

The Appropriation of Islamic Literacy by Middle-class Muslims in Jogokariyan and Sudirman Mosques, Yogyakarta

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Abstract

Since 1980, Islamic literacy of the Sudirman Mosque, Yogyakarta has centered around jihadi ideology, while the Jogokariyan Mosque, Yogyakarta has been normative and oriented toward Islamization. Of late, the Sudirman and the Jogokariyan Mosques are taking new and different approaches to Islamic literacy. This study aims to describe the newly adopted approaches and their appropriation within the middle-class society and the urban Islamic landscape. This research is qualitative-descriptive, using post-Islamism as a theoretical concept. This study highlights two important findings. First, the Sudirman Mosque takes a progressive approach by discussing philosophy and postcolonialism and publishing reflective Islamic literature, while the Jogokariyan Mosque popularizes Islam through spiritual recreation, hijrah festivals, and publishing normative Islamic pop literature. Second, these new approaches to Islamic literacy appropriate urban characteristics and the congregations' social classes. These findings contribute to mapping new Islamic literacy patterns in Yogyakarta.

Sejak tahun 1980 literasi keislaman Masjid Sudirman Yogyakarta mengambil bentuk ideologi jihadi, sedangkan Masjid Jogokariyan Yogyakarta bercorak normatif dengan orientasi islamisasi. Dewasa ini Masjid Surdiman dan Jogokariyan mengambil bentuk literasi keislaman baru dan berbeda dari sebelumnya. Karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan menjelaskan bentuk baru literasi keislaman di dua masjid ini dan appropriasinya dengan kelas menengah dan lanskap keislaman perkotaan. Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif-deskriptif dengan menggunakan pos-islamisme sebagai konsep teoretis. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa: pertama, Masjid Sudirman mengambil bentuk progresif dengan ngaji Filsafat, post-kolonial dan penerbitan literatur keislaman reflektif, sedangkan masjid Jogokariyan mengembangkan keislaman populer melalui rekreasi rohani, festival hijrah, dan penerbitan literatur pop-islam normatif. Kedua, dua gugus literasi keislaman mengappropriasi pola-pola perkotaan dan kelas sosial jemaatnya masing-masing. Dua temuan penelitian ini memberikan signifikansi pemetaan pola-pola baru literasi keislaman yang berkembang di Yogyakarta.

Keywords: literacy; middle-class Muslims; mosque; popular; progressive

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Introduction

In the 1980s, the Sudirman Mosque in Yogyakarta played a role in building *jihadist* circles (Solahudin 2011), but it has now changed. Young people with higher levels of education join in and become mosque administrators (*takmir*). These new actors changed the mosque's Islamic discourse and literacy development landscape. Later, this mosque became famous for its literacy activities to understand Islam, such as the *Ngaji Filsafat* program (philosophy studies) (Nugraha and Sunartiningsih 2021). Meanwhile, the Jogokariyan Mosque is well known as a center for spiritual recreation (Arrozy 2018). The mosque has become increasingly attractive with the presence of prominent clerics who teaches Islam there, such as Ustad Salim A. Fillah and Ustad Abdus Shomad. The congregations of the two mosques are diverse, ranging from activists and students to urban middle-class citizens with different religious backgrounds.

Studies on Islamic literacy in urban areas have become an interest of international and national scholars. Three trends can be highlighted from the existing literature. The first focuses on different methods, such as Islamic mentoring (Basit 2016), *halaqah* (Hedi 2018), *daurah* (Kailani 2011), *liqa'* (Fuad 2020), and *mabit* (Zuhri 2016). The second focuses on ideological groups, from Jihadi, Tarbawi, Salafi, and Tahriiri to Popular Islamism (Hakim 2023; Hasan et al. 2018). The third emphasizes local aspects, such as campuses and mosques (Arrobi 2020; Errihani 2011; Setia and Dilawati 2021). Meanwhile, studies on Islamic literacy in the Sudirman and Jogokariyan Mosques are scarce. Solahudin's study (2011) focuses on the

Sudirman Mosque, which was once the headquarter of the Indonesia Islamic State (NII) movement in the 1980s. Meanwhile, studies of the Jogokariyan Mosque have examined social change (Muzaqqi and Sari 2023), management and leadership (Ghanni, Wibowo, and Saptorini 2023), and the development of mosque-based communities.

