

# DISSEMINATION OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION FOR THE MILLENNIAL GENERATION IN THE JENDRAL SUDIRMAN MOSQUE YOGYAKARTA

**Abd. Aziz Faiz**

*Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta  
Jl. Marsda Adisucipto, Yogyakarta  
email: Abd.faiz@uin-suka.ac.id*

**M Mujibuddin**

*Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta  
Jl. Marsda Adisucipto, Yogyakarta  
email: Mujibuddin79@gmail.com*

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## Abstract

*The mosque is a religious institution with two functions: a place of worship and the formation of religious awareness (education). The role is also found in the Jendral Sudirman Mosque (MJS), which functions as a place of worship and for forming religious awareness. The construction of religious understanding at MJS is dynamic. In the 1980s, MJS was known as a place of indoctrination for Salafi-jihadi views, while in the 2010s, it was known as a cultural mosque. The change from an Islamic mosque to a cultural mosque underwent a long process. This study aims to analyze the role of agents in providing change while also forming an awareness of local culture-based religious moderation in the millennial generation. This study uses observation and interviews to find data. This study uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction to analyze an agent's role in shaping a mosque's identity. This research found three things: First, the transformation of the MJS from an Islamic mosque to a culture-moderate mosque occurred because of the accumulation of agent capital at stake in the mosque arena and formed a new habitual space. Second, MJS is a discursive space that leads to the dissemination of local culture-based religious moderation with contextualization patterns between Islam, culture, and modernity. Third, mosque-based moderation is disseminated using popular language styles and humour to make it easier for congregations to understand the material. This study concludes that the agent has an essential role in determining the identity of the mosque.*

**Keywords:** mosque, religious moderation, millennial generation

## INTRODUCTION

**Q**uraish Shihab and Ali Al-Jumbulati said that the mosque functions as a place of worship and for forming religious awareness (education) (Al-Jumbulati, 2002; Shihab, 1996). The mosque becomes vital for forming religious awareness in urban spaces. This awareness began with the congregation's participation in various kinds of programs other than congregational prayers held by the mosque, such as thematic lectures, recitation of the book, recitation of fiqh, and various other recitations. However, there is a unique way held by a mosque in Yogyakarta to form

religious awareness through culture. The mosque that uses this cultural strategy is the Jendral Sudirman Mosque, more commonly known as MJS. This study aims to analyze the cultural strategy of MJS concerning the dissemination of religious moderation through prayer rooms in the city's heart.

Within the urban space of Yogyakarta, the mosque as a centre for various kinds of Islamic movements, both political and apolitical, has existed for a long time. The NII and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir movement networks still exist today. If we trace it further back, Noorhaidi Hassan's research on the FKAWJ and Laskar Jihad movements began with halaqah studies at mosques around UGM. One

of the central figures in spreading the idea of Islamism is Irfan S. Awwas, chairman of the Mosque Youth Coordinating Board (Hasan, 2008, p. 40). He is an NII member and part of the Wahhabi theological purification movement in Yogyakarta. Through the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII) network, Irfan S. Awwas formed new cells to create a purification movement around Pogung UGM Yogyakarta. Although this purification movement was split between political and apolitical Salafis, both are still Salafi in character.

Several mosques have a Salafi-puritan style in Yogyakarta, namely the Pogung Raya and the Pogung Dalangan mosques. Most Ustadz who gave lectures at the two mosques came from the al-Atsari Islamic Education Foundation, often called Yayasan Pendidikan Islam Al-Atsari (YPIA). Apart from deploying ustadz to several mosques, this foundation also has an Islamic educational institution for students who wish to study Islam. This foundation is in Pogung Rejo, Sinduadi, Mlati, and Sleman Yogyakarta. The congregation from these two mosques is from the surrounding community and students (Sirait, 2020).

