

UNDERSTANDING OF POLITICAL CULTURE IN CITIZEN OF MUSLIMAT NU IN EAST JAVA

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Abstract

In the context of its activities, since the NU Muslimat was established, it was almost all the archipelago had the same activities called religious activities, which included (1) manaqiban (2) diba'an, (3) reboan, (3) Muslimat Hajj Association and, (4) recitations with themes around the pillars of Islam. But there is a phenomenon of shifting understanding of the elite and NU Muslimat members to the themes of recitation and the movement of political da'wah, especially in East Java. The activities at NU Muslimat carried out not only as a routine activity of the Muslim community but also for the wider role of the NU Muslimat in general and its members to occupy strategic positions in the government or legislative members. From the above phenomena, the objective of this study is to understand the culture and political understanding of NU Muslimat citizens in East Java. This research was conducted using a qualitative approach. Data collection uses observation, interviews, and documents. Data analysis was carried out using the interactive analysis model of Miles, et al.

Dalam konteks kegiatannya, sejak Muslimat NU didirikan memiliki kegiatan yang sama yang disebut kegiatan keagamaan, yang meliputi (1) manaqiban (2) diba'an, (3) reboan, (3) Ikatan Haji Muslimat, (4) kegiatan pengajian dengan tema seputar rukun Islam. Tetapi ada fenomena pergeseran pemahaman elit dan anggota Muslim NU dari kegiatan-kegiatan di atas ke tema-tema gerakan dakwah politik, terutama di Jawa Timur. Kegiatan-kegiatan Muslimat NU yang telah dilakukan tidak hanya sebagai kegiatan rutin, tetapi untuk peran

yang lebih luas dari Muslimat NU pada umumnya dan anggotanya untuk menduduki posisi strategis di pemerintahan atau anggota legislatif. Dari fenomena di atas, tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami budaya dan pemahaman politik pada warga Muslimat NU di Jawa Timur. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Pengumpulan data menggunakan observasi, wawancara, dan dokumen. Analisis data dilakukan dengan menggunakan model analisis interaktif Miles, Huberman, Saldhana.

Keywords: *Culture; Political Culture; Politics; Understanding; Muslimat NU*

Introduction

In the context of its activities, since the NU Muslimat was born, in almost all the archipelago had the same religious activities. However lately there has been a phenomenon of shifting the understanding of the elite and Muslimat members towards the themes of recitation and the movement of dakwah. It occurs especially in East Java and the shift began to appear in the last ten years (Zuhri, 1979).

After the birth of the PKB in 1998, the condition of the NU Muslimat began to be concentrated in politics and gradually this organization was drawn to practical political interests (Ridwan, 2008). Starting from the elite in the structure to the NU Muslimat members, they felt like the most important part of PKB supporters. Preliminary interviews conducted with several administrators and members showed that the activities at NU Muslimat carried out not only as a routine activity of Islamic mental religious formation but also for the sake of the broader role of NU Muslimat. They aimed at political interests which benefit NU Muslimat in general and its members to occupy strategic positions in the government or council members. This understanding has an impact on the changes in the themes and contents of the recitation held even though the forms of activity have not changed. Based on the aforementioned phenomenon, the purpose of this research is to understand the culture and political understanding of NU Muslimat citizens in East Java.

Literature Review

There are several previous studies related to the research themes. Haris (2015) found that the political movement as a NU religious and Muslimat organization as an autonomous body visible in the trajectory of the history of the nation. The problem that arises is the extent to which NU participates

in national politics and how much NU Muslimat represented themselves in politics. Through a typology approach, this study explores NU and NU Muslimat political contributions in the trajectory of the nation's history. Various data show that NU and NU Muslimat participate passively and actively in national politics. In the colonial period NU entered the passive participant typology, but in the following period it took the form of non-conventional active participants. This active participant was evident when NU issued a jihad resolution to defend independence. This participation was then channeled through *Masyumi*, then established political parties independently. NU Muslimat passive participation began to be recognized in 1938 and was only recognized as an active participant in 1946. Muslimat became an active participant fighting for gender equality in 1954. Five years later Muslimat became a participant gladiator and began to show the gender role simultaneously by raising the issue strategic information that aims to strengthen rights, resources, and aspirations for women to participate in the public sphere including practical politics.