This study aims to fill the gap in Islamic literacy research by analyzing the patterns of appropriation of Islamic literacy among middle-class Muslims at the Sudirman and Jogokariyan Mosques. Unlike previous studies, this study maps the patterns of appropriation of Islamic literacy in two urban mosques. Thus, the question in this study is, what are the patterns of Islamic literacy appropriation in the two mosques?

The term 'appropriation' comes from the Latin verb *appropriare*, which means 'to make one's own' (Arya 2021; Ashley and Plesch 2002). Appropriation often deals with culture, defined as the adoption of culture from others to make it one's own (Arya 2021). This study assumes that the mosques have appropriated Islamic literacy, transformed it into a new, unique form, and adapted to Yogyakarta's social class and urban landscape. This study observes the phenomenon using Asep Bayat's concept of post-Islamism as a theoretical framework. Post-Islamism states that there has been a shift in Islamic activism—from collective ideological activism to a passive revolution emphasizing moral patterns—and a shift toward harmony between Islam and modernity (Bayat 2011).

Data collection to identify the practices of Islamic literacy appropriation in the Sudirman

and Jogokariyan Mosques was conducted from June to November 2021. The type of this research is qualitative and descriptive (Soehadha 2018). The data were collected through observations and interviews with 18 informants from both mosques. The observations were conducted to discover how literacy is practiced by looking at the backgrounds of the congregants and the books that the mosques have published and marketed to their congregants. The interviews aimed to complement the data from the observations (Abdullah 2003). They were conducted informally in Indonesian and Javanese with four mosque *takmir* (administrators) from each mosque and ten informants from the congregation. The data were analyzed to draw conclusions with the following sequence: data collection, reduction, display, and verification.

The research is based on the argument that mosques, as Islamic institutions, play an important role in shifting and transforming the Islamic literacy of middle-class society in Yogyakarta to become more diverse and dynamic. Therefore, this research aims to describe the new pattern of Islamic literacy and the consideration of social class and urban landscapes in the Sudirman and Jogokariyan Mosques. Islamic literacy and teachings are taking relatively new forms and negotiating with modernization and globalization in urban areas (Kaartinen 2021; Zuhri 2016).

The study of urban mosques and the development of their Islamic literacy programs have always been placed in a rigid and stagnant context, often associated with radical Islamic indoctrination (Al-Makassary and Gaus AF

2010; Hedi 2018; Latief 2010). Therefore, this study assumes that middle-class Islamic literacy in Sudirman and Jogokariyan Mosques is transforming and taking on new forms, appropriating the urban landscape and community background.

Overview of Islamic Literacy in the Jogokariyan and Sudirman Mosques

The Jogokariyan Mosque was constructed on 20 September 1966 and completed on 20 August 1967, inaugurated by Mr. Isman as chairman of the Yogyakarta Municipal Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership. The mosque occupies a land area of 900m², located at Jl. Jogokariyan Mantrijeron Yogyakarta. Geographically, this mosque is in the center of Yogyakarta city.

Historically, Kampung Jogokariyan has existed since the early 19th century, inhabited mostly by the Yogyakarta palace's soldiers. To reduce the population in the fort area, these soldiers and their families were moved south of the fort. Since the area is located north of the Krapyak Stage or Kandangan Menjangan, so the soldiers' residence is known as 'Kampung Jogokariyan'. The role of soldiers at the Yogyakarta Palace changed from warriors to ceremonial soldiers during Hamengkubuwono VIII. The number of members also changed from 750 to 75. As a result, many of them eventually lost their positions and jobs and became farmers (masjidjogokariyan.com).

Post-independence, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) took advantage of the economic situation of the residents and recruited them as party members. Since then, until the 1965 conflict, Jogokariyan had become

one of the PKI base areas in Yogyakarta. Culturally, Jogokariyan was also known as an Abangan area. The Jogokariyan Mosque was constructed amid the raging conflict at that time as part of the social change of the Abangan society to become a middle-class Muslim society. The Jogokariyan Mosque helped change the face of society from being prone to conflicts to developing economically and religiously (Arrozy 2018). The community was later transformed into urban middle-class Muslims, with the Jogokariyan mosque playing its agency. The religious landscape began to form, complete with patterns of Islamic literacy distinctive from other mosques.

