

Mentoring as an Interaction Ritual: Generating Emotional Energy and Solidarity among Urban Mosque Youth

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Abstract. Urban landscapes are frequently characterized by heightened individualism and the erosion of traditional social cohesion. Conversely, certain religious collectives effectively maintain robust social bonds through consistent, routine engagement. This research investigates mentoring practices within the Kumpulan Remaja Masjid An-Nahl (KURMA) in BSD City, addressing a significant scholarly void: the tendency to prioritize large-scale, event-based religious activities over the subtle, micro-interactional dynamics of daily routines. Utilizing a qualitative case study framework, data were synthesized from participant observation and semi-structured interviews with 2 mentors, 6 administrators, and 2 members. Grounded in Randall Collins' Interaction Ritual Chains (IRC) theory, the analysis demonstrates that mentoring functions as a recurring interaction ritual that generates emotional energy (EE) and bolsters group solidarity. This accumulated EE not only encourages long-term participation but is also encoded into group symbols, including internal jargon and a distinctive three-finger hand gesture signifying collective identity. Ultimately, this research underscores that solidarity in urban mosque youth groups is a product of emotionally resonant routine interactions rather than transient religious events.

Keywords: Social Solidarity, Mosque Youth Community, Mentoring, Interactional Ritual Chains, Urban Society.

Abstrak. Lingkungan perkotaan seringkali ditandai dengan meningkatnya sikap individualisme dan melemahnya ikatan sosial tradisional. Disisi lain, terdapat komunitas keagamaan yang mampu mempertahankan ikatan sosial yang kuat melalui interaksi yang rutin dan konsisten. Penelitian ini mengkaji praktik mentoring pada Kumpulan Remaja Masjid An-Nahl (KURMA) di Kota BSD, yang bertujuan untuk mengisi kekosongan kajian ilmiah sebelumnya yang lebih fokus pada kegiatan keagamaan berskala besar dibandingkan dinamika interaksi mikro dalam rutinitas sehari-hari. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan studi kasus kualitatif, data diperoleh melalui observasi langsung serta wawancara semi-terstruktur dengan sepuluh informan, yang terdiri dari mentor, pengurus, dan anggota. Berdasarkan teori Rantai Ritual Interaksi (IRC) Randall Collins, hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa kegiatan mentoring berfungsi sebagai ritual interaksi yang dilakukan secara rutin dan mampu menghasilkan energi emosional (EE) serta dapat memperkuat solidaritas kelompok. Energi emosional yang terakumulasi ini tidak hanya mendorong partisipasi jangka panjang, tetapi juga tercermin dalam simbol-simbol kelompok, seperti jargon internal dan gestur tiga jari yang menjadi penanda identitas kolektif. Kesimpulannya, penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa solidaritas dalam komunitas remaja masjid di perkotaan terbentuk melalui interaksi rutin yang memicu ikatan emosional, bukan sekadar acara keagamaan yang bersifat sementara.

Kata Kunci: Solidaritas Sosial, Komunitas Remaja Masjid, Mentoring, Interactional Ritual Chains, Masyarakat Urban



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1. INTRODUCTION

Contemporary urban societies are increasingly shaped by *liquid* modernity, marked by fluid social relations, fragile commitments, and the erosion of long-term collective bonds (Ritzer, 2011; Jones et al., 2016). These conditions are particularly evident in planned urban communities such as Bumi Serpong Damai/BSD City, a middle-to-upper-class satellite city designed around efficiency, privacy, and lifestyle consumption, which tends to promote individualism and social distance. Based on preliminary observations, social interaction among residents in BSD City appears relatively limited, as many residents spend most of their time working and engaging in activities within private spaces. Paradoxically, within this highly individualized environment, Masjid An-Nahl emerges as an intriguing site for exploring how strong emotional ties and collective identities are formed among youth. This contradiction renders BSD City a theoretically significant site for investigating whether and how mentoring practices within a mosque-based youth community contribute to sustaining solidarity amid an increasingly “liquid” urban environment.

