

Religious moderation: Muhammadiyah inclusivism and syncretic Islam in Javanese culture in Yogyakarta

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Abstract

Differences in understanding between religions and cultures characterise the emergence of intolerance in society. These conditions can contribute to the breakdown of religious life and result in subjective interpretations of truth that disregard others' perspectives. The research method used a mixed method with a sequential exploratory model. Data collection techniques included interviews, observations, literature studies (qualitative), and questionnaires (quantitative). This study aims to reveal the dynamics of cultural da'wah, the process of Muhammadiyah internalisation, and the relationship between Muhammadiyah and syncretic Islam in shaping the value of tolerance in Yogyakarta. The results of the study show several things, namely 1) there are dynamics of cultural da'wah described by the concepts of *hablumminallah* and *hablumminannas* with examples of each entity's attitude towards *the night of Suro*; 2) there is involvement of each entity in Muhammadiyah activities with conservative teaching materials and adaptive methods, as demonstrated by the processes of acculturation, assimilation, and accommodation in each entity's religious activities; and 3) the phenomena observed in this case study illustrate the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Syncretic Islam in shaping the value of tolerance in Yogyakarta. The relationship between the two can fulfil the indicators of the active tolerance model by being able to coexist peacefully and strive to respect diversity.

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Introduction

Moderate Islam, especially Muhammadiyah, is always an interesting topic of discussion because its existence is inseparable from the process of Islamisation on the island of Java. The process of Islamisation that occurred in Javanese society was a long process that had been going on since the 14th century. Islam became a religion that coloured the "*mystical synthesis*"



related to the fusion of local and Javanese cultures (Hariwijaya, 2006; Nashir, 2014; Nurish, 2021).

The approach of Islam through Javanese culture was the initial method used by the Walisongo to ensure that the Javanese people accepted Islam. One such approach was the use of *wayang* by Sunan Kalijaga. Other approaches were carried out through trade, education, and marriage (Azra, 2013). Islamisation coloured Javanese culture and society (*kejawen*) without completely changing the mystical values in that culture (Nurish, 2021; Susilo & Syato, 2016; Wasisto, 2021).

Islamic organisations the Islamisation of Javanese society. The emergence of modern Islamic organisation such as Muhammadiyah introduced Islam in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah (Anis, 2019). Muhammadiyah is, Indonesia grown significant modern Islamic movement founded, grew, and developed in Yogyakarta. Muhammadiyah was established on 18 November 1912 by KH. Ahmad Dahlan brought the idea of universal and modern Islamic renewal (Nashir et al., 2019; Takdir & Munir, 2025). The renewal promoted by Muhammadiyah took the form of purification and reform of Islam (S. Arifin et al., 2022), even though at the beginning of the movement it was contrary to the beliefs of the Javanese people (Darajat, 2017; Hudayana, 2022; Njoto-Feillard, 2015).

The Javanese community (*Syncretic Islam: kejawen*) accepts the understanding of Islam brought by Muhammadiyah because it is flexible, tolerant, open and close to *Javanese* culture. Muhammadiyah also uses a socio-cultural approach to preach Islam to the Javanese community (Mahmudah & Saputera, 2019). *Kejawen* understanding held by the Javanese community is closely related to syncretism or *TBC* (*Takhayul*, *Bid'ah*, and *Churafat*) culture.

According to Muhammadiyah (2023), TBC refers to forms of belief or practice that deviate from Islamic teachings. *Takhayul* is unfounded speculation or imagination, such as considering fantasy to be truth as refers to innovations in religion that were not taught by the Prophet and can be misleading if believed to be part of Islamic teachings. *Khurafat* is an extreme form of superstition, involving belief in fictional stories, predictions, or taboos that contradict Islamic teachings but are believed to be true. These three things are considered a threat to the authenticity of religious teachings, so Muslims need to avoid them by adhering to valid arguments and rational understanding.

The syncretic and TBC behaviour of the Javanese community has become the target of Muhammadiyah's da'wah in instilling pure Islam in accordance with *the Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. However, the dynamics of the community in responding to this do not directly reflect a conflictual atmosphere between religious beliefs, as seen in other studies (M. Arifin et al., 2019).

