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Research Article

Religiosity and Participation in Islamic Organization among Indonesian Muslim in Sydney and Canberra

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Abstract. Indonesian Islam has its own unique characteristics as it is inseparable from local traditions and has been connected to the role of Indonesian Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. This study observes the religiosity among Indonesian Muslims in Australia, especially in Sydney and Canberra in 2018. By conducting an online survey with 108 respondents, the study found that beside mandatory religiosity, Indonesian Muslims still very often perform *nahdliyin*-related religious activities such as celebrating *halal bi halal*, performing *selamatan*, requesting dua from ustadz, performing *tahlilan* and commemorating *maulid an-Nabi*. However, they prefer to pray *teraweh* with 11 *rakaats* and only very few respondents chose often and very often for *teraweh* with 23 rakaats. While most respondents felt being part of Nahdlatul Ulama, very few of them were an active member and a board member in Nahdlatul Ulama or Muhammadiyah. This is very interesting given the current rise of Islamism among Indonesian Muslims in Indonesia and overseas, as well as efforts made by some Indonesian Islamic organizations to spread moderate Islam throughout Western countries.

Keywords: Indonesian Islam, religiosity, moderate Islam, Indonesian local tradition, selamatan.

Introduction

Regarding Muslim religiosity, there are various interpretations of Islamic teachings made by different Islamic groups, which consequently, lead to difficulties in observing and measuring Islamic religiosity. Jensen (2011) describes her difficulties in observing the religiosity of Muslims in Denmark. She began by identifying religious affiliation because she assumes that Islam in Denmark differs from Islamic organizations/movements affiliated to *Hizbutahrir* and to *sufism*. She explored at least four concepts: *first*, religious membership; *second,* forms of religiosity; *third,* religious knowledge; and *fourth*, the distinction between private and collective religious identities. She concluded that her approach challenges the difference between collective religiosity and the individual, wherein religious membership does not necessary determine religious practice.

The scale of religiosity has grown and it not only includes religious practice but other aspects as well. Mahudin et al., (2016) identified at least 13 scales of religiosity that can be applied in studying Muslim religiosity. Researches in some countries with Muslim populations apply different measurements such as in Turkey (Ok, 2016) Iran (Ghorbani *et al.*, 2000), Nigeria (Olufadi, 2017), and Germany (Baier, 2014). In general,

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Islam as a religion covers beliefs that are manifested into Islamic teachings. Universal Islam practiced in all Muslim countries relates to the five principles of faith *(rukun iman)* and the five principles of being a Muslim *(rukun Islam)*. However, there are various interpretations regarding Islamic practice among Muslims, which consequently lead to different rituals existing in different groups among Muslims.

Regarding measurement, Olufadi (2017) considers that the existing studies on religiosity measurement of Muslims only pay attention to the level of beliefs, attitudes practices, coping strategies and experiential. As an example, (Ghorbani *et al.*, 2000) applied the Muslim Attitude Religious Scale (MARS), a religiosity scale comprising 14 questions based on the scale developed by Wilde and Joseph (1997). Ghorbani et al., (2007) also made use of intrinsic, extrinsic aspects, as well as quest scale by adopting ideas from Western psychology. The scale is employed to measure three religious motivations, namely the experiential, utilitarian, and Gnostic, which were developed by A. K. Soroush (2003). El-Menouar (2014) criticized previous studies on Muslim religiosity by proposing five dimensions for studying religiosity. The five dimensions are: *first,* religiosity adapting from Islamic principles (basic religiosity); *second,* central duties developed from the belief that all Muslim's acts are under the protection of Allah; *third,* religious experience is from spiritual experience as a result of religious belief; *fourth,* religious knowledge is considered important because Muslims are expected to know about Islamic teachings developed from the Holy Qur'an and Hadith; *fifth,* dimension of orthopraxis is developed from acts as the consequence of religious practices such as eating *halal* food, not drinking alcohol. Similarly, some researches (Krauss, Azimi and Idris, 2007; Kraus *et al.*, 2012) adapt two dimensions for Muslim Religiosity-Personality Measurement Inventory (MRPI). The *first* is Islamic worldview and Islamic doctrine originating from the Holy *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* consisting of belief and practice in Islam. *Second,* Islamic personality is also another crucial dimension for their proposed scale MRPI.

By contrast, Baier (2014) still keeps previous measurement for connecting religiosity and violent behavior of Muslims and Christians in Germany. There are three questions: *first,* frequency of praying during the last 12 months; *second,* frequency of visiting a place of worship (such as mosques and churches); *third,* perceiving the extent religion is important for respondents. In similar cases, where researchers compare religiosity between different religions, the old measurement is still applicable. Similarly, previous studies measured Muslim religiosity with measurement adapted from Jews or Christian regardless of the fact that it causes some problems.