Political participation is an effort to check and balances the country. The participation of NU as the first largest organization in Indonesia cannot be underestimated. In historical records, the footsteps of the NU organization have never been absent (Fadeli & Subhan, 2007). Participation carried out since the colonial era was seen in influencing colonial government policies, up to the current reform era. As explained above, NU is not silent under any circumstances. Serious efforts are made to defend people's rights in religion. The sacrifices made by figures are not small so that the lives will be willing to be sacrificed. The imposition of colonialist ideologies was obstructed by NU figures. It can be seen from coercion to respect the *Siekeirei* tradition which is considered contrary to Islamic teachings. As an excess, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, as the chairman of the NU Executive Board (PB) finally issued a resolution asking the government of the Republic of Indonesia to act decisively against the Dutch, while at the same time fighting for *sabilillah*. Islamic boarding schools were transformed into the headquarters of *Hizbullah* and *Sabilillah* driven by the Kiai to fight colonialism in Indonesia (Aboebakar, 1957; Yani, 2018). Likewise with NU Muslimat, since the beginning independence took an active role to participate in calling for the voices of truth in the public sphere.

The political role of women is increasingly needed considering that their population is not inferior to men. The level of education of women in Indonesia increased significantly which in the end fostered a new awareness

of the importance of women's involvement in politics. This awareness-raising then gave birth to movements among women about their equal rights with men. Given that so far, the political marginalization of women has taken place simultaneously, so the demands for improving the conditions of their rights and gender justice are very much discussed.

The political role of women in formal political structures needs some strategies: *First*, female politicians must establish partnerships with women's problem assessment institutions and women's activity activists. The results of the research and assessment of these institutions can be useful in decision making. This is important because so far many policies are not in accordance with the needs of the target group as a result of their own input errors. *Second*, it demands political independence in the process of political decision making. Women's political independence has always been a rare item. Emancipation in politics in a short time can be realized. *Third*, in carrying out its formal political role, female politicians must maintain equality with men. Formal political opportunities for women are a form of reasonable political participation. The political survival of this nation also requires the touch of women both as subjects and objects. Again, the opportunity for formal political participation of women needs to be supported and appreciated fairly. For women, this opportunity should not be interpreted as an arena of revenge, because so far it has been the object of male political masculinity.

Zaenuri (2015) stated that *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) was one of the Islamic organizations that emerged during the Indonesian national movement, but in 1952 NU turned into a political party after breaking away from *Masyumi*. The decision to issue NU from *Masyumi* and become a political party was stated in the 19th congress in Palembang with 61 votes agreed, 9 votes refused, and 7 abstained. While the branch of the NU party in Pasuruan regency was established in 1952 after the results of the 19th Congress in Palembang were decided. The purpose of this study was to describe the role of NU as a political party in 1952-1973 in Pasuruan which included (1) the standing background and development of the *Nahdlatul Ulama* as political party in 1952-1973 in Indonesia; (2) the background of the establishment of *Nahdlatul Ulama* in Pasuruan regency in 1935; (3) the role of *Nahdlatul Ulama* as a political party in 1952-1973 in Pasuruan regency.

Zaenuri (2015) concluded that NU left *Masyumi* and established a political party due to the role of Kiai Wahab Hasbullah. Pasuruan regency is one of the biggest bases of NU, this is inseparable from the role of *Kiai* Nawawi who

became a member of PBNU in 1926 and is an influential *kiai* in Pasuruan. However, only in 1935 did the NU branch of Pasuruan regency be officially established by appointing Kiai Muhammad Dahlan as chairman. The role of the NU party in the 1955 and 1971 general elections was inseparable from the role of Islamic boarding schools, *kiai*, *santri*, and the political elite. In the 1955 and 1971 elections, the NU Party in Pasuruan regency always got the most votes. During the campaign to win the NU Party in Pasuruan in the 1955 elections, the clerics did not hesitate to go directly to the field to become campaigners, besides the NU campaign strategy in Pasuruan was also obtained from a “hidden” campaign, namely during the recitation. In the 1971 election, the NU campaign strategy was not much different from the 1955 elections, the difference being in the 1971 campaign there were few restrictions from the government because at that time there was intervention.