Previous studies on mosque youth communities in Indonesia have largely emphasized the role of incidental programs as a key mechanism for sustaining youth participation and solidarity, activities such as life-skills training, leadership development, organizational practice, social programs, and community service that function as supportive infrastructure for youth engagement (Arisanti et al., 2023; Gunawan et al., 2023). Incidental programs, such as informal study circles, social gatherings, service activities, and popular da’wah events are understood as filling the gap between doctrinal learning and everyday youth needs, fostering independence, peer bonding, and long-term mosque attachment. Studies highlight layered governance models involving mosque boards (takmir), da’wah committees, and youth assemblies that provide formal roles, leadership ladders, and cadre education systems (Fernando et al., 2022; Hasanah & Azani, 2024; Suparman et al., 2021). Leadership training is commonly embedded in routine organizational practices such as planning

meetings, task division, and program evaluation, producing youth cadres who act as organizers, facilitators, and da’wah agents rather than passive participants. While this body of work offers important insights into institutional design, it tends to approach solidarity as an outcome of effective governance, role distribution, and leadership regeneration, with limited attention to the emotional and interactional processes through which commitment is sustained in everyday practice.

Research on digital da’wah highlights how social media platforms enable religious learning, identity construction, and community formation beyond physical mosque spaces, especially among urban youth and digital-native generations (Karimullah, 2023; Pamungkas et al., 2024; Solahudin & Fakhruroji, 2020). Digital platforms are shown to amplify da’wah outreach, diversify religious authority, and support moderation-oriented narratives, while also reshaping participation patterns and symbolic belonging. However, despite acknowledging the hybridization of online and offline religious life, this literature largely treats digital engagement and da’wah events as channels or outputs of youth activism, rather than interrogating how routine face-to-face interactions generate emotional attachment and solidarity that digital media can only partially sustain.

Previous studies have primarily focused on mosque-based youth activities that tend to be incidental and temporary in nature, such as Ramadan activities (Samanto et al., 2024), da’wah outreach (Fathurrohman et al., 2021), community service (Melani et al., 2025), communal iftar (Khasanah, 2025), and charitable giving (Shalihin & Sholihin, 2022). In previous studies, analysis regarding the dynamics of ritual interaction in mentoring practices that can foster solidarity and emotional energy among adolescents has been limited. Yet, mentoring occurs routinely and continuously.

This article aims to answer question; How do routine mentoring practices function as interaction rituals that generate emotional energy and sustain solidarity among urban mosque youth? This study fills that gap by employing Interaction Ritual Chains theory to

analyze mentoring as a sequence of recurring interaction rituals. IRC theory emphasizes four conditions of ritual success, bodily co-presence, group boundaries, mutual focus of attention, and shared emotional mood, which, when fulfilled, generate emotional energy and sustain long-term solidarity.

As such, this study occupies a unique position because it focuses on the mentoring routines of mosque youth in urban areas as a space for fostering social solidarity and sustained emotional energy, while also demonstrating its relevance to the dynamics of solidarity within contemporary Muslim societies that are becoming increasingly digitized.

2. METHOD

This is a qualitative case study approach examining the micro-interactional dynamics of mentoring practices within the KURMA An-Nahl youth community in BSD City. This approach enables an in-depth exploration of meanings, emotional experiences, and interaction rituals embedded in routine religious practices.

Participants were selected through purposive sampling based on their active involvement in mentoring activities and had participated in the mentoring program for at least six months. The study involved ten participants (six administrators, two mentors, and two active members) ranging in age from 15 to 48 years. The number of participants was determined using the principle of data saturation. Recurrent patterns related to interaction routines, emotional energy, group symbols, and solidarity consistently emerged across interviews, and no substantial new themes appeared after the tenth interview. In addition, the depth of interviews (60–90 minutes) provided rich, detailed narratives sufficient for analytical purposes.

