The Moderation of Islamic Lecturing in Da'wa Movements: A Case Study of Maos Community in Cilacap, Central Java

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Abstract: The role of Islamic movements (ormas) as da'wa institutions contributes significantly to efforts to build a civil society. As observed in Maos Lor Village, Cilacap, Central Java, there are five types of Islamic movements conducting da'wa activities side by side, including Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII), Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbullah), and Salafi. The aim of this research is to understand and analyze the socio-historical dialectics institutionally among these Islamic movements, the types of da'wa activities, and their impact on the social construction of society in creating religious moderation. This paper is a qualitative study employing field research with social construction theory as the analytical tool, particularly focusing on three stages of social construction: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. The findings reveal that in the stages of externalization and objectivation, each organization experiences periodic dynamics in its history, characterized by ideological and attitudinal friction. This is marked by the initial construction dynamics where only two Islamic movements, NU and Muhammadiyah, with traditionalist and modernist ideologies, were present. Subsequent turmoil occurred with the emergence of other Islamic movements from the 1970s to the 1990s, namely the Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbullah), LDII, and Salafi groups. Until the 2000s, there were religious attitude frictions such as mosque disputes, and congregation shifts from one organization to another. However, once a moderate stance emerged, marked by the internalization stage involving da'wa activities of each organization along with openness and tolerance, it demonstrated that even in small rural communities, religious moderation could be experienced and exemplified in nation-building efforts.

Keywords: Moderation; Da'wa; Islamic Movements; Social Construction.

Abstrak: Peran organisasi masyarakat (ormas) Islam sebagai lembaga dakwah dalam upaya membangun masyarakat madani memiliki sumbangsih yang penting. Sebagaimana yang terdapat di Desa Maos Lor, Cilacap, Jawa Tengah terdapat lima macam organisasi masa (ormas) Islam yang melakukan aktivitas dakwah secara berdampingan, diantaranya yaitu, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII), Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbullah), dan Salafi. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui dan menganalisis dialektika sosio-historis secara institusional ormas Islam tersebut, jenis kegiatan dakwah, serta dampaknya terhadap konstruksi sosial masyarakat dalam menciptakan moderasi beragama. Tulisan ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif berjenis studi lapangan dengan teori konstruksi sosial sebagai alat analisis, khususnya tiga tahapan dialektika konstruksi sosial yaitu eksternalisasi, objektivikasi dan internalisasi. Hasilnya, dalam tahap eksternalisasi dan objektivikasi, masing-masing ormas memiliki dinamika secara periodik dalam sejarahnya berupa gesekan ideologi dan sikap. Hal ini ditandai dengan dinamika yang terjadi pada konstruksi awal yang hanya terdapat dua ormas Islam NU dan Muhammadiyah dengan ideologi tradisionalis dan modernis. Gejolak selanjutnya terjadi seiring munculnya ormas Islam lain mulai tahun 1970-an sampai tahun 1990-an, yaitu kelompok Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbulah), LDII, dan Salafi. Hingga tahun 2000-an, terjadi gesekan sikap dalam beragama seperti perebutan masjid sampai dengan perpindahan jemaah dari satu ormas ke yang lainnya. Namun, saat sudah muncul sikap moderat yang ditandai dengan tahap internalisasi berupa aktivitas dakwah masing-masing ormas serta keterbukaan dan toleransi. Hal ini membuktikan bahwa dalam ranah masyarakat kecil di pedesaan sekalipun, moderasi beragama dapat dirasakan sekaligus dijadikan percontohan dalam berbangsa dan bernegara.

Kata Kunci: Moderasi; Dakwah; Ormas Islam; Konstruksi Sosial.

INTRODUCTION

Islamic movements, as promoters of da'wa that are able to reach various fields of society, have a significant role in holding their role in the midst of society. The large mass base united for the purpose of upholding Islam (Qur'an and sunnah) to its actualization in various spheres of life, such as educational, social and cultural, provides a new perspective on community development.¹ The number of Islamic movements spread to areas with even small coverage, namely rural areas, can be a benchmark for achieving an even da'wa mission. The phenomenon of the distribution of Islamic mass organizations in rural areas occurs in Maos Lor Village, where the majority of the population is Muslim (6963 out of 6992 Muslim population²), has 5 (five) types of Islamic movements that are active side-by-side, including Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Jamaah Muslimin (Hezbollah), Indonesian Islamic Da'wa Institute (LDII), and Salafi.³ Maos Lor Village itself is one of the areas in Maos District, Cilacap Regency, Central Java Province, which has 4 (four) hamlets, namely Buaran Hamlet, Current Hamlet, Central Hamlet, and Palinggihan Hamlet.⁴

The existence of Islamic movements that are able to coexist in the framework of society then provides discourse in 2 (two) preconceived notions, namely between tolerance and conflict. This is a special attraction for researchers, where the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenag RI) is intensively launching the vision of religious moderation contained in the Strategic Plan (RENSTRA) of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia for 2020-2024. In its efforts, there are points in the form of strengthening an atmosphere of harmonious religious harmony and increasing religious understanding with moderate and multicultural insights as well as fostering religious traditions.⁵ Religious moderation itself is manifested as a balanced religious attitude between the practice of one's own religion (exclusive) and respect for the religious practices of others who have different beliefs (inclusive).⁶ The principle of moderation called *wasathiyah* has values including: (1) *tawasuth*, middle and not biased; (2) *tawazun*, weighing things fairly; (3) *i'tidal*, upright and firm in placing things; (4) *tasamuh*,

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¹ Abdul Shomad, *Hukum Islam Penormaan Prinsip Syariah Dalam Hukum Indonesia* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2015), 71.