The existence of the Yogyakarta Palace symbolises the closeness between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* as a historical symbol (Burhani, 2016). In fact, the closeness between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* is not limited to physical buildings such as those in Kotagede, Yogyakarta (Nakamura, 2017). The closeness between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* has gone through various phases. These phases range from Muhammadiyah's puritanism to tolerance through cultural *da'wah*. The process of tolerance and acculturation between Javanese culture (*Islam Kejawen*) and Muhammadiyah has created a new colour in Yogyakarta, making the closeness between the two an interesting research subject.

The religious diversity that exists in Indonesia, especially in Yogyakarta, is proof that Javanese society is a multicultural society. A multicultural society can influence religious tolerance (Desky & Rijal, 2021). Understanding one's religion can be the basis for addressing friction and differences in society. However, tolerance cannot be separated from friction involving political issues (M. Arifin et al., 2019), economic issues (Islami et al., 2019), and beliefs (Ricklefs, 2012). In fact, Islam is not a homogeneous religion; it is also diverse. The *rahmatan lil' alamin* becomes a model of tolerance for Muslims in appreciating and respecting differences (Yasir, 2014).

This research is important to find a model of religious tolerance that is currently being eroded by issues such as politics, economics, and other issues (M. Arifin et al., 2019; Islami et al., 2019; Nakamura, 2017), which places both entities in a realm of conflict, such as placing the

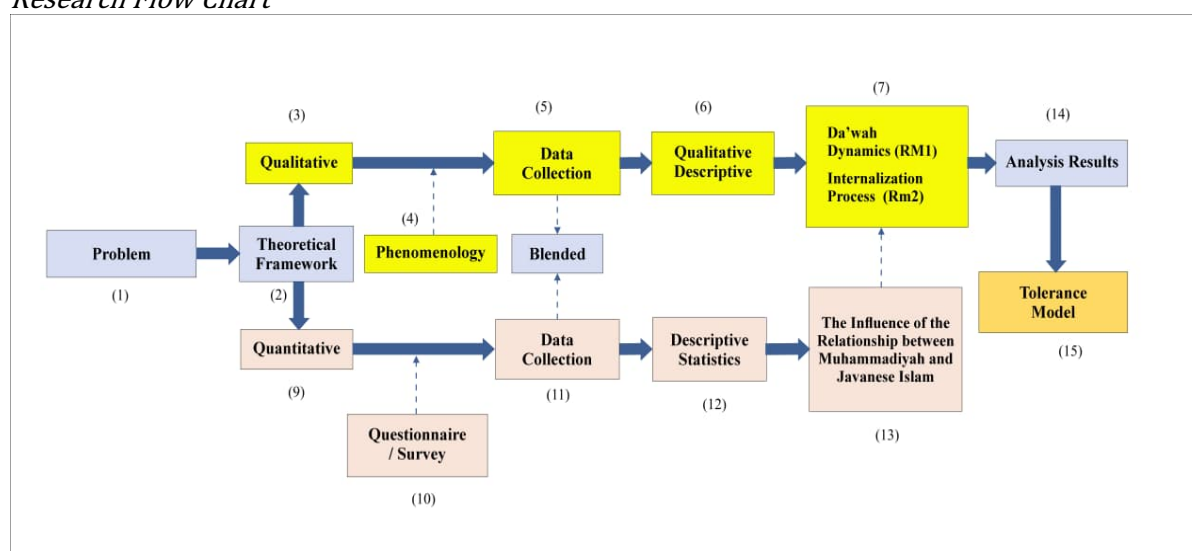
concept of divinity and its application as the cause of contestation between entities. Therefore, the objectives of this study are: (1) the dynamics of Muhammadiyah's preaching to the syncretic Islamic community; (2) the process of internalising the Muhammadiyah ideology; and (3) the relationship between Muhammadiyah and syncretic Islam in shaping tolerance in Yogyakarta. This research can be helpful in formulating the direction of Pancasila and religious tolerance policies. Thus, this research impacts to prevent disharmony and disintegration in religious life.

