

# Adaptation of Muhammadiyah Members to the Religious Tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama Gorontalo

**Arfan Nusi**

Department of Philosophy, Islamic State University of Sultan Amai Gorontalo, Indonesia  
arfan\_nusi@yahoo.com

**Nurul Ilmi Idrus and Hamka Naping**

Department of Anthropology, Hasanuddin University, Makassar, Indonesia  
nurulilmiidrus@yahoo.com, hamka\_naping@yahoo.com

**Lahaji**

Department of Family Law (*Ahwalul Syasiah*), Islamic State University of Sultan Amai  
Gorontalo, Indonesia  
lahaji\_haedar@yahoo.com

## Abstract

The purpose of this study is to discuss the forms, the factors and the implications of adaptation of Muhammadiyah members to the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama. Robert K. Merton's theory was used to see the adaptation process which has been carried out by Muhammadiyah members in Gorontalo. The study applied a phenomenological qualitative approach. In the process of collecting data, the study used observation and interview techniques. The data analysis classified the data including primary and secondary data. The results showed that the adaptation of Muhammadiyah members was in the form of implementing the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama. They were: *mongaruwa* (spirit prayer), *molibungo* (female circumcision), and *be'ati* (oath of allegiance). The factors that caused the adaptation of Muhammadiyah members were the process of collaboration, and continuously mutual openness with Nahdlatul Ulama members in the community. In addition, the implications of the adaptation: first, there was a harmonious social life among Muslims. Lastly, Muhammadiyah members were not rigid in the midst of the religious traditions of the Nahdlatul Ulama members and the local traditions of Gorontalo.

## Keywords

Adaptation, Muhammadiyah Members, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Religious Practices, Tradition.

## 1. Introduction

Nahdlatul Ulama has a traditional character which can be found in the cultural spaces of the Gorontalo community. When you find *Qadhi* (a leader of priests), *Imamu* (a priest), *Kasisi* (a village priest) who leads the religious ceremonies or *Hulango* (traditional shaman), *Baate* (the head of tradition), *Hu'u* (the representative of tradition), and *Mayulu* (security) who lead various traditional activities. Gorontaloese easily refer them to Nahdlatul Ulama members. This religious organization has become a symbol of a cultural group (Eka Octalia Indah Librianti 2019). Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah members have a modern character who are known to be strong with the spirit of seeking and purifying Islam; it turns out that they have succeeded in finding a social position in Gorontalo community which is thick with the traditional nuances (Muhammad Dachlan 2017). This position aims for a balanced social structure and emphasizes the stability, unity and harmony of the social system (Robert K. Merton 2015).

The study of the adaptation of Muhammadiyah members to the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama Gorontalo showed two things. First, the study of Islamic thought of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. The first-mentioned Islamic organization is based more on an urban-based society, genealogically. Therefore, the basis of thought and movement is labeled modernist. Meanwhile, the last-mentioned Islamic group, Nahdlatul Ulama, is a group that was

born and developed in rural areas and rural-based members. As a result, the pattern of religious thought is typified as traditional Islam (Luthfi Hadi Aminuddin 2018; Zulkarnain 2011; Zainal Abidin 2015). Second, the social interaction of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah members who are open up and get to know each other more closely. This perspective eliminates the negative perspective between two members (Usisa Rohmah 2020; Muhammad Dachlan 2017; Mustiqowati Ummul Fithriyyah and Muhammad Saiful Umam 2018). From the tendencies, the previous study only focused more on mapping thoughts and the process of interaction in society. Meanwhile, the position of Muhammadiyah members in adapting to the condition that the majority of Nahdlatul Ulama members, are neglected in the existing literature.

This study is based on reality. The religious traditions in Gorontalo are not only carried out by Nahdlatul Ulama members, but also at the same time Muhammadiyah members practice the tradition. Indeed, Nahdlatul Ulama, a religious organization, maintains cultural treasures that support teachings and symbols as a religious infrastructure. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah is known for its modernization and purification movement, propagates religious proselytizing, full of wisdom through its cultural movements. These two religious pillars perpetuate the religious traditions in Gorontalo as the part of religion should be implemented and become an inseparable part of life.

