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INTRODUCTION FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARDS

Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion published a new edition vol.2.no.02.2017. This is the forth volume issued in English since its beginning in 2016. This English edition is a part of preparation to be an International journal and as an effort from the editorial board to make this journal widely accessed and read by more people around the world. Analisa Journal has also consistently published both versions; the online edition through the Analisa website and the printed version. Many people have contributed in the process of this publication, so that this journal is successfully released as scheduled.

There are eight articles in this volume in which some of them discussed about religion and peace in various parts of Indonesia, while several of them talk about education and the rest are discussing about gender and *dakwah* (Islamic dissemination). The authors of those papers are also divers coming from different institutions and different countries.

The first article written by three authors namely Said Achmad Kabiru Rafiie, Amir Husni and Said Atah is entitled "Acehnese Wars and Learning from 12Years of Peace in Aceh". This paper examined the history of Acehnese wars and the peace development after the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Aceh Freedom Movement, or Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), and the Republic of Indonesia in Helsinki on August 15th, 2005. This article gives a deep explanation of what is really going on in Aceh from the era of wars until the recent time. The authors use a qualitative approach and the theory of inequality and conflict as well as Fanon's ideas in order to elucidate the data. Findings of this research show that there are various reasons which might encourage people involved in the battlefield including group motive, personal motivation, social contract and resource shortage. In addition, it shows that the social and economic condition in Aceh has not developed successfully.

The next article is written by Agus Iswanto talked about the receptions of religious aspects (ultimate truth/God, cosmological and religious ritual aspects) in the cultural products of Radin Jambat, a folktale from Lampung, Indonesia. This study is based on the Radin Jambat Folktale text. The results found that folktale contributes in building harmony among religion followers in Lampung. It also stated that religion and culture can go hand in hand in creating harmony, therefore it can be said that religion, in this case Islam, was accepted by people peacefully.

The third article discussed about Kolasara, a local wisdom from Southeast Sulawesi Indonesia. This paper argues that this tradition has contributed in building harmony especially in the Tolaki tribe in such area. This article was written by Muh Subair, he used an in-depth interview, observation and library research in order to collect data. He suggested that *kolasara* should be internalized in *lulo* dance as a way to strengthen such local wisdom. As it is the fact that *kolasara* has played role in mediating people in various conflicts.

How the manuscript called *Wasitawala* contained some education values was discussed by Moch Lukluil Maknun in the next article. This is an interesting paper in which the writer explained the content of the text and then analyzed it on how those embedded values might be used as a source for the national curriculum especially on the character education. He mentioned that this *serat* has many values of character education such as honesty, responsible, thinking logically, discipline, hard working, creative and so forth.

A.M Wibowo wrote the subsequent article entitled "Political view and orientation of the *rohis* members toward the form of the state". This paper is based on his field research at schools in Temanggung Central Java Indonesia. He focused his study on the *Rohis* members' view on certain aspects so called political orientation. The results show that (a) religious teaching at the *Rohis* organization was conducted using one way communication, and they also used media social in disseminating their teaching, (b) *rohis* member prefer to choose male and Islamic leader when they asked about their preferred leader. Meanwhile there are two distinct preferences in terms of state form, the first one is the Unified State of Indonesian Republic (NKRI, Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia), and the second is the Islamic state.

The sixth article written by Abdurrachman Assegaf was about how the anti-corruption policies and educational strategies enforced by Indonesian and Japanese Government. This is an important issue to be discussed since both countries have experiences some corruption cases, although Japan is less experience compared to Indonesia. This was indicated by some data issued by the Transparency International. Japan is categorized as the least corrupt country, on the other hand Indonesia has many and complex corruption cases. This paper stated that countries have laws on anti-corruption; Indonesia has Act Number 31 of 1999 and Japan has several interrelated law compiled in Penal Codes (PC). in addition, both of them have strategies in implementing strategy for anti-corruption education.

The next article concerns on the issue of hate speech in Kupang East Nusa Tenggara Province, how the Islamic preaching dealing with such phenomena. This is a significant study since in the last few months, there are hate speech occurrence everywhere either through oral or written media such as social media and flyers. In Kupang, Muslim are as a minority group in which most of people are Christian. Thus, during the Islamic dissemination, it is solely aimed for Muslim community and not for non-Muslim society. They do not use loudspeaker during their sermon (dakwah), except for *adzan* (calling for prayers). Furthermore, the clerics always avoid using hate speech during their teaching and sermon.

The last article written by Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth is about women in public space and how religion treats them. This paper argues that now days many women took part in public activities by engaging at some workplaces; however they are mostly put at the lower level compared to male workers. Even, religion also treats them differently. This is because there is such domination of globalization in which this situation might be called as women impoverishment

We do hope you all enjoy reading the articles.

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Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion would like to sincerely thank to all people contributing in this publication namely advisory editorial, international editorial board, editors, language advisors, assistant to editors, lay-outers as well as other parties involving in the process of publishing this journal. Analisa journal would also appreciate to all authors who submitted their articles to Analisa, so that this journal is successfully released in time.

The Analisa Journal hopes that we would continue our cooperation for the next editions.

