah Young Intellectual Network)[13]. It is also claimed to be a "signifier" of the emergence of a new generation that replaces its parent, namely: Muhammadiyah.[14] Even Hilmy considered that Muhammadiyah was facing a dilemma in its vision of reform, namely: between progressivism and conservatism.[15] However, within Muhammadiyah, Islamic entities, identities, and traditions negotiate are accommodated and

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[9] Faried F. Saenong, *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU): A Grassroots Movement Advocating Moderate Islam*, dalam Muhammad Afzal Upal & Carole M. Cusack (Edit.), *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 130.

[10] Khoirun Niam, *Nahdlatul Ulama and The Production of Muslim Intellectuals in The Beginning of 21ˢᵗ Century Indonesia*, Journal of Indonesian Islam 11(2) 2017, 351-388.

[11] Laode Ida, *Gerakan Sosial Kelompok Nahdlatul Ulama (NU Progresif)*, Disertation, (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 2002).

[12] M. Khusna Amal, *Revisiting Southeast Asian Civil Islam: Moderate Muslims and Indonesia's Democracy Paradox*, Intellectual Discourse 28(1) 2020, 295-318.

[13] Biyanto, *Tafsir Sosial Ideologi Keagamaan Kaum Muda Muhammadiyah: Telaah terhadap Fenomena Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah (JIMM)*, Jurnal Salam 12(2) 2009, 31-43.

[14] Hasnan Bachtiar, et al., *Visi Kosmopolitanisme Islam di Lingkungan Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah*, Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam 5(2) 2015, 455-485; Hasnan Bachtiar, et al., *Visi Kosmopolitanisme Islam Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah*, Jurnal Muhammadiyah Studies 1(1) 2016, 156-186.

[15] Masdar Hilmy, *The Double-Edged Sword of Islamic Reform: Muhammadiyah and the Dilemma of Tajdid within Indonesian Islam*, RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs 48(1) 2014, 183-206.

mutually contested for the common good.[16] For Muhammadiyah activists, it has become a theological awareness raised in the form of "charity actions."[17]

The socio-cultural transformation makes Muhammadiyah and NU communities increasingly difficult to distinguish. Likewise, their behavior reflecting their culture and community identity is relatively difficult to differentiate at the individual level. Each community experiences a shift and transformation from the conventional socio-cultural dimension to the modern dimension, so socio-cultural associations occur within individuals, especially those who are "influenced" by other values and norms. Even this transformation sometimes leaves traditional social behavior behind; because the socio-cultural construction of Muhammadiyah and NU is based on religious values. This construction is confirmed by the conclusion of Rusli et al.'s research that both are also re-actualizing the classical Islamic intellectualism until now.[18] This emerging socio-cultural transformation becomes the logical implication of the process.

Based on this description, the basis of this research lies in the argument that there is no difference between Muhammadiyah and NU communities from a philosophical point of view. However, in developments in the empirical-sociological realm, there are differences between these communities. There are differences based on the scientific methodological perspective of these two religious organizations.[19] It tends to shrink from time to time, including in socio-religious thinking between the refractive styles of Muhammadiyah and NU. In the conclusion of Wajdi's research, it is said that the religious refraction of Muhammadiyah and NU at this time has been integrated.[20] It includes individuals who also experience a process of thinning out differences that tend to integrate patterns.

METHODS

Based on this reality framework, this research focuses on the basic problems of the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU communities that occur in the communities of Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang regencies. These three districts are transitional societies transforming an agrarian society to an industrial society; or from traditional to modern. On the one hand, it has also begun to open up the development of science and technology, which is one of the triggers for socio-cultural transformation. Therefore, this research will be able to find and understand the basic framework for the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU communities in that society.

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[16] Zuly Qodir, et al., *Muhammadiyah Identity and Muslim Public Good: Muslim Practices in Java*, International Journal of Islamic Thought 19(1) 2021, 133-146.

[17] Hilman Latief & Haedar Nashir, *Local Dynamics and Global Engagements of the Islamic Modenist Movement in Contemporary Indonesia: The Case of Muhammadiyah (2000-2020)*, Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs 39(2) 2020, 290-309.

[18] Ris'an Rusli, et al., *Reactualization of Intellectualism in Classical Islamic Thought in Indonesia: Comparative Study of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama post Reformation*, Utopia y Praxis Latinoamericana 25(1) 2020, 249-259.

