

CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIO-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THE FOLLOWERS OF MUHAMMADIYAH AND NAHDLATUL ULAMA (NU) IN THE POST REFORM ERA IN EAST JAVA INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT: *Indonesia's population of approximately 248.216.193 million spread over almost the entire Indonesian archipelago. There are many different religions and beliefs living in Indonesia, but only five religions recognized by the government, Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, and Buddhist. Among the followers of these religions, Muslims are the most numerous, especially people who inhabit the island of Java. Islam in Indonesia organized by several Islamist organizations. The largest Islamic organizations are Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). To find the development of two organizations community mentioned above, this study aims to (1) describe the cultural and social changes, the Muhammadiyah and NU, and (2) describe the social significance of these changes (cultural and social) for the social life of Muhammadiyah and NU and, (3) Describe the political orientation of Muhammadiyah and NU in Indonesian. With the data collection methods of observation, in-depth interviews, and questionnaires, this study concludes that in terms of socio-cultural of the two community, both Muhammadiyah and NU is located at the same position, ie there is no difference in the use of all forms of development and progress of existing as the impact factor of the development of religious thought, economic, social, cultural, and education is growing in Indonesia. The level of Islam, both Muslim organization has no principle difference. The most prominent difference is evident in the relationship between followers and leaders. The relation between followers and leaders at Muhammadiyah are to be equality, while at NU in general is more stratification (hierarchy). This is kind of relationship models for each follower will affect their behavior patterns in several ways, including the orientation or political aspirations. Regarding the political aspirations orientation (political party) there is a difference between Muhammadiyah and NU. The difference was due to the different nature of the base due to the influence of the history of the organization and community levels as well as models of the relationship between followers and leaders in their organizations respective. Regarding the choice of the party, Muhammadiyah members more rational while at NU generally more emotional and to the organization and kiai (religious scholar).*

KEYWORDS: Construction, Socio-cultural, Political, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) .

INTRODUCTION

Dynamics of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the two largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, recently is a very interesting study to be conducted. Especially the last six years the government of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, he was not based both Muhammadiyah and NU follower, elected president two times. Laode Ida research efforts undertaken to observe the young group NU to make changes in the field of thought, on the other hand, the study concluded, Ida concluded in the NU has grown to new generations, especially among NU who were highly educated and insightful, they seek to change the tradition to save the future of NU to face global challenges. However, in the region of thought, according to Mahir in his research, revealed dichotomous NU-Muhammadiyah, traditional and modern.

The nature and character of such NU often later than the nature of the Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah more patterned progressive, NU traditionalists tend to behave otherwise. This gave birth to the justification slot mapping in each group without offering alternative thinking, even at the higher levels of this form of justification absolutization apologists in the environment and the nature of its citizens, especially with regard to religious matters.

On the other hand a new phenomenon appears to be related to the changing cultural, social , and political in this community—both Muhammadiyah and the NU—growing communities (transition society) are generally different from the conditions and realities of the two communities. For this reason this study is important to complement and enrich previous research on the dynamics of Muhammadiyah and NU.

The objective of this study is twofold (1) to describe the social and cultural changes, the Muhammadiyah and NU, (2) to describe the social significance of these changes (cultural and social) for the social life of Muhammadiyah and NU and, (3) to describe the political orientation of Muhammadiyah and NU in Indonesian, especially in the East Java.

Given the large number of followers and the wider Muslim followers of Muhammadiyah and NU, then this limits the study population in the region of East Java province alone. Considerations include the selection of this population (1) the basis of NU East Java, (2) the amount of Muhammadiyah in East Java is quite large and dynamic, and (3) the limited budget or funding research.

