Local Islam and Javanese Culture Penetration: Muslim *Alif Rebo Wage* (Aboge) Negotiations in Identity Formation

Ahmad Muttaqin

UIN Saizu Purwokerto
Jl. A. Yani No. 40-A Purwanegara, Kec. Purwokerto Utara,
Kabupaten Banyumas, Jawa Tengah 53126
E-mail: ahmadmuttaqin@uinsaizu.ac.id

Nina Mariani Noor

Universitas Islam NegeriSunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta
Jl. Laksda Adisucipto, Papringan, Caturtunggal, Kec. Depok, Kabupaten
Sleman, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55281
E-mail: nina.noor@uin-suka.ac.id

Abstract: This article aims to explain the efforts of Aboge Muslims as a group that gains penetration from mainstream culture to negotiate their identity. Aboge (*Alif Rebo Wage*) is a Muslim group in Java that has a Kejawen Islamic identity. In Banyumas District, Central Java, the Aboge identity was built based on the Penginyongan culture whose position is a subculture of Javanese. Using a critical paradigm with the theoretical approach of genetic structuralism developed by Pierre Bourdieu, this article shows that Aboge identity negotiations are carried out by capitalizing on the Penginyongan culture as a locality that has a strategy in the era of regional and village autonomy. The result of this study reveals that Aboge takes the space left by the Banyumasan community because it is inferior to standard Javanese. This is because Penginyongan culture, which includes language, tradition, and religion, tends to be positioned as marginal, assumed to be deviant, and misrepresented. Standard culture uses the instrument of power that is owned to maintain its dominance through the formation of a stratified structure. This structure is

used to distribute other variations at different positions with the epicenter point filled by the standard culture. In the context of language, *bandek* Javanese (Yogyakarta and Solo) is the standard, outside of which includes the North Coast, East Java, and Banyumasan are dialects. Locality gained momentum during the period of regional and village autonomy which demanded its development to explore and accommodate local culture. Aboge with Penginyongan identity then becomes a manifestation that represents locality.

Keywords: Aboge, Identity Negotiation, Penginyongan, Dialect, Java

A. INTRODUCTION

The Muslim group Alif Rebo Wage (Aboge) in Banyumas prominently shows the attributes of Penginyongan culture as its socio-cultural identity in public. The practice of organizing religious worship and cultural events are two events that show Aboge attributing itself to elements of locality, both originating from Islam and Penginyongan (Prawiro, 2014; Ramadhan & Masykur, 2018; Sholikhah et al., 2017). As stated by Sugeng Priyadi, Banyumas people with Penginyongan have different characters from standard Javanese, namely *cablaka* (Priyadi, 2007). The basic meaning of *cablaka* is children's words that point to the principle of honesty, truthfulness, and straightforwardness. Aboge expresses the practice of religious rituals and *cablaka* in public openly, confidently, and consistently.

The study of local groups negotiating their identity against the dominant culture that penetrates is generally classified into three groups, namely the fluidity of flexibility of the original culture to the new environment which then collectively forms a different cultural construction from the previous one (Kokaislová, 2019; Tileagã, 2011; Weigert, 1986). The second is a distinction, which is the process of showing identity by differentiating it from other constructions that previously existed (Jodamus, 2017; Saeed, 2019; Tileagã, 2011). Pierre Bourdeu pointed out that distinction is not only used to show distinctive characteristics but also as a symbolic struggle for certain groups to build superiority over others through the distinction itself (Bourdieu, 1996). The third is resistance which is shown through the rejection of local groups against dominant cultural forces (Baris Isci Pembeci, 2020; Jones, 2011; Kunovich, 2017). Jesse A. Smith confirmed that about 2% of the American

Atheist group showed their identity by questioning the core of religion through a rational and scientific approach (Smith, 2013).

This study aims to complete the study of local groups negotiating their cultural identity against the penetration of the dominant culture. The analysis is carried out by identifying the local groups with the existence of the original culture which substantially differs from the dominant culture. Aboge is a local group that is culturally under pressure to confirm the status addressed to them as their group identity. The differential minority as an identity aimed at the Aboge is not interpreted as a threat which then encourages them to make fundamental changes to reduce penetration. Aboge is consistent with its cultural principle that members come from families that are related by *nasab* (blood) only and do not develop the concept of external development.

The main argument of this study is that identity is historical and is formed continuously and dynamically. Because it is historical, identity is the result of a social process through intensive communication and interaction practices involving many actors in an open discursive space. Each actor actively negotiates his political-social views and attitude which, when they reach the point of conformity, form collective agreements. As a political process, social groupa use negotiation as a contest or arena that must be won by risking their resources or capital. Social capital is a potential resource as a basis for habitus formation and a method of winning contestations.

B. METHOD

This study is based on field research on the Aboge Muslim community in Kracak Village, Ajibarang District, Banyumas Regency. The focus of the writing is on the efforts of the Aboge Muslim community to negotiate their identity when they receive penetration from mainstream external groups based on religion (Islam) and Javanese culture. The data as the basis of this study are in the form of descriptions, perceptions, and social facts that manifest from the Aboge in negotiating their socio-cultural identity.