[19] Sembodo Ardi Widodo, *Konstruksi Keilmuan Muhammadiyah dan NU*, Jurnal al-Ulum 11(2) 2011, 205-238.

[20] Firdaus Wajdi, *The Discourse of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama with Considerations of Geertz's Religion of Java*, Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies 2(1) 2018, 49-64.

This field research uses a qualitative approach with an ethnographic type. The unit of analysis lies in "the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU communities which is (expressed) in the form of verbal and action (or gestures)." The data regarding the socio-cultural transformation are in the form of social actions, culture, and behavior of the subjects (Muhammadiyah and NU communities). The techniques used to collect data are in-depth interview techniques, participatory observation, and documentation. Nine subjects were used as informants who were selected purposively. The informants consist of:

No.	Name	Age	Gender
1.	Kusno	56	Male
2.	Suyanto	34	Male
3.	Asnawan	39	Male
4.	Muhammad Erfan	35	Male
5.	Andi Prasetyo	53	Male
6.	Ahmad Musthofa	50	Male
7.	Siti Maryam	39	Female
8.	Ahmad Rosidi	40	Male
9.	Dwi Sri Wahyuni	39	Female

DISCUSSIONS
Socio-Cultural Transformation of Prismatic Society
Socio-cultural transformation can be understood as a transformation flow in a society's form and characteristics from one dimension to another. Andersen & Taylor provide a framework if social transformation is a change in social interactions, institutions, stratification systems, and cultural elements over time.[21] Therefore, socio-cultural transformation is a dynamic of society that encourages the transition (transfiguration) of forms and characteristics of social life. This process also runs evolutionarily and tends to be non-linear, so the transition pattern of people's social life has various dynamics. However, the final stage of this socio-cultural transformation gave rise to a typology of society with its structure and life characteristics.

This socio-cultural transformation is explored as the foundation of the sociological tradition, and that reality is the essence of the study of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim.[22] Therefore, the study's focus on society strongly influences these disciplines, so the theory's description is constructed based on the dynamics of society. Empirically, social transformation arises from community social actions on a small or large scale, evolutionarily or revolutionary. Durkheim believed that social transformation occurs due to complex collective action stretching past to the present.[23] It means that the role of the individual can be said that he does not have a strong influence on the occurrence of social transformation.

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[21] Margaret L. Andersen & Howard F. Taylor, *Sociology: The Essentials*, (Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2013), 400.

[22] Kenneth H. Tucker, Jr., *Anthony Giddens and Modern Social Theory*, (London: SAGE Publication, 1998), 96.

[23] Edward Royce, *Classical Social Theory and Modern Society: Marx, Durkheim, Weber*, (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 66.

The socio-cultural transformation will continue as long as there is an interaction between individuals or between communities. It takes place to maintain society's balance, especially in the socio-cultural structure. According to Macionis, three very strong landscapes trigger the socio-cultural transformation, one of which is discoveries.[24] It can be represented by the development of science and information technology – read the birth of artificial intelligence – which affects the ongoing transformation of society. It is also supported by the awareness of education's urgency, which develops aspects of rationality. According to Hansen et al.'s research, this is an entity that supports stronger modern values in developing countries.[25] In "The Great Disruption" and "Our Posthuman Future," Fukuyama also describes if technological developments affect humans' sociological nature and future.[26]

Therefore, socio-cultural transformation encourages the metamorphosis of society into a modern society. In this context, there are two dimensions of society in one epistemological range of socio-cultural transformation: the point of traditional and modern society. Modernity refers to a world built through the active intervention and awareness of the subjects of society. In that transition from traditional society to the "new world," Fred W. Riggs termed it a prismatic society.[27] Riggs' conceptualization attracted the attention of academics when they saw the religion of the current third country development strategy as Basu's research tries to unravel the Riggs concept in India's development strategy context.[28] It confirms that a prismatic society is a transitional society in which there is a "combinative culture" between traditional patterns of social life (agrarian) and modern (industrial). The pattern of traditional society is a society with a single structure that carries out all functions (fused). It tends to be ascriptive, particularistic, and unclear because of the view that the world is full of sacredness and the supernatural. Even with a hierarchical mindset, the environment is a ceremonial (liturgical) place to translate doctrinal messages textually.

