

THE PRESENCE OF MOSQUE IN AMBARUKMO PLAZA: WINNING MARKET THROUGH RELIGIOUS CAPITAL

KEHADIRAN MASJID DI AMBARUKMO PLAZA: MEREbut PASAR DENGAN RELIGIUS KAPITAL

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Abstrak

Artikel ini ingin menjelaskan tentang keberadaan masjid di Ambarukmo Plaza, yang merupakan salah satu pusat perbelanjaan terkemuka di Yogyakarta. Keberadaan masjid di pusat perbelanjaan tersebut menjadi sebuah fenomena unik dan menarik, karena masjid menjadi salah satu elemen penting terkait strategi pemasaran yang pengelolaannya langsung berada di bawah manajemen Ambarukmo Plaza. Sehingga masjid menjadi bagian integral dari sistem pasar yang berlangsung di pusat perbelanjaan tersebut. Dalam pandangan bisnis, menyediakan fasilitas publik merupakan bagian dari servis terhadap konsumen. Masjid yang dijadikan sebagai fasilitas publik, selain mempunyai fungsi sebagai sarana peribadatan, juga difungsikan sebagai sarana aktivitas-aktivitas sosial dan aktivitas-aktivitas lainnya. Dari segi metodologis, artikel ini ditulis dengan memakai pendekatan kualitatif yang menghasilkan data deskriptif tentang keberadaan masjid di Ambarukmo Plaza, Yogyakarta. Berdasarkan analisis terhadap data lapangan dengan menggunakan beberapa konsep Bourdieu seperti praktek, habitus, dan arena, serta market dan kapital dapat ditarik simpulan bahwa keberadaan masjid di pusat perbelanjaan membuka ruang baru terkait religius kapital, sehingga mendorong para pemilik religius kapital untuk bersaing merebut dan memenangkan arena yang relatif baru tersebut. Sebaliknya, para pemilik ekonomi kapital yang secara sengaja menciptakan religius kapital tersebut juga bersaing untuk meningkatkan akumulasi kapital mereka melalui arena yang sama. Implikasinya, jika setiap pusat perbelanjaan atau mall menggunakan religius kapital untuk merebut pasar, maka hal ini secara tidak langsung akan menguatkan tesis sebagian ilmuwan sosial yang telah memprediksikan bahwa abad ini adalah abad kebangkitan agama di ruang publik.

Kata kunci: masjid, *mall*, bourdieu, religius kapital dan kebangkitan agama.

Abstract

This article aims to explain the presence of mosque in Ambarukmo Plaza which is categorized one of the leading shopping center in Yogyakarta. The presence of mosque in the shopping center is a unique and interesting phenomenon because the mosque becomes one of the essential elements of the marketing strategy that the management of the mosque is directly under the management of Ambarukmo Plaza. So that the mosque becomes an integral part of the market system which takes place in the shopping center. In view of the business, providing public facilities are part of the service to the consumer. The mosque which is used as a public facility, in addition to having the function as a means of worship, is also functioned as a means of social activities and other activities. In terms of methodology, this article was written by using a qualitative approach that produces descriptive data about the presence of mosque in Ambarukmo Plaza, Yogyakarta. Based on the analysis of field data findings by using Bourdieu's concepts such practice, habitus, and arena, as well as market and capital, it can be drawn the conclusion that the presence of mosque in the shopping center opens a new space related to the religious capital, and it encourages the owners of religious capital to compete and to win this relatively new arena. Instead, the owner of the economic capital that intentionally creates this new arena is also competing to increase their capital accumulation through the same arena. Thus, the implication, if any shopping center or mall uses the religious capital to win the market, then it will indirectly strengthen the thesis from some social scientists predicted that this is the age of religious resurgence in the public sphere.

Keywords: mosque, *mall*, bourdieu, religious capital and religious resurgence.

Introduction

Recently there are three major malls in Yogyakarta, namely Malioboro Mall, Galeria Mall, and Ambarukmo Plaza. From three famous malls in Yogyakarta, Ambarukmo Plaza is the only mall that has mosque used for performing Friday prayer. Others only have *mushalla* which cannot be used to practice Friday prayer. The presence of mosque in Ambarukmo Plaza is to attract the visitors, especially Muslim visitors. Indeed, the more visitors come to the mall the more money will be achieved by mall. From the economics perspective, the presence of worship facility for mall's customers looks like a paradox because the tendency of mall is basically for profit oriented. It means that every single square meter in mall should produce money, while mosque is free for everyone to use. Therefore, it is very common to place the mosque in the basement or in the rooftop, and the Ambarukmo Plaza's mosque is placed on the rooftop. Generally speaking, Ambarukmo Plaza is not the only mall that has mosque as public facilities. There are many shopping centers or malls in Indonesia that have mosque. For example, In Jakarta we can see a mosque in the Market Blok A Tanah Abang, Center Jakarta. The mosque which looks magnificent and luxurious is located on the top floor of that shopping center. At the time of marketing shop-houses (*ruko*), the existence of this mosque with a large capacity and luxury promoted into icons. Of course the target is Muslim entrepreneurs of different ethnic backgrounds such as ethnic Minang, Betawi, Arab, Indian and Chinese Muslims. Thus, the presence of mosque in the shopping center was the main attraction that is as strong lure.