Method

This study utilises a mixed-method approach, namely qualitative and quantitative methods. This method was employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the issues, increase confidence in the findings, and provide more evidence (Creswell, 2019). The model used is a sequential exploratory model, with the first stage using qualitative methods and the next stage supplemented with quantitative methods. The combination of data from both methods is connecting in nature, linking qualitative data results with quantitative results through the development of instrument items (Creswell, 2019).

Figure 1.

Research Flow Chart



Source: Researcher Data, 2025.

The qualitative method uses a phenomenological approach and descriptive-qualitative data analysis [flow (2)-(3)-(4)-(5)-(6)-(7) in Figure 1]. The quantitative method uses questionnaires or surveys to determine the respondents' answer scores using the Guttman scale (Yes/No), with the questions taken from the qualitative data analysis results, and data analysis using descriptive statistics processed using SPSS 26 with a *chi-square* test [flow (9)-(10)-(11)-(12)-(13)]. Research questions 1 and 2 (RQ 1 and RQ 2) were answered using qualitative methods. In contrast, research question 3 (RQ 3) was answered using quantitative methods in collaboration with qualitative data results. Analysing the research questions using both methods produced a tolerance model influenced by the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Syncretic Islam in Yogyakarta.

The research population, namely the Muhammadiyah community and the Javanese community in Jagalan Village, had an unknown population size (infinite population). The qualitative research sample consisted of 22 respondents who met the research criteria, using *purposeful sampling* to determine them. Meanwhile, the quantitative research sample consisted of 111 people who met the research criteria, calculated using Cochran's formula, with α : 95% and a *sampling error* of 10%. The data validity verification technique used was the triangulation of sources.