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Popular and academic discussion about NU and Muhammadiyah in general and Muslim intellectuals still enough to attract attention. This is reasonable, because historically both organizations since birth up until now occupies a strategic position in shaping the character and especially the hallmark of religious life in Indonesia. Many contributions to scientific and intellectual born by both organizations. Assessing academic Muhammadiyah and NU are not inexhaustible. Hundreds thesis, dissertation and non-academic studies have been born unveil NU and Muhammadiyah from various sides. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah and NU keep moving

and changing "continuity and change" to borrow a phrase of Hary J. Benda, to portray Islam in Indonesia.

Muhammadiyah and NU movement in addition to the differences and similarities, particularly in the cultural and social aspects in general appeared different from each other. Differences in socio-cultural aspects is mainly due to differences in the level of religious thought or ideology. Although the level of each ideology tends to be shut down but the level of praxis both tend to make compromises to work together. Therefore it is understandable that lately found many groups or certain individuals in the community both organizations in terms of attitude, behavior and culture are difficult to distinguish from one another. This means that there is a new phenomenon that appeared in both the community and the phenomenon was to proceed.

This development is likely to continue. Muhammadiyah and NU, rather they are the adherents of the two religious schools in Indonesia these days is much different from previous years. If previously, both adherents of these religious organizations to put forward aspects differences tend to even each claiming to be the most true to each other, then these days tend to promote equality aspects, especially in the area of praxis as a socio-religious movement. Because of the recent developments of these two religious organizations as well as the changes that exist in both essential to be described in a study.

In connection with the subject matter of interest of this study is the emergence of a new phenomenon in the two communities, Muhammadiyah and NU in some areas in Indonesia, especially in East Java, which is based on regions and areas students based on Muhammadiyah. Two communities each of which includes a fanatic to understand Islam from the parent organization so famous frequent collisions or conflicts had happened during the reign of President Abdurrahman Wahid (4th President of Indonesia) NU background.

Since approximately ten years, a new phenomenon emerged in contrast to the previous, the integration of Muhammadiyah and NU in an activity that is carried out is prospective for both sides of social life in some areas, especially in East Java. This phenomenon appears certainly not free from the influence or encouragement of factors both inside and outside the individual as well as the geographical position of the resident. The reality of it is becoming a very important research done to address the changes that occur and what is acquired social meaning to their lives.

The theoretical significance into scientific contribution of this research lies in the efforts of researchers to understand, describe and construct trends and processes of socio-cultural change in Islamic societies in general and in particular of Muhammadiyah and NU in the study. It is important to photograph the common phenomenon of socio-cultural change at the individual level at which the Islamists among Islamic groups in Indonesia shows the typology of culture and behavior that is different.

This study seeks to demonstrate scientifically the same tendency among Muhammadiyah and NU to make changes at the individual level so as to encourage socio-cultural changes at the institutional level. For a while the general trend—symptoms of change in political orientation, attitudes, and behavior—began to appear between the two community organizations, but different motion. More

important is to know the beginning or departing from individuals typology which changes that occur.

Another important point of this study is in the nature of the micro side, researcher also wanted to show a change or shift in the character and nature of the two organizations purporting to be that much different this actually happened in the course of time, as has been said by Martin van Bruinessen, that NU and Muhammadiyah is equally progressive, but NU is just running slow progression. With this later study is expected to realize a large community of each of looking at and can address changes in movement patterns adopted respectively. In some particular group or class in the community are still visible presence pessimism, skepticism, and arrogance respond to the changes. Often found followers of both Muhammadiyah or NU is very fanatical in each doctrine that considered to have "given", so their attitude from one to the other are still attacking each other. For example, people who are fanatical about Muhammadiyah's stance as if more important than Islam itself. People always say that NU is a cultural movement whereas in reality the development and NU followers conditions in terms of cultural, social and political orientation is very dynamic.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Haedar Nasir, in his work, *Revitalization of the Muhammadiyah Movement* describes in his book that the Muhammadiyah and NU core often referred to as the two pillars or wings of Islam in the archipelago this beloved country. Seen from the point of the number of followers and sympathizers, it is no doubt that the Muhammadiyah and NU represent fairly large current figure of Indonesian Islam. Ahmad Shafii Maarif, *Independence of the Muhammadiyah Central Islamic Thought and Political Struggle*, said that among the Islamic movement that was born in the 20th century, the Muhammadiyah and NU noteworthy as the movement remains strong and resilient history, though internal shocks in the body of each is sometimes also perceived as disturbing.