Data were collected through participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Participant observation was conducted during weekly mentoring sessions at Masjid An-Nahl BSD, focusing on embodied interaction, emotional dynamics, and symbolic practices. Semi-structured interviews allowed informants to articulate their experiences while addressing key themes derived from Interaction Ritual Chains theory. Data analysis with model,

involving data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Analysis was conducted iteratively, using key IRC concepts as sensitizing tools rather than fixed categories.

The researcher adopted a participant-observer position, participating in and observing mentoring activities for two months while not holding any formal leadership role within KURMA. This positionality proved strategically advantageous for capturing the natural flow of interaction rituals. On the one hand, the researcher's presence was often perceived ambiguously as that of an "intellectual" or senior peer (*kakak kelas*), which at certain moments subtly shaped the mutual focus of attention during mentoring sessions, particularly when discussions shifted toward reflective or evaluative topics. On the other hand, the absence of formal authority minimized hierarchical distance, allowing participants to engage in emotional disclosure and informal interaction with relative ease. This positioning enabled access to both interactional depth and spontaneity, while reflexive field notes were continuously maintained to assess how the researcher's presence may have influenced interactional dynamics rather than treating the field as a neutral or unaffected site.

Given the limited number of participants (ten participants), this study does not seek statistical generalization across mosque youth populations. Instead, its analytical strength lies in the transferability of micro-sociological insights, particularly regarding how interaction rituals generate emotional energy and solidarity within middle-to-upper-class planned urban environments. By focusing on the density, repetition, and emotional texture of routine mentoring interactions, the study offers conceptually transferable explanations that may illuminate similar urban religious settings characterized by high mobility, individualism, and fragmented social life. In this sense, the findings are intended to contribute to theoretical refinement rather than population-level representativeness

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Mentoring as a Ritual That Generates Emotional Energy

The findings demonstrate that mentoring practices within the Kumpulan Remaja Masjid An-Nahl (KURMA) function as routine interaction rituals that systematically generate social attachment among participants. Mentoring is not merely an instructional activity but a recurrent micro-interactional setting through which emotional energy (EE) is produced and accumulated.

Mentoring establishes bodily co-presence through regular weekly meetings that are stable in terms of time, location, and interactional format. This regularity creates repeated face-to-face encounters that intensify interpersonal familiarity over time. The findings indicate that consistency and repetition are crucial in transforming interaction from situational encounters into sustained ritual chains, allowing emotional engagement to deepen across successive meetings rather than remaining sporadic.

“...maybe what makes it so enjoyable is meeting friends, being able to share experiences, and most importantly, gaining new insights, feeling recharged, and getting motivated.” (Interview with Administrator A.Z., October 26, 2025)

This process is reinforced by the halaqah-style seating arrangement, in which mentors and participants sit in a circle. The absence of spatial hierarchy reduces symbolic distance between actors and facilitates reciprocal interaction. This suggests that spatial configuration functions as an enabling mechanism for ritual success, as it increases participation and emotional attentiveness.

Based on observations conducted while participating in mentoring activities, mentoring produces group boundaries through small-group organization, shared terminology, and patterned participation. Although the activity is formally open, distinctions between regular participants and newcomers emerge through familiarity with internal language, routines, and interaction styles. This finding indicates that group boundaries are maintained symbolically rather than institutionally, functioning not to exclude outsiders but to intensify members' sense of belonging. Within IRC theory, such symbolic boundaries are essential for

concentrating emotional energy within a defined interactional circle.

Mentoring generates mutual focus of attention through a structured yet flexible sequence of activities, including Qur'anic recitation, thematic discussion, and reflective dialogue. The analysis shows that collective attention strengthens as discussions move away from abstract religious instruction toward everyday experiences. This indicates that emotional relevance, rather than doctrinal content alone, plays a decisive role in sustaining interactional intensity and shared focus.

