

RELIGION, PUBLIC SPACE, AND CIVIL SOCIETY: Religious Social Movement to Realize Justice of The Surakarta Community

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Abstract

Surakarta is an urban area that grows dynamically in line with demographic, economic, cultural, religious, and infrastructure developments leading to a smart city. People know Surakarta as a multicultural, multi-ethnic, cultural and religious city. Surakarta's public space becomes a bridge for religion to campaign for citizenship rights and social justice. How is the presence of religion in Surakarta's public sphere in promoting social justice? This research is a type of qualitative descriptive research, for data collection purposes, observations, in-depth interviews, and documentation are carried out. The analysis model s using interactive analysis. Because in the public space of Surakarta there are various kinds of pluralism, and democracy also society, for this reason the presence of religion is expected not to threaten these things. The growth of religious pluralism with contestation in the public sphere often triggers socio-religious conflicts. The presence of religion in the public sphere is expected to encourage the development of moderate religious discourses with discourse on pluralism, democracy, religious freedom, social justice, and peace amid the strengthening role of religion in socio-political life. Religion in Surakarta has so far been able to encourage social resilience by strengthening social networks, community participation, and enlivening cultural activities. Religion-based social nodes in Surakarta fight for the fulfillment of social justice such as the distribution of basic necessities, the distribution of entrepreneurship, and the fulfillment of the rights of citizens. Religion contributes to the formation of civil society in which religion is implemented as a social ethic that leads to the

formation of social nodes that uphold the values of humanism, democracy, and social justice.

Keywords: Social, Justice, Religious, Movement.

A. Introduction

Solo, “The Spirit of Java” is a tagline that can be seen when entering Surakarta. Solo is known as the center of Javanese civilization and culture, so the first good impressions that emerge are, hospitality, unggah-umgguh (manners), ngajeni (respect), and roso nguwongke wong (humanizing human beings) of its citizens. This city has since hundreds of years ago became the center of Javanese civilization and cultural development. This can be seen from the historical facts that this city was once the political and government center of the Pajang Sultanate during the Sultan Hadiwijaya era, the Mataram Palace in Kartasura during the time of King Pakubuwana II, the Kasunanan Surakarta Sunan Pakubuwana Palace, and the Mangkunegaran Duchy of Prince Sember Nyawa (KGPAA Mangkunegara I). Until now, the two palaces are still dynamic in their development even though they only act out their cultural function as a center for preserving Javanese culture. Sociologically the character of its society is shaped by its own history. It is reflected in the spatial layout that prioritizes social segregation. Surakarta adheres to the definition of a small city densely populated with a diversity of ethnicities, languages, mass organizations and other social prototypes. Surakarta is surrounded by several surrounding districts that become buffer areas for economic, social, educational, religious, and cultural development (Mibtadin, 2010).

Surakarta is an urban area that grows dynamically in line with the development of demographics, economy, culture, religion, and infrastructure leading to a smart city. In terms of infrastructure and economic development, Surakarta grows expansively towards the buffer areas of surrounding districts such as Karaganyar, Boyolali, Sukoharjo, Klaten, Sragen, and Wonogiri so that the development process goes beyond the boundaries of the city's own administrative area. So that the process of its development goes beyond the boundaries of the administrative area of the city itself. In principle, Surakarta as an administrative area cannot stand alone to meet the infrastructure and basic needs of its citizens, aspects of regional connectivity to meet the limitations of carrying capacity, settler and economic land, educational institutions, resources, and the need for basic urban infrastructure are increasingly becoming serious problems to be handled. In the concept and principle of compact city or urban compaction approach Surakarta becomes a developed society reflecting a sustainable city. Many problems must be solved such as urbanization, the structure and spatial patterns of sustainable urban areas which are based on the relationship

between urban forms and their sustainability economically, socially, culturally, religiously, and environmentally.

People know Surakarta as a multicultural, ethnic, cultural, and religious city. Ethnically, the city is inhabited by ethnic Javanese as the majority ethnicity, Chinese, Europeans, Arabs, Banjars, and Madurese. Since the Dutch colonial government has emerged a political policy that created spatial segregation that regulated residences based on ethnicity. This was done for the benefit and security of the Dutch colonials. European villages are placed separately with other ethnicities around Loji Wetan (around fort kraton), Chinese around Pasar Gede (called Chinatown village), Arabs in Pasar Kliwon (known as Encik village, kauman), and Java spread across various regions outside the three regions, especially in the Laweyan area which is dominated by indigenous batik traders (Soeratman, 2000). Now the three regions have begun to blend into ethnic Javanese. Since a long time ago, Surakarta has been a heterogeneous area, especially in the northern part, namely Jebres and Banjarsari Districts, both of which are the dominion of the Mangkunegaran Duchy (Mibtadin, 2018).

