



Cawisan Tradition and The Construction of Religious Moderation

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Abstract : *This article discusses about religion and social transformation through the Cawisan Tradition in Ogan Ilir South Sumatera. In this article, religion is seen as part of the cultural system. Indonesia has a variety of traditions and cultures in maintaining religious values, one of the regions that have a distinctive tradition is the Ogan Ilir Regency of South Sumatra with its Cawisan Tradition. The Existence of Cawisan from the Palembang Sultanate era until now has constructed the moderate religious attitude of the community and of course, it is interesting to further study the peculiarities that exist in tradition. So how is the Cawisan tradition for the people of Ogan Ilir South Sumatra? And, how is the construction of religious moderation in the Cawisan Tradition? These two questions are discussed by the author through qualitative research methods with descriptive analysis. In answering the above questions, the researcher extracted information by interviewing and participating in Cawisan activities. As well as a-conducting a literature review. As a result, it is generally found that religious moderation is built on the original character of the community and the religious information they receive from local scholars who devote themselves to their respective home villages.*

Keywords : *Cawisan, Tradition, Construction, Religious Moderation.*

Abstrak : *Artikel ini membahas tentang agama dan transformasi sosial melalui Tradisi Cawisan di Ogan Ilir Sumatera Selatan. Dalam artikel ini, agama dipandang sebagai bagian dari sistem kebudayaan. Indonesia*

memiliki beragam tradisi dan budaya dalam menjaga nilai-nilai religi, salah satu daerah yang memiliki tradisi yang khas adalah Kabupaten Ogan Ilir Sumatera Selatan dengan Tradisi Cawisan. Keberadaan Cawisan dari masa Kesultanan Palembang hingga saat ini telah mengkonstruksikan sikap religius moderat masyarakat dan tentunya menarik untuk dikaji lebih lanjut kekhasan-kekhasan yang ada dalam tradisi. Lantas bagaimana tradisi Cawisan bagi masyarakat Ogan Ilir Sumsel? Dan, bagaimana konstruksi moderasi beragama dalam Tradisi Cawisan? Kedua pertanyaan tersebut dibahas oleh penulis melalui metode penelitian kualitatif dengan analisis deskriptif. Dalam menjawab pertanyaan di atas, peneliti menggali informasi dengan cara wawancara dan mengikuti kegiatan Cawisan. Serta melakukan literature review. Akibatnya, secara umum ditemukan bahwa moderasi beragama dibangun di atas karakter asli masyarakat dan informasi keagamaan yang mereka terima dari ulama setempat yang mengabdikan diri di kampung halaman masing-masing.

Kata Kunci : Cawisan, Tradisi, Konstruksi, Moderasi Beragama

A. Introduction

Since its birth fourteen centuries ago until now, Islam has always responded to the various problems that occur in society. The response of Islam cannot be separated from the role of religious leaders or scholars who have exerted all their intellectual abilities to continue to inherit the various understandings and values that exist in Islam. Amin Abdullah describes that every religion experiences a historical–empirical process of inheriting values by its adherents from generation to generation through the learning process.¹

The process of inheriting religious values in the next stage becomes a tradition and become a cultural characteristic that distinguishes one region from another so that it becomes a means of transforming the value system and the Characteristics and religious attitude of the community as happened in The Ogan Ilir community the Cawisan Tradition held in “Garang” (terrace) of religious leaders’ houses. The existence of the Cawisan tradition has been running since the era of the Palembang Sultanate (1659-1823) until now, this is certainly interesting to

¹ Amin Abdullah, *Studi Agama: Normativitas atau Historisitas*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Belajar, 1999)

reveal the sociological values contained therein to be able to construct a moderate attitude in religion for the people of Ogan Ilir Regency known as the City of Santri.

The word moderation comes from the Latin *Moderatio* which means moderation (not excessive and lacking). Religious moderation is fair and balanced in viewing, responding to, and practicing all concepts in pairs. In The KBBI the word fair means (1) not one-sided or impartial. (2) on the side of truth, and (3) appropriate or not arbitrary. Lingsgust Raghīb al-Asfahani says *wasatiyah* which comes from the word *wasat* is something that is between two extremes, while that comes from *awsat* which means the midpoint.²