For centuries Indonesian Islam has exhibited unique attributes that facilitated in disseminating Islam and making Indonesia into the largest Muslim-majority country. Islam on the island of Java is, generally, believed to be spread by the *wali songo* (the nine saints), who adjusted some local traditions to be their instruments for *dakwah* (Islamic proselytization) (Dijk, 1998; Supena, 2021). The measure of Indonesian Islam not only includes the five principle of faith (*rukun iman*) and the five principles of being a Muslim (*rukun Islam*), but ritual traditions combining Islam and local traditions as well. Based on the five principles of faith (*rukun iman*), Muslims shall believe in six things:

believing that there is no god but God; believe in *malaikat* (angel); believe in the messenger of God; believe in the holy scriptures; believe in the day of hereafter. Based on the five principles of being a Muslim (*rukun Islam*), Muslims are obligated to perform the five daily prayers, to pay alms (*zakat*), to fast during the month of Ramadan, and to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca if able.

Some Islamic rituals are understood as being recommended but not obligatory (*sunnah*), which implies that the rituals are good but Muslims are allowed not to perform them. The fact that some rituals have values and are recommended has been acknowledged by all Muslims, yet the way these rituals are practiced sometimes may differ. As an example, for a particular type of prayer conducted during Ramadhan night/*shalat teraweh,* Muslims associated with the traditionalist group tend to perform *23 raka'at* while those affiliated with the modernist group prefer *11 raka'at.* Such a difference is caused by the result of the prophetic interpretation.

Likewise, particular sets of rituals of traditional Indonesian origin are rather debatable. Muslims who associate themselves with the traditional group believe that certain rituals are good and have positive effects. Contrastingly, the modernist group sees the rituals as heresy (*bid'ah*) since they were not originally introduced by the Prophet Muhammad, and some are even classified as *shirk* (idolatry) because they are considered bordering on non-Islamic practices, like *selametan*, which is performed to commemorate the seventh day of the dead (*tujuh harian)*, annual commemoration of the dead (*khaul*), and a collective ceremony (*tahlilan)* performed by repetitively reciting the *tahlil, la ilahaillalloh* "there is no god but God" for specific purposes, such as helping a family receive God's protection or assisting the dead to be accepted by God (Mujani 2003). The rituals that are specifically associated with shirk include *ziarah,* visiting tombs or shrines to pray for the deceased, and requesting prayers from a religious authority (*kiai* or *wali*) for a variety of personal reasons.

Correspondingly, according to (Mujani, 2007, 2019) there are three categories of Indonesian Islamic religiosity: regular religiosity, nahdliyyin religiosity, and muhammadiyah religiosity. The first category is regular religiosity, which refers to a practice of Islam that is agreeable to all Muslims regardless of their *madzhab* and affiliated organization. Second is nahdliyyin religiosity, which refers to an Islamic practice established by a group of Muslims that has joined Nahdlatul Ulama with strong affiliation to traditional practices of Islam, *pesantren* and *ulama.* Third is Muhammadiyah religiosity, which is an Islamic practice established by a group of Muslims that has joined Muhammadiyah with a solid affiliation to the modernist movement.

Indonesian Islam

In addition to mandatory practices from the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah, particularly on Java, Islam has shown specific characteristics due to the influence of the nine saints who propagated Islam (Lukens-Bull, 2008). The first unique attribute of Indonesian Islam is the adoption of prior traditions for propagating Islam. A number of

traditions are inseparable from Islam's *dakwah* process, such as *gamelan* (Javanese percussive orchestras), *wayang kulit* (shadow puppets), *bedug* (mosque drums), and *slametan* (ritual gatherings). Sunan Kalijaga is believed to have introduced these practices to make it more agreeable with the Javanese taste in order to attract more followers in Demak, the capital city of Mataram, to participate in their *dakwah*. Sunan Giri and Sunan Kalijaga composed music that complements the *rebana* (hand-held drum) performance. People enjoyed the *gamelan* and music while listening to the *wali* delivering religious sermons. In addition, *wayang* was also a key instrument for *dakwah* and one of the methods implemented by the *wali* to make it conform to Islam was by banning living creatures in the *wayang* performance (Lukens-Bull, 2008).

Nonetheless, different approaches were applied by the nine saints in terms of the extent that tradition (*adat*) is deemed acceptable for adapting to Islam. Sunan Giri is seen as being more rigid and a *wali* who tended to restrain in using local traditions (Dijk, 1998). Contrastingly, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Kalijaga, and Sunan Muria had accepted local traditions more intensively as a tool for their *dakwah*, to minimize any hostility against their *dakwah* efforts. They initially accepted *slamatan*, a ritual practice associated with the commemoration of an individual's death on particular days, such as yearly anniversaries and the fortieth, one-hundredth, and one-thousandth day after their passing (Dijk, 1998).