This plurality encourages the maturity of the Surakarta community in facing differences by forming social nodes of society as a form of plurality awareness, strengthening civic culture, and encouraging social justice. This is done as a medium to glue social life that is harmonious, peaceful, and open as a form of democratic development. After the 1998 reform, in Surakarta there emerged a religious social movement that collectively voiced togetherness, a sense of *handarbeni* (A sense of belonging), and a *gumregah* (rise together) spirit to build the city of Surakarta as a comfortable place to live. This socio-religious movement was born out of a process of interactive dialogue that wanted the revival of city life from the stigma of "short-axis areas" to friendly cities and "sholawat cities." The emergence of religious social movements became a locomotive to re-initiate harmonious and peaceful city life such as Paguyuban Wong Solo (PWS), a community of senior citizen figures to reduce conflict. Solo Heritage Society (SHS) was born from academics who were concerned about the poorly maintained city buildings, as well as concerned about RIP (Development Master Plan) and RUTRK (General Design of Urban Spatial Planning) which did not lead to socio-cultural ecological development.

Surakarta religious and community leaders also initiated the Interfaith and Group Reconciliation Forum (FPLAG) to realize solidarity relations between religious groups. The forum encourages religious elites to build social relations in interfaith dialogue. There is an LKLK (Institute for Cross-Cultural Studies) community that conducts intense studies on community empowerment. The various religious social movements, whether elite or grassroots, gave birth to ideas and practices oriented towards creating peace, social justice, and community resilience. In

addition, there are also several forums in Surakarta's public space such as FSHKB (Forum Suara Hati Kebersamaan Bangsa), Center for Religious and Peace Studies (PSAP), Solo Bersimphoni, Interfide Windan, Forum Peduli Solo (FPS), Forum Cinta Damai (FCD), and others as a medium for developing harmony and social justice for the people of Surakarta. Culturalists also encourage the development of plurality awareness through their communities to communicate the art of *pri* and non-*pri* reconciliation (Ham, 1998). Such as the Wayang Suket community by presenting plays as a form of satire a form of empowerment of the little wong community to maintain the values of reconciliation with their political elite. In addition, there is WKS (Wayang Kampung Sebelah) in its performance conducting social criticism related to political, cultural, social justice, and religious realities in Surakarta.

In Surakarta, there was also a religious movement with an urban sufism pattern which as a form and social symptom to change the negative image of the city of Surakarta as a seedbed of radicalism into a city of peace such as the birth of JAMURO (Jamaah Muji Rasul), JAMPI SANUBARI, Ar-Raudhah, Tali Jiwa, JAMURI (Jamaah Muji Rasul Putri), Ahbabul Musthofa, and others. According to Kurz, this phenomenon is a form of religious revival of the contemporary era where religious communities are faced with the challenges of modernity (Kurt, 1995). In general, the rise of this religious movement was formed in three respects: first, the search spirituality movement; second, the revitalization of traditionalism as reflected in urban sufism and religious radicalism; and third, the revivalism of local religions (Jamil, 2007). The existences of urban sufism in Surakarta's public sphere in a form of social movements as a critique of existing realities, sources of vision of morality, and religious expression due to growing access to democracy. By placing religion in the public sphere as a social ethic, it becomes a spirit in carrying out social transformation and religious traditions that prioritize local values as a foundation in building a peaceful, tolerant, and just society. This article captures how the presence of religion in public sphere of Surakarta through socio-religious nodes carries the spirit of realizing peace, justice, and harmony in a plural society.

B. Research Method

Research on religion, public space, and social justice in Surakarta is descriptive qualitative research. With this research, it is hoped that it will be able to reveal the existing meaning of the thoughts and actions of the research object (Strauss, 2007). This research uses a sociology of religion approach, namely religion as social actions and facts, something real can be observed and affect people's behavior (Sodik, 2006). Religion is a belief system embodied in certain social behaviors (Connolly, 2002). The sociology of religion approach studies the social aspects of religion (Suprayogo, 2003). Data collection was carried out in three ways: direct

observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation on religion, public space, and social justice in Surakarta. The data analysis uses an interactive analysis model including data reduction, data delivery, and conclusions. Existing conclusions are tested for validity by data triangulation and informant reviews.