Semarang, December 2017

Editor in Chief

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POLITICAL VIEW AND ORIENTATION OF THE *ROHIS* MEMBERS TOWARD THE FORM OF THE STATE

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at describing the model of religious value transmission communication that occurs in Rohis organization as a form of Islamic proselytizing, at viewing the students' view toward the form of the state government, and at viewing the political orientation of the Rohis members. By using the qualitative approach, this study has successfully gathered the following findings. First, the model of religious value transmission through the Rohis organization is the one way traffic communication. This transmission process involves communicators namely the mentor, the Rohis coaching teachers, da'i/mubaligh from values mass organization background (political parties and non-government organizations), and alumni. The internalization of such religious attitude has been conducted both verbally and non-verbally using the social media (WhatsApp, Instagram, Twitter, and Line). Second, the Rohis members had peculiar political view and orientation in relation to the leader and the form of the state. In relation to the leader, the Rohis members will vote for the male and Islamic leader. Then, in relation to the form of the state there are two groups among the Rohis members. One group demands the Unified State of Indonesian Republic (NKRI, Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia), while the other group demands the Islamic state. However, the supporters of the unified republic are quite bigger than those of Islamic state.

Keywords: Political view, orientation, Rohis member, form of the state.

INTRODUCTION

Talking about religious movements that thrives in Indonesia is a theme that will be never out of the perusal, especially after the reform movement marked by the strengthening of freedom of expression, freedom of the media, and the disclosure of information after more than 32 years "shackled" by the power of the new order under the government of President Soeharto. The freedom of sharing opinion, establishing union, gathering, and forming organization as having been mandated in the 1945 Constitution becomes more opened after 1998 or the overthrow of President Soeharto who had been ruling Indonesia for 32 years. In his era, such freedom is very vulnerable due to the implementation of Law Number 5

Year 1969 regarding the Eradication of Subversive Activities.

The assurance for such freedom becomes more evident after the Reformation through the amendment of Article 28 of 1945 Constitution into Article 28E verse (3) of 1945 Constitution which states, "Every citizen has the right upon the freedom of establishing union, gathering, and sharing opinion". The Constitution strictly and directly provides the freedom of association, the freedom of assembly, and the freedom of expression not only for the Indonesian people but also for everyone in Indonesia and that includes the foreign people who live in Indonesia as well (Asshiddiqie, 2017).

The freedom of association, assembly, and expression after the Reformation also "internalizes" the religious movements in

Indonesia. Such religious movements carry their own vision, mission, and ideology. The vision, mission, and ideology are introduced through social activities in formal educational institutions that have been packaged into extracurricular activities. Such introduction is done as a way of forming cadres in order to shape militancy. This militancy in a wider sense leads to political orientation, parliament domination, and even governance system change (Wibowo et al., 2017:1). Joseph Stubenrauch in Lockley (2013:298) stated that the presence of religion can re-conceptualize the role of human agent toward the God's plan and, in this regard, it may include political orientation and state system.

Some of religious movements in Indonesia, both the organization-based and the non-organization based ones are pro-Indonesian government whereas the others tend to be contra-Indonesian government. The governance system of Indonesia applies four pillars in running the government namely Pancasila, UUD 1945, Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

The trend of such organizations, without having been realized, may cause inter-group social conflict because of their attitudes that tend to be contra-Indonesian government and this will accordingly influence the society's culture that has been established. Not to mention, such social conflict may even be more fierce along with the appearance of other mass organization such as HTI, FPI, Wahabi, Syiah, and alike which bring about their own ideology.

Based on the results of a study by Setara Institute, in 2015 there have been 197 incidents with 236 cases of violation toward the freedom of religion that have occurred throughout Indonesia. In 2016, there are three incidents of prayer house burning namely the burning of a mosque in Tolikara Papua on July 2016 and the burning of a Christian and a Catholic Church in Aceh Singkil, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, on November 2016 (Kompas, 2016).

The problem of intolerance and violence that leads to radicalism towards the state also occurs in the context of education in Indonesia. A survey by Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (LaKIP, Institute of Islam and Peace Review) with regards to the act of intolerance which leads to radicalism among school-age children found that in

2010-2011 almost 50% students have approved the act of radicalism (BBC.com, access on January 8th, 2017). These data show that 25% students and 21% teachers claim that Pancasila is not relevant anymore. On the other hand, 84.80% students and 76.20% students have approved the implementation of Syariat Islam in Indonesia. 52.30% students agreed with act of violence on the behalf of religion, while 14.20% students have approved the bomb attacks (BBC.com, 2017).

The data related to the social frictions on behalf of religion as having been mentioned above is like iceberg. There are only few of inter-religious group frictions and even there are few frictions between the religious groups and the Indonesian government that appear to the surface; however, it has been a real concern that such friction might grow bigger in the grass-root level. The decreasing religious tolerance is quite a paradox with the values of religion and Pancasila as the Indonesian identity.

The appearance of new religious movements in Indonesia, for example, can be seen in the presence of *Liqo* (halaqoh/study circle) and of the spiritual groups that color the diversity of Moslem people in Indonesia. By referring to the results of a study by Greely and the article by Berger, the researcher found that the form of religious life re-formulation within a single community has been various and has also been marked by the appearance of new religious movements (New Age movement). This statement implies that the diversity of modern society puts higher priority on the dimension of spirituality rather than on the dimension of religiosity, whereas religion sources from religiosity is forged by spirituality (Hardjana, 2005: 76; Berger, 1991:144).

