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Abstract: This research is about the Muhammadiyah as an Islamic Organization from a historical perspective through times influenced by the massive modernization of life and the society rational driven by a high level of education resulting in social differentiation in people's lives called secularization. The society's dynamics resulted in the declining Muhammadiyah movement at the branch and branch levels in Bengkulu. The aims of this research are 1) to understand the social actions of Muhammadiyah members in the organization, 2) to understand how Muhammadiyah members choose not to be involved in the organization, 3) to understand members' and administrators' behaviour and religious understanding after they are no longer active in the Muhammadiyah organization. This paper uses the phenomenological method, which is analyzed using the theory of secularization. The conclusions of this research are: First, the social actions of socio-religious organizations in the public sphere. Second, the shift of religious understandings and organizations that still believe in the transcendent (God). Fourth, the shift from "puritans" to simple, functional rituals rich in meaning, such as "yasinan".

Keywords: Shift, Belief, Religiousness, Follower, Muhamamdiyah, Bengkulu

1. INTRODUCTION

Muhammadiyah in Bengkulu was established in 1927 and legalized in 1928. After its establishment, this movement's agents were very active in preaching Muhammadiyah in Bengkulu, so after nine years, there were 41 Muhammadiyah branches and branches throughout the Bengkulu residency area. Bengkulu Province is located on the western tip of the island of Sumatra, which was once a colony of the British empire. After 94 years, Muhammadiyah's presence is marked by three phases of religion. First is the initial phase, Pijper (1934) proposed that Islam embraced by the people of Bengkulu was "very simple". Thus, people's understanding of Islam is not strictly influenced by schools of thought in Islam, such as Islamic Malay, whose majority follow the Sayfe'i school of thought. The condition of the Bengkulu Islamic community(Abdullah, 2018; Alfian, 2010; HAMKA, 1950; Noer, 1973; Pijper, 1934; Siddik, 1996) was underdeveloping where Sabri and Siddik(2017; 1996) blamed the British government that broke the relationship between Bengkulu and Banten, West Sumatra, Palembang and Aceh to rule over the pepper trade in Bengkulu.At this point, Pijper said that Bengkulu Muslims differ from other regions in Sumatra and Indonesia. Religious relations in Bengkulu do not have strata but operate in a "simple" way. There was no higher level of clerics like Sunan in Java or Ajengan in Banten who were highly respected by the community, and upon their death, the followers made their graves sacred. Further, Islam penetrated Sumatra in the IV century, as hinted by HAMKA(1950) and continued by Siddik(1996) stating that Islam entered Bengkulu possibly at the same time. Therefore, the Islamic understanding period in Bengkulu from the IV century to the early XX century is called "simplified" Islam.

Second, the renewal phase at the beginning of the XX century marked the arrival of modernist Islam in Bengkulu. In this phase, the people of Bengkulu accepted the modernist da'wah movement of Muhammadiyah ideology Haedar Nashir(2013, 2015, 2016)This era signed the people's acceptance of Muhammadiyah due to 1) the condition of "simple" religious understanding, 2) poverty, expensive education and health due to colonialism impacted the people, and 3) Active social agents' presence, such as Ir. Soekarno, Oey Chin Hien and teachers from West Sumatra joined in the Islam preaching in southern Bengkulu and spread "puritan" teachings.Then, supported by an active society, see Amitai Etzioni(Robertson & Etzioni, 1969)Soekarno, Oey Chin Hien and teachers from West Sumatra joined in the Islam preaching in southern Bengkulu and spread "puritan" teachings. Then, supported by an active society, see Amitai Etzioni (Robertson & Etzioni, 1969), where the condition of the people who were active in fighting colonialism came social organizations whose movements were one against imperialism, eradicating ignorance. So spontaneously, affective that coincide with actions of the rationality of community values take the action of joining Muhammadiyah. In this phase, referred to by Alfian (2010), the majority of Bengkulu people joined the Muhammadiyah organization.

Third, the mobilization phase in which the nation-state emerged, where the Republic of Indonesia based on democracy was established. Further, according to Comte (Boerman, 2015) a positive science will become a dogma of humankind's religion. This dogma will, in turn, require a moral and worship system, also the establishment of positive churches with hierarchies, teachings and religious education (catechisms), sacraments, liturgical calendars, devotion and ethical demands, and role fulfilment to match the state's(2001). Taylor (2007) saw the Reformation as a further step towards "disenchantment", according to Weber. Taylor refers to this era as the "excessive self", for which boundaries were possible as buffers separating the mind from the additional mental. This era is also known as the structured-world notion based on the modern moral order notion, as a way of living side by side among equals, based on the principles of mutual benefit". Casanova (2015) pointed out in his thesis that social differentiation and secularization emerged during this phase.