Islamic literacy in the Jogokariyan Mosque manifests into daily, monthly, and incidental activities. The first type of activity is routine recitation in various formats and schedules. *Ngaji Shubuh* (morning recitations) was accompanied by a lecture by popular *dai* (Islamic preachers), such as Ustad Evie Effendi, Ustad Haikal Hassan, Hijrah Artist, etc. Likewise, in monthly and incidental recitations, the speakers are not only the *takmir* but also popular preachers, such as Usad Bachtiar Nasir, Ustad Ridwan Hamidi, Ustad Fathurahman Kamal, and many others. The recurrent theme in both daily and monthly recitations is hijrah.

The second is Pro-U Media Publishing and Printing. The Jogokariyan Mosque is an Islamic educational institution providing recitation programs and lectures and a publishing house with a proselytizing agenda. Some of the books published by Pro-U Media include *‘Agar Suami Menjadi Pemimpin Sejati’* (For a Husband to be a True Leader), written by Nur Hayati Pujiastuti, *‘Ayat-Ayat Sukses’* (the Verses of Success) written by Abdullah Hadrami, *‘Berani Mencintai*

Berani Bernyali Menikahi’ (Dare to Love, Date to Marry) written by Jauhar al-Zengi and many more. These titles reflect how editors and writers want to discuss an issue with an approach that attracts readers. The books also focus on the millennial generation in navigating modern culture. For example, the book by Jauhar al-Zengi indicates that many young people date but do not dare to marry. Since the target market is the millennial generation, the productivity of pro-U Media publishers depends on the segment of society.

The third program is Islamic festivals in the context of urban Islamic development. The aim is to provide guidance for Islam and raise collective Islamic awareness. The Hijrah festival is held annually during Ramadan. There is also a Bikers Jamboree, led by Ustad Jazir ASP, Ustad Handy Bonny, and Ustad Salim A. Fillah, with the theme ‘Hijrah Sharing.’ There are also movement actions, such as ‘Muslimah United’ led by Ustad Bachtiar Nasir, Ustad Hanan Attaki, Ustad Oemar Mita, Ustad Abdul Somad, and Ustad Felix Siau and a collection of other artists and *ustad* with the theme *‘Lelah berpisah Mari Berjamaah’* (Tired of Being Separated, Let’s Congregate).

In the above context, the Jogokariyan mosque presents Islamic literacy as a subject of intense conflicts between different segments of the religion and between the secular and the pious. The Islamic literacy of the Jogokariyan Mosque has formed a plural reality with multiple meanings (Bayat 2011); namely, Islam that blends in with modern urban spaces and global networks, is involved in public debates through studies, popular activities such as hijrah festivals, and popular book publishing. In brief, the Islamic literacy of the Jogokariyan Mosque

does not hesitate to take the popular genre. In this way, new actors, from artists and preachers to youth, do not hesitate to practice Islam which is in dialogue with the urban lifestyle and the Islamic identity. The Islamic literacy of this mosque can also be said to be political because it challenges urban Islamic practices, which tend to be secular (Mahmood 2003).

The Sudirman Mosque is more commonly known as the Masjid Jenderal Sudirman (MJS), located in the southern part of the Sleman district, directly opposite the city of Yogyakarta, in the center of an elite residential and industrial area (the Kolombo complex), surrounded by major universities. The establishment of the Sudirman Mosque began with the purchase of land by the *Yayasan Asrama dan Masjid* (YASAMA), the Kolombo branch, in 1961. In 1969, the construction of a *langgar* (a small mosque) began, which was later developed into a mosque. The main actors in constructing this mosque were Halim Tuwasikal, Zubair Qohari, and Adi Winata. All three lived in Kolombo and were involved in the *Syuhada* mosque activities. Halim Tuwasikal was a journalist for *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, while Zubair Qohari was a successful batik entrepreneur. Adi Winata's occupation was unknown, but all three were linked by the Muhammadiyah organization. Initially, the founders wanted to establish an Islamic center to accommodate various Islamic activities. However, this plan did not work. Instead, a mosque was built to counter the emerging Christianity identity around Kolombo, Sleman Yogyakarta.

This could be concluded from the mosque's location in a Christian area. Around the mosque are Sanata Dharma University, Atma Jaya University, and Kolese De Brito High School,

which have strong links with the Catholic religion. Sanata Dharma University has a large church and is a center of Catholic religious teachings. Historically, the Sudirman Mosque was established to halt the pace of Christianization in the Kolombo, Demangan, and Mrican areas. This movement and Islamic enthusiasm ultimately led to Islamic fundamentalism and Islamism ideology and the subsequent arrest of its leaders. However, since 1990, with the new generation of young *santri* (Islamic scholars) joining in, the mosque has changed the direction of its Islamic movement to a moderate-progressive (Iwanebel 2019) and redefined its Islamic literacy programs.