This study strives to view the movement of *dakwah* conducted by an organization named *Rohani Islam* (Rohis, Islamic Spirituality) as one of the extracurricular activities in a school. It is suspected that the religious definitions that are anti-Indonesian government has breached into the *Rohis* organization through mentoring, *halaqoh* or *liqo* establishment, and alike. The internalization of this religious view is suspected to influence political orientation, religious attitude, and religious understanding among the *Rohis* members toward the state. The

senior high school students' religious orientation and attitude may appear due to the transmission of religious materials taught by a religious institution both in the internal and the external part of their educational unit. The internalization of such religious attitude often criticizes the state, the religious people, and the ethnicity through teaching materials, mentoring activities, playing movies on Islamic studies, and alike.

Depart from the above background, the researcher throughout this study has striven to dig deeper understanding with regards to the communication model in internalizing the religious values within the *Rohis* organization and the members' political orientation. Then, this study is aim to answering three issues as follows: (1) how the model of communication transmission that has been designed internalizes the religious values through the *Rohis* organization; and (2) how the *Rohis* members view the Indonesian leader and the governance system.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The previous studies that have been selected as the references for this study vary and can be presented as follows. The first study is a study by Wibowo (2015:506), which found that *Rohis* organization pay quite big contribution to internalizing and shaping the characters and the attitudes of senior high school students as their member through the activities performed.

The second study is a study by Salim et al. (2011) in a book entitled *Politik Sekolah Negosiasi dan Resistensi di Sekolah Menengah Umum Negeri*. Through this study, the researchers successfully uncovered the dynamism within the schools' public space. In this book, they display the struggle and negotiation by the moderate Moslem students and the exclusivist Moslem students in turning their school environment into a more "Islamic" place. The influence of dominant "Islamic" movement on the school environment through the alumni has shown how "Islamization" of systematic school culture occurs through the extracurricular and other school activities.

The third is a study by Zakiyah et al. (2016) entitled *Penelitian Radikalisme Kelompok-Kelompok Keagamaan dalam Konstelasi Kebangsaan di Jawa Tengah,*

Jawa Timur, dan D.I. Yogyakarta (A study of Religious Group's Radicalism in the National Constellation on the Province of Central Java, of East Java, and of Yogyakarta Special Region). The results of this study show that all radical religious groups possess textual/scriptural tendency in understanding and interpreting the religion.

The above study reviews mark that the internalization of religious attitudes among senior high school adolescents may bring about two aspects. First, it may spread religious understandings that will form the religious attitudes and characteristics of the *Rohis* members. Second, it may trigger friction and resistance under religious politics motives. What differentiates this study from those studies is that this study attempts at viewing the model of communicational transmission in internalizing religious values through *Rohis* organization and the members' political orientation.

Religion is often used as an excuse for justifying radical actions that lead to acts of violence. In relation to socially constructed realities, religion is the most effective and the most widely accepted source of legitimation for a movement (Goddard, 2002:2-13; Azra, 1999:11; Habermas, 1996:142). Berger (1991) proposed that religion as a social setting subject to the process of other settings. In other words, religion is created for human beings, religion internalizes objective realities, and in this modern world religion keeps overwhelming and keeps being overwhelmed by humans.

Holy book is a scripture for the followers of a religion; human beings as an interpreter of the holy book will never cease issuing holy book texts in the form of interpretations according to their own background. The problems of right or wrong among these interpretations are related to the level of their own selectiveness. Textually, the holy book will never change but the interpretation and understanding upon it will always change according to the human beings' context of space and time (Hidayat, 1996:15). Therefore, holy book will always open itself for analysis, perception, and interpretation.

Berger's dialectic process helps describe how the social reality has the subjective and objective dimension. Human beings will not only be influenced by their

surroundings but also by their surroundings. In this case, holy book is essentially located outside the human beings; however, due to the human beings' process of understanding the holy book, eventually the content within the holy book will influence the human beings who interpret it.

One of the trends in the text interpretation is fundamentalism, this trend strives to renew and to purify the religious teachings and also aspires to manifest the humility and the greatness of Muhammad the Prophet. Then, a specific character of this movement is scriptural (Binder, 2001:250). The term fundamentalism does not always have negative meaning. Instead, fundamentalism is defined as the resurgence of a religion. Religious groups with fundamentalism strive to live the religion according to the religious teachings that have been written in the holy book. However, within the practical setting among the society, the attitude of these groups sometime looks "exclusive" or "radical" and, as a consequence, these groups have negative meaning among the people outside them (Nurhakim, 2005:100-101).

The Islamic fundamentalism movement in early Indonesian independence has actually existed. Iskandar (2015) in Mohammed Natsir's Political Thoughts on Islam and State Relations reveals that Muhammad Natsir through the Masyumi party is eager to implement Islamic law in the Indonesian system of government. However, because this is considered against the government ultimately this movement is dissolved by Soekarno and made Natsir arrested for having been subversive.