### **1.1. The Objective of Study**

This study aims to complete the shortcomings of previous studies which do not pay attention to the study of the adaptation of Muhammadiyah members in the religious practices carried out by the Muslim community of Gorontalo. In fact, they are cultural Muslims. In addition, there are three questions answered in this study: (a) How is the adaptation of Muhammadiyah members in the implementation of the Nahdlatul Ulama religious tradition? (b) What are the factors that make Muhammadiyah members perform the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama? (c) What are the implications that happened when Muhammadiyah members adapted to the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama? The answers were intended to provide a direction for understanding the adaptation of Muhammadiyah members among the Nahdlatul Ulama members in Gorontalo. It was not just an ordinary adaptation but rather an awareness attitude of caring about Gorontalo's religious traditions that were passed down from generation to generation. It is believed to be a noble culture which must be preserved.

## **2. Literature Review**

Widodo (2011) maps out the religious principles of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Muhammadiyah puts the principle of understanding Islam back in its authenticity and purity. This is different from Nahdlatul Ulama, which accommodates various principle instructions in implementing Islamic law, even in terms of theology, *aqidah* and *Sufism* as the foundation of scientific Nahdlatul Ulama. The truth is that Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are sometimes in the same perception. On the other hand, in other cases, it often leads to long discussions and ends in protracted conflicts.

This study highlights two founders of the organization, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari and KH. Ahmad Dahlan. At a certain point, they had something in common, including both of them studying with Sheikh Ahmad Khatib and Sheikh Nawawi Banten. They also studied the interpretation of *al-Manar* by Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida. However, there are differences of principle and belief in responding to the currents of modernity and the renewal of Islamic thoughts. Moreover, there are quite sharp differences in methodology in determining Islamic law and other ideological matters, and the differences of epistemology in taking and determining the law. Especially, when looking for the similarity, it will return to the same source, namely, the Holy *Qur'an* and *Hadith*. Muhammadiyah refers directly to it, while Nahdlatul Ulama understands it through the books of *salaf*, especially from the *Shafi'iyah* guidance.

The enmity between Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah can be seen through the study of Zainal Abidin (2015). The results doctrinally show that these mass organizations have a distinction in the practice of *furui'iyah* (branches) of worship in Islam, to influence the views, attitudes and methods developed in doing the hard effort (*ijtihad*). In fact, these differences also have implications for the styles and methods developed by Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. Because Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are departed from the perspective and method of *ijtihad* developed by the organizations, the effect is very noticeable. For example, during the decision of the months of *Ramadhan*, *Shawwal*, *Zulhijjah* and others. The difference in determining the months always occurs and uses science, but both apply different methods. Therefore, the results are also different.

Furthermore, a study conducted by Khusniati Rofiah (2016), explains the conflict between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. The conflict is actually only in the *khilafiyah* area such as *qunut* and not *qunut* and many other things. On the contrary, in reality, conflict develops in a wide circle and involves many segments of society. In addition, occurring in the religious area, conflict broke out in the political area. This study concludes that there are two types of political areas which have the potential conflict. First is in the Political Parties (Nahdlatul Ulama = Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, Muhammadiyah = Partai Amanat Nasional). The last is in the Ministry of Religion. The first area in various sources mentions that actually Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah were once in one political bond (*Masyumi*). Unfortunately, it does not last long. Nahdlatul Ulama left *Masyumi* because Nahdlatul Ulama's disappointment with the dominance of modernism members supported by Muhammadiyah.

The study of Binfas, et al. (2018) reviews Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as two creative organizations founded by their founders. Maman appreciates Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah because they have built an enlightening religious spirit that has reached more than a century. Whereas other organizations do not survive that far. However, this study still unravels the conflict side which always arises between them. For example, Muhammadiyah is fighting for heresy (*bid'ah*) and superstition (*khurafat*). On the other hand, Nahdlatul Ulama is considered as the organization that carries out religious practices that are not based on the teachings of the *Holy Qur'an* and *Hadith*.

In addition, the studies of conflict between Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, describe the movement and moderatism of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are found in various articles or writings. On the other hand, these studies still show the exclusivism side of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah in promoting modernity. Darajat's study (2017) discerns Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as organizations that always offer peaceful solutions when conflicts occur in religious communities. His findings indicate that Islam is a revolutionary teaching that has been able to turn ignorance into a noble culture and civilization is a historical fact that cannot be denied. However, the success of Islam changed world civilization. Its existence is maintained as an institution and belief of billions of human beings is due to the flexibility and adaptive power of its teachings. If Islam is hard and rigid towards all the developments and dynamics of the times, of course it will be obsolete and abandoned by its adherents. Therefore, Islamic social moderate movements such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, until now, still maintain their true Islamic characteristics without having to be fought by violence. However, the Islamic movement must still show the true mission of Islam. The movement that carries the mission of *rahmatan lil alamin*. Even though Zakiyah impresses that Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are moderate organizations. In their application of moderation, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah still stand out for themselves.