Political Culture

Understanding of political culture is a pattern of behavior of a society and its orientation towards life in politics, be it the administration of state administration, politics of government, law, custom, and norms of habit that are lived out by every individual in society everyday. Political culture is the perception of society in a country manifested in a pattern of attitudes towards political events that occur. So, the notion of political culture is values that develop and are practiced by certain communities in politics.

Politics has touched all of the social order so that it influences the attitudes and behavior of the community. According to Amind and Powel (in Lalzawnga, 2018) the scope of politics includes the way people perceive politics obtained from broad or narrow knowledge and the orientation of society towards politics influenced by attachment, involvement, and rejection. In addition, its orientation assesses objects in political events. According to Widjaja, (1982 in Rosdi, 2015) political culture is the political aspect of a system of values which consists of ideas, knowledge, customs, superstitions, and myths that are known and recognized as the majority of society. This culture gives rational to reject or accept other values and norms. And according to Budiardjo (2012) political culture is the whole of political views, such as norms, patterns of orientation towards politics and views of life in general.

Political culture in a country can be recognized by paying attention to its characteristics. In general, it is characterized by the elements of regulating power in government, both at the center and in the regions. There is a policy-

making process by the government. The Patterns of the behavior of officials and government officials of a country. There are several political parties and all their activities in the community. In addition, not infrequently there is turmoil in the community in addressing the power of the government. There is also political culture related to the issue of legitimacy (Pye & Verba, 2015).

Indonesian people have experienced many things in the political field. According to Kantaprawira (1999), there are three types of the political culture in Indonesia, namely: *First*, parochial political culture, where the level of political participation of the people is still very low. This type of political culture is often found in traditional societies that are simple. According to Mas' oed and Mc Andrews (2000), parochial politics occurs because people do not know or are unaware of the existence of government and the political system. Parochial political characteristics are as follows: (1) The scope is small and narrow. (2) The community is apathetic. (3) Public knowledge about politics is still very low. (4) Communities tend to be ignorant and withdraw from the political territory. (5) The community is very rarely faced with the political system. (6) Low public awareness about the existence of a center of authority and power in a country.

Second, the political culture of the Subject/*Kaula*. Subject political culture is a culture where people tend to be more advanced in the economic and social fields. Although the people are still relatively passive, they have understood the existence of a political system and are obedient to the law and government officials. The political characteristics of *Kaula* /Subject are: (1) The existence of full awareness of the community towards government authorities. (2) The community is still passive towards politics. (3) Some residents provide input and requests to the government but have accepted the rules from the government. (4) The community accepts decisions that cannot be corrected or challenged. (5) The community has been aware of and paid attention to the general and special political system of the output object, while awareness of the input and as a political actor was still quite low.

Third, the participant's political culture. Political culture participants are a culture where the community has a high awareness of a political system, the structure of political processes, and administration. The political characteristics of the participants are: (1) There is public awareness about the rights and responsibilities of political life. (2) The community does not directly accept the situation but gives a conscious assessment of political objects. (3) Political

life in the midst of society acts as a means of transaction. (4) The community has high awareness as an active and role citizen in politics.

Indonesian people generally carry out this culture in the life of the state, and in everyday life. In Indonesia, political culture has experienced a mix of parochial, *kaula*, and participants. The mixing of various cultures is caused by various factors, including: (1) Diversity that exists in Indonesian society. (2) There are influences from outside cultures, relics of colonialism, feudalism, paternalism, and others. (3) The existence of the nature of primordial bonds where there are regional, tribal, and religious sentiments. (4) There is an interaction between modernization and habits or traditions in society. (5) Indonesian culture which still embodies paternalism, and patrimonial nature (father's inheritance).

The following are some examples of the political culture in Indonesian society: (a) Participating in the election for those who have fulfilled the requirements. (b) Following demonstrations in a peaceful and orderly manner. (c) Participate in community forums to express opinions and aspirations.

Method

In accordance with the objectives and unit of analysis, this study uses the social definition paradigm. An exemplar of this paradigm is Weber's work on social action. Weber's work helps direct attention to social definitions in the way that social actors define their social situations and the effects of social definitions in maintaining actions and interactions (Ritzer, 1988, 1992, Ritzer & Goodman 2005; Ritzer, 2014). In studies that use this paradigm, they prefer to use in-depth interviews, observations. Observation is a typical method of the social definition paradigm. The social definition paradigm according to Soeprapto (2002: 88-89) emphasizes the nature or substance of social reality, which is more subjective and individual.

