The Field of Cultural Production among Religious Community in Higher Education Institution

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Abstract

The utilization practices of houses of worship in Benteng Pancasila Area of Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS) Surakarta can be seen as a field of cultural production by religious communities in an educational environment. This study aims to discover: how houses of worship on UNS Benteng Pancasila are utilized; how agents use capital to shape cultural production; and what social impacts are created. By applying a qualitative method with a case study as an approach, this study found that: the successfully constructed habitus leads to socio-cultural religious practices with academic nature; agents instill values through narratives using cultural, social, and symbolic capital and; the social impacts include inter-religious group integration, but the interaction within it is still limited. In this case, it was revealed that the social relations formed from cultural production are still limited on the symbolic level.

Praktik pemanfaatan rumah ibadah di Kawasan Benteng Pancasila Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS) Surakarta dapat dipandang sebagai arena produksi kultural bagi masyarakat agama di lingkungan pendidikan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui: bagaimana bentuk-bentuk praktik pemanfaatan rumah ibadah di kawasan Benteng Pancasila UNS; bagaimana agen menggunakan modal dalam proses produksi budaya; dan apa dampak sosial yang tercipta dari proses tersebut. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dan pendekatan studi kasus, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa bahwa: habitus yang berhasil dikonstruksikan tersebut mengarah pada bentuk praktik budaya sosial keagamaan yang secara umum bersifat akademik; agen berperan dalam penanaman nilai melalui narasi tertentu dengan modal budaya, modal sosial, dan modal simbolik; dampak sosialnya berupa integrasi kelompok antar-umat beragama, namun interaksi didalamnya masih terbatas. Dalam hal ini, tampak bahwa relasi sosial yang terbentuk dari produksi kultural dalam arena tersebut masih sebatas pada ranah simbolik.

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Introduction

The utilization of houses of worship in Benteng Pancasila area of Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS) can be seen as fields of cultural production by religious communities in an educational environment. The cultural production in the educational environment become possible because of the opportunity given by campus. Universitas Sebelas Maret is one of the higher education institutions in Indonesia having the area with the complete houses of worship within campus surrounding (Pribadi 2020; Sunaryo 2019). This university is not the only one having the area of houses of worship. Other universities also built such an area of integrated houses of worship This effort will be followed by other universities in Indonesia (Hariani 2022; Nugroho 2022). Minister of Religious Affairs of Indonesia stated that the building of houses of worship area in Higher Education is a means of interfaith communication and character education for the students (Khoeron 2022). In this integrated area of the house of worship, it is possible for religious practices to be built in a religious atmosphere in a specific cultural context. The hierarchically managed area of the house of worship also allows the formation of social formations as well as cultural production in a special sense. This process is carried out by the relationship between religious groups as a community in the context of an integrated house of worship. This is what Bourdieu stated as the relationship between agents in each field (Bourdieu 1993).

Previous research on field of cultural production can be clustered into 1) literary works as objects of cultural (Ginting 2019; Nur 2021) 2) cultural production practices carried out in the literary activities (Nilofar 2020), and 3) deconstruction of habitus, capital, and field elements in a literary work (Jatmiko and

Abdullah 2021). Other scopes of study are cultural production in the domestic sphere, i.e., the households (Atmaja 2014), and the public sphere, such as the professional world and the industry (Linda 2019; Reinhart 2017)

Research focusing on the religious sphere is limited. Among the few, research in the United States (US) examines religious activities carried out by two religious organizations (Bok 2020), indicating a prospect of cooperation rooted in capital ownership. Another research reviews religion as a field of cultural production (Krotofil et al. 2021), for example, how changes in religious practices resulting from conversion factors spur cultural production. The findings show that the old habitus is not completely lost but forms a dialectic with the new. In other words, persistence and transformation can occur in the religious habitus' conversion process (Nur 2021). Previous studies have also shown that the process of cultural production across domains and cases is inseparable from the fields, the habitus, the agents' roles, and the available capital (Bok 2020; Jatmiko and Abdullah 2021; Krotofil et al. 2021; Linda 2019; Reinhart 2017).

