Islamic Modernization, Identity Politics and Religious Conservatism in Indonesia (Reflections on the Renewal of Nurcholish Madjid's Islamic Thought)

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Abstract:

Purpose:
This research aims to trace the traces of the renewal of Nurcholish Madjid's Islamic thought, especially in the modernization of Islam, identity politics and Islamic religious conservatism.

Methodology:
In the context of this qualitative research, the researcher uses a discourse analysis approach. Researchers explore books and journal data sources relevant to the research topic through the library and research method.

Findings:
The research results show that for Cak Nur, reform must begin with two actions, one closely related to the other, namely breaking away from traditional values and seeking values oriented towards the future.

Implication:
In this connection, he put forward the idea of secularization as a liberation process. According to Cak Nur, this secularization process is essential, especially for the condition of Muslims who are no longer able to distinguish which values they think are Islamic, which are transcendent, and which are temporal; secularization is intended for worldly values that should be worldly and free Muslims from the tendency to make them worldly.

INTRODUCTION

As the 2024 General Election approaches, concerns are emerging from various parties regarding strengthening identity politics in Indonesia. It is not an exaggeration if we look at the dynamics that occurred in previous political events, namely the 2017-2018 DKI Jakarta regional head election (pilkada) and the 2019 Presidential Election (Pilpres). Two phenomenal political events in the history of democracy in Indonesia have given rise to societal polarization before, during, and after the two democratic celebrations ended, even today.

What is identity politics, and why is it seriously threatening democracy in Indonesia? We must explain this question as it is essential to maintain democracy and Indonesia's constitutional system as a pluralistic, multi-ethnic, racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious country. According to Agnes Heller, identity politics is a political movement focusing on differences as a leading political category. Identity politics arises from individual consciousness to elaborate particular identities in the form of relationships in primordial ethnic and religious identities. However, in the following journey, identity politics was hijacked and embraced by the majority group to establish power domination. Using identity politics to gain power, which hardens differences and encourages conflict, comes with sharp criticism. Agnes Heller defines identity politics as a concept and political movement focusing on differences as a leading political category (Abdilah S, 2002).

In the religious context, identity politics is reflected in various efforts to include religious values in the policy-making process, including implementing sharia regional regulations, as well as efforts to make a city synonymous with a particular religion. Meanwhile, Cressida Heyes defines identity politics as a sign of political activity (Heyes, 2007).

In Lukmantoro's view, identity politics prioritizes the specific interests of members or groups who have similar identities and characteristics, whether based on similarities in race, ethnicity, gender, or religion. Identity politics is also a political effort to channel aspirations and influence public policies that are considered valuable. In religious identity politics, there are efforts to include religious values in a policy.

Religious identity, in this case, Islam, is widely used in political battles in Indonesia. It is understandable because the majority of voters are Muslim. Moreover, the most obvious, of course, is the movement of Muslims (some groups) against one of the candidates for governor of Jakarta in 2016 regarding the issue of religious blasphemy, which led to the formation of public opinion, the necessity of electing leaders of the same faith in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election, which caused friction for and against in society. This polarization also occurred in the 2019 presidential election.

Islamic identity politics also colors the dynamics of democracy in Indonesia. It has been displayed several times on the Indonesian political stage during regional and general elections. However, its impact on democracy, the exclusivism of Islamic identity politics, will divide the nation. Identity politics is a substantial challenge for Indonesia as a multi-religious country and hurts its social, cultural, and political situation. Identity politics born of Islamic conservatism can distance Indonesia from religious inclusion and instead bring it closer to religious exclusion. Meanwhile, in the context of Islamic politics, identity politics contradicts the core universal teachings of Islam or even contradicts the concept of government established by the Prophet Muhammad SAW through the Medina charter, which accommodates the rights of minority groups.