In the *Mu'jam Maqoyis*, Ibn Faris said that what is meant by *wasatiyah* is something that shows justice and the middle.³ One figure Yusuf Al-Qordhawi who is one of the drivers of the *al-wasatiyah* school of thought believes that it has been pioneered by the generation of Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Ridha. They tried to free the people who were shackled, integrate and provide a balance between fairness and moderation. Yusuf Qordhowi has formulated the concept of religious moderation in the form of: *First*, Commitment to the value of morality. *Second*, Combinative cooperation between two opposing things. *Third*, the protection of the right of religious minorities and their obligation is the same as what is done by others but in terms of religious worship, there must be separation that does not mix. The state is not allowed to narrow the space for minority religious activities such as the prohibition of eating pork and drinking alcohol. *Fourth*, Humanist and social values are the authentic treasures of Islam. *Fifth*, unity and loyalty, *Sixth*, Believing in the plurality of faith and religious plurality, traditional plurality, language plurality, intellectual plurality, political plurality, and the importance of consistency between various civilizations.⁴

In the Context of Indonesia, which is rich in diversity, it is very easy for friction to arise between groups, especially between religions, so it

² Raghīb al-Asfahani, *Mufradat al-Faz al-Qur'an*. tahq. Safwan 'Adnan Dawuri (n.p: n.p, n.d), 879.

³ Ahmad Ibnu Faris, *Mu'jam Maqayis al-Lughah* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1979), 108.

⁴ Ahmad Dumayathi Bashori, "Konsep Moderat Yusuf Qardhawi: Tolok Ukur Moderasi dan Pemahaman Terhadap Nash", *Dialog*, vol. 36, No.01 (Agustus 2013), 3-10.

is necessary to provide an understanding that the values of acting in the context of diversity make us not selfish, intolerant, discriminatory and so on.⁵ According to Abdul Kadir Massoweang's opinion that religious moderation is a moderate way of looking at religion, namely understanding and practicing religious teachings without extremes, either extreme right (a very rigid understanding of religion) or extreme left (a very liberal understanding of religion).⁶

For this reason, an educational pattern is needed that can construct a moderate attitude among religious people with clarity of basic values as stated by Abudin Nata, the moderate education pattern has several basic values that become its indicators namely, *First*, Peaceful education which respects human rights and friendship between nations, race, or religious groups. *Second*, education develops entrepreneurship and partnerships with the industrial world. *Third*, education that pays attention to the vision of Islam's prophetic mission, namely humanization, liberation, and transendation for social change, *fourth*, Education that contains teachings of religious tolerance and pluralism. *Fifth*, Education that teaches Islam which is the mainstream of moderate Indonesian Islam. *Sixth*, education that balances intellectual insight (head) spiritual, and *akhlakul karima* (heart). *Seventh*, Education that is a solution to current educational problems such as dualism and learning methodologies. *Eight*, Education emphasizes the quality of education comprehensively. *Ninth*, education that can improve mastery of foreign languages.⁷

Muslims in Indonesia have a variety of forms or patterns in understanding, practicing, and preserving the teachings of their religion. The diversity of forms of thought and action above produces mutually agreed values in the form of the formation of religious education methods such as the Cawisan Tradition agreed upon by the people of Ogan Ilir

⁵ Sumarto and Emmi Kholilah Harahap, "Mengembangkan Moderasi Pendidikan Islam Melalui Peran Pengelolaan Pondok Pesantren," *Ri'ayah*, Vol. 4, No. 01 (Januari-Juni 2019), 21.

⁶ Abdul Kadir Massoweang, *Moderasi Beragama Dalam Lektur Keagamaan Islam di Kawasan Timur Indonesia*. (Jakarta, Penerbit BRIN 2021)

⁷ Toto Suharto, "Indonesianisasi Islam: Penguatan Islam Moderat dalam Lembaga Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 17, No.1 (2017), 168.

Regency South Sumatra as an Informal institution to get religious education when they are adults and able to construct their religious attitudes amid the massive advancement of internet technology. This tradition is still maintained by the community as a medium for them to learn Islamic religious knowledge.

The name Ogan Ilir dates back to the 19th century, during the Dutch colonial era, which was associated with the territorial and administrative existence of one of The Dutch colonial territories in the Dutch East Indies, In the *Regeering Alamac*, Published by The Dutch in 1870, it was mentioned that Ogan Ilir and Belida were afdeeling economic zones directly under Palembang carisiden.⁸

According to kind of tribally, the population of the Ogan Ilir Regency of South Sumatra can be categorized into indigenous Ogan Iir Trives and immigrant tribes brought in from Java and Sunda through the transmigration program. The indigenous tribes of Ogan Ilir Regency consist of the Ogan tribe, Pegagan tribe, and Penesak tribe. Data on religious adherents of Ogan Ilir South Sumatera in 2016 showed Muslim numbered 453,849, Chritian:1725, Chatolic: 872, Buddhist: 440, and Hindus: 0 with a total number of religious people in Ogan Ilir: 456.886.⁹