Houses of worship in Benteng Pancasila area of Universitas Sebelas Maret are built in a complex in the rear part of the campus, consisting of the houses worship of official religions in Indonesia: mosque (Islam), church (Christianity), monastery (Buddhism), temple (Hindu), and pagoda (Confucius). The juxtaposition highlights the religious symbols and reinforces the spirit of unity in diversity. Of course, the purpose of the construction is to provide worship facilities to the different religious communities (see Figure 1 to 6).

The novelty of this research lies in the application of the theory of cultural field in the context of houses of worship of six religions

located in one complex in an educational environment, higher education institution. Past research on cultural production in socio-religious contexts has not covered a locus with various research objects like this. This research aims to answer the following questions: 1) how houses of worship in Benteng Pancasila Universitas Sebelas Maret are utilized, 2) how agents use capital to shape cultural production, and 3) what social impacts are created.

This research employs a qualitative method with a case study (Creswell 2014). The focus of research emerges from contemporary pheno-mena, with little control from researchers. The case study was selected purposively, with the research subjects consisting of religious com-munities or users of the houses of worship, including students affiliated with religious organ-izations, administrators or builders, religious lecturers, and religious leaders. They were considered knowledgeable informants about the topic of study.

The data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation, validated using triangulation. Bourdieu's field of cultural production theory became the framework of the analysis (Bourdieu 1993). The three basic assumptions in this research are 1) the utilization of houses of worship in the Benteng Pancasila area of Universitas Sebelas maret is different from other houses of worship; 2) the agents with existing capital play a key role in the process of cultural production; 3) the social impact is the interactions that form symbolic inter-religion social relations.

Houses of Worship Utilization

The research informants are the houses of worship's congregants as the central agents of religious practices, including the houses of worship's administrators, the heads of the students' religious organizations, religion lecturers, and others. Some informants stated that the houses of worship on campus, such as the temple and the church, are used for academic activities, such as discussions and religious lectures.

The appointment of agents to lead and administer activities at the houses of worship, such as speakers and religious leaders, is done internally by the management. However, for academic matters such as religious lectures, the appointment must be officially approved by the university. Below are some expressions of some informants related to the leaders of the activities in the houses of worship:

> "For religious lecturers, they come directly from the university" (Dewa, 21 years old, Head of the KMHD UNS for 2019/2020, 26 February 2020).

Pertaining the unavailability of a lecture of certain religion in the campus, these are the expression of the informant related to the organization in the house of worship of Buddhism:

> "… because there are some Buddhist stu-dents, the religious courses are mandatory. Yes, because there are demands for the course, and it is mandatory for the campus to appoint a Buddhist lecturer, so we carry it out at this monastery" (Sujiono, Lecturer of Buddhism UNS, 13 March 2020).

> "There is a decree, so the university contacted the Indonesian Hindu Organi-zation (PHDI) for religion lectures. Usually the class is scheduled here (the temple)" (Ida Bagus, Head of KMHD Period 2016, 15 March 2020).

Thus, the campus conducts networking with existing religious organizations. If there are no certain religious leaders on campus, the campus asks for assistance from that organization to provide guidance to students. There is no reason that students do not get religious guidance.

Figure 1
Inauguration of UNS Pelopor and Benteng Pancasila, Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta,
12 March 2020 (Source: Personal Documentation)

The house of worship is also the center of activities carried out by religious student organizations. However, these students also have other places for their activities in accordance with their groups or organizations. This factor also impacts the use of the houses of worship on campus. The description of the condition of each house of worship is presented in Table 1.

It can be concluded that some houses of worship on campus, such as the temple, monastery, and churches, mainly carry out religious activities. Meanwhile, other houses of worship become a center of community movement. Differences in sects or denominations become the consideration not to perform core religious rituals together. These findings show that the differences in houses of worship situations are due to inherent religious characteristics. It results in adaptation and the kinds of activity conducted at the houses of worship.

Some rituals are not held in the houses of worship on campus. For example, the churches do not serve baptism and holy communion. The campus monastery does not provide collective services due to differences in chambers or sects and the spaces are utilized for both religious and non-religious activities.