The research subjects used as the source of this study are the individual Muslim group Aboge Kracak Village who were selected proportionally based on their position and strategic involvement in the community. Participants were divided into two categories, namely the elite which is the individual who holds the collective authority of the group and is played by the *kyai*. The second category is Aboge Muslim members who represent patron groups. The

selection of individual participants in each category was done randomly with the consideration that the tendencies of each in the same cluster tend to be homogeneous.

The main research instruments were interview guides and recordings. Data collection was carried out using direct interviews in an informal setting. This adapts to the social situation of the community who generally work as farmers. Informal situations allow participants to tell specific conditions related to social feelings and attitudes at the time of getting socio-cultural penetration.

Data analysis was carried out in five stages, namely reduction, classification, interpretation, display, and conclusion. All data obtained at the initial stage was reduced to obtain the suitability and needs of the analysis to be carried out. Then the disaggregated data were grouped based on thematic analysis clusters and proceeded to the interpretation stage. The results of the interpretation were presented and then in the final stage conclusions were drawn according to the theoretical assumptions that have been formulated from the start.

C. Penetration and Local Culture Response

In general, the response of local culture to the penetration of mainstream culture can be divided into three tendencies. The first is a fluidity of cultural flexibility. Fluidity is an event that almost occurs in all socio-cultural groups when they meet and interact with other entities. Flexibility makes elements and symbols in certain cultures metamorphose into new forms and meanings while simultaneously obscuring the former. This condition is a necessity because humans are not creatures who can do something the same as the previous actors. What distinguishes it is the significance of the changes that occur, in one place the local identity is relatively closed by other cultures, while in other places it can appear dominant. The identity of a group is the result of a process of intercultural interaction and discourse in which each flexes and adapts to each other so that it appears in a relatively new form (Kokaislová, 2019; Tileagã, 2011; Weigert et al., 1986). Arjun Appadurai described a group of people who move or meet another culture will experience a mode of adaptation that affects the formation of their identity. Moreover, if the new culture originates from or is supported by a large group, it will provide a framework, definition, and measures for the cultural identity of the adaptive party (Appadurai, 1996).

Another variation is shown by Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta who explained that minority groups that do not have very strong cultural roots tend to follow the big forces that dominate social processes (Wilcox-Archuleta, 2018). Studies of American minority political choices showed a tendency for small Latino groups to adopt dominant ethnic identities to be perceived as belonging to the mainstream. Through this accommodation of identity, minor groups can be connected to the mainstream and can obtain other benefits, especially in the business sector for their continued existence. In the context of language as culture, Angelika Berlejung showed the performance of identity built from negotiations and interactions at the local level (Berlejung, 2019). Hefner called this process cultural transmission. It is a change that accommodates and integrates into a larger social group. Hefner called this process mythically (Hefner, 2083). Some inscriptions showed that the language used has shifted from the original and has been mixed with others.

The second is a distinction, which is the most common study of a small group that is under the control of majority domination, presenting its social and cultural identity as a medium or instrument of involvement in the ongoing interactions. Through this distinction, small groups show their social existence by placing themselves in a different position among other identities (Jodamus, 2017; Saeed, 2019; Tileagã, 2011). Pierre Bourdeu showed that distinction is not only used to display distinctive characteristics but also as a symbolic struggle for certain groups to build superiority over others through the distinction itself. For Bourdieu, identity as taste is not something natural, but cultural. Taste is an effort of social affirmation of a person or group when in a certain arena to distinguish himself from others (Bourdieu, 1996).

A different study was conducted by Fierenziana Getruida Junus (Junus, 2019) who explained language variations in social media as part of the construction of user identity. The language of social media users is not standard and is considered wrong so it is positioned as marginal, subordinate, and not authoritative. Social media users then maintain their identity through application updates as the most accepted form in the digital world. Through this mastery of technology, social media users develop a different and distinctive communication language with standard standards as the identity and representation of their social group. Third, resistance, a form of disagreement by showing resistance to cultural groups that penetrates. Minority groups who experience suppressive treatment tend to take actions that have a high risk and

go against public currents such as deviant sex behaviour, alcohol, and terrorism (Roni Factor, Ichiro Kawachi, 2011). The behavior chosen is not intended to achieve something but rather to show the majority group the existence of a socially maintained minority. As pointed out by James A. Piazza that terrorism at the domestic level is not a mass phenomenon but the behavior of actors who experience economic and political discrimination. They target places or items that represent the dominant group as targets for attack (Piazza, 2011).

Mustapha Kamal Pasha (Pasha, 2001) also explained the same thing. He described the resistance of Islam in several countries that position it as a minority as a culture resistance to excessive domination. Western liberalism according to him equates culture with consumption. Human capacity will be achieved if every individual and group has the freedom to fulfill their needs through the consumption of various commodities. These ideas are propagated into models that are imitated or adapted by the global community. Islamic resistance is often misunderstood as tradition versus modernity in which the two positions contradict each other in an extreme way.