C. Result and Discussion

C.1 Religion and the Public Sphere: Pressing the Agenda

The public sphere has significance as a forum for discourse and collective action on religious freedom (Latief, 2005). Public space is an area where all citizens can freely carry out social, political, cultural, and economic activities without the domination of other individuals or social communities. The public sphere as a world of social life related to public opinion is formed. (Habermas, 1991). In the public sphere, people have broad access to state institutions, non-state institutions, and other interest groups. The public sphere serves for the establishment of citizen independence which is reflected in social institutions working on the basis of partisanship, equality of citizens of society, and is autonomous (Salvatore and Eickelmen, 2004). It takes overlapping consensus to create an ideal public space in a plural society rooted in tradition, familiarity, and culture when its people internalize themselves in mutual agreement (Habermas, 1991). His participation in the public sphere is not limited by any power, invention, or capital power so that he can voice his aspirations to the state without fear and pressure from others (Snow, 1997).

The public sphere requires religion because without it it will be “naked” of morality and the meaning of life. According to Casanova, in many places of religious revival in the public sphere in accordance with democracy and politics of citizenship (Hasan, et al. 2011). Religion needs to be pushed into the public sphere and is expected to strengthen pluralism, democracy, and community justice. The growth of religious pluralism with sharp contestation in the public sphere often ignites socio-religious conflicts. Its presence in the public sphere can encourage the development of moderate religious discourse that promotes the fulfillment of basic rights of citizens, social justice, religious freedom, and peace amid the strengthening of the role of religion in socio-political life. The opening of the Surakarta public space has become a realm of contestation that lacks appreciation from mainstream religious social nodes to consolidate themselves to organize a strategy to urge their agenda, namely realizing social justice for the community. On the contrary, this openness is used by anti-mainstream religious social nodes to show force and urge ideological agendas in the midst of the lives of the people of Surakarta. As a result, social justice, human rights, and

moderate religion are marginalized by the strengthening of radicalism towards the center of discourse in the public sphere of Surakarta.

Surakarta as the “city of old civilization” became the center of Javanese culture which was *adi luhung* as well as a political center. Surakarta is also an important center of socio-religious studies in Indonesia with many nodes of socio-religious movements developing in this city. The various religious nodes vary from radical right, liberal left, and faith streams. This indicates that the public space in Surakarta accommodates all social elements so that it becomes a “religious social laboratory” in Indonesia because of the dynamic of their movement to seize discourse and urge agendas, one of which is social justice. The wider community sees the public space of Surakarta as a realm of contestation of religious movements with local, national, and international networks through its activities. In quantity their numbers are not significant but the ideological movement is quite massive because it is diframing so that its existence is maintained. As a result, the emergence of intolerant religious social nodes filled the public sphere, its presence giving its own color to democracy in Surakarta (Fanani, 2002). Open public spaces give them the opportunity to articulate their religious political interests aggressively, reactively, and demonstratively (Idahram, 2002).

The presence of religion in the public sphere of Surakarta makes this city synonymous with religious social movements. This is reinforced by the large number of religious institutions, educational institutions, chariti institutions, and spirituality groups as a seedbed and ideological foundation. As a barometer of politics and democracy in Indonesia, Surakarta is known as a “short axis” so that the basic needs of society and justice are little realized. Their presence aims to dominate discourse and enliven democracy. Although some of them reject democracy because they come from the West, they enjoy the facilities provided by democracy. The presence of religion in the public sphere is a form of strategy for spreading symbols, identities, ideologies, and values to the wider community utilizing the openness of existing socio-political structures. Whether real or virtual, they try to communicate and negotiate religious ideas, views, and interests to the wider community (Hardiman, 2009).

