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#9390 Summary

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Title and Abstract

Title   COMMUNICATIVE CULTURAL DAKWAH OF ABDURRAHMAN WAHID IN PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Abstract

This research is a study of thought in the context of da'wah and communication using a social hermeneutic approach, namely the interpretation of certain individuals and their idea and social actions. This approach is emphasized to examine the social setting and life background as well as the intellectual journey of Abdurrahman Wahid or known as Gusdur. From this tracing, Gusdur's critical thinking and missionary movements were identified in his various works and socio-religious roles. The results of this identification were then analyzed based on Habermas' theory of communication. Strengthening this frame, a historical-sociological approach is also used. This approach is used to trace the history and context of the religious issues echoed by Gusdur and the dynamics of the communication patterns that Gusdur applies in conveying his thoughts. This method is divided into two parts. First, the historical descriptive method is used to see several things, such as Gusdur's thoughts and other thoughts that influenced him. Second, the biographical reconstruction method used to describe the life history and history of the development of Gusdur's thoughts. In accordance with the variables to be analyzed, this study is a library research, which is research that makes library materials the main data source. Based on the researched subject, this study can also be categorized into factual historical research, because what is being studied is a person's thoughts. Considering that this study is a study of thought, analytical descriptive is used in presenting the data. Positioning Gusdur in this context, his thoughts and cultural missionary movements are traced, then analyzed inductively within the framework of Habermas' theory of communication. It is hoped that comprehensive conclusions can be drawn and reflect certain communication patterns used by Gusdur

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COMMUNICATIVE CULTURAL *DAKWAH* OF ABDURRAHMAN WAHID IN PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

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Abstract

This research is a study of thought in the context of da'wah and communication using a social hermeneutic approach, namely the interpretation of certain individuals and their idea and social actions. This approach is emphasized to examine the social setting and life background as well as the intellectual journey of Abdurrahman Wahid or known as Gusdur. From this tracing, Gusdur's critical thinking and missionary movements were identified in his various works and socio-religious roles. The results of this identification were then analyzed based on Habermas' theory of communication. Strengthening this frame, a historical-sociological approach is also used. This approach is used to trace the history and context of the religious issues echoed by Gusdur and the dynamics of the communication patterns that Gusdur applies in conveying his thoughts. This method is divided into two parts. First, the historical descriptive method is used to see several things, such as Gusdur's thoughts and other thoughts that influenced him. Second, the biographical reconstruction method used to describe the life history and history of the development of Gusdur's thoughts. In accordance with the variables to be analyzed, this study is a library research, which is research that makes library materials the main data source. Based on the researched subject, this study can also be categorized into factual historical research, because what is being studied is a person's thoughts. Considering that this study is a study of thought, analytical descriptive is used in presenting the data. Positioning Gusdur in this context, his thoughts and cultural missionary movements are traced, then analyzed inductively within the framework of Habermas' theory of communication. It is hoped that comprehensive conclusions can be drawn and reflect certain communication patterns used by Gusdur

A. Introduction

The multidimensional crisis in modern civilization has resulted in alienation among individuals that they lose the true meaning of life. One of those crises of modern society is a spiritual crisis. On the other hand, the religion embraced by its adherents has not been able to provide a solution, which is a result of a superficial appreciation and comprehension of religion. The appreciation of religion is trapped in symbolic-ceremonial rites so that religion loses its function as a source of human values. In political contestation, religion is often even used as a means of legitimacy or justification for the political motives and actions of those in power. On a more massive scale, religion can turn into a tool of spiritual and even physical violence (Kimball, 2008). According to Rachman (2010), Indonesia's historical records show that communal and political conflicts in the public sphere often use the issue of religious identity politics as a political tool so that the escalation of conflict in the name of religion in Indonesia is still a serious problem.

Such a phenomenon of violence in the name of religion results in the loss of public morality or social piety so that piety stops at individual piety (Sobary, 2007). The Islamic moral revolution taught by the Prophet Muhammad SAW which succeeded in carrying out social change has now experienced a distortion. The manipulation of religious symbols for the sake of political and economic interests is a dark portrait of history that adds to the deterioration of the image of Islam. Such religious manipulation is bitterly described by Ahmad Syafii Maarif (2015) as a form of justification in the name of religion and not religious truth, too many deviations, and even moral crimes committed in the name of God. This is none other than the actions of people who abuse the name of God for their temporary pleasure of wrongdoings without feeling sin and regret.

In the reality, such a religious movement is highly popular in Indonesian society, which indicates a massive spiritual-religious crisis. Therefore, the banality of modern culture requires the contribution of religion as an alternative morality in the public sphere. The important role of religion in the public sphere becomes an urgent matter with the emergence of hyper-realities of contemporary culture due to global capitalism. As it has become a phenomenon in society, it can be said that the popular culture industry, through global media networks, has led to the role of sacred religion to become profane because it reduces the meaning of religiosity. Religion is used as an extension of capitalism. In its practice, the materialistic orientation of capitalism directs religion into a

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single commodity, a situation called the commodification of religion. Hence, Abdurrahman (2005) argues that the impact of the commodification of religion creates a crisis of values, therefore religion fails to act as an ethic of emancipation. This condition causes the failure of religion to guide human beings to the culture and civilization that end up in a decrease in the quality of social life and the increase of suffering in life (Kellner, 2003). According to Kitiarsa (2007), the commodification of religion has become a global phenomenon, including in Indonesia. This was triggered by the strengthening of the expansion of global capitalism entering all dimensions of life, including religion, so that Griffin (2005) considered that: "The deepest crisis in industrial capitalism is a cultural crisis, that is a spiritual crisis."

The condition where religious communities and traditions still exist to participate in public life (politics) after experiencing a process of secularization is called "post-secular society" by Habermas. In this post-secular society, such phenomena are not to be understood as merely a disturbance to democracy. The reason behind these various sociological tendencies is because the religious community wants to participate in the political-public sphere. Furthermore, there is a desire from religious groups to make their comprehensive doctrine the basis for the legitimacy of the order of life in society. Finally, religion is universally considered to be very relevant in managing the political life of society.

