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Negotiating Islamic Tradition in Urban Society: The Practice of Wali Songo Pilgrimage among Lower-Middle-Class Muslim Communities in Sukolilo, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition is an important legacy in the history of Islamic civilization in Indonesia that persists amidst the dynamics of urban society. Previous studies generally examine the Wali Songo pilgrimage from the perspectives of theology, religious tourism, culture, and economic impact, while studies on how lower-middle-class urban Muslims negotiate this tradition in contemporary urban life are relatively limited. This study aims to analyze the forms of negotiation of Islamic tradition through the practice of Wali Songo pilgrimage and reveal its role in building religious identity and social solidarity in the lower-middle-class Muslim community in Sukolilo District, Surabaya. The study uses a qualitative approach with a social history perspective in the study of the History of Islamic Civilization. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation studies, then analyzed using thematic analysis to identify patterns of continuity and transformation of the pilgrimage tradition in urban life. Preliminary findings indicate that the practice of Wali Songo pilgrimage is not only maintained as a religious ritual but also becomes a space for negotiation between Islamic values, local traditions, and the demands of modern life. This tradition strengthens collective memory, expands social networks, and serves as a source of religious resilience for the community in facing urban socio-economic challenges. These findings confirm that the continuity of the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition reflects the ability of the Islamic civilization heritage to adapt dynamically in the context of contemporary urban society.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the context of Indonesian Muslim society, one manifestation *of lived religion* that demonstrates this continuity is the tradition of pilgrimages to the tombs of the Wali Songo. This tradition is an integral part of the long history of Islamization in the archipelago, which took place through a cultural, dialogical, and accommodating approach to local traditions. Unlike the process of Islamization that took place through political expansion in several other regions, the spread of Islam in Java was largely carried out through a da'wah strategy that integrated Islamic teachings with the cultural structures of the local community ((Azra, 2004)). Therefore, the Wali Songo are positioned not only as figures who spread religion, but also as actors who shaped the Islamic civilization of the archipelago, bequeathing a system of values, social practices, and religious traditions that persist to the present day. From the perspective of the History of Islamic Civilization, the existence of the Wali Songo tombs is not merely a historical site, but part of a living heritage, namely a legacy of civilization that continues to be maintained, interpreted, and reproduced by the Muslim community across generations.

The tradition of pilgrimage marks the historical legacy of Islam, not only as a memory of the past but also as a new meaning in contemporary society. Pilgrimage is not only understood as a spiritual activity to pray for saints, but also as a medium for the formation of religious identity, the transmission of collective memory, the strengthening of social solidarity, and a space to produce religious meaning in modern life. Assman (Assmann, 2011) explains that cultural memory *enables* a society to maintain the continuity of its identity through collectively inherited symbols, rites, and traditions.

Studies on the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition have developed in various disciplines, ranging from religious studies, anthropology, tourism, to sociology. However, most research still positions pilgrimage as a spiritual practice or religious tourism, while its discussion as a practice of cultural negotiation and the construction of Islamic civilization in urban society is still relatively limited. Handriana, Yulianti, and Kurniawati (Handriana et al., 2020) showed that the motivation for pilgrimage is not only related to spiritual aspects, but also social needs, religious experiences, emotional satisfaction, and economic opportunities, although their study was more oriented towards marketing and tourist behavior. Furthermore, Badrah Uyuni et al. (Uyuni et al., 2024) explained the development of Wali Songo pilgrimage as a combination of worship, preservation of Islamic cultural heritage, and development of tourist destinations, but did not discuss the meaning of pilgrimage in the lives of urban Muslim communities. Meanwhile, Fournie (Fournie, 2019) emphasizes the importance of Wali Songo as a representation of peaceful Islamic preaching in the archipelago, accommodating to local culture, and has the potential to be developed as an international pilgrimage destination, although he has not yet examined the social practices of local communities in shaping the meaning of pilgrimage in the midst of contemporary urban life.