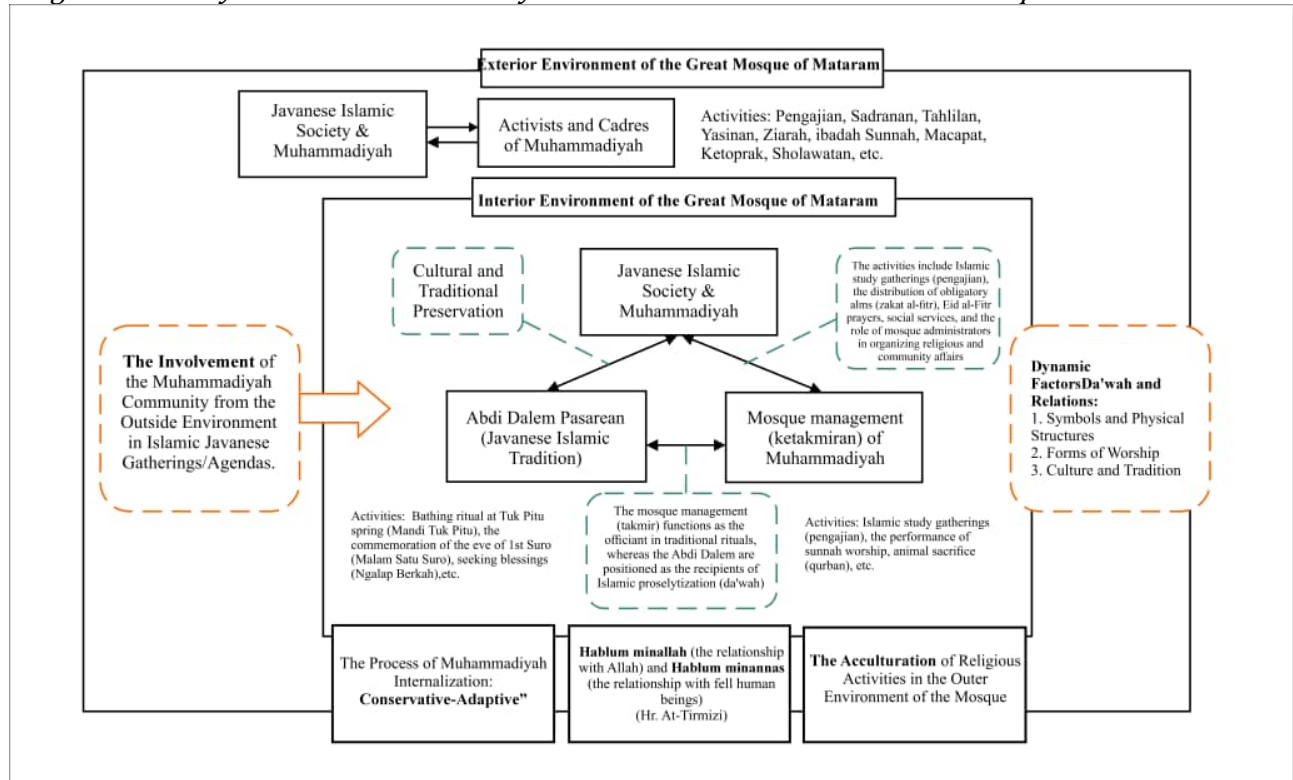
Results and Discussion

The case study conducted in the environment of the Great Mosque of Mataram provides an overview of the relationship between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* and the efforts in

promoting tolerance. Analysis of the relationship between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* in the centre of syncretic Islam will provide a picture of the dynamics of cultural *da'wah* in the division of scope carried out by researchers. The mosque environment provides a historical connection to the existence of *Islam Kejawen* through symbols and physical structures belonging to the Yogyakarta Palace, namely the Grand Mosque of Mataram and the royal cemetery of Mataram (Nakamura, 2017). This historical connection challenges Muhammadiyah in formulating cultural *da'wah* for *Islam Kejawen*. Additionally, there are three main entities within the mosque environment: Muslims *Kejawen*, Muhammadiyah on the east and south sides, and the north side of the mosque. *Abdi Dalem Pasarean* are responsible for managing the burial of the kings of Mataram and activities within it, and many mosque administrators are Muhammadiyah members (Figure 2).

Figure 2.

Diagram of the Dynamics of Muhammadiyah's Cultural Da'wah at the Grand Mosque of Mataram



Source: Research Data, 2025.

A reciprocal relationship can be found between these three entities. The community has a reciprocal relationship with the *takmir* (Muhammadiyah) concerning religious activities such as mosque management, social services, *zakat fitrah* management, and the implementation of Eid prayers. The *takmir* needs the community as a target for *da'wah* and is involved in religious activities. As a modernist Islamic group, Muhammadiyah strongly supports the desacralisation and decontextualisation of Islamic sharia practices (Nurish, 2019). The relationship between the *takmir* and the *abdi dalem* is demonstrated by the individual involvement of the *takmir* as a religious leader in *Islam Kejawen* events such as *nawu sendang seliran*. *Takmir* plays a role in raising multicultural awareness of religious differences in a pluralistic society. Meanwhile, the reciprocal relationship between the community and *abdi dalem* (*Islam Kejawen*) can be seen in their involvement in the preservation of culture and traditions such as *malam satu suro*, *ziarah*, *tasyakuran*, *ngalap berkah*, and so on. According to Saptono (2011), this attitude is an effort to tolerate the different views of others.

The dynamics of cultural *da'wah* are described in the reciprocal relationship between each entity, as illustrated by the concepts of *hablumminallah* and *hablumminannas*. These concepts align with the theories of *tauhid akidah* and *tauhid sosial* (Abdullah, 2020). The applied *hablumminallah* concept is religious exclusivism that is inseparable from human spiritual satisfaction. In fact, Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* share the same monotheism

in believing in God (Ismail, 2016). According to Casram (2016), its exclusive nature is not always negative as long as it relates to the quality and certainty of arguments in religion. Exclusivism occurs due to differences in religious understanding and activities. However, the relationship between the two shows their need for each other. *Abdi Dalem* needs *takmir* to be the leader of events in every tradition. Thus, *takmir* positions Abdi Dalem as the target of da'wah in terms of culture and personally. According to Mulkhan (2010), *Islam Kejawan* need for Muhammadiyah is due to the need for "righteous people" to gain God's favour. The relationship between humans and God is one of the foundational teachings of Muhammadiyah.