In the official text of Ogan Ilir Regency, it is stated that Ogan Ilir Regency officially bears the title of *Santri*, there are two definitions of santri, first, literally the daily activities of the people of Ogan Ilir are always based on Islamic religious values, Second, Santri is defined as an acronym from the words Fertile, Safe, Comfortable, Orderly, Religious and Beautiful. The first definition provides an overview of personality traits, while the second definition displays a more operational and systemic concept and framework.¹⁰

Social and political changes in an area including Ogan Ilir Regency when the local government steps to build road and infrastructures that facilitates access in and out of an area to other areas to be able to increase interaction between citizens and have a positive impact because it is

⁸Muhammad Najib at all, *Sejarah Ogan Ilir, Tradisi Masyarakat dan Pemerintahan*, (Indralaya, Pemerintah Kabupaten Ogan Ilir, 2006), 13-16.

⁹ www. Sumsel.kemenag.go.id, 2016 diakses 05 Desember 2021.

¹⁰ *ibid*.

gradually able to changes character and typology of Ogan Ilir society from traditional society to transitional society, namely a society that undergoes a process of Changing orientation namely from traditional/rural to rural modern urban.

B. Cawisan Tradition and Religious Moderation.

The word Cawisan comes from the speech-language used by the people of Ogan Ilir, the origin of the word: Cawis plus the suffix an. Cawis means serving or serving food. When this term is applied to a religious figure, it means that the *kyai* or ulama is serving or serving and teaching religious knowledge to his students in the "garang" of his house. The place of Cawisan is in the "garang"/terrace of the Kyai's house or the community's house or under the community's panggung house and sometimes it is held in the madrasah classrooms owned by the Cawisan teachers.¹¹ The Cawisan tradition can be referred to as a medium of religious education with a traditional education system carried out independently and full of awareness by the community to gain religious knowledge from religious teachers or Kyai located in their village or other villages.¹²

The Cawisan tradition in its historical journey faced many challenges, in the era of Dutch colonial colonization when people could not get proper education as obtained by people close to the Dutch colonial rulers at that time, Cawisan became a solution for the community to get an education, especially religious education, this was supported by the return of young scholars from studying in Mecca and on the island of Java in 1900 with the spirit of renewal. During the Japanese colonization, most of the people could not get an education because madrasahs and schools were closed by the colonizers and diverted into logistics warehouses that supported the movement of Japanese troops so that education was neglected, so Cawisan was used as a place to learn religious knowledge and coordination of people's strength in fighting the Japanese army.

¹¹ Muhammad Ali, *Tradisi Garang Hampir Hilang. Media Sumatera Espers.* 15 October 2016

¹² Ilhamudin, J. S. Pulungan, 2020

During the old order, the Cawisan tradition was suspected of being a means of consolidating the power of Muslims to fight the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which at that time was "friendly" with the government. In response to this, a cleric, H.A. Rauf, who was also the head of the Indralaya KUA, made a statement letter that emphasized the legality of the activities and objectives of the implementation of Cawisan, which only discussed religious issues and was not involved in any political activities.¹³

As for the New Order era, according to one of the elders of Ogan Ilir, Mr. Muk'rom As'ad, the Cawisan tradition experienced inaction in its movement along with a shift in the orientation of people's lives which was more inclined to general education and formalized diversity education in the form of madrasas and Islamic boarding schools so that in several villages in Ogan Ilir there was a vacuum in the activities of the Cawisan tradition and experienced a crisis of local ulama cadres. Entering the reform era, the socio-religious life of the Ogan Ilir community experienced a revival, this was marked by the revival of the Cawisan tradition along with the return of young scholars to their home areas in several villages in Ogan Ilir Regency and the revival of the Cawisan tradition was also motivated by the increasing awareness of adults to learn religion as a provision for them to live their lives in the world by the guidance of religious teachings after they had previously received less religious education at compulsory school age or school age.¹⁴

C. Patterns and Forms of Cawisan

In the researcher's search, there are several Cawisan groups in the middle of the Ogan Olir community.¹⁵ this happens because according to them what is taught by the old group is sometimes unable to provide inner peace for them in carrying out religious teachings so that when a new group enters and according to them *semasu'an* or suitable then they will welcome

¹³ Wawancara dengan Kyai Fadhil Rosyad, 20 Januari 2020

¹⁴ Wawancara dengan Mukrom As'ad, 15 November 2019.