As one of the efforts to deal with identity politics in Indonesia, it would not seem excessive if we re-actualize various ideas for renewing Islamic thought from Nurkholis Madjid (Cak Nur) and Fazrul Rahman regarding Islamic modernization in political and state life in Indonesia through contemporary interpretations of sacred texts (Al -Qur'an and Hadith) which have become the unilateral legitimization of various groups, perpetuating identity politics.

METHODS

In this study, the author chose a qualitative research approach, which is a methodology that relies on descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words. This method is used to understand and analyze phenomena related to individuals or groups, events, social dynamics, perceptions, and beliefs. The qualitative approach allows the explanation and expression of findings in narrative form rather than statistics, making it easier for readers to understand because the information is conveyed through descriptive sentences (Rasimin, 2019). In the context of this qualitative research, the researcher uses a discourse analysis approach. This approach involves observing and analyzing several data sources relevant to the research topic.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Religion and Identity Politics. How identity politics emerged can be seen in Abdullah Saeed's map of Islamic thinker groups. According to him, six Muslim thinkers in the modern era have different epistemologies: (1) The Legalist-Traditionalist (Traditional Law) group focuses on fiqh laws interpreted and developed by the premodern ulama. (2) The Theological Puritans (Puritan Islamic Theology) group focuses on Islam's ethical and doctrinal dimensions. (3) The Political Islamists (Islamic Politics), this group focuses on aspects of Islamic politics that ultimately want to establish an Islamic state. (4) The Islamist Extremists (Hardline Islam), this group has a tendency to commit violence against every individual and group it considers an opponent. (5) The Secular Muslims, this group has the idea that religion is private. (6) The Progressive Ijtihadis (Muslim Progressive-ijtihad) This group is contemporary Islamic thinkers who have sufficient Islamic classical insight and are trying to reinterpret religion through the methodological tools of modern sciences in order to answer the needs of modern society (Saeed, 2006).

In general, identity politics theory and various research results show that two main factors make ethnicity and religion attractive and salient to be used and influential in the political process. "When ethnicity and religion are at stake, they can influence the outcome." There is a need to maintain or defend the identity of a group. Second, when the political process takes place competitively, this means that the political process causes identity groups to confront each other. In the current context, general elections, such as regional and presidential elections, are included.

Ethnic identity and religion are two elements of social change. The process of religious identity politics will have a direct or indirect impact on social change and vice versa (Sukamto, 2022). Meanwhile, ethnic identity politics also, directly or indirectly, in real or in disguise, gives rise to social change.

Identity politics is the political use of humans that prioritizes the interests of a group because of similarities in identity that include race, ethnicity, gender, or a particular religion. This policy was often used in the past. For example, Adolf Hitler convinced the German people that the source of the economic crisis and the defeat of the world war was due to the influence of the Jews. With sweet promises to expand Germany then, Hitler and his party managed to win the election in 1932. The solution he offered was to eliminate the Jews, and that promise was what most of the German people sold and bought. It resulted in the tragedy that occurred in Germany when the Nazis came to power. Six million Jews became victims of the atrocities of identity politics, and it became one of the worst genocides recorded in world history (Zahrotun, 2018).

In Indonesia, identity politics is more related to ethnicity, religion, ideology, and local interests, generally represented by political elites with their respective articulations (Ahmad, 2012).

Political Islam and Conservatism. The practice of identity politics in Indonesia cannot be separated from the phenomenon of Islamic conservatism, as Azyumardi Azra said, which has become a study agenda among Indonesians in recent years. Some of them call this symptom or phenomenon a 'conservative turn,' turning away or turning to become conservative. They usually associate the symptoms of a conservative turn with political dynamics, especially the 2017-2018 DKI Regional Election and the 2019 Presidential Election.

However, it also needs to be emphasized that this phenomenon of conservatism is certainly not only experienced by one religion and not only in Indonesia. Religious conservatism also appears in developing or even underdeveloped countries in Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia because of the view of the failure of modernity, secularism, development, and globality of their respective governments, including the failure of the state to improve the quality of life and welfare of its citizens.