The second distinctive feature is the role of Islamic-based organizations. The history of modern, Islamic-based organizations in Indonesia can be traced back to the 18th of November, 1912, when Ahmad Dahlan returned from his pilgrimage to Mecca. He was inspired by the Islamic revitalization movement he learned from other parts of the Islamic world, which was a response to Western colonialism, Westernization, and the significant proliferation of Christianity. He, consequently, established the organization known as Muhammadiyah on that date, to assemble many Muslims with the aim of reviving or reforming Islam in Indonesia to confront the challenges of the modern age. Regarding the internal or domestic rationale for Muhammadiyah's establishment in Indonesia, the organization was built as a response to traditionalism – i.e., the Islamic community who used local traditions for *dakwah* and took part in several cultural practices not explicitly rooted in Islam's scriptures. Muhammadiyah criticized the traditionalists' way of interpreting Islam, by accusing them of maintaining backwardness and rituals alongside Buddhism and Hinduism. Contrastingly, Muhammadiyah was established to contribute to promoting social cohesion, addressing poverty, eliminating backwardness in education, and providing alternatives to the dated education system (*pesantren*). By 1925, Muhammadiyah had instituted 29 branches with 4,000 members, established 8 Hollands-Inlandsche Schools (schools for teachers using Dutch as the medium of instruction), 32 five-year primary schools, 14 *madrasahs* with 119 teachers and 4,000 students. Muhammadiyah had continued to expand all over Indonesia, and 852 branches had been established by 1938 with as many as 250,000 members, 1774 schools and 1774 libraries (Syihab, 1998). A Majlis Tarjih had also been established by Muhammadiyah in 1927 to issue *fatwas* relating to social and religious issues.

In the wake of the nationalism revival, Islamic-based organizations became even more apparent and flourished significantly. Aside from Muhammadiyah, (Noer, 1972) identified other Islamic organizations like Persatuan Islam, Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia (PERMI), Al Irsyad, Jamiat Khair, Persyarikatan Ulama, and Sumatera Thawalib. These are organizations deemed as modernist movements of Islam. They were more likely to abandon old-fashioned traditions, and criticized traditions associated with *selamatan*, also challenging the educational system that the traditionalist groups used. According to Noer (p. 108), these movements were connected, to some extent, to Middle Eastern movements, particularly in Mecca and Cairo, that Muhammad 'Abduh initiated. 'Abduh's thoughts consisted of the initiative to unlock the *bab al-ijtihad* (gate of interpretation), which implies giving opportunities to renew Islamic understandings based on the Qur'an and Hadith directly, to reject *taqlid* (i.e., adhering to Islamic teachings and practices conveyed by *ulama,* without proper understanding about the origin of the practices). However, in addition to 'Abduh, the modernist movement in Indonesia also turn to Ibn Al Qayyim and Ibn Taymiyya.

By the time the modernist movement in Indonesia had been established, the traditionalists were much too late in giving a serious response as they had not fully understood the teachings introduced by the modernist movement. This had changed when the aspirations of the traditionalists were rejected by the modernist organizations in light of the invitation extended to a Muslim delegation from Indonesia to Ibn Sa'ud in Mecca in 1924. In 1925, the modernist group dominated the Al-Islam Congress, and they overlooked the aspirations of traditionalist ulama who hoped that the Al-Islam Congress in Saudi Arabia would show consideration for traditionalist religious practices like *ziarah kubur* (grave visitation) and teachings about the *madzhabs*. KHA Wahab Chasbullah then founded Nahdlatul Ulama, and later on the 31st of January, 1926, KH Hasyim Asy'ary formed the Hijaz Committee and had them participate in the Al-Islam Congress in Saudi Arabia to represent the traditionalist ulama.

Einar Sitompul (1989) asserted that the participation of traditionalist ulama in the Al-Islam Congress showed the positive response that traditionalists afforded to the modernist movement. However, the traditionalists joined Nahdlatul Ulama to maintain the ideas of traditionalist ulama concerning *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tafsir* (exegesis), *hadith* (traditions of the Prophet), and *tasawuf* (Islamic mysticism) from earlier centuries, and to pay respect to the nine saints (*wali songo*) who had initially propagated Islam throughout Indonesia. They associated themselves with the Islamic school called *Ahlussunnahwaljama'ah,* which upheld the Islamic tradition of constantly adhering to the *madzhabs* system, maintained firm requisites for *ijtihad,* and argued that most Muslims not meeting the requirements of *ijtihad* should remain as followers (*taqlid*) (Dhofier, 2011).