The study of local groups' resistance to domination in the form of physical pressure and political policies has transformed into a social movement. Yulisa Fringka showed that the people of Nagari Koto Tanah Datar, West Sumatera, can transform resistance to mining indutralization in their area into a social movement (Fringka, 2016). This movement is based on traditional values and traditions that are socialized and strengthened continuously to the community so that it creates a resistance attitude towards external values or activities that have the potential to threaten their existence.

For groups that do not have genuine cultural roots, identity as aspiration is formed through exploration and capitalization of crucial issues that become their main problem. (Parasecoli, 2014). Identity is used as an instrument to build communication and negotiation with other parties to get the desired aspirations. In immigrant communities, food as a central issue is used as identity when negotiating with authoritative institutions. A similar pattern occurs in the Akha community, a minority group in the mountains of Southwest China, Northern Thailand, and Laos as demonstrated by Cris Lyttleton and Douangphet Sayanouso (Cris Lyttleton, 2011), who reproduced a distorted culture of sexuality as a means of negogiating with the state and donor agencies in demanding infrastructure development and health service.

Jennifer A. Jones offered another argument. She stated that identity formation was carried out through a negotiation process that involved strategies to achieve a sense of belonging and social cohesiveness (Jones, 2011). Both of these feelings are generated through collective awareness, one of the most effective methods is to capitalize on experiences involved in conflict and social discourse. These experiences are then used as the basis for the preparation of important elements that are used as identities to be fought for in an open space through a process of discourse and conflict. Minority identity struggles and negotiations are carried out continuously until they gain recognition from the majority group.

D. Aboge, Islam and Penginyongan Culture

In the study of Javanese literature history, Islamic Mataram was used as the basis for compiling the periodization of development which consisted of three, namely old (*kawi*), middle, and new (*anyaran*) (Darusuprapta, 1986). Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud divide Javanese literature into four periods, namely the Pre-Islamic Period, for six centuries (900-1500), the Java-Bali Period, for four centuries (1500-1900), the North Java Coastal Period, for three centuries (1500-1800), and Classical Literature Renaissance Period (1700-1900) in Surakarta and Yogyakarta (Pigeaud, 1971).

The development above shows that the Javanese language basically has three periods which can be traced from several fundamental changes. The first is from the literary works produced. The early period of literary works was generally manuscripts in the form of inscriptions. Then, it turned into *kidung* and *suluk* books in the middle period as an implication of Islam development. The new period developed into romances or novels that were influenced by colonialism. The second is from the structure of language. In the ancient and middle periods, the Javanese language did not yet recognize rigis stratification (*undha-usuk*). Manners as part of language ethics have been known since ancient time, but it was still limited to intonation, rhythm, and pronuntication. The structure of the language then changed fundamentally when it entered a new period (*anyaran*) during the Islamic Maratam era. Javanese language has *undha-usuk* with three levels, namely *ngaka* (low), *madya* (medium), and *krama* (high) (Geertz, 1983). The use of language stratification shows the social class of the speakers. In addition to stratification, the new Javanese language changes the pronunciation of the phonetic letter "a" to "o", so there

is a change in the pronunciation of words ending in "a" such as "*sega*" which is read "*sego*". The third is standardizing the language formal education and Islamic religious learning. Formal schools are required to provide local language learning to their students, which then encourages the government to set a "standard" Javanese language. For this purpose, the government then established Modern Java, which started from the Mataram version as the standard Javanese language.

The stratification and phonetic pronunciation of "a" to "o" are differences which then give rise to discussions in the socio-cultural field. Meanwhile, changes in literary works are considered as a normal practice. The discussion is generally related to the version of culture that most adequately represents Java as a unified paradigm, science, and culture. The new (*anyaran*) version of Java with various developments was then selected and set as the standard culture. Then, the implication is that another version becomes a subculture of Java and in the context of language it becomes a dialect (Kurniati & Mardi-kantoro, 2010).[1] After the determination of the new version of Javanese (*anyaran*) as the standard, variations of Javanese outside Surakarta and Yogyakarta covering the northern coast of Central Java, East Java, and Banyumas became dialects. As a dialect, variations in the three user area groups become Javanese subcultures.

Language becomes the entry point to give an inappropriate, dissimilar, or worsened picture of the real reality which is then called misrepresentation (Foucault, 1994). The Javanese *Penginyongan*-speaking social group with everything that is attached and becomes an attribute will be the target of misrepresentation which aims to give a different and even exaggerated description. Misrepresentation in constructing reality is carried out in four forms, namely excommunication, exclusion, marginalization, and delegitimization (Eriyanto, 2009). Excommunication relates to the process of someone being excluded from public discourse. A person is excluded from public discussion because he is considered as *liyan* (the other) who is not part

---

[1]Dialect is a variation of language used by a group of people. If it is only done by an individual, it is called *diolek*. Dialects are classified based on the area of user groups called geographic dialects and social status of user groups called social dialects. Dialect is a language fact that shows deviations from the standard or standard language. Usually the dialect is associated with the substandard language used by small remote social groups with low social status.