Returning to the practice of identity politics (Islam) as a phenomenon of the rise and growth of Islamic conservatism in Indonesia, Azyumardi Azra categorizes it into two groups. First, there is an increase in acts of worship or rituals from obligatory to sunnah, a symptom expressed by most Indonesian Muslims. This symptom can be seen in the increase in the number of mosque worshipers (with the number of mosques also continuing to increase), Hajj pilgrims with increasingly long waiting periods, Umrah, and various other forms of worship, such as Duha prayers at work. This phenomenon is accompanied by the adoption of a lifestyle that is believed to be more Islamic, such as the wearing of the hijab among women. They generally adhere to the wasathiyah paradigm of understanding and practice of Islam, which has been dominant in Indonesia for centuries.

Meanwhile, in socio-cultural and political attitudes, the majority of Muslims remain flexible. Various research and academic-scientific studies have found that there is no positive relationship or correlation between 'increased attachment to Islam' or even 'religious piety' and politics. This phenomenon was seen in elections from time to time from 1999 to 2019, where the political parties that succeeded in getting the most votes were political parties based on Pancasila, not parties based on Islam. Therefore, the rise of Islamic conservatism among the Muslim majority does not encourage the rise of Islamic identity politics.

Second, the rise of stricter conservatism among Indonesian Muslims. This group also has sub-groups that differ slightly in the level of strictness in what is seen as a more accurate understanding and practice of Islam.

There is a strong tendency for this group to orient their Islamic life to the traditions of the post-Prophet Muhammad era or in friend or thabi'in. For them, the Islam that they understand and practice is the most perfect and purest. Therefore, this conservative group rejects certain realities and symptoms of modernism or modernism such as lifestyle, socio-culture and politics. For them, modern themes such as gender equality, human rights, democracy, and the like are incompatible and, therefore, must be rejected. In the political field, this strictly conservative group is oriented towards establishing political systems and institutions which they view as the most Islamic. They are trying to build an Islamic dawlah, which is a single nation-state, or a caliphate, which is a universal political entity for all Muslims throughout the world.

When Muslims in Indonesia feel disadvantaged economically and politically, they tend to identify themselves with religious factors, not with state and ethnic factors. Burhanuddin Muhtadi and Rizka Halida, in their book "Populism, Identity Politics, and Electoral Dynamics: Unraveling the Long Road to Procedural Democracy," present strong evidence that social identity and political-economic grievances encourage Indonesian Muslims to identify with or support conservative Islamic groups (Yanuar, 2021).

Islamic conservatism continues to influence political and socio-economic developments in Indonesia in the foreseeable future. Currently, conservative Islamic groups have developed rapidly and are not limited to just using one vehicle, namely religion, to express themselves politically. However, they also have other ways of communicating their political views. They can use socio-political issues such as the "obligation" to elect Muslim leaders, halal certification for consumer goods, and exclusive 'sharia' housing as part of their political aspirations (Burhanudin, 2019).

Islamic Political Thought; Relations between Religion and State. Islam guides humans to the right path for themselves, society, and even the country. Islam is a ritual teaching that guides how humans relate to society and even the state. In this regard, among Muslims until now, there are three schools of thought regarding the relationship between Islam and state administration. First, the position is that Islam is not merely a religion in the Western sense; that is, it only concerns the relationship between humans and God. On the contrary, Islam is a perfect and complete religion with regulations for all aspects of human life, including state life (Munawir, 1993).

Second, the position that Islam is a religion in the Western sense, which has nothing to do with state affairs. The third rejects the opinion that Islam is a complete religion and that in Islam, there is a constitutional system. However, this sect also rejects the notion that Islam is a religion in the Western sense that only regulates the relationship between humans and their Supreme Creator. This school holds no constitutional system in Islam, but there is a set of ethical values for state life (Munawir, 1993).