In the south of Yogyakarta City, a mosque is also in great demand by Muslim youths, namely the Jogokariyan Mosque. This mosque often invites popular ustadz to fill in the mosque's activity agenda, such as Ust. Abdul Somad, Ust. Hanan Attaki, Ust. Bachtiar Natsir, Ust. Adi Hidayat, and hijrah artists. The theme that is most phenomenal and attracts many visitors from young congregations is the theme of hijrah. Since Hannan Attaki first coined it in Bandung (Setia & Dilawati, 2021), the theme of hijrah is spreading faster and faster in Yogyakarta. In Jogokariyan, there have been many agendas in the form of recitation with the theme of migration. Besides Ust Hanan Attaki, other figures, such as Handy Bonny and Ust Bachtiar Nasir, were invited to discuss migration. In addition, the invited preachers also came from artists who had emigrated (hijrah). From the data collected, hijrah artists invited to tell their stories after migrating, such as Arie K., fortunately, Ust. Salman Al-Jugjawy (Sakti ex Sheila on 7), Ust. Atalarik Syah, Ricky Harun, and other migrating artists. The number of hijrah artists who recount their experiences at the Jogokariyan mosque adds to the number of

mosque visitors. Thus, da'wah activities at the Jogokariyan mosque are part of the formation of religious identity in urban spaces in Yogyakarta (Arrozy, 2020).

The role and function of the MJS mosque are no less attractive to millennials. While the mosques above offer populist lectures and programs such as hijrah, training in solemn prayers, miracles of alms, and the benefits of night prayers, the MJS provides a different program, namely *Ngaji Filsafat* and other cultural programs. *Ngaji Filsafat* congregations attending every Wednesday night fill the mosque hall and number hundreds of worshipers from various universities. The participation of millennials in the Philosophy Study Program is unique because, on the one hand, philosophy is a science that is considered difficult to understand. Still, on the other hand, the millennials who attend do not come from philosophy majors. According to some of the congregations that the researchers interviewed, their interest in the *Ngaji Filsafat* was that the material presented was easy to understand. The language and rhetoric of the speakers are considered capable of attracting so many people from across universities.

In a broader scope, MJS can renegotiate between religion and culture. The negotiations made the mosque a representation of religion on the one hand, and on the other hand, the Javanese Fiber Recitation and Philosophy Recitation programs as a cultural representation. Negotiation efforts between religion and culture are one of the four indicators launched by the Ministry of Religion, which is about accommodating local culture (Ri, 2021, p. 43). This negotiation was disseminated to Yogyakarta's millennial generation through programs such as *Ngaji Filsafat*, *Ngaji Serat Jawa*, and other cultural programs. This step is a strategic effort to provide a basis for critical thinking for the millennial generation to address and face the challenges of modernity to the existence of religion and culture.

Thus, the uniqueness of MJS needs to be raised in this study for two reasons. First, this mosque was originally a place for NII jihadist indoctrination in the 1980s but became a cultural mosque. Second, the MJS program seeks to renegotiate the relationship between religion and culture, which is currently challenging to find, especially in Yogyakarta. More specifically, this research formulates two

problems; First, how is the process of identity change from an Islamic mosque to a cultural mosque? Second, what is MJS's cultural missionary strategy for disseminating religious moderation to millennials?

### **Literature Review**

Previous researchers have conducted studies on MJS. Febrian Yazdajird Iwanebel (Iwanebel, 2019) and Dwi Adeh (Nugraha & Sunartiningsih, 2021) focus on the literacy and cultural identity of the mosque. This research has not explained the emergence of MJS cultural literacy genealogically because the focus is only on mosque recitation programs. Generally, studies on the role of mosques have been researched by the CSRC of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah (2010), which shows that there is a role for mosques behind the seeding of radical ideology in Solo and Jakarta (Komaruddin (ed), 2010). The research confirms that mosques function as places of worship and produce Islamic cadres.

Arsam studied subsequent research titled "Strategy of Da'wah Takmir Masjid in Counteracting Religious Radicalism in Banyumas" (Arsam, 2019). This research examines the strategies of four mosques in counteracting religious radicalism in Banyumas, and each mosque has a different strategy. His strategies are infiltration, cooperation with the police, rejecting violent sects, tolerance, and fostering mosque youth. The same research was also conducted by Muhammad Nur Murdan et al. (2022), who examined the role of the mosque in creating a family with a tawazun and moderate outlook (Murdan dkk., 2022). The two studies have not explicitly examined the role of mosques in shaping religious awareness in the millennial generation.

Meanwhile, studies on religious moderation in millennial generations based on local culture have been conducted by Intan Musdalifah et al. Intan Musdalifah et al. discussed the Karang Taruna youth organization as a forum for interfaith youth interaction. Social and youth activities are part of religious moderation (Musdalifah dkk., 2021). Based on this description, studies on the role of mosques as local culture-based religious moderation dissemination institutions have never been conducted by previous researchers. This research is intended to fill this deficiency while at the same time

providing new discourse on the role of mosques in cultivating local culture-based religious moderation.