> "Our monastery, actually, this room is called Dhamasala or Dharmasala, a holy place that is only for worship. But for now, because there is no other place, we eat here, drink, do activities, discuss, maybe practice singing, dance here, all of them. Actually, we need another room for activities" (Romo Lilik, 56 years old, UNS Vihara Manager, 19 February 2020).

Table 1
The condition of the houses of worship

No.	Worship House	Finding
1	Mosque	• There were some religious student organizations with different focuses and objectives • Large organizational structure and relatively well-managed • The transparency of religious activities conducted on campus is supported by the student organizations' social media and the mosque management' (*takmir masjid)* social media. • No cooperation with external institutions
2	Christian Church	• No sects within the organization • The Christian Student Organization or *Persekutuan Mahasiswa Kristen* (PMK) follows the principle of non-denominational, which means that the worships are not centered around a certain sect (in general). • The worship is not led by one person but by a 'collaborative system' • Play "praise" songs and instruments to create a vigorous and expressive atmosphere, referred to as semi charismatic or charismatic style • Associated with Gamalliel Training Center or *Sekolah Tinggi Teologi* (STT) Gamalliel due to the historical closeness (because many of its members are alumni of PMK UNS), although no institutional cooperation is recorded
3	Catholic Church	• No sects within the organization • All worship and spiritual worship are structured (with guidelines) • Administered by the the priest' students from *Pastoral Mahasiswa* (Parmas) or student pastoral, the party that ganthers and organizes KMK (*Keluarga Mahasiswa Katolik*) in Solo, including KMK UNS
4	Pagoda	• The Pagoda is for Confucius's followers • No sect within the organization • Under the patronage of the Indonesian Confucius Religion Chamber
5	Temple	• Historically, the Hindu religion has some sects. However, there is no sect difference between students or communities at the campus's temple. • Following five basic value principles, "PancaSradha" • Under the patronage of *Pharisadhe Hindu Dharma Indonesia* (PHDI) • Adhering to Hindu communities coordinated by Banjar Solo Timur • Oriented to Balinese Hindu, which can be seen from the organization, the temple architecture, concept of patron, uniform, and media supporting worship
6	Monastery	• In Buddhism, there are many sects (chambers). But the largest mainstream sects are Theravada and Mahayana • There are two sects in Buddha communities at the campus' monastery, with the majority adhering to Theravada • Never performed collective worships or services at the campus' monastery due to different chambers or sects • Activities include discussion, religion lecture for the first-year students, and meditation every Wednesday evening • Having a connection with external monasteries

Source: Primary Data

The findings highlight differences in religious practices and how the houses of worship on campus function differently from regular houses of worship. Aside from the agents, the specific situations and conditions, such as the spatial layout, also make a difference. Religious groups, as the main agents, contribute considerably to the practice of utilizing houses of worship. Each agent has roles in some portions and areas, but all of them are connected in formal coordination, such as the forum for the administrators or builders. It can also be concluded that the concept of habitus by Bourdieu cannot be separated from the cultural production process in a field. Like lifestyle, habitus represents '*game logic*' that can be seen from the practices reflecting a group's tastes, beliefs, and opinions (Bourdieu 2012).

The activities at the houses of worship are not only motivated by religious values and dogmas but also educational vision, such as skill development through religious activities with the fellowship spirit. These activities are open for students with the same or different religions within the houses of worship complex. The motivation and objective of the activities will affect the practices within the house of worship, which then shape the habitus.

The academic activities characterize the houses of worship differently from most houses outside of the campus. The utilization is different because of some factors: the challenges, the agents, the mass quantity, and the religious understanding. This finding indicates that the structures and practices in cultural production are related to many factors and the knowledge of the agents that composes them. Lowe and Tapachai (2021), stated that the habitus created in the field is driven by cultural knowledge absorbed and understood in symbolism and rituals, communicated indirectly through analogical reasoning, narration, and embodied gesture.