Laode Ida, *Social Movement of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Progressive Group* said people of Muhammadiyah are very progressive—critical, both in his religious views and politics. In the travel dynamics of political Islam in Indonesia, for example, the Muhammadiyah elite and elite modernists generally more dominant than the NU. Meanwhile the more conservative—NU defensive. Even the history of NU is actually more of a reaction to the emergence of Muhammadiyah organization with a variety of elite behavior that fails to demonstrate an attitude in harmony and cooperation between the two. NU people are being too conservative—whether because of his desire to maintain the understanding adopted or because of limited insight due to the consistency that only rely on yellow books—it looks more protective and suspicious of the Muhammadiyah movement.

Rusli Karim (ed.), in its work, *Muhammadiyah in Criticism and Comment* said the relationships are not harmonious and cordial between Muhammadiyah and NU which often lead to distrust each other and want to attempt to negate. To loosen the tension of such an elite organization of moderate, often hold seminars or lectures and *silaturrahmi* together both locally, regionally and nationally. Even after his election *Rais Am* in the 27th NU Congress in 1984 in Situbondo, KH Ahmad Siddiq stated that, one in spirit of NU intention now is to want to cooperate with

Muhammadiyah. After it received a positive by AR Fachruddin, chairman of Muhammadiyah come to meet KH. Ahmad Siddiq in the same year.

Munawir Syadzali, "Opening the seminar of Islamic Insights Reorientation said that the Muhammadiyah and NU Islamic Movement who was born in the twentieth century, Muhammadiyah and NU noteworthy as the movement remains strong and shock-resistant history. However, since the Muhammadiyah was founded in 1912 and NU in 1926, they are different. But the difference did not reach the level of harm. At lower levels, in the layman (mostly rural), the difference may exceed the limit. Zuly Qadir, in his article, "NU—Muhammadiyah Narrowing distance", instead of observing the fundamental differences in theology or political vision, but the difference in general, in this case the differences in resources and infrastructure which then affects the course of the two organizations in Indonesia less balanced. Muhammadiyah was established by the K.H.A. Dahlan in 1912, since the beginning of the Islamic organization patterned into a modern, in the sense of modern management managed. Because it is almost certainly prioritize ways rational, calculating quality rather than quantity, its followers live in urban areas, may be more accurate to say the city Muslim middle class, bureaucrats, businessmen, and civil servants (civil).

Dien Shamsuddin in his work, *Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama; Forging New Social-Political Insights, Relationships Between Muhammadiyah and NU* said that the second largest Islamic organization Muhammadiyah-NU, should be directed to the future, confront and deal with the increasingly complex challenges of our time. Consciousness to come back to the future than come back to the past need to be grown in the two largest Muslim organization, if they want to stay on the stage of history. Breaking away from the past, at some level needs to be done by a social movement, as well as Muhammadiyah and NU. As a movement implies a dynamic and systematic process which is a two-sided coin of a true process. It is impossible to ignore the logic of time encouraging the birth of a movement, because it contains the ideas (in terms of thoughts and ideals), but the idea of management which focused on the logic of the past will give birth to a conservative attitude. This happens both on opposite movement of conservatism and modernism that claim, the first occurring at the double conservatism.

Zamaksyari Dhofir, *Tradition Pesantren: A Study On The Role of the Kyai in Maintaining and Developing Traditional Islamic Ideology*. According to adherence to tradition *madhhab* the modernists regarded as traditional and conservative, but the Islamic traditionalists see that it is precisely because it makes it dynamic (rather than static) without losing the "point of reference" in dealing with contemporary issues. Thoha Hamin, *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaat, process of formation and challenge* said that the ahl al - Sunnah wa al - Jama'ah is the accumulation of religious thought in various fields produced by the scholars to address issues that arise at certain times. Not that the ahl al -Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah does not have a format that is essentially not in the beginning of Islam.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Departing from previous studies on culture and the study of Muhammadiyah and NU, in this study both in terms of focus and different theoretical approaches used in the studies that already exist.