The presence of mosque in many shopping centers or malls seems to be unique and interesting phenomenon because mosque becomes an important element in marketing. Here, mosque becomes an integral part of the market system that took place in the shopping center. However, the ratio of the total area of the mosque and shopping center looks lame. As a result, when the time of Friday prayer comes, the mosque could not accommodate all visitors in shopping center, which means there are some visitors who do not carry out the Friday prayer.

The presence of mosque in shopping centers or malls is closely related to the phenomenon of resurgent religion around the world. It is an interesting issue because it denies the predictions of sociologists who predicted that religion would decline in public spheres because of secularism and other ideologies. For example, in 1988, with uncommon scholarly humility, Peter L. Berger retracted his prediction of thirty years earlier:

“[T]he assumption that we live in secularized world is false. The world today... is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever. This means that a whole body of literature by historians and social scientists loosely labeled “secularization theory” is essentially mistaken” (Berger, 1999: 2).

Berger's revised view is also our view: The twenty-first century is God's century. It means that religion has become and in all likelihood will continue to be a vital, shaper of war, peace, terrorism, democracy, theocracy, authoritarianism, national identities, and economic growth and development, etc (Philpott & Shah, 2011: 10). Apparently, the opposite is true where religions again play a vital role in the life of mankind. The religious revival did not only occur in a particular religion, but it almost happened commonly to all religions around the world. In brief, it can be said that the rise of religion in public spheres is a global phenomenon happened everywhere.

As a global phenomenon, there are four main characters of the resurgence of religion in the world noted by Philpott and Shah (2011: 19-21). Firstly, it happened everywhere including religious people and communities. Secondly, one of the main causes of religious resurgence was a crisis in secular ideologies. Thirdly, the religious resurgence is the quest of religious communities for freedom from state control. Fourthly, religious communities have benefited from cooperation with modern forces such as globalization, democratization, and economic modernization.

In Indonesian context, Sumanto Al Qurtuby (2013: 420) mentioned four main factors related to the resurgent of Islam in Indonesia, namely (1) The local history of Islamic reform that

occurred since the mid-19th century, (2) The changes in the country's culture and society, (3) The transnational Islamic networks, and (4) The role of Suharto-led New Order in sponsoring programs that boosted Islamic development by means of mass education, print media, *dakwah* (proselytization) movement, religious policies, among others. From this point of view, I assume that the "revival" of religion refers to religiosity and in this context it is represented by emerging and developing mosque in shopping centers or malls like the mosque in Ambarukmo Plaza, Yogyakarta. In other words, the presence of mosque can be categorized as a means for religious communities seeking the freedom to express and practice their faith and to influence their societies (Philpott & Shah, 2011: 21).

Another example is the mosque of Bandung Indah Plaza. In the beginning, the mosque was originally a place of prayer (*mushalla*) which is actually located in the basement, next to the parking area. Because it looks dirty, dull, and less comfortable, after the renovation of the mall in 2010s, it becomes the mosque which is located on the top floor. Now the new mosque looks spacious, clean, beautiful, and comfortable, and it can be used for Friday prayer. Although the mall is a representation of a modern economy that tend to be secular, but for most Muslim visitors the presence of mosque in the mall become a necessity. In view of the business, providing public facilities are part of the service to consumers. Here, although not the dominant force, the mosque could be present because the drive needs.

Based on the above mentioned background, there are three research questions that will be answered in this article. Firstly, what are the functions of mosque which presents in the Ambarukmo Plaza? Secondly, how is the implementation of Friday prayer in the Ambarukmo Plaza practiced? Thirdly, what are the function of sermon and the existence of preacher?

Method

This article was written with a qualitative approach that produces descriptive data. For participant observation, I follow the implementation

of the Friday prayer at the mosque for three times: December 6, 2013, December 13, 2013, and December 20, 2013. In addition to participate the Friday prayer, I also took a walk on the Ambarukmo Plaza to observe the activities of visitors on weekends. If the situation allowed and there was an opportunity, I conducted an interview with them or just made an informal conversation that led to the topic of this article. Conducting in-depth interviews with visitors to the Ambarukmo Plaza or the visitors who come to the mosque was not quite easy. Most of them were counter employees who have limited time for rest. However, I conducted in-depth interviews with key informants after Friday prayer and during the lunch time. The key informants were the board of the mosque and few people who worship in this mosque regularly. Some informants interviewed were Toto Kristiawan (the chairman of the mosque), Ahmad Rifa'i (the preacher), Medi (the accounting supervisor), Prapdiana (the parking area supervisor), Kirwanto (the housekeeper supervisor), Dwi Sudarsono (the housekeeper).