The Islamic literacy programs in the Sudirman Mosque are delivered in several formats. The first is *Ngaji Filsafat* (philosophy studies), regularly held on Wednesday evenings from 20.00 to 22.00, moderated by Fachruddin Faiz. The speaker decides the theme, so the *takmir* does not know beforehand. Speakers usually notify the *takmir* at the end of the month of the themes of the next four meetings. This means that *Ngaji Filsafat* always has a new theme at the beginning of each month. Currently, *Ngaji Filsafat* has completed 321 offline and online meetings. The themes discussed include cross-disciplinary science and figures from the West, Asia, and Indonesia (Anon n.d.).

The second is *Ngaji Tematik* (thematic studies). The speakers are not necessarily timely. The *takmir* invites a number of speakers to speak about certain topics, such as philosophy, contemporary social issues, culture, and Islamic and Indonesian issues. The topics that have been presented at Sudirman mosque include postcolonial studies by Katrin Bandel,

postcolonial Islam by Ahmad Baso, school of democracy by Danielle N Lussier, and Qur'anic studies and its historical material by Muhammad al-Fayyadl. From some of these studies, the agenda with Katrin Bandel and Muhamamd Al-Fayyadl took up most of the meetings (Anon n.d.).

The third is *Ngaji Serat Jawa* (studies of Javanese manuscripts). This is a special discussion because it has a uniqueness and character different from other mosque agendas. This study is presented by Ki Herman Sinung Janutama.

"I invited Ki Herman to recite the Javanese manuscripts because I saw that he had unique characteristics compared to the others ... Yes, Ki Herman has typical Javanese logic, so it is appropriate to ask him to recite the Javanese Manuscript. The logic differs from the Dutch or Western people reading Javanese manuscripts." (Yasser, the mosque administrator)

Several sessions on historical Javanese manuscripts that Ki Herman delivered are the history of Sunan Prawata, Jangka Jayabaya II, and Topah. The agenda is to review topics related to *Nusantara* (archipelago) rarely discussed publicly. As the program's initiator, Yaser Arafat intends to popularize this discussion of the culture that the Javanese people once owned. The aim is to change the general public's mindset about Javanese culture, which Dutch orientalist have widely misunderstood (Yaser Arafat, interview, 2021).

The fourth is Islamic literacy through book publishing. In 2016, the Sudirman mosque expanded its business through printing with the MJS Press publishing house (Wahid 2020). The first book published by MJS Press is *Filosof Juga Manusia* (2016), written by Fachruddin Faiz, a

speaker in *Ngaji Filsafat*. The second book was *Suluh Bahagia* (2016), written by students of the authorship class, followed by *Manusia Langit* (2018), *Sebelum Filsafat*, written by Fachruddin Faiz, *Senandika Yaya* (2018) by Ria Fitriani, *Anthologi Luka* (Poems Series) (2019) by Halimah Garnasih, *Keris Kang Trontong: Kumpulan Mutiara Hikmah Keseharian* (2018) by KH. Achad Chaedar Idris, *Apa Kabar Islam Kita? Esai-Esai Kaweruh Jumatan Masjid Jenderal Sudirman Yogyakarta* (2019), *Islam Jenaka Mbah Nyut: Kisah-Kisah Sesat Sang Wali Kuthuk* (2019), by Yaser Arafat, *Dunia Cinta Filsafat Kahlil Gibran* (2019) by Fachruddin Faiz, *Lintasan Perspektif (Ihwal Pemikiran dan Filsafat)* (2020), and *Pandangan Para Filosof: Catatan Santri Ngaji Filsafat* (2020) written by Ahada Ramadhana. All the books are written in a language style that is easy for readers to understand (Anon n.d.).