The concept of *hablumminannas* illustrates that the involvement between entities is interdependent, thereby achieving a stage of humanistic openness in accordance with the nobility and refinement of the community's character. For the Javanese community, nobility and character refinement are found in the principles of *eling lan waspodo* (mindfulness and vigilance), *damai, ayem*, and *tentram* (peace, tranquillity, and harmony). The concept of *hablumminannas* results from a human approach to *hablumminallah*. This means a person's closeness to God affects their concern for society (Nursupiamin, 2013; Ramli et al., 2018). The application of this concept in the environment of the Grand Mosque of Mataram is demonstrated by achieving harmony regardless of religious background, such as implementing Eid prayers, *qurban*, health services, and so on.

Observations show that sometimes Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawan* can carry out religious activities at the same time. The phenomenon of simultaneous religious events occurs on *the night of Suro*, which is a sacred night for *Islam Kejawan*, where traditions such as *mandi tuk pitu*, *nawu sendang seliran*, and *ngalap berkah* are carried out around the tombs of the Mataram kings. At the same time, Muhammadiyah uses this moment as a form of Islamic preaching by holding recitations discussing tauhid in the courtyard of the Grand Mosque of Mataram. At the end of the recitation, the congregation can choose to return home or watch the ritual that lasts until dawn. According to Nakamura (2017), Muhammadiyah tries to preach to remove the kingdom's ancestors from the realm of divinity.

The religious phenomenon with the theme of monotheism shows the internalisation process carried out by Muhammadiyah towards society. From the phenomenon at the research location, Muhammadiyah spreads conservative teachings on monotheism without engaging in the understanding of *Islam Kejawan*. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah's internalisation process is adaptive when viewed from the perspective of greater benefits in preaching. The difference in the internalisation process between the environment inside and outside the Grand Mosque of Mataram can be seen in how the Grand Mosque of Mataram responds to Javanese culture. The symbols and physical structures of the Grand Mosque of Mataram are distinguishing factors in the internalisation process and response to other understandings.

Observations show that Muhammadiyah *takmir* are involved as leaders in *Kejawan* cultural and Islamic events to directly preach monotheism, even though these cultures and traditions contain superstitions, innovations, and churafat (TBC). However, for *Islam Kejawan*, the role of the *takmir* is needed to lead prayers before cultural or traditional activities are carried out. Muhammadiyah within the mosque environment responds to religious activities by not implementing *tahlilan*, *ketoprak*, and viewing the implementation of pilgrimages or other activities differently. For Muhammadiyah, these activities have no guidance in the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. This disagreement is only demonstrated by the *takmir's* non-involvement in *Islam Kejawan* culture or traditions. However, they still provide mosque facilities for *Islam Kejawan* to carry out activities. For *Islam Kejawan* the activities carried out by Muhammadiyah are not related to their cultural activities except for *Islam Kejawan* need for the facilities of the Grand Mosque of Mataram, which is managed by the *takmir*.

Different results were found in the area surrounding the Great Mosque of Mataram. Muhammadiyah used *tahlilan*, *ketoprak*, pilgrimages and other elements of *Islam Kejawan* culture as a medium for spreading Islamic values. This made Muhammadiyah more tolerant of the *Islam Kejawan* culture surrounding the Great Mosque of Mataram. All elements considered to contain shirk or lacking guidance in the *Islam Kejawan* culture are replaced with more

rational and Islamic elements. The process undertaken by Muhammadiyah is a form of understanding social change to apply cultural da'wah (PP Muhammadiyah, 2016). Meanwhile, for *Islam Kejawen*, Muhammadiyah's more tolerant response demonstrates maturity in interpreting culture as a characteristic of Javanese society. The rationalisation carried out Muhammadiyah is regarded as a form of practising tolerant values.