“...I prefer mentoring in a small setting like this because it really resonates with me and is truly applicable; that's what keeps me focused, and every time I experience something, it always aligns with the material from my mentor” (Interview with Administrator I.N., October 26, 2025)

Mentoring produces a shared emotional mood through a gradual emotional transition during the interaction. Observational data indicate that mentoring sessions often begin with a restrained and formal atmosphere, marked by cautious responses and limited participation. The analysis shows that this emotional restraint is not a failure of the ritual, but part of the ritual process itself, serving as a threshold that must be crossed for emotional energy to emerge.

The transition toward a more open and emotionally engaged atmosphere is consistently triggered by specific types of personal disclosure. Topics such as family conflict, academic or work-related pressure, and anxieties about personal development frequently function as emotional tipping points. When a participant verbalizes such experiences, others respond with empathy, recognition, or parallel narratives, producing emotional resonance within the group.

“After mentoring, I usually feel calmer and more motivated. Hearing other people's stories makes me realize I'm not alone.” (Interview with Member A.A., November 9, 2025)

This moment marks the successful activation of a shared emotional mood, where

individual emotions become collectively recognized and amplified. In IRC terms, emotional energy begins to circulate when personal vulnerability is met with reciprocal acknowledgment.

The findings further indicate that emotional energy is not produced instantaneously, but accumulates through repeated cycles of emotional disclosure and recognition across multiple sessions. Once generated, EE motivates sustained participation and reinforces members' commitment to future interactions.

"In mentoring, we don't just learn religious material. We often share real-life problems, and that's what makes us feel closer." (Interview with Administrator H.A., November 9, 2025)

When the ritual ingredients converge, mentoring operates as a core interaction ritual. This analysis demonstrates that weekly mentoring is particularly effective in producing long-term solidarity because it allows emotional energy to be continuously generated, renewed, and stabilized over time.

The findings of this research underscore that urban social solidarity is not primarily produced through episodic religious gatherings, but rather through the cumulative effects of routinized micro-interactions. This insight extends prior scholarship, most notably Fathurrohman et al. (2021) and Khasanah (2025) which tends to privilege large-scale religious programs such as Safari Dakwah or collective iftar events as key mechanisms for cultivating cohesion among mosque-affiliated youth. While these episodic rituals can generate intense moments of collective effervescence, ethnographic observations at Masjid An-Nahl demonstrate that such emotional surges are structurally fragile and dissipate rapidly in the absence of institutionalized daily or weekly practices.

Interpreted through the framework of Interaction Ritual Chains (IRC), the weekly KURMA mentoring sessions emerge as a form of emotional infrastructure that continuously regenerates participants' emotional energy and moral commitment. This mechanism enables solidarity to endure despite the fragmenting

pressures of liquid modernity and pronounced individualism in BSD City.

The Competition Between Mentoring Rituals and Urban Culture

The production of emotional energy (EE) through mentoring practices plays a central role in sustaining group solidarity within the KURMA community. Solidarity here is not simply a cognitive agreement on shared religious values, but an affective attachment generated through repeated participation in emotionally rewarding interaction rituals. Members remain committed to the community because mentoring provides a form of emotional experience that is qualitatively distinct from other options available in urban life.

"In other words, this mentoring is actually our healing, it's the healing of young people." (Interview with P.D administrator, October 26, 2025)

"...so I feel calmer, because we've received more enlightenment from the mentoring material and are also more enthusiastic." (Interview with A.Z administrator, October 26, 2025)

"What I feel is that it charges me up... so I become better, for example, when I've been feeling unmotivated all week... then when I meet my friends, I'm motivated to be more enthusiastic." (Interview with member R.A., November 9, 2025)

A key analytical contribution of this study lies in its examination of ritual competition. In the context of BSD City, a planned urban community characterized by consumer-oriented spaces such as malls, cafés, fitness centers, and various non-religious hobbies, young people are constantly confronted with alternative sources of pleasure and social engagement. These urban activities offer what can be describe as emotional stimulation: immediate enjoyment, entertainment, and sensory satisfaction. However, such stimulation is typically short-lived, individualistic, and weakly tied to durable social bonds.