This research uses a qualitative approach. This qualitative approach prioritizes the techniques of in-depth interviews and observation. Observation is a typical method of the social definition paradigm. The data obtained are primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained using interview guideline instruments prepared for informants that were relevant to the data needs (Patton, 1980), namely, Muslim community members who were active in the NU Muslim organization and were also party administrators. Secondly, the NU Muslimat who became the legislature both at the district and provincial levels from the Pasuruan District. While secondary data is data in the form of

documents or information written or printed. Related to document data, there are differences in terms of documents and records. Denzini & Lincoln (1994), Creswell (2009) define record as any written statement prepared by a person or institution for the purpose of testing an event or presenting accounting. Documentation is any written material or film, other than a record, which is not prepared because of the request of an investigator. This study leads to the use of documents rather than records but does not rule out the possibility that records are also used as long as the researcher finds them.

The documents used in this case, include personal documents and official documents obtained from the NU Muslimat office in the district. In addition, the secondary data are obtained by conducting study decisions and data accessed through the internet. Using this documentation technique aims to complete the data needed.

The subjects of this study were NU Muslimat residents in Pasuruan district, East Java. The Pasuruan regency community has a relatively homogeneous background, both in terms of background in life history, culture, and economic conditions. Apart from being inhabited by Javanese people, Pasuruan city also has Arab and Indian people, but there are not many. The informants and subjects of this study were NU Muslimat members who were active in organizing as well as being active in the party and having knowledge that was considered more extensive than the other members. The selection of informants and research subjects was carried out by theoretical sampling with certain criteria. In qualitative research, the emphasis on data sourced from in-depth interviews is very important. Therefore qualitative research emphasizes the depth of data obtained from the number of informants needed.

The first part of the analysis is carried out by applying an analytical method commonly used in field research. It is in line with the steps written by Babbie (1975: 221-224) as follows: (a) data analysis in field research is conducted intertwined with the process of observation, (b) finding similarities and differences with social symptoms observed, (c) arranging tentatively theoretical propositions, and (d) evaluating temporary theoretical propositions to produce conclusions. Data collected was analyzed using interactive models (Miles, et al., 2014). This model looks at analysis as three concurrent activities: (1) condensation of data, (2) display data, and (3) conclusion drawing/verification. In this way, explore each of these components more deeply when the researcher reads the data.

Political Culture of NU

The data were obtained from observations, in-depth interviews in the form of dialogue and discussion with the subject of research and documentation. The results are in the form of electronic data in the form of speeches about political culture and their understandings of Islamic politics and politics. From a number of subjects selected in this study, the data that was in accordance with the research questions were then processed, condensed and analyzed to obtain conclusions.

NU followers and elite leaders prefer to say that NU is a cultural movement. Because NU is seen as an Islamic movement that can unite itself with the local culture. Islam will not be able to live without unifying itself with the local culture. The NU movement follows in the footsteps of the “Wali Songo” who penetrate local cultures incorporated into Islamic culture. This kind of Islamic movement is called “reflection” to unite or accommodate culture into Islamic teachings so that any culture and anywhere can be united with Islamic teachings (Ishomuddin, 2006). Reflections on local culture not only concern social, economic, educational problems but also issues related to politics.

In this context, NU followers are always subject to local conditions that are used by propaganda and political tools by clerics or clerics at the local and regional levels. NU followers are subject to the commands and influences of their leaders by holding the principle of “*sam’an wa tha’atan*” in all matters of life. Political problems are a very important matter of life for NU and NU Muslimat citizens because they are considered to determine the fate of the nation’s life, especially the NU and NU Muslimat citizens. The culture that exists within the NU community is a culture created by its elites or ulama as a tool to maintain and control their respective communities. Although it is generally seen that the NU community seems to be the same in matters of mutual interest, in reality, each ulama builds their respective nominations, namely maintaining their followers. A large number of Islamic boarding schools and their respective leaders have different cultures showing different visions. This is what causes the NU and NU Muslimat communities to have different cultural backgrounds. For example there is an NU Islamic boarding school that teaches Islamic education that is very fanatical about a *madzab*, there are Islamic boarding schools that teach Islam to be more open and not too fanatical about certain schools. There are also very moderate Islamic boarding schools.