One of the most severe consequences of the decline of Muslims was the stagnation of Muslim intellectual development until the emergence of modernist figures. However, in terms of politics, until the birth of modernist figures who called for a return to the Qur'an and Sunnah, such as Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab, for example, there had not been any discussion of a clear concept of a state based on Islam (Ahmad, 1987).

Indonesia, as a country with a majority Muslim population, has not escaped this setback. In fact, according to Fazlur Rahman, the peak of intellectual decline occurred especially in 1945. It happened because Muslims were more concentrated in the struggle against colonialism or because there was no awareness of how vital intellectual development was so that Islam could be translated to overcome various life problems such as economics, education, justice, and socio-political.

Meanwhile, Muslim intellectual Nurcholis Madjid is of the view that Islam does not lay down a standard pattern of political theory or system of practice that its followers must implement and that the Qur'an, because it is not a political book, does not provide the term state (dawlah) or other terms. In other political, technical terms, except for the values and ethical principles of justice, egalitarianism, brotherhood and freedom, which are universal, ultimately, as long as a country continues to adhere to and implement these universal principles, then both the system and the mechanism implemented are correct according to Islam (Budhy, 1995).

The discussion regarding the relationship between religion and the state is an issue that has given rise to much ongoing debate among experts. It is caused by differences in views in translating religion as part of the state or the state as part of religious dogma. The debate and discussion regarding this matter lie more at the conceptualization level and relationship patterns between the two. Where this debate emerged was motivated by the religious texts themselves, whose relationship patterns were dichotomous. Religion and the state are often seen as two areas confronting each other. For example, relations in the afterlife or al dunya wa al-din. Both the Qur'an and the hadith mention these two things a lot. The expression al Islam huwa al-din wa al daulah is often found (Ahmad, 2000).

According to Deliar Noer (1996), Islam includes at least two main aspects: religion and society (politics). However, articulating these two aspects in real life is a problem. Muslims generally believe in the holistic nature of Islam. In their perception, Islam is a divine instrument for understanding the world, often more than just a religion. Many of them even stated that Islam can also be seen as a religion and a state.

The state is understood as a political institution that manifests the togetherness and unity of a group of people to realize common good and prosperity. In this case, the state's existence necessitates a combination, borrowing Hegel's term, of subjective freedom (subjective liberti), namely individual awareness and will to achieve specific goals, and objective freedom (objective liberty), namely the general will, which is fundamental. The state requires law enforcement as an instrumental factor in realizing shared prosperity. Therefore, the fundamental doctrine of the state, as expressed by Immanuel Kant, is a state based on law and aims to create eternal peace (Din, 2002).

Renewal of Nurcholis Madjid's Islamic Thought. Talking about Islamic thought and renewal, especially in Indonesia, cannot be separated from the Islamic figure and intellectual Nurcholish Madjid, often called Cak Nur. Raised in an Islamic boarding school climate in Jombang, East Java, in 1939, Cak Nur is a Muslim scholar, researcher, academic, national teacher, and perhaps one of the people who contributed to building and developing Islamic preaching from the perspective of pluralism, tolerance, humanism and anti-sectarianism.

M Syafi'i Anwar categorizes Cak Nur as a substantivistic person; his reflection is making significant efforts toward political thinking and orientation that emphasizes the substantial manifestation of Islamic values (Islamic injunctions) in political activities, not only in appearance but also in the format of their political thinking and institutions. It needs to be made clear that every time Cak Nur expresses his thoughts, he will never be separated from political issues; this is what is characteristic (manhaj file) of Cak Nur in every idea he has as a thought leader and political observer (Syafi'i, 1995).

Cak Nur is a prominent Muslim scholar and thinker who has ideas with a national perspective. One of his views is about the relationship between religion and the state. This thought had a significant influence on national and Islamic discourse in Indonesia. In the relationship between religion and the state, Cak Nur believes that religion and the state cannot be separated because religion is the basis of life and is the culture of people's lives in a state. However, Cak Nur firmly rejects the concept of an Islamic state, especially in the Indonesian context. According to him, the Islamic State is a distortion of the proportional relationship between religion and the state.