Theoretical Framework

To analyze the issues in this article, I use some popular concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. The concepts are commonly known as "practice," "habitus," and "field," "market" and "capital." In dealing with using these concepts, I take citations from Terry Rey on his article *marketing the goods of Salvation: Bourdieu on Religion* (2004), and from Richard Jenkins on his book *Pierre Bourdieu* which was published by Routledge, London, 1992. Sometimes I directly refer to the Bourdieu's writings.

a. Practice

The first concept is practice. This concept is very significant to understand the religious phenomena in contemporary era which contain many practices. But what is actually the meaning of practice in Bourdieu's concept. In his concept, the practice is multidimensional, consisting of numerous interrelated, yet relatively homogenous, fields (*les champs*)" (Rey, 2004: 331).

Furthermore Richard Jenkins asserted more explanation about the practice. He mentioned that practice should have two

characteristics. The first, practice is located in space and, more significantly, in time. It means that practice is something that can be observed in three dimensions and, necessarily, from moment to moment. Temporality, the inexorable passage of time, is an axiomatic feature of practice: time is both a constraint and a resource for social interaction (Jenkins, 1992: 42) Thus, practice as a visible, 'objective', social phenomenon cannot be understood outside of time/space. The second explanation from Richard Jenkins, practice is not consciously— or not *wholly* consciously— organized and orchestrated. In other words, nothing is random or purely accidental but, as one thing follows on from another, practice happens (Jenkins, 1992: 42).

b. Habitus

The second concept is habitus. It is not easy to find the exact English word to translate and understand the meaning of habitus because it is literally from a Latin word which refers to a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body (Jenkins, 1992: 45). Bourdieu's notion of habitus is the 'matrix of perception' or the basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences (Rey, 2004: 335). There are many kinds of the habitus discussed by Bourdieu such as political habitus, linguistic habitus, and religious habitus. In this article, I will use the concept of religious habitus much more than other concepts of habitus because this concept is very relevant to the issues that I will discuss later. The concept of religious habitus closely related to explain enigmatic practice because the development of the habitus is conditioned by a complex variety of influences (Rey, 2004: 336). Furthermore Terry Rey explained that:

"The religious habitus is the specifically religious dimension of an individual agent's habitus that manifests itself most apparently, though not exclusively, in religious field. It is the principal determining subjective influence on particular religious interests and needs, on perceptions and uses of religious symbols and ritual, on what forms of religious capital are deemed worthy of pursuit, and generally how individuals fare in the religious field" (Rey, 2004: 337).

c. Field, Market and Capital

• Field

The meaning of field, in Bourdieu's sense, is a social arena within which struggles or maneuvers take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them (Jenkins, 1992: 52). In other words, a field is a competitive arena of social relations in which agents and institutions struggle over the production, acquisition and control of forms of capital particular to the field in question (Rey, 2004: 332). Thus, fields are defined by the stakes which are at stake—cultural goods (lifestyle), housing, intellectual distinction (education), employment, land, power (politics), social class, prestige or whatever— and may be differing degrees of specificity and concreteness (Jenkins, 1992: 52). To understand the concept of field, Terry Rey mentioned several examples, such as academic degrees are an obvious form of educational capital at stake in educational field; money, in economic field, and prestige, in cultural field (Rey, 2004: 332).

It is similar with the concepts of habitus, there are many kinds of fields, for instance religious field. The religious field is the proper concept to analyze the religious issues. Actually Pierre Bourdieu wrote an article which was specifically discussing about religious field. The title of his article is *Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field*. To understand this concept, I quote the explanation from Terry Rey that in religious field the orthodox tendency is 'to justify the existence of dominant classes as dominant' in effect breeds in the dominated a decisive form of misrecognition (Rey, 2004: 334). For me, it is clear because in Bourdieu's perspective religion or more specifically 'institutional orthodoxy,' does so by 'justify[ing] the existence of dominant classes as ... impos[ing] upon the subjugated the recognition of the legitimacy of the domination founded upon the misrecognition of the arbitrariness of domination and its modes of symbolic expression (e.g., the lifestyle and the religiosity of the dominant) (Rey, 2004: 334).

• Market

Another important concept is market. Market (*le marche*) is interchangeable with the term 'field', and other terms crucial to this theory

of practice, such as 'profit', 'interest', 'capital', and 'investment', are also usually associated with economies (Rey, 2004: 332). But in fact, it is really difficult to reconcile the market model with Bourdieu's refusal to acknowledge that an appreciation of deliberate calculative action by individuals, informed by whatever rationale or values, has an important role to play in sociological or anthropological analyses (Jenkins, 1992: 54-55).