The fourth phase is the decline phase. Social movements and the organization of social and religiousness based on history usually only experience progressive development reaching the age of one century. Additionally, many have lost their direction and orientation; some have yet to survive the flow of history (see Lawler, Thye, and Yoon(Freeman & Hannan, 2006; Hannan & Freeman, 2002; 2009; Lechner, 2010). They acknowledged that long-term social cohesion is fragile during the volatile economy where people are increasingly forming transactional associations based economically, not on collective interests but on what will yield the most personal gain in a society shaped by the market logicLavrič dan Flere (2011). Meyer and Rowan (1977)further said that with cultures drifting apart and breaking together like tectonic plates, much depends on our ability to work collectively across racial, cultural, political and religious differences. Zygmunt Bauman (1998, 2000) said that in this phase, people gather depending on their respective interests, just like a "pack" that unites shortly after splitting up, resembling a group of aeroplane passengers that head the same direction and go separately after arrival.

Muhammadiyah, as a religious organization at the branch and branch level in Bengkulu, is experiencing a decline, as explained above in the fourth phase. Thus, this paper aims to 1) understand the social actions of Muhammadiyah members in the organization, 2) understand how Muhammadiyah members choose not to be involved in the organization, 3) understand members' and administrators' behaviour and religious understanding after they are no longer active in the Muhammadiyah organization.

The encounter of religion and modernity through the transformation process within a capitalistic society has been extensively investigated byWeber(1964); Bellah(1963; 2005); Scott dan Eisenstadt (1970); Geertz (Geertz, 1957); Turner (Turner, 2010); Luckmann (Luckmann, 1963, 2003)Dillon(Dillon, 2010, 2015); Bruce (Bruce, 2011, 2013) Peacock (1996); Dobbelaere (1999); Casanova (2001, 2012; 2008) Gorski (2008) Cipraiani (2017); Voas (2016); Pollack (Pollack & Pickel, 2012); Kersten (2018, 2019); Bilgram (2016); Nielsen (2019); Hefner(2017, 2018) Taylor

[(2002a, 2007) (Taylor, 2020). However, most scholars have yet to come to a definite conclusion about the capacity of religion to legitimize modern developments. This finding is due to the assumption that every "major" religion contains the potential to legitimize different patterns of social change and the contradictory. Thus according to Kahane (1980), studying a particular religion may help analyze the conditions under which specific patterns of social change were utilized and the interests served by such patterns.

The theory of the sociology of religion that examines the relationship between religion and modernity, especially in the West and modern America, is the Weberian theory. Berger (2016) described the relational dialectics between religion and social dynamics in three stages: externalization (religion is a worldly expression), objectivation (religion becomes a fact or reference to action) and internalization (religion is given meaning by its adherents called secularization). According to German Mc Kenzie (2017), secularization theory has three paradigms: orthodox, counter-orthodox, and revisionist paradigms. The first paradigm views secularization as a decline not only in the social influence of religion but also in religion itself. This paradigm asserts that modernity diminishes religion leading to a decline, causing marginalization and social irrelevance(Berger, 1973; Dobbelaere, 2008; Wilson, 1966). The second paradigm will not be a long-term decline in religion; instead, it will be sustainable and self-limiting in a situation of ongoing religious vitality and transformation. The central thesis is that modernity leads to the revitalization of religion by encouraging religious competition, and secularization is a self-limiting process (Finke, 2000; Stark, 2007; B. W. Stark R, 1985; F. R. Stark R, 2000). The third paradigm ignores the notion that continuum is called revisionist secularization theory as they criticize and reformulate the orthodox model without necessarily accepting a counter-orthodox approach (P. L. Berger, 1999; Jose Casanova, 2001; Chaves, 1994; Luckmann, 1967; Martin, 1978b; Taylor, 2007, 2020; Voas dan Chaves, 2016).

Secularization in Indonesia and the Islamic world has very high resistance but is prevalent in the West and American public discourse. In Islam, religion and politics are an eternal firm attachment to God and His revelations. In this context, many Islamic scholars, especially in Indonesia during the 1990s, saw secularization as an ideology that separates religion and the state. As Oliver Roy emphasized (Roy, 2007, 2013), there is an increasing belief that Muslims, from various ethnicities and backgrounds, because of Islamic demands, have claimed and advocated for the supremacy of divine law over human law, and thus de facto reject the idea of secularism and laïcité.

Ernest Gellner(1992, pp. 5–22) proposed a new version, arguing that in the West, Russia and many parts of the world, modernity (industrialization), urban life, general literacy and social mobility have led to secularization based on divorce from rural/tribal communities and kinship and authority. These processes in Islam start from popular religion to scriptural orthodoxy. He argued that urbanites and newly literate people are evolving from famous audio-visual Islam in villages and tribes to a legalistic, biblical Islam in cities. Thus, Islamic modernity is uniquely tied to religion, unlike other places. This argument provides a broader view that religion is the essence of "Muslim society" so that it is reflected in all aspects of its life.