There are three things concerning the formulation of religion in the public sphere: first, the internal problems of religion itself are related to the interpretation of a loving God and a punishing God related to ethical and legalist interpretations. Second, the religion represented by the figure becomes an identification to defend political and economic interests. Third, the emergence of fundamentalism is a form of religious purification in response to dynamics that are outside of itself (Hasan, 2011). In the public sphere, religion is faced with the demands of responding to the challenges of modernism in order to continue to live in the state by developing certain epistemic positions. First, develop an

epistemic attitude towards other religions or worldviews so that their truth claims can be maintained in a plural society. Second, develop an epistemic attitude to modern science so that its faith is maintained by creating a demarcation line between faith and science. Third, develop an epistemic attitude to positive law so that they can relate the ideas of egalitarian individualism, legal universalism, and modern morals to their own comprehensive doctrines. These three things, if formulated theologically, they can live in harmony in modern society without feeling that they violate their respective faiths (Habermas, 1991).

The socio-religious node and urban sufism place religion as part of their political action that leans on the Islamic paradigm is a perfect religion with all the rules of state and society. Islam is a solution for muslim-majority societies because the law provides a sense of justice is a form of obligation (Effendi, 2010). The wider community sees public spaces in Surakarta such as houses that open their doors wide to all socio-religious nodes with a variety of ideologies and urban sufism developing in them. Surakarta became a public space for the contestation of anti-mainstream religious social node events through the media, educational institutions, and chariti institutions. This encouraged their movement to lead to acts of faith-based violence, eradication of local culture, weakening democracy, and the blockage of a sense of social justice in Surakarta was realized. The relationship between religion, public space, democracy, and social justice. Both of concepts and practices by the community are widely accepted in Surakarta. Social religious knot and urban sufism as part of the democratic process to promote social justice, fulfillment of human rights, and the basic needs of the Surakarta people.

Map of public space and democracy in Surakarta, has shifted from static to dynamic space so that it can be accessed by the wider community. According to Habermas, religion needs to be involved in the public sphere but not in formal political areas such as in parliament, courts, and official government documents. Religious contributions in the public sphere through language and values that have been translated and understood by all parties. To realize that language and value by translating from a particular religious language into a universal language that adherents of comprehensive doctrines can understand (Habermas, 1991). For in the public sphere all religions meet the prevailing law is the law of the state not the law of scripture. If the substance of religious law is to be enforced in the public sphere it needs to be transformed first into state law (Hidayat, 2004). In the public sphere of Surakarta there is a contestation of various values, traditions, and interests of all religions including interreligious groups. The public sphere should not be dominated by one particular religion because this violates ethics and can damage the social harmony of a pluralistic society such as Surakarta. When entering the public sphere religious symbols are minimized and enlarge the substance of religious messages that are contributive to society such as pluralism, recognition of minorities, and justice.

Some of them view democracy as something ambiguous, a concept that is difficult to realize because of uncertainty in terms of institutions or ways in which ideas are carried out, or in cultural and historical circumstances that influence democratic practice (Peters, 1964). The dynamic of democracy in the public sphere of Surakarta makes various social nodes of religion and urban sufism present to enliven democracy. This openness was used to express his political rights and freedom to establish an Islamic institution ('Ulum, 2002). The openness of political structures and democracy encourages the presence of religion in the public sphere has experienced significant developments in voicing interests including social justice for all citizens. This phenomenon caught the attention of the public: first, the emergence of religious-based violence and intolerance; second, the emergence of demands for formalization and enforcement of Islamic law through legislation or regional regulations of Shari'a; and third, the emergence of various cult/new age movements (Gaffar, 1999).

Presence of religion in public space of Surakarta as spreading process of symbols and values to the wider community by utilizing open access. Existing public spaces are used jointly for communicating and negotiating interests, including religious interests (Hardiman, 2009). Discourse of religious in public sphere is political because of the various social forces articulate their interests for the state (Habermas, 1991). The democratic public sphere is marked by religious symbols present with the variety of expressions and orientations beyond of ideological and political face. The presence of socio-religious nodes and urban sufism in Surakarta's public sphere is a counterweight between movement and counter to narrative of Islamism who dominates the religious discourse in society. Its presence in public sphere also a threat to the democracy itself. Religion will conflict with democratic values if it is not articulated (Hasan, et al., 2011).