Related to the resurgence of global Islamic movement in Indonesia, such movement started to rise between 1970s and 1980s. This movement appeared "underground" in order to avoid the repressive act exerted by the New Order Government toward any subversive actions. These "underground" movement is also known as a transnational Islamic movement because its characteristics goes beyond the state boundaries.

Then, this movement began to come up after the fall of the New Order Government in 1998. The examples of the movements, like Rizal in Mufid. ed. (2011) said, are *Hisbut Tahrir Indonesia*, *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*, Tarbiyah Movemenet under PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*, The Party of

Welfare and Justice), and *Forum Komunikasi Ahlus Sunnah Waljama'ah* which has a paramilitary wing named *Laskar Jihad* (Rizal, 2011:3-4). In addition, the "radical" Islamic groups have also appeared as a metamorphosis of Islamic movements which have long been in existence within Indonesia.

In 1980's a group of Islamic prayers or religious discussions got under way in the non-religion-based universities such as Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB) and Universitas Indonesia (UI) (Qodir, 2009:44-45). According to Qodir, the activists of these movements had physical characteristics or clothes different with other Islamic students; for example, the female university students would wear long veil (*burqa*) while the male university students would put knee-long trousers and Arabian-style shirts. These praying groups kept internalizing into unlimited Islamic missionary endeavor; it is not only held in the universities but also in the public as well. Such movement then would be known as tarbiyah movement and then would proceed into PartaiKeadilan (now known as PKS). The teaching or the ideology of these groups has been a transmission of Ikhwanul Muslimin teachings in Mesir which is held by Hasan Al-Banna (Qodir, 2009: 44-45).

These movements keep internalizing networks on high school degree. Eventually, it leads to the efforts of forming adolescents' religious understanding in the senior high school level and of forming the *Rohis* members' political orientation. Rohani Islam (Rohis, Islamic Spirituality) is part of school's internal organization as one of the media for internalizing the moral and mentality and to forge students into individuals with Islamic knowledge and tough characters in order to deal with the future. However, *Rohis* then is used as a medium for recruiting cadres and internalizing militancy among the cadres under the motives of ideological politics.

The *Rohis* members are senior high school students who have been labeled as adolescents. Adolescents themselves have following characteristics: being hypocrite, having confusion with regards to their view about deity due to the clashing religious schools, and having skeptical spiritual contemplation. The categorization of adolescence age is divided into three phases namely: (1) preliminary adolescence; (2)

middle adolescence; and (3) final adolescence. Senior high school students, according to this categorization, belong to the middle adolescence period. This period is the period of looking for something valuable, worth to adore, and worth to praise. Then, the religious characteristics in the adolescence are as follows: a) having a negative view due to their critical mind that views the hypocrite people; b) having confusion on their view toward the deity due to clashing religious schools; and c) having skeptical spiritual contemplation. As a result, many adolescents are unwilling to perform the rituals that have been conducted with obedience (Mahmud, 2010:360).

However, a great problem dealing with the adolescents' life is the occurrence of many conditions that go against the religious values that they adopt. In the adolescence period, there is a term called conformity. It is a tendency to surrender or to follow the opinions, the values, the attitudes, the hobbies, and the desires of their peers. The internalization of conformity attitude among adolescents may give both positive and negative influences for them. If the peers that they look perform both morally and religiously responsible behaviors, like being pious, being noble, being diligent, and being active in social activities, there is a great possibility that they will have good personality and attitude. On the other hand, if the peers perform bad actions and behaviors that insult moral values, then it is very possible that they will imitate their peers' actions and behaviors (Yusuf, 2010:115). Therefore, school plays a decisive role in internalizing the students' personality in terms of thinking, acting, and behaving manner. School has a role as a family substitute, while teachers have as parents' substitute (Harlock, 1985: 322).

National Pillars, the National Topic of State Formation

The consequence of the country establishment is the birth of state principles as the foundation in handling the government. These principles become the state ideology and basis. The state ideology, principles, and foundations are born out of a political struggle.

Within the process, the struggle of establishing the independence of Republic of Indonesia has given birth to the state

principles and foundations that become the state ideology in controlling the governance system. The principles along with the ideology are known as the national pillars. The Indonesian's national pillars are Pancasila, 1945 Constitution, United Republic of Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

Pancasila has an important position. Pancasila does not only serve as a state foundation but also as a national ideology and point of view for Indonesian people. The values that have been contained in Pancasila grow into the Indonesian ideology even long before the Republic of Indonesia had been established.

The second pillar is the Republic of Indonesia Constitution. The second pillar serves as the fundamental law in running the governance system. In addition, the Introduction of 1945 Constitution also contains the principles that turn out to be the basis of formulating the Constitution's body.

The third pillar is United Republic of Indonesia (NKRI, *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*). The Republic of Indonesia is an overall unity with the people who come from various tribes, religions, and ethnicities in widely spread islands under a single entity.

Last but not least, the fourth pillar is Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. This slogan is a slogan that can bring together and unite the Indonesian people who come from various tribes, religions, and ethnicities as well as different dialects and cultures. Cahyanto et al. (2014) mentioned four principles encompassed in the slogan of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, namely unified nation, non-sectarian, and non-exclusive, non-formal, mutual trustworthiness, mutual respect, mutual affection, and mutual harmony.