The development of the secularization theory has been significantly advanced, now discussing more than just the political area but also the social field, which aligns with Casanova's with Casanova's (2015) idea about deprivatization and public religion. Marranci (2011, 2020) proposed that in this context, it is essential to distinguish between political (religious and other societal differences) and social secularizations (everyday life, for example through commodification). Secularization in politics can refer specifically to issues on the historical separation of religion and state. Social secularization refers to issues regarding applying beliefs to everyday life, referring to religious custom, a term by Bourdieu (1987; Lyons et al., 1980).

This research uses the perspective of Jose Casanova's revisionist secularization(2012, 2015; 2007)with three distinct and different propositions: as a differentiation between the secular field and religious institutions and norms, as a general decline of religious beliefs and practices, and as privatization of religion. In "A Secular Age"(2007), Charles Taylor proposed that modernization causes changes in religious society. Secularization in the West has relocated religion's place in society

and individual experience and provoked the decline of some forms of religion and the emergence of new ones.

The theories from Casanova and Taylor were used to analyze the decline of the Muhammadiyah organization at the branch and representative offices in Bengkulu. The analysis aims to answer three questions. First, what are the social actions of members and committees of Muhammadiyah branches and representative offices? Secondly, the reasons for the inactivity of the organization's members. The third is the behaviour and religious belief of the Muhammadiyah members; thus, a direction of shift in the religiosity of the Muhammadiyah members will emerge.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

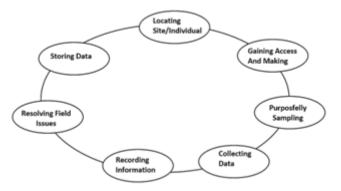
This research used the phenomenological method, a philosophical movement from the qualitative research methodologies. Phenomenology refers to research on phenomena, in which a phenomenon refers to appearing things experienced by people in their conscious (Moran, 2000). The experiences of the research subjects serve as secondary data. Phenomenology emphasizes the understanding of describing the existential form of an event, and afterwards, the event appears as itself. The philosophical basis of phenomenology focuses on the characteristics of life experience and the basis of a particular incident. As an illustration, the unique experiences of a member of the Muhammadiyah group can be interpreted as experiences in a natural setting before obtaining the experience essence.

Phenomenology as a method has four characteristics: descriptive, reduction, essence, and intentionality. The description function refers to the goal of describing phenomena instead of explaining them. Phenomena include anything that appears, such as the emotions, thoughts and actions of the research subject as they are. Phenomenology means describing something to the "thing in itself". According to Husserl, the reduction function as the second characteristic is a descriptive procedure supporting the analytical process of some phenomenological methodologies. Husserl explained some types of bracketing or epoché. Epoché is one of the neutral principles in phenomenon research, meaning that researchers postpone their assumptions about a phenomenon and are free from, or transcending, the natural behaviour of everyday life. The essence is the foundation of all phenomenological knowledge and methodology. The goal of sharing is to describe the essence of a study. Essence is the significance of an individual experience in a particular phenomenon. Intentionality function is a relationship between noema and noesis that focuses on understanding experience. Noema is an objective statement of attitude or experience in reality, whereas noesis is a subjective reflection (understanding) of that objective statement. Thus, assuming reality is as it is, we would not have any inspiration for reality (objective statement). Such internalization between understanding and reality is called intentionality. The linkage of phenomenology to information analysis appears by examining characters who focus on the realities of life, are open to the experiences of the subjects being studied, story-telling appropriately, postpone early or biased insights, and look for roots in the story.

The research subjects were 13 people ranging from leaders of Muhammadiyah at all levels. Selected subjects included those who were active and not active in the branches and representative offices of Muhammadiyah and were considered to have more extensive knowledge than other members. Data collection techniques were in the form of observation, in-depth interviews, and document review (documentation), as well as triangulation (a combination of the four) (J. W. Creswell, 2016; Sugiyono, 2016). The collection procedure described by Creswell(2016), starts from determining the position or person, then making access and rapport, selecting purposive sampling, implementing the information collection itself in the field, writing data, uncovering field issues, storing information and

returning to the early stage. The totality of information collection roundabouts to be tried in the field can be observed in the following cycles:

Figure: Data Collection Cycle



Sumber : Creswel (2016 : 253)

The analysis method was tried since the information search method was started until the conclusion was deemed sufficient. Data analysis was conducted throughout the thorough process, starting from the information collection; thus, it is considered sufficient.