Mahfudh and Susetiyo's (2025) study further strengthens the view that the legacy of Wali Songo is rooted in the ability to integrate local culture with Islamic values through a peaceful and inclusive acculturation process. However, this research is still normative-historical and has not yet explained how this legacy is reproduced through the pilgrimage practices of urban Muslim communities in facing social changes due to modernization. Thus, previous research can be mapped into three main trends, namely (1) pilgrimage as religious tourism, (2) Wali Songo as agents of da'wah and cultural acculturation, and (3) management of pilgrimage sites as cultural heritage destinations. These various studies have made important contributions in understanding the spiritual, economic, cultural, and historical dimensions of Wali Songo pilgrimage, but have not yet comprehensively explained how the pilgrimage tradition functions as a space for negotiation between the traditions of Nusantara Islam and modernity in the lives of urban communities, especially lower-middle-class Muslims. This gap is an important space for this research to view pilgrimage not merely as a religious ritual or tourist activity, but as a social practice that allows for the reproduction, negotiation, and transformation of Islamic civilization values in the context of contemporary urban society.

This study offers an approach that integrates the perspectives of lived religion, the concept of *habitus*, and Islamic social history to understand the pilgrimage practices of the Wali Songo as a form

of continuity of Islamic civilization in urban society. This study argues that the pilgrimage tradition is not merely a religious ritual, but a social space where Muslim communities build identity, maintain collective memory, and negotiate between Islamic heritage, local culture, and the demands of modern life. Thus, this study aims to analyze how lower-middle-class Muslims in Sukolilo District, Surabaya, maintain and transform the pilgrimage traditions of the Wali Songo and how these practices contribute to the formation of religious identity and social solidarity in contemporary urban life.

2. METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design to gain a comprehensive understanding of the negotiation process of the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition in the lives of lower-middle-class Muslim communities in Sukolilo District, Surabaya. The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows researchers to understand social reality as a construction of meaning formed through the experiences, interactions, and socio-cultural contexts of the actors (Creswell & Poth, 2025), while the case study was used because the research focuses on specific, contextual phenomena and is tied to a particular social space, thus allowing for in-depth exploration of the relationship between religious traditions, urban community dynamics, and changes in religious orientation in the local context (Ammerman, 2021). In this perspective, the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition is understood not merely as a ritual practice, but as a social arena for the negotiation of values, identity, religiosity, and cultural adaptation amidst the modernization and transformation of urban life. Research data were obtained through participant observation and documentation studies (Miles et al., 2014). Data analysis was conducted simultaneously from the data collection process using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) Interactive Analysis Model, which includes data condensation, data display, and drawing and verifying conclusions. Through this methodological approach, this research is directed to produce a deep, credible, and argumentative understanding of how the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition continues to be negotiated, maintained, reproduced, and reconstructed in the lives of lower-middle-class Muslim communities as part of the dynamics of the development of Islamic civilization in contemporary urban spaces.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Dynamics of Urban Life of the Muslim Community in Sukolilo

The development of urban areas has significantly changed the social landscape of Indonesian Muslim communities. Urbanization is not only understood as the movement of people from rural to urban areas, but also as a process of transformation of economic structures, social relations patterns, cultural orientations, and religious practices. In the context of Sukolilo District, Surabaya, this dynamic occurs alongside the development of this area as a center for higher education, trade, services, housing, and the creative industry. Several leading universities are in this area, including ITS, Unair Campus C, UPN, Ubaya, UT, Hang Tuah, and other educational institutions. In addition, there are several other public facilities such as malls, hospitals, restaurants or culinary centers, and so on. As a result, lower-middle-class Muslims live in an increasingly complex social space, characterized by increasing economic pressures, high social mobility, changes in family structures, and the reconfiguration of religious spaces. However, these changes do not lead to a weakening of religiosity, as assumed by classical secularization theory. On the contrary, urbanization encourages the emergence of new forms of religious expression that are more adaptive, flexible, and contextual to urban life.

One of the main characteristics of lower-middle-class urban communities is the high economic pressures resulting from rising living costs, job insecurity, labor market competition, and the development of an increasingly competitive economic system. Most people in urban areas depend on the informal sector for their livelihoods or contract work, which is vulnerable to changes in economic conditions. This situation creates what urban sociologists call urban precarity, a living condition characterized by economic uncertainty and social vulnerability.