Meanwhile, on the one hand, modern society is represented as a society that positions specific and focused functions according to the manifestation of the differences (reflected). It is reflected in the literate communicative relationship between the elite and the masses, which are oriented toward achievement norms and egalitarian values. It leads to materialistic and individualistic nuances, supports production specialization, and relies on financial incentives.[29]

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[24] John J. Macionis, *Sociology*, (London: Pearson, 2018), 649.

[25] Nina Hansen, et al., *How Modernization Instigates Social Change: Laptop Usage as a Driver of Cultural Value Change and Gender Equality in a Developing Country*, Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 45(8) 2014, 1229-1248.

[26] Francis Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order*, (New York: Free Press, 1999); Francis Fukuyama, *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution*, (London: Profile Books, 2003).

[27] Richard A. Chapman, *Prismatic Theory in Public Administration: A Review of The Theories of Fred W. Riggs*, Public Administration 44(4) 1966, 415-434.

[28] Rumki Basu, *Revisiting Fred W. Riggs' Model in the Context of "Prismatic" Societies Today*, Indian Journal of Public Administration 67(1) 2021, 87-95.

[29] Engkus, *Administrasi Publik dalam Perspektif Ekologi*, Jispo: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik 7(1) 2017, 83-93.

Therefore, Riggs emphasizes that prismatic society is characterized by high heterogeneity, formalism, and overlaps between formal and informal structures.[30] It is natural, as Ishomuddin emphasized, that this society has a powerful culture of coexistence and has conflicts between scientific and scientific orientations – Riggs calls it *polynormatism*.[31] A patron-client administrative socio-culture developed based on kinship, politics, and religion. It means that traditional people who experience diffraction are still shackled to traditional values. The size of the diffraction of society is very dependent on the degree of differentiation, so the socio-cultural transformation, which is the main character, is urgent in the transition process of society.

On the other hand, the socio-cultural plurality of a prismatic society is diffracted as a form of message reflection from a fused to a diffused form. However, socio-culture tends to be tied to ascriptive and particularistic "traditional" patterns. One of them is social prestige which is still difficult to separate from the construction of traditional norms, specifically defined based on ascriptive criteria such as heredity. This pattern is very different in modern society, prioritizing achievement when building social stratification so all community subjects can carry out vertical mobilization. It is precisely in this prismatic society that ascriptive and achievement work simultaneously to negotiate (interpose) the values of traditional and modern society like in Harber's research which analyzes the education system in developing countries using the concept of a prismatic society.[32]

Prismatic society adheres to the principle of formalism, so it is formally a modern society, although traditional values are still dominant. In this position, the subject of society tends to carry out various functions without specialization with traditional traditions in various structures. In this transitional phase, the subject of society – read actors or leaders – is making reforms; he positioned himself as a patron and initiator of the modernization of society. He can understand the socio-cultural life of the community from another perspective so that they are a small community that will "reflect the light." Therefore, he becomes a mediator between a fused and diffused society. In the traditional life of the *santri* this position is occupied by the *kiai*, so Geertz is said to be a cultural broker;[33] or is said to be the initiator of social transformation, inspiration, and mediator in society by Horikoshi.[34]

Indeed, the religious elite initiated traditional society in Java – or more specifically, East Java – the socio-cultural transformation. They become the dominant elite community in society because of their ability to adapt themselves from transforming traditional-charismatic roles to rational-authoritative ones based on ascriptive and achievement. When unraveling the transformation of the role of the religious elite, Karim's research found that the

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[30] Fred W. Riggs, *The Prismatic Model: Conceptualizing Transitional Societies*, Eric E. Otenyo & Nancy S. Lind (Edit.), *Comparative Public Management: The Essential Readings (Research in Public Policy Analysis and Management)*, Vol. 15, (Amsterdam: Emerald Publishing Limited, 2006), 17-60.

[31] Ishomuddin, *Agama Produsen Realitas: Tafsir Islam Tradisi Masyarakat Prismatik*, (Malang: UMM Press, 2007), 164.

[32] Clive Harber, *Prismatic Society Revisited: Theory and Educational Administration in Developing Countries*, Oxford Review of Education 19(4) 1993, 485-497.

[33] Clifford Geertz, *The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker*, Comparative Studies in Society and History 2(2) 1960, 228-249.