According to Hefner, their existence in the public sphere is not monolithic but plural like politics in all civilizations (Hefner, 2000). In the public sphere, religious discourses fight each other to dominate, so framing is a form of negotiation with another group in formulating the social order that is expected to realize a just, prosperous, and *tata titi tentrem kertaraharja* (organized, neat, happy, and prosperous) society. According to the theory of social movements the presence of religion in public sphere is driven by three things: resources, motivation, and political environment (Mibtadin, 2017). In social movements, resources will be material, mass media, legitimacy, authority, identity, and institutions (Tarow, 1998). The nodes of religious social movements and urban sufism in the Surakarta public space have material resources in a form of members with their potential between economic, social, cultural, also networks used to encourage social change to realize justice for all Surakarta people.

C.2 Religion and Democracy: Voicing the voicing the fulfillment of basic rights

Religious social nodes in Surakarta such as FLAG, PSAP, PMS, and urban sufism communities such as Jamuro, Jamuri, Ahbabul Musthofa, Tali Jiwa, and Ar-Raudhah became mouthpieces to voice peace, social justice, and togetherness with different approaches and methods. The node in the public space of Surakarta aims to collect *balung* separation to gather elements of the community of various communities that have commitments to peace, reconciliation, and social justice. The development of independent associations and the autonomous management of public life in society further strengthens the capacity of religious people in a democratic life (Mujani, 2007). This shows the existence of maturity in religious life characterized by the pluralization of ways of life (Hardiman, 2009). The node has a common good religious public orientation in Surakarta does not lead to power in a formal sense but the public community can grow to build a good life through social relations in the public sphere of Surakarta.

This diverse maturity became a social node of religion and urban sufism to expand movements that boil down to the common good such as the realization of social justice to borrow Armando Salvatore's term as "common good" (Zaman, 2004). This concept is an effort to realize common interests such as justice, democracy, fulfillment of basic rights, and others through the power of civil society that does not depend on the state. The concept of common good became a broad idea beyond the doctrinal barriers of religion itself (Situmorang, 2007). This idea is an opportunity for the social religious node and urban sufism in Surakarta to contribute to democracy by strengthening and empowering civil society in the local realm. These socio-religious nodes can expand and strengthen what Hafner calls cultural precedents in discourse and practice in the public sphere (Zaman, 2004). The social knot of diversity undergoes objectification, attempts to translate or rationalize religious values into objective categories where adherents of other religions see it as something natural, no longer specifically understood by adherents of one religion as the source of public policy and is no longer imaged as a religious rule that is used as public policy (Fawzia, 2018).

The religious knot in Surakarta aims to maintain and create peaceful conditions for all citizens so that justice can be achieved and felt by all levels of society. The existence of the socio-religious node originated from the concern of religious leaders about the social conflict that occurred in Surakarta. The collective idea of religious and community leaders is not to prevent interfaith conflicts but to minimize the occurrence of conflicts. The topic of discussion was on efforts to break down conflict issues, strategic solutions, basic needs, good governance, and sustainable development. The socio-religious movement is not only

a strategic concept that is discourse but also implementation and action and makes a stakeholder handbook grid as a training material for peace and reconciliation at the lower levels of society.

All elements of society in the form of religious social nodes in principle seek to display peace so that social justice is realized in Surakarta which is not only measured by particular individual gains but pure procedural of justice. The idea of reciprocity is on different principles that have a function to implement the idea of reciprocity. The principle of difference is that the improvement of the contemporary and the expectations of the lucky person must be the same as the contemporary and expectations of the less fortunate. Reciprocity is not a doctrine but an idea of a procedure for obtaining reciprocal justice. Human beings can receive justice by adhering to a system of fair cooperation or justice (Rawls, 1999.). To realize social justice it is necessary to position the freedom of basic human rights as the highest value and followed by the guarantee of equal opportunities for everyone to occupy a certain position. The existence of certain distinctions is acceptable as long as it brings benefits to people who are politically marginalized and are on the periphery of the public sphere because they cannot enjoy the facilities that democracy provides.

Social justice in Surakarta is realized through programs: first, meeting the basic needs of the community. The Surakarta City Government carries the tagline: “five (5) w” to encourage equal distribution of social justice for its people. First, wareg, satiety, the fulfillment of food as a form of undaking panguripan (Improving the standard of living) of the community. Second, wastra or clothing related to clothing where the community is expected to no longer lack. Third, wisma, houses are a primary need that the government is trying to meet through various programs such as flats. Fourth, waras, healthy is an important need that must be obtained by all levels of Surakarta society through the Healthy Indonesia Card (KIS) program, BPJS Kesehatan, and others. Fifth, wasis, Smart includes the fulfillment of educational aspects by the government and the private sector in providing educational institutions for the community. The fulfillment of people's basic rights is the main priority of the government and religious social movements to realize social justice. Education is able to encourage maturity in religion and society so that public awareness increases. For example, after the 1998 reform, economic conditions in Surakarta were paralyzed. Unemployment and poverty are urban problems that if not addressed immediately can create new problems. The issue of basic necessities is a serious concern for the city government and religious social movements to sit together to find a solution so that riots do not occur again.