Fithriyyah and Umam's study (2018). Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have proven themselves to consistently manifest moderation in religious social spaces. Both of them have agreed not to be trapped in the formalistic framework of *sharia* on the state. For both, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution are final. There is no need to change it, even replace it with Islamic ideology. If there is a state view that is deviant from Islamic values, the two organizations always open themselves to discuss it wisely. Both stand on nationalism and tend to avoid conflict in front of the legitimate state. Even though both of them are unquestionable Indonesian, the practice always creates a competition in offering the best format for developing the country. Sometimes the competition even leads to a conflict.

Zulkarnain's study (2011) is about Nahdlatul Ulama organization, claimed to be a traditional organization, both in Islamic studies, and traditional in thought and movement. His thoughts are conservative to liberal, classical the voweless Arabic script studies (*kutubut turats*) to Islamic studies which are rich in Islamic approaches. Even local characteristics are also very prominent in the tradition of Islamic studies of Nahdlatul Ulama. For Muhammadiyah, it is interesting in Zulkanain's writing. There are various types of Muhammadiyah. There are puritan Muhammadiyah, tolerant Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah sense of Nahdlatul Ulama (MUNU) and *abangan* (Javanese Muslims are syncretic) Muhammadiyah. Basically, Muhammadiyah is diverse. Some of them are modern, adopting the approach of Western sciences, but the others are traditional Islamic studies.

Aminuddin's study (2018) on the typology of Nahdlatul Ulama, is often identified as a religious organization born and raised in rural areas; the members are based in rural areas. It is not surprising that this group is assumed to be a traditional group. These are the typological religious thoughts of traditional Islam. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah was genealogically born from the basis of urban society. Its way of thinking is identical to urban people, namely, modern

Islam. When people follow the Nahdlatul Ulama tradition, they are always considered a backward group. Meanwhile, the Muhammadiyah group is considered as an advanced group. At the same time, both of them produce typological knowledge and legitimize that Muhammadiyah is sophisticated and civilized, whereas the traditional Nahdlatul Ulama is unsophisticated and syncretic.

### **3. The Method of Study**

This study was appropriate with the fact as the result of the development of study. It applied a qualitative phenomenological approach. Study in the phenomenological view means understanding an event in relation to people in certain situations (Moleong 2010). In this case, the phenomenological approach does not analyze the theories and concepts that contain suggestions and inspiration, but concerns the meaning of ethics in theorizing and conceptualizing (Muhadjir 1990). Gorontalo includes 19 traditional areas in Indonesia, where Gorontalo customs are linked with Islamic religious values. This study focused on one religious group that has been known to be modern, but it is able to adapt to local culture.

### **4. The Data Collection**

In the process of collecting data, this study applied observation and interview techniques. These two methods are commonly used by ethnographers (Dananajaja 1988). Observations and interviews are carried out using descriptive observations and interviews, focused observations, structural interviews and selective observations and contrast interviews (Spradley 1980). The observation technique was carried out in a participatory and non-participatory manner. Participatory or involved observations would allow the researcher to move more freely so they were far from the rigidity that tended to "stain" the previously established intimate atmosphere. Observation techniques would be very helpful in identifying Muhammadiyah members regarding the choice of strategies, approaches, methods and forms of religious traditions in adapting.

The interview was conducted by a researcher. The informants were chosen, consisting of Muhammadiyah members or administrators, religious or community leaders, youth leaders and ordinary Muhammadiyah people. This choice was understandable considering the existence of those who were considered to have an important role in the adaptation process in society. They were interviewed independently. A freely guided interview was an interview procedure that followed the necessary guidelines. The interview guideline was only in the form of studied points and sub-problems, which were developed by the interviewer himself. Through such an interview, hopefully, the open answer will be obtained. Therefore, based on the answers obtained, it will be possible to develop broader questions. This interview was used specifically for the selected informants. They were considered representative worthy of supporting this study. The researcher would also conduct casual interviews which were addressed to people without selecting beforehand, random people.