Habermas's optimism regarding the central role of religion in the public sphere needs to be viewed from a critical point. What approach to religion is relevant and able to play a role in the public sphere? The appreciation of religious doctrine trapped into blind dogmatism, escapist-spiritualism, and politicization of religion is certainly not what Habermas dreamed of.

In research entitled *Modern Religious Missions*, Laurel stated that there are two implications of the message conveyed by the spreaders of religious teachings. The first is that people are involved in a conflict in the form of a clash of civilizations as described by Huntington. However, Huntington tends to simplify the problem that religious and cultural differences cause a competitive situation that leads to conflict. Huntington fails to see that various parties of different religions and cultures have hopes of increasing understanding, agreement, and accepting the strengths and weaknesses of each to be able to coexist and work together in a dialogical manner. In this context, Habermas offers a theory of communicative action with his communicative rationality as the basis for a critical theoretical point of view in examining the problems of modern human life.

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Habermas' communicative theory became the culmination of his conclusion in correcting the modernity project of modern humans through his critical work. He argues that criticism will only advance based on ratio-communicative that is understood as praxis-communication or act-communicative. He emphasized that society is essentially communicative and what determines the social change is not merely the development of the forces of production or technology, but a learning process in a practical-ethical dimension.

In the communicative-ratio**,** the objective attitude that makes the subject of knowledge see himself as an entity in the outside world is no longer considered to be special. The subject's ambivalent relationship to himself (seeing himself as free subjectivity as well as the enslaving self-objectification) is destroyed by intersubjectivity. The ratio is not assimilated to power. In short, subject-centered ratios, including mix-ups (amalgam) of knowledge and power, can be destroyed by ratio-communicative intersubjectivity (Hardiman, 2009). Based on this new paradigm, Habermas wants to maintain the normative content contained in modernity and cultural enlightenment. The normative content of modernity is what he calls the rationalization of the world of life based on the communicative-ratio. The life-world consists of culture, society, and personality. This life-world rationalization is made possible through communicative actions (Heitink, 1999).

Three aspects are resulting from rationalization. First, cultural reproduction guarantees the continuity of tradition and sufficient coherence of knowledge for consensus needs in emerging new situations in daily practice. Second, social integration that guarantees coordination of actions maintained using interpersonal relationships that are legally regulated and the constancy of group identities that are maintained. Third, socialization guarantees that in new situations, the acquisition of general abilities to act for future generations is guaranteed and that the alignment of individual life histories and forms of collective life is always maintained (Hadirman, 2009). These three aspects ensure that new situations can be related to what is in the world through communicative action. In that communication, the participants communicate satisfactorily. They intend to make their interlocutors understand his point by trying to reach what he calls "validity of claims." These claims are seen as rational and will be accepted without coercion as a result of consensus.

Da'wah with the consideration towards plurality in a multicultural society is an important aspect of Gus Dur's idea to propose the indigenization of Islam in his cultural

preaching. Through this concept, Gus Dur tried to generate transformative Islamic ideas in various contexts of human life. Universal nuances of Islam became the features of Gus Dur's discourses and actions, making it difficult for both exclusive and formalist Muslims to deal with this matter because his ideas were derived from the substantive values of Islamic teachings. To accommodate these notions, Gus Dur used culture as a means of movement because the culture is dynamic and widely accepted. In this context, Gus Dur inherited a genealogy of early preaching strategies symbolized by Walisongo's preaching or cultural preaching (Gabrisova, 2014). Cultural da'wah is the mobilization of cultural symbols by providing meaning and interpretation of Islamic teachings (Muhammadiyah, 2004). In this sense, Gus Dur also emphasized the mobilization and interpretation of cultural symbols in preaching. History shows that da'wah is not only normative but also must consider the cultural aspects that shape religious politics and culture (Adorno et al, 2005).

Coming from *pesantren* background, Gus Dur raised the idea of cultural Islam as the basis for his social criticism and was side by side with the idea of Islamic indigenization. What Gus Dur is doing is not only a movement to recreate the walisongo preaching but paradigmatically transforming it into social-critical reasoning. In this context, Islam is expected to transform into the discourse of modernity. Gus Dur's indigenization of Islam was inherently integrated with his preaching understanding. The perspective of Habermas' critical theory of communication action becomes relevant because Gus Dur's ideas created a meeting point among the various opposing entities that are not solved by the concept of postmodernism. Thus the communication action theory tries to explore the best sides of modernity and postmodernism to find a new social order.

Through reading the theory of communicative action, the researcher further examines Gus Dur's cultural movement as social criticism in his Islamic discourse reflected in his various writings. This research reveals the cultural 'resistance' of Gus Dur in defending the cultural Islam discourse that has been marginalized by the mainstream of Islamic discourse and its relationship with modernity and postmodernity in Indonesia.

Many studies have been conducted on Gus Dur's religious thoughts and movements. As it is discussed here, in general, they tended to position Gus Dur's religious thoughts and movements as political, social, and theological. Studies discussing the issue from a communication perspective have not received attention yet.

Following the formulation and limitation of the problems, this study aims to position Gus Dur's cultural concepts and da'wah in Habermas' theory of communication.

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Before arriving at this goal, we will first explore the epistemology and concept of *dakwah* or Islamic preaching by Abdurrahman Wahid with the cultural approach, especially on the issues of Islamic universalism, tolerance, and multiculturalism in Indonesia.

The research statement in this research is that the indigenization of Islam from the view of the theory of communicative action in *dakwah* or Islamic preaching by Abdurrahman Wahid with the cultural approach has relevance to the modernity and plurality in Indonesia.