Cak Nur's thoughts often cover two themes regarding matters of religion and state. In covering the country, Cak Nur often tries to collect scattered thoughts that politicians often ignore. Islamic politics is one of them, which is Cak Nur's critical attitude as an intellectual passionate about stimulating the democratic process to move around us. What is meant by the democratic process is that it can open up the dynamics of supervision and balance in society (Edy, 1998).

During his life, Cak Nur gave birth to many ideas for reforming Islamic thought, including social and political life, through efforts to encourage modernization. Working and thinking develop the ability to think scientifically and be dynamic and progressive in approaching universal truths (Mohammad & Asep, 2018). Cak Nur saw that Indonesian Muslims at that time had experienced a phase of decline and return in thinking in the

development of Islamic teachings, so that, according to him, they had lost their psychological striking force in the struggle.

For Cak Nur, reform must begin with two actions, one closely related to the other, namely breaking away from traditional values and seeking values oriented toward the future. In this connection, he put forward the idea of secularization as a liberation process. According to Cak Nur, this secularization process is essential, especially for the condition of Muslims who are no longer able to distinguish which values they think are Islamic, which are transcendent, and which are temporal; secularization is intended for worldly values that should be worldly and free Muslims from the tendency to make them worldly.

The idea of secularization or de-secularization in political life implies rejecting the controversial idea of "Islam yes, Islamic parties No." For Cak Nur, integration of the people is not a practical approach. The political situation of the New Order demands changes in the field of action and emotional behavior of Muslims, where the hope for integration is utopian and idealistic, which will only bring progress and congestion in the thinking of the people.

In Indonesia, which is experiencing a modernization process in various fields, social, political, and economic, it is needed as a religion that can provide a universal foundation of values and morals. Not a religion at a specific organizational or legal level, religious understanding cannot play a role in meeting the needs of modern society. It will also sharpen plurality, which will ultimately lead to societal instability.

In connection with the above issue, Cak Nur's idea of "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" is that the Indonesian nation is very diverse, not only in terms of ethnicity and religion but also because of the diversity of religious understanding among Muslims. In this context, Cak Nur has shown a response as a young Muslim intellectual by trying to provide a theological and philosophical basis for themes surrounding modernization. His ideas about democratic justice and civil society, which he put forward since the 70s, are still very relevant to the political life of this Reformation Era. Cak Nur's assertion above illustrates that the struggle of the Islamic State is a reflection of the legal formalistic model of understanding religion. Faithful Islam is not a structure, arrangement, or collection of laws that can give birth to religious formalism, but Islam as Tauhid or spiritual power capable of giving birth to a pure soul, inclusive, democratic and respects pluralism.

Cak Nur offers a solution that must be implemented in the context of Indonesia, which is experiencing a process of modernization in the social, political and economic fields by developing a discourse of neo-modernist thought, namely accepting modernity by rooting oneself in Islamic traditions, "al-mubafadatu ala al- qadi al-health wa al-kudzu bil jaded al-ashlah" (keeping the old, the good, and taking the new, the better). According to Cak Nur, the State aims to form a socially just society for all Indonesians and answer challenges for all humanity.

The principle of "social justice for all Indonesian people" for Cak Nur means that we must accept and carry out Allah's commands in all things, with guidance and niyyah from Allah, and by following the guidance of the Prophet Muhammad, we, the Indonesian people will succeed in realizing our ideals. Together with humanity, namely creating a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila and forming a country entire of policies with the blessing and forgiveness of Allah, as reflected in the expression Baldatun Thayybatun wa Rabbun Ghofur (Undang, 2016).