| 117

of the community. Exclusion relates to how a person, group, or idea is excluded from public discourse by means of exclusion. A person, group, or idea is spoken to and presented but is viewed differently and perceived as bad. Here the attitude is represented by the discourse which states that one group is good, while the other is bad. Marginalization is a bad depiction of a person, group, and idea of another party. A person or group that is depicted badly still has the same space as the other party but is poorly designed with the practice of using language. Delegitimization relates to how a person, group, or idea is deemed invalid or valid. Delegitimization emphasizes that one's own group is right, while other groups are wrong, unworthy, and illegitimate. In the context of critical discourse analysis, the use of the Penginyongan Javanese dialect as an entry point in carrying out social practices is called language politics (Eriyanto, 2009).[2]

Language as an entry point for the misrepresentation of Penginyongan Javanese speakers then develops into other attributes such as region, tradition, culture, and including religion. In terms of religion, Islam as the majority in the Penginyongan community is constructed by misrepresentation which then gives a different picture from the dominant discourse. Islam in the Penginyongan community is represented more or less the same as the misrepresentation of language as the dialect with the highest level of deviation from standard Javanese. Penginyongan Islam represented by Aboge appears in different variants from the mainstream in three things, namely religious learning methods, spiritual-ritual practices, and *taqlid* on leaders (Ahmad Muttaqin, 2017). These three differences become the material for the misrepresentation of the mainstream group towards Aboge Islam, thus positioning it as traditional, differential, and deviative.[3]

---

[2]Language is an important element in dicousrse theory. This is because its position as amedium for a discourse is a formula in the arrangement of words, phrases, prepositions, and sentences both in written and oral form so that it can represent the complete intent and meaning. The subject's depiction of a reality is highly dependent on the language used. The choice of words and sentences to describe reality does not happen by itself and takes place naturally but is strongly influenced by the interests of the subject for the events that occur. It is in this aspect that language absorbs the ideology and interests of its users. Interests and ideology are abstract things and cannot be seen empirically. However, the representation of ideology in the form of discourse can be seen because the medium of language facilitates ideological practices.

In religious learning, Aboge relies on the method of *ngaji kuping* (Jiping) or ear reading and tends to ignore the text. This Jiping method then became the target of misrepresentation which was generally considered anti-text and contrary to the basic principles of learning the Qur'an as the main source of Islamic teachings. This misrepresentation is increasingly gaining legitimacy by comparing or precisely evaluating how to read the Qur'an of the Aboge group through the application of standard *tajwid* which looks real for the mistakes made. Mistakes include how to pronounce letters (*makharijul huruf*) such as *bismillah* read *semilah* or *ya hayyu ya qayyum* read *ya kayyu ya kayyum*, reading rules (rules of *tanwin*, *nun* and *mim sukun*, *mad*, dll), and styles that follow the Penginyongan Javanese dialect.

Likewise, spiritual rituals are considered syncretic, uniting aspects of Islamic rituals with Javanese culture. This practice is considered to damage the purity of the teachings and has the potential to have a bad influence on the people. Some attribute aspects such as offerings, burning incense, or cutting the *cemani* chicken in the implementation of worship rituals are considered too far against the teachings of Islam. This situation is increasingly critical with elements of spirituality such as prayer which is mixed with the Javanese Penginyongan language so that it seems mystical and looks like a spell.

Islam entered the Banyumas region when the community already had a civilization that was based on Javanese values and knowledge (Lombart, 2008). Banyumas with all its specifications expresses Javanese values and knowledge in a different form of culture from other regions. The geographical location far from the center of the king's power became one of the dominant elements in the formation of his cultural expression which tended to be popular, simple, and mass-oriented. This condition then made the early propagators of Islam in Banyumas make it as a framework and foundation so

---

[3]The practice of excommunication is carried out by involving Aboge in the issue of determining the beginning of Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr. In the discussion, they conveyed more about the principle of determination through the *hisab* and *rukyathilal* method which are commonly used as the main reference for mainstream Muslims. Aboge does not have the same opportunity to convey the method of determination based on the Javanese calendar calculation formula. This excommunication was followed by an exclusion in which the Javanese calendar calculation model as carried out by Aboge was a form of deviation that did not have sufficient basis in Islamic teachings. Therefore, the Aboge calculation is incorrect and can have bad implications for the integrity of the Muslim community (marginalization) and cannot be used as a standard (delegitimization).

that this new religion could be accepted peacefully. Culture in the form of symbols is used as a medium for delivering the core teachings of Islam to the community (Sunyoto, 2017).[4] Through this process, the resistance that generally appears in people who feel threatened can be anticipated.

The nuances of Javanese culture became the main feature of Islamic practice in Banyumas during the Demak and Pajang sultanates. *Sesaji* (offerings), *perimbon*, and various other myths are still ongoing and become an inherent part of the implementation of Islamic religious services. Apart from Javanese symbols, community attributes have not changed much, especially clothing, which in principle can be confronted with shari'ah provisions related to covering the genitals. Islam during the Demak and Pajang sultanates could be called Islam Jawa (Javanese Islam) or Islam Kejawen (Kejawen Islam) even though the people never declared their religious identity (Woodward, 2011).[5] Javanese Islam or Kejawen means religious practice using and accommodating Javanese culture that takes place in local communities.