[34] Hiroko Horikoshi, *Kyai dan Perubahan Sosial*, Peterj.: Umar Basalim & Andi Muarly Sunrawa, (Jakarta: P3M, 1987), 1-3.

domination of the religious elite in power over the masses could be carried out outside the formal political structure.[35] However, as Anwar's research finds, the *kiai*'s symbolic and social capital is often weakened by other forces such as economic and political capital.[36] It means that the socio-cultural transformation of traditional societies – or the motor of transformation of prismatic societies – can be born from religious authority. Like Klaasen's analysis, religion encourages development – socio-cultural change – through its theological concepts.[37]

Socio-Cultural Transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU Communities

Based on interview data, the socio-cultural transformation that occurred in Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang districts was triggered by religious conditions. These three communities are indeed known as areas with a mass base of *santri*, so this area looks like an Islamic boarding school with traditional Islamic understanding (i.e., Islamic understanding based on the Qur'an, al-Hadith, Ijma', and Qiyas). The implication is that the community only knows the religious understanding of "*ahlusunnah wal Jamaah*" version of the NU pesantren applied daily. Especially the people of Jember and Bondowoso, whose life traditions have long been integrated with traditional Islamic understanding. Therefore, the community is relatively close to different views and religious understanding, especially to different religious beliefs.

Therefore, when a new understanding of Islam emerged in their lives, there was a shock to their traditional Islamic understanding. This social condition gave birth to religious sentiments between community subjects, especially those with different understandings and beliefs. When Muhammadiyah emerged as a socio-religious organization and movement in the three districts in the early 1970s to 1980s, it turned out that it gave rise to a reactive movement of society toward the understanding of Muhammadiyah community: first, some tried to join Muhammadiyah organization because they claimed that there were similarities between their own religious beliefs, and second, the majority of the community cultivates and revives traditional Islamic religious traditions to stem Muhammadiyah movement. The polarization of this religious movement between traditional Islamic understanding and Muhammadiyah strengthens traditional Islamic understanding (NU) because it has a religious construction that aligns with the traditions of an agrarian society.

The community tends to open itself to religious understanding that has long existed in its life. The Jember Regency NU figure himself said that the genealogical people of Jember, Bondowoso, or Lumajang regencies are NU people. Therefore, it is certain that the presence of traditional Islamic understanding (NU) was earlier than Muhammadiyah, so people are more open to accepting this Islamic understanding.[38] When Muhammadiyah entered the traditional Islamic community (NU), it caused a latent conflict. The conflict between the

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[35] Abdul Gaffar Karim, *The Pesantren-Based Rulling Elite in Sumenep in The Post-New Order Indonesia*, Journal of Indonesia Islam 3(1) 2009, 97-121.

[36] Ali Anwar, *The Shift of Kyai's Roles in Kediri East Java in the Post New-Order Era: The Contribution on Local Environment Context*, IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environment Science 469(1) 2020, 1-10.

[37] John Klaasen, *Religion and Development*, Religion and Theology 28(3-4) 2021, 179-205.

[38] Results of interviews with NU leaders in Jember Regency

traditional and modernist understanding communities leads to the "exclusion" of the minority. Even Islamic religious intellectuals are not able to be a solution to the Muhammadiyah-modernist and NU-traditional polarization and resolve the latent conflict. One Muhammadiyah figure explained that at the end of the 1980s, the escalation of the latent conflict reached its climax in the form of "scorn" and labeling "teachings outside Islam."[39]

On the one hand, this polarization –or latent conflict- has implications for the Islamic communities of Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang. This polarization fosters a competitive spirit in developing religious organs, even for themselves. Muhammadiyah and NU do retrospectives on each other to find their religious movements' weaknesses, shortcomings, or strengths so that there is an open interaction with interpersonal patterns. Interestingly, they have also started building and repairing their religious da'wah centers, such as repairing educational institutions (Islamic boarding schools, madrasas, or schools) and facilities for worship (*mushola* or mosques). It further strengthens the social and religious diversity of Muhammadiyah and NU communities in coexistence in society.

From year to year, the communication relations between Muhammadiyah and NU have experienced ups and downs, but their religious patterns have undergone a metamorphosis internally. In the 2000s, the awareness of the older groups grew stronger by sticking to the ideology of their respective religious movements. This awareness issue is also getting stronger when many of their younger generations receive higher education (at home and abroad). Therefore, their religious and national perspectives are more open to religious differences (starting from thoughts and beliefs). In addition, based on his knowledge, he fosters a moderate and tolerant attitude so that the younger generation of Muhammadiyah and NU communities have a strong spirit of integration.