### **Conceptual Framework**

Researchers will use Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction to analyze and explain. The theory of cultural reproduction develops the theories of habitus, arena, and capital. The theory of cultural reproduction explains the subject's influence and the object's influence on the social structure. In this case, MJS is the producer actors' subject and the arena's object surrounding it. There are several concepts in Bourdieu's cultural reproduction used in this study, namely arena, capital, and strategy.

Bourdieu defines the arena as a space for battles or struggles to fight over or maintain legitimacy and position. Meanwhile, habitus is a formulation to explain social practices involving social structures. Habitus is used as an element to explain the bridge between subjectivism and objectivism. Habitus is interpreted as a product of the internalization of the structure of the social world. Habitus is acquired by occupying a position in the social world for a long time (Ritzer, 2012, pp. 581–583).

Meanwhile, capital, in Bourdieu's view, is: first, economic capital relates to the means of production, materials, and money; second, social capital is correlated to the social network the subject owns concerning other parties with power; and third, cultural capital is related to formal and non-formal education, inheritance, and family. Cultural capital cannot be given away to others; fourth, symbolic capital is related to the form of achievement, status, authority, and legitimacy of an agent (Harker dkk., 2016).

The second conceptual framework used in this study is religious moderation. The Ministry of Religion, in a book published on religious moderation, states that religious moderation has some of the essential pillars, namely, moderation of thoughts, movements, and actions (Kamali, 2015); first, moderate religious thought. It is intended for moderation, the ability to dialogue and integrate text and context; second, moderation in the form of movement. Religion is revealed to humans solely to invite them to be good and prevent evil. Third, moderation in religious traditions and practices strengthening

interreligious relations with local traditions (local wisdom) is a pillar that must be supported because the two must dialogue to create new cultures. Of the four frameworks, the Ministry of Religion makes specific indicators of religious moderation, namely national commitment, tolerance, non-violence, and accommodating to local culture (Ri, 2021).

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative research method to get into the study material regarding the strategy and role of the mosque. According to Krik and Miller, "qualitative research" is a tradition in social science that fundamentally depends on human observation in its area and terminology. The object of this research is the Jendral Sudirman mosque. At the same time, research subjects will provide information about the situation and conditions of the research setting. The informants selected were takmir and mosque administrators, both those who were not active and those who were still active.

## DISCUSSION

### Habitus and Takmir Modal of Jendral Sudirman Mosque

Historically, the Jendral Sudirman mosque has had a dynamic track record. In the 1980s, this mosque was a place of indoctrination for the Islamist movement in Yogyakarta. Due to the indoctrination movement, the government suspended all mosque activities (Solahudin, 2011). In the 2005–2010 period, MJS was looking for a new format to shape the image or identity of the mosque. In the end, in 2013, MJS had a mosque identity based on culture for the various cultural programs, namely palace cultural practices such as *Mubeng Benteng*, *Ngaji Serat Jawa*, *Ngaji Insidental*, *Ngaji Jumat Malam*, *Ngaji Selasa Malam*, and *Ngaji Filsafat*.

The Jendral Sudirman mosque has a different program from other mosques. One of the different programs is a cultural activity in mosques and philosophical prayers. Especially for the *Ngaji Filsafat* program, this program has become the trademark of MJS. The term "philosophy" in this program refers to the academic study of philosophy, which addresses various schools of thought that are challenging to understand, and the study of

thought, which is wider than one theme. To this day, the *Ngaji Filsafat* program is still running, and many still follow this agenda. Besides the *Ngaji Filsafat* agenda, MJS's cultural identity is also visible in other agendas, such as the *Ngaji Serat Jawa* and the *Ngaji Insidental*. The *Ngaji Serat Jawa* agenda, in particular, is a recitation model that recites books from Javanese. The *Ngaji Serat Jawa* agenda is a topic for discussion because it has a uniqueness and character that is different from other mosque agendas. Ki Herman Sinung Janutama is a preacher of the *Ngaji Serat Jawa* agenda. Ki Herman has delivered several Javanese texts, including the *Science of Sunan Prawata*, *Term Jayabaya II*, and the *Topah book*.