The Islamic literacy at the Sudirman Mosque can be considered progressive. First, the nature of the literacy material is critical, aiming to construct and formulate an urban Islamic way of thinking. The critical Islamic discourse seems to be reshaping the face of Islam with a cultural basis and rationality, which leads to universal public ethics (Alwee 2017). Second, the material is not just Islamic normativity that leads to the construction of personal piety but one with an evaluative-reflective agenda more meaningful to the Muslim community. Third, from the congregation's perspective, Islamic literacy in this mosque is pursued by Muslims and non-Muslims. In such a context, the Islamic spirit in this mosque is to guide toward more inclusive dan rational-reflective thinking. This is what Asep Bayat calls a post-Islamism project that is not anti-Islam. They practice Islam, inclusive but

not secular Islam (Bayat 2011) as Islam has become a cultural movement.

The Sudirman and Jogokariyan Mosques' Islamic Literacy Appropriation

The Jogokariyan Mosque systematically records the number of its worshippers. Their houses' locations are mapped, and the frequencies of their prayers at the mosque are recorded. In addition, their economic conditions are categorized into poor, middle, or rich (Kustini, Suhanah, and Rosidi 2018). The 2015 data recorded about 1939 worshippers in the Jogokariyan mosque, which is an increase from the census in 1999 (Kustini et al. 2018). Below is a statement by Jazir, the administration of the Jogokariyan Mosque.

"We did all this to be responsible to our congregation and to support the concept of *'memakmurkan masjid'* (visiting the mosque for various worship activities) because only people who believe in Allah and the Last Day present the mosques. Technically, there are two activities. The first is establishing congregational prayers so the mosque is always busy, meaning that it needs to organize and mobilize it. The second is paying *zakat*, which means prospering the congregation so that they become *muzakki* (people who pay zakat). That's what we do" (Jazir, the Jogokariyan administrator).

The statement above also reflects the classes in the Jogokariyan community. The Jogokariyan residents were former soldiers who became craftsmen. Over time, their economy developed. In general, the society of Jogokariyan mosque consists of professionals, business people, and laborers. The professionals include academics or university teachers, doctors, and medical personnel. The laborers consist of workers in

print and publishing businesses. However, there are also students in the congregation. They join the recitation sessions at the mosque, especially those led by popular young *ustads* who have attracted the hijrah community in Jogokariyan.

As an Islamic religious institution, the Jogokariyan Mosque has formulated and re-shaped the face and identity of the Jogokariyan people: 1) from a society synonymous with *Abangan* and the base of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) to a pious Islamic society leading a modern life, and 2) from economically marginalized communities to a middle-class Muslims practicing Islamic normativity. The success in reshaping the faces of the congregation is followed by the use of new media and new forms of Islamic literacy to spread Jogokariyan-style Islam to a wider public. The creative expansion to reach urban communities is carried out in three ways. The first uses the network of preachers and national celebrities invited to the mosque's sessions to attract the masses. The second is by holding Islamic festivals. The third is publishing popular Islamic books that contain the Islamic way of living. These three approaches are integrated into the Islamic literacy project.

The Jogokariyan mosque's Islamic literacy project, which was later included in the weekly, monthly, and incidental programs, aims to establish the standards of personal piety and promote the presence of public virtue (Mahmood 2003) in Yogyakarta. For example, the Islamic lifestyle can be revitalized through *Ngaji Shubuh* and *Ngaji Akbar*, led by national figures such as Ustad Abdus Somad, Ustad Felix Sauw, and Derry Sulaiman. These figures have excellent communication and public speaking skills. Their speeches support the transfor-

mation of public Islamic literacy as the normative themes are discussed in a fairly light everyday language. The urban middle-class society, such as entrepreneurs and pensioners, need and prefer practical religious material that applies to their daily lives. These data have shown efforts to transform urban public Islam by expanding Islamic literacy at the Jogokariyan mosque.

The trend of Islamic literacy at the Jogokariyan mosque deliberately targets young people and the urban middle class. This is not only because of the mosque's location in the city center but also because young people are considered to need an Islamic orientation to navigate their youthful desires. Likewise, the urban middle class is considered economically capable but tends to be attracted to discuss practical worldly matters. For this reason, the Jogokariyan mosque directs its Islamic literacy toward this transformation movement, such as the issue of hijrah. The hijrah campaign is meant to approach and improve people's behavior or good deeds and is oriented toward their morals and spirituality. Thus, a hijrah is a metaphorical movement focusing on self-improvement or repentance (Setia and Dilawati 2021).