Here, religion appears to acquire a function that is not only normative, but also therapeutic and adaptive. Religious practices have become a source *of hope*, a mechanism for psychological strengthening, and a space for building social solidarity. Meredith B. McGuire explains that religion in modern life is more accurately understood as lived religion, that is, religion as practiced and experienced in everyday life, not merely as a set of formal doctrines. From this perspective, activities such as religious study, almsgiving, communal prayer, and pilgrimages to the Wali Songo become part of society's strategy for coping with the ever-increasing pressures of life.

In the context of the Sukolilo community, economic pressures do not necessarily give rise to secular attitudes but rather reinforce the need for spiritual spaces that can provide a sense of spiritual comfort and hope for life change. Therefore, the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition cannot be understood simply as a religious ritual, but rather as a social mechanism that helps the community construct optimism and social resilience amidst the complexities of urban life.

B. The Wali Songo Pilgrimage Tradition as a Contemporary Religious Practice

From a lived religion perspective, religion is not merely understood as a set of normative doctrines, but as an experience embodied in people's daily practices (McGuire, 2008). Therefore, the meaning of pilgrimage is not only determined by religious texts but also shaped by the social experiences, economic conditions, and psychological needs of the pilgrims. This explains why the pilgrimage tradition persists and even experiences increased participation amidst the development of urban life, which is often associated with rationality and modernity.

The primary motivation for people undertaking pilgrimages remains rooted in spiritual needs. Most pilgrims view the journey to the tombs of the Wali Songo as a way of approaching God (*taqarrub ilā Allāh)* through respect for the scholars who contributed to the spread of Islam. Pilgrimages are understood as a time for self-reflection, strengthening faith, increasing dhikr (remembrance of God), and remembering the transience of life.

In the context of lower-middle-class Muslim communities in urban areas, this spiritual need becomes increasingly important. Economic pressures, job insecurity, and the complexities of city life drive people to seek religious spaces that can provide inner peace. Therefore, pilgrimages become a means of building optimism, strengthening patience, and fostering the belief that every problem in life has a solution through God's help.

Furthermore, one practice that always accompanies the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition is *tawassul,* which is praying to God by using prophets, saints, or pious people as intermediaries (wasīlah). In the Nusantara Islamic tradition, especially among Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), tawassul is understood as a form of respect for those close to God, not as worship of them. Therefore, the primary orientation of prayer remains directed to God Almighty, while the saints are positioned as intermediaries whose blessings are expected because of their piety and closeness to God.

From the perspective of religious anthropology, *tawassul* is a form of religious expression that demonstrates the relationship between the normative dimensions of Islam and local traditions that have developed over centuries. Martin van Bruinessen (Bruinessen, 1997) explains that such practices are characteristic of traditional Islam in Indonesia, demonstrating Islam's ability to adapt to local cultures without losing its theological principles. Therefore, *tawassul* is not simply a prayer ritual, but also a representation of the religious identity of Indonesian Muslims, rooted in the traditions of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah.

C. Negotiating Tradition and Modernity: Transformation of Wali Songo Pilgrimage Practices in the Digital Era.

Anthony Giddens (Giddens, 2003) explains that modern society lives in a state of *reflexive modernity*, a situation in which individuals continually evaluate, adapt, and reconstruct their social practices in accordance with changing times. In this context, tradition is not something static but is constantly reinterpreted to remain relevant to the needs of society. Therefore, the sustainability of the

Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition is not determined by its ability to maintain its old form, but rather by its ability to adapt to developments in technology, the economy, and the lifestyles of urban society.

The development of social media has transformed the way people acquire, disseminate, and construct religious knowledge. While in the past, information about pilgrimages was obtained through family networks, religious leaders (kiai), or religious study groups (majelis taklim), people now access information through Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and various other digital platforms. Departure schedules, pilgrimage procedures, prayers, and even travel documentation can be accessed widely and quickly through digital media.