This socio-religious reality does not only occur among the educated, but this construction also permeates the younger generation who do not have higher education or even those who have "dropped out" of basic education. The older generations' construction in the 2000s was judged to have exceeded their religious expectations. They argue that social integration must remain within the framework of the ulama's opinions to conform with the values of NU. One of the NU figures in Lumajang district said that NU is a collection of people who want to practice the teachings of *ahli sunnah wal jamaah* experts as conveyed by the scholars'. Ulama' are the inheritors of the prophets, so NU people must maintain the relationship between themselves, God, and each other. Besides, they have to have mutual respect for differences in Islamic views that should not be out of the NU scholars' opinion.[40]

For the younger generation, it becomes a sacred "advice" as a spirit to build brotherhood among Muslims (*ukhuwah Islamiyyah*), brotherhood of fellow countrymen (*ukhuwah wathaniyah*), and brotherhood of fellow human beings (*ukhuwah insaniyah*). The younger generation believes that the barrier of differences in thoughts and beliefs is not a barrier to establishing "brotherhood," especially to building the East Java community (Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang regencies).

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[39] Results of interviews with Muhammadiyah leaders in Bondowoso Regency
[40] Results of interviews with NU leaders in Lumajang Regency

The three districts are *santri* communities with paternalistic characteristics and are patron-client (people who position the *kiai* as community leaders with high social status (superior). These communities implement an education system centered in prayer rooms, mosques, pesantren, and schools because they believe that religious education (Islam) is the main foundation in their lives. This education system has been driven since the 1980s by NU which has consistently opened up educational opportunities for the community by establishing pesantren. Muhammadiyah has opened formal educational institutions geographically located in the middle of the city. Therefore, this combined movement has increased the opportunity for the community to receive religious (Islamic) education. Moreover, when public interest in general education is very high, Muhammadiyah and NU have also adopted general education types such as vocational high schools. Finally, many young people graduate from various types of education that send them to college.[41]

The implication of this reality manifested itself in the early 2000s, when there has been an extraordinary development in the people of East Java. Many young people have graduated from public universities (such as Brawijaya University Malang, Airlangga University Surabaya, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta, and so on) and religion (Maliki State Islamic University Malang, Sunan Ampel State Islamic University Surabaya, Sunan Kaijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta , University of Muhammadiyah Malang, and so on). Some returned to their respective areas; some continued to a higher level, and some worked in other areas. Those who return to their regions prefer to help teach in educational institutions. Their contribution is evident when pesantren alumni who graduate from college become principals or hold strategic roles in educational institutions. This dynamic gave birth to a positive response from the community, and they began to realize the urgency of public education for the younger generation.

The scientific aspect (education) fosters a moderate and tolerant attitude in religious life in society. Even economic factors have also shifted from an agricultural economic pattern to an industrial one, which ultimately plays a role in developing Muhammadiyah and NU communities. Indeed, the three districts' geographical location is on the southern sea's outskirts, except for Bondowoso district, which is in a mountainous area. Therefore, at first, the community only knew the types of work in farming, fishing, and trading. The professional alteration occurred massively in the late 1990s when the community had an education awareness. It includes economic progress outside East Java, which offers various jobs, such as skills, crafts, and others. In this field, the younger generation who have never received higher education tend to engage in professions such as masons, woodworkers, etc.[42]

The economic development of Muhammadiyah and NU communities in the three districts has implications for their behavior and lifestyle. The basis for this transformation, according to NU leaders, lies in meeting the material needs of their community which is fulfilled. It was further explained that this aspect has implications for the pattern of people's lives, always following technological developments.[43] Therefore, most Muhammadiyah and

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[41] Results of interviews with Muhammadiyah leaders in Lumajang Regency
[42] Results of interviews with Muhammadiyah leaders in Jember Regency
[43] Results of interviews with NU figures in Bondowoso Regency

NU communities have electronic communication tools (means) such as cellphones or computers that surf freely into cyberspace. This pattern of life opens up opportunities for them to receive new information and knowledge, including religious knowledge. This freedom in communication and information channels has encouraged socio-cultural transformation in the personal and communal (society) realms. Sociologically, Muhammadiyah and NU communities have occupied the same socio-cultural position when experiencing the transformation of social life. However, this phenomenon is marked by latent conflict, especially in Jember district, because the presence of Muhammadiyah is relatively new in a society that is already stable and the status quo understands its diversity. The socio-cultural reality of Muhammadiyah and NU communities is what drives the transformation of social life.