The reciprocal relationship between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* outside the mosque can be seen in the fluid acculturation of religious activities. Each entity is involved in Muhammadiyah activities such as reciting the *Qur'an*, pilgrimage, eclipse prayers, etc. Then there is the assimilation of Javanese culture into Islamic culture, such as *nyadran*, *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, *macapat*, *ketoprak*, *sholawatan*, etc. The Muhammadiyah community is actively involved in the religious activities of both entities, paying attention to the values of Islamic law. In fact, the Muhammadiyah community is also involved in the mosque environment when there are religious activities on *malam satu suro*, as explained earlier. *Islam Kejawen* utilises Muhammadiyah's role in interpreting this culture as a form of acceptance of culture and helps to preserve Javanese culture.

Social changes that differ from the environment inside the mosque, namely the community outside the mosque environment, can realise the concepts of monotheism and humanity and demonstrate multicultural awareness. The dynamics of cultural da'wah that occur outside the mosque environment appear to be more fluid, and the goal of making art and culture a method or medium and target of da'wah is achieved. Furthermore, the principle of gradual and continuous da'wah can be seen in the environment outside the mosque. Muhammadiyah outside the mosque environment has succeeded in implementing cultural da'wah with its own religious rituals and making Islamic culture a tool for intellectual intuition (Husein, 2017).

Several factors, such as symbols and physical structures, worship practices, culture, and traditions can cause the dynamics of cultural da'wah. Symbols and physical structures provide an overview of religious attitudes applied in each environment. Symbols and physical structures in this case study diversify the differences in worship practices, culture, and traditions that exist in society. Worship practices demonstrate Muhammadiyah's puritanical attitude to avoid religious activities that tangibly contain TBC by carrying out dynamisation as an appreciation of human tendencies as cultural beings in a broad sense (Hana, 2011). Then, culture and tradition demonstrate Muhammadiyah's way of placing culture as a method, medium, and target of da'wah. In this study, Muhammadiyah still places culture and tradition within the mosque environment as targets of da'wah. This differs from the environment outside the mosque, which has already implemented both placements.

The phenomenon observed in this case study illustrates the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Syncretic Islam (*Islam Kejawen*) in shaping the value of tolerance in Yogyakarta. The relationship between each entity can be seen from the community's acceptance in daily life, where the α value is 0.125, so that $\alpha < t_{\text{tabel}}$ (1,635). Thus, this data shows a relationship between the community's acceptance of each entity and the value of tolerance in the community. This relationship is also supported by several factors, such as the community feeling equality in worship according to their respective understandings (91.9%), the community's knowledge of symbols and important days (83.8%), and not experiencing friction due to differences of opinion with other parties (64.9%) as well as normal differences of opinion in the community (48.6%). Public acceptance of each entity can be demonstrated by knowledge of Muhammadiyah's da'wah process and *Islam Kejawen*. Based on statistical tests, it was found that public knowledge of each entity's da'wah process had an α value of 0.033, so that $\alpha < t_{\text{tabel}}$ (1,635). The public's knowledge of Muhammadiyah's da'wah process is determined by factors such as da'wah methods (82%), worship methods (84.7%), and religious values (78.4%).

Every factor determines the community's response regarding involvement in every Muhammadiyah and Syncretic Islam da'wah event (66.7%). The public's decision to participate in da'wah events held by Muhammadiyah and Syncretic Islam is supported by the existence of

Muhammadiyah and Syncretic Islam (97.3%), knowledge of rituals, symbols, and practices (80.2%), knowledge of places of worship (74.8%), and knowledge of symbols and important days (83.8%). The implication of community involvement is the realisation of the concepts of *hablumminallah* and *hablumminannas*. The community has intellectual differences in religion, as demonstrated by their understanding of the centre of religious activity, differences in religious values, and friction between the two entities. Intellectual differences in realising the concept of *hablumminallah* indicate the need for a redefinition of the relationship between tauhid and humanity. The relationship between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* demonstrates a sense of tolerance between religious communities. According to Casram (2016), the best attitude towards differences in religious practices is not to judge subjectively and to respect people of different faiths with self-awareness, without coercion or threats.