Religious social movements such as FLAG, PMS, and others provide assistance to meet the basic needs of the people of Surakarta as a practical settlement step and think about a long-term strategic solution.

Post-conflict PMS formed a post as an effort to collect data on all victims of the riot to be helped to get back on their feet immediately. The results of the investigation showed that the victims of the riots were not only Chinese but also indigenous. Post-conflict STDs distributed subsidized rice in five sub-districts for a month, especially to people who lost their jobs. Meanwhile, the IFC (interfaith Committee) distributed rice for six months to the poor due to racial unrest. IFC in collaboration with ICRP (Indonesian Conference Religion and Peace) and Japan Foundation donated staples to the victims of the Surakarta riots.

Second, entrepreneurial mentoring. The religious social movement Al-Iqtida bi Akhlaqir Rasul provides Islamic youth provisions packaged in the form of *dirasah Islamiyah* and entrepreneurship workshops. This program aims to provide provisions for religious understanding, entrepreneurial soft skills, awaken social solidarity, increase intellectual insight in the life of the nation and state, and provide business opportunities. *Dirasah Islamiyah* material is an *Islamiyah* proselytizing based on the needs of citizens which generally only touches on theological problems that do not solve the social problems faced by society so that religion is only used as solace. Religion when it is from the public sphere is not only pure worship-oriented (*ibādah maḥḍah*) but must have a sense of responsibility to social, cultural, and economic issues. The existing proselytizing model has begun to be shifted towards real activities as an effort to understand the conditions of society and solve social, economic, cultural, and population problems into efforts to realize social justice.

Third, the fulfillment of the rights of citizens. The fulfillment of people's basic rights is not only an economic problem, but also related to the need for basic rights as a legitimate citizen. The problems faced by former political prisoners (*tapol*) and also prisoners (terrorism criminals) related to the possession of ID cards (identity cards) are a separate problem because of discrimination. *Tapol* has an ID card that has a sign that does not allow him to get a certificate of good behavior, even his children, making it difficult to get a job as a civil servant (ASN). The Surakarta Legal Service Institute (LPH-YAPHI) accompanies *tapol* to restore their rights, so there is no special mark on the ID card as a form of reconciliation. A similar problem occurs with former prisoners (terrorist criminals) after they have finished serving their sentences. Most of them are confused because they don't have an ID card after serving their sentences and getting out of prison. Socially, they feel alienated from society and on the other hand they do not hold ID cards. So the Al-Iqtidā' Surakarta institution has contributed to working on their ID cards so that they have the right as legal citizens, then carry out coaching, especially strengthening the economy together with the local community to build relationships and blending as a form of reconciliation. This happened in the Brengosan area, Purwosari Laweyan Surakarta.

Justice is an indicator by which the state of society can obtain goodness and happiness equally. Therefore, justice is the main virtue of the presence of social institutions. Good for society should not override or interfere with the sense of justice of everyone who has received a sense of justice, especially weak people. According to Rawls, parties within their respective default positions will adopt two main principles of fairness. First, everyone has the same right to the most widespread basic freedoms and is compatible with similar freedoms for others. Second, social and economic inequalities are arranged in such a way that the greatest benefit is obtained for the least advantaged members of society and positions must be opened to all in circumstances where there is equal opportunity (Rawls, 1999).