- **Capital**

The use of the word 'capital' to describe the stakes in social fields alerts us to Bourdieu's appropriation of economic metaphor to understand social life. He has argued that his use of a language derived from economics does not leave him open to the charge of 'economism' (Jenkins, 1992: 54). Following Bourdieu's concept of capital, we know there are many kinds of capital such as economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. I think one of social capital is religious capital. Terry Rey wrote that:

"The competition over religious capital unfolds on many levels and among a series of polar oppositions: between opposing classes; between *religiosite dominante* and *religiosite dominee*; between different 'religious specialist' in a given 'subfield'; between religious specialists and the laity; and most important, between Church and heresiarch. Each pole in these juxtapositions has specific interests 'at stake' in the competition."

Findings and Discussions

a. Mosque as a Religious Capital

Based on the results of my observations and my fieldtrip findings along with some concepts of Bourdieu, I will answer the first research question related to the function of the mosque in the mall. After visiting the Ambarukmo Plaza, it is clear that the presence of a mosque in the mall is not only for a place of worship alone but it also has other functions such as a place for optional and social activity. While observing, I noticed some visitors who are sitting back and relaxing around the mosque and some others were just smoking. According to some of them, the existence of this mosque added to their satisfaction while shopping. Now they were not only able to

perform activities of shopping or just taking a walk, but they could also relax in the mosque when they felt tired. Some religious people said that the presence of the mosque in Ambarukmo Plaza ensured their worship activities were not disturbed. When they should go to the mall, they no longer felt worried about leaving prayers.

Perhaps the Ambarukmo Plaza was the only mall in Yogyakarta that had mosque (not *mushalla*) as public facility. Even so, it did not mean that other shopping centers (or mall) did not have public facility for worship, but usually others only had a narrow space provided for worship called *mushalla*. Many people gave complaint to the existence of small *mushalla* compared with the big mall, and they often felt uncomfortable when they prayed in the small *mushalla*. Indeed, the mosque in Ambarukmo Plaza was totally different with some *mushalla* in other malls. Surely we can make a difference between a mosque and *mushalla* from its name, but what we have to note is why Ambarukmo Plaza spent much money to build a mosque. In the economic logic, everything is measured by profits. It means that everything that is done in terms of economic action must be profitable. At first glance, it seems that the construction of the mosque on the mall does not bring material benefits. This view is, of course, not entirely true. If we analyze this phenomenon with Bourdieu's concept, we can understand the reason of the construction of the mosque.

Using Bourdieu's concept of capital, I categorized the presence of the mosque in Ambarukmo Plaza as religious capital. In Bourdieu's concept, religious capital is generally understood as a competition between opposing classes. In this context, the owners of Ambarukmo Plaza are considered as the ruling elite, whereas the customers are the ruled class. By creating the religious facilities, the owners want to get more profits or interests, while the customers want to feel comfortable with the presence of the mosque in the mall. The logic is quite simple that the more visitors feel comfortable when they are shopping because of the presence of the mosque, the greater the mall will get interests.

With the capacity of 200 worshippers approximately, the mosque was designed to improve comfortability of customers and

employees when they were shopping. Construction of the mosque with an area of approximately 160 square meters started in October 2012. According to Toto Kristiawan, the leader of the Ambarukmo Plaza's mosque (APM), the mosque was inaugurated on April 26 2013 by Sleman Regent, Mr. Sri Purnomo. The activities of the mosque were not limited for Friday prayer, but it was also used for five time prayers, and other religious activities. For example, during the month of Ramadhan the mosque would open the *iftar* (eating together for break fasting) and conduct prayers *taraweh* (the prayers especially practicing in Ramadhan) (Personal Interview, December 6, 2013).

General Manager of Ambarukmo Plaza, Mr. Ananta Surya, said the presence of the new mosque is expected to meet the needs of worship for employees and visitors. He explained that the new mosque is an appreciation for customers support and loyalty for seven years since Ambarukmo Plaza has presented. Furthermore he said that the new mosque is presented as a replacement for the old mosque which is not enough to accommodate the congregation because of the smaller capacity of around 100 people. This statement is delivered during the inauguration ceremony (<http://www.bisnis-jateng.com/index.php/2013/04/ambarrukmo-plaza>). From his statement, we can say that he is using the mosque to get more customers. I think this is a new strategy used by the manager trying to increase the number of customers. Perhaps many customers are not aware of it, even if they are aware; they are not going to protest because they regarded it as something positive. In this case, I agree that the presence of a mosque in the mall is something quite positive. But when viewed from the perspective of academic study, it is certainly very interesting. For example, traditional Islamic perspective mentioned that the prophet Muhammad said that the best place is mosque and the worst is a market place. The question is, if the mosque which is regarded as the best place is now in the market, we should, therefore, reexamine the categorization of something bad and good.

The hadith cannot be literally understood because if it is understood literally it means that people who come to the market or mall are men who enliven the bad place. Actually, the Prophet

did not carelessly say this saying; there are some reasons beyond this hadith. For instance, we can easily find bad things in many markets such as cheating scales, selling defective goods without informing the buyer, doing usury, lying, reducing the dose, being dishonest in offering price, and many more causing people in the market carry on sin.