E. Aboge Subordinate

The most prominent identity of Aboge is the expression of local culture combined with the practice of Islamic religious rituals. In general, the expression of the local culture of Aboge is Javanese which covers all areas of life. Franz Magnis-Suseno stated that Javanese culture has an extraordinary ability to open itself to various entities from within and outside the country without later dissolving or changing shape. The opposite thing happens when the external entities whether they have cultural or transcendental (theological) dimensions, eventually become Javanese. Javanese culture does not develop in isolation, but in open space which later finds its original character (Magnis-

---

[4] Examples of how early Islamic propagators did da'wah in Java are shown in many references. AgusSunyotoshowed that Walisongo used local cultural attributes to communicate Islam with the community. Although in some ways the teachings have contrasting principles, the changes are done using evolutionist cultural methods. The cultural approach leads to ideological change by targeting the formulation of a new awareness in viewing nature, humans, and the Creator.

[5] Mark Woodward definedKejawenIslam as a religious practice that took place in the territory of the former Mataram sultanate. There were several subcultures including Pantura, Banyumasan, and NagariAgung. Kejawen Islam is a religious representation that collaborates with Javanese Mataram culture which is practiced by the community.

Suseno, 1985). With this ability, no expert has been able to describe in depth about Javanese culture until now. The explanation or description of Javanese culture is more of an ideal construction which in practice has never been found in its form.

Javanese culture includes the whole knowledge and practice of life which in its manifestations can be expressed in different ways. In this sense, Javanese culture is basically not only practiced by people living on the island of Java, but it can be done by anyone as long as they have the same world view with the philosophical meaning they have. The core of Javanese culture lies in the concept of *selamet* (safety), both the physical dimension in the profane world and the transcendental non-physical. For the Javanese, humans live in two cosmos, namely the universe (macrocosmos) and the social world (microcosmos). Humans must be able to balance the two cosmos in harmony and side by side to survive. With this basic concept, for Javanese people, everything is done through a procession of *selametan* (salvation), the general form of which is a prayer together and with the complete food to be distributed to the community and certain places that are considered sacred (Woodward, 2011).[6] The expression of efforts to achieve safety between one individual or group and another varies according to the social and physical elements that surround it.

Javanese philosophical views have been simplified when they are transformed into a form of culture which in Arjun Appadurai's view is dominated by a differentiation approach. (Appadurai, 1996). Culture becomes a group identity not to represent the expression of its world views but rather to bring out a different form from other individuals and groups. In this situation then stratification that encourages intercultural competition to obtain the highest status emerges. Cultures that are constructed by groups that have dominant social, economic, and political capital have relatively more opportunities to get high status than others. This means that the high and low status of culture is not determined by the ability to represent philosophical values but by the

---

[6]*Selametan* is intended to maintain physical and spiritual safety for the people who organize it. The essence of *selametan* is a prayer which is ended by eating together called *kenduri* and providing it in a place that are considered as sacred as *sesaji* or offerings. *Selametan* is mostly influenced by Islamic terminogoly, namely *salam* which means safety, peace, or prosperity. All projections of the life of the Javanese people are directed to achieve the safety of the worlds and the hereafter.

support of social, economic, and political capital. Dominant power is able to force its narrative on other parties to be accepted and acknowledged (Wolfgang Detel, 1998).[7]

Relatively the same condition occurs in religion which is textually a revelation of God and has absolute truth. Humans do not have the opportunity to intervene on the descriptions of truth that have been conveyed either through the scriptures or the delivery of individuals and groups who are considered to have full authority. Power can control knowledge to carry out operations in accordance with the interests of perpetuating the status quo through construction with a differentiation approach. The method of differentiation is chosen by the dominant group when entering a new issue that does not have a strong tradition. Regardless, the differentiation results are considered more representative of an authoritative description of religion, the power to work to impose new models, approaches, and methods as a habitus to the public. As Bourdieu's view (Pierre Bourdieu, 1992), habitus is the most ideological way to exercise control over others. As a construction, religion is the habitus of certain actors which are then forced inmplication on other and have social and political implications in the form of failure to adapt.

Through a differentiation approach, Mataram as a "newcomer" in the Javanese cultural constellation composes a different construction from most of which generally has the same pattern. Javanese culture before Mataram had relatively the same construction, especially in verbal aspects such as literature and language (Metafisika & Gadamer, 2016).[8] Mataram then developed the construction of the new (*anyaran*) Javanese language by differentiating two main points, namely language stratification (*undha-usuk*) and the phonetic

---

[7]Foucault mentioned that there was a shift in the practice of cultural construction in modern society. In classical times, knowledge became a power capable of determining other fields. In modern times, the trend is changing that the role of knowledge is shifted by power. The power group can determine and various fields including what knowledge the public should have. With this pattern, the dominant group can perpetuate its power.