After collecting various data from the sources mentioned above, it was data analysis. At this stage, the data classification would be carried out first, including primary and secondary data. Primary data was from the important documents or books of the Muhammadiyah organization and the results of interviews that had been conducted. In addition, the secondary data was the additional data that has relation with the study being conducted.

## **5. Results and Discussions of the Study**

### **5.1. The Adaptation of Muhammadiyah Group**

The facts showed that Ibrahim (pseudonym) was born and raised from the Muhammadiyah family and environment. He graduated from elementary school in Muhammadiyah. He was an administrator of Muhammadiyah in Gorontalo. He also became the head-organizer of Mujahidin mosque under the Muhammadiyah management. Nowadays, he is comfortable being part of Nahdlatul Ulama in Gorontalo while carrying out its religious traditions. His closeness to Nahdlatul Ulama began when he joined the cadres forming the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII) in 1996. PMII (the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement) seniors are educating juniors about the concept of *aswaja an-Nadliyah*, Indonesianized, the paradigms of thinking and the basic values of the movement. All of that has left a very deep impression on them. It was the time Ibrahim started comparing the worship of Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and other Islamic organizations. He discerns Nahdlatul Ulama as the rich-Islamic organization in cultural values; *Tahlilan* (repeated recitation of the confession of faith: there is no god but God), *barjanzi* (History of the Prophet Muhammad), *maulid* (commemoration of the prophet Muhammad's birthday), *yasinan* (recite a Yasin sura, division of the Koran) and others became part of the PMII culture that he never got in his family circle.

The other informant, Yusuf, said that he was very adaptive and accommodating to the Nahdlatul Ulama tradition. Several times, he attended religious rituals, held by his neighbors, relatives and friends. Friendship relationships were many from Nahdlatul Ulama members. He only underlined an important point of the religious tradition. He pronounced, “As a Muhammadiyah person, I understand that Islam is accommodating to religious traditions that exist in Gorontalo. Islam is inclusive or open to other cultures. I usually attend *tahlilan* if I am invited to the activity as a form of my openness to the traditions held by Nahdlatul Ulama friends. The important thing is the tradition that is carried out should not sacrifice an Islamic *Shari'a* obligation. Moreover, tradition should not be copious. Regarding the issue of superstition, heresy and myth (TBC or *tahayul*, *bid'ah* and *churafat*). In my mind, the issue was not a big problem for Muhammadiyah. It is different from the beginning. At this time, there are various new problems that relate to social humanitarian issues because Muhammadiyah is no longer just focused on *fiqh*, *sharia* and theology which tend to be textual.”

Likewise with Budi, an academic as well as a young Muhammadiyah figure. Currently, he is serving as Chairman of the Regional *Tarjih* Council of Muhammadiyah Gorontalo. He has been involved several times in initiating *hileyiya* (moving/shifting) activities when a family is grieving. *Hileyiya* is packaged in its own style without reducing the substance of the tradition. Budi only puts a limit as long as the tradition does not interfere with *sharia* matters so that there is no problem. The problem is when culture is seen as part of *sharia*, which must be done. The rest he strongly supports the religious traditions of Gorontalo. As disclosed; "What I underlined is not that tradition is a problem, but the matter is the tradition which is considered as an Islamic law that must be implemented. Religious traditions have a positive side because our ancestors have carried out according to their experiences. For example, *hileyiya* tradition means *moheyi* or shifting the food in our house to the funeral home. They didn't prepare the food for us. Based on my experience, several times, my neighbors or relatives died. I took the initiative to carry out *hileyiya*. After gathering the food, my friends and I bring it to the funeral home and eat together to comfort the bereaved family.”