The third unique feature is that Indonesian Islam, from theological and philosophical perspectives, represents the contextual interpretation of Islam. It is commonly understood that Islamic doctrine continued to spread following the

passing of the Prophet Muhammad. Three centuries later, Islam had developed various fields, including *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet), *tafsir* (exegesis) and *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and the last of these had developed substantially and reached its peak with the rise of the four *madzhabs*. This development was made possible by the power of *ijtihad,* the solemn efforts made to understand the Holy Qur'an and the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (*Sunnah*) by not only basing on what is apparent in the texts but by also using the best Muslim experiences (Saeed, 1997).

For the Nahdlatul Ulama-affiliated traditionalist group, Indonesian Islam, from a theological perspective, is typically understood as something that differs from the situation at the time of the Prophet. The Indonesian situation is perhaps analogous to the situation of the Prophetic companion, Mu'az Bin Jabal, when he was assigned to be a judge in Yemen. The Prophet Muhammad was known to have given permission to Mu'az to resolve issues of his own accord based on his experience. The Prophet asked him: "If you face a case of law, how will you decide it?" Muadz replied, "I will decide based on *kitabullah* [the Qur'an]." The Prophet asked him again, "If you don't find it in *kitabullah*?" Muadz responded, "I will decide the case based on *Sunnah of The Prophet,"* The Prophet asked him again, "What will you do if you do not find the case both in *Kitabullah* and the *Sunnah of the Prophet*?" Muadz replied, "I will truly perform *ijtihad* based on my personal experience." The Prophet patted Mu'adz on his chest to indicate his agreement.

Modernists have criticized the situation following the rise of the four *madzhabs*, when people believed that the option for *ijtihad* had been sealed. Islamic practices with strong local traditional influences were seen as deviating from the Qur'an and Hadith. *Ijtihad* should be developed based on the primary sources of the Qur'an and Hadith. The debate between traditionalist Muslims (typically affiliated to Nahdlatul Ulama) and modernist Muslims (commonly affiliated to Muhammadiyah) is comprehensively elaborated in (Bowen, 1997). He began his explanation by discussing about the different interpretations between the "young group" (*kaum muda*) advocating to purify Islam from non-Islamic elements and the "old group" (*kaum tua*) in relation to some religious practices such the *ushalli* controversy, a distinct prayer (reciting *qunut*) conducted during the morning prayer.

Research Method

Measuring Indonesian Muslim Religiosity

Sixteen questions were developed in relation to Islamic practice and religiosity. Regular practices include observance of regular daily prayers (5 times/ day), fasting during Ramadhan, giving sadaqah, paying for alms or zakat, performing Friday prayers, performing aqeeqah, giving donation in the form of money, food, etc. *Nahdliyin* practices include 23 rakaats of tarawih prayer, *yasinan* (recitation of surah Yaasiin, normally done on Friday night), celebrating mawlid an-nabi (Prophet Muhammad's birthday), *halal bi halal* (post Eid al-Fitri celebrations), requesting du'aa from ustadz/sheikh/kyai, performing *tahlilan* (on certain occasions like the 7th or the 40th day commemoration of deceased family members), *selametan* (religious

gatherings to seek Allah's blessings during both joyful and troubled moments such as the commemoration of deceased family members and pre-wedding gatherings), visiting the graves of family members, guardians or sheikh/kyai, reciting *qunut* during the morning prayer. Muhammadiyah practices include 11 rakaats of tarawih prayer, *tasyakuran* (religious gathering to thank Allah for special joyful occasions like graduation or birthdays).

Table 1. Practice of Islam

Regular Practice	Nahdliyin Practice	Muhammadiyah Practice
Solat regularly (5 times/ day) Fasting of Ramadan Alms or Zakat payment Performing Aqeeqah Shadaqah or donation in the form of money, food, etc.	Tarawih Prayer 23 Rakaats Yasinan Mawlid an-Nabi: Request du'aa from Ustadz/Syeikh/Kyai Performing the tahlilan Selametan Visiting the graves of family members, guardians or Syeikh/Kyai. The recitation of qunut prayer during Subh prayer	Tasyakkuran Tarawih prayer 11 Rakaats

Measuring Participation in Islamic Organizations

Participation in Islamic organizations constitutes one's participation in voluntary organizations, and following Stout (2008), it is a latent variable comprising three aspects: (a) membership in a voluntary organization; (b) experiences of being a board member in a voluntary organization; (c) the extent of engagement in organization programs and activities. Ten questions were developed to examine respondents' participation in religious organizations and all refer to general Islamic organizations, participation in Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia. The questions are as follows: (1) Are you an active member of the organizations or the *pengajian*? (2) Have you ever been a board member in the organizations or the *pengajian*? (3) Are you familiar with the following Islamic organizations in Indonesia? (4) Do you feel that you are a part of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)? (5) Have you ever participated in events organized by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)? (6) Are you an active member of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)? (7) Have you ever been a board member of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)? (11) Do you feel that you are a part of Muhammadiyah? (8) Have you ever participated in events organized by Muhammadiyah? (9) Are you an active member of Muhammadiyah? (10) Have you ever been a board member of Muhammadiyah?