Addressing mosque as the best place and market as the worst place should be understood as metaphor which means that market is a symbol of worldly needs, while mosque is a symbol of hereafter needs. It is not an absolute dichotomy such as right and wrong or black and white. To prove this argument, it is well known in Islam there is no prohibition to go to market. In fact, there is a verse in the Qur'an which states that the Prophet also visited the market. Indeed, market position and mosques seem contradictory, but in fact it can be compromised by looking at people's motivation going to the market. There are two lofty goals for people who want to come to market. The first is to seek the lawful sustenance and the second is to remember Allah in the market. Both of these goals are the meeting point between worldly life and life-hereafter. Besides, there are some ascetic figures which actually quite familiar with the world market. For example, Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, until the early seconds of serving the caliph, he still came to the market to sell cloth. Although in the end, he took care of the state to concentrate because of Umar's advice. Similarly, Uthman included Merchant accomplished very familiar with the world market, and other Sufis also come to the market. Instead of making money, they came there precisely to remember God's remembrance.

Another way to compromise the contradictory hadith is by using one of *Ushul Fiqh* principles namely *Mafhum Mukhalafah* (Literally: understanding something with the reverse meaning). It means that the market will be the most glorious place if the sellers are honest in weighing goods, giving the size of the dose, and not selling defective goods, and if they were selling defective goods, they will inform to their prospective buyers. So, the transaction was based on mutual pleasure, and everything is done with the values of kindness. Therefore, we do not need to be if the market could be the most glorious

place, because there are many temptations to cheat in the market but they are still patient and do good things in accordance with God's teachings revealed to Muhammad, His Messenger.

Again, the market is just a metaphor because every place could be the worst place or the best place. If we refer to the above hadith, the mosque is known as the most glorious place; it is not surprising because the mosque is a place where people remember to God, worship God and always praise God. On the contrary, the market is commonly known as the bad place because some people made something fraud, usury, and other bad things. But, when the market is filled with people who fear to Allah, and they traded honestly, then the market will also become the best place. Basically, the market and the mosque are only parable. Any place on this earth would be the best place, if it is used as a place to remember Allah and to do His commandments. On the other hands, a place will be the worst if it is used as a place to do evil, destruction, usury, especially unforgivable deed which is *shirk* (believe in more than one God).

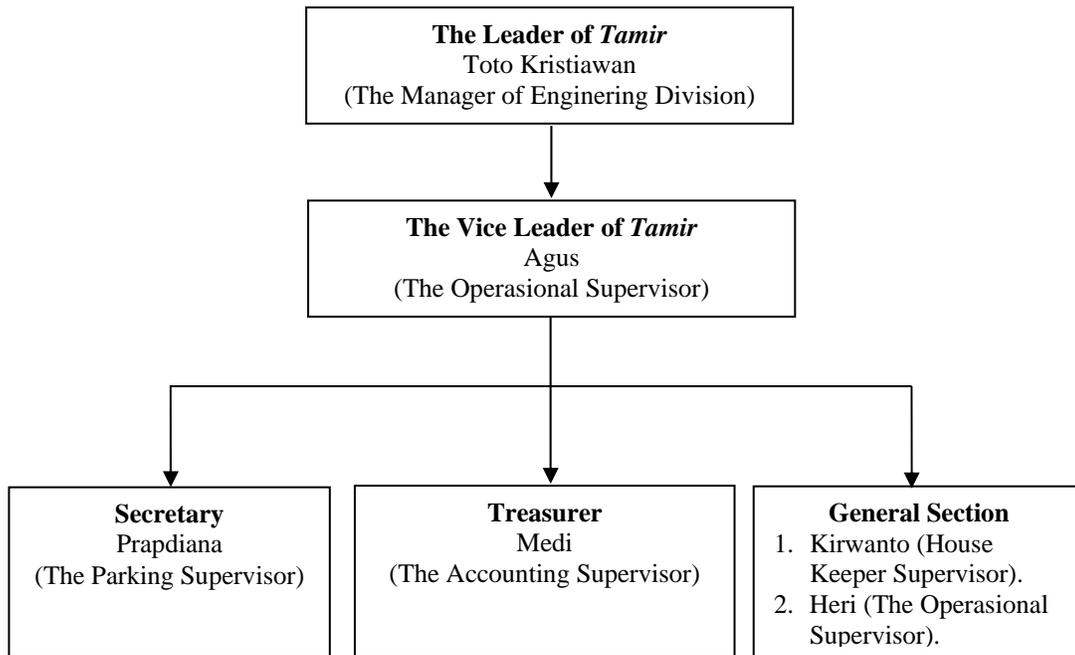
Meanwhile, Sleman Regent, Sri Purnomo had also delivered a welcoming speech. He said that he gave a great appreciation for Ambarukmo Plaza which presented a worship facility in the shopping area. With the existence of this mosque, both employees and visitors can easily run their worship despite being located in this plaza. Hopefully, this mosque is also providing facility which can be emulated by other public places (<http://www.harianjogja.com/baca/2013/04/27/ada-masjid-baru-di-atap-plaza-ambarrukmo-400705>).