The movement to transform Islamic literacy through the theme of Hijrah has been institutionalized in a festival. The festival showcases celebrities who have undergone a hijrah process, such as Arie K. Untung, Ustad Salman al-Jugjawy, Atalarik Syah, Ricky Harun, and many others. They seem enthusiastic in narrating their hijrah process using simple religious phrases. They narrate their experiences while interspersing the story with humor, laughing at their past lives to communicate the message (Heryanto and Hoesterey 2016). These

speakers are often called 'storytellers and popular preachers' (Fitri and Jayanti 2020). They were able to shift the basis of religious authority, which had previously always been in the hand of the clergy (Masud, Salvatore, and van Bruinessen 2009). The discourse on hijrah has had an impact on the larger agenda of the Jogokariyan to create an urban Muslim literacy that is both religious and modern. The hijrahfest in Ramadan with micro-celebrities (Annisa 2018) and Islamic literacy through the publication of popular Islamic books have succeeded in building a new popular style of Islamic literacy. Their success in promoting Islamic discourses has been largely due to their success in translating religious doctrines into contemporary popular language, moving away from the linguistic style of classical religious texts (Hasan et al. 2018).

New trends and culture in Islam among the middle class in Jogokariyan lead to the formation of pious Muslims (Setia and Dilawati 2021). On the one hand, hijrah artists and also the urban middle class have been mobilized by modernity, and on the other hand, circumstances have encouraged the creation of collective piety (Mahmood 2011). This is what Bayat calls a sign of post-Islamism (Bayat 2011). The youth and residents around Jogokariyan, who are socially included in the urban middle class, use modernity to strengthen their religious identity and form a new Islamic face (Heryanto and Hoesterey 2016). Thus, they remain relevant in the modern world and prevail in their religious ethics in society, which is followed by support for the development of personal piety (Hasan et al. 2018). This is because Islamic literacy in the Jogokariyan mosque is a form of a passive revolution that

reforms morality based on urban Islam and encourages individuals to be critical. This is accomplished using popular approaches, such as hijrah festivals and the writing of Islamic normative pop books.

Meanwhile, the appropriation of Islamic literacy in the Sudirman Mosque is defined using Asep Bayat's concept of passive revolution, viewing Islam as a driver of the public's value-based morality and cultural characteristics. This concept was adopted to see how Islamic literacy in the Sudirman Mosque is different from the passive revolution in Jogokariyan, which focuses on personal morality and pious yet political character. The Islamic literacy in the Sudirman Mosque seeks to impart reflective Islamic values, knowledge, and theology through culture. The culture-based Islamic literacy has two objectives. The first is changing the stigma of this mosque. It was previously associated with Islamism and rejected the harmonization between religion and culture on a cultural basis. Referring to Asep Bayat, the practices in the Sudirman Mosque can be called post-Islamism—social conditions after the experimental phase of Islamism's appeal, energy, and resources have been exhausted (Bayat 2011). In such a context, the new direction is toward progressive Islamic literacy.

The second is to include the mosque space in developing civilization that does not leave the local culture. This inauguration indirectly filled the gap in the development of Islamic cultural literacy that had long been abandoned. Therefore, at the beginning of 2012, the Sudirman Mosque compiled various literacy programs such as *Ngaji Filsafat* (philosophy studies), *Ngaji Serat Jawa*, Sufi book recitation,

and publishing books on philosophy and Islamic thoughts for the general public, activists, students, and intellectuals. The Sudirman Mosque has appropriated Islamic literacy due to changes in its institutional body and the backgrounds of the congregation, which comes from an educated Muslim middle class. On the other hand, this mosque does not want to be separated from its cultural roots, so progressive Islamic literacy is grounded in the cultural context. Islamic literacy with a cultural pattern is not only about piety but also presenting a new orientation that is progressive, idealistic, and bold (Heryanto and Hoesterey 2016).

The progressiveness of the Sudirman Mosque's Islamic literacy seems to be a feature of post-Islamism, a project to unite religiosity and rights, faith and freedom, and Islam and independence—leading to the construction of reflective Islamic knowledge. The themes of Islamic literacy as a project can be seen, for example, in *Ngaji Filsafat* (philosophy studies) and *Ngaji Postcolonial* as a framework to dismantle the politics of knowledge that sees different cultures as 'the other' to be standardized (Said 2010). In al-Fayyadl's study on the working class from a Qur'anic perspective with a Marxian approach (Nugraha and Sunartiningsih 2021), this literacy is driven by critical ideas or progressiveness of Islamic literacy (as observed in this study). A participant of *Ngaji Filsafat*, Yani, captures this notion in her statement below.