² Badan Pusat Stastistik Kabupaten Cilacap, "Kecamatan Maos Dalam Angka," last modified 2021, accessed November 11, 2021, https://cilacapkab.bps.go.id/publication/2021/09/24/e809d1ec997ea2c603529989/kecamatan-maos-dalam-angka-2021.html.

³ Mukhasan, "Hasil Wawancara Kepala Seksi Pemerintahan Desa Maos Lor," November 8, 2021.

⁴ Kemendagri RI Dirjen Bina Pemerintahan Desa, "Data Pokok Desa Maos Lor," 2021.

⁵ Kemenag RI, Rencana Strategis Kementerian Agama Tahun 2020-2024 (Jakarta: Kementerian Agama RI, 2020).

⁶ Indonesia, eds., *Moderasi beragama*, Cetakan pertama (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), 18.

open in accepting views; (5) *rice fields*, equal rights, dignity and dignity; (6) *Shura*', promoting deliberation in decision making; and (7) *al-ishlah*, naming disputes and resolving them.⁷ The concept *of wasathiyah* which has been socialized by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and intensified until now is certainly important in efforts to harmonize religious and social life, even in the fields of science and technology.⁸

In the field of da'wa and communication studies, social da'wa that focuses on religious elements is often juxtaposed with the field of sociology. The theory of Social Construction built by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1929-2017) is one of the generally known sociological theories. In one of his works entitled "The Sacred Canopy: Element of a Sociological Theory of Religion" Berger views that religion has the function of safeguarding society from situations of chaos, as well as being able to legitimize social institutions by placing them in a sacred framework.9 Berger's thought was written straightforwardly by Ahmad Nur Mizan (2016) in his research entitled "Peter L. Berger and His Ideas on Social and Religious Construction", where the research obtained results and conclusions in the form of 3 (three) stages of dialectics of community formation by individuals and individuals society with the concepts of externalization, objectification, internalization. 10 Furthermore, the study of da'wa in rural communities in a sociological review was conducted by Akhmad Sukardi (2015), which focused on discussing da'wa methods and their development according to the characteristics of rural communities.¹¹

The study of the da'wa of Islamic movements was carried out by Achmad Slamet and Aida Farichatul Laila (2018), with the object of research of Islamic movements Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah which then descriptively analyzed the role and utilization of mass media as a medium for da'wa. As a result, NU prioritize electronic mass media in the form of applications, websites and social media, while Muhammadiyah is more aggressive in publishing through

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⁷ Achmad Maulana and Roudlotul Jannah, "Moderasi Islam Dalam Media Sosial; Studi Analisis Terhadap Pemahaman," *An-Nida*' 46, no. 2 (August 2022): 125–126.

⁸ Mara Ongku Hsb, "Konsep Wasathiyah Dalam Hukum Islam Perspektif Hasbi Ash-Shiddeqy," *An-Nida*' 46 (December 2022): 146–147.

⁹ Peter L Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York USA: Anchor Book, 1967), 128.

¹⁰ Ahmad Nur Mizan, "Peter L. Berger dan Gagasannya Mengenai Konstruksi Sosial dan Agama," *Citra Ilmu* xii, no. Edisi 24 (October 2016): 147–153.

¹¹ Akhmad Sukardi, "DAKWAH PADA MASYARAKAT PEDESAAN (Suatu Tinjauan Sosiologis)," *Al-Munzir* 8, no. 2 (2015).

¹² Achmad Slamet and Aida Farichatul Laila, "Strategi Dakwah Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah di Kabupaten Jepara dalam Perspektif Pemanfaatan Media Massa," *An-Nida: Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 10, no. 1 (July 29, 2019), accessed March 31, 2023, https://ejournal.unisnu.ac.id/JKIN/article/view/748.

conventional mass media in the form of bulletins. Furthermore, Wildan Imaduddin Muhammad's research (2016), discusses the socio-history of 2 (two) Islamic movements in West Java, namely the Islamic Union (Persis) and the Islamic Community Association (PUI).¹³ In his research, it was explained descriptively about the history and impact of the existence of the two islamic movements in the social construction of society, especially on the development of da'wa in the field of education. From these two studies, researchers then realized that the existence of Islamic movements in society is able to form social constructs in terms of religion, as well as the use of science and technology.