Ibrahim and Budi's experience was the same as Andi's. As a senior official at Muhammadiyah University and Secretary of the Regional Leadership of Muhammadiyah in Gorontalo, he lives in the midst of a strong community culture. Andi supports Gorontalo's religious traditions as long as they do not deviate from Islamic teachings and the values of monotheism. The Muhammadiyah orientation is a condition for progress, since its establishment, attention to progressive Islam has been continuously carried out with science. As he expressed it, “For me, everything relates to tradition, as long as it does not contradict monotheism, it is not a matter. I consider that there are several religious traditions in Gorontalo which do not destroy monotheism. For example, *tumbilotohe* (the night of the lights on the 27th day of *Ramadhan*) besides being beautiful to look at, *tumbilotohe* tradition has become part of a tourism site. Because our measure in Muhammadiyah is monotheism, that the vitality of religion is. If religion still mixes practices that contain elements of superstition, heresy and myth (TBC or *tahayul*, *bid'ah* and *churafat*), for Muhammadiyah members, these three words are clearly contrary to Islamic law. Indeed, the impression is a bit extreme, but the problem of monotheism of Muhammadiyah does not tolerate it, in the slightest. Thus, the issue of monotheism in Muhammadiyah is the end. Nowadays, our spirit of monotheism is directed at the development of education and health.”

The three informants mentioned above show that Muhammadiyah members carry out the religious traditions of Nahdlatul Ulama in the form of *Tahlilan* (repeated recitation of the confession of faith: there is no god but God), *barjanzi* (History of the Prophet Muhammad), *maulid* (commemoration of the prophet Muhammad's birthday), *yasinan* (recite a Yasin sura, division of the Koran), *hileyiya* (moving/shifting), and *tumbilotohe* (the night of the lights on the 27th day of *Ramadhan*). They carry out the religious tradition as a form of adaptation to the Nahdlatul Ulama tradition which has been the identity of the Gorontalo Muslim community (Table 1).

Table 1. The Adaptation of Muhammadiyah

No	Activities	Local Traditions	The Combination of Local Traditions and Religious Practices
1	Reading <i>qunut</i> in the dawn prayer ( <i>Subuh</i> ).	<i>Tumbilotohe</i> (the night of the lights on the 27th day of <i>Ramadhan</i> )	<i>Hileyiya</i> (repeated recitation of the confession of faith : there is no god but God : <i>la ilaha illallah</i> )

2	Nonobligatory evening prayers during fasting month 20 units	<i>Payango Bele</i> (tradition of building a house)	<i>Barjanzi</i> (History of the Prophet Muhammad)
3	Intention to pray by reading <i>ushalli</i>	<i>Dulohupa</i> (Discussion)	<i>Mauludu</i> (commemoration of the prophet Muhammad's birthday)
4	Intention to fast by reading <i>nawaitu sauma ghadin</i>	<i>Dutu</i> (proposal)	Me'raji (Isra' Mi'raj)
5	Recitation of <i>dhikr</i> (praise of God) after prayer with a high-pitched voice.	<i>Lihu lolimu</i> (bathe after doing the circumcision as the religious ritual).	<i>Khatamu Quru'ani</i> (complete the reading of the Koran).
6	Call to dawn prayer by pronouncing <i>Ashalatu khair minan naum</i>	<i>Moloopu</i> (ceremony performed when someone becomes a regional leader)	<i>Yasinan</i> (recite a Yasin sura, division of the Koran)
7	Call to Friday prayer, twice.	-	<i>Molubingo</i> (female circumcision)
8	Mentioning the Prophet with the words <i>Sayyidina Muhammad</i>	-	<i>Beati</i> (oath of allegiance)

## 5.2. Factors Influence Muhammadiyah Members to Carry out the Religious Traditions of Nahdlatul Ulama

Muhammadiyah members are always found carrying out local religious traditions in Gorontalo. They applied the adaptation strategies to be accepted in the Nahdlatul Ulama Muslim community. It was not surprising that they have succeeded in gaining a social position in Gorontalo community, which is thick with nuances of customs. Several Muhammadiyah figures are implementers of this tradition, such as the Chairman of Muhammadiyah Youth of Bonebolango Regency. He carries out the *hileviya* tradition, reciting *sholawati* and other traditional forms. Likewise, Sumitro Lopuo, Muhammadiyah Board of Bonebolango participated in the preservation of Gorontalo Muslim customs in the form of *dikili* (*dhikr*) and *me'raji* (*isra' mi'raj*) traditions. It is obvious that Muhammadiyah members play an active role in preserving the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama.

In this pattern, there were two factors that influenced Muhammadiyah members to carry out the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama, including: Muhammadiyah members in the last thirty years have often held intense dialogues. The intense dialogues make two organizations mutually strengthen social ties. The ties of brotherhood and kinship as well as kinship relations. Each Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama interacted with each other in a free, open and fluid atmosphere. This good communication process is a factor for Muhammadiyah people to attend celebrations and practice the religious traditions of Nahdlatul Ulama. Geographical proximity makes two organization members open to each other. Because Gorontaloese who live in urban areas, especially in rural areas, will be judged *mobulilo* (unnatural) if they close themselves off from other people.