Currently, discussions related to archipelagic treasures are rarely found in public spaces. According to Yaser Arafat, the agenda aims to re-popularize the teachings once owned by the Javanese people. According to Yaser, Ki Inung himself is considered to have a unique perspective on discussing Javanese fiber. Ki Herman is considered more neutral in studying Javanese fiber than the Dutch orientalist in understanding Javanese intellectual treasures. Yaser hopes that at least this recitation can change the general public's mindset regarding *Ngaji Serat Jawa*, which has been misunderstood by many Dutch orientalist (Arafat, 2021).

These various cultural agendas cannot be separated from the role of agents, in this case, the takmir of the MJS mosque. The agent's role determines the activity style and the mosque's identity. The construction of identity occurs because each agent has a different habitus, so agents have different capital and have implications for their political interests. In the case of MJS, the agent's role is crucial in forming the identity of the mosque. When Islamic groups controlled MJS, MJS's identity was also Islamic. The State Security (police) blocked all mosque activities because of the mosque's Islamic identity (Solahudin, 2011). Irfan S Awwas is one of the figures with Islamic views at MJS. At that time, Irfan held the position of chief editor of the *Ar Risalah* bulletin. Being part of the MJS, Irfan is not a takmir but rather an administrator outside the takmir (Irfan, 2021). This management is in control of the implementation of various mosque programs. Ultimately, the program

organized by Irfan formed the mosque's identity as a radical mosque. At certain times, state officials are aware of activities that could threaten the state. Therefore, the police quickly dispersed all activities in the mosque. The mosque is only a place of worship without any recitation or educational activities for children and is still being monitored by the police.

The symbolic capital shown by Irfan's Islamic knowledge has made the face of MJS radical. Various programs and activities of the mosque are the actualization of Irfan's capital to shape the character of the mosque as a critic of the state. One of the remaining pieces of evidence of the existence of this capital is the storage of Natsir's books and Sayyid Qutb's books on the shelves of the MJS library. Natsir's book, *Kapita Selecta*, has been studied by Irfan and will be discussed in mosque halls and in printed bulletin form.

In the 2005s, a new chapter of the MJS discourse began to emerge. The opening of mosque takmir registration opens opportunities for outsiders to become takmir. Yaser is one of the people who entered through the takmir recruitment. He is a UIN Sunan Kalijaga student who, incidentally, was a santri in Jakarta and had a fondness for Javanese culture. Even though he is from Medan, his family is from Java, so his love for Java has a significant correlation. Yaser's tendency with his Javanese culture has not been able to change anything in the MJS mosque. More than the capital owned is needed to dominate the MJS discourse.

Starting from here, the habitus of the mosque as a cultural arena begins to form. Habitus is the result of occupying a position in the social world for a long time (Bourdieu, 2010). In language, *habitus* is defined as the appearance of a typical and habitual situation. Yaser, Zamam Suyuti, and friends from Mizan are slowly looking for a unique format for mosque identity. They once scheduled a discussion event and invited some national Muslim figures such as Abu Bakar Baasyir, Salahuddin, Ust Babul Ulum from Syiah, Ust Zulkifli from Khilafatul Muslimin, and Rashid Supriyadi from HTI. They are looking for a new format to become the character of the mosque.

Yaser accumulated his capital to make the mosque trademark precisely what he wanted. Yaser's capital formed even more potent when he returned to Yogyakarta and

continued his studies in Anthropology at UGM. This environment made Yaser increasingly involved in Islamic culture, especially Javanese culture. On the other hand, this also forms Yaser's capital to be actualized through programs. Specifically, the *Ngaji Serat Jawa* agenda is one of the programs initiated by Yaser. Yaser views the mosque as a place of worship and a dynamic between religion and culture, as Walisongo practises. In this context, Yaser seeks to frame programs that lead to the dynamics of religion and culture.

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in three forms, namely in memory, in the form of culture, and objectivated in institutions (Bourdieu, 2020). Yaser had at least two cultural capitals at that time. The first is the capital embodied in Yaser Arafat's self and mind. Yaser comes from a Javanese family who migrated to Medan. His love for Javanese culture is part of his own identity. This capital cannot be delegated because it is synonymous with being an agent. He is also a graduate of Islamic Boarding Schools and Universities. Through this pesantren, Yaser studied various Islamic religious knowledge, both classical and modern. According to Gus Dur, Islamic boarding schools are a sub-culture of Indonesian society (Wahid, 2001). The second cultural capital is capital in an objectivated condition, such as cultural objects owned by an actor. In this case, Yaser often publicly represents himself by using Javanese attributes. *Blankon* is one of the typical Javanese cultural attributes Yaser uses when appearing in public at cultural events. Apart from that, the Javanese books collected by Yaser are a form of objectivated cultural capital within Yaser.