To distinguish the research position as described, this study focuses on the field of community da'wa by discussing periodic institutional and cultural sociohistorical dynamics, the da'wa activities of each Islamic movement, and the impact of the existence of mass organizations on the social construction of the Maos Lor Village community in creating religious moderation. The diversity of Islamic movements in Maos Lor Village is considered necessary to be studied in depth as evidence of religious moderation at the level of rural communities. This paper is a qualitative research type field study that examines the status of human groups and their conditions, and ¹⁴ emphasizes process analysis of inductive thinking processes related to the dynamics of relationships between observed phenomena.¹⁵ Data collection is done by observation, interviews and documentation. This research analysis was carried out descriptively using an interactive model from Miles, Hubberman & Saldana consisting of data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing and verification, 16 with the help of three stages of dialectics in Social Construction Theory and its relation to ideas about religion (dakwah islamiyah) and society by limiting the object of study in the form of Islamic movements as part of the community in Maos Lor Village.

DISCUSSION

Da'wa Relations and Social Construction of Rural Communities

Da'wa has historically been a scientific discipline since the modern era, precisely in the early 20th century (in 1912), which was pioneered by Shaykh Ali Mahfudz at Al Azhar University, Cairo.¹⁷ After da'wa became an academic study,

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¹³ Wildan Imaduddin Muhammad, "ORMAS ISLAM DI JAWA BARAT DAN PERGERAKANNYA;," *ANALISIS* 15, no. 2 (2016).

¹⁴ Koentjoroningrat, Metode Penelitian Masyarakat (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1998), 12.

¹⁵ Imam Gunawan, Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Teori Dan Praktik (Jakarta: PT Bumi Aksara, 2013), 80–81.

¹⁶ M. B. Miles, A. M. Huberman, and J. Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, *A Methods Sourcebook*, trans. T. R. Rohidi, 3rd ed. (USA: Sage Publication, 2014). 72.

¹⁷ Ashari Mujamil, Agus Riwanda, and Agoes M. Moefad, "Dakwah Partisipatoris Untuk Transformasi Sosial: Diskursus Manajemen Dakwah Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi-Pengetahuan,"

writings about da'wa emerged from various points of view. Many of these writings look at da'wa in terms of the existence and role of da'wa, da'wa problems, da'wa processes, da'wa methods and so on. However, these writings have not shown any systematization in da'wa science.¹⁸ So, in its development, da'wa science as a scientific entity experienced dynamism from conceptual science in the theoretical scope (in the form of delivering Islamic textual messages) to operational science in the practical scope (in the form of participatory community activities). Therefore, the science of da'wa is inseparable from the ideas that make da'wa as a conception and community movement in answering the problems of civilization, so it is often juxtaposed with the family of social sciences. In its development in the contemporary era, da'wa is defined as an effort to build and develop society so that the implementation of da'wa must be integrative and integrated with complex community life.¹⁹

Theoretically, the direction of da'wa development is related to 3 (three) sciences, namely psychology, to study individual behaviour as the target of da'wa; communication, on the strategy of delivering da'wa messages; and sociology, focusing on the impact of da'wa activities towards the order (construction) of civil society.²⁰ The sociology of knowledge as part of social science is an approach related to viewing religion, especially da'wa as a form of Islamic syiar, giving birth to contextualization of people's lives in sociological, psychological anthropological issues. Then, contextualization refers to the reality of the people caused by their thoughts and behaviours historically. In the realm of religious studies, including da'wa and sociology of religion, the main idea of sociology of knowledge gives birth to 2 (two) fundamental ideas, namely; (1) social actors' views on religion; and (2) the social impact of religious phenomena on cultural societies.²¹ Based on these two ideas, the position of social construction theory as an approach in the realm of sociology of knowledge and juxtaposed with da'wa science is manifested in the actualization of da'wa in social development efforts towards civil society.

MAWA IZH JURNAL DAKWAH DAN PENGEMBANGAN SOSIAL KEMANUSIAAN 14, no. 2 (November 8, 2023): 173.

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¹⁸ Abdul Basit, "EPISTEMOLOGI DAKWAH FARDIYAH DALAM PERSPEKTIF KOMUNIKASI ANTAR PRIBADI," *KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 1, no. 1 (November 18, 2016): 88.

¹⁹ Ridla M. Rasyid, Arif Rifai, and Suisyanto, *Pengantar Ilmu Dakwah: Sejarah. Perspektif, Dan Ruang Lingkup* (Yogyakarta: Samudera Biru, 2017), 120.

²⁰ Hasyim Hasanah, "Arah Pengembangan Dakwah melalui Sistem Komunikasi Islam," *AT-TABSYIR, Jurnal Komunikasi Penyiaran Islam* 4, no. 1 (2016): 141.

²¹ Andy Dermawan, *Ibda Binafsika: Menggagas Paradigma Dakwah Partisipatoris* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2007), 86–90.