B. Literature Review

According to Habermas, the language conveyed by a communicator must be directed to form a transformative and empowering society through open communication and free from the interests of domination and ideology. Through rational argumentation, the language of communication must present a universal principle that can be tested pragmatically by all elements of society in the public sphere. the goal is to have a common understanding of the claims discussed in the public sphere.

The critical communication initiated by Habermas generates a key concept called discourse (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). Habermas interpreted discourse as a special type of communication that requires the speaker statement in communication must be open to challenge and test of the public. Therefore when delivering a statement, a speaker must be able to justify his statement demonstratively in the form of rational arguments. This is needed as proof of the validity of a person's claim on his statement in public as well as a space to get rebuttals from other people who disagree with the idea In the context of the presence of various parties in communication, those who agree and disagree with one discourse (discourse), it appears that the discourse idea offered by Habermas has contributed to the importance of an emancipatory communication process. In the communication process, every citizen is required to commit several ways: (1) All citizens use the same language expressions consistently, (2) Voices that are not in line should not be isolated in the interaction process, (3) There must be no sovereignty. apart from being based on rational arguments (not because of threats, promises, etc.), (4) All citizens are motivated to seek a consensus and agreement through dialogue, and (5) There are no truth claims that are considered valid without first being questioned by participants (Hoch, 2007).

Habermas' main thought emphasizes all elements involved in the discourse process in the public sphere. Such public space is needed as a place for every citizen to share

meanings and ideas openly as well as a place to build communicative relationships in ideal speech act situations (Stroud, 2010). Habermas emphasized the importance of all elements involved in the discourse process. Therefore, his theory of communicative action is relevant for reading the practice of *da'wah* in plural societies, such as in Indonesia. The plurality in the religion and culture requires a model of *da'wah* with a cultural approach involving various elements that respect local wisdom and traditions so that society accepts it openly. The nature of preaching should still maintain a distinct community identity. Community identity is maintained, not changed but enriched. The characteristics of cultural preaching that emphasize the substance of values are ultimately able to show a universal attitude, where various identities will be accepted gracefully. In cultural preaching, various traditions continue to grow and even enrich, so that there is no tension between religion and culture because the culture is an important element in religion.

More specifically, *dakwah* is a process of religious interaction with a good mission. This is following the origin of the word *dakwah* itself which is etymologically derived from the *mashdar* form which comes from the verb *dā'a, yad'ū, da'watan* which means to call or invite (An-Nabiry, 2017). This refers to the meaning of Islam itself which means a religion that brings peace to all mankind (Bakti, 2013). In essence, *dakwah* as a verb contains messages about efforts for change or restoration for both individuals and communities (Khoriyah et al, 2017). Individual and social changes are needed not only to improve the quality of religious understanding but also to reach a broader target of preaching in various aspects of life (Shihab, 2007). In the context as an act of communication, *dakwah* can take place both in culture and structure (Farhan, 2014). Structural *dakwah* is an activity that makes power, bureaucracy, and political power as tools to fight for Islam. Structural da'wah can also be said to be a process of preaching that puts forward the axis and structural functions in society. Structural *dakwah* does not originate from agency inspiration, in sociological terms, but rather from the power of the system created to govern society. Meanwhile, cultural *da'wah* is preaching that uses social and cultural aspects to build people's morals through their culture. It is explained that the superiority of cultural da'wah is its approach that prioritizes physical and rites compared to the conceptual matter that will be indoctrinated in society. Community culture becomes an entry point to explain the universalism of Islamic teachings that will be offered to the public (2009). The cultural *dakwah* approach carried out by Wali Songo is one example that emphasizes the harmonious and synergistic relationship between Islam and local culture (Dijk, 1998).

Furthermore, *dakwah* with a cultural approach emphasizes the importance of communication in the public space by making culture, both local, national, and global, an instrument of da'wah. Cultural da'wah is accommodative of certain cultural values innovatively and creatively without eliminating the substantial aspects of religion and emphasizing the importance of wisdom in understanding the culture of a particular community as the target of da'wah. Thus cultural da'wah will be identical and focus on the empowerment domain of the values prevailing in the society. The form of cultural da'wah accommodates local wisdom by considering the uniqueness of each individual and society where da'wah is conducted. With a cultural approach, Islamic values exist and merge with local identities (Bakti, 2005). So, if the structure is related to political contributions related to power or the state, then culture is related to matters of religious contributions to the area of individual behavior and attitudes in practicing their religious teachings. In this case, Abdullah (2015) emphasizes that the relationship between religion and state in preaching needs to be synergized because religion and state are more appropriate when they are in an intersection position, in the sense that they are neither fully integrated nor separate. This is intended so that the state does not intervene in the religious life of the community which can cause discrimination and tension in the community.

C. Research Method

Following the variables to be analyzed, the type of this research was library research, where the data was taken from written materials, either books or others related to the topic of discussion. According to Sukardi (2003), the content of library research is in the form of theoretical studies in which the discussion is focused on information about the problems to be solved through research.

Based on the subject of study, this research was categorized as factual historical research related to manuscripts or books (Bakker and Zubair, 1993). The manuscripts or books examined in this study were related to the development of the thoughts of a particular figure, in this case, Gus Dur. Therefore, the descriptive-analytical method was used in presenting the data (Nazir, 1999).

This research was a study of manuscripts or books about the thoughts of figures in the context of da'wah and communication. Therefore, according to Sumaryono (2015), it was considered relevant using the social hermeneutic approach, namely the interpretation of the thoughts of certain figures reflected in the text or book. The hermeneutic approach used in this study was based on Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic theory. This approach, as quoted by Sumaryono (2015), described that the text has

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autonomy involving three elements: the author's intent, the cultural situation, and the socio-political conditions underlying the existence of the text. Furthermore, to understand the text, Ricoeur offered three steps: First, understanding deeply the symbols towards "thinking" of the symbols contained in the text. Second, giving meaning to symbols and exploring the meaning carefully. Third, thinking (reflective-philosophically) through symbols as a starting point. Furthermore, the process of interpreting the text in Ricoeur's hermeneutics was passed through four processes: first, objectification through text structure analysis to understand (verstehen) expressed in the explanation (erklaren) about the internal relations of the text (Haryatmoko, 2016). In interpreting the text, the interpreter freed himself from involving the author of the text. The interpreter only performsed a structural-linguistic analysis that utilized interdisciplinary scholarship. Second, making the distance to maintain the autonomy of the text. Third, looking for a vehicle or world of text that the interpreter or reader must have by revealing the structure in the text. Fourth, making the appropriation or self-understanding as the link between the world of text and the interpreter's empirical world.