In studies that already exist, for example, is more focused on cultural studies in relation to reality and work ethic of rural communities (Faisal, 2001), and the interrelationship of culture and Islamic traditions (Jandra, 2001). While some research on Muhammadiyah and NU is more focused on the problem of the history of political struggles both in the colonial and post-independence Indonesia. Similarly, studies that look at the relationship between religious ideology with the social realities of the leaders of Muhammadiyah (Jainuri, 2001). Studies on a more macro level, but there is little micro programs. In terms of the approach used more historical approach and review the existing literature. More than that, though it is said that a change in vision and orientation, but still institutional group and no one has specifically focused on individual citizens or by using the approach of theories of cultural change (ethnographic) and social .

After describing literature review of socio-cultural change, conflict and integration, prismatic society, few studies on Islam, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, researcher proposes the following theoretical framework. First, is the notion of culture is a system of human knowledge acquired through the learning process. Culture is a social reality. Social reality that is implied in social interaction, socially expressed through various social actions such as communicating through language, working through the forms of social organization. Social reality is an artificial social construction of communities or individuals in the course of his life continuously.

Theoretically be a shifting social reality or socio-cultural change for the citizens of Muhammadiyah and NU is a subjective measure of knowledge that is both selective and aspectual be perceptive, reflective, intelektual, sensual, discursive, intuitive, contemplative, speculative, inductive, deductive and myths. Besides the social reality can also be influenced by external conditions and of all things or elements that come from outside the objective.

In everyday life occurs dialectic between internal factors (subjective) and external (objective). The dialectic will give birth to an action and continuous social behavior in everyday life. Continuity of action and social behavior patterned is called culture. The cultural context of Muhammadiyah and NU, shown in various aspects such as the form of the behaviors and symbols that appear in everyday life.

In its change process, the culture interpreted and manifested into the world around him where people are living, in the form of the forms of behavior that are considered different by the surrounding society. Changes in forms of new behavior is then referred to a shift or change in the socio-cultural of Muhammadiyah and NU. Social change, among other concerns; social interaction, knowledge, insight, social activity, social network, his attitude toward tradition and culture, social mobility and social behaviors like.

From the above description of cultural orientation development, thinking and relationships between Muhammadiyah and NU will always be influenced by internal factors and external factors. Both of these factors affect both dialectically allegedly living community in the midst of the people of Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is a field study using a qualitative approach. To obtain the data used several techniques include observation, in-depth interviews (in-depth interviews), and questionnaires. Of the three aforementioned techniques generate data describing socio-cultural change and NU and Muhammadiyah members orientation or their political aspirations. In addition the technique used field notes, and documentation to support the data from the three techniques mentioned above .

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

As noted in the introduction above, the focus of this study is (1) to describe the social and cultural changes, the Muhammadiyah and NU, (2) to describe the social significance of these changes (social and cultural) for the social life of Muhammadiyah and NU and, (3) to describe the political orientation of Muhammadiyah and NU followers in Indonesian, especially in East Java.

In a fairly long time, either by subject or informant shows that social changes that occurred in the cultural-Muhammadiyah and NU is supported by changes in external conditions; economic conditions, religious, education and development of the existing infrastructure. These factors have a very important role for the socio-cultural change in the community of Islam in Indonesia, particularly Muhammadiyah and NU community.