The term social construction or also known as the construction of social reality was introduced by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in their great work entitled "The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociological of Knowledge" in 1966.²² The substance of this theory and approach to social construction of reality is the simultaneous process that occurs naturally through language in everyday life in a primary and semi-secondary community.²³ Religion, at the level of social reality, contributes as knowledge that shapes social behavior and is reflected in everyday reality. Religious experience has a significant influence on producing social transition/transformation.²⁴ It is also mentioned on the contrary, that religion is a projection of human beings produced through externalization.²⁵The placement of religion as a projection of humans is said by Berger from the point of view of sociology, that sociologists with their own logic must place religion as a projection of humans.²⁶

In the social construction approach introduced by Berger and Luckmann, there is a dialectic term between humans and their socio-culture which is termed momentum and consists of 3 (three) stages. The first stage, externalization, is the stage of adjustment to the socio-cultural world as a human product. The second stage, objectification, is a social interaction that occurs in an inter-subjective world that is institutionalized or undergoes a process of institutionalization. The third stage, internalization, is the process by which individuals identify themselves with social institutions or social organizations of which individuals are members.²⁷ On the other hand, in this discussion Berger and Luckmann state that religious legitimacy in society requires the existence of a religious community, and to live in that religious community requires affiliation / interaction with it.²⁸

Apart from this, the presence of Islamic movements in rural areas can be legitimized as a socio-religious institution engaged in da'wa. The Islamic movements has a large contribution, because members of the organization also take on the role of society. The presence of Islamic movements has contributed to da'wa innovation, in this case in the form of social da'wa activities. The goal is to achieve the benefit of the people by implementing *bil-jamaah worship*, so that the reward

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²² Abdul Ghofur and Bambang Subahri, "Konstruksi Sosial Keagamaan Masyarakat Pada Masa Pandemi Covid-19," *Dakwatuna: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi Islam* 6, no. 2 (August 25, 2020): 288.

²³ Puji Santoso, "KONSTRUKSI SOSIAL MEDIA MASSA," Al-Balagh 1, no. 1 (2016): 32.

²⁴ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Penguin, 1991), 26–28.

²⁵ Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion, 180.

²⁶ Peter L Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (London: Penguin Book, 1967), 181.

²⁷ Santoso, "KONSTRUKSI SOSIAL MEDIA MASSA," 34.

²⁸ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 171.

obtained is not only limited to the reward of worship, but also at the same time the reward in *habl min an-naas*.²⁹

Da'wa in the modern or contemporary era is more directed towards changes in behavior and conditions of society, with several aspects that become points of concern including: (1) The quality of human resources; (2) mastery of technology; (3) socio-economic welfare; (4) solidarity of people and harmony between people.³⁰ These aspects are certainly an important concern in the scope of rural communities, where the characteristics of rural communities still have their own customs and norms. This is very influential on its social construction, even if faced with the modernization of the times and the presence of religion so that the implementation of Islamic da'wa as part of religious dynamics in rural communities usually uses da'wa methods that are adapted to relevant language cultures, characterizations of the community as religious figures or village governments, and social interactions that are actualized in life problems.

The dialectic of Islamic movements in Maos Lor Village

Looking back at the relationship of da'wa as part of knowledge in the social construction of society, this discussion presents the results and analysis of research within the limits of the stages of construction of Islamic movements as religious institutions and at the same time part of society. Thus, in this discussion it needs to be limited that the application of this social construction theory is based not on individual behavior, but the behavior of Islamic movements. The discussion is divided into 2 (two) phases which refer to: (1) the externalization and objectification stage of Islamic movements, with studies in the form of motives for the establishment of mass organizations, the history of the institutional existence of mass organizations, and social symptoms arising in the process of social-community construction; and (2) the internalization stage, by describing the form of da'wa activities that are the direction of religious moderation of the community.

1. Externalization and Objectification; Socio-Historical

As many people know that there are 2 (two) Islamic movements that were established even before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia (RI), namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The two Islamic movements spread to the Maos Lor Village area and became the first two Islamic movements to enter this area.³¹ The arrival of Nahdlatul Ulama here was motivated because at that time Javanese customs in the countryside were still very thick. Da'wa that is more

²⁹ Siti Hasanah, "INOVASI MATERI DAKWAH DARI IBADAH KE MUAMALAH BAGI ORMAS ISLAM UNTUK MEREALISASIKAN MASYARAKAT INKLUSIF DI KOTA SEMARANG," *Jurnal Dakwah*, no. 2 (2014): 323–324.

³⁰ Awaludin Pimay and Fania Mutiara Savitri, "Dinamika dakwah Islam di era modern," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 41, no. 1 (June 30, 2021): 50.