To carry out the functions of the mosque as a place of worship, social facilities, and marketing strategy, the management of Ambarukmo Plaza established a board. The composition of the mosque's board is quite simple which has to be responsible directly to the general manager of Ambarukmo Plaza, Mr. Surya Ananta. To be noted that there are two owners of the Ambarukmo Plaza, namely: Mr. Edi and Mr. Bambang BS, and both of them are Christians. The composition of the board is shown in figure 1 which is based on an interview with Toto Kristiawan :

If we analyze the structure of *tamir* as mentioned in figure 1 above, we can see that the mosque is controlled by some employees who have fairly high level positions such as manager and supervisor. In other words, we can say that the involvement in the management's mosque can be categorized as a competition in religious capital. At least, there are two reasons supporting this argument. The first reason, the selection of the management board was held in annual meeting of managers Ambarukmo Plaza. There are six manager involved in Ambarukmo Plaza, namely: Marketing Manager, Leasing Manager, General Affair Manager, Human Resources Development Manager, Accounting Manager, and Engineering Manager. From six managers, there are four managers who are Christians and two managers who are Muslims. During the meeting, Mr. Toto was elected as the chairman of *ta'mir* without competitor. The engineering manager was chosen because previously he had been a vice chairman of *ta'mir* at the old mosque before renovation. Another consideration is because he is the only Muslim man from the six managers. In addition, he also confirmed that the owners really believe to him (Personal interview, December 6th, 2013). It means that he has social capitals such as trust, knowledge, and experience. By optimizing his social capitals he won the competition for position of the chairman of *ta'mir*. In terms of Bourdieu's

now he becomes *religiosite dominate*. The second reason is related to the detachment of the mosque with religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama, (NU, Renaissance of Islamic Scholars), Muhammadiyah, and others. In the absence of outside parties who participated in the management of the mosque, the power level of the shareholders of Ambarukmo Plaza becomes stronger and the control more effective. According to Bourdieu, the autonomy of religious field (or religious capital) asserts itself in the tendency of specialists to lock themselves up in autarchic reference to already accumulated religious knowledge and in the esotericism of a quasi-cumulative production, destined first of all for its producers (Bourdieu, 1991: 9).

Figure 1:
The Structure of *Ta'mir* of Ambarukmo Plaza's Mosque



Toto Kristiawan said that after the inauguration of the mosque there is a young man who is an activist in the Anshar Youth Movement (*GP Anshor*). He volunteered to join the mosque authorities of Ambarukmo Plaza, but because of the distance of his house which is quite far from Ambarukmo Plaza, he is finally rejected (Personal interview, December 6th, 2013). Perhaps this is not the only reason given by him; it is possible there are other reasons which are more appropriately associated with the rejection and the reasons do not need to be mentioned in public. Thus, I argue that the religious capital or field is always related to the actors involved in it. Salvatore said that:

"Actors within religious field organize their interests, fulfill their functions, acquire their cultural capital and social prestige and reinvest them the culture market according to dynamics that increasingly involve stakes of public definition along with skilled crafting and marketing of religious services and products. This is not "free market" but a highly oligopolistic one, however, as the new religious media star (like Mustafa Mahmud or Shaykh Sha'rawi, who migrate from different print and electronic media and are well-established TV celebrities) resembles a media

notable who chases after market shares at the same time as having to make show of a personal virtue, of a charismatic energy that is still comparable with the one shaykhs have to use in order to check the loyalty of adepts and clients."

(Salvatore, 1997: 104)

Salvatore's statement is similar with Bourdieu's statement who argued that:

"Religious capital depends, at a given moment in time, on the state of the structure of objective relation between religious demand (i.e. the religious interest of various groups or classes of laity) and religious supply (i.e. religious services, whether orthodox or heretical) that the various claimants are brought to produce." (Bourdieu, 1991: 22).

Indeed, the construction of a new mosque in Ambarukmo Plaza and forming the management of *ta'mir* can be categorized as religious supply, while the need for a convenient place of worship (the new mosque) from many customers who still practice five-times prayers can be considered as religious demand. Thus, it is not surprising that Ambarukmo Plaza is always crowded with visitors especially on weekends and preceding days before national public holidays

such as Christmas and New Year holidays. It does not mean that other mall in Yogyakarta such as Galeria mall and Malioboro mall do not seem crowded, but what I want to emphasize here is the fulfillment the economic law in term of "religious demand" and "religious supply" between mall and its customers.