Apart from Yaser, an agent who is no less critical is Fakhruddin Faiz. Fakhruddin Faiz has been the tutor for Philosophy (Pengampu Ngaji Filsafat) since 2013. He has not been replaced to this day. Fakhruddin Faiz also comes from Java as a cultural capital embedded in him. The educational process in Islamic boarding schools and tertiary institutions increasingly strengthens this capital. Apart from cultural capital, Fakhruddin Faiz also has symbolic capital in the form of an educational degree he received from his education. These two assets will be staked in the mosque arena to maintain the cultural identity of the mosque. Arafat's

knowledge of Islamic culture in Java was expanded in the mosque arena to form a new habitual space in the mosque. The knowledge about Islamization in Java practised by Walisongo was revived by nurturing a culture that had long been extinguished. The activity of mubeng fort on Satu Suro night as a practice of the Yogyakarta palace suruoan tradition is also practised by MJS. This activity shows that the mosque is involved in the practice of Javanese palace culture.

Javanese Islamic culture is known for its acculturation and dynamic processes. In Islamization in the era of Sultan Agung, Ricklef created a particular theory compared with the previous scientist's dynamic theory, namely synthetic mysticism (M. C. Ricklefs, 2006). Whatever form the term given by previous researchers led to the breakdown of Islam practised by Java first. Yaser transmits Javanese Muslim religious practices in the Islamic Palace era in the current era. Yaser made MJS a space for the dynamics of religion and culture. For example, in architecture, mosques are built based on knowledge between Islam and the locality. The cone-shaped domes are arranged up to terraced courtyards symbolizing the harmonization process between Java and Islam at that time (MSI, 2021).

### **The Mosque as an Arena for the Dissemination of Religious Moderation**

The well-known Bourdieu formula is (capital x habitus) + arena = practice is the big formula of the theory of genetic structuralism (Harker dkk., 2016). In this formulation, the arena has an essential role in social praxis. The arena is a field for fighting over and maintaining a symbolic power in a particular arena. The mosque as a sub-arena has its logic different from other arenas, such as the literary arena. In general, the logic of the mosque arena involves knowledge of the Islamic religion possessed by an agent. The knowledge of cultural capital is accumulated in the arena to fight for and maintain symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2010).

Yaser Arafat and takmir, who have cultural capital, are practised in the mosque arena to fight for and maintain symbolic power. In the history of the MJS journey, the mosque arena has become a unique space that agents are fighting over to dominate it. Yaser and friends with cultural capital risk their

capital to fight over symbolic power based on Javanese culture. MJS uses a capital reproduction strategy to maintain what has been achieved by innovating mosque programs. For example, various innovations were carried out in the *Ngaji Filsafat* program, such as expanding popular material or themes and posting on social media. The implication is that media have widely reposted MJS social media because of Fakhruddin Faiz's popular lectures.

When Yaser has fought over his symbolic power at MJS, his next step in the mosque arena is to defend that power. One way to maintain its symbolic power is to innovate the *Ngaji Filsafat* program taught by Fakhruddin Faiz. Fakhruddin Faiz as an agent also participates in maintaining the cultural power of MJS. Fakhruddin carries out capital accumulation with a capital reproduction strategy. The reproduction of capital in the material adapts to Javanese, Islamic, and modern science treasures. All three can be mutually discussed in one meeting if the material so requires. MJS, as a discursive arena, has impacted the broader community. The capital staked in the mosque arena is developed to design a program that is innovative, populist, and easily understood by the congregation. The cultural capital owned by Fakhruddin Faiz, Yaser Arafat, and takmir is being produced again to develop more popular material. This practice has implications for the cultural identity of the Jendral Sudirman mosque, known as the cultural mosque.

The MJS *Ngaji Filsafat* agenda is a form of effort to maintain its position in the mosque arena in Yogyakarta. The *Ngaji Filsafat* program positions MJS as a discursive arena that forms public discourse. As a discursive arena, the mosque can show its political nature because it can shape the religious awareness of the congregation. The political nature of the MJS mosque has a cultural pattern, as evidenced by the harmonization process between Islam and culture. The Study of Philosophy transforms MJS into a religious laboratory for dialectician modern science, Islam, and culture. Ultimately, this formed the religious awareness of the Philosophy Congregational Recitation Congregation.