Freedom of action for any individual with or group as long as it does not violate the public interest (Marlow, 1997). One of them is realized in the fulfillment of social justice for the people of Surakarta both through the fulfillment of basic rights, business assistance, fulfillment of citizens' rights, and social development. In addition, periodic changes of leaders through general elections, can be elected based on the choice of the people (Budiharjo, 1982). Taking into account the characteristics of democracy above, in the view of Shari'a they are no stranger, namely in line with the concept of shura. In principle, there are three views on the relationship between religion and democracy. First, Islam is a complete religion in which there is also a constitutional or political system. Therefore, Muslims no longer need to imitate the secular Western system, but simply the Islamic khilafāh system (Sadzali, 1993), and this view is widely followed by Islamist groups in Surakarta. Religion in the public sphere offers a dual allegiance that is often dichotomous and mutually negating between the state and religion thus making "people" and "citizens" as two opposing entities. Religion cannot be relied upon because it is particular and serves doctrinally for its adherents. Religion can only give closed particular allegiance not civic open allegiance to the state.

C.3 Religion as a force of civil society: Promoting Social Justice

The public space of Surakarta as the domain of religious social life where public opinion is built and strengthened by intellectual and political activities, because the public space surpasses the political space itself. Public space is related to the overall life of community members which is a prerequisite for the growth of civil society in Surakarta. In this case religion finds an ideal place that is to be a "counterweight to power" that limits the power of the state and civil society (Hefner, 2000). Surakarta is now a developed city with supporting infrastructure facilities to meet the basic needs of its citizens including human rights, pluralism, democracy, and other life development. Surakarta as the center of Javanese culture has an influence on the view of life of its people, namely the concept of harmony. This concept is built on two

main foundations, namely avoiding conflicts and living in harmony as a principle of civil society development. This attitude of life is carried out based on an attitude of respect that aims at creating harmony in the lives of its citizens. The situation of harmony needs to be continuously pursued in every condition in order to create peace in the community (Prabowo, 2003). This principle of harmony is expressed by *rukun agawe santoso*, *crah agawe bubrah* (getting along makes strong, and conflict makes it messy) and *toto titi tentrem kerta raharjo* ((organized, neat, happy, and prosperous) which means orderly, just, peaceful, and prosperous (Mibtadin, 2019).

This became the main foundation for the development of civil society in Surakarta. Judging from the interests of civil society, various approaches are taken by the social religious node and urban sufism in empowering the people of Surakarta. First, they did not limit themselves to solving problems for their group but rather the interests of the Surakarta community and the nation. Second, their movement focuses more on the community level by strengthening the independence of citizens, including realizing social justice (Hikam, 1997). They are trying to awaken the ability of the Surakarta community to become more independent economically, socially, culturally, and harmoniously that minimizes horizontal conflicts so that it can easily realize social justice for its citizens. The discourse of open democracy and free public space is an important part of achieving an independent, empowered society, and emphasizes the existence of dialogue in the plural community of Surakarta. This is characterized by the strengthening of civic leadership with the character of solidarity makers for catalysts where cultural popular values include religious aspects as the main basis (Thoha, 2001). With this awareness, the social knot of religion and urban sufism emphasizes the empowerment of civil society with a focus on cultural work strategies that paradigmulate liberative transformatively placing communities as partners, because they themselves are the subject of liberation and transformation.

They put religion as a social ethic for the development of civil society because of two things: first, religion as a source and morality vision. Religion is not only placed as a source of conflict and a guardian of morality because it can kill the initiative and creativity of the religious community itself. Through socio-religious activities they want religion to always be present in society, borrowing the term *Sudarminta*, so religion being more dynamic and able to play a role in the struggle of human life (Sudarminta, 1991). Second, they understand religion as providing a sense of peace, harmony, and spreading affection that can support human civilization process. The measure of harmony arises from a sense of peace that comes from God, where the values of religious life are explicitly related to justice, mutual respect, and respect among the citizens of society. This approach encourages religious people to be open

and learn from each other so that Islam can become a meaningful religion for common life (Mibtadin, 2022).

The social knot of religion and urban sufism in Surakarta to strengthen civil society positions religion became the instrument of community empowerment by creating public spaces and developing economic, social, cultural, and political networks. In the empowerment of civil society religion is understood as public religion considering that the public context of religion is no longer the state or society but in civil society (Baso, 2006). Religion in strengthening civil society emphasizes empowerment in the lower communities by does not deny the existence of a state (Mibtadin, 2018). In realizing social justice, the people of Surakarta can be balanced with the strength of community independence which places religion as social ethics. The social knot of religion and urban sufism is a “tool” to instill critical awareness of the people of Surakarta with given the religion position as a moral force to meet the basic needs of the community and the sense of justice of all its citizens. To determine common ground in terms of empowering civil society, the reality of a pluralistic society is needed (Wahid, 1994).