b. The Friday Sermon as Religious Field

In the following explanation I would like to try to answer the second and third question related to how the Friday prayer is practiced in the mosque of Ambarukmo Plaza, and what are the function of sermon and the existence of preacher? In this explanation, I am not only going to look at the implementation of the Friday prayer, but I also want to see the possibility of Friday sermon as religious goods and the existence of preacher as religious labor. Friday prayer is particularly important event in the weekly calendar of a Muslim. The mosque overflows as worshippers perform ablution and rush to participate in weekly service. When the time for Friday prayer comes, the mosque fill to capacity and many worshipers often squeeze into places on sidewalk or even a street adjoining the mosque. According to Abdul Kader Tayob, Friday prayer can be a religious symbol of multiple meanings and references that beckon to be examined (Tayob, 1999: viii). Rituals, beliefs, and practices are often thought of as immutable symbols, which escape the positive and deleterious effects of history. Abu Lughod addressed this when she recalled Bourdieu's contention that symbols, rituals, and myths were simply "disposition that generate and structure practices and representations but are themselves structured by such things as material conditions characteristic of a class condition." Thus, symbols were themselves dynamic and changing, subject to the historical, dynamic forces change (Abu Lughod, 1990 : 83).

To see how the Friday Prayer is practiced in the mosque of Ambarukmo Plaza, I came to the mosque thirty minutes before prayer. To be exact, I came to the mosque at 11.30 a.m. at noon. At the time, only few people had come to the mosque. Technically speaking, there is almost no significant difference in the implementation of Friday prayer between Ambarukmo Plaza mosque and others. The difference lies in the amount of

adzan (prayer call). Some mosques in Indonesia practice call prayers (*adzan*) twice, while others execute call prayer only one time. Before call prayers, one of the mosque's boards informs to the participants that they are not allowed talk when the preacher (*khatib*) has climbed the pulpit. The Mosque committee deliberately sets the time an announcement a few minutes before the entry time of prayer. Along with the announcement of the completion of the usual prayer time enters. Just at that moment he ends his announcement and preacher ascends the pulpit. After *adzan*, preacher delivers his sermon. If we count the minutes of the implementation of Friday prayer along with sermon, it takes no more than 35 minutes approximately. When compared with the implementation of the Friday prayer in the societies' mosques, the implementation of Friday prayer in Ambarukmo Plaza is relatively more quickly, because most of the participants are employees who have limited time off. After Friday prayer finished, they have to take a lunch and get back to work.

Because of the diversity of the participants and related to the effort to make the mosque as one of the icons that have marketability, the mosque officials (*ta'mir*) are trying to develop how to improve the competitiveness of the mosque through a variety of ways especially in the practicing the Friday prayer. It indicates that they actually realized directly or indirectly that the existence of the mosque can be categorized as a religious capital, while the practicing of the Friday prayer along with the sermon is a religious field. In the previous explanation we can already know how the mosque serves as a religious capital. Now I will show the practicing of the Friday prayer along with the sermon as a religious field. The competition in religious field can be seen in the sermon and the preacher.

c. Sermon as Religious Goods

Before analyzing the Friday sermon as religious goods, it is better to know the composition of the sermon itself. The purpose is to show how the sermon is practiced and what the things are needed to wrap up the sermon as an interesting religious goods. Now let me start to explain it. Generally the sermon (*khutba*) was to

be divided into two sections, with the *khatib* sitting down briefly between the two. Most Muslims believe there is "a sacred time" in which if they say prayers to the God, the God will certainly accept their prayers, and the sacred time is when the *khatib* sits between two sermons. The opening should include the customary locutions of praise to God (*the hamdala*), prayers to the Prophet (*salat 'ala al-nabi*), and the *shahada*, the testimony to the unity of God and the status of Muhammad as his messenger; the *khatib* was instructed to recite verses from the Quran during the first section, and during both sections he should exhort the listeners to greater piety, ending with an invocation to God (*du'a*). He should be in state of ritual purity, and, according to some, should lean on a staff of sword during the *khutba* (Hirschkind, 2006: 47-48).

After the formalized introduction, the *khatib* says "now then (*amma ba'du*)," to indicate the beginning of the body of the *khutba* itself. Preachers can and often do adapt and adjust this basic format for rhetorical effect, but the essential framework remains consistent (Wise, 2003: 17). Sermons in Ambarukmo Plaza Mosque today generally conform to this basic structure. This is not to say that contemporary sermons have not undergone significant change in recent decades but simply that such changes have not been at the level of the basic, doctrinally defined elements. Traditionally, the Friday sermon occurs within a highly structured spatial and temporal frame, as duty upon the Muslim community as established in the exemplary practices of the prophet (Hirschkind 2006: 10).

Furthermore the development of Islamic sermon, or *khutba*, as a regular feature of mosque ritual (more specifically known as *khutba al-mimbariya*, that is, "sermon of the pulpit" or *khutba al-jum'a*, that is, "sermon of the day of assembly," meaning Friday) along with the evolution of the *khatib*, the one who preaches it, has not been a subject of extensive interest among modern students of Middle Eastern history. In fact, many have virtually ignored this enduring oratorical dimension of Muslim society life even while presenting vast and marvelous detail dealing with countless other aspects of religious culture. But it is also true that the sermon and the functions of the preacher are not well documented

for many periods and places (Gaffney, 1994: 118-119).