Islamic Missionary Endeavor Communication as a Process of Religious Values Transmission

In a theory of mass communication by Morissan, Andy (2010: 10-14) mentioned that within the process of mass communication there have been relationships among many maters such as communality, participation, cooperation, friendship, and shared conceptions. The internalitation of information in the form of a religious message which in the process of

mass communication from time to time occurs when representing the sharing of beliefs. A typical case of such "communication" is not a mere process of communicator sending a message to a communicant; such process is usually conducted in a sacred ritual that describes a group of people in a single communality such as the Church Community. In a ritual view, it is very important to put the role of congregation, singing, and ceremony on the top of individual role such as a leader who preaches his or her congregation (Andy, 2010: 10-14).

With regard to the establishment of an individual's attitude, it is not apart of the process of communication transmission. Communication is a process of transmitting a number of information or messages to the receiver; in this case, the message is defined by the transmitter as well as the content and the effect being sent. To this study, *Rohis* is similarly a community of religious people. The role of Islamic missionary endeavor leader as a communicator is very important in shaping the understanding, the attitudes, the characters, and the behaviors of his communicants. The attitude of bridging the gap between the communicator and the communicant in the sense of having similar problems and of affection may immediately change the view of an individual and even a group of individuals toward certain aspects such as the governance system (political orientation) and the harmony among religious people.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses mixed method namely qualitative and quantitative approach, which is to understand the spirit as the subject of research and the views of the state and the political orientation of its members. This method is based on the philosophy of post-positivism/interpretive and is used for investigating the data related to the *Rohis* members' attitude toward the state and the religion in educational units. The researcher then served as the main actor and employed triangulation as the data gathering technique to validate the data.

The study is conducted in the Regency of Temanggung, the Province of Central Java. The Regency of Temanggung is selected as the locus of the study due to the findings presented by the Office of Regional Police

Department in the Province of Central Java in relation to the regions of widely spread radicalism (Media Indonesia, January 13th, 2017).

The schools selected as the sample of this study are the favorite senior high schools. The selected educational units had good achievement both in the academic and the non-academic domains. In the academic domain, most of the graduates from these schools had been accepted in the favorite state universities. Based on these considerations, the researcher chose two senior high schools in order to pursue a deeper understanding toward the movement of Islamic missionary endeavor through the *Rohis* organization and the influence of this movement toward the students' political orientation.

The subjects in this study are the state senior high school students joining in the *Rohis* organization. *Rohis* Organization is an organization under the Section of Piety toward Lord the Almighty within the School's Internal Organization. Then, the objects in this study are related to the transmission of religious values that had been brought by the *Rohis* communicator into the members, to the students' political orientation in viewing the governance system of the Republic of Indonesia, and their attitudes toward the people from different religions.

The researcher took on four data gathering techniques namely interview, observation, documentation, and questionnaire distribution. The interview is one of the most important elements in the process of this study. The interview might be defined as a manner for attaining information (data) with regards to the religious attitudes of the students who actively attended the *Rohis* activities. The interview techniques also enabled the researcher to find the data about the networks that had been established between the *Rohis* members and the external people such as mentors, alumni, mubaligh, and universities. Then, the observation is conducted in order to observe religious activities held by the *Rohis* organization.

Next, the documentation is to attain the important data namely the *Rohis*' profile, coaches, organizational structure, working programs, working program implementation report, mentoring materials, Islamic prayers, training programs, and others.

Last but not least, the questionnaire is employed in order to attain information about the students' diverse attitudes toward the state and the religious groups both in the schools and in the society. This questionnaire covers open-ended questions so that the *Rohis* members might pour their ideas in relation to the government system and the people with different religions. The indicators in this questionnaire are adopted from the 20 indicators of religious extremism by Schmid (Hasyim, 2016:21 February). Specifically, the indicators in this questionnaire are taken from 7 out of the 20 indicators of religious extremism namely: (1) this movement has the tendency to put themselves outside the mainstream or to reject the global, political, and social setting; (2) this movement has the tendency to deny diversity and pluralism and even to put forward mono-culture society; (3) this movement has the tendency to exert one point of view, namely black or white, to purify the world, and even to show their hatred to the enemies; (4) this group has the tendency to possess ideas that cannot be changed and that are closed toward the truth that they hold and, in fact, this group is willing to die in order to defend the truth; (5) this group strives to overthrow the political setting in order to rebuild what they believe as a natural setting in the society and this natural setting may be based on ethnicity, class, belief, and ethnic superiority; (6) this group has tendency to deny or to complicate the conception of law setting among the democratic people and to use the political space that has been provided by the democratic system for putting forward their objectives in making political decisions; and (7) this group has a tendency to deny the democratic principles that have been based on the public sovereignty.

The questionnaire guidelines related to the *Rohis* members' attitudes lead to their view about the state and the people from other religion, such as: (1) their attitude toward Pancasila; (2) their attitude toward the state form; (3) their attitude toward the government; (4) their attitude toward the national flag; (5) their attitude about the option of democracy or khilafah; and (6) their attitude toward the *Rohis* members' idols.