As an open religion, Islam has developed a cultural system where the cultural system must accept other cultures or what is called culture. Such a view can be expressed in the modern era. We, Muslims, must be more able to positively and consistently accept and validate modern values, which are very personal basic principles such as the ideas put forward in human rights (human rights), which are universal. This political view received its historical form in the reality of Islamic history itself, which was realized in the first thirty years of the early period of Islam, during the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his friend al-Khulafa al-Rasyidin, who gave birth to a country or state that was very advanced compared to other countries. A country of its time or that existed in a previous period. According to Cak Nur, the Salaf community in modern language is now a generation that empirically applies Islamic normative principles of egalitarianism, democracy, participation and social justice.

With a clear mind, Cak Nur explains the indirect relationship between religion and the state, namely at the level of political thought. Religion supports the validity of political values that lead to the common good. Because the nature of the state should be religion-neutral, the political languages must also be general. Cak Nur classifies political thinking into several themes, namely democracy, justice and openness (Nurcholish, 1999).

Cak Nur views the State as an instrument of how the State can become a tool for creating space and time as a place for every human being to develop their devotion to God. According to Cak Nur, why does a country claim to be an Islamic country, but its contents are not Islamic? It is not absolute that Muslims are not obliged to establish an Islamic State, but are obliged to implement Islamic values, including through the existing government in a State. Judging from the historical process and development of thought, the emergence of the idea of an Islamic State is a form of the apologetic tendency that grew from two directions: "First is Apology to western (modern) ideologies such as democracy, socialism, communism. The second is legalism, which brings some Muslims to think of apologists for the "Islamic State." This legalism fosters a complete appreciation of the legality of Islam, which takes the form of an appreciation of Islam that illustrates that Islam is a structure and collection of laws.

Cak Nur writes that the Prophet or his successors never used the formalistic term Islamic State for centuries, and it is clear that it appeared among the people only as a modern phenomenon." On another occasion, he touched on this matter again, "Islam is not a theocracy. We want to emphasize that Islam is not secularism. Islam does not recognize unity between religions and states, nor does it recognize unity between religions and states." In Islam, state and religion are inseparable but not identical. Not separate, but different. It is inseparable because every Muslim must act and behave in order to gain Allah's approval, including in-state life. However, religious and worldly affairs (including state life) differ because the first truth is absolute, while the second is relative.

Cak Nur's belief in universal principles in the Qur'an is the spiritual peak in finding solutions to the inequality of Islam and justice and the human crisis. He uses the term tawhid for themes referred to from the Qur'an, such as worship, zakat, dhikr or Islam, faith, and Ihsan as methods of approaching oneself towards God. This principle will have two implications. First, it strengthens human inner awareness, fosters deep spirituality, and becomes the basis of personal ethics. Second, there is an emphasis on the universal unity of humanity as one people based on equality, justice, compassion, tolerance, and patience (Ahmad, 2003).

Democracy and Pluralism in Indonesia. One of Cak Nur's thoughts is to highlight the issue of democratization in Indonesia. What is meant by democracy is that it opens up the dynamics of supervision and balance (check and balance) in society. A democracy formulated "once and for all" so that it does not provide room for development and change is not a democracy but a dictatorship. In the democratic flow conveyed by Cak Nur, there is a need for broad and autonomous political participation from society.

Pluralism is an important theme that has received much attention from Cak Nur because, from a geographical perspective, Indonesia is an archipelagic country. Apart from that, socially, Indonesia consists of various tribes, languages, and customs, which show a very high level of diversity. On the other hand, Indonesian culture cannot be separated from the influence of the beliefs and religions that develop within it. So political maturity is needed, as well as the ability to accept differences and resolve these differences within the limits of political civility, because all of this is important for democracy. According to Cak Nur, pluralism must be understood as a genuine engagement of diversity within the bonds of civility. It means that pluralism is a societal order where we must be willing to engage in diversity and solve problems with civility.

Cak Nur also views people's sovereignty as the core of the people's general participation in state life. The opportunity to participate effectively is a true manifestation of freedom and independence. Therefore, all societal and state ideals, as stated in the noble values of agreement in the muqoddimah of the 1945 Constitution, will disappear into meaninglessness without the general participation of the people. Even the state's sovereignty in its relations with other countries continues the people's sovereignty. It is proven at critical moments when the country faces threats.