MJS is not the first mosque to make the mosque a space for discourse that examines not only religious issues but also the culture of

the surrounding community. From the beginning, the mosques built by Demak and Mataram Islam were based on the process of harmonization of Islam and locality (Woodward, 2004). The *Masjid Gede Kauman* in the West of North Alun-Alun symbolizes how Islam and locality are integrated into the mosque building. On the one hand, a mosque is a place of worship. On the other hand, the Kauman mosque is also a place for Muslims to create their creativity. These two practices are symbolized in practices such as *sekatenan*. This integration shows that the mosque is a cultural arena that functions as a discursive arena that discusses issues of Islam and local traditions.

In the current contemporary era, the mosque takes on the same role but in a different form. Mosques in the modern era are discursive arenas that bring together local identity, globalization, and Islam. MJS, as a discursive arena, has a role as a laboratory to study the suitability of modern science applied in Javanese society in general, especially for the millennial generation. So, in this arena, what Ricklef said is true that Islamization in Java will never end (M. Ricklefs, 2013, pp. 10–15). The mosque is the leading actor in a dialectical space between Islam, locality, and modernity. In the Demak and Mataram Islamic eras, mosque architects represented the knowledge of that time, but in the present era, the knowledge of mosques is represented through these three treasures. In the modern era, people are connected to the outside world. The era of globalization has turned villages into cities and vice versa (Marshall, 1962). Thus, knowledge is easier to find and learn, especially for millennials.

Making the mosque a religious discursive arena is essential during the easy search for knowledge. Various knowledge from Islam, Java, and Western philosophy can be studied in this arena. As a religious discursive, the mosque is a new method of harmonization between culture and Islam. This harmonization continues the *walisongo* da'wah model, which cannot replace the da'wah method with local nuances (Sutirso, 2009). This role still functions in the current era because it aims to form a knowledgeable and cultured congregation. The role of the mosque as a discursive arena was also discovered by Reddad Erguig, who researched mosques in Morocco. He found that mosques in Morocco

are not only used as neutral places of worship but as arenas to promote views of Islamic moderatism (Erguig, 2017). In Morocco, the mosque is a place to strengthen religious literacy. The state or local government takes a role in providing textbooks that are taught to the congregation. The textbook's content is about women, the Koran, and tolerance. Everything is taught outside of worship time to children to women.

In Indonesia, the mosque as a discursive arena has existed since the early arrival of Islam to today. The mosque appears not only as a place of worship but also displays the ideology of each sect. For example, mosques built by NU and Muhammadiyah members have different styles, both in terms of architecture and in terms of practice. Before Indonesia's independence, the identification of NU or Muhammadiyah mosques could be seen from the presence or absence of a drum in the mosque's courtyard. *Bedug* is a sign that the diversity of NU is traditional, while those who do not use it are modernists (Noer, 1996).

In its development, the mosque became an Islamic religious, educational institution that taught about religious jurisprudence and other sciences. According to Moh, children's educational institutions, commonly known as Educational Institution for Childrens (TPA), and adult recitations are part of the learning in mosques. Roqib, there are several reasons why the mosque is a proper place to study religion. First, the mosque is a sterile place for polytheism compared to other places. Second, the mosque is open to various races, ethnic groups, and social classes. Third, in the mosque, there is a process of integrating faith, knowledge, and charity and rejecting the dichotomy of knowledge and materialistic attitudes. Fourth, strengthening brotherhood, unity, and love between people. Fifth, it strengthens personality integrity, patience, and courage (Roqib, 2009).

Mosques as an arena for learning about political Islam in the current era are still commonly found in Indonesia. The cases in Jakarta and Solo, as research from PPIM Jakarta, found that mosques are spaces for indoctrinating ideas that lead to political Islam. The ideas and ideas differ from the concept of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, especially Pancasila (Komaruddin (ed), 2010). Zulfan Taufik found that the mosque in Bekasi is an arena of contestation to fight over the

power of God's house. Invited lecturers are seen as spreading radical understandings to the congregation (Taufik, 2018). From this, it can be concluded that mosques and agents are different. The mosque is a neutral space that anyone with a specific ideology can enter. If the ideology of the taker or the preacher leads to Islamism, then the mosque discourse is not far from political issues.