In order to test the data validity, researcher would gather the data and test the data credibility altogether by employing

multiple data gathering techniques and multiple data sources. In the data validity test, the researcher also makes use of source triangulation in order to attain the data from different sources under the same technique. Within the source triangulation, the researcher makes use of interview that involves different data sources namely principal, coaching teachers, and students who become the *Rohis* members.

The analysis in this study has been guided during the data gathering process and after the data gathering process in certain period of time. The activity within the data analysis model by Miles and Huberman (Sugiyono, 2012:334) systematically includes data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of *Rohis* Member Organizational Structure in the Senior High Schools located in the Regency of Temanggung

Rohis have been a spiritual organization under the Section of Theology in the Students' Internal Organization (*OSIS*). There are two types of *Rohis* that would be referred to in this study, i.e., *Rohis* and *Majelis Taklim* with the name at the end of the *Rohis* organization.

Rohis within each subject had respective organizational structure. There are similarities among these organizational structures. First, the male *Rohis* members are called as *ikhwan* while the female *Rohis* members are called as *akhwat*. Second, in most of *Rohis* organizations there had been separation between the *ikhwan Rohis* chief and the *akhwat Rohis* chief. Third, there are also some chiefs who acted as the general chairman or also known as *Rois Aam*. Fourth, the *Rohis* coaches from all *Rohis* organizations within this study are the teachers of Islam Education. Fourth, all of the subjects in this study had joined inter-*Rohis* organization communication forums such as *Forum Rohis Nusantara* (Fornusa) and *Forum Silaturahmi Majelis Taklim* (FSMT).

From the subjects, the researcher found that the center of *Rohis* activities is the mosque. This statement implies that the mosque in the school is the center of gathering events for the *Rohis* members in

discussing the activities they would perform. In addition to the mosque, another facility that had been used in establishing mutual communication is social media such as WhatsApp Messenger.

From the subjects as well, the researcher found that the *Rohis* members had been divided into two parts namely the general members and the board members. The general *Rohis* members are the students in the respective schools. The division is performed due to the principal's policy that urged demanded the students to hold the festival religious day celebrations, to implement the religious programs, or to implement the religious programs that the schools had mandated.

The *Rohis* board members are usually selected based on certain mechanism, both the written regulations such as the Articles of Association and the non-written regulations become the basis in recruiting the board members. The recruitment of *Rohis* board members itself is conducted once in a year on the new academic year while the students are attending the school orientation period (MOS, *Masa Orientasi Sekolah*). During this period, the new students are introduced to the extracurricular activities in their schools. One of these extracurricular activities is the *Rohis* organization. During MOS, *Rohis* members usually exposed their programs, promoted their achievement, and told stories from the alumni accepted in the favorite state universities or working in certain sectors.

In terms of organizational structure, generally the structure of *Rohis* organization consist of Board of Advisor, Board of Coaches, Daily Caretakers, Chief (General Chief, *Ikhwan* Chief, and *Akhwat* Chief), Secretary, General Treasurer, and Section Coordinators. The Section Coordinators then generally consisted of Section of Cadre Recruitment, Public Relation, *Syi'ar*, *Takmir*, *Islam Art*, and *Rohis-Owned Business Unit* (BUMR, *Badan Usaha Milik Rohis*).

***Rohis* Coaches and Mentors**

In the organizational activities, the *Rohis* organization is accompanied by the coaches and mentors. Based on the data gathered from two subjects in the Regency of Temanggung, the researcher found that in overall the *Rohis* coaches are mostly the Islamic education teachers.

The mentors who are referred to by the subjects are the non-Islamic Education teachers or the other ones who are given additional duty to coach the *Rohis* organization. The *Rohis* mentors, based on the results, are the Islamic Education teachers and the mentors who join the LSM (NGO) *Iqro Club Temanggung*. The number of mentors in each subject is 2/3 of Islamic Education teachers and 9 alumni of *Iqro Club Temanggung*.

The *Iqro Club* itself is a non-governmental organization that oversees the domain of moral internalization among the youth especially the students. The club is dedicated to internalizing the youth morality (the morality of high school and university students) in order to fasten the manifestation of advanced community in Indonesia. This organization is a partner for the adolescence, both high school and university students, in internalizing themselves in morality, intellectuality, capacity, and personality. The Secretariat of the club has been moving around from one place to another because they have no fixed office. The last position of the office is in Anggrek I Street No. 30 Bendo Kertosari. The club's place of activities has also been moving around from one mosque to another (*Iqro Club Profile*, 2012)

***Rohis* Organizational Activities**

Rohis activities are usually differentiated into three programs, namely the short-term (routine) program, the long-term program, and the incidental program. The short-term or routine program is usually related to the daily religious activities such as *liqo/halaqoh/mentoring*, *salat berjamaah*, *salat Jumat berjamaah*, *kajian nisaa* (for *akhwat* members), *majelis taklim*, Qur'an verses reading both daily and weekly, *kultum*, *infaq*, mosque shift, and alike. On the other hand, the long-term program is usually related to activities which are in need of quite enormous cost, time, and effort. This long-term program usually included *mabit*, social service, comparative study, and alike. However, several *Rohis* organizations also held big events that involve all components and all schools in one regency or city.