According to Cak Nur, something that we should accept with gratitude to God is the agreement that Pancasila is an open ideology. Pancasila is a modern ideology realized in modern times and presented by a person or group of people with modern insight, namely the founders of the Republic of Indonesia. It is intended to provide a common philosophical foundation for a modern plural society, namely Indonesian society. As a product of modern thought, Pancasila is a dynamic ideology because this dynamic character makes Pancasila understood and seen as an open ideology. Therefore, it cannot be interpreted once and for all (one of all); Pancasila also does not allow a single body to monopolize the right to interpret it.

Society, with its diversity, must be given the freedom to take an active part in efforts to define national ideological values and actualize them in community life. Any attempt to hinder this will be a disaster, not only for the Indonesian state and society as a pluralistic society but also for the national ideology itself as the starting point for developing an everyday lifestyle. So, Pancasila must become an open ideology by its design as the basis for plural and modern socio-political life (Nurcholish, 1998).

CONCLUSION

Islamic Political Thought. In his thoughts on Islamic politics, Cak Nur stated that there are three main problems that Muslims must face, namely:

1. There is a need for a more advanced way of understanding Islamic teachings by not being trapped in the traditional understanding of Islam, namely the concept of secularization, which, according to him, does not lead to the concept of secularism.
2. There is a need for a more accessible way of thinking so that Muslims are no longer confined by doctrinal constraints that limit Muslims from developing their insights in the political field.
3. The need for an idea of progress and a more open attitude towards other people. He said that the ideological content of Islam should be removed; in this way, Islam as al din will not experience a reduction in its meaning. According to Nurchalis Madjid, Islam must be defined more inclusively - which includes anyone in its faith system, including Muslims.

Cak Nur also quoted the opinion of Marshall G.S. Hodgson regarding the political practices of Muslims; Hodgson revealed that the attention of modernists was too quick to be political if something that was uniquely Muslim was intended as a driving force for defense and social change. Islam was undoubtedly politically and socially oriented. So those who follow the Shari'a care about history and social order like that. Indeed, those with hadith are the strongest in criticizing the status quo, such as reformers like the Hanabilah. Moreover, the side of Islam that appears most consistent with modern society is that which most reflects mercantile, individualistic and pragmatic cosmopolitanism, contrary to the aristocratic norms of an agrarian society. premodernism has been brought by Islamic scholars. On the other hand, Sufi Islam emphasizes the inner dimension of faith, which pays more attention to interpersonal relationships, has fulfilled the needs that emerged in social institutions in the premodern era, and now tends to be politically conservative (Nurcholish, 2008).

Cak Nur also criticized the concept of the Islamic State, which he considered to be just an apology. According to him, there is a reason why Muslims apologize for their thoughts. First, their defensive attitude towards the invasion of Western (modern) ideologies, such as democracy and socialism, which are totalitarian. Muslims responded to the invasion with the concept of al-din, which includes the unity of religion and the State but is not based on scientific studies and is only an illusory apologia. Second, the understanding of legalism is only produced by the guidance of a fiqh approach, so the State is assessed as a legal structure called sharia. According to him, the study of fiqh in modern times has lost its relevance to the problems of society, which are constantly changing.

For example, the state has an objective national dimension, while religion has a personal, spiritual dimension. The two are interrelated but still differentiated. Suppose the State participates in regulating matters of

religion and belief. In that case, this is not by the teachings of Islam itself, which does not recognize religious authority (la rahbaniyyah fi al Islam). Islam has no priestly or ulama authority (M. Dawan, 2010).

Cak Nur said that the ideological content of Islam should be removed; in this way, Islam as al din will not experience a reduction in its meaning. According to Nurchalis Madjid, Islam must be defined more inclusively - which includes anyone in its faith system, including Muslims.

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