Participants

This article is based on an online survey using the WhatsApp group (WAG) platform and e-mail involving 106 members of religious lectures/studies (*pengajian*) in Sydney and Canberra from 6 November to 6 December 2018. Three people distributed the questionnaire in the WAG of their religious study. The respondents were approximately 18 to 50 years old, with 60.38% female and 39.62% male. Most of the respondents'

citizenship were Indonesian (85.85%), while the remaining were non-Indonesian citizens of Indonesian descent.

Findings

Practices of Indonesian Muslim Religiosity

Regular Practices

Regarding regular practices (Table. 2), since they are obligatory practices, all Muslims are expected to respond by selecting often or very often as they indicate piousness. It has been argued that Indonesian Muslims are, generally, more pious compared to Muslims in other Muslim countries are (Hassan, 2002). Nevertheless, it is quite noteworthy that some responded by selecting rarely and never for questions relating to obligatory practices such as regular 5 times daily prayers. Those who responded rarely for the regular prayers (5 times/ day), fasting during Ramadhan, giving sadaqah, paying alms or zakat are at 10.38%, 1.89%, 6.60% respectively. Giving sadaqah and performing aqiqah are not mandatory but are recommended (a very strong *Sunnah)* that all groups in Islam will agree upon. Those who perform sadaqah reached over 95% (47.17% chose very often while 48.11% chose often). The number of respondents who chose very often and often for performing aqeeqah is significantly lower than those performing sadaqah/donation

Table. 2 Reguler Practice

	Very Often	Often	Rarely	Never
Sholat regularly (5 times/ day)	75.47%	14.15%	10.38%	0.00%
Fasting of Ramadan	85.85%	10.38%	1.89%	1.89%
Alms or Zakat payment	56.60%	36.79%	6.60%	0.00%
Shadaqah or donation in the form of money, food, etc.	47.17%	48.11%	4.72%	0.00%
Performing Aqeeqah	33.96%	23.58%	22.64%	19.81%

Nine questions were developed in relation to Nahdliyin religious practices and *halal bi halal* is the item that obtained the highest number of very often and often choices at 92.45% of respondents. Only 7.55% chose rarely and no one chose never. Other religious practices that obtained the second highest rating and its subsequent rankings are *selamatan*, requesting dua from ustadz, performing *tahlilan* and *maulid an-Nabi* at 60.37%, 51.89%, 45.28%, 44.43% respectively. The highest percentage for never and rarely practiced rituals is tarawih prayer 23 raka'at, followed by yasinan, then visiting the graves of family members, guardians or Sheikh/Kyai at 77.36%, 72.64% and 65.1% respectively. The recitation of qunut during the Morning Prayer is

still practiced by 32.3% of respondents, while the least practiced is 23 rekaats of teraweh prayer.

Table. 3 Nahdliyin Practice

	Very Often	Often	Rarely	Never
Tarawih Prayer 23 Rakaats	6.60%	16.04%	50.00%	27.36%
Yasinan (recitation of Surah Yaasiin normally on Friday night)	9.43%	17.92%	59.43%	13.21%
Mawlid an-Nabi: Celebrating Prophet Muhammad's (s) Birthday	17.92%	26.42%	41.51%	14.15%
Halal bi halal (during Eid celebrations)	59.43%	33.02%	7.55%	0.00%
Request du'aa from Ustadz/Syeikh/Kyai	16.98%	34.91%	34.91%	13.21%
Performing the tahlilan (in certain occasions such as the 7th or the 40th day commemoration of the dead family members.	16.98%	28.30%	38.68%	16.04%
Selametan (religious gatherings to seek Allah's blessing in both happy and sad moments such as the such the commemoration of the dead family members and pre-wedding	17.92%	42.45%	37.74%	1.89%
Visiting the graves of family members, guardians or Syeikh/Kyai.	7.55%	27.36%	46.23%	18.87%
The recitation of qunut prayer during Subh prayer	15.09%	16.04%	36.79%	32.08%

Muhammadiyah practices only cover 2 questions because their practices are usually similar to regular and mandatory practices. Most respondents practice 11 *rakaats* of tarawih prayer (by 80.86 %) while *tasyakuran* is practiced by 58.49%