¹⁵ Muslimin. *Agama dan transformasi sosial: Studi terhadap tradisi Cawisan di Ogan Ilir Sumatera Selatan*. (Bandung: Doktor thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati.2021). <http://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/42035/>

to learn and explore and they also feel comfortable joining the new group, Therefore, it is not surprising to find various names for the existence of the Cawisan tradition in several villages such as Cawisan Besurah, Cawisan Tauhid / "Ase" recitation, Cawisan Salafi, Cawisan Fiqh Syafii, Cawisan Yasin and Wirid, Cawisan Berzanji.

The existence of various Cawisan patterns above is not only a matter of compatibility, the researcher's search shows that the teachings conveyed by the kyai that are contrary to the mainstream make some worshipers no longer want to follow Cawisan at the Kyai and move to other kyai who are more assertive in religious teachings because according to them what the kyai teaches is *Dak sema su'an* (not suitable) with their thoughts and understanding.¹⁶

D. Motivation of Kyai and Santri "Cawisan"

According to Guru Dani (at the time of the interview the informant was 82 years old and graduated from Ponpes Nurul Islam Sribandung in 1954 and began organizing Cawisan in 1960) the people of Ogan Ilir used to do a lot of activities in the garden and rice fields so that what was in their minds was how to get the results of plantations and agriculture well and be able to eat and meet their daily needs, so that the problem of education, especially religious education, was less of a concern. This condition became an inner call for him to fight on the path of da'wah by boat from villages in Ogan Ilir.¹⁷

The same thing was done by Kyai Abdullah Daviq in Tebing Gerinting Selatan Village, South Indralaya Subdistrict by reviving Cawisan Besurah in his birth village after retiring from civil servants in the city of Palembang along with the increasing road infrastructure development that increased this made it easier for the Kyai to revive Cawisan in his hometown every Friday night on Saturday for adult men and Saturday morning for mothers.¹⁸

As for Kyai Fadhil Rosyad in Tanjung Atap village, he revived

¹⁶ Wawancara dengan Bastari, mantan anggota cawisan wirid desa Tanjung Lubuk, 06 Agustus 2020.

¹⁷ Wawancara dengan Guru Dani, 25 Agustus 2020.

¹⁸ Wawancara dengan Kyai Abdullah Daviq, 17 Januari 2020.

Cawisan in his village at the request of the residents around him who really wanted to be able to learn religion, after they were preoccupied with activities to fulfill the family's livelihood and neglected to carry out the teachings of Islam and as they grew older their awareness emerged to learn Islam, Kyai Fadhil required that their main intention must be truly *nak bajo agama* (want to learn religion) and its implementation in the madrasah classroom not at home without having to serve excessive dishes. This, according to him, is so that the members of Cawisan maintain their intention of *Nak Bajo*, not because of other intentions.¹⁹

As for the members of Cawisan, they have various motivations for holding Cawisan in their homes. *First*, in the context of *tasyakuran* (thanksgiving) for the favors obtained. Second, the condition of the house and household of the household occupants is cooler and blessed. This blessing motivation is in line with the view of the founder of Madrasah Shaulatiah KH. Syaiful Haq bin KH. Abdur Rauf in the implementation of Cawisan in his house in Tanjung Sejaro village by prohibiting his family from installing mats or carpets, so that food spills stick to the wooden / board floor of the house, according to him this will be evidence and witness to the good that has been done in each house so that blessings will be obtained from the house in which Cawisan is held.²⁰

Third, *Pengen Pacak* (wanting to be able to and know religious knowledge) Most Cawisan members are adult men who are very unfamiliar with religious studies, then after entering the age of forty years, there is a reawakening of awareness to learn religion, so they start looking for teachers or kyai who can teach and eliminate their ignorance in terms of religion.

Fourth, they are afraid of not being paraded (worried that no one will come near them) when one of the people who are not active in Cawisan suffers a disaster or has the intention of celebrating because those who fill the ritual procession of the celebration are Cawisan members, while those who are not members will wait outside or sit under the tent or under the *garang*/terrace of the stilt house with other lay pilgrims.²¹ *Fifth*,

¹⁹ Wawancara dengan Kyai Fadhil Rosyad, 17 Januari 2020.

²⁰ Wawancara dengan Muhammad Natsir, 17 Januari 2020.

²¹ Wawancara dengan Kyai Fadhil Rosyad, 17 Januari 2020.