Factors Contributing to Socio-Cultural Change of Muhammadiyah and NU Citizens

According to data in the field of socio-cultural change first departed from the religious condition. The presence of a new ideology of Islam led to the traditional order of the schools experienced a shock which resulted in a prolonged conflict between traditional schools and new schools. When the present socio-religious organization of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia, then this new followers merge schools in Muhammadiyah. To stem the flow of propaganda carried out by the new ideology, followers of traditional schools maintain and revive the old traditions. The presence of NU as an organization that is accommodating to the local traditions of Islam are present in the current social polarization between the new schools with traditional schools bring fresh air to traditional schools and traditional schools at that time began to join. So the presence of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia ahead of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

The entry of Muhammadiyah in traditional Islamic communities lead to conflict. The conflict between the followers of traditional schools and new schools initially led to conflicting physical impact and threaten to kill each other. Nuance intellectuality, knowledge of Islam and Islamic knowledge in this period are not physically able to resolve conflicts are rampant in all corners of Indonesia. Until the 1970s conflict among followers of Muhammadiyah and NU organization still happening but physical conflict is not a conflict but a latent conflict. The impact of this conflict for Muslims, especially Muhammadiyah and NU is very positive that they are competitive push retrospect by looking at the weaknesses and shortcomings of each. The trick is to build and fix the center of their mission is to improve educational institutions and religious facilities.

This phenomenon mature two Muhammadiyah and NU community in coexistence. In the 1990s when the students graduate each agency has completed a study of college and be felt beneficial to the community as well as their respective educational institutions, to realize the good old group of Muhammadiyah and NU. In addition to the level of scientific achievement can encourage the integration of the younger generation. Not only the educated circles alone, social reality is also a perk in the generation dropout or who do not continue their studies to college and most are the ones their parents.

Sociologically two Muhammadiyah and NU community in that era has peaked at the same socio-cultural after having a bitter and painful period in public life. Economic factors also have an important role in the development of Muhammadiyah and NU community in Indonesia. Migration work profession in the 1970s among the youth of professional services to other farm workers occurred in all regions in Indonesia. Year after year concurrently with economic developments outside, it offers many new types of work, such as the services of skills, crafts and other services. In the service sector skills many youth drop out of high school or choose to cultivate the profession as masons, wood carvers, and so on. In the craft sector partly also of the youth who are either school or have graduated high school chose as artisans like embroidery and other crafts. Along with the smooth road transport north, most of them choose as a driver of public transportation. Employment growth is also by local people responded by switching jobs from farming or fishing as a trader. There are even some individuals who experience a stepping status (status climbing) of farm laborers or fishermen became traders or employers.

The economic development experienced by both Muhammadiyah and NU community in Indonesia. The impact of economic growth factors greatly be felt at the level of behavior and patterns of life, especially after the purpose of the material is reached. Facilities and infrastructure in the form of electronic tools have been shared by a majority of the villagers. The ability of adopting new information and knowledge through the suggestions owned encourage socio-cultural changes on the individual or society.

Equally important in the social reality, socio-cultural changes caused by the development of educational conditions. Education since the beginning centered on mosques and boarding school. After the emergence of socio-religious organizations Muhammadiyah and NU the existing formal education institutions increasingly exist. At that time the institution is only one kind of religious education to upper secondary level MI (*Muallimin Muallimat*). In this period cottage environmental education is still very allergic to general education.

The number of graduates from various kinds and types of education in Indonesia delivering them to continue their studies to a wide variety of colleges. The fruit in the late 1990s occurred "boom" general college graduates and religion, the majority of them back to the village and there are some who go on to pursue higher degrees or working and living in the city. For those who choose to return to their villages to help in the educational institutions there. Their contribution became clear when the alumni cottage has graduated from college there being the principal or hold important roles in the existing educational institutions. Not only that the public response was also very positive and began to realize the importance of public education for their children.

Three external factors, the condition of religious, economic and educational mentioned above affect Indonesian society into a society that actively follow global developments that occurred outside. Waning of local traditions and transformed into modern traditions, the interaction is not limited to any group between generation of Muhammadiyah or NU or both but also with outsiders. Along with the social mobility also occurs both physical and social mobility.