Dialectical Model of Socio-Cultural Transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU Community

The typology of the Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang regencies is a society that has undergone a revolutionary process of socio-cultural transformation. Therefore, this society from the material and knowledge dimensions represents a typology of transitional society – to borrow Fred W. Riggs' theory which is said to be a prismatic society. A classified society undergoing a socio-cultural transformation from traditional to modern is called a prismatic society. Interestingly, the three regencies are typical of rational people who are very obedient to their patrons – read the ulama'.

Three factors (religion, education, and economy) influence the people of Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang Regencies to become active communities in transformation. The disappearance of local-traditional traditions and shifting to modern traditions indicates the strong implications of these three factors. Currently, the social interactions developed are not limited to specific communities, such as Muhammadiyah or NU communities, but these communities have become fluid and even open to other communities. The two of them consistently fight for the construction of moderate Islam, which is emphasized on the theological-cultural dimension.[44]

The combination of these movements supports the growth and development of a conducive community climate. This condition triggered, especially in the last 2010s, a new social reality emerged as individual behavior with religious and progressive personality characteristics. This implication can be said to be the fairness of the relationship between socio-cultural transformation and human resource development. Therefore, Greenfield tries to provide a framework for studying social change and human development to avoid being method-centric.[45]

The socio-cultural transformation of the individual dimension cannot be separated from the strong influence of three triggering factors, especially the education factor. Opening a wider space of religious insight creates a beautiful difference in religious life. The dynamics

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[44] Toto Suharto, *Gagasan Pendidikan Muhammadiyah dan NU sebagai Potret Pendidikan Islam Moderat di Indonesia*, Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman 9(1) 2014, 81-109.

[45] Patricia M. Greenfield, *Studying Social Change, Culture, and Human Development: A Theoretical Framework and Methodological Guidelines*, Developmental Review 50(A) 2018, 16-30.

of religious life that is conducive to encouraging collective action to keep moving and not being in the status quo. Moreover, there is collective inertia at the social level, according to research by Sablonniere & Taylor, which will destroy social communities.[46] Therefore, Muhammadiyah and NU communities open themselves to the current socio-cultural transformation by balancing it with the maturity of human resources.

The two communities have indeed awakened their awareness so that the process of social development – read the transition process – in Muhammadiyah and NU communities is necessary. That is, the process is claimed to be of a general nature that can occur "anytime" and "to any community"; because there are trigger factors that influence it, namely: external factors such as education, economy, or religion. This transition process will not be realized without the internal forces in the socio-religious community in the form of their potential such as ideology, intellect, and intuition. The internal strength managed creates a positive spirit towards the community itself. As revealed by Chatterjee et al., the management of community values can achieve social transformation.[47]

The context has phenomenological relevance to the theory of Berger & Luckman contained in "The Social Construction of Reality." Their theory states a dialectical relationship between knowledge and the social base that underlies it. This relation is stated if knowledge is a social product, and knowledge is a factor in socio-cultural transformation.[48] Based on this view, it appears that there is a theoretical framework for socio-cultural transformation that tends to trigger internal aspects. Therefore, Muhammadiyah and NU communities, when experiencing a process of socio-cultural transformation, were triggered by their self-awareness. Although on the one hand, this community is also experiencing a socio-cultural transformation in their social base.