The next step is the validation of the results of a study, along with validity testing. Data validation is the final stage of a series of qualitative research; nevertheless, the researcher still reviewed the onfield situation after the validation process. The validity of the data aims to make the valid data reliable in explaining other similar phenomena. Creswell(2016)explained that data validity could be done using member checking, transferability, confirmability, triangulation, and external audits.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research describes three components of the questions explored in this paper: first, the social actions of Muhammadiyah members, inactivity in the organization, and the actions and beliefs of the members after they were not active in the organization. The three main problems were classified based on age, social action and beliefs before determining three typical actions called action variants.

The first group was those aged 60 and above; they still adhere to the Muhammadiyah ideology. This group is very "puritanical" in worship; they still followed Muhammadiyah worship procedures and were very anti-superstition, heresy and credulity (TBC). This action is based on a belief in transcendental values. The fundamental thing is that they move towards this life depending on the Almighty, not based on human action that is more oriented to values beyond the transcendent. This type represented the majority of former Muhammadiyah administrators. This group was called true Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah sejati), abbreviated as (Muse). Upon any Muhammadiyah event, this Muse variant is enthusiastic about coming and participating in the Muhammadiyah movement. Actions and understanding of this group following the ideology of Muhammadiyah.

The second group was 45-60 years old, represented by the second generation of Muhammadiyah, which included those who were indifferent and still claimed to be Muhammadiyah members. Occasionally, they participated in Muhammadiyah meetings and religious studies, but were more rational in terms of materialistic and individualistic tendency. The majority of the current Muhammadiyah executive boards are of this nature. This group's characteristics include 1) having higher education, 2) Some work in Muhammadiyah charity and business units, and 3) very rational in the sense that their actions are more concerned with personal benefits in the organization. This group is called secular-one Muhammadiyah (Musek-1). The majority of this group is not active in organizations due to rationality and modernity, which have shifted transcendent into secondary interest, influenced by the turbulence of the market economy, which has disrupted collective interests in the private interests of society. These findings have proven the influence of modernization causing differentiation of secular society; thus, choices are merely immanent, and actions are based on materialist benefits. This condition causes them to be inactive in religious institutions due to the

privatization of their lives purposes. Meanwhile, they have a minimum concern for religious belief, causing religious rituals to become a mere tentative activity.

The third group is those 30-45 years old who are not structurally involved in Muhammadiyah but are still related to the organization as their parents were Muhammadiyah. The group characteristics are (a) indifferent to Muhammadiyah and religion, (b) actions in religion are more of affective purposes; people with high religiosity often act spontaneously to gather for a specific purpose only. In terms of belief and action, they tend to carry out traditional actions in rituals that are syncretic with modern culture. The traditional belief appears by spontaneously joining and following the ritual or activity without a reasonable value basis (transcendent) but prioritizing the choices of autonomous individuals who are influenced by rational acts marked by prioritizing profane meanings rather than the secret. This group is called the second-secular Muhammadiyah (Musek-2). The majority of this generation is indifferent to religion and Muhammadiyah. Most musek-3 do not perform obligatory rituals in Islam; their religious action is based on personal psychological conditions, and religion is the option for the mere grieving situation. At this point, religious belief shifts from rigid and structured forms to functional ones based on personal options, such as the "yasinan" ritual. However, this variant still believes in the divine entity (God). On the other hand, Musek-2 is still devoted to the organizations and sects, both traditional (NU, Perti, Al-Wasliah, Tarekat) or puritanical (Salafi), and there is no finding on the religious convert from Musek-2.

4. **DISCUSSION**

Based on the above result, we can further discuss it using Jose Casanova's thesis (2012, 2015; 2007) which stated three different propositions from the theory of secularization. The first proposition expresses that there is differentiation in secular life, shifting the existing religious institutions to the secular institutions, which marks the weakening of the religiosity of younger generations (David Voas & MarkChaves,2016), by inactivity and no participation in religious institutions such as Muhammadiyah. The second proposition expresses no decline in belief in the research findings, but religious ritual practices have declined for Musek-1 and Musek-2. The third proposition expresses that in the findings of Musek-2, there is a role marginalization of institutional religion in society, causing religious privatization. The Musek-2 variant believes that modernization has led to fundamental changes in the religion of society. Charles Taylor (1999, 2002b, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2020) stated that religion did not disappear in modern society; instead, it became a choice of individuals with rationality from modernization towards the choice of religion.

5. CONCLUSION

There are three conclusions drawn from this research:

- 1. There is a decline in society's religious belief, as mentioned in the theory of secularization, in the form of obligatory ritual rituals as an obligation of adherents of the religion; nevertheless, religion is still an option for society. Further, these people did not convert to other religions; instead, they relocated to a private space marked by the marginalization of religious institutions.
- 2. Second, the decline in the routine of obligatory rituals in society has caused the weakening of obligatory and formal rituals.
- 3. Along with the weakening of the obligatory rituals, there has been a shift in obligatory rituals, which is very meaningful, to with simplified ritual called "yasinan".

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