Bourdieu (1993) explains that certain social condition's structure habitus. This structured disposition also functions as the framework to produce and shape individuals' perceptions and representations, thereby becoming structuring structures. Therefore, Bourdieu began by identifying important issues resulting from the development of habitus that cannot be separated from structure and agency in any given locale (Fatmawati 2020). It is noteworthy that although habitus is born from a certain social condition, it can be transferred to other social conditions by an agent who takes on a role and reacts specifically with a certain '*sense of practice*' (Bourdieu 1993). Habitus is pre-conscious in nature because it builds more on the unconscious and unintentional spontaneity, but it is not a mechanical movement without historical background at all. Habitus is regular and patterned in nature but is not subjection to certain regulations (Harker, Mahar, and Wilkes 1990).

The utilization of the houses of worship in the campus' complex confirms this notion. The educational institution has the power and authority to create a basic culture setting, discretionarily, in this case, the placement of houses of worship. Located adjacent to each other in a complex provides an opportunity for interaction between religious groups. This aligns with specific narratives of Benteng Pancasila as a 'pioneering campus' (*Kampus Pelopor dan Benteng Pancasila).* It underpins the activities conducted on campus areas and creates the social identities of individual groups (the religious groups). The narrative as a pioneer of unity in diversity manifests in religious practices concretely.

These findings are as underlined by Soro (2021), that the cultural field is built through certain utterances and narratives that become symbolic capital resources describing the specific positions and norms to be built in that field. The awareness of campus communities about the diverse environment stimulates the construction of understanding about the spirit of harmony in religious diversity.

The Roles of Agents in Shaping the Atmosphere of Religious Practices

The religious practice of utilizing houses of worship is also activated by agents: the individual actors, groups, or institutions. According to Bourdieu (1993), agents contribute actively to the construction of values using their capital that can affect the preexisting habitus and change it or create a new one.

The differences are not only interreligion but also the existing groups within the religious groups. In the context of intra-religious differences, respect and appreciation between groups are maintained through collaboration, cooperation, and agreement to find common ground to facilitate activities. This is attributable to the role of agents in each house of worship.

"… So, the term oikumene, meaning we unite, is taken generally not leaning to a certain denomination. And the important point is not violating guidelines, which is Bible" (Efi, 46 years old, Lecturer of Christian Religion Education FKIP UNS, 28 February 2020).

"If there is a bhikkhu from Theravada, we can accept him if the opportunity arises. There was a bhikkhu from Majrayana some time ago. We can accept enlightenment and positive values. Sometimes, a bhikkhu from Mahayana also comes, and we welcome him. We find common ground and adapt to it while promoting tolerance" (Romo Lilik, 56 years old, UNS Vihara Manager, 19 February 2020).

Figure 2
Religious activities at Nurul Huda Mosque, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta
(Source: Personal Documentation)

Figure 3
Religious activities at Pura Bhuana Agung Saraswati, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta
(Source: Personal Documentation)

In terms of physical presence, the houses of worship in the complex are formally administered, with an office for services for registration to religious organizations and activity proposal submission, and other supports. There is also a maintenance building for damage repair and support for cleaning services. These are managed by the university and represented by Student Affairs Division. Meanwhile, for the 'ritualism' and 'spiritualism' matters, the communities take charge with guidance from the patrons.

The findings suggest that there are two main agents: the institutional (campus) and religious groups. The campus agent provides facilities, i.e.,

cultural fields, in the form of houses of worship. Meanwhile, the religious group places the 'basic cultural setting' in the form of narratives, messages, and objectives. However, in practice, the campus transfers power and gives space for individual religious people to coordinate, govern, and perform religious activities. This can be seen from the existence of certain groups or organizations that regulate and coordinate the implementation of activities in the houses of worship. Both the educational and religious institutions are officially and structurally authorized as patrons of the communities or users. Nigam, Sackett, and Golden (2022), stated that an agent's social position has the

Figure 4
Religious Activities at Campus Church, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta
(Source: Personal Documentation)

power to change a structure. This power is rooted in the agent's social position in the field but is also built through social interaction.

Each house of worship has a main group or party organizing and facilitating the communities to conduct activities that support relationship establishment. This difference in the practice of utilizing houses of worship between the communities indicates that the process runs naturally according to the communities' situations and needs without the centralized structural organization managed by the university.

Agents' involvement in the field and the closeness built among the members of communities, both inter- and intra-communities, indicate that habitus can build not on subjection to certain rules but on situations arising from certain historical and social backgrounds. The group dynamics are different depending on the historical and social backgrounds, and objectives or needs.