Political Orientation of Muhammadiyah and NU Citizens

If seen data obtained from observations and interviews to numbers of informant above, it can be seen that the socio-cultural position of the two communities or people/followers of Muhammadiyah and NU are the same. Both have turned towards the progress due to the influence of economic development and the level of education. Two of these can affect the way of thinking and a way of understanding Islam in perspective.

However, when viewed from the orientation or their aspirations toward political choice (political parties) there is a difference between Muhammadiyah and NU citizens. NU did not much change the level of thinking and level of education did not bring much change to the political choice, especially in the past two general elections in Indonesia after the reform. While Muhammadiyah members more objective and rational in choosing a political party. It can be seen from the questionnaire distributed to the citizens of Muhammadiyah and NU. Number of 500 questionnaires containing nine questions each purposively distributed (selected sample) to both citizen. ie 250 questionnaires to followers of Muhammadiyah and 250 questionnaires to NU followers.

Having collected the questionnaires were analyzed qualitatively with the help of the analysis of the percentage, then the result can be seen as follows; begins with the question of whether you understand the Islamic movement Muhammadiyah, 201 (80.4 %) of respondents answered "knowing", while the answer "little idea" was 49 (19.6 %) respondents. In contrast to the questions posed to the knowledge of NU, number 139 (55.6 %) of respondents answered "knowing", 101 (40.4 %) of respondents answered " know a little", and there are 10 (4 %) of the respondents who claimed not to know or did not understand the NU movement.

When asked where knowing or understanding Muhammadiyah, 245 (98%) of respondents said, "learn through education or reading a book", only 5 (2%) of people who claimed to know of a friend or neighbor. Meanwhile with similar questions about the knowledge of NU, 50 (20%) of respondents know NU through education, a number of 170 (68 %) of respondents saying they know NU from Kiai, and 30 (12%) of respondents claimed to know of a friend or neighbor.

Regarding the experience of formal education of some 250 respondents Muhammadiyah showed different levels, 12 (4.8 %) of the respondents graduated elementary school (SD), 18 (7.2%) of the respondents graduated Secondary School, 109 (43.6 %) of respondents graduated upper secondary education (high school), and 111 (44.4) of the respondents graduated university, it is far different from the results of a questionnaire distributed to members of NU, there were 19 (7.6 %) of respondents who were never formal schools, 61 (24.4%) of respondents passed the elementary School (SD), 59 (23.6) of respondents passed the Secondary School, 70 (28 %) of respondents

passed the upper secondary education (high school), and 48 (19.2) of the respondents graduated university.

Data on the level of formal education above show that Muhammadiyah members pay more attention to formal schools than the NU. However, already accustomed to that in the management of public and political organizations in the NU does not have to undergo a formal higher education.

When asked about whether you know the National Mandate Party (PAN), number 247 (98.8) of Muhammadiyah respondents stated "know", only 3 (1.2 %) of respondents who "do not know for sure". With similar questions about the knowledge of the National Awakening Party (PKB), all NU respondents stated t "know". From these figures show that the two Muhammadiyah and NU followers know both parties, although there are 3 people in the Muhammadiyah is not exactly know about PAN.

On whom each party founder, the questionnaire sixth item there is a choice answers. For Muhammadiyah members when asked who the founder of PAN, number 7 (2.8%) of the respondents answered "Muhammadiyah", 240 (96%) respondents answered Amin Rais, and only 3 (1.2%) of the respondents answered "do not know exactly". Unlike the NU when asked about the founder of PKB, 235 (94 %) answering " NU" and only 15 (6 %) of the respondents answered "kiai".

From the above data shows that there are different knowledge between Muhammadiyah and NU. Muhammadiyah members know that most of the PAN was founded by the Muhammadiyah (Amin Rais) but that does not mean PAN is Muhammadiyah party . While NU know that PKB is an NU official party. And only a few respondents who stated that the PKB was founded by the Kiai. It is also not too mistaken because the initiator of the establishment of PKB is Gus Dur.