The conditions of Islamic education institutions or Islamic boarding schools in the NU environment above give birth to graduates or generations who have different insights and thoughts, especially on political issues. This has given rise to the character of political culture in the NU community until now. A political culture based on educational experiences and life experiences of every NU member creates differences in views and thoughts. Why are there different views about politics? Because political culture is built on the basis of “stock of knowledge” science and life experience that it has. Although fellow NU followers, their views and thoughts about Islamic politics and politics show differences. This is evidenced in the data of in-depth interviews and observations of activities carried out by researchers.

The political culture in the NU community always has dynamics and changes depending on the interests of the elite even though it does not come out of the cultural roots of the NU community. For the followers, this is a consequence of their obedience to the elite leaders in all matters of life. The principle of “*sami’na wa atho’na*” embedded in each person of NU followers towards leaders or scholars, gave birth to the characteristics of his political culture.

The difference in understanding the essence, the relationship between Islam and politics has become a long-standing discourse, even this has been a very important topic in the body of Muslims since the time of the Prophet and the Caliphate today (Sjadzali, 1990). Islamic leaders or Islamic political experts are still different in understanding the essence of Islam and politics. It happen because of the stock of knowledge about Islam and politics owned by the scholars and *Umarah*.

This difference continues, especially in Muslims who dominate the Indonesian nation due to the desired group interests and leadership, that Islam is confronted with non-Muslims. Such conditions also influence the thinking, views of people in the Muslim body in Indonesia in seeing the essence of Islam and politics, as well as practical politics.

National Awakening Party (PKB) as NU Muslimat Political Aspirations

NU is a social and religious organization that continues to keep up with the times. NU, as an Islamic organization that has the largest number of followers in Indonesia, feels responsible for human development in Indonesia. If other Islamic or non-Islamic organizations take on roles in other fields, NU tries to play a role in all aspects, especially human development. It was

realized by NU that the task was very heavy considering that there were still many NU people in Indonesia living and living in villages that were not yet affordable from the NU elites who were in the cities. In its dynamics, even though NU is a socio-religious organization, NU is not blind to political problems, moreover, in its history, NU has been a party, and is still active in the National Awakening Party (PKB). Thus, every NU Muslimat may support the party supported by NU. According to the NU Muslimat, politics is very important for every Muslim because the Prophet Muhammad also carried out strategies in broadcasting Islam in his time. The Prophet also set up a strategy for warfare against infidels qurays. In the current context, the strategy is political. It is just that the prophet did not directly establish the party in a narrow sense, namely the political party or practical politics. But all the movements carried out by the Prophet were actually good politics and sometimes had to move Muslims to fight against infidels.

From the statement above, the member of NU Muslimat explicitly said that Islam and its movements were never separated from the party because in its history Islam was very close to political movements, both strategic politics (high politics), as well as practical politics, party politics (low politics). Prophet's da'wah was secretly a strategy to invite people to explain the essence of Islam and then they were attracted to Islam and after that, they converted to Islam. The practical politics carried out by the Prophet were to set a strategy for the war against unbelievers. The Battle of Badr, the Khandak War, the Battle of Uhud, was inflated with Islamic slogans and flags. So the core of the understanding of the narrators of the management informants as well as political actors mentioned above is that political and political practice cannot be separated from Islam itself.

Islamic Citizens and Practical Politics

Muslims in facing life's problems must be politically or strategically defending Islam. This was exemplified by the prophet. So, politics is a strategy of life, the life of Muslims to maintain attacks from outside. To do that then in the present context is through political parties. Because without a party, in Indonesia, it is very difficult to seize power. With that power, one will get the opportunity to take policies and regulate other people to benefit Muslims.

The above understanding has actually existed in the present *nahdhiyin* people. Politics is no longer taboo, especially in the history of NU's dynamics since the organization was founded until now. As the wing of NU, Muslims,

in general, have realized that the current model of NU's struggle is right. Because of that, it must support the political policies outlined by the NU elite, the *ulama*, the *kiai* in determining the struggle of Muslims in Indonesia.