### **Moderation Among the Millennial Generation in Yogyakarta**

One indicator of religious moderation from the Ministry of Religious Affairs is accommodating towards local culture. MJS translates the idea of culture-based religious moderation by strengthening literacy for young people. Literacy strengthening was a *Ngaji Filsafat* agenda with material submitted to Fakhruddin Faiz. Three major themes are discussed: the Archipelago (Kenusantara/Jawa), Philosophy, and Islamic thought. The three themes are further broken down into sub-themes depending on what part will be studied, such as the ethical and moral themes in Islam and Western philosophy. Sometimes each theme is discussed in secret or tucked into a particular theme, as explained above.

Almost all of them unquestionably come from youth groups across universities. Although there are some from older people, the numbers are insignificant. Some congregations reciting philosophy came from UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta State University (UNY), Indonesian Arts Institute (ISI), and other campuses. The taker provided coffee and tea drinks to accompany the congregation to listen to Fakhruddin Faiz's lectures. The congregation listened to the explanation carefully and occasionally took notes if the explanation was considered necessary. There is no difference between non-Muslims and Muslims; anyone may join the *Ngaji Filsafat* agenda. There is no spatial differentiation between those who are non-Muslims and Muslims. All mixed into one, sitting cross-legged while enjoying coffee and tea.

This practice makes young people aware that the mosque can be a non-dichotomous place to study science. So far, philosophy has been regarded as a misguided and misleading science. However, philosophy is studied at the General Sudirman mosque to find the compatibility between Islamic scholarship and

archipelagic sciences. This awareness only partially justifies other people's views that young people can take. With easy-to-understand explanations, inserting moderate signs makes their understanding of specific themes more open. The younger generation is not easily trapped in scientific dichotomization because mosques are neutral places to learn anything.

Forming a moderate youth personality based on local culture by strengthening literacy is a new form of disseminating religious moderation. This reproduction strategy follows what the Ministry of Religious Affairs means regarding religious moderation based on local culture. What is meant by local here is not only in the old local cultural sense. However, the local is also meant to be the current or temporary daily culture. So, the contextualization of Islam, culture, and locality is a part of the process of Islamization.

The millennial generation's interest in Fakhruddin Faiz's philosophical recitation must be distinct from the method or method of delivery. Fakhruddin Faiz delivered hefty philosophical material in a language easily understood by young people. The dictions chosen are the prevalent language in the daily life of the younger generation. When Fakhruddin Faiz explained the theme of minimalism, the diction choice was easy for the millennial generation to understand because it used everyday and popular language.

"Sometimes we get emotional seeing things we do not use anymore. This item has a history and memories that are hard to forget. In the end, it all piled up. All items must have memories, so it would be a shame if you want to throw them away. A person's affection for that object results in accumulating useless items. A minimalist understands which items are maintained and which are not maintained." (Ngaji Filsafat on Minimalisme, 2022)

In popular culture material, part of modern knowledge, Fakhruddin Faiz explains in a language close to the younger generation's daily life. The explanation also gives examples of cultural activities close to the younger generation's daily lives and past activities regarding culture. Fakhruddin Faiz explains:

“Talking about cultural-capital theory. In the past, the trustees made extraordinary use of cultural capital theory. They can enter high culture or low culture to spread religion. They can compose noble stories through wayang; they can also compose children's songs. That is high culture and low culture too. Both are cultural capital, but one is high and low. Usually, the noble ones who are high are not arbitrary; you have to have capital and practice. The royal family may be able to afford it, and the lowly ones cannot. Then the lowly make their match” (Ngaji Filsafat on Popular Culture John Storey, 31/08/2022)

From the presentation above, Fakhruddin Faiz's explanation of popular culture is exemplified by the story of walisongo in preaching. The walisongo preaching was inserted with the aim of the younger generation also knowing how Islamization was during the walisongo era. The use of cultural capital theory explains the role of walisongo as cultural agents and scholars who spread Islam. With an analysis that utilizes everyday life, the younger generation can easily understand what pop culture is all about and how to apply it.