The *Rohis* activities, both the small-scale ones and the big-scale ones, certainly need sufficient funding. In order to cover this funding, usually the *Rohis* organization is provided with aids from schools,

sponsorships, and personal business through the owned business units. The school typically does not mind to participate in the funding as long as related programs might be held credible and did not turn aside to one's interest materially and financially. Then, in relation to the sponsorship funding, usually the *Rohis* organization plans to organize an event proposal that would be presented to the donors. On the contrary, from the owned business units, several *Rohis* organizations have treasury department and the typical business activities for selling credits, gallons, and alike.

The Model of Communication Transmission as a Process of Internalizing Religious Attitude among the *Rohis* members

Any form of human communication is an attempt to create meaning as long as it is purposeful (Haris, 2002:18). Transmission in the context of Islamic missionary endeavor context through the *Rohis* organization had been a communication path that involved the role of communicator, message, channel, and communicant. The communicator as a messenger delivers the Islamic missionary endeavor both verbally and non-verbally to the communicants using a channel (media) with the objective of changing perception, attitude, and behavior according to the communicator's expectation. These messages are associated to his orientation toward the political system of Indonesia through both encoding and decoding that made use of the message delivery method or media.

Communicator

From two subjects researches, the researcher found that the communicator has a significant role. Thereby, the communication process taking place is a way communication. This means that the communicator is the central figure in delivering the information of Islamic missionary endeavor. This finding revealed that the central figure in the message delivery within the *Rohis* organization is the mentor, the *Mubaligh/Da'i*, and the social media.

The mentoring activities encourage mentors to lead the *Rohis* members to perform the following content of Islamic missionary endeavor: strengthening creed,

moral, and motivation. The strengthening in the creed domain included the moral to the fellow Moslem brothers and sisters, the courtesy of establishing friendship between the men and women, and also the courtesy of establishing friendship with people from other religion. In strengthening this creed, the messages regarding the state-related problems is also inserted.

The mentoring activities investigated from two subjects under the study are differentiated into two parts namely the *ikhwan* mentoring and the *akhwat* mentoring. The *first* one is executed by the Islamic Education teachers and the mentors from the *Iqro* Club. The mentors who still pursue their education in the university or those who have been graduated and had been working, turn out to care about the mentoring activities toward the students who had joined the *Rohis* organization in the students' alma mater.

Every mentor has a certain method in delivering the messages of Islamic missionary. However, generally these methods are generally based on the needs of the *Rohis* members (the students' needs). The students would ask, the mentors would answer. But, if there are no question, the mentor would proceed to the learning materials or the activities of reading Qur'an by turns.

With this, students need method. the communication used is the one-way communication. The model is regarded effective in internalizing the religious values in the form of indoctrination. A set of messages from the communicator (mentor) are delivered to the *Rohis* members without reconstructing these messages, and usually these messages are delivered through mentoring activities in several *liqo* or *halaqoh*. However, there is a dialogical process with the mentoring activity but this dialogical model tends to have more questions and answers. This is what the mentors regard that the student need method. Like an empty bottle, the *Rohis* members are filled with the religious values. There should be a good communication capacity from the communicator in delivering these messages to the *Rohis* members so that the students would change their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors according to the communicator's expectation. The *ikhwan* mentoring activities are performed by holding 1 *liqo*, while the

second, akhwat mentoring activities are performed by holding 3-6 *liqo* with different mentors. These *liqo* is followed by X, XI, and XII grade students. The materials for the *liqo* activities that the mentor performed are around courtesy of establishing friendship, feminism, Qur'an recitation, and sharing moment among the members.

Political View and Affiliation of the Mentor

Mr. BTN (Initial Name), one of the mentors from the Iqro Club Temanggung, is one of the activists for Party of Justice and Welfare (PKS) in the Regency of Temanggung. He is one of the staff members in the Department of Public Relation within the Regional Board of the PKS in the Regency. Mr. BTN mentioned that most of the mentors in the club are the activists or the sympathizers of PKS. Then, the other mentors in the Iqro Club are only volunteers who had different affiliation to different parties. However, the club did not discriminate these mentors because they all are aware of that they are doing humanity services.

In 1999, Mr. BTN joined the *Rohis* organization in his senior high school which was one of the subjects in this study. In each mentoring activity, he and his fellow mentors never anticipated any provision of *bisyaroh* (fee). What they did is pure sincerity and they only asked for the Lord's blessing. When the researcher asked about his motive, Mr. BTN said that he is actually encouraged by today's children's association and morale that had been concerning and is drifted away from the religious norms such as the free association and the drug misuse. Therefore, he perceives that he is called to guide the *Rohis* members in order to avoid them from such situation.

In his mentoring activities, Mr. BTN never put on his political party uniform in front of the *Rohis* member under his guidance. Then, as having been explained above, the method that he implemented is the student need. The students would ask questions and he would answer their questions. If there are no question, he would proceed to reciting the Qur'an. However, Mr. Mr. BTN claimed that actually *Rohis* would be the future of PKS. The reason is that the movement that the *Rohis* performed in terms of vision and mission is quite similar

to the vision and the mission of PKS, i.e., implementing the Islamic teachings in all life lines within the daily activities.