This phenomenon demonstrates that social media has not replaced the practice of pilgrimage but rather expanded the space for the reproduction of tradition. Hoover (Hoover, 2025) explains that modern media is no longer merely a means of communication, but has become a space where religion is practiced, negotiated, and reinterpreted (religion *in the media age*). Similarly, Campbell (Campbell, 2020), through the concept of Digital Religion, asserts that digital technology enables religious practices to continue through a combination of offline and online activities. Thus, social media functions as a new medium that strengthens the transmission of religious values to the urban Muslim generation.

For lower-middle-class Muslims in Sukolilo District, social media also serves as a source of information about travel agencies, pilgrimage costs, participant testimonials, and event documentation, strengthening trust in the organizers. This demonstrates that digitalization increases public accessibility to pilgrimage practices. Another significant change is the rise of religious travel agencies. While previous trips to the tombs of the Wali Songo were undertaken independently or through local religious organizations, these activities are now facilitated by professional travel agents offering a variety of packages, from transportation and meals to accommodations and prayer companions.

This professionalization demonstrates that religious practices are undergoing a process of institutionalization that follows the logic of modern society without losing their spiritual significance. Handriana, Yulianti, and Kurniawati (Handriana et al., 2020) show that the development of pilgrimage tourism in Indonesia is influenced by the increasing public demand for comfortable, safe, and efficient services. On the other hand, (Uyuni et al., 2024) explain that travel agencies help expand public participation in the pilgrimage tradition while simultaneously stimulating local economic growth around the tombs of the Wali Songo.

Modernization is also evident in changes to the transaction system for organizing pilgrimages. Payments, which were previously made in cash, are now shifting to bank transfers, digital wallets (e-*wallets)*, QRIS (Qualifying Transaction Recognition System), and digital banking services. The digitalization of payments reflects how religious practices are adapting to the development of the modern economic system without changing the essence of worship.

According to Castells (Castells & Castells, 2011), contemporary society is evolving into *a network society*, one whose economic, social, and cultural activities increasingly rely on digital networks. In this context, the use of digital payments during pilgrimages represents an adaptation to changes in the increasingly digitalized economic infrastructure. Technology does not diminish the spiritual value of pilgrimages, but rather increases efficiency, transparency, and accessibility for the public, especially the lower-middle class.

D. Pilgrimage as Social Capital for Lower Middle-Class Muslim Communities

Pierre Bourdieu's perspective provides a relevant analytical framework for understanding this phenomenon. According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu et al., 2009), society competes not only through economic capital but also through social capital and symbolic capital, which can be converted into social resources in various areas of life. In a religious context, both forms of capital develop through collective activities that strengthen relationships between individuals and generate social legitimacy . Studies in the sociology of religion then complement this perspective with the concept of *religious capital*, namely the accumulation of religious knowledge, experience, practice, and commitment that shape an individual's capacity to actively participate in religious life (Iannaccone, 1990).

Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977) defined *social capital* as the totality of resources acquired by individuals through a network of relatively permanent and mutually beneficial social relationships. In the practice of the Wali Songo pilgrimage, social capital is formed through intensive interactions between participants during the preparation process, the journey, the performance of worship, and communication after the event concludes.

For lower-middle-class Muslims, these networks are crucial. Pilgrimages bring together individuals from diverse occupations—traders, informal workers, laborers, teachers, housewives, and micro-entrepreneurs—in a relatively egalitarian social space. These interactions foster relationships of trust, reciprocity, and solidarity, which then develop into sustainable social networks.

This social capital doesn't stop at religious activities. In many cases, the relationships built through pilgrimage communities develop into economic cooperation, mutual assistance during financial hardships, job sharing, and even social support when community members experience disaster. Thus, the pilgrimage tradition generates bonding social capital that strengthens the community's internal cohesion while enhancing its ability to cope with the vulnerabilities of urban life.

This finding aligns with (Putnam, 2001), who explained that social capital contributes to increased cooperation, mutual trust, and community participation in collective life. In the context of urban Muslim communities, pilgrimages are an effective mechanism for building social networks that cannot always be achieved through formal relationships in the workplace or residential setting.

In addition to generating social capital, the practice of pilgrimage also forms *symbolic capital,* namely a form of recognition, honor, prestige, and legitimacy obtained by individuals within a community (Bourdieu et al., 2009). Symbolic capital works through the mechanism of social recognition of individuals who are seen as having religious commitment, moral integrity, and closeness to religious values.