From this expression, it can be concluded that the relationship between Islam and politics is both conceptually and politically very close. In Indonesia, there are still three kinds of views regarding the relationship between Islam and politics. The first view says that Islam is different or has nothing to do with politics including the practical political movement. The most important Islamic figure who built this understanding and thought was Ali Abd. Raziq, and Thaha Husein.

The second view states that Islam is a view of life that is not merely related to vertical relations (*hablum-minallah*), rituals "*mahdhah*" human relations with God, but Islam also regulates horizontal relations (*hablum-min-annas*), between humans and humans, the ritual "*ghairu mahdhah*". In this kind of understanding, it does not distinguish between Islamic affairs and political affairs. Islam teaches the politics of "*siasah syariyyah*", politics (a strategy based on Islamic principles). Key figures in this understanding include Hasan al-Bana, Seyyed Qutb, Rasyid Rida, and Al-Maududi.

The third view is rejecting the statement that Islam is not the same as politics (the first group) and also rejects the statement that Islam is identical to politics (the second group). This third group states that Islam contains in it regulates human life, ethical issues, value problems, leadership problems, and political life. In terms of politics, Islam does not directly deal with politics, but Islam provides general principles and foundations and rules related to human behavior in society and state. The basic values of Islam are used as guidelines and directors for everyone who pursues politics, especially practical politics. Important figures in this understanding include Muhammad Husain Haikal.

Difficulty to Distinguish between Politics and Practical Politics

Practical political or political problems among NU residents are indeed mostly unable to distinguish. Because politics is broadly meaningful. Whatever is done in the form of actions by people with certain goals both for themselves and for other groups can be called politics. In Arabic, it is called "*siasah*" or strategy which has been adopted by Indonesian. While practical politics are often addressed to party politics or movements that involve a lot of time to do certain goals. More concretely are political parties. Most Muslim community members already know the history and work of NU in the political world.

This was obtained from lectures conducted by *ulama* or *Kiai* NU. Although the knowledge of practical politics and politics obtained by NU Muslim community members was given repeatedly, especially in the lead-up to the election or the president's choice, in general, the NU Muslim community, knowledge about it, was not used as the main thing in NU Muslimat activities. For them, it is more important to obey and *tawaduk* to the *ulama* or *kiai*. *Ulama* or *kiai* are all-everything in the NU tradition. Therefore, what is said by clerics or clerics must be followed if they want to survive and enter heaven. So, understanding practical politics and politics is like what is understood by most Muslim citizens in general. Politics is a strategy in life. By scheming, we can survive the world and the hereafter. For example in the verse al-Qur'an it reads, meaning "guard yourself and your family against hellfire," this means that fortifying yourself and your family is very important. How to fortify it is by scheming. If my understanding is drawn more generally, to save myself, my family, Muslim community members, a place of struggle is needed, that is political parties. Political parties are a necessity that must be owned by Muslim NU citizens. This is where PKB is very important to save NU citizens and NU Muslimat in order to maintain the mission of Islam in this country by placing its representatives on the board at the central, provincial and regional levels.

Practical Politics for Gaining Power

Associated with practical political or political understanding. In the NU Muslimat community, administrators often provide insight or knowledge about political concepts. In a general sense, politics is a human strategy to face all threats both from within and from outside. Because of that politics is very much related to religion, because if the religion adhered to faces a threat from the outside, we must fortify ourselves. In the history of Islam, the political nuances are very thick especially in the post-Khulafur Rosyidun period, in Muawiyah's time, Abbasiyah, until now between Shia and Sunnis. Therefore politics is needed for Muslims to know the global developments in the condition of Muslims in Indonesia, or in the world. Meanwhile, if it is called practical politics, it is intended to gain power. The ingredients are a party. NU Muslimat considers that both political and political practice is needed in Muslim life but the movement of the *ummah* and muslimat is more respected. The position of NU Muslimat is only as a supporter and motivator by giving their votes to candidates from NU or NU Muslimat insofar as that support received the blessing of the NU clerics or clerics. NU Muslimat will

obey and follow all the orders and directions of the clerics and clerics whether it is related to community activities in general or those related to politics.