The dynamics of cultural *da'wah* seen in the relationship between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* is an effort to instil Islamic values in all dimensions of life by taking into account the potential and tendencies of humans as cultural beings in a broad sense in order to realise a truly Islamic society that is a blessing for the world (PP Muhammadiyah, 2016). For Muhammadiyah, the teachings of Islam as a mercy to all creation bring a universal understanding of Islamic life, with teachings covering faith, worship, morals, and social interactions in diverse social environments from the local to the global level. Furthermore, according to (Mulkhan, 2010), the presence of cultural *da'wah* for Muhammadiyah has changed the forms of approach that were previously normative towards contextual and sensitive to reality (locality). Through cultural *da'wah*, Muhammadiyah incorporates its vision and mission of purifying religion and education, preventing Christianisation, and enhancing the dignity of Islam (Nashir, 2010).

The cultural *da'wah* initiated by Muhammadiyah has become a form of adaptation for this movement as a trendsetter for religious communities in Indonesia. According to (Yusra, 2018) and (Burhani, 2018), Muhammadiyah has played a significant and leading role in spreading the ideas of Islamic renewal among the middle class in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah's *tajdid* and *ijtihad* movements are characterised by their renewal of the syncretic culture of a society steeped in mysticism and irrationality or TBC (Abdullah, 2020). The emergence of mystical and irrational culture is caused by limited understanding and blind imitation (Anam, 2015). Therefore, the Muhammadiyah *tajdid* movement also brought about cultural *da'wah* and intellectual *da'wah* efforts towards local cultures that are syncretic and deeply rooted (Hana, 2011).

The association between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* exemplifies the traits of moderate Islam, which denotes a movement or disposition to adopt a centrist stance amidst diverse radical or normative ideologies within society (Ab Rashid et al., 2020). The application of cultural *da'wah*, which is still open to multiple interpretations, has resulted in people taking different approaches, such as in the concepts of *hablumminallah* and *hablumminannas*. According to Abdullah (202), the truth of *hablumminallah* depends on an individual's ability to accept and understand revelation (religion). In contrast, the truth of *hablumminannas* lies in awareness of the other party, so that it does not depend on whether an issue is right or wrong through logical-particularistic reasoning but gives rise to new awareness. Therefore, the concept of divinity that forms the basis of the contestation between the two entities, as stated by M. Arifin et al. (2019), is not proven. According to Sholikin (2018), differences in belief alone cannot significantly influence the cause of intolerance.

In addition, the internalisation process by Muhammadiyah is closely related to the practice of the values of KH Ahmad Dahlan. These characteristics have become the hallmarks of Muhammadiyah, such as religious devotion to Islamic teachings, tolerance towards other religions, and harmonious living, demonstrating internalisation to society. The value of appreciating local culture is evident in peacefulness, even towards different understandings (Burhani, 2016; Nashir, 2014). K.H. Ahmad Dahlan's values are in line with the strengthening of Character Education contained in Presidential Regulation No. 82 of 2017 concerning the Strengthening of Character Education, especially in relation to religious values, tolerance,

national spirit, peacefulness, and social care (Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2017). Thus, the contradiction between the two entities regarding the weakening of one value due to the rejection of another value, as explained in (M. Arifin et al., 2019), is inconsistent with the relationship between Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* from the past to the present.

The concept of blending religion and culture is intertwined with the perspective of each entity. However, the most important thing is that the culture that emerges from each process is rich in philosophical values that can foster harmony and preserve culture (Purwaningrum & Ismail, 2019). The internalisation process of Muhammadiyah is practically in line with the theories of acculturation, assimilation, and accommodation (Koentjoroningrat, 1990; Purwaningrum & Ismail, 2019). The concept of acculturation is evident in *Islam Kejawen*, which incorporates Islam into the pilgrimage process, thereby preventing the pilgrimage rituals from being confined to irrational activities such as seeking blessings, seeking knowledge, burning incense, making offerings, and so on (Aarifah & Zain, 2020). In addition, pilgrimage is also used as a form of respect for ancestors (Ghafur, 2017). In practice, Muhammadiyah views pilgrimage as permissible if it follows the guidance of the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. However, the claim that pilgrimage is a source of friction between the two entities (Islami et al., 2019) cannot be proven to be caused by the exclusivity of the concept of *hablumminallah*.