As previously stated, this research was library research towards the approach used by Gus Dur in *dakwah* emphasizing his thoughts and concepts of cultural *dakwah.* Therefore, some library materials are used, both as primary and secondary sources. Primary data were the works of Gus Dur related to religious thought that was written in books, articles, tabloids, and other relevant documents. Meanwhile, secondary data consisted of the works of other parties related to Gus Dur, in the form of research, reports, journal articles, recordings, and other relevant documents.

Related to the data analysis, in this study, the data were analyzed using descriptive-analytical and hermeneutic methods. Nazir (1999) explained that descriptive research involving description, systematic representation, factual and accurate description of the facts, characteristics, and relationships of the phenomena in the study. The analysis was conducted using several techniques, they were interpretation, coherence, and historically factual. Meanwhile, the hermeneutic method was used as a way of interpreting a text as an art of understanding (Hadirman, 2015). Interpretation was carried out by delving into the written works of Gus Dur to capture ideas and nuances that were specifically intended and interpreted by the researcher in a scientific way.

In the initial step, the accumulated energy was recorded in research notes. Then, the data was examined and classified, categorized, and interpreted to obtain answers to the questions posed in the study. In the process of selecting all data, it was observed that the

data reduction process was then carried out to find the data that could be analyzed and to answer research. According to Miles and Huberman (2007), these steps were carried out for the process of sharpening, categorizing, directing, reducing unnecessary data, and organizing data to conclude. After the data was fulfilled, the data was compiled and described descriptively.

D. Result

Abdurrahman Wahid's notion of Islamic indigenization is based on the need for the transformation of Islamic teachings that were contextual with the reality that Indonesia is pluralistic. This reason can be traced to the doctrine of Islam as a religion of humanity that brings mercy to all creatures. This shows that Islam presupposes a pluralistic reality. Concerning its role as a public religion, Gus Dur believed that the discourse of the indigenization of Islam is a rational offer when Islamic teaching being developed is Islam as a social ethic. For Gus Dur, Islamic teachings are not static but dynamic and open to dialogue with various values that are present in the public sphere. In the concept of Islamic indigenization with its social ethics, Gus Dur offers an inclusive form of Islam that rejects unilateral and exclusive claims of truth. Religious inclusiveness must provide space for other types of truth in a space of communicative action. Gus Dur believed that the claim to the truth of religious views in the name of a certain identity must open to scientific criticism as a religious discourse that is relatively epistemological. In other words, Gus Dur's emphasis on Islamic discourse has moved from a textual reading to a contextual reading. Gus Dur wanted the interpretation of Islamic teachings is not restricted to the old-fashioned and dogmatic attitudes, as he had said, but Islam had to be presented with its rationality side to answer the problems of modernity without being torn from its roots of tradition.

Through the indigenization of Islam, Gus Dur offered a renewal of Islamic thought. His idea became a starting point for the presence of eclectic religious moderation in Indonesia as well as providing a new direction in reviewing the dark historical distortions of Islamic and non-Islamic relations due to the political interests of power that manipulated the politics of religious identity that had occurred, both from Islamic and non-Islamic groups. to be communicated discursively in the public space about his belief that Islam can always coincide with tradition at the same time following modern democracy (AR, 2005). Through the indigenization of Islam, Gus Dur also criticized the renewal of thought among Islamic modernists who tended to forget tradition. Gus Dur also criticized modern secular culture which is devoid of spirituality so that he wanted to

answer the ideals of Islam as a religion of peace with universal ethics amid the reality of the Islamic world which is full of violence and injustice as stated by Hanafi (2011). Gus Dur's idea of Islam as a social ethic is his attempt to offer a kind of global ethics that is derived from Islamic teachings as offered by Hans Kung through Protestant ethics and Daisaku Ikeda through his Buddhist teachings. In his book, AR (2005) reveals that with his emphasis on the cultural approach, Gus Dur became the pioneer of frontline dialogue, not only at the national level but also at the global level in interfaith dialogue that fights for the role of religion for humanity. Therefore, Islam as a social ethic that was initiated by Gus Dur found its point of articulation in presenting Islamic humanism at local, national, and global levels. The title Father of pluralism pinned by former President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono is an award on behalf of the state for Gus Dur's attitude and struggle in fighting for religious tolerance and his rejection of all forms of violence in the name of religion.

From various discussions on Gus Dur's ideas, especially the indigenization of Islam, it appears that the common thread of his thoughts is relevant to the methods and models developed in social theories, especially post-positivism social sciences or more precisely what is known as a critical social science. In this context, the Islamic discourse developed by Gus Dur is similar to that initiated by Kuntowijoyo through Islam as a prophetic social science. As a scholar, Kuntowijoyo took one step further in his success in formulating Islam as a prophetic social science inspired by the development of the critical social science of the Frankfurt School, especially Habermas, that criticized wrong modern culture. Through Islam as a social prophetic ethic, Kuntowijoyo integrates three Islamic spirits, they are humanization, liberation, and transcendence.