³¹ Mukhasan, "Hasil Wawancara Kepala Seksi Pemerintahan Desa Maos Lor."

feasible is da'wa that is traditional, meaning that it can combine customs with religious understanding. Although at first the community already knew NU, the establishment of the management of NU in this region was only carried out in 1975, when the Tanfidziyah Chairman was held by H. Mahrom until 1995.³²

Previously, Muhammadiyah had been coordinated longer in Maos Lor Village, which was estimated that in 1935 the management of the mass organization was formed which was held by H. Muhammad Sahlan. The background of Muhammadiyah's da'wa is that the condition of the former community was still mixed by the existence of services carried out in conjunction with customs. Muhammadiyah itself has the principle of eliminating *superstition*, *heresy* and *khurafat*.³³ The development of da'wa of these two Islamic movements is able to run well even though they have differences in understanding, especially related to attitudes and thoughts. Nahdlatul Ulama, which maintained traditionalist understandings, and Muhammadiyah, which began to provide renewal movements, sometimes caused friction. However, no societal conflict arose between the two. The visible difference is also only limited to amaliah, not ideologies that both adhere to *the ahlussunnah wal jama'ah*.³⁴

The next period was marked by the emergence of a new element in the village of Maos Lor, namely the Muslim Jamaat (Hezbollah) group. The emergence of the Muslim Community (Hezbollah) cannot be separated from the role of Syech Wali Al Fatah, who wants Muslims to be made one leadership; precisely in 1953, his declaration of leadership was ratified by several scholars at a congress. He was appointed Imamul Muslimin until his death in 1976. The spread of the Muslim Community (Hezbollah) in Maos Lor itself was initiated by Kiai Adib Al Yasir in 1976-1977. It is known that Adib al Yasir was a native of Maos Lor Village, who became a cleric at the Shamsul Huda Mosque. He has also been in NU, once also in Muhammadiyah.³⁵ The turmoil that occurred at that time was when Adib Al Yasir, who later believed in the Muslim Jamaat (Hezbollah), actually claimed that the Syamsul Huda Mosque, which incidentally was the base of the NU community's da'wa, actually became the center of the group's da'wa activities, until finally the Nahdliyin community moved locations to carry out its da'wa activities.³⁶ Furthermore, until now, the Syamsul Huda Mosque has been used as a base for the

³² Saefi Nurohman, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Ormas Islam Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)," December 7, 2021.

³³ Suyatno, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Ormas Islam Muhammadiyah," December 6, 2021.

³⁴ Mukhasan, "Hasil Wawancara Kepala Seksi Pemerintahan Desa Maos Lor."

³⁵ Arif Hizbullah, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Kelompok Islam Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbullah)," December 9, 2021.

³⁶ Dasiran, "Hasil Wawancara Jemaah Ormas Islam Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)," December 29, 2021.

preaching of the Muslim Jamaat (Hezbollah) group. In fact, next to the mosque was built the Putra Al Fatah Islamic Boarding School which is managed by the leadership of the Muslim Community (Hezbollah) as a form of da'wa in education. The Nahdliyin community then uses other mosques that are still awake as a base for their da'wa, including Masjid Al Munawwaroh and Masjid Al Hidayah.

Please note that there is another Islamic movement in this region, namely the Indonesian Islamic Da'wa Institute (LDII). The presence of LDII in Maos Lor is motivated by hereditary or family factors. Initially, LDII concentrated its activities in Maos Kidul Village; until then, one of the figures from Maos Lor Village was made the manager of its mass organization. The arrival of LDII to Maos Lor was in 1994-1995, which at that time became a figure was alm. Hadi Suwito, who is currently in charge of the Maos Lor Village area is held by Baedi. Because the development of the Indonesian Islamic Da'wa Institute (LDII) in Maos Lor Village was not very visible, the group finally focused on improving internal affairs.³⁷

The subsequent conflict was marked by the development of Salafist groups in the village of Maos Lor. The emergence of Salafi groups in Maos Lor Village was initiated by Buhari in 1993-1994, a native who brought Salafi understanding while migrating in Jakarta. Buhari himself is located on Jl. Turi, where currently there is the As-Sunnah Mosque, is the centre of Salafi da'wa activities in Maos Lor Village. From there Salafis were first introduced to the people of Maos Lor Village. The social phenomenon that occurred during the development of da'wa in this phase was friction between Salafi groups and the Muslim Community (Hezbollah). During the development of Salafi da'wa in the early 2000s, there were 3 Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) figures who converted to Salafis, and it is estimated that there were 10-15 people from the Muslim Community (Hezbollah) who converted to Salafis.³⁸ Some of the figures who converted were figures who were still in the same line as the leaders of the Muslim Community (Hezbollah). This phenomenon was then investigated in the field of comparative religion by Anharudin (2014), namely with the topic of religious conversion that occurred in 2004-2006. As for the results of the study, it was found that the cause of conversion was a clash of understanding of hadith science obtained from the Muslim Community (Hezbollah) and the existence of intellectual factors regarding thoughts related to the Jamaat, Imamate, and Bai'at.39

³⁷ Baedi, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Ormas Islam Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII)," December 7, 2021.

³⁸ Trimanto, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Kelompok Islam Salafi," December 7, 2021.

³⁹ Anharudin, Konversi Agama Pengikut Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbullah) Menuju Salafi Tahun 2004-2006 di Desa Maos Lor, Kecamatan Maos, Kabupaten Cilacap (Yogyakarta: Fakultas Ushuludin dan Pemikiran Islam UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2014).