In contrast, the findings indicate that mentoring generates emotional energy,

reflected in participants' increased motivation, enthusiasm, and commitment to religious activities, which differs fundamentally from emotional stimulation in both depth and durability. Emotional stimulation provides fleeting excitement without requiring personal investment or vulnerability; it can be accessed, consumed, and abandoned with little emotional cost. Emotional energy, by contrast, emerges from interaction rituals that involve mutual recognition, emotional disclosure, and shared moral meaning. It produces feelings of confidence, belonging, and emotional attachment that persist beyond the immediate interaction.

Analytically, this distinction helps explain why mentoring is experienced by participants as emotionally more valuable than competing urban activities. While leisure spaces such as cafés or malls allow co-presence, they rarely generate shared emotional moods or sustained mutual focus. Mentoring, on the other hand, repeatedly creates situations in which participants' personal struggles are acknowledged and responded to within a morally supportive environment. This transforms routine interaction into an emotionally dense experience that accumulates value over time (L.DuBois & J.Karcher, 2005).

One participant articulated this contrast implicitly when reflecting on the effects of mentoring:

"After mentoring, I usually feel calmer and more motivated. Hearing other people's stories makes me realize I'm not alone." (Interview with member A.A., November 9, 2025)

This statement illustrates how emotional energy generates reassurance, motivation, and a sense of collective belonging. As emotional energy accumulates, participation becomes increasingly rewarding, encouraging members to remain engaged in mentoring activities.

Consequently, solidarity within KURMA persists despite the strong pull of urban individualism and lifestyle diversity. Mentoring becomes a high-value ritual, not because it dominates participants' time, but because it dominates their emotional calculus. This analysis demonstrates that the endurance of

solidarity in urban religious communities depends less on ideological discipline or organizational pressure than on the capacity of routine interaction rituals to generate emotional energy that is deeper, more durable, and more socially binding than the emotional stimulation offered by contemporary urban culture.

"Yes, it's still very much so, because the bonding was so strong, so the friendship wasn't just here, so we often played together outside too." (Interview with R.A member, November 9, 2025)

"Building togetherness, usually after mentoring, we don't go straight home... we have a chat session while eating, for example, after mentoring, we eat together first... then we chat about how the lectures are going, how the group assignments are going..." (Interview with mentor K.S, October 29, 2025)

The contrast between mentoring and consumption-oriented urban lifestyles in BSD City can be analytically sharpened by distinguishing emotional stimulation from emotional energy in terms of duration, depth, and emotional cost. Urban leisure spaces such as malls, cafés, and lifestyle venues offer emotional stimulation that is immediate, comfortable, and low-risk. These settings offer immediate gratification without requiring vulnerability or moral commitment, yet the resulting stimulation is often short-lived and rarely translates into durable affective attachment or collective obligation.

In contrast, mentoring operates as a high-stakes interaction ritual precisely because it entails what can be described as emotional cost. Participation in mentoring demands personal disclosure, emotional vulnerability, and the risk of being misunderstood, judged, or left unreciprocated. Paradoxically, it is this emotional risk that generates disproportionately high emotional returns. Emotional energy thus emerges not despite the cost of vulnerability, but because of it.

From the perspective of ritual competition, mentoring "wins" not by outperforming urban leisure in convenience or pleasure, but by dominating participants'

emotional calculus. Regular absence from mentoring does not merely mean missing an activity; it entails the loss of recognition, shared warmth, and accumulated emotional capital that cannot be easily substituted by low-cost stimulation elsewhere. This analysis reinforces the argument that solidarity persists not through ideological discipline or organizational obligation, but through interaction rituals that successfully transform vulnerability into durable affective commitment.

The findings of this study highlight the existence of 'ritual competition' between religious activities and urban consumption spaces such as malls and cafés in BSD City. Unlike the emotional stimulation offered by urban public spaces, which is temporary and low-risk, mentoring within the KURMA community provides a deeper form of emotional energy because it involves an 'emotional cost' in the form of self-disclosure and personal vulnerability. When the articulation of personal problems is met with collective empathy, affective attachment is strengthened, enabling mentoring to prevail in members' emotional calculus over mere leisure or entertainment activities.