Meanwhile, Gus Dur, who was not strictly academically educated, had less formulated thoughts compared to Kuntowijoyo. According to Baso (2000), Gus Dur's idea of Islam as a social ethic indicates that he was trying to build an epistemology in interpreting Islam following the context of the times but with less elaboration on his vision of "social ethics" as formulated by Kuntowijoyo. While Kuntowijoyo as a Muslim scholar is positioned as a man of the idea, Gus Dur was both a man of idea and man of action, even though in the end Gus Dur is stronger as a man of action through the NU socio-religious movement and the civil society movement. According to Ahmad Baso, Gus Dur focused on Islam from a "secular" approach with its "cultural Islam" while in Kuntowijoyo, including Cak Nur and Dawam Rahardjo tends to focus on "political Islam" (Baso, 2000).

Furthermore, Baso (2000) believes that the Islamic struggle initiated by Cak Nur presented an "ideology" which he calls "the will" or "the will to power" while Gus Dur presented an "ideology" called "the hope" in the form of societal transformation, as shown through the indigenization of Islam and its social ethics. Baso identified that Cak Nur's idea of Islam was based on a wish to the repetition of the golden age of Islam. It was supported by the evidence that he frequently quoted Ibnu Taymiyah, Robert Bellah, Marshal Hodgson, and Ernest Gellner. In conclusion, Cak Nur is trapped in the romanticism of the glory of Islam in the past that he wants to manifest in the present. In contrast to Cak Nur, Baso assessed that Gus Dur's patterns of thought and struggle were more future-oriented so that Gus Dur did not refer much to the past victories of Islam and looked ahead (the hope) so that much of it was contextualized with modern secular ideas, such as separation of religion and state, Islamic social ethics, and the indigenization of Islam. For this reason, Gus Dur occasionally referred to some of Ali Abdurraziq's ideas without leaving the richness of Islamic traditionalism at all. In the context of addressing Gus Dur's thoughts, Amin Abdullah's warning seems relevant (Baso, 2000):

> "The religious attitude in this era cannot simply copy the attitude and diversity of the middle century which is pre-scientific. Anomalies must have occurred between these two very different cultures. The existence of these anomalies shows the urgency of reforming religious ethics, not to leave "revelation" or religion, but to formulate more dialogical, pluralistic, challenging, and applicable Islamic religious ethics in contemporary society. The difference in time span is quite inspiring for someone to make modifications as needed (Abdullah, 2004). "

This dialogical and critical Islamic religious ethic was interpreted by Gus Dur through building his construction of Islamic thought by positioning the philosophical foundation in religion, including about the state (Santoso, 2004). Religion, in Gus Dur's point of view, has become a moral force and not a political tool as is the case with political Islam. There has been only a small number of Muslim intellectual figures changing the dogmatic preaching model to the humanist approach. The reality of a pluralistic Indonesian society has long been waiting for the model of *dakwah* offered by Gus Dur that embraces three aspects: Islam as a religion of humanity, the indigenization of Islam, and Islam as a complement to the nation and state (Salehuddin, 2019).

Theoretically, the idea of Islamic indigenization based on social ethics is relevant to the modern era of a global society. Gus Dur's idea of social ethics requires Muslims to comprehend Islam not only as normative teaching but also as a historical one that is also related to the sociological dimension. Therefore, Islamic social ethics and the indigenization of Islam initiated by Gus Dur are ideas that require the discipline of moral

philosophy or ethics. When talking about ethics, it means talking about the relationship between human actions and other human beings that are sociological (Abdullah, 2004).

Therefore, it can be argued that Gus Dur intended to reestablish philosophical discourses, especially moral philosophy, to Muslims in the Sunni Islamic tradition. It is shown in his various writings with the emphasis on the importance of building rationality in Islam. This is the antithesis of the intense fiqh-oriented theology of Muslims that is considered as one of the factors for the disappearance of the philosophical tradition in the Sunni Islamic tradition. Through the interpretation of Aswaja (ahlusunnah wal jama'ah), Gus Dur made a breakthrough that Fachry Ali and Bachtiar Effendy (1990) called as "intellectual improvisation" so that the Ahlus-Sunnah wal-Jamaah (Aswaja) doctrine remains relevant to historical changes. The intellectual improvisation is in the form of criticism of NU's religious doctrine by adjusting the position of theology, fiqh, and Sufism in Aswaja to make it dynamic (Effendi, 2010).

Effendi (2010) further explained that during the presidency of Gus Dur, forums for discussion of actual themes received serious attention. As Djohan Effendi explained, in connection with socio-political discourse, the topics covered in *halaqah* were the need for the Development of Social Fiqh, Land Theology, Taxation Jurisprudence, Consultative / Representative Law Fiqh, and Fair Leadership Law. (The term fiqh here is used in a broader sense than the term fiqh in the Islamic scientific tradition; synonymous with the term theology in the Christian religious tradition.)

Therefore, Gus Dur's insistence on the importance of rationality in Islam also presupposes the importance of studying the philosophy required in developing his ideas about social ethics transformed into the form of Islamic indigenization. Here lies the strategic position of Gus Dur's thoughts in spreading the indigenization of Islam as a communicative act. Gus Dur seemed to realize that communicative action requires a broad range of religious and social insights. Through the mastery of rationality in religion will pave the way for the project of his ideas about Islam as ethics and the indigenization of Islam. Through mastery of Islamic ethics, Muslims can open themselves and respond to reality critically and stay away from religious patterns that promote truth claims (assume the most correct while blaming and misleading others). Also, Gus Dur's idea of the indigenization of Islam and Islam as social ethics is the answer to the extreme ahistorical of political Islam which failed to get a place among the majority of Indonesian Muslims as predicted by Olaf Schumann in Effendi (2010). Historically, Abdullah (2004) notes that the struggle for discourses on Islamic ethics has generated an Islamic religious tradition that

accepts plurality and dialogue to avoid the domination of the exclusive "mainstream". Statically, the Islamic thought tradition, including ethics, is only possible when the interests of political ideology interfere with it (Abdullah, 2004).