Table 4. Muhammadiyah Practice

	Very Often	Often	Rarely	Never
Tarawih prayer 11 Rakaats	45.28%	35.85%	15.09%	3.77%
Tasyakkuran (religious gathering to thanks Allah in the special happy occasions such the graduation days, birthdays)	18.87%	39.62%	37.74%	3.77%

Participation in Islamic Organization

Various questions have been developed to observe participant's involvement in Indonesian Islamic organizations from the lowest one such as the basic question, are they know the various Islamic organization in Indonesia. 51.89%, 35.85%, and 6.60% choose they are familiah with Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, other organisation respectively

Table 5. Participation in Islamic Organization

	Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	Muhammadiyah	Other	Not really
Are you familiar with the following Islamic Organizations in Indonesia?	51.89%	35.85%	6.60%	5.66%

Yet, as shown in Table 6, only 7 respondents (6.60%) stated that they are active members of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), while 8 respondents (7.55%) are active member of mentioned that they are active members of Muhammadiyah. This is quantified by calculating the number of respondents who have the experience of being a board member in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or in Muhammadiyah, and the responses are quite consistent, wherein about 7-8 individuals selected Yes for this question.

Table.6. Membership of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah

	Yes		No	
	Freq	**%**	**Freq**	**%**
Do you feel that you are part of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	72	67.92%	34	32.08%
Do you feel that you are part of Muhammadiyah	27	25.47%	79	74.53%
Are you an active member of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	7	6.60%	99	93.40%
Are you an active member of Muhammadiyah	8	7.55%	98	92.45%
Have you ever been a board member at Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	7	6.60%	99	93.40%
Have you ever been a board member at Muhammadiyah	7	6.60%	99	93.40%

No more than 50% of the respondents had participated in events organized by either of the two organizations, most of them selected never at 52.83% for NU and 56.60% for Muhammadiyah (Table.7).

Table 7. Participation in Events

	Very Often	Often	Rarely	Never
Have you ever participated in events organized by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	4.72%	15.09%	27.36%	52.83%
Have you ever participated in events organized by Muhammadiyah	1.89%	12.26%	29.25%	56.60%

Discussion

Among the non-mandatory religiosity, it is worth mentioning that *slametan*, requesting du'a from ustadz, performing tahlilan and *maulid an-Nabi* remain widely popular among Indonesia Muslims living in Australia (at 60.37%, 51.89%, 45.28%, 44.43% respectively) aside from performing *halal bi halal* (during Eid celebration) as the most popular Islamic religious practice among Indonesian Muslims in Australia. For Muslims, Eid al Fitr is a big day when they celebrate after a month of fasting throughout the holy month of *Ramadhan.* Indonesian Muslims celebrate by mutually asking for and extending forgiveness especially to one's parents (which is of the highest priority), followed by relatives, neighbors, and friends (Hakam, 2015). There are some practices relating to the Eid al Fitr celebration; called *Riyaya* in Geertz, (1960), such as *mudik* (homecoming tradition) for those living outside of their hometown or overseas (Yulianto, 2019), eating *ketupat* (Rianti *et al.*, 2018), preparing new clothes and making Eid al Fitr cakes/snacks (*kue lebaran*), which are usually the best foodstuff for welcoming and serving the guests. In this regards, *halal bi halal* is an official tradition that is usually carried out in government offices, schools, private institutions. The ritual includes a welcoming party, listening to a recital of Qur'anic verses, listening to a religious sermon, shaking hands to forgive one another, and it is concluded by enjoying an extensive meal together (Hakam, 2015).

Slametan is also one of the most popular ritual inviting numerous people (friends, neighbors, relatives, family members) to attend marking important moments in life, both joyful and sorrowful, such as births, illnesses, marriages, and deaths. Geertz categorized *slametan* as an *abangan* tradition because *slametan* is understood to correlate with the belief in bizarre, troubling and frightening spirits (Geertz, 1960). Geertz subsequently specified *slametan* into four categories: for events relating to births, marriages, deaths, particular circumstances (life crises); for Islamic observances like those held to celebrate the birth of the Prophet; for community interests such as cleansing the village from harmful spirits; and for special and individual interests such as becoming free from a disease or preparing for a long journey.

Geertz's work has been most instrumental as a reference that elaborates on *riyaya* and *halal bi halal* and the various types of *slametan* and the key considerations for having *slametan* (such as in determining the appropriate time and budget required for events to be held. This is because the Javanese believes in a traditional numerological system (known as *petungan*) applied by considering numerous

different aspects such as the cardinal directions (if the *slametan* relates to moving one's home). Geertz, particularly, afforded greater attention to *slametan* relating to the cycle of life. The *slametan* cycle for birth comprises *tingkeban* (seven months of pregnancy) for the induction of Javanese women into motherhood, *babaran* (*slametan* symbolizing and anticipating an easy birth), *pasaran* (welcoming the newborn), *pitonan* (seven months post birth). The next *slametan* relates to circumcision *(sunatan)* and marriage *(kepanggihan)*, and these kinds of *slametan* are most common since they are extravagantly celebrated. The final stage of the life cycle refers to various *slametan* associated with death (*lajatan,* which is *slametan* held immediately upon a person's death), and he provided short explanations about *slametan* for three, seven, forty, one hundred, one year, second year, one thousand days after death.