The Role of Digital Media in Reinforcing Solidarity.

Despite the capacity of mentoring practices to generate emotional energy and group solidarity, this study finds that such solidarity is continuously negotiated within the constraints of urban life. In the context of BSD City, a planned urban environment marked by intense time pressure, spatial dispersion, and competing lifestyle options, solidarity cannot be understood as a stable condition, but rather as a fragile accomplishment that requires constant ritual reinforcement.

One important challenge concerns the circulation and endurance of collective symbols beyond the physical space of the mosque. Symbols such as internal jargon, organizational attributes, and the three-finger hand gesture representing the letter "K" are not confined to face-to-face mentoring sessions.

"If the jargon or symbol is an organizational symbol, for example, the "K" symbol. But the jargon that I convey

to the younger siblings is that mentoring is not everything, but everything starts from mentoring. That's the jargon that they are very familiar with." (Interview with mentor K.S, October 29, 2025)

Instead, they are actively transported into digital spaces, particularly through WhatsApp groups and social media platforms. Analytically, this indicates that collective symbols function as carriers of emotional residues generated during prior interaction rituals. When encountered online, these symbols reactivate feelings of belonging and moral encouragement among members. Furthermore, the findings complicate Nisa's (2018) argument regarding digital media as a generative hybrid space for religious activism. In the middle-class urban context examined here, WhatsApp-mediated interactions function primarily as auxiliary ritual cues rather than as autonomous sites of religious formation, remaining subordinate to bodily co-presence.

"...for communication, we have a WA group for mentoring participants... for the Akhwat, it's the "Grup Keren Muslimah", for the Ikhwan, there's another "Grup Keren Ikhwan", we usually share things there.. (Interview with A.Z administrators, October 26, 2025)

However, the findings also suggest that the emotional efficacy of these symbols is conditional. Digital representations of symbols do not generate emotional energy independently, but rely heavily on the memory of embodied interaction. In this sense, symbols circulating outside the mosque work less as new ritual sites and more as ritual reminders that slow down the dissipation of emotional energy during periods of reduced physical co-presence. This highlights an important limitation of digital mediation in sustaining solidarity, while it can preserve and recall emotional attachments, it cannot fully substitute the intensity of face-to-face rituals.

The findings of this study contribute a critical nuance to ongoing debates on digital Islam by demonstrating that digital media, particularly WhatsApp groups, do not function as autonomous generators of emotional energy within the KURMA community. While previous

research has shown that social media can facilitate the emergence of strong Islamic social movements, the KURMA case suggests that the emotional dynamics of digital interaction are highly context-dependent.

The finding that digital media function as ritual reminders rather than substitutes for physical rituals can be further refined by introducing the concept of the decay rate of emotional energy. In Interaction Ritual Chains theory, emotional energy (EE) is inherently unstable and tends to dissipate when interactional chains are interrupted. Between these face-to-face encounters, WhatsApp groups operate to slow down the rate at which emotional energy decays, maintaining affective continuity across temporal gaps.

This slowing of emotional decay is achieved through the circulation of symbols, memories, and routine acknowledgments embedded in everyday digital exchanges. Short messages, reminders, jokes, or shared photos function less as new interactions and more as cues that reactivate the emotional impressions of prior embodied rituals. Analytically, WhatsApp groups operate as low-intensity but high-frequency reinforcement mechanisms, sustaining a baseline level of emotional attachment until it can be “recharged” through subsequent mentoring sessions.