Social Status. In determining the house where the Cawisan will be held, the congregation will do "*ngambik batang*", this process becomes an education to become a philanthropist shown from the implementation of Cawisan, the host who holds Cawisan, they will try to provide the best service by providing a food menu for the participants or students who participate in the Cawisan.

The implementation of Cawisan by serving food dishes certainly requires a lot of funds, this can only be carried out in the homes of residents with higher welfare levels so that they can invite all residents in their village or neighboring villages to participate in the Cawisan.²² This becomes a psychological burden for the Jamaah whose welfare level is inadequate to carry out Cawisan. In response to this condition, the Kyai Cawisan will decide that the Cawisan should not be held at home but moved to the mosque or musholla, this is to avoid social jealousy among fellow Cawisan members.²³

Sixth, the Semon factor, most of the implementation of Cawisan is carried out in the homes of residents in turn during one year of implementation, according to Mr. Abdal Hadi who is the head of Tanjung Lubuk village, why Cawisan is not held in the mosque or prayer room, apart from the motivation of thanksgiving for the blessings obtained, most of the background is a sense of "*Semon*" (feeling embarrassed) because they rarely pray in congregation at the mosque or prayer room so they feel semon when they have to host the implementation of Cawisan.²⁴

E. Construction of Religious Moderation in the Cawisan Tradition.

From the explanation above, it can be said that anthropologically the Cawisan tradition is an educational medium and a means for the Ogan Ilir community to gain religious knowledge and as a medium for maintaining moral values and religious teachings and community strategies to maintain their identity as a Muslim. In the Cawisan tradition, communication is built between members with various social stratifications

²² Wawancara dengan Abdal Hadi, Kepala Desa Tanjung Lubuk, 05 Januari 2020

²³ Wawancara dengan Kyai Utsman Abu Bakar, Cawisan Desa Tanjung Lubuk, 07 Januari 2020

²⁴ Wawancara dengan Abdal Hadi, Kepala Desa Tanjung Lubuk, 05 Januari 2020

as part of community members. Likewise, the existence of various Cawisan groups is based on the critical attitude of the community in choosing religious leaders who meet their standards with the terms *Nak Semasu'an* and *Nak Makai*. This standardization has resulted in the formation of various Cawisan groups in Ogan Ilir.

The social reality of the existence of various Cawisan groups that occur in the community above according to researchers strengthens Dadang Kahmad's theory of the existence of religious subculture amid large organizations when an old community undergoes a status quo process and is unable to answer the spiritual restlessness of its members, then in this situation, an alternative community or group will emerge that will become a movement that can answer the spiritual restlessness above, these communities according to Dadang Kahmad will grow into a religious subculture that was born as a variety of norms and values that emerged and adopted as a religious community amid the dominant religious community.²⁵

The massive flow of change and supported by the ease of infrastructure and technological sophistication facilitates community mobility and opens a wide door to encounter with new communities so that there is an exchange of values in society, including the issue of religious understanding. This phenomenon raises its concerns for the community. Currently, what is feared according to Guru Dani is that many people go to migrate and when they return to the village bring religious views that disturb the community and understandings that he termed "*Paham nak lemak bae*" (Understanding that wants to be good only).²⁶

The existence of new religious communities is considered to be troubling according to Guru Dani based on his observations of the sects that are considered troubling according to him for the Ogan Ilir Regency area cannot develop well because the members until now the congregation are the same so there is no need to worry. As for the issue of *khilafiyah furu'iyah*, for example about the reading of bismillah at the beginning of surat al-fateha, Guru Dani explained to the community based on direct

²⁵ Dadang Kahmad, *Dinamika Lembaga Keagamaan di Indonesia: Kasus di Muhammadiyah*, ed. Asep S. Muhtadi, (Bandung: LEKKAS, 2018).

²⁶ Wawancara dengan Guru Dani, 25 Agustus 2020.

confirmation with the procedures for praying at the Grand Mosque and the Prophet's Mosque during Umrah in 2011 and Hajj 2014. According to him, when there is a new person who becomes the Imam of our prayer, then we respect that person by continuing to be the next Imam, we should not follow this understanding.²⁷

The attitude taught by Guru Dani above provides a real picture of the permissive and adaptive typology of Ogan Ilir society that can prevent the emergence of potential conflicts because there are new individuals or new communities that try to construct religion as a mainstream against the old groups in Ogan Ilir.