D. Discussion

A. Communicative Freedom as the Media of Pluralism

Gus Dur succeeded in integrating discourse and acts of pluralism simultaneously through his defense of the oppressed due to discrimination of religion, ethnicity, and class. In fact, related to pluralism, Gus Dur moved more at the level of praxis than discourse (Muhammad, 2019). The interfaith dialogue was carried out by Gus Dur by holding various interfaith meetings so that he was widely known and influential among non-Muslims (Qomar, 2012). This is an effort to build mutual understanding between adherents of religions and beliefs as well as to maintain democratic life. In Gus Dur's view, the position of all citizens is equal before the law without exception. As a figure who upholds the constitution, Gus Dur hoped that every citizen always upholds the constitution so that criticism remains on the line of the constitution which is mutually agreed upon as a consensus (Arif, 2010).

Through the constitutional platform of free and critical public debate, all citizens can participate actively in questioning public problems. The efforts of a group of people wishing to undermine them without going through a democratic constitution are acts against the law. To that end, Gus Dur wrote: "It would be naive if we were still busy fabricating a law on the pretext of enforcing the law, even though the truth was only hiding the political interests of a certain group (Wahid, 2010). Gus Dur firmly rejected the views of an exclusive Islamic group that denies pluralism and nationalism by offering a face of Islam that defends the principle: "... the development of universal human values and has very high objectivity in its treatment of all citizens, regardless of origin their religious or ethnic proposal (Wahid, 1993). Furthermore, one of the duties of religious leaders is to ensure that the truth of universal values inspired by religion can be manifested in the sovereignty of the people, the rule of law, freedom, and equal treatment before the law or the constitution (Wahid, 2010).

Franz Magnis-Suseno (in Choirie, 2002) clearly describes the personality of Gus Dur:

> "Gus Dur has an open heart for all minorities, the oppressed, and the victims of human rights violations. Minorities felt safe with him. He made them feel honored and he acknowledged the dignity of the minorities, the oppressed, the victims. " Gus Dur stated: "Islamic morality is to feel involved with the suffering of fellow human beings, not one that punishes those who suffer it" (Wahid, 2000). To be in a position to support those who suffer is a form of morality that must be cultivated in society (Wahid, 2000)."

In the case of Papua, Gus Dur as President of the Republic of Indonesia had put forward a cultural approach that has succeeded in replacing the repressive military approach. In its practice, Gus Dur conducted a dialogue that considered the perspective of humanity (Suaedy, 2018). One of his policies was to give the locals the freedom to use the name Papua as their identity, which was prohibited during the ORBA regime. It was also in Gus Dur's hands that the people of Papua were allowed to hold a congress that created an impact on the process of opening up space of democracy in Papua, which reflected public participation towards consensus with the formation of the Papua Presidium Council. The discussion in the congress was described by B. Josie Susilo Hardianto, Gus Dur, and Damai for Papua. In the meeting attended by about 5,000 participants from all parts of Papua, they openly discussed again the need to resolve the historical distortion of Papua. They also discussed the importance of solving various cases of human rights violations in Papua and the neglect of basic rights, especially in the economic, social, and cultural fields of the local society.

B. Religious Rationality as a Basic Knowledge of Da'wah

The religious appreciation needs a rational basis for faith. Claims of faith that are believed to be rational must be validated in debates of religious plurality in the public sphere. This was emphasized by Gus Dur when he said that Muslims must develop religious rationality. The importance of the religious rationality offered by Gus Dur is at the same time a criticism of the strength of the dogmatic preaching attitude that is anti-intellectual, that hinders the development of an inclusive, rational, and respecting difference model. Therefore, the indigenization of Islam that Gus Dur discussed was a way of offering Islamic teaching values that were transformed into cultural problems faced by the ummah in real life. Apart from that, this discourse is an offer in the public space about one discourse among other religious discourses in the public space. In the context of Indonesian society, the transformation of religious discourse is willing to accept diversity and is ready to

accept different discourses (Menoh, 2015). The substance of Islamic teachings contains transformative values in the form of openness to different discourses that lead to tolerance. However, these humanist Islamic values are distorted by a dogmatic monolithic interpretation of Islam.

Open-mindedness towards plurality is a necessity that is normatively contained in Islamic teachings. In Gus Dur's expression, Islam must be interpreted as social ethics so that Islam can be involved and struggling historically in offering religion with an ethical dimension. It is in this context that the discourse on the indigenization of Islam offered by Gus Dur contains a social morality because it carries Islamic values in a pluralistic public space. Therefore, Gus Dur's Islamic indigenization became a way for the realization of Islam as a social ethic. In other words, the indigenization of Islam and Islam as social ethics offered by Gus Dur offers an ethic called public ethics, which is interpreted as ethics that are transformatively linked with public services (Haryatmoko, 2011). Gus Dur's public ethics are based on religion to distinguish them from non-religious ethics. Public ethics of religion as a service is reflected in Gus Dur's expression that there should be a dialogue between Islam and various views and carry out transformative work in various public matters to show that Islam is flexible towards any transformative ideologies in the world because Islam must also carry out its own transformational work. It will create a symbiotic relationship with an anonymous transformative awareness, that later embodies itself in awareness of environmental preservation, development of self-sufficiency, and upholding democracy without first detailing its systematic form (Hanafi & Sholeh, 1991).

Based on Gus Dur's explanation, it appears that the transformation of Islamic ethical values is the goal of his cultural da'wah to engage in a dialogue with various religious thoughts that develop following the context of the times. In the history of thought discourse, there is no single discourse that is free from mutual influence dialectically and dialogically because all developments of thought, including in religious discourse, are relational (Kersten, 2018). Gus Dur's cultural preaching explores to the point of civil society. In the internal context of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) the discourse of the indigenization of Islam is also an internal criticism of NU regarding the meaning of "returning to the 1926 khittah" that did not take the socio-cultural arena seriously (Baso, 2000). Through the discourse on the indigenization of Islam, Gus Dur also carried out what Fachry Ali and Bahtiar Effendy called "intellectual improvisation" especially in providing refreshment to the

interpretation of Ahlusunnah wal Jama'ah (Effendy & Ali, 1986). Abdurrahman reinterpreted Aswaja's doctrine, which tended to be fiqh-oriented, to be more pro-human aspects or Rumadi called it "theology of humanity" (Rumadi, 2008).