“On social media, it's usually about what our next agenda is, or maybe there are studies out there that we can share together.” (Interview with R.R. administrator, November 9, 2025)

In the context of digital interaction, WhatsApp groups do not operate as autonomous ritual spaces, but rather as reinforcement mechanisms that slow the rate of emotional energy decay between sessions of physical co-presence. Symbols such as internal jargon and the three-finger hand gesture shared digitally function as ‘sacred objects’ that carry emotional residues from previous face-to-face rituals. In this way, digital media help stabilize solidarity amid fragmented urban schedules; however, their effectiveness remains dependent on the regular ‘recharging’ of emotional energy through routine physical interaction at the mosque

Internal jargon and the three-finger hand gesture representing collective identity function as interactional objects saturated with emotional energy generated during face-to-face mentoring. When these symbols circulate on social media, appearing in group photos, profile images, or casual greetings, they operate as what Collins conceptualizes as sacred objects: material or symbolic forms in which emotional energy is stored, condensed, and made portable across contexts. Seeing the symbol on a smartphone screen releases a modest but meaningful emotional charge because it recalls moments of shared vulnerability, recognition, and collective presence experienced in the mosque.

This analysis underscores a hierarchical relationship between physical and digital interaction. Physical rituals consecrate symbols and generate emotional energy, while digital circulation allows these symbols to retain and periodically release that energy, slowing its dissipation without fully renewing it. The concept of ritual reminders therefore captures not merely a communicative function, but an emotional-temporal function: digital interaction stabilizes solidarity by managing the decay of emotional energy in urban life.

This finding invites a dialogical engagement with Wahid's (2024) analysis of the intersection between Islam and digital technology. While digital platforms undoubtedly expand the reach and visibility of da'wah, this study argues that in a socially “liquid” urban context, digital mediation also carries the risk of accelerating emotional evaporation when not periodically replenished through physical interaction. The ease, speed, and low emotional cost of digital communication may sustain symbolic boundaries and organizational coordination, but they lack the ritual density required to generate emotional energy in Collins' terms (Collins, 2004). Without regular embodied encounters,

Analytically, this suggests a hierarchical relationship between physical and digital rituals rather than a simple substitution or extension. In KURMA, bodily co-presence within mentoring sessions constitutes the core ritual that produces emotional energy, while digital interaction functions as a secondary layer that

preserves, recalls, and stabilizes that energy across intervals of absence. Thus, this study refines digital religion scholarship by showing that the efficacy of digital da'wah and online interaction hinges less on technological affordances per se than on their embeddedness within sustained, embodied interactional rituals.

Solidarity within KURMA is further shaped by internal differentiation, particularly along lines of gender and age. Although mentoring serves as a shared ritual framework for both *ikhwan* and *akhwat*, emotional engagement within the ritual unfolds through subtly different interactional styles. Female participants tend to express emotional vulnerability more openly, particularly in relation to family dynamics, personal anxieties, and emotional well-being. This often accelerates the formation of a shared emotional mood and heightens the immediate intensity of emotional energy. Male participants, by contrast, frequently engage emotions in a more restrained manner, channeling emotional connection through humor, shared activities, or practical advice rather than explicit emotional disclosure.

“As mentors, we have to be able to take on the roles of an older sibling, a friend, and a parent, to make them feel comfortable. Men and women are indeed different. Women tend to open up more; when they meet other friends, they'll talk about this and that. Men, on the other hand, tend to be very reserved, so you have to take the initiative to approach them and ask all sorts of questions. It takes more effort with men like that. (Interview with K.R Mentor, November 3, 2025)

These differences do not indicate unequal access to emotional energy, but rather underscore that emotional energy is socially patterned in its expression. The mentoring ritual remains effective across gendered interaction styles because it provides a flexible structure capable of accommodating diverse emotional repertoires. In this way, solidarity is sustained not through uniform emotional expression, but through shared participation in a ritual form that allows multiple modes of affective engagement.

Age also mediates how emotional energy is experienced and sustained. Younger members tend to report higher emotional intensity during mentoring sessions. This reflects their position in life stages marked by identity negotiation, academic pressure, and uncertainty about the future. Older members and mentors, on the other hand, experience emotional energy in a more stabilized form, expressed through responsibility, guidance, and commitment to the continuity of the community. Emotional energy thus becomes less volatile with age, transforming into a form of moral investment that supports the intergenerational durability of interaction ritual chains.