[8]Several literary works pointed to Javanese philosophical policies and views. In the later period after the founding of Demak and the development of Walisongo'sda'wah, Javanese literature was most influenced by Islamic teachings. In terms of language, the kingdoms before Mataram used the Javanese language of the middle period which in principle was not too different from the *kawi* (old)period. The development of literature has implications for the addition of new vocabulary which then undergoes adjustments in the middle period. The medieval Javanese language basically did not recognize complex stratification. Language manners are used to give appreciation to communication partners and are not power oriented.

pronunciation of the letter "a" into "o" and the letter "k" at the end of the word clearly (Wedhawati, 2006). The consruction of this new Javanese language was massively socialized throughout Mataram's territory through messengers called *gandek.* The language style of *gandek* which was different from Javanese was usually referred to the tongues of the western region of Mataram people as *bandek.* With the support of the power, the new version of the Javanese language later became the standard and positioned other differenr variations as dialects.

In terms of religion, Islam at the beginning of Mataram's rule had a Javanese style as a consequence of the marginalization of the ulama as one of the elements of the king's advisors and the takeover of religious authority through the acquisition of the title *Panembahan* from the Giri cleric. The Kejawen Islamic model developed by Mataram was different from most of the people who were previously the target of da'wah from the Pajang clerics who tended to be orthodox and textual (Noorhaidi Hasan & Munirul Ikhwan, 2017).[9] Developments began to shift when the throne of Mataram was held by Sultan Agung who had competitors from Banten as a representation of the Islamic sultanate in Java. The change in the title of king, religious socialization, and accommodation of the interests of the ulama through the development of madrasa and Islamic boarding schools became the turning point for the change in the Islamic style of Mataram. At the same time, community of Islam who previously tended to be orthodox and textual as a result of the legacy of the Pajang clerics experienced deviations as a direct implication of traditional learning methods. The form of deviation refers to two main things, namely syncretism in the form of mixing Islamic rituals with local culture (Javanese)

---

[9]The role of the ulama which were replaced by poets was politically suspected because they were not involved, neutral, or even supportedPajangat the time of foundingMataram. The ulama's centers such asGiriandTembayatwere also destroyed either through physical or socio-political approaches such as the acquisition of Panembahan titles which were previously the authority ofGiriulama. Islam at the end of thePajangperiod was the center of orthodoxy that posed a serious threat to the newly foundedMataram. Weakening the power of the ulama became a strategic way for the early Mataram king to legitimize his power by involving more poets. Moch Nur Ichwan, "Raja, Pujangga, dan Nalar Islam Kejawen, Politik Deortodoksifikasi, Apropriasi, dan Hermeneutika Pribumi"*, in*Membaca Kebaikan Bersama Masa Mataram Islam* (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga dan Puslitbang Lektur Kementerian Agama RI, 2017), 59-60.

and the quality of mastery of the main Islamic sources due to discontinuity in learning.

Syncretism was manifested mainly in the form of a mixture of religion and culture at the time of ritual implementation. *Sesaji* (offerings), *mantra* (Javanese prayer), and certain procedures became standards that are practiced differently according to the purpose of the ritual. In the normative Islamic perspective, such syncretism practices fell into the category of shirk, heresy, or at least heresy which was not following the basic provisions. The shift from orthodoxy and textualism to syncretic-deviative could occur because during the era of Raden Sutawijaya's rule (1587) to Sultan Agung (1613) or about 26 years there was no massive Islamic da'wah movement to develop or at least maintain the quality of Islam inherited from Pajang. The people of Mataram who are not completely free from the influence of Hindu-Buddhist and magic-mythological behavior of life were compelled to mix religious rituals.

The practice of syncretism was increasingly widesrpread, one of which was caused by the lack mastery of Islamic knowledge. The scientific method used was traditional. They did not know the text, and only followed the understanding of the predecessors or it was called *taqlid.* This learning method was later known as *ngaji kuping* (*Jiping*) or learning only by hearing and speaking or *nutur kaki* (*Turki*). They followed the ancestors uncritically. The quality of reading has not been standardized. Moreover, it was not supported by the availability of texts as learning and monitoring/controlling instruments. This minimalist reading quality became a massive deviation problem when it was disseminated to novice learners. This condition has occurred until now that the dominant learning models used are Jiping and Turki.

This differentiation of syncretic and taqlid ritual practices based on jiping and turki then became the basis for positioning local Muslim groups as marginal and subordinate to the mainstream developed by Mataram under Sultan Agung. The accommodation of the Muslim santri group had a major influence on the shift in the religious style of Mataram Islam which was purer with the application of modern learning models based on Arabic texts. Islamic boarding schools and madrasas became strategic institutions in the development of Mataram Islam during the reign of Sultan Agung, which directly became the standard for carrying out religious rituals. Other Muslim groups whose rituals and learning were different from those of pesantren and madrasas would be considered deviant, marginal, and subordinate.

The issue of differentiation tent to be used as an entry point to assert Mataram's political power over its people. Through differentiation, power has the legitimacy to define certain Muslim groups as normal or deviative. The existence of Muslim groups which were defined deviatively in a political context was important to show that power operated and had the power of control over all activities carried out by its people. The show of power, control power, and people's obedience were needs that must be met by Mataram as part of strengthening bargaining power and developing social capital to compete with fellow Islamic sultanates, namely Banten. Keeping the existence of subordinate groups as a practice of power in the public-political space under control was basically directed at capitalizing on the dominant power. Michel Foucaul called this condition as panoptic (Gordon & (Ed), 1980). This means that supervision was not carried out continuously or discontinuously but had a continuous effect. The popular panoptic form was regulation in which the power owner would be increasingly dominant over others because he felt he was constantly being watched. Regulation not only regulates, but in fact what was more dominant was positioning the sub-dominant group as a party that was always threatened. With this feeling, the sub-dominant group then performed obedient (orderly) actions on the regulations carried out in the form of differential and deviative identification.