The university provides the cultural fields and agents for developing narratives aligned with the spirit and objective of the educational institution. Meanwhile, the religious groups, including students' religious organizations and

the administrators of houses of worship, become agents playing a substantive part in the following stages. They fill the cultural field with the manifestation of religious values, the utilization of houses of worship for various activities, and community engagement. Thus, it can be concluded that the institutional and religious groups play different roles as agents.

Aside from power, authority, and access, the institutional and religious groups in the campus environment build the religious social system, project values, and develop by utilizing certain capital. Capital in Bourdieu's framework is used in broader systems of exchanges in complex networks and various fields (Grenfell 2010). An agent's position and role are determined by the relative weight of the capital ownership. Bourdieu (1993) pointed out four types of capital affecting the cultural and social production process: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. In practice, not all capitals contribute to the same extent because each domain needs different capitals.

In the case of houses of worship as a cultural field, the capital brought by agents that play an important role in the habitus establishment is as follows. The first is symbolic capital, i.e., the

houses of worship's building and narratives as '*a pioneering campus and the fortress of Pancasila'.* This capital is a symbol generating certain perceptions, building the group's pride and prestige. The second is cultural capital, or the accumulation of knowledge, manifested in the presence of important agents such as religious groups, religious leaders, and religion studies lecturers, who are capable of developing and teaching certain values. The third is social capital which can be manifested in inter-individual or inter-group relations. In the utilization of houses of worship, social capital may come from a religious group, i.e., an agent in the field, because it has a relationship with the existing communities, be it professional or historical. The fourth is the economic capital. The university as an institution provides materials (economic capital) needed by religious groups to conduct religious practices through a formal channel, such as proposal submission.

Based on these findings, it can be concluded that the existing capital supports the agents' roles in establishing the habitus and the atmosphere of religious practices in the field. Çelik (2021), stated that educational institutions as a cultural field can be a source of habitus that can influence the formation of habitus characteristics in general.

The transparency in the houses of worship's management reflects the progressive culture. This domain is usually private and only consumed internally. The contents cover the organizational activities, discussions, or other exclusive pieces of information. However, in the practice of utilizing houses of worship on campus, these contents are shared publicly through social media.

Figure 5
Meditation Activities at Vihara Bodhisasana, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta
(Source: Personal Documentation)

Figure 6
Inauguration of Pagoda Sinar Kebajikan, Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta
(Source: Personal Documentation)

The houses of worship can also function as public facilities provided by an educational institution. This directs the actions taken by agents. They consider the values from the two positions, which then become new values approved culturally, maintained, and finally become a constant action (habitus).

Within the religious communities, there are two groups: 'the educated and 'the ordinary. For the former, understanding religious values should include citizenship and nationalism. Therefore, they can be tolerant of different sects and different religions. The latter understands religious values and symbols but does not use rational analysis, thereby they can be provoked emotionally and tend to be intolerant (Casram 2016). The campus is an educational environment; the religious communities consist of 'the educated', which becomes a capital to shape the cultural production in the fields.

Social Impact of the Cultural Production

Informants described how the interactions between religious groups in the houses of worship's complex shape the cultural production. For example, the heads of several students' religious organizations disclosed the agenda of their respective houses of worship. There were joint interfaith activities described as follows:

> "... there was an invitation to religious organization's activities in 2018 to discuss the tolerance of each religion. As far as I'm concerned, that was the only one, so far. I am an active member of the student's religious organizations" (Richard, 21 years old, Head of IKMAB 2018/2019, 21 February 2020).

> "There was an activity held by IO (International Office) about two years ago. There was also an Interfaith seminar discussing the houses of worship. Through there, we could be acquainted with other students, although briefly" (Nike, 24 years old, Head of PMKU 2019, 11 February 2020).

There has never been a conflict among users because everyone's needs and aspirations can be met by the organizations and the houses of worship management. Therefore, the feeling of respect and appreciation between religious groups is nurtured. Conscious attempts to nurture relationships are made through the joint forum. This kind of initiative arises from a personal awareness of appreciating others' differences. However, the interview data show direct interactions rarely happened between religious groups, except for the annual formal forum. That said, the observation concluded that there had been no conflict between the religious groups.