The cooperation of Gorontalo Muslim community, especially whose Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama backgrounds. It always occurs, whether it is at the elite level in the organizational structure or in the midst of ordinary people. The elite level of their cooperation is more specifically in the religious deradicalization program and the mainstreaming of religious moderation. The two organizations are united in the management of the Indonesia Parson Council (MUI) which has the same agenda. Meanwhile, cooperation for ordinary people is found in the *Huyulu* (mutual cooperation) tradition, *ti'ayo* (help). The traditions can be seen clearly in everyday life. For example, in the context of *huyula* tradition, between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Muslims community. They work together to repair bridges, roads, clean villages or official districts and mosques. The cooperation is also seen in *ti'ayo* tradition. Two community members help each other. *Ti'ayo* in Gorontalo tradition is interpreted as cooperation among farmers on agricultural land. If a Muhammadiyah person plants corn in the garden, he first invites other farmers to help him plant without paying. He only provides food and drink, so on and takes turns (Table 2).

Table 2. Muhammadiyah Adaptation Factors

No	Mutually open	Cooperation
1	Intense dialogue	<i>Huyula</i> (mutual cooperation)

2	Brotherhood, and kinship	<i>Ti'ayo</i> (helping each other)
3	Interaction is open, free and smooth.	<i>Bilohe</i> (paying attention to each other)
4	Attending the celebration of Nahdlatul Ulama people	<i>Depita</i> (taking care of each other)
5	Geographical propinquity	<i>Ambuwa</i> (gathering together)

### 5.3. Implications of Adaptation of Muhammadiyah Members

Muhammadiyah members are accustomed to the traditions of *ti'ayo* (helping each other), *huyula* (mutual cooperation), *bilohe* (seeing each other), *depita* (taking each other) and *ambuwa* (gathering together). There was an intense process of interaction because this tradition brought Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama together in social spaces. That is why tradition transcends the dividing line among different understandings. One and the other have been united in a noble tradition. Apparently, that attitude is a representation of tolerance or respect (*tinepo*). On the other hand, in general, human nature tends to be conformity, adjusting to other people or with groups where they interact on a daily basis.

Although the religious understanding of Muhammadiyah members is really strong, they do not contradict the religious issues in the community; as well as young people who are not very concerned with the differences in front of their eyes. What is seen is a religious condition that just flows. This is in contrast to the general assumption, when someone feels that they are Muhammadiyah, they do not want to experience Nahdlatul Ulama's religious practices. In fact, when someone has become Nahdlatul Ulama, it is considered that a Muhammadiyah person is someone else who does not need to be understood or approached.

Everyone wants safety and comfort because human instinct does not want their life to be filled with complicated problems. Even if the situation is contrary to the truth, it is believed. The reason is that it can be accepted in other communities. Therefore, they are willing to give up their original beliefs. The sole purpose is to try not to hurt other people's feelings by following the norms that apply in the place. Likewise, between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, both prioritize solidity and solidarity, as much as possible to avoid rifts. This is in accordance with the ancestral philosophy of Gorontalo "*buhuta wawu walama*" (one unified whole).

This study showed that there has been an adaptation of Muhammadiyah members to the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama. There are three typologies of Muhammadiyah group in adapting. First, the group that is accommodating to the religious traditions of Nahdlatul Ulama. They believe that the religious traditions handed down by the ancestors of Gorontalo, contain noble values that do not deviate from the religious spirit. This group puts Muhammadiyah in a certain position as a cultural movement that makes Muhammadiyah's *da'wah* (religious proselytizing) very accommodating to local customs and culture. Even though they are in the midst of the Nahdlatul Ulama community following the practice of *tahlilan*, *Maulid* (the Prophet Muhammad's birthday), *isra 'mi'raj* and others. The majority of this Muhammadiyah group is represented by young intellectuals. Higher education has made their attitude inclusive. Therefore, the issue of heresy and not heresy is no longer the focus of religious studies, as the previous spirit. Their current concentration is more on the benefit of the people and social work.