The process of Muhammadiyah's internalisation, which is characterised by assimilation, can be seen in the activities of *tahlilan* and *ketoprak* (Zahrah & Alwi, 2020). Outside of mosques, Muhammadiyah is more accepting of *tahlilan* as a form of internalisation of Islamic values with a program that includes an opening, speeches, the main event (recitation of *thoyibah*), a break, and a closing. The difference in the *tahlilan* Muhammadiyah holds is that it is not held on Friday nights, so there is no cult worship. For Muhammadiyah, cult worship is not regulated in the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* (Ghafur, 2017; Nakamura, 2017; Zahrah & Alwi, 2020).

Muhammadiyah accepted and assimilated *ketoprak* into Islamic culture, so Muhammadiyah's version of *ketoprak* was filled with Islamic messages, such as stories about the journeys of Muhammadiyah figures. For Muhammadiyah, preaching through culture is one way of adapting to society's various dimensions and potentials (PP Muhammadiyah, 2016). Furthermore, the accommodation carried out in the Muhammadiyah internalisation process involves involvement in *gerebek* events. Muhammadiyah is involved in the *gerebek* culture carried out by the Yogyakarta Palace as the head of the community, so that it can spread the Islamic messages believed by Muhammadiyah (Burhani, 2016).

Currently, the application of rational and steadfast character in society demonstrates a desire to constantly learn about new cultures and see both the good and bad sides of those cultures. The internalisation process described in Muhammadiyah's values becomes an internalisation process used by Muhammadiyah to spread understanding or tolerance. Tolerance leads to an open attitude and a willingness to acknowledge differences, whether in terms of ethnicity, skin colour, language, customs, culture, or religion. Therefore, the research by M. Arifin et al. (2019), which shows that there are no efforts to maintain social harmony through religious practices, can be rejected by this study.

Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* utilise values that can be generalised in society and utilise every good value from every religious and cultural activity as a form of cultural and religious response to coexist. The relationship between the two can fulfil the indicators of tolerance by being able to coexist peacefully and striving to respect diversity. According to Saptono (2011), activities involving engagement with others amid an awareness of differences and diversity constitute the application of a model of active tolerance. Thus, active tolerance between the Muhammadiyah and *Islam Kejawen* communities and religious communities in general is necessary to achieve social harmony. Differences in social facts cannot be viewed fragmentarily; active engagement is required.

The findings of Muhammadiyah accepting *tahlilan* in this study can change the stigma of Muhammadiyah as being anti-culture. This can impact realising religious life without negative stigma, more moderate, and showing tolerance by focusing on the values of social harmony (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019). A safe, peaceful, and harmonious way of life is formed from a

tolerant attitude and substantive mutual respect among religious adherents who understand each other's religions well. Therefore, according to Al-Munawwar (2018), religious tolerance is the willingness of a person to accept or even respect others of different religions so that they retain the same rights as citizens.

Conclusion

The reciprocal relationship between each entity and the concepts of *hablumminallah* and *hablumminannas* is a paradigmatic example of the dynamics involved in cultural da'wah. When it comes to the concept of tawhid to God, the rigorous teachings that are a part of the Muhammadiyah process are the primary focus. On the other hand, the internalisation process at Muhammadiyah is carried out by utilising adaptive methods adapted to the cultural conditions of the community in which it is located. The *tahlilan* and *ketoprak* are both acceptable at Muhammadiyah. Applying a model of active tolerance through peaceful coexistence and efforts to respect diversity and pluralism, the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Syncretic Islam colours the value of tolerance in Yogyakarta. This is done to add a layer of complexity to the concept of tolerance.

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Ethics Approval

There is no ethics approval needed because the study involves non-invasive data collection methods, such as surveys and interviews, with no personal or sensitive data being gathered, ensuring full adherence to ethical guidelines and participant privacy.

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