This view reinforces that socio-cultural transformation emerges based on a basic framework of balance between external and internal influences. However, this process can occur in villages or cities due to an imbalance between external and internal influences. It means that socio-cultural transformation occurs driven by dominant external influences rather than internal aspects. However, the influence of the external aspect is a social basis that gives birth to awareness – read knowledge – within the community. The internal aspect is the main basis for the socio-cultural transformation process. Thus, there is a dialectical process between external and internal aspects when a society begins to enter the transition process.
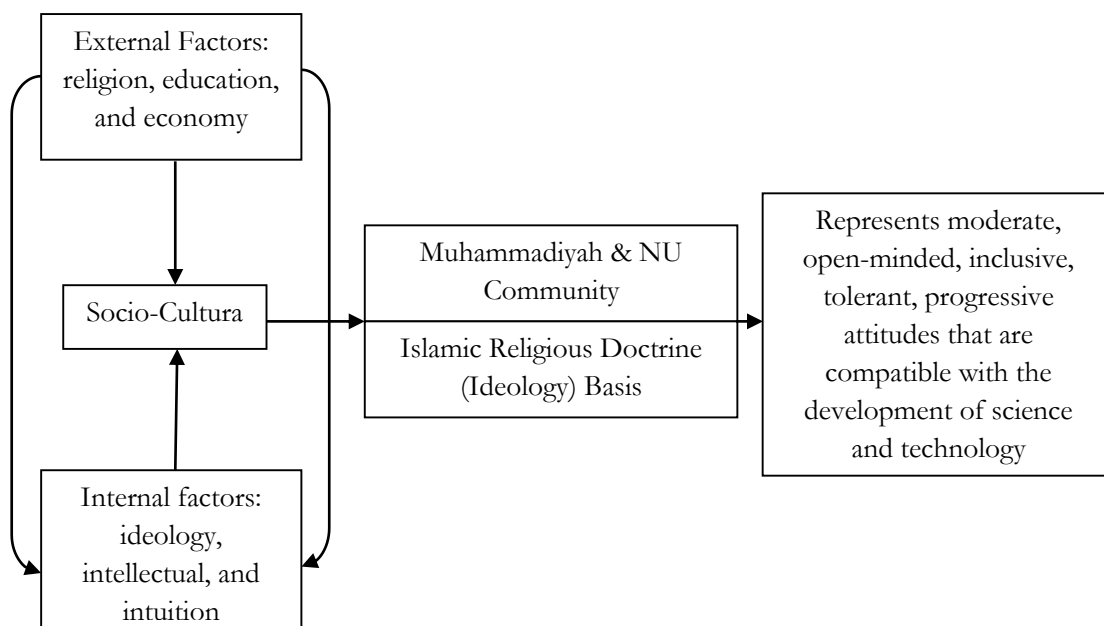
Based on this description, there is a dialectical process between the influence of external and internal aspects in the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU communities. On the one hand, these external and internal factors determine the color, direction, and movement of the socio-cultural transformation process of Muhammadiyah and NU communities. However, the process never leaves the ideological basis of their religious movements, which ultimately shape social characteristics and actions. This

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[46] Roxane de la Sablonniere & Donald M. Taylor, *A Social Change Framework for Addressing Collective Action: Introducing Collective Inertia*, Current Opinion in Psychology 35 2020, 65-70.

[47] Ira Chatterjee, et al., *Social Entrepreneurship and Values Work: The Role of Practices in Shaping Values and Negotiating Change*, Journal of Business Venturing 36(1) 2021, 106064.

[48] Peter L. Berger & Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 104.

construction builds their awareness of the importance of new life values and norms – read modern values. The flow of the dialectical process can be described as follows:

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┌─────────────────────┐
│  External Factors:  │
│ religion, education,│
│    and economy      │
└─────────────────────┘
          │
          ▼
    ┌──────────────┐      ┌─────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────┐
    │ Socio-Cultura│─────▶│ Muhammadiyah & NU   │─────▶│  Represents moderate,│
    └──────────────┘      │    Community        │      │ open-minded, inclusive,│
          ▲               │                     │      │   tolerant, progressive│
          │               │ Islamic Religious   │      │   attitudes that are  │
          │               │  Doctrine           │      │  compatible with the  │
┌─────────────────────┐   │  (Ideology) Basis   │      │ development of science │
│  Internal factors:  │   └─────────────────────┘      │   and technology      │
│     ideology,       │                                └──────────────────────┘
│ intellectual, and   │
│     intuition       │
└─────────────────────┘
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Picture of Dialectical Model of External Factors with Internal Triggers of Socio-Cultural Transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU Communities

The dialectical process of external and internal factors provides opportunities for Muhammadiyah and NU to analyze aspects of their strengths and challenges in more detail. Especially when Muhammadiyah and NU occupy socio-cultural positions in the community, the religious doctrine they believe in becomes the convention of their respective social actions. These doctrines in each religious organization are characteristics and characteristics that indicate the position of Muhammadiyah or NU. It is seen in the contribution of Muhammadiyah and NU to establishing democracy in Indonesia, which stands as the backbone of civil society.[49] He is even determined to voice the Islam of the Progressive Archipelago to stem the transnational movement.[50] Therefore, the socio-cultural transformation in the genealogy of Muhammadiyah and NU communities cannot be separated from the basis of religious doctrine and orientation to upholding their religious symbols.