The Islamic indigenization in Gus Dur's discourse can be called as a refresher of Aswaja's interpretation as "theology of humanity" which was discussed by Gus Dur in the 1980s with the spirit of Islam as social ethics. Through this reinterpretation (rethinking) Gus Dur at the same time voiced the importance of where Islam stood on the problem of social justice where during the era of the New Order (ORBA) regime, Islam was dismissed from social issues (Hadiz & Dhakidae, 2005). Besides, Suseno in Suhanda (2010) considers that Gus Dur has succeeded in inheriting the young generation of *Nahdhotul Ulama* with an open, plural, and intelligent religious discourse as a model for the future of Indonesia. In line with Suseno, Abdurrahman in Suhanda (2010) emphasized the role of Gus Dur in opening the minds of the younger generation, especially from *Nahdhotul Ulama*, about the importance of understanding religious life in the era of globalism. Therefore, the emergence of a generation of young NU intellectuals who are grappling with a contemporary religious discourse that goes beyond their community studies originating from traditional Muslims cannot be separated from the influence of Islamic discourse raised by Gus Dur they have received positively (Rumadi, 2007).

C. The Relevance of the Islamic Indigenization Discourse to the Islamic Discourse in Indonesia.

The practical relevance of the Islamic indigenization initiated by Gus Dur is that the discourse of Islam as normativity can be distinguished from the discourse of Islam as historicity where the indigenization of Islam requires a transformation of Islam as a dynamic social ethic. In a pragmatic test, in contrast to individual piety that is a part of privacy, the indigenization of Islam is a manifestation of Islamic awareness that is willing to use common language in a plural public space as a manifestation of social piety that provides good impacts for all human beings. The Islamic social piety that Gus Dur aspired to is the Muslims who are encouraged by creating space for public reasoning. In such a public sphere, An-Na'im (2007) believes that: "... providing a place for citizens of an egalitarian and inclusive forum, a place where citizens have the right to participate, affirming the fact that the state is not to be ruled by a particular group only. "

Internally, the non-monolithic Islamic perspective in Indonesia requires a moderate face of Islam that can frame this multicultural Islam in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood (ukhuwah Islamiyah). The term *Islamiyah* has a deep interpretation that what is emphasized is an Islamic character, not just Islam as a word. This Islamic character has implications not only for Muslims but also for non-Muslims. Externally, the historical Islam in Indonesia is Islam that has been accustomed to interacting with different religions, ideologies, and beliefs for centuries. Therefore, Islam that is rooted in people's consciousness is featured with a cultural dimension, not politically. Therefore, the idea of the indigenization of Islam is a meeting point between Islam and pluralism in Indonesia, with Islam as a substance rather than identity, that reflects Islamic morals in the form of humanity, brotherhood, and social justice.

In the perspective of prophetic social ethics by Kuntowijoyo, the preaching of Islam needs to integrate the prophetic message (prophetic) of Muhammad SAW with the spirit of humanization, liberation, and transcendence of the struggle of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. Gus Dur's aspiration for Islam to be realized in public morality is the answer to Kuntowijoyo's thoughts in the realm of praxis as well as Habermas's answer to the contribution of religious morality in the public sphere. Gus Dur's approach to Islam tends to be cultural needs to be strengthened by a structural approach so that a synergistic combination occurs by utilizing various existing religious institutions and religious educational institutions. The strength of Kuntowijoyo's ideas predated Gus Dur and has laid the theoretical basis of the urgency of a social science approach in viewing Islam. Meanwhile, Gus Dur was strong at the practical level through the various Non-Government Organizations he did by bringing Islam, especially the world of pesantren, to a wider public sphere. His idea of the importance of the indigenization of Islam and Islam as social ethics shows a common thread between the thoughts of Kuntowijoyo and Gus Dur. These two Muslim figures, incidentally, can be said to represent the two largest social and religious organizations in Indonesia: Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), that can showcase the power of substantive Islamic politics that emphasizes Islamic ethics and morality amid the popularity of symbolic Islam (Azra, 2002).

Gus Dur's emphasis on viewing Islam as a political value in the public sphere, as stated by Cak Nur, Kuntowijoyo, or Ahmad Syafii Maarif, is a strong warning that the public space should not be controlled by an economic and political system that

tends to abandon and leave clarity. moral and religious guidelines. At this point, morality contributed by religion can work together with various non-religious values to counter the global hegemony of instrumental reason that alienating the world of life (lifeworld) as feared Hebermas. Through the indigenization of Islam with his social ethics, Gus Dur built communicative rationality that bridged the universal (Islamic universalism) and the local (local wisdom and tradition) as well as accepting the constructive elements of democracy and modernity without anyone feeling defeated. The big narrative is the realization of dialogue between cultures, both West and East. Through a dialogue between universality and plurality, Gus Dur participated in fighting for the local wisdom that exists in each tradition so that traditions can speak out equally and at the same time defend the others who are marginalized by modernism. In addition, Gus Dur tended to reconcile the tensions and conflicts between faith (Islam) and science (modernity), that at some stage there is a deep and dichotomous gap, as experienced by the majority of the Nahdliyin (NU) where Gus Dur first started. take part, grow, and lead society through these institutions. Gus Dur's efforts, in Habermas' expression, were a manifestation of that faith expressed in religion manifests itself in the language of secular science. So, in this case, the writer can understand the reason that Gus Dur rejected Ismail Raji 'al-Faruqi's model of Islamization concept.