Various kinds of conflicts can subside over time, which then forms the order of Islamic movements in groups in terms of worship and blending into society. This is also accompanied by the development of da'wa activities which currently focus on the activities carried out by each mass organization or Islamic group on the bases of its da'wa activities. 40 The location that became the base of da'wa activities of each Islamic movements in Maos Lor Village, so that the following results were found: (1) The da'wa base of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is Al Munawwaroh Mosque and Al Hidayah Mosque. Al-Munawwaroh Mosque (Islamic center) is located in the Central Hamlet area, RT 03/RW 10, while Al Hidayah Mosque is located in Buaran Hamlet, RT 03/RW 03; (2) The da'wa base of the Muhammadiyah is the Taqwa Mosque, located in Buaran Hamlet, RT 01/RW 03; (3) The da'wa base of the Indonesian Islamic Da'wa Institute (LDII) is Mushola Ali Imran, located at the northern end of Buaran Hamlet and bordering Panisihan Village; (4) The bases of the Muslim Jamaat's da'wa are the Syamsul Huda Mosque and the Al Fatah Princess Islamic Boarding School. Syamsul Huda Mosque is located in Palinggihan Hamlet, RW 14, next to which there is the Putra Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, while the Putri Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School is located in Buaran Hamlet, RW 03; (5) The base of Salafi da'wa is Masjid As-Sunnah, located in Lancar Hamlet, precisely on Jl. Turi, behind SDN 04 Maos Lor. The mapping of the da'wa base of Islamic movements can be seen in the following figure.

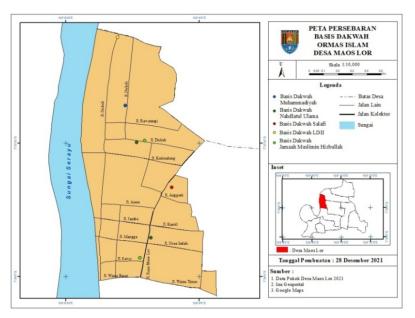


Figure 1. Map of the distribution of the da'wa base of Islamic movements in Maos Lor Village Source: Results of observation data processing and documentation

⁴⁰ Mukhasan, "Hasil Wawancara Kepala Seksi Pemerintahan Desa Maos Lor."

Based on the map above, it can be seen that the distribution of Islamic movements da'wa base points in Maos Lor Village is almost entirely spread, but there are 2 da'wa bases that are very close together, namely the NU da'wa base located in Al Hidayah Mosque and the Muslim Jamaah (Hezbollah) da'wa base located in the Al Fatah Princess Islamic Boarding School. In addition, the location of the da'wa base point has no influence on each other. However, partially (separately) the distribution of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah Islamic movements congregations is, in fact evenly distributed in the Maos Lor Village area with the majority of congregations, but for the Islamic movements group Muslim Jamaah (Hezbollah), the Indonesian Islamic Da'wa Institute (LDII) and Salafis have congregations that are grouped and fixated on the location of the base of their organizations' da'wa activities.

As each group opens, it can be understood by society that what Muslims believe has no right to be imposed on each other. The number of Islamic movements in Maos Lor Village currently does not cause problems in the form of horizontal conflicts, so that socio-religious harmonization is well maintained in the community. Moreover, each existing Islamic movement still complies with government policies as a direction for the movement and development of its da'wa. This has a good impact that in essence, the more Islamic movements in Maos Lor Village do not mean adding chaos but making Maos Lor Village more peaceful and more open.⁴¹

2. Internalization; Moderate Da'wa Activities

The development of da'wa that leads to moderation is reflected in the internalization of the form of da'wa activities of each Islamic movement in Maos Lor Village, as follows:

a. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as one of the largest Islamic movements makes da'wa activities an encouragement from NU management, under the pretext that it is needed by the community, because it is a fortress to form the next generation of NU fighters in Maos Lor Village. Some of his da'wa activities include: (1) Ahad Pahingan Study, in the form of regular meetings at the Maos Sub-district Deputy Branch Council (MWC) level; (2) *Lailatul Ijtima*', implemented at MWC and Twig levels, including Maos Lor Village Branch; (3) Bahtsul Masa'il, implemented at MWC level; (4) Routine Recitation, spread in various mosques and prayer rooms that are the basis of NU's da'wa activities, such as Fajr Lecture at Al Munawaroh Mosque; (5) Qur'an Education Park (TPA), held for children in Masjid Al Hidayah every day after Asr prayer time, except Friday.

⁴¹ Mukhasan, "Hasil Wawancara Kepala Seksi Pemerintahan Desa Maos Lor."