In urban Muslim communities, individuals who actively participate in pilgrimages are often perceived as possessing social piety. This perception generates moral legitimacy that strengthens the individual's position within the community, whether as a member of a religious study group, a religious activity leader, or an informal figure in the neighborhood.

From Bourdieu's perspective, this legitimacy is a form of symbolic power, namely the ability of individuals to gain recognition without resorting to economic or political domination. Therefore, the practice of pilgrimage not only strengthens the spiritual dimension but also builds a structure of social respect within the Muslim community.

In addition to social and symbolic capital, pilgrimage practices also generate *religious capital.* This concept was developed by (Iannaccone, 1990) as the accumulation of knowledge, experience, ritual skills, and religious commitment acquired through participation in religious activities. Individuals with high levels of religious capital tend to be more active in religious activities, understand their religious traditions, and can transmit these values to other members of the community.

In the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition, religious capital is built through various spiritual experiences, such as reciting tahlil (religious remembrance), dhikr (remembrance of God), salawat (prayer), communal prayer, tawassul (religious remembrance), and understanding the history of the Wali Songo's missionary work. These activities enrich religious knowledge and strengthen the community's emotional attachment to the Islamic heritage of the archipelago.

In the lower-middle-class Muslim community in Sukolilo, religious capital also serves as a psychological resource for coping with the pressures of city life. The experience of participating in pilgrimages provides a sense of optimism, inner peace, and a belief that life has meaning beyond the material dimension. Thus, *religious capital* not only enhances individual religious competence but also strengthens the social resilience *of* urban communities.

E. Urban Islamic Civilization: Synthesis of Tradition and Modernity

In the context of urban society, modernity does not erase tradition but rather provides new space for tradition to be reproduced through forms that are more adaptive to social, economic, and technological change. Therefore, urban Islamic civilization is the result of a synthesis that brings together the heritage of Islam Nusantara with the realities of modern life. This view differs from the

assumptions of classical modernization theory, which assumes that modernization will lead to secularization and the diminishing role of religion in the public sphere. Peter L. Berger initially predicted that modernization would shift religion to the private sphere, although in his later works he acknowledged that the modern world shows symptoms of desecularization, namely the continued strong role of religion in social life (Berger & Georgetown University, 2008). In line with this, (Casanova, 2008) proposed the concept of deprivatization of religion, which explains that religion does not disappear from the public sphere, but reappears in new forms that interact with social, economic, cultural, and political institutions.

This phenomenon is evident in the practice of the Wali Songo pilgrimage. This tradition maintains classical elements such as tawassul (religious prayer), tahlil (recitation of the tahlil), communal prayer, and reverence for the saints as scholars who spread Islam. However, at the same time, its implementation utilizes social media for information dissemination, instant messaging applications for participant coordination, digital payments for travel transactions, and professional travel agencies that manage the activities in a modern manner. These changes demonstrate that modernity does not replace tradition but rather serves as a medium that allows tradition to survive and thrive in urban society.

From Talal Asad's perspective (Asad, 1997), religion is a discursive tradition, a tradition that is continuously produced, interpreted, and negotiated through social practices that change according to historical and cultural contexts. Thus, religious traditions are not static legacies but are constantly reinterpreted by their practitioners. The Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition demonstrates this characteristic. Spiritual values inherited from the time of the saints' preaching remain, but the way society organizes, interprets, and actualizes them has adapted to the dynamics of urban life.

This negotiation process can be understood through the concept of hybridity proposed by Homi K. Bhabha (Bhabha, 2012). According to Bhabha, culture does not develop through the replacement of one system by another, but rather through the formation *of* a third space, a space of encounter that produces new identities. In the context of this research, the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition becomes a third space that brings together traditional Islamic values with the rationality of modern society. The result is not the dominance of one element, but the birth of a new form of religiosity that creatively integrates the two.