The presence of a socio-religious node in public sphere of Surakarta based on two things: first, to encourage moderate Muslim candidates to go through the establishment of a moderate religious discourse; Second, the local wisdom of the community is related to the development of civic culture. Civic culture is a value, norm, and moral guide in society that respects the main aspects of democratic discourse such as justice, tolerance, equality, pluralism, human rights, and citizen independence. With the encouragement of religious values in the realm of civil society, it will become a moral rationale for the development of Surakarta civil society. The active role of socio-religious nodes will encourage religion to provide solutions to social problems without discriminating against a group or other religion. This done with building networks between social movements for economic strengthening. Tocqueville reveals that in the realm of superstructure and transcendence, religion is considered an effective institution in influencing the creation of ideal conditions for its adherents. In giving legitimacy to political movements, religion cannot be dominant through only one group. Because religion cannot lose the transcendence of life, religion must be in accordance with the times (*as-sholih likuli zaman wa al-makan*). It will increasingly lose its transcendence value if it is associated with being synonymous with certain religious institutional arrangements (Fauzi, 2009).

The principles developed for the strengthening of civil society in Surakarta are based on three main pillars: first, Islam is actively and substantively reinterpreted in accordance with the needs of modern life. Second, in the context of Indonesianness Islam should not be the state religion; and third, Islam must be an inclusive, democratic, and pluralist force not an exclusively ideological state (Esposito, et al., 2002). Religion

became a social ethic so that it had no interest in symbolic manifestations of religion. For socio-religious nodes and urban sufism places the *weltanschauung* of Islam on three values, namely justice (al-'adalah), equality (al-musawah), and democracy (asy-shura'). The operational pressing point is a more egalitarian form of relationship, disregard and submission to the law. These things are at the core of justice, which shapes people's behavior gradually towards a new culture (Wahid, 1994).

Whole justice not only achieves happiness for oneself but is directed towards the happiness of others. Justice is a social and objective nature of resignation directed to His words to the values of goodness that boil down to a universal love of justice. Justice as part of social value has a broad meaning even a point can go against social law itself (Chand, 1994). The values of justice, equality and democracy are structural conditions that must be realized in order to promote the protection of basic human rights. The humanism movement through liberation (tahrur) in it touches on religious, cultural, and social science discourses. The social knot of religion and urban sufism in Surakarta emphasizes the disposition and awareness of the renewal of public space, so the transformative disposition becomes a bridge that connects with the ideals of social justice from an authoritarian political structure.

The social religious nodes in Surakarta such as FLAG, PSAP, PMS, and urban sufism such as Jamuro, Jamuri, Ahbabul Musthofa, Tali Jiwa, Ar-Raudhah became the pillars of civil society's power for the balancing power of the state. Their existence is at the forefront of community strengthening and empowerment that emphasizes the development of a community framework using existing religious principles and values. So far in the public space of Surakarta, religion has been able to play a role as a driver for the process of social, economic, political, and cultural transformation so that it can usher in community independence and social justice. In addition, their presence is able to make a real contribution to the formation of civil society with religion as a social ethic so that a political community is formed that upholds humanism values such as freedom of expression, democracy and social justice.

D. Conclusion

Surakarta is an urban area that grows dynamically in line with the development of demographics, education, economy, culture, religion, and infrastructure leading to a smart city. People know Surakarta as a multicultural, multi-ethnic, cultural, and religious city. Surakarta's public sphere became a medium for religion to campaign for citizenship rights and social justice. The presence of religion in the public sphere of Surakarta is expected not to threaten pluralism, democracy, and society. The growth of religious pluralism with contestation in the public sphere

often ignites socio-religious conflicts. The presence of religion in the public sphere is expected to encourage the development of moderate religious discourse that promotes pluralism, democracy, religious freedom, social justice, and peace amid the strengthening of the role of religion in socio-political life. Religion in Surakarta has so far been able to encourage social resilience by strengthening social networks, community participation, strengthening democracy, and reviving cultural activities. Faith-based social nodes in Surakarta are fighting in the fulfillment of social justice such as the distribution of basic necessities, entrepreneurial assistance, and the fulfillment of citizens' rights. Religion contributes significantly to the formation of civil society where religion is implemented as a social ethic that leads to the formation of a social node that upholds the values of humanism, democracy, and social justice.

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