The above socio-religious reality refutes the theory of domination in religious construction in the form of a single truth belief which then encourages a group of communities to construct religion as the mainstream. Claims of understanding of religion are believed to be the right ones so they must become the mainstream for the understanding of other groups. In this situation, religion turns into an area of contest and struggle for truth claims and creates the potential for conflict amid society. Of course, the social facts above are proof that the typology and distinctive characteristics of the community in a region can construct the religious moderation of society and even then it cannot be separated from the central role shown by religious elites or local scholars who have offered/served their knowledge to the community with simplicity and provide convenience for their cawisan students. The foundation of simplicity and ease in carrying out religious teachings while still promoting a critical attitude certainly raises its charisma in front of the cawisan students.

Religious figures or religious elites or Kyai and Ustad who hold Cawisan in villages in Ogan Ilir build social dialectics and religious interpretations to give birth to various typologies and religious characteristics of the religious elite community at the same time have creative power and actively shape social structures and traditional institutions around them. According to the researcher, this is a criticism of Clifford Geertz (1958:228) who considers the Kyai to only act as a culture broker, and the Kyai's influence only lies in the implementation of the

²⁷ Wawancara dengan Guru Dani, 25 Agustus 2020.

broker's function, but politically the Kyai does not have the experience and expertise to lead well the relationship between modern societies.²⁸

Geertz's opinion has been opposed and questioned before by Indonesianist experts, such as Hirokoshi who stated that the Kyai has played a role as a decision maker, mobilizing villagers to support community decisions According to Horikoshi (1987: 242) quoted by Yusuf Wibisono, the leaders of religious institutions such as Kiyai, have a creative role in social change, namely introducing outside elements and causing changes in their society. Therefore, the dynamics of change played by religious leaders including religious institutions have also become an inseparable part of an agent of change.²⁹

Discussing the charisma of religious figures cannot be separated from Max Weber's charismatic theory which sees a change due to social interaction in society due to external factors that encourage community action to make a change due to instructions from people who are trusted and respected to cause and give birth to innovative, dynamic or radical changes. Charisma in Greek means a great inspired blessing (grace), while in Christianity it is called grace, for example, having a miracle or being able to predict future events to give birth to a radical impulse. Weber classifies his charismatic concept into three types of leadership patterns, namely charismatic, traditional, and legal-rational the charismatic typology used as the basis for Weber's postulates views the role of religious leaders on social patterns in society that validate the dominance of relationships that occur in society, namely legal-rational, traditional (established) and charismatic.³⁰

The charismatic reality of religious leaders or what Dody S Truna terms the religious elite has an impact on the behavior of religious elites who from a functional perspective according to him tend to try to assert and maintain the status quo through religious statements, he sees it as a sociological fact, that religious elites, due to opportunities, abilities, and positions, have the opportunity to assert the identity of Islam and its

²⁸ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), 228.

²⁹ Yusuf Wibisono. *Keberagamaan Masyarakat Pesisir*, 32.

³⁰ Betty R Scharf. *Kajian Sosiologi Agama*, M. Husein, Ed. (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1995), 206.

ummah and the structure within it and it is inevitable that something like this will eventually form a structure in society based on religion and members agree and obey it. Despite the efforts of religious elites who tend to maintain the status quo and their position as elites, religious elites have also benefited or at least provided a way out of the practical problems faced by ordinary people and maintained the existence of Islam in society in their way.³¹

According to researchers, religious elites in Ogan Ilir have no difficulty in constructing a moderate attitude toward religion, given the characteristics and typology that the author has described above, of course, illustrating that this attitude comes from the original character of the community and the role of religious elites who have sacrificed themselves to foster and share their knowledge with the community. [.]

F. Conclusions

From the description and analysis of the phenomenon of the Cawisan tradition in Kota Santri, Ogan Ilir Regency, South Sumatra, it can be concluded as follows:

Firstly, The Cawisan tradition is a typical religious education medium owned by the Ogan Ilir community and Cawisan has become one of the civil society in maintaining Islamic values and teachings as well as local wisdom amid the swift flow of change with the central role of local Kyai in preventing religious social conflicts in the community and becoming an agent in building religious moderation for the community.

Secondly, The moderate attitude toward religion in the community is constructed from the source of the tradition that is rooted in the community and also the availability of public space in the form of Cawisan as a means of learning religion taught by scholars on an ongoing basis and becomes a deep-rooted tradition with a variety of religious education backgrounds owned by Cawisan figures both modern and traditional. [.]

³¹Dody S. Truna: *Kolaborasi dan Integrasi Kekuatan Lokal Dalam Transformasi Islam di Indonesia*, 40-41

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