This form of religiosity can be called hybrid religiosity, a religious expression that remains rooted in the traditions of Nusantara Islam but is open to technological developments, social mobility, and urban culture. This hybrid character is evident in the community's ability to maintain the practices of tawassul (religious prayer), seeking blessings, communal prayer, and reverence for saints, while utilizing digital media, online community networks, electronic payment systems, and modern travel services to support pilgrimages. Thus, the changes that occur lie not in the substance of belief, but in the way, tradition is reproduced and organized in contemporary life.

This perspective aligns with the concept of lived religion developed by Meredith B. McGuire (McGuire, 2008) and further developed by Nancy T. Ammerman (Ammerman, 2021). Both emphasize that religion cannot be understood solely through doctrine or formal institutions but must be seen as a daily practice continuously shaped by the social experiences of individuals and communities. In the context of the Muslim community of Sukolilo, pilgrimage is not merely an annual ritual, but rather part of a way of life *that* provides inner peace, strengthens social solidarity, expands community networks, and builds optimism in the face of the pressures of urban life.

The findings of this study also strengthen Robert W. Hefner's (Hefner et al., 2001) argument that the development of Indonesian Islam does not demonstrate a conflict between religiosity and modernity. Instead, Indonesian Islam developed through a process of adaptation to social change while maintaining its local character. The Wali Songo tradition is one example of how the Islamic heritage of the archipelago was able to transform into a religious practice that remains relevant in modern society without losing its religious legitimacy or cultural identity.

Furthermore, Asef Bayat (Bayat, 2013) explains that the lives of modern Muslim communities are shaped by everyday practices (everyday Islam*)* that demonstrate individuals' ability to adapt religious teachings to the needs of contemporary life. In this study, the ability of lower-middle-class Muslims to

integrate work obligations, the use of digital technology, economic activities, and pilgrimage practices demonstrates that religion is not external to modernity, but rather part of the process of adaptation to modernity itself.

This study then argues that urban Islamic civilization is the result of ongoing negotiations between Nusantara Islamic traditions and urban modernity. This negotiation produces a hybrid form of religiosity, one that maintains the spiritual values, collective memory, and religious authority inherited from the Wali Songo, but is realized through various modern tools such as digital media, virtual communities, digital economic systems, and professional travel organizations. Thus, urban Islamic civilization is not built through a rejection of modernity or a rigid preservation of tradition, but rather through the community's ability to adapt Islamic values to the ever-changing structure of urban life.

F. Negotiation of Tradition and Modernity in the Formation of Urban Islamic Civilization

Based on research findings and theoretical analysis, this article proposes a conceptual model explaining the relationship between modernization, religious practices, and the formation of urban Islamic civilization. This model builds on the finding that the practice of visiting the Wali Songo among lower-middle-class Muslims not only represents the preservation of religious traditions but also demonstrates a continuous process of adaptation to the social, economic, technological, and cultural changes that accompany urban life.

In contrast to the classical modernization perspective, which views tradition and modernity as two opposing entities, this study shows that they interact through a process of negotiation that produces new forms of religiosity. Tradition is not marginalized by modernization but is reproduced through various modern tools such as social media, digital communities, religious travel agencies, electronic payment systems, and app-based communication networks. Therefore, modernization is not positioned as a force eroding religiosity, but rather as a factor driving the transformation of how society expresses and organizes its religious practices.

In this conceptual model, urban modernization is understood as a structural factor shaping people's lives through increased social mobility, economic pressures, the development of digital technology, changes in family structures, and flexible work rhythms. These changes have given rise to new needs for spiritual spaces that can provide psychological calm, social solidarity, and moral legitimacy in navigating the complexities of urban life.

In response to these conditions, communities have engaged in a process of negotiating tradition, an effort to maintain the values of Nusantara Islam while adapting forms of religious practice to current developments. This negotiation process is evident using digital media in organizing pilgrimages, the professionalization of religious travel agencies, the formation of virtual communities, the use of digital payment systems, and the adjustment of pilgrimage schedules to the work rhythms of urban communities. Thus, modernity does not replace tradition but rather serves as a medium that allows traditions to survive and thrive.