"I have been following these models of studying philosophy in the Sudirman mosque for a while. Even when I cannot attend, I watch it on YouTube to avoid missing the material. Because I feel that this study has taught me to see life more objectively, not just subjectively, and to

understand things more clearly” (Yani, 25 years old, a participant in a *Ngaji Filsafat*).

Literacy based on the social humanities, such as the *Ngaji Filsafat* at the Sudirman Mosque, has contextualized with Islam and culture despite being delivered in subtle, nuanced lectures. However, the nuances of religious lectures are part of the extension of material explanations. For example, the delivery of religious messages in *Ngaji Filsafat* aims to provide an understanding of religion based on philosophical knowledge.

Islamic literacy through *Ngaji Filsafat*, *Ngaji Islam Jawi*, *Ngaji Postcolonial*, *Ngaji Serat Jawa*, and progressive book publishing at the Sudirman Mosque are the manifestations of Islamic discursive-critical reasoning in Yogyakarta’s public space, which is part of Islamic teaching through critical ideas (Ibrahim 2014). The Sudirman Mosque Islamic literacy can be seen as a form of knowledge transmission, spiritual reflection, and instilling an ethical spirit and hope for universal humanism (Alwee 2017). Thus, Islam in the context of the Sudirman Mosque does not only focus on the construction of the faith and piety of its congregation. More than that, it is also directed at the construction of knowledge. The literacy themes lead to efforts to change Islamic traditions in the contemporary era, favoring contemporary studies such as gender, human rights, democracy, harmonization of Muslims and non-Muslims, and the belief that current social dynamics can be reflected in Islam (Noor, Nur Ichwan, and Rosjadi 2006).

Islamic reflections incorporated into the practices of Islamic literacy in Sudirman mosque have led to a process of abstraction directed toward community awareness. The Sudirman Mosque treats philosophy as a form

of discursive method that leads to the formation of logos reasoning about life (Ding and Yu 2022), especially in the context of urban Islam in Yogyakarta. The mosque presents religious reflections using the language of *pesantren*, Sufism, and even quotes from famous philosophers and scholars such as al-Ghazali. With philosophical reasoning, the reflections allow for evaluation, rationalization, and a new worldview that leads its congregation to a new awareness. In this context, the Sudirman Mosque finds and reinforces its appropriation of Islamic literacy at the center of Yogyakarta’s cultural space. This appropriation seems unique because it combines rationality and Islamic awareness with the cultural basis and patterns of the middle class of the congregation, who come from educated groups, activists, students, and campus intellectuals. For about nine years, Sudirman mosque has succeeded in building a literacy culture by negotiating religion with culture, actualized in its programs.

Conclusion

The Jogokariyan and the Sudirman Mosque can be said to compete in the context of Islamic literacy in Yogyakarta. Islamic literacy in these two mosques shows a pattern of appropriation of the Muslim middle class and the urban life landscape in Yogyakarta. The appropriation of Islamic literacy by each mosque is unique, distinctive, and different from other mosques, but it is equally favored by the community. Therefore, since the 1990s, Islamic literacy in Yogyakarta has been dominated by the two mosques. The Jogokariyan Mosque adopts a passive Islamic revolution characterized by Islamic literacy, leading to issues of Islamic morality, especially in urban middle-class society. The Islamic literacy of this mosque is an

Islamic literacy that normatively directs ritual piety to the collective Islamic movement.

Meanwhile, the Sudirman Mosque directs Islamic literacy by promoting dynamic and critical thinking among its congregation. This pattern of literacy was initially driven by the change of the Sudirman Mosque institution from a radical to a moderately liberal institution. After that, this mosque appropriates its Islamic literacy with a knowledge and cultural base that aligns with the landscape of urban Islam. Therefore, the pattern of literacy adopted is more cultural. This kind of Islamic literacy aims to increase awareness and a more critical and dynamic Islamic mindset. The target is the educated middle class, the lower class, academics, and progressive Islamic activists.

From the research findings as explained above, researchers and scientists interested in the issues of middle-class Islamic literacy in Yogyakarta need to explore the patterns of Islamic literacy above in more depth. The Muslim community from the middle class in the city seems to enjoy Islam from these two approaches to literacy. With such inclusivity, Muslims benefit optimally from Islamic literacy practices.

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