Aboge in Banyumas as a local group is defined in a definitive and deviative way as the construction of culture and religion (Islam) developed by Mataram. In terms of culture, Aboge is a Javanese Penginyongan entity that applies a different culture to Mataram as the mainstream. Penginyongan language actually has a form that is closest to kawi (old) and middle Javanese. In the contrary, after Mataram shifted, the language became a dialect because it was considered to contain many deviations. The Javanese language developed by Mataram as a new period that recognized various stratifications (*undha-usuk*) as part of the political agenda then took the position of becoming the standard. In terms of religion, the practice carried out by the Aboge is also defined in a different way and is considered deviative. Religious practices which in some ways mix Javanese and Islamic traditions are defined as syncretic in contrast to the general construction of Islam by Mataram. Religious attitudes that are blindly *taqlid* or *turki* (only follow passively) as an implication of the *Jiping* learning method produced deviant worship practices, with this differential and deviate definition, the Aboge in the cons-

tellation of Javanese and Islamic culture become a subordinated group. Marginalization, exclusion, and some practices of misrepresentation of Aboge and Penginyongan Javanese culture take place in social, political, and media practices.

F. Conclusion

Negotiations on the social identity of Aboge Muslims were carried out by identifying themselves with the Penginyongan culture and the Demak-Pajang Islamic religion. The form of this identification refers to two main things. The first is the attempt to legitimize as a social group that represents Banyumasan culture. The penetration of standard Javanese culture into subcultures implied for the decreased expression of local social groups in the public sphere. Aboge took advantage of this momentum to fill and at the same time acquire the empty space of Penginyongan cultural representation by displaying identity attributes, especially language and traditional arts. The courage of Aboge Muslims to show their local identity in the midst of this general symptom of cultural inferiority had been appreciated by the internal and external communities of the Penginyongan. Internally, Aboge is positioned as a local genuin group that represents Penginyongan culture. Externally, Aboge is an ambassador and at the same time an entry point for intercultural communication.

The second is that the political choice of the Aboge by continuing to show themselves as a small Islamic group is defined as deviant. It shows the implementation of a social defense strategy through the formation of a new habitus. Through this strategy, the Aboge politically can avoid the penetration of mainstream culture, which if faced *vis a vis* almost certain to lose. The formation of a new habitus changes the value composition and configuration of actors based on the social capital contested in a particular arena. Aboge Muslims with their locality and differentiation capital can control the contestation, which then controls the actors through the imposition of their habitus. Aboge's differentiated Islamic practice does not reflect theological reflection. On the contrary, it is identity politics to gain social, cultural, and religious existence from power authorities which tend to be penetrative.

G. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahmad Muttaqin, I. N. A. (2017). *Varian Islam dalam Masyarakat Banyumas* (p. 137). IAIN Purwokerto.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large, Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (vol 1). University of Minnesota Press.

Baris Isci Pembeci. (2020). Religion and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in Kyrgyzstan. *Region*, *6*(1), 133–152.

Berlejung, A. (2019). Identity Performances in Multilinguistic Contexts. *Die Welt Des Orients*, *49*(2), 252–287. https://doi.org/10.13109/wdor.2019.49.2.252

Bourdieu, P. (1996). *Distinction A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press.

Cris Lyttleton, D. S. (2011). Cultural Reproduction of Minority Sexuality; Intimate Change among Ethnic Akha in the Upper Mekong. *Asian Studies Review*, *25*, 170–185.

Darusuprapta. (1986). *Periodisasi Sastra Jawa berdasarkan Sejarah Sastra Jawa*. Balai Penelitian Bahasa Yogyakarta.

Eriyanto. (2009). *Analisis Wacana, Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*. LKiS.

Foucault, M. (1994). The Archaeology of Knowledge, Translated From the French by A. M. Sheridan Smith. In *Vintage Books*. Vintage Books.

Fringka, Y. (2016). Resistensi Berbasis Adat; Perlawanan Masyarakat Nagari Koto Tanah datar Sumatera Barat terhadap Tambang Bukit Batubasi. *Masyarakat Jurnal Sosiologi*, *21*(2).

Geertz, C. (1983). *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa*. Pustaka Jaya.

Gordon, C., & (Ed). (1980). Power/Knowledge Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 Michel Foucault. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Panthoen Books* (Panthoen B). Panthoen Books. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-5583-7_438

Hefner, R. W. (2083). Ritual and Cultural Reproduction in Non-Islamic Java. *American Ethnologist*, *10*(4), 665–683.

Jodamus, J. (2017). Make the Circle Bigger: Alternate Discourses of Identity Construction in Black Theologies. *Journal for the Study of Religion*, *30*(2), 207–227.