Furthermore, these hybrid religious practices generate various forms of religious social capital that strengthen the sustainability of urban Muslim communities. Referring to Pierre Bourdieu's theory, pilgrimage practices contribute to the formation of *social capital* through intercommunity solidarity networks, *symbolic capital* through recognition of piety and religious participation, and *religious capital* through the accumulation of knowledge, spiritual experience, and commitment to religious traditions (Iannaccone, 1990). These three forms of capital interact with each other and strengthen the community's ability to face the challenges of urban life.

In the next stage, the accumulation of various forms of capital forms an urban Islamic civilization, namely a social order that integrates Islamic spiritual values with the dynamics of modern society. Urban Islamic civilization in this study is understood not as a form of Islam that is detached from tradition, but as the result of the continuous reproduction of the Islamic heritage of the archipelago through mechanisms of adaptation to social change. Thus, urban Islamic civilization is an expression of religiosity that is adaptive, inclusive, and responsive to the development of the times without losing the foundation of religious values that are the identity of Indonesian Muslim society.

Based on these arguments, this article proposes a conceptual proposition that the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition is a mechanism for the reproduction of urban Islamic civilization through a process of negotiation between tradition and modernity. Modernization creates changes in social and technological structures, society responds to these changes by negotiating religious practices, the negotiation process produces hybrid forms of religiosity, and hybrid religiosity then forms social capital, symbolic capital, and religious capital that become the foundation for the development of contemporary urban Islamic civilization.

This conceptual model makes a theoretical contribution to the study of urban Islam by demonstrating that the sustainability of religious traditions is not determined by their ability to rigidly maintain old forms, but rather by their ability to adapt to social change through a process of creative negotiation. Thus, the pilgrimage practices of the Wali Songo not only represent the cultural heritage of Nusantara Islam but also serve as a strategic arena for the formation of collective identity, strengthening social solidarity, and the reproduction of Islamic civilization within contemporary urban society.

4. CONCLUSION

This research shows that the Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition remains strongly relevant in the lives of contemporary urban Muslim communities not only because of its position as a historical legacy of Nusantara Islam, but also because of its ability to adapt to the social, economic, and technological dynamics of urban society. The practice of pilgrimage becomes an arena for negotiation between traditional Nusantara Islamic values and the demands of modernity, as seen using social media, digital communities, religious travel agencies, electronic payment systems, and the adjustment of pilgrimage times to people's work rhythms. Modernity thus does not replace the religious substance of tradition but rather provides a medium that allows religious practices to take place more adaptively, efficiently, and inclusively. Lower-middle-class Muslims are also not passive actors in the face of social change but actively reconstruct their religious identities through pilgrimage as a space to build spiritual meaning, expand social networks, strengthen community solidarity, and gain religious legitimacy. In this context, pilgrimage functions as a cultural strategy that allows communities to integrate spiritual needs with the demands of modern life without losing their traditional Islamic roots. Thus, urban Islamic civilization in Indonesia was not formed through a conflict between tradition and modernity, but through an ongoing process of adaptation, reproduction of religious culture, and social negotiation.

Theoretically, this study expands the study of urban Islam and *the lived religion perspective* by demonstrating that religious practices are not only individual spiritual expressions but also mechanisms for the reproduction of social capital, symbolic capital, and religious capital that support social cohesion in society. The Wali Songo pilgrimage tradition serves as a space that connects spiritual, cultural, and social dimensions simultaneously, allowing the values of Nusantara Islam to survive through the integration of religious practices, digital technology, community networks, and changes in community life patterns. Based on these findings, this study proposes a conceptual proposition that urban Islamic civilization is the result of a continuous negotiation process between Nusantara Islamic heritage and urban modernity, which gives rise to a form of hybrid religiosity. This hybrid religiosity does not indicate a weakening of tradition or the dominance of modernity but rather represents the capacity of Muslim communities to integrate Islamic values with social change in a creative and sustainable manner. This finding also emphasizes that modernization does not always result in the secularization or marginalization of religion; instead, modernization can provide a space for innovation and transformation of religious expression. Therefore, the sustainability of urban Islamic civilization is not determined by the ability to maintain tradition statically or accept modernity totally, but rather by the capacity of society to continuously negotiate both so as to give birth to a form of religiosity that is adaptive, contextual, and remains rooted in the values of Nusantara Islam.

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