Nevertheless, urban conditions continue to pose structural challenges to ritual continuity. Competing obligations related to education, employment, mobility, and non-religious social activities frequently disrupt regular participation. Consequently, solidarity remains at risk of erosion whenever ritual frequency declines.

The gendered pattern of emotional engagement observed in KURMA resonates with a long-standing sociological insight that women often play a central role in sustaining communal bonds and affective cohesion within religious life. The greater emotional openness exhibited by female participants functions as a form of relational work that facilitates mutual recognition and accelerates the formation of a shared emotional mood. Rather than operating merely at the individual level, such emotional expressiveness becomes a collective resource that anchors solidarity by transforming private experiences into publicly acknowledged concerns.

In contrast, the comparatively restrained emotional expression among male participants reflects a different but equally patterned mode of engagement shaped by urban middle-class contexts. In BSD City, restraint appears to be consonant with norms of professional masculinity that privilege composure, self-management, and emotional control in public interaction. Within this frame, mentoring does not immediately overturn masculine emotional discipline, but instead provides a ritually safe space in which emotional expression is gradually legitimate.

Humor, practical advice, and shared activities function as intermediary channels through which affective affiliation is built without direct verbal vulnerability. Analytically, this suggests that mentoring operates as a mediating ritual space in which gendered emotional dispositions shaped by urban professionalism are not abolished but slowly recalibrated, enabling solidarity to emerge across differentiated styles of emotional expression.

Yet, the findings demonstrate that KURMA actively manages these vulnerabilities through a combination of routine mentoring, symbolic reinforcement, and controlled digital interaction. Solidarity persists not because urban pressures are absent, but because the community has developed adaptive strategies to stabilize interaction rituals under conditions of fragmentation. This underscores an important theoretical implication: in contemporary urban settings, solidarity is not a given outcome of shared values, but a processual achievement that depends on the continuous regeneration of emotional energy across embodied, symbolic, and mediated interactional spaces.

4. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that mentoring practices within the Kumpulan Remaja Masjid An-Nahl (KURMA) function as routine interaction rituals that generate emotional energy and sustain social solidarity in an urban environment characterized by individualism and ritual competition. Drawing on Interaction Ritual Chains theory, the findings show that solidarity is produced not through episodic religious events, but through repeated micro-interactions embedded in weekly mentoring practices.

This study advances the argument that mentoring should be understood not merely as religious pedagogy, but as a form of ritual infrastructure that sustains emotional energy in urban faith-based youth communities. Through consistent face-to-face interaction, emotional disclosure, and symbolic reinforcement, mentoring accumulates emotional energy that is stabilized in group symbols and extended through digital media as ritual reminders. While digital interaction cannot replace bodily co-

presence, it helps preserve emotional residues during periods of disrupted ritual continuity.

The findings further highlight that emotional energy is shaped by internal differences, particularly gender and age, yet these variations strengthen rather than weaken solidarity by allowing multiple modes of affective engagement within a shared ritual framework. Overall, this study contributes to urban sociology and the sociology of religion by showing that durable solidarity in contemporary urban life depends on the successful reproduction of routine interaction rituals rather than on large-scale or spectacular religious events.

This study concludes that solidarity among mosque youth in middle-class urban environments is not the result of rigid ideological doctrines, but rather a processual achievement generated through successful micro-level routines that produce emotional energy. Mentoring functions as an emotional anchor capable of accommodating diverse styles of attachment, whether through open emotional disclosure among female participants or through humor and practical support among male participants. These findings underscore that the sustainability of religious communities in satellite cities depends fundamentally on the capacity of routine rituals to transform personal vulnerability into durable collective commitment.

This study has limitations in terms of the scope of the case study, which only examines the context of mosque youth in elite urban neighborhoods. Therefore, future research could explore a broader scope by conducting a comparative study between mosque youth communities in elite areas such as BSD and those in suburban areas or densely populated neighborhoods. This is important for understanding how social class and environmental facilities influence the intensity of emotional energy generated during ritual interactions.

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