Moreover, Gus Dur's belief towards the importance of rationality in Islam according to the author is a criticism addressed specifically to NU's internal institutions rather than externally. Through the rationality that is intrinsically present in every culture, solidarity is believed to be manifested through consensus as a formal procedure to avoid conflict and violence in society. For Gus Dur, true religion will always love humans without limits and without seeing their identity. Therefore, Gus Dur inspired the awareness that loving humans means loving God at the same time. Likewise, people who hate and insult other humans, let alone disregard other people, are actually insulting God. In the era of post secularism, when secularism fails to provide a comprehensive answer to the meaning of life, the role of religion becomes crucial. Various religions are required to play an active role in responding to the spiritual crisis of modern humans by offering their religious ethics as expected by Habermas and the diagnosis by Seyyed Hossein Nasr in his book, *Islam and the Plight of Modern Man.*

E. Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis of the concepts and movements of the indigenous Islamization offered by Gus Dur, there are three main ideas to emphasize: first, through the indigenization of Islam, Gus Dur emphasized communicative action based on a change in the Islamic paradigm from normative-theological to historical-critical that he named Islam as social ethics. In the indigenization of Islam, Gus Dur included ethical considerations that have so far received little attention in the normative-theological Islamic discourse as also written by Amin Abdullah. Second, the consequence of the first consideration is interpreted by Gus Dur epistemologically that reality is plural so that humans, especially in religion, are required to be moderate and tolerant in responding to differences in religious views and beliefs. Third, in a plural religious reality, especially in Indonesia, dialogue to reach a common ground or consensus becomes a necessity. Therefore, Gus Dur believed that the choice of the majority of the Indonesian people to accept Pancasila democracy was the result of a monumental consensus. According to Gus Dur, as expressed by Habermas, Pancasila democracy has summarized the ethical and spiritual values of religion so that the language of religion can be translated into the Pancasila democratic system as a representation of "secular" language.

The privatization of Islam also reflects the relevance of the rationality of communication measures formulated by Habermas. Gus Dur wanted to discuss the universality of Islam with Indonesian locality so that Indonesian Muslims were not uprooted from the roots of their cultural traditions without intending to reduce the values of Islamic monotheism. Through the indigenization of Islam, Gus Dur wanted to present a cultural-faced Islam in Indonesia so that Islam was positioned as a complementary of the various religions and beliefs that framed Indonesia. Therefore, the position of the government in this matter is to guarantee freedom of religion so that it remains conducive without discrimination. Therefore, the government must ensure that the state is not turning into a religious state, so all religious communities are treated fairly. Gus Dur refused the idea of leading the religion into a political ideology as it would reduce the noble values of the universality of religion to being merely a political instrument of power. Gus Dur saw the tendency that if religion is used as a means of political legitimacy on behalf of the state, the state practically neglects the freedom of minority groups. Such discriminatory phenomena can be found in countries claiming to be based on certain religions, for example, Saudi Arabia with Wahhabism ideology, Iran with Shi'a ideology, India with Hinduism ideology, and Myanmar with its Buddhist ideology. In such

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hegemony of a state system based on religion, the diversity of values cannot grow, thereby restricting freedom and violating human rights.

Based on these various considerations, Gus Dur believed that religion should play its sacred role as a moral force in the form of upholding justice, growing democracy, preserving nature, and developing a democratic economic structure. Therefore, religion can be an inspirational source of religious morality in the public sphere that offers a solution to the crisis in this modern era that Habermas was concerned about. Gus Dur believed that the concept *rahmatan lil alamin* (mercy for all creations) that Islam proclaimed and offered was more than enough to proclaim Islam as a religion of humanity. This critical value of Islam shows that religion glorifies humans with love as God's creation regardless of the background of human religious identity. This is a true religious humanism that presents a prophetic mission in its practices, such as humanization (humanizing/respecting humans), liberation (protecting humans from terror, oppression, and threats), and transcendence (offering an oasis of spirituality for modern human needs). By incorporating Islam as social ethics into the idea of the indigenization of Islam, Gus Dur intended to restore the central role of religion, in this case, Islam, as a liberating religion that is involved in the evolving social reality. With the spirit of social ethics, Islam has become a religion that can have a critical dialogue with tradition and modernity or local and global culture.

For the researcher, Gus Dur's insistence on the importance of building Islamic religious rationality has the aim to help *ummah* to critically select traditions and modernity that are useful in the context of carrying out the process of taking and disposing of cultural interaction. Therefore, the researcher identifies that Gus Dur's appreciation of the role of maintaining tradition, one of which is played by the institutions of Islamic education against the impact of materialistic modern culture, can be understood as the reason for introducing the world of *pesantren* as a subculture to the outside world, including modernist Muslims who pay less attention to the traditional spirit of Islam. Furthermore, the author notices that Gus Dur's appreciation of the *pesantren* tradition does not reduce his critical power to judge that education in *pesantren,* especially in the teaching of jurisprudence and Sufism, must consider the rational-speculative thinking tradition that has been marginalized due to the strong rote tradition and practical methods of worship. Gus Dur's criticism is part of the reintroduction of the freedom of thought as the provision of the growth of the Islamic

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education that has been disrupted by stagnation and the restriction of opinions within the Muslim community.

Viewed from a broader spectrum, Gus Dur's pluralist Islamic discourse and his criticism towards the rejection of different ideas and opinions in Muslim societies have faced a great challenge because the discourse is only popular in the normative realm but not in the practical setting. This situation makes it more challenging to create a climate of democracy in all fields as what Gus Dur had fought for. The democratic attitude that upholds respect for differences and advocates for justice as taught by Islam requires a long process to happen. In hindsight, the length of colonial rule and the addition of the political system in the New Order regime that enforced the doctrine of uniformity, both in ways of thinking and acting, seemed to have influenced the way of thinking of the majority of people in this country, that is why Gus Dur's Islamic discourse was often misinterpreted and considered "controversial".

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