In addition to the above activities, Maos Lor Village is indeed the centre of NU activities at the sub-district level, marked by the existence of the MWC NU Maos District Office; there is also an NU Clinic. In terms of education, NU in Maos Lor Village also has a school, namely Madrasah Tsanawiyah. Furthermore, for social activities, there are Zakat, Infaq and Alms Collection Units (UPZIS) in sub-districts and villages. The impact felt from the community through NU's da'wa activities, namely NU syiar, is increasingly echoing.⁴² This makes people's understanding of religion stronger. The ties of friendship are more developed, the mutual cooperation is also stronger, and communication from each congregation is always built.⁴³

b. Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah, in carrying out its da'wa, has the principle that whether or not the activity is needed, da'wa must still be carried out, in accordance with Q.S. Ali Imran: 104. Some of Muhammadiyah's da'wa activities include (1) Selapanan Recitation, in the form of regular meetings at the Branch Leaders (PC) level of Maos District; (2) Routine recitation, spread in various mosques and prayer rooms that are the basis of Muhammadiyah da'wa activities, for example every Monday and Tuesday night at the Taqwa Mosque; (3) TPQ and Madrasah Diniyah, Held for the age of children in each mosque and Muhammadiyah guidance mushola, for Madrasah Diniyah held at Masjid Taqwa every day after Asr prayer.

Muhammadiyah is also engaged in formal education by establishing a Muhammadiyah Junior High School in Maos Lor Village. In the future plan, the management of Muhammadiyah will also establish PKU Hospital as a form of social activity in the health sector. In terms of the number of congregations, Muhammadiyah is among the majority in Maos Lor Village. The impact of Muhammadiyah's da'wa activities on people who do not know, who they were usually indifferent to worship, will increase their worship, even though there are still people who hear or see.⁴⁴ In the implementation of its da'wa activities, the community is also involved in terms of funding, place and participation for activities. People are increasingly exploring the need for religion, especially in understanding the Qu'an and Sunnah to get closer to Allah.⁴⁵

Indonesian Islamic Da'wa Institute (LDII)

The Indonesian Islamic Da'wa Institute (LDII) in Maos Lor Village does not develop in existence, but that does not mean there are no da'wa activities carried out there. For the time being, da'wa activities carried out by LDII are routine studies 3 (three) times a week. The number of pilgrims who followed was estimated at 25-

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⁴² Nurohman, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Ormas Islam Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)."

⁴³ Dasiran, "Hasil Wawancara Jemaah Ormas Islam Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)."

⁴⁴ Suyatno, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Ormas Islam Muhammadiyah."

⁴⁵ Masngudi, "Hasil Wawancara Jemaah Ormas Islam Muhammadiyah," December 7, 2021.

30 people. This organization has a base of da'wa activities in Mushola Ali Imran as a base in Maos Lor Village. However, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the prayer room was not used for activities such as recitation. The da'wa activities that moved locations and led to the LDII PC of Maos District, which is located in Maos Kidul Village. The implementation of LDII da'wa in Maos Lor as a minority group basically prioritizes strengthening internal cadres, and strives to regenerate good cadres. Da'wa carried out by LDII is believed to be good for the religious development of the community. The recitation activities carried out at LDII also sometimes bring important topics such as pre-marital guidance. Community involvement is mostly only as participants, and sometimes for recitation fillers invite various parties from outside the region. 47

d. Muslim Community (Hezbollah)

The Muslim Community Group (Hezbollah) puts forward its da'wa activities more specifically for pilgrims who have pledged allegiance, although there is still openness for the public to follow it. Da'wa activities carried out by the Muslim Jamaat (Hezbollah) group include: (1) Routine Recitation, carried out at the Syamsul Huda Mosque as the basis for its da'wa activities, one of which is in the form of Fajr Lectures; (2) Social Activities, sometimes there is a kind of social activity such as social service, compensation for the surrounding community, as well as qurban as appropriate; (3) Pondok Pesantren, Pondok Pesantren Al Fatah was established in 1997, contains Islamic boarding schools as well as MTs and MA for male and female students/students. Pondok Pesantren Al Fatah Putra is located next to the Syamsul Huda Mosque, while for the princess, it is located on Jl. Dukuh.⁴⁸ The da'wa activities, in addition to routine activities at the Syamsul Huda Mosque and Al Fatah Islamic Boarding School, are explained in detail as follows: (1) ta'aruf (meetings and recitations) throughout the Cilacap and Banyumas regions are carried out in the first week of each month; (2) Book study shall be conducted in the second week of each month; (3) the third week taklim for the youth; (4) Halaga (taklim group) for Muslims in the fourth week of every month; (5) Ta'aruf in the southern part of Central Java, which includes Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, Cilacap and Kebumen regencies. This activity is carried out every 4 (four) months.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Baedi, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Ormas Islam Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII)."

⁴⁷ Eko Junianto, "Hasil Wawancara Jemaah Ormas Islam Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII)," December 7, 2021.

⁴⁸ Hizbullah, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Kelompok Islam Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbullah)."

⁴⁹ Saeful Muttaqin, "Hasil Wawancara Jemaah Kelompok Islam Jamaah Muslimin (HIzbullah)," December 28, 2021.