However, the difference between Muhammadiyah and NU generally lies in their religious traditions and practices, although they both use the doctrine of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* as the theological basis for determining their religious identity and rituals. It can be seen in the religious symbols used in the context of sociological and theological meanings that tend to be contrasting. Likewise, it is straightforward to see methodological differences

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[49] Greg Barton, et al., *Authoritarianisme, Democracy, Islamic Movements and Contestations of Islamic Religious Ideas in Indonesia*, Religions 12(8) 2021, 1-20.

[50] Zaimul Asroor, *Islam Transnasional Vs Islam Moderat: Upaya NU dan MD Menyuarakan Islam Moderat di Panggung Dunia*, at-Turas: Jurnal Studi Keislaman 6(2) 2019, 31-73.

in scientific insight, such as determining the beginning of Ramadan or 1 Shawwal between Muhammadiyah and NU, which are often different. [51] This difference still makes Muhammadiyah and NU communities occupy socio-cultural positions contributing to social integration.

On the one hand, some levels have vague characteristics and are not the same as the norm. Still, the socio-culture of Muhammadiyah and NU communities remains easily visible. It means that the socio-cultural assimilation of these two communities makes the slices of their religious traditions and practices appear smaller. Moreover, the existence of economic and educational developments and advances in science and technology have encouraged Muhammadiyah and NU communities to want to adapt to these conditions. Therefore, one way they do it is to adopt these modern symbols into their life system.

From this construction, it is clear that external and internal factors have their respective potentials and strengths in influencing (progress or regress) social communities. Therefore, the socio-cultural transformation process of Muhammadiyah and NU communities cannot be separated from the dialectical relationship between external and internal factors. Social aspects such as religious, educational, and economic realities surrounding the lives of Muhammadiyah and NU communities can be "captured" critically by themselves. This pattern gives birth to knowledge as the basis of awareness to carry out socio-cultural transformation. Thus, the socio-cultural position of Muhammadiyah and NU communities in the districts of Jember, Bondowoso, and Lumajang shifted – not due to the influence of external or internal factors. However, this transformation is dialectically influenced by the relationship between external and internal factors. This dialectical process is also strongly tied to their religious doctrine's values, so the awareness they build is based on the strength of theological values. This process can be termed the transcendental dialectical model.

CONCLUSION
Based on this description, it can be seen that Muhammadiyah and NU communities in the prismatic social structure of East Java underwent a socio-cultural transformation. The organizational identity of NU is a traditionalist organization, and Muhammadiyah as a modernist is indeed reflected in religious actions. These socio-cultural actions also tend to be different and often lead to social polarization between Muhammadiyah and NU communities. However, the polarization began to experience a shift, especially when the younger generation of the two communities received higher education.

Therefore, the understanding of the cultural entities of Muhammadiyah and NU communities is expressed in the form of meaning manifested in their progressive actions. They interpret culture while considering social and political conditions, especially religious doctrine. It is common for socio-cultural transformation to be influenced by the intellectual capacity of Muhammadiyah and NU communities so that they can have a critical dialogue

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[51] Ridwan & Muhammad Fuad Zain, *Religious Symbol on Determining the Beginning and End of Ramadan in Indonesia*, HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies 77(4) 2021, a6397.

with their social base. So knowledge is one of the triggers for the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU communities because these entities give birth to constant social action. External aspects (such as religious, educational, and economic factors) are not the only basis for the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU communities. A dialectical pattern between external and internal aspects can trigger the transformation process while remaining based on theological values.

Based on this context, this research confirms that the dichotomous discourse of NU-Traditional and Muhammadiyah-Modernism organizational identity is no longer relevant as an academic reference. It is because, at the personalistic (or communalistic) level, the socio-cultural actions of Muhammadiyah and NU communities have combinative similarities. Reality construction confirms that traditional socio-cultural entities are not final entities (state of becoming) but rather ongoing processes. It means that the socio-cultural transformation of Muhammadiyah and NU is dynamic by their intellectual level and internal intuition in dialogue with the social basis of society.

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