Halal bi halal and *slametan* is by no means mandatory. It was Sunan Muria, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Kalijaga who had accepted old practices and gave them new meanings in Islam while trying not to refer to Buddhism and Hinduism when people had converted to Islam. They accepted *slametan*, a ritual practice associated with the commemoration of a person's death on certain days, such as their yearly anniversaries and the fortieth, one-hundredth, and one-thousandth day following a person's passing. Praying and reciting Qur'anic verses eventually replaced the unaccepted traditional customs. Foodstuff was distributed among the guests, which differed from the initial purpose of the ritual in pre-Islamic Java, i.e., to give offerings for the soul of the departed (Dijk, 1998). More currently, Jochem van den Boogert (2017) has noticed the gradually shifting position of *slametan* within Javanese Islam, and that further studies are required to better understand both its past and current positions.

Traditionalist Muslims think that Indonesian Islam should be developed based on Indonesian tradition. Such argument is based on Ash-Shidiqie's statement that Indonesian *fiqh*, the Islamic jurisprudence of Indonesia, should be developed based on Indonesian tradition and identity (Feener, 2007). Accordingly, the existing Middle Eastern Islamic jurisprudence (including the Hijaz and Egypt) is deemed unsuitable for Indonesian Islam since *urf* (local custom) is crucial in this case. The Qur'an and Hadith are moral spirits, and neither provide detailed guidelines for the numerous aspects found today in modern social life. As a consequence, *ijtihad* is a must, which includes *ijtihad* to interpret the best message of the Qur'an and Hadith. The effort of gaining public benefit *(maslahah)* and avoiding harm are the most essential reasons considered by the traditionalist group to guide them in all legal decisions, arguably decisions made by judges in different periods would consequently differ (Sahal and Aziz, 2015).

In this regards, Wahid argued for *pribumisasi Islam* (the indigenization of Islam), i.e., efforts to understand and contextualize the Qur'an and Hadith within the local culture (Saeed, 1997; Mujiburrahman, 1999). This process is not intended to merge Islam with local traditions, since such a process will result in removing the original attributes of Islam. The Qur'an must remain in Arabic and be used for praying, but it

can be translated to facilitate people's, particularly Muslims', understanding of the holy text. *Pribumisasi Islam* is not a syncretic process between non-Islamic and Islamic elements; it merely considers local needs in establishing religious doctrines (Mujiburrahman, 1999). Cultures and norms should not be overlooked, and this process is made possible because the various interpretations of the main source, i.e., the Qur'an, are accepted. *Ushul fiqh* and *kaidah fiqh* can be used to facilitate the *pribumisasi Islam* process. In fact, *pribumisasi Islam* has always been a part of Islamic history in Indonesia and various other Muslim countries, including Saudi Arabia where Islam was initially revealed (Ricklefs, 2012; Sahal and Aziz, 2015). By applying the arguments above, the traditionalist group argues that Indonesian Islam, which the modernist group has criticized, is neither syncretic nor peripheral Islam, instead, it is pure Islam with a very solid connection to Islam everywhere. Azra (1994) has explored the powerful link between Indonesia and the Middle East, where Islam originated. The East-West trade from around the first hijriah century was dominated by Arab traders while they actively propagate Islam. Referring to sources from China, an Arab trader was mentioned to have served as a leader of an Arab Muslim settlement in the coast of Sumatra. Some had gotten married with local women and established a Muslim community, and according to Arnold they also actively engaged in spreading Islam (Azra 1994: 27). Azra (1994), accordingly, raised criticisms against some theories posited by Western scholars, e.g., the assertion made by Pijnapel that Islam in Indonesia was brought from the Indian subcontinent (specifically, Malabar and Gujarat). Likewise, Snouck Hurgronje stated that Islam in Indonesia originated from the Indian subcontinent, while Arabs, who were indicated by *sayyid* and *syarif* in their name, came later (around the 12th century).

Azra (1994) suggests that Maulana Malik Ibrahim was the first famous *da'i* (proselytizer of Islam) on Java. He succeeded in Islamizing a large portion of the north coast of Java and converted the king of Majapahit, Vikramavardhana (788-833/1386-1429), but Raden Rahmat was the person who successfully seized the momentum to convert the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit into an Islamic one. He was the leader of the legendary nine saints and is popularly known as Sunan Ampel, who had founded a famous Islamic studies center. Subsequently, during the fall of Majapahit, Sheikh Nur Al-Din Ibrahim bin Maulana Izrail, who was more popularly known as Sunan Gunung Jati, proselytized Islam in Cirebon (Azra 1994:30).