Jones, J. A. (2011). Who are we? Producing group identity through everyday practices of conflict and discourse. *Sociological Perspectives*, *54*(2), 139–161. https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2011.54.2.139

Junus, F. G. (2019). *Variasi Bahasa dalam Sosial Media/: Sebuah Konstruksi Identitas*. 366–372.

Kokaislová, P. K. and P. (2019). The Ethnic Identity of Turkmenistan's Baloch. *Asian Ethnology*, *78*(1), 181–196.

Kunovich, R. M. (2017). Perceptions of Racial Group Size in a Minority-Majority Area. *Sociological Perspectives*, *60*(3), 479–496. https://doi.org/10.1177/0731121416675869

Kurniati, E., & Mardikantoro, H.. (2010). Pola Variasi Bahasa Jawa (Kajian Sosiodialektologi pada Masyarakat Tutur di Jawa Tengah). *Humaniora*, *22*(3), 273–284. https://journal.ugm.ac.id/jurnal-humaniora/article/view/1001/832.

Lombart, D. (2008). *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya Kajian Sejarah Terpadu, Bagian II: Jaringan Asia*.

Magnis-Suseno, F. (1985). *Etika Jawa, Sebuah Analisa Falsafi tentang Kebijakan Hidup Jawa*. Gramedia.

Metafisika, D. P., & Gadamer, H. (2016). Tingkatan Bahasa Jawa dalam Perspektif Metafisika Hans-Georg Gadamer. *Jurnal Filsafat*, *21*(3), 224–239.

Noorhaidi Hasan, & Munirul Ikhwan. (2017). *Membaca Kebaikan Bersama Masa Mataram Islam* (p. 206). PPS UIN Sunan Kalijaga.

Parasecoli, F. (2014). Food, identity, and cultural reproduction in immigrant communities. *Social Research*, *81*(2), 415–439. https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2014.0015

Pasha, M. K. (2001). Globalisation, Islam, and Resistance. In *Globalization and The Politics of Resistance* (pp. 240–271).

Piazza, J. A. (2011). Poverty, minority economic discrimination, and domestic terrorism. *Journal of Peace Research*, *48*(3), 339–353. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343310397404

Pierre Bourdieu. (1992). The logic of practice. In *Stanford University Press*. Stanford University Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003115083-9

Pigeaud, T. (1971). Literature of Java. In *Archipel* (Vol. 1). Springer-science & Business Media, B.V.

Prawiro, A. M. B. (2014). Islam Aboge: Islam and Cultural Java Dialogue (A Study of Islam Aboge Communities in Ujungmanik, Cilacap, Central Java, Indonesia). *International Journal of Nusantara Islam*, *1*(2), 102–117. https://doi.org/10.15575/ijni.v1i2.29

Priyadi, S. (2007). Cablaka Sebagai Inti Model Karakter Manusia Banyumas. *Diksi*, *14*(1), 11–18.

Ramadhan, H. R., & Masykur, A. M. (2018). Membaca Cablaka (Sebuah Studi Fenomenologis Pada Budaya Penginyongan. *Empati*, *7*(3), 100–110.

Roni Factor, Ichiro Kawachi, D. R. W. (2011). Understanding High-Risk Behavior among Non-Dominan Minorities; a Social Resistance Framework. *American Public Health*, *73*(12), 1290-1299.

Saeed, H. (2019). Iraqi Shi'is and the Pressure of Religious Identity: An Attempt to Determine the Meaning of Shi'i Identity. *Al Muntaqa*, *2*(1), 62–80.

Sholikhah, I. M., Adiarti, D., & Kholifah, A. N. (2017). Local Wisdom Reflected in The Symbols in Masjid Saka Tunggal Banyumas. *IBDA': Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya*, *15*(1), 165–178. https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v15i1.762.

Smith, J. M. (2013). Creating a godless community: The collective identity work of contemporary American atheists. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *52*(1), 80–99. https://doi.org/10.1111/jssr.12009

Sunyoto, A. (2017). *Atlas Wali Songo* (Vol. 1). IIman, Pustaka Lesbuni, PBNU.

Tileagã, M.-E. M. and C. (2011). The construction of ethnic minority identity: A discursive psychological approach to ethnic self-definition in action. *Discourse & Society*, *22*(1), 86–101.

Wedhawati, D. (2006). *Tata Bahasa Jawa Mutakhir*. Pustaka Pelajar.

Weigert, A. J. (1986). The Social Production of Identity: Metatheoretical Foundations. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *27*(2), 182–183.

Weigert, A. J., The, S., Quarterly, S., Summer, N., & Weigert, A. J. (1986). The Social Production of Identity/: Metatheoretical Foundations. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *27*(2), 165–183.

Wilcox-Archuleta, B. (2018). Local Origins: Context, Group Identity, and Politics of Place. *Political Research Quarterly*, *71*(4), 960–974. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912918772933

Wolfgang Detel. (1998). Foucault and Classical Antiquity, Power, Ethics and Knowledge. In *International Philosophical Quarterly* (Vol. 46, Issue 1). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.5840/ipq200646159

Woodward, M. (2011). Java, Indonesia and Islam. In *Springer*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0056-7_8