The current development, the existence of Islamic boarding schools is a picture of the openness of the Muslim Community (Hezbollah), its purpose is for the mission of da'wa, the interests of da'wa, building a quality generation, and neutralizing views. The impact felt by the community is that da'wa activities in the Muslim Community (Hezbollah) aim to maintain faith. So, for Muslims who have pledged allegiance to the Muslim Community, namely as a strengthening of faith, increasing sense of brotherhood, increasing familiarity, and increasing enthusiasm.⁵⁰ For the Muslim community who have not pledged allegiance to the Muslim Community, namely the maintenance of faith and being able to socialize with the community better and not limit themselves, so that they become more harmonious with society.⁵¹

e. Salafists

Salafis, as one of the Islamic groups with rapid development, certainly have community da'wa activities as a milestone in its development. The forms of Salafi da'wa activities include (1) Routine taklim, routine tackle for Maos Lor Village held at Masjid As-Sunnah is held every Tuesday night. In addition, Salafi worshippers also attend taklim in Maos Kidul Village, precisely at Al Mansyuroh Mosque every Friday night; (2) The Ta'awun Jamaah Sunnah Fund (Jannah Leaf), in the form of funds managed by the committee of the takmir of Masjid As Sunnah, and taken from congregational donations. This fund is prepared if there are congregations who experience disasters; for example when they are sick, this collective fund is donated on behalf of the congregation of Masjid As Sunnah; (3) Qur'an Education Park, carried out at the request of the community around the mosque to the Head of RT and distributed to the mosque takmir. TPA activities have been running for the past 3 (three) months with the implementation of every day other than Saturday and Sunday after Asr prayer. There is one more da'wa activity that is routinely carried out at Masjid As Sunnah, namely dawn lectures every Sunday and Monday.

Salafi pilgrims who participated in da'wa activities in the form of taklim ranged from 60 people. The number of TPA students is around 30 children. Of all the da'wa activities carried out, these activities have a good impact on the community, especially related to the deepening of religion in the sunnah. Da'wa activities carried out are actually open to all people, because of their understanding that sticks to the Qur'an and Sunnah. In the implementation of religious amaliyah, Salafis are not complicated, such as the absence of tahlil 7 days, so that if there is a dead person only *takziyah* and buried by the family left behind.⁵³

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⁵⁰ Hizbullah, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Kelompok Islam Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbullah)."

⁵¹ Muttaqin, "Hasil Wawancara Jemaah Kelompok Islam Jamaah Muslimin (HIzbullah)."

⁵² Trimanto, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Kelompok Islam Salafi."

⁵³ Teguh Budiyono, "Hasil Wawancara Jemaah Kelompok Islam Salafi," December 29, 2021.

Based on these findings and discussions, the formation (social construction) of the Maos Lor Village community with the diversity of Islamic movements has dynamics that lead to moderate Islam. Moreover, in terms of general da'wa activities (not using the identity of islamic movements), community participation is also increasing. For example, in terms of the implementation of the landfill, one of which is managed by Salafi groups, it was found that many residents around the As-Sunnah mosque, who incidentally are not Salafi groups, also participated in becoming students.⁵⁴ The same thing is also found in the Al Fatah Islamic Boarding School, which incidentally is the base of the Muslim Jamaah (Hezbollah) group; there are actually teachers from other mass organizations.⁵⁵

CONCLUSION

In the realm of da'wa as both a field of study and a religious phenomenon examined from a sociological-knowledge perspective, the meaning of da'wa is formed as follows: (1) it is a religious phenomenon (specifically in Islam), and (2) it has an impact on the Muslim community. The actualization of Islamic organisations' da'wa in the phenomena occurring in Desa Maos Lor reveals the interaction between organizations and elements of society in shaping the social construction towards moderate Islam. The social dialectic that occurs in da'wa activities and community interactions, as outlined in the stages of externalization and objectification, is reflected in socio-historical phases, such as social phenomena arising from the emergence and active involvement of these organizations, such as ideological conflicts, competition for da'wa bases, and conversions among religious groups. However, in the internalization stage, there is a development towards moderation characterized by the implementation of da'wa activities by each Islamic organization without interfering with the doctrines of other groups, as well as openness and tolerance towards the participation of members from other organizations.

This phenomenon can be seen as a reflection of the discourse on religious moderation, which is capable of reaching rural communities and serving as a guideline on a larger scale. Based on a series of conducted research, the researcher acknowledges that there are still limitations in its presentation. In this regard, the study of moderation reflected in the da'wa activities and community interactions examined is still limited to the form of describing social constructions, such as interactions between institutions and elements of society as congregants. This means that the analysis focuses more on the conformity of social construction theory with the description of the development of Islamic organization's da'wa. Therefore,

⁵⁴ Trimanto, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Kelompok Islam Salafi."

⁵⁵ Hizbullah, "Hasil Wawancara Tokoh/ Pemuka Kelompok Islam Jamaah Muslimin (Hizbullah)."

this research can serve as both a material and a basis for further research, namely by utilizing auxiliary sciences and other theories with the development of inter/multidisciplinary study approaches or, more concretely, by applying the values of religious moderation advocated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia as an analytical tool.

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