In some countries, sermon could be used to encourage modern virtues of hard work, individual initiative, self improvement, cooperation, and obedience to state authority. (Hirschkind 2006: 44). Sermons are also understood to evoke in sensitive listener a particular set of ethical responses, foremost among them, fear (*khawf*), humility (*khushu'*), regret (*nadam*), repentance (*tawba*), and tranquility (*sakina*) (Hirschkind 2006: 74).

From this explanation, we know that the sermon is one of the religious goods. Bourdieu said that the religious goods depend on mediation of the position of the productive claimant in the structure of religious field. (Bourdieu, 1991: 22). In other words, Bourdieu asserted that the religious message (especially in the sermon) should have the capability of satisfying the religious interest of determinate group of laypeople. Thus, the sermon material is very important to note because it is directly linked to the religious interest of the participants of the Friday prayer. The more interesting the sermon content, the greater strictly religious authority will be.

d. The Preacher as Religious Labor

The tradition of Islamic preaching has its basis in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, who is regarded by Muslims as the "first and model preacher (*khatib*). Muhammad delivered sermons, conducted meetings and rallied his followers in the first mosque, a space adjacent to his home in Medina (Gaffney, 1994: 19). Early on, the mosque took on a multipurpose character that reflected the multifaceted role of the preacher. As described by Richard Antoun, the mosque "was a place of asylum, a place to discuss important place of worship (Antoun, 1989: 68). The elevated seat, or *mimbar*, from which the preacher delivered the Friday sermon and announced important decisions, news and prohibitions, become a "symbol of religiopolitical authority" (Antoun, 1989: 68), invested with the divinely sanctioned honor and earthly power of Muhammad, the original Islam *khatib*, in his capacity as the first

leader of the *'umma*, or Muslim community. In this sense, the mosque itself was conceived as the ultimate community center, with both spiritual and practical uses.

Practically speaking, there are two kinds of *khatibs*, in term of professional Islamic knowledge: those who are not trained imams and have no Shari'a degree(s) and those who do. Most *khatibs* are not formally trained, and so careful not to make a major error that would trigger a correction from audience after the *khutba*. Making continuous error or bringing textually unsubstantiated ideas might cause a *khatib* to be barred from preaching, thereby destroy his constructed self-image. On the other hand, those with Shari'a degree(s) who can speak with some authority are eager to stay within the confines of parochial subjects because this is the type of knowledge in which they were trained. Relying on an ancient legacy of textual commentaries carries with it a mixed blessing – it endows one with authoritativeness as much as it poses a challenge (Hashem, 2009: 14-15).

From this explanation we know that the first preacher in Islamic history is the prophet Muhammad, and then this role is replaced by his Companions, his Successors and the Islamic scholars (*ulama*) after him, but recently, anyone can be a preacher. It shows us that the position of the preacher is not sacred anymore. Related to this issue, Bourdieu stated that:

"Because of the relative autonomy of the religious field as a market for the goods salvation, one can see the various historically realized *configurations* of the structure of relations among the various claimants competing for religious legitimacy as so many *moments in a system of transformations*. One can also attempt to discern the structure of the *invariant relations* among the properties attached to the groups of specialists occupying homologous position in different fields, without ignoring that the relations among the different claimants could be characterized in an exhaustive and precise manner only within each historical configuration" (Bourdieu, 1991: 5).

As long as he can recite the holy Quran correctly and deliver the sermon rhetorically, anyone can be a preacher. The requirements to

become preacher are qualification and competitiveness. As a religious labor the preacher should have an ability to harmonize between *religious demand* (i.e. the religious interests of various groups or classes of laity) and *religious supply* (i.e. religious services, whether orthodox or heretical). Besides, Bourdieu argued that religious labor is carried out by specialized producers and spokespeople invested with the power, institutional or not, to respond to particular category of needs belonging to certain social groups with a definite type of practice or discourse (Bourdieu, 1991: 5). For example, Ahmad Rifa'i (one of the preacher of Ambarukmo Plaza's mosque) stated that the good preacher should persuade the listeners. It means that as a religious labor he really understands the *religious demand* from the participants of Friday prayer and he tried to fulfill it.

Conclusion

To sum up, I think the presence of mosques in Ambarukmo Plaza, in particular, and in other shopping centers, in general, seems to be a new religious phenomenon. The owners of Ambarukmo Plaza were really aware of the importance of the provision of religious facilities such as mosque and *mushalla* for the visitors and employees. Certainly if we analyze this phenomenon from economic perspective, the presence of the mosque cannot be separated from the economic motivations, and the main motivation in economic action is naturally to gain the profit as much as possible. In this case the mosque and all its activities can serve as a means to achieve the economic motivation. If they can achieve the economic goal by providing the mosque, it is possible that other shopping centers will build the same mosque as a consequent. Thus, the competition in the religious field and the religious capital becomes more exciting and attractive. Hopefully I think, it is the implication of this article.

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