With sufficient experience in the legislature and thanks to direct learning, one of the NU Muslimat administrators was able to distinguish between what is called practical politics and politics. Politics, according to him is all the effort made by everyone to obtain the convenience of life. In everyday life, we actually have played politics. Whatever we do in life to avoid all threats and challenges, it can be categorized as a political activity. Meanwhile, usually, when we call practical politics, the understanding that emerges is party politics, calling the party. So there is indeed a difference between political and practical terms. The word "politics" has a broad meaning, while practical politics has a narrow meaning, which is related to party politics.

Next is about practical political and political understanding. In general, the Muslim community of NU did not consider it important to understand practical political or political understanding. Politics is all efforts made by anyone to get a position of power. Power can be narrow or broad, depending on the goals to be achieved. Our lives are actually political. Without politics, we cannot live until this moment. Usually, the word politics is equated with tactics. The strategy also means strategy. So all the strategies done for this survival are politics. Meanwhile, if it is called practical politics, it will refer to party politics or mass movements. So practical politics are pragmatic and narrow.

In 1952 NU broke away from Masyumi and made NU as practical politics to get internal criticism and all NU exponents sought to restore NU to its original principle, namely as a socio-religious organization as the initial purpose of establishing this organization in 1926. But the event was also repeated in 1973 joined other Islamic organizations in charge of the United Development Party (PPP). It seems that NU did not give up on the previous bitter experiences. In 1998, after the reformation, NU approved the establishment of the National Awakening Party (PKB). This means that within NU's body, it is assumed that politics that do not have party parties are the same as they cannot play many roles in this country. For this reason, they must fight for Islam through practical politics or party politics. On this basis, perhaps what prompted the establishment of PKB as a forum for the aspirations of the NU and NU Muslimat to express their political choices.

Politics has a broad meaning while practical politics has a narrow meaning, namely politics which prioritizes pragmatic interests. If NU already

has a container in the form of a PKB party, the NU Muslim community must support and vote for the party or elect a council that has the same base, namely from NU or NU Muslim. As a board of NU, although it was not a member of the council or a candidate for the council, it obliged to encourage and even force the Muslim community to support the joint candidates because if it is elected or so it will help the NU Muslim struggle in activities carried out to realize activities programs has been proclaimed by Muslimat. So it is mutually beneficial. On the organization's side, they will get funds to launch the activities, while the candidates will get support from NU Muslimat. That was the political meaning understood by NU Muslimat officials. If other people who are not from the NU Muslim organization become the council, it is difficult to get something to support Muslimat activities.

Politics Adheres to Islam

NU is not only a group that moves on political interests but NU and its exponents, including NU Muslimat, are important wings to bring and realize the Islamic mission in the form of fostering and fortifying Muslims. It is done in order to implement Islam in accordance with the madzab which is followed on the *Ahlu Sunnah wal jamaah*. So, knowledge about politics and practical politics for Muslim citizens was directly obtained for their involvement in practical politics in supporting support since PKB became NU's official party. Knowledge of "politics" is understood as the concept of "*siasah*" in fiqh lessons, namely all efforts and efforts made by everyone in order to defend themselves, their families, Islam, and the *ummah*, that is *siasah* or politics in Indonesian. Therefore, Islam may do politics because politics is a concept inherent in Islam itself. The term *musyawarah* (democracy), *al-adalah* (justice), morality (moral), *ulama* and so on are concepts that have been contained and discussed in Islamic teachings. It is just that NU Muslimat members who do not have a broad base of Islamic education sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between politics and political parties. The graduates of Islamic boarding schools certainly get the lessons of jurisprudence which among them discuss about, the character of leadership, justice, culture, morals and so on, including also "*siasah syar'iyah*" Islamic politics, then, they have understood the difference between politics in research that is very general with politics in a narrow sense. All actions are taken to preserve and maintain goodness for oneself, family, and Islam, and the *ummah* of Islam, are manifestations of

politics in a broader sense. Meanwhile, if we think or do activities in a party container it is politics in a narrow sense.

Conclusion

From the aforementioned expressions, it can be concluded that the understanding of politics is generally the same although some are different because the stock of knowledge is different. In general, citizens have a different understanding of politics and political practice. Politics in general terms is a strategy or “strategy” in Indonesian. Every human being in life and organization in maintaining its continuity is doing politics. In other words, we cannot live without politics. Because of that politics is involving thinking and understanding of the context of life. Meanwhile, people’s understanding of practical politics is interpreted as an effort to achieve certain goals using the means of political parties.

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