Second, the group adapts only to their social spaces and does not enter into religious rituals. This can be seen through Munkizul Umam Kau's attitude. He practices the *hileyiya* tradition (moving) within the family, neighbors and community. On the contrary, he does not involve himself in ritual matters in the form of prayer and *dhikr*. Third, the group adapts to social traditions that have nothing to do with religious rituals. For example, the traditions of *huyulu* (mutual cooperation) and *ti'ayo* (help). These three typologies of Muhammadiyah group grew and developed into MuNu (Muhammadiyah NU) because they are members who interact with two traditions. In Gorontalo, Muhammadiyah activities that are open to local religious traditions coincide with the birth of a new generation among Muhammadiyah activists who are highly educated, broad-minded and inclusive thoughts (Table 3).

Table 3. Implications of Adaptation for Muhammadiyah Members

No	First group	Second group	Third group
1	A group that is accommodating to the religious traditions of Nahdlatul Ulama.	A group that adapts only to social spaces.	A group that adapts to Nahdlatul Ulama people but is not related to religious rituals.

2	The group that puts the Muhammadiyah position as the cultural movement.	Groups that are not included in the religious ritual room.	The inclusive thinking group.
3	This group is represented by young and highly educated scholars.	The group that always interacts with the Nahdlatul Ulama group.	Groups that interact with two traditions

There is a dominant factor why conflicts are not ignited, even though the opportunities and potentials are wide open as experienced by other regions. The factor is none other than the Muslim community of Gorontalo conformed by their environment. There are also those who are not aware that they have come out of the early ideology that they firmly hold. Generally, the social setting has made them follow the rules of the environment in which they live. Sometimes, there are also those who are aware, but still follow the rules that apply in their social space rather than being ostracized by other groups. Thus, the only way is to secure themselves. If a Muhammadiyah person lives in the midst of the NU majority, inevitably, he or she must participate in carrying out the NU tradition, and vice versa. Safri Mardison (2013: 79) analyzes this problem in a social context, that the results of interactions among people usually lead everyone to tend to avoid conflict and choose a comfort zone. The sense of safety and comfort that a person gets is a way for him to survive in a group.

## 6. Conclusions

Muhammadiyah members still exist carrying Islamic modernism and puritanism, even though they are in the midst of traditional society. Their (*da'wah*) religious proselytizing strategy is to implement social adaptation in the midst of the Nahdlatul Ulama Muslim community. The goal is to survive and be accepted in developing a progressive Islamic mission. The form of adaptation that they do is carrying out the religious traditions of Nahdlatul Ulama such as *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, *maulidan*, and other traditions. This factor is influenced by community members who are open to each other, including Muhammadiyah members, so as to create a free, open and fluid atmosphere. Geographical proximity makes the two organizations open to each other. Because Gorontalo is in urban areas, especially in rural areas, they will be judged to deviate from customs; if they close themselves off from other people. The other factor in the form of collaboration among the Gorontalo Muslims community, especially those with Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama backgrounds, always occurs, both at the elite level in the organizational structure and in the midst of ordinary people. Meanwhile, the implication of the adaptation of Muhammadiyah members is to create a harmonious and humanistic atmosphere in socio-religious life.

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## **Biographies**

**Arfan Nusi** was born in Gorontalo, currently a lecturer in Islamic Philosophy at IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo. His research interests are Philosophy, Culture and Socio-Religion. His thesis, *Unraveled Religious Pluralism from the thoughts of Nur Kholish Madjid* at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

**Nurul Ilmi Idrus** was born in South Sulawesi. He completed his Bachelor of Anthropology in FISIP UNHAS, in 1987. Master of Sociological Anthropology at Valdosta State University, in Georgia, United States, in 1992. Doctor of Anthropology, in Canberra, Australia, in 2003. He was the youngest Professor of UNHAS, in 2005. He became an outstanding lecturer at UNHAS, in 2013. In addition, he produced publications of 41 local, regional, national and international scientific articles/journals. His research are on gender, children, drugs and health.

**Hamka Naping** was born in South Sulawesi. Professor of Anthropology at UNHAS. He focuses on the study of social development and culture. Currently, he is a lecturer at undergraduate and postgraduate levels at UNHAS.

**Lahaji** was born in Lampung. He teaches family law courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels at IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo. His Bachelor and Master's degree were taken at IAIN Alauddin Makassar, while his Doctoral degree at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. His study is about *comparing family law in Indonesia and Malaysia*.