The younger generation prefers Fakhruddin Faiz's populist style of language and rhetoric. With this rhetorical style, Fakhruddin Faiz is increasingly known to the public, and the enthusiasm of the younger generation in listening to philosophy lectures every Wednesday night at MJS is increasing. The congregation not only filled the room in the mosque but also spread mats in the courtyard of the mosque. The populist rhetoric has impacted increasing visitors to the Philosophy Prayer.

Fakhruddin Faiz's explanation above also shows how knowledge of the two is dialectical. Philosophical knowledge is taken with the pop culture theme of John Storey and, conversely, the knowledge of Islamic culture practised by Walisongo. These two forms of knowledge are presented in one moment using populist language to facilitate the younger generation's understanding of John Storey's pop culture knowledge and Walisongo's cultural practices. Apart from using popular language, Fakhruddin Faiz also uses a humorous style close to the younger

generation's daily life. When explaining the theme of Minimalism, Fakhruddin Faiz explained.

“Yesterday, the motorbike was an old motorbike from the 70s. You put it in front of your boarding house, you didn't worry, you didn't get stressed. The thief thinks twice if he wants to steal your motorbike. Items like that are not worth the risk it takes. But if your new motorbike is expensive, then putting it outside will make you worry about whether something is bumping or not. If you ride it carefully as long as you don't get to a scratch, it's a lot of stress. So, the less (ownership of goods), the more comfortable and more independent.” (Ngaji Filsafat on Popular Culture John Storey, 31/08/2022)

From this explanation, the congregation's laughter was greeted when humorous nuances satirized the daily life of the younger generation by Fakhruddin Faiz. Packaging with humorous language does not leave the essence of the message conveyed. In the last sentence, the quote above shows that the message conveyed by the theme of minimalism of them has a few things that can be useful so that life can feel more comfortable and independent. The message about minimalist life is conveyed through a humorous and popular language style close to the younger generation's lives. Using popular language style and humour can maximize the contents of the message conveyed to the congregation. The younger generation's understanding of the material will be easier to accept in humorous and popular language. The delivery style also shows that humorous and popular language styles have value constructions related to the knowledge or material presented in the study. This style of language is characteristic of Fakhruddin Faiz in conveying Koran materials, whether those with Islamic, archipelagic, or philosophical themes.

The passages above also show the value of religious moderation in the *Ngaji Filsafat* program. There are three forms of religious moderation value content in the *Ngaji Filsafat* program. First, Fakhruddin Faiz uses the *bandongan* method, similar to Islamic boarding schools in Java. One of the

characteristics of the *bandongan* method is that it is carried out simultaneously, the material is handed over to the tutor, and there are no questions and answers (Dhofier, 2011). Second is contextualizing material with the reality of life today, both from Islamic and philosophical material. Islamic values are contextualized with contemporary culture and old Javanese culture. Third, there is no scientific dichotomization in the material presented to the congregation. The theme of local culture-based religious moderation is translated as strengthening local culture-based literacy. Popular language, humour, and lecture methods are forms of local culture, Fakhruddin Faiz's strategy for delivering material. With such a method, no matter how heavy, the millennial generation will quickly understand the philosophical material presented. Thus, such a dissemination model can form a moderate young generation.

## CLOSING

Mosques have an essential role in disseminating religious moderation based on local culture. The Jendral Sudirman Mosque has been transformed from an Islamic mosque to a culture-based one. This result cannot be separated from the capital accumulation of agents at stake in the mosque arena. The Takmir and recitation performers have cultural and symbolic capital to bet on in the mosque arena. Cultural capital is obtained from the scope of Javanese families and Islamic boarding schools, while symbolic capital is education and a career as a lecturer. The capital is at stake by forming a new habitual space through the *Ngaji Filsafat* program.

The *Ngaji Filsafat* Program makes the mosque a discursive arena because there is a process of dissemination of local culture-based religious moderation. When presenting philosophical material, Fakhruddin Faiz's role as an agent with cultural and symbolic capital interjects archipelago and Islamic treasures. This step was taken to negotiate between Islam, philosophy, and the archipelago in the current context. In practice, Fakhruddin Faiz uses humorous rhetoric and an easy-to-understand language style in conveying his material. With this style, the Philosophy Study can attract the masses from the millennial generation to participate in the program. This discursive practice shows that the mosque has

a role as a discursive arena for disseminating local culture-based religious moderation through the *Ngaji Filsafat* program. At the same time, this effort emphasizes that MJS has an educational role and efforts to form religious awareness based on local culture for the millennial generation.

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