According to some studies (Adon 2018; Syamsiyah 2018), a multicultural environment will result in two potential situations: conflict and integration. The juxtaposition of houses of worship in the campus' complex seems to have led to integration between religious groups. This integration, in turn, becomes the driver of cultural production. The process can be described as follows. First, agents build the structure of cultural fields, such as the placement of houses of worship adjacent to each other. This situation makes individuals and communities do daily activities and religious practices adjacent to others, so familiarity is built on a regular basis. Second, the perception framework is created by agents in the field through cultural narratives, i.e., the unity in diversity. Third, the objective to be achieved concerns not only the promotion of religious values but also educational objectives, which affects religious practices are modeled and practiced.

The integration can be seen from the harmony among the religious communities in using the campus' worship house facilities. In addition, individual worship administrators, as important agents in the worship practices, have awareness and shared understanding of the function of the houses of worship complex as 'the fortress of Pancasila' values. This encourages the integration of religious groups and encourages harmony among the different worshipers, and nurtures the feelings of competitiveness among religious groups to be the pioneer of such a movement. They wish to be the best group according to the spirit instilled by the institution through the placement of the houses of worship.

The integration also results from conscious attempts to create or to generate concord between religious believers. For example, they conduct social humanitarian activities, dialogues, discussions, and meetings

(Normuslim 2018). However, it should be noted that the interaction established between religious groups is formal. Different religious believers or the users of houses of worship in the complex are not close socially because there is not enough 'space' for interaction and opportunity to do activities across religious communities. According to Samiyono (2017), interactions and dialogues are needed by diverse religious communities to break the majority-minority dichotomy to build a harmonious life together. In other words, agents of the majority group play an important role in motivating integration in multicultural societies (Kunst et al. 2015).

This also means that the integration created so far is still limited to formal understanding and acceptance of existing differences; hence, passive in nature. Meanwhile, the achievement of a harmonious multicultural environment needs not only passive tolerance but also active participation. According to Colvin, Fozdar, and Volet (2015; Szerląg, Urbanek, and Gandecka (2021) social relations can be built with three interaction strategies, namely attachment to certain identity identifications, intercultural dialogue, and multicultural community development. In this context, the effort to build dialogues between religious groups needs to be further improved. In other words, more efforts are needed to achieve the goal of implementing the essential values of Pancasila in terms of stronger and more active interfaith harmony and tolerance.

Conclusion

The houses of worship complex in the Benteng Pancasila area of campus display different characteristics from other places of worship outside the educational institutions.

This is due to the fact that, on campus, houses of worship play two roles: facilitating religious rituals and public interests of the educational institution members. These roles imply the involvement of different levels of religiosity, complexity, and scales in each worship house, as well as agents involved, worship intensity, and religious thoughts. These factors then influence the values and habitus seen in the religious practices constructed in them. The habitus structured and structuring in the campus houses of worship complex leads to social and religious cultural practices, which are generally consistent with the original spirit of the UNS Benteng Pancasila as an educational institution, which is academic in nature.

The houses of worship complex become a cultural field activated by the agents within. The structure of the field established is affected by capital owned by important agents, namely the institutional and religious groups. The attempts taken by agents through religious practices or narratives utilize cultural, social, and symbolic capital owned by the agents. This subsequently affects the direction and pattern of habitus created.

The social impact resulting from cultural production is the integration between religious community groups. However, the integration created is still in the domain of diversity recognition, which is passive in nature. Thus, the sociological relation existing in the field is still limited to the symbolic domain and has not tapped into the substantive domain more in-depth.

Finally, it is important to note that this research is limited in terms of the scope of the study. It only involved the houses of worship on the UNS Benteng Pancasila, so the results of this

study cannot be generalized to other places of worship. Therefore, further research can deepen this study by researching other houses of worship in other campus areas. In addition, future studies can also expand the scope of the research, which is not limited to houses of worship on campus but also in other contexts. In doing so, data that can complement the findings in greater depth can be obtained.

Acknowledgment

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