In the past two elections, the Muhammadiyah citizens choose the party, there are 149 (59.6 %) of respondents said pick "PAN", there were 101 (40.4 %) of respondents said "not always". If related to the next question about the reasons why they are answering choosing a PAN because was founded by Amin Rais. This means that the PAN is not a party that Muhammadiyah was established but because the founder was Amin Rais (the time Amin Rais became chairman of Muhammadiyah), and thus could be the next time PAN is led by non-Muhammadiyah. While 101 (40.4 %) of respondents who answered "not always", has a reason that PAN is not a Muhammadiyah party so followers are free to choose. If he ever chose PAN it is because sympathy to the founders when it was.

Meanwhile NU asked the same question that their political choices, all respondents (250 or 100%) replied, "choose PKB". The reason for choosing PKB, almost all respondents (247 or 98.8 %) responded as " PKB is NU party", only 3 respondents who gave the reason as " NU Kiai party ".

From the above data it can be concluded that there are differences in orientation or political aspirations of Muhammadiyah with NU. To analyze this data can be viewed with perspective. First historical perspective . For most of the Muhammadiyah members had read the history of that Muhammadiyah is not a political organization but a social organization, religion, propaganda, and

education. Therefore, if there is a party in the same breath with the Muhammadiyah does not mean the parties established by the Muhammadiyah. Meanwhile for NU, historically already know the basic character NU where NU has long wrestled with the party, and out into the party. Because it is difficult to distinguish whether a party is an organization founded by NU (NU kiai).

Second, the educational perspective. Muhammadiyah members experienced more formal education than NU, it affects the way they think. Educational level affect the objectivity of party choice (rational choice). So Muhammadiyah members will see the direction and development of a party. If the party has a rational platform they choose, but if in the middle of the journey of the platform change then they can leave. Somewhat different from NU, they are less forward rationality, but rather on the emotional and symbolic. Political choice based on the attitude of "submission to" the symbol of NU and their kiai. So there is no rational choice (rational choice) in channel their political aspirations.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion of the results of the study, it can be concluded that, the study concluded that in terms of socio-cultural, two communities both Muhammadiyah and NU is located at the same position, ie there is no difference in the use of all forms of development and progress there as a result of factor of the development of religious thought, economic, social, cultural, and education is growing in Indonesia. In everyday life the position of religious and socio-cultural at first often lead to social polarization between followers of the two, but in the last ten years of social polarization melt when the level of understanding, insight, and science is getting better, especially in the post-reform era.

Meanwhile, on the political orientation or aspiration of Muhammadiyah with NU is a difference. This difference can be seen from two perspective. First historical perspective. Muhammadiyah members already read most of the history that Muhammadiyah is not a political organization but a social organization, religion, propaganda, and education. Therefore, if there is a party in the same breath with Muhammadiyah does not mean the parties established by the Muhammadiyah. Historically followers are familiar with the basic character NU where NU has long wrestled with the party, and out into the party. Because it is difficult to distinguish whether a party was founded by NU (NU kiai).

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LIMITATION OF STUDY

This study can not be separated from the limitations as stated above, that the target or unit of analysis of this study is limited to followers of Muhammadiyah and NU have certain characteristics as well as presented on the characteristics or criteria predetermined informants. Although the study was conducted in Indonesia but the area chosen is the only East Java with some considerations, among others, both Muhammadiyah and NU have the same character, East Java NU is a citizen base, two Indonesian president of Indonesia are from East Java (Abdurrahman Wahid and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono). Thus the results of this study can be used to see the same phenomenon (transferability) is limited to followers of Muhammadiyah and NU have relatively similar characteristics with the target of this study. Possible results of this study are used to seeing the same phenomenon (transferability) to the Muhammadiyah and NU at the time, place, and specific areas are different, need to be examined again.

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