The argument of Indonesian Islam's Middle Eastern origin has been corroborated by written documents from Ibn Batutah (considered as the most valid), and Arabian historians such as Abu Zayd, Al Ya'kubi, and Al Mas'udi. The latter three based their accounts on stories shared by Arab sailors interested in sorcery or bizarre stories in Indonesia, making them considered less reliable as historical sources. The early relations fostered between Indonesian Muslims and the Middle East correlated with the intensity of contacts between Muslims in the Middle East and China. Azra (1994) assumes that Muslims from the Arabian Peninsula visited cities in Indonesia—especially the estuary of Sribuza or Musi River and Palembang, the capital city of Sriwijaya—during their journeys to the Far East region because I-Tsing noted that he sailed on an Arab ship during his visit to Indonesia.

It is worth noting that some traditional rituals are still observed by Muslims in Australia. It can be linked to the fact that some of the traditions that traditionalists or Javanese Islam associate with are actually typical traditions we can find across the Islamic world, although they do not, explicitly, have scriptural origins. A good example is a practice called *haul*, or celebrating the anniversary of the death of an Islamic leader. This practice is commonly observed among the Arabs of Hadramawt (present-day Yemen) but is also typically found among not only Javanese Muslims but other traditionalist Muslims across the Indonesian archipelago as well. Pilgrimages to the tombs of local saints are not uncommon on Java, which apply to the resting places of the *Wali Songo* and the tombs of venerated Hadrami scholars buried in Indonesia, and a mass assembly is often held once per annum to commemorate the anniversary of the holy person's death (Alatas 2014). This is also a typical practice in Central Sulawesi, where an enormous ceremony is held every year to observe the anniversary of the passing of Sayyid Idrus bin Salim al-Jufry, the founder of Alkhairaat (Jumat, 2012). Even on Bali, pilgrimages to the tombs of Balinese Islamic "saints" have started to be carried out and *haul* ceremonies for them have been initiated by local Muslims (Zuhri, 2013). Therefore, it should be noted that the traditionalist features of Javanese or Indonesian Islam are not entirely unheard of in other parts of the Islamic world; rather, common traditions established within local Indonesian societies seemed to have amalgamated with worldwide Islamic traditions and been maintained as part of Indonesian Islamic practices.

The respondents' sense of being a part of Nahdlatul Ulama or Muhammadiyah correlates with their religiosity. However, although the religiosity of both Nahdliyin and Muhammadiyah practices is still very popular, most of the respondents were rarely involved in both moderate Islamic organizations. They were, probably, not much involved in current efforts to elevate Indonesian Islam on the global stage. Many expect that Indonesian Islam promoted by moderate Islamic organizations will gain more global popularity. In general, Indonesian Islam supports democracy, human rights, and women equality (Azra, 1994, 2006; Hefner, 2000; Hoesterey, 2019). Many Muslim scholars from Indonesia, especially those raised by NU and Muhammadiyah, have initiated a very advance thought of building a non-discriminative and peaceful world where all people can live together (Saeed, 2007)(Saeed, 1997)(Mujiburrahman, 1999). They promote values to protect marginalized and minority groups that are vulnerable to discriminations and disadvantaged groups (Barton, 1999, 2014; Mujiburrahman, 1999; Barton, Vergani and Wahid, 2021).

However, Muslims in diaspora pockets such as Australia have, actually, had experiences of being a marginalized minority, facing problems of Islamophobia, social identity (Safei *et al.*, 2022). Consequently, becoming a democratic and pluralist Muslim is, perhaps, extremely difficult. Some are escaping from reality because they are unsatisfied with the double standard values developed in the country they live in. These countries claim to promote equality and aim to achieve the highest score in terms of democracy and human rights, but they do not necessarily implement these measures seriously. As a matter of fact, they are easily influenced by radical thoughts in Islam and become radical Islamists or at least moderate Islamists. The role of Islamic

organizations in the history of Indonesia is highly significant. In both present and future, wherein previous researchers have found facts relating to rising Islamism among Indonesian Muslims in Indonesia (Sakai and Fauzia, 2014; Mietzner and Muhtadi, 2019) and overseas (Toyibah *et al.*, 2020) and the decline of their authority (Arifianto, 2020), the challenge to play a similar role would be not be as easy as it was. However, initiatives to promote Indonesian Islam by using various terms such as Islam Nusantara in Western countries deserve appreciation (Mudzakir, 2020; Pribadi, 2022).

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