"If I may say, Rohis is the representation of PKS," Mr. BTN said (interview with Mr. BTN, 2017).

In relation to the ideology of Pancasila, Mr. BTN said that Islam is not against Pancasila. Even, he is very sure that Pancasila is one of the representations of the Islamic teachings by which any adherent of religion is protected. He refers to the Jakarta Charter as the seed of Pancasila; each statement in this charter does not go against the Islamic teachings.

According to him, the problems of Pancasila as the state foundation had are fixed as long as the values within Pancasila are served as the reflection of society culture and desires. He tries to look back to the history of Indonesia at the beginning of the founding process.

"Originally the first sila stated 'Divinity by implementing syariat Islam to the beholders'. The founding fathers realized that if the content of this Jakarta Charter should be completely cited then the unity of Indonesia would have been threatened because the Eastern Indonesia would potentially separate themselves from the Unified Nations of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, for the sake of the state's unity, the founding fathers erased the part which stated 'implementing syariat Islam to the beholders.' My point is that as long as we have common agreement the common agreement should be put forward and should be implemented altogether since this agreement entails the parties under the same interest." (Interview with Mr. BTN, 2017)

Similarly, Mr. BTN viewed that democracy in Indonesia was born in the West, however not a single element of democracy is against the Islamic teachings. There are several points in accordance with Islam, such as the principles of *syura* (discussion) within the democratic process although there would be voting if the situation are in deadlock situation. The voting itself, in his opinion, also represents in *syariat Islam*.

In relation to the Unified Nations of the Republic of Indonesia or *khilafah*, Mr. BTN mentioned that he refers to the initial concept in establishing this state. If the democratic and presidential system had been adopted since the beginning of this state then all citizens should follow the system.

In relation to the 1945 Constitution, Mr. BTN said that Indonesia had been based on the Constitution. This constitution strictly mentioned that the stated had been established based on the divinity as having been mentioned in Article 29 verse 1, “*Negara berdasar atas Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*” (“The state is based on the Divinity”), and verse 2 regarding the freedom of each citizen to hold their religions and to perform rituals of their religions.

Since Indonesia is based on the state divinity, there should not be any action or behavior that insults religions. The incident of *Aksi Bela Islam 2/12* and the subsequent rallies are acts toward denying Ahok, who is judged as attacking the dignity of religion. For Mr. BTN, Certainly the issue is against the 1945 Constitution (interview with Mr. BTN, 2017).

With regards to *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and inter-religious people tolerance in Indonesia, Mr. BTN said that there is no mistake with the slogan *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Similar situation could also be found in the Medina Charter from the period of the prophet Muhammad. In his opinion, with the presence of Medina Charter the majority, namely the Moslem people, could live in harmony with the minority, namely the non-Moslem people. The minority would have a sense of protection while the majority would also provide their protection. Mr. BTN has a dream of bringing about the comfortable and non-disturbing Moslem people amidst the other religious people. Islam should provide benefits and becomes *rahmatan lilalamin*.

Similar statement is also given by another mentor, Mrs. FM, an alumnus from one of the subjects in this study and also the Chief of *Akhwat* in 1997. In her opinion, mentors also participate in internalizing the school children’s morale amidst the adolescences’ social relationship nowadays and the communication technology that had been undermining the children. Therefore, there should be additional guidance among the students and one of the means for

pursuing such additional guidance through Rohis.

The function of mentors in the *Rohis* organization, in her opinion, serves as the children’s companion. They should be the children’s friend, be the children’s reminder about certain programs in improving their deeds, and be the children’s reminder about *muhasabah*. The objective is shaping a Moslem personality with *kaafah* (interview with Mrs. FM, 2017).

Mrs. FM’s view toward the Unified Nations of the Republic of Indonesia is similar to that of Mr. BTN; Mrs. FM said that actually the problem of state foundation should be no longer disputed. The reason is that they have been living in Indonesia with other citizens and Indonesia have been adopting this foundation since the early establishment. Moreover, she said that there is no controversy between Islam and the state foundation.

Mubaligh and Da’i

In addition to the mentors, other communicators that played a role in internalizing the religious values within the *Rohis* activities are the *da’i* and *mubaligh* (Muslim preacher). However, according to the researcher’s opinion, both of them do not have a significant role to play in internalizing the religious values among the students. The reason is that the intensity and the proximity between the students, in this case the *Rohis* members including the *da’i* or *mubaligh* are not similar to that between the members and the mentors. The organizational affiliations of the *da’i* and *mubaligh* who used to perform the religious activities within the subjects in the Regency of Temanggung are Muhammadiyah, *Nahdlotul Ulama* (NU), Ministry of Religious Affairs in the Regency of Temanggung, *Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia* (DDI), and the Kafilah Publisher Yogyakarta.

Da’is or *mubalighs* concerned with the religious subjects are open for public; as a result, their specific role in internalizing the *Rohis* members’ morale is not that intense. The theme that they brought in the Islamic review is usually related to certain festival Islamic days such as *Maulid Nabi*, *Isra Miraj*, and alike. In this concern, they usually insert materials about good nobility, nationalism, and alike.

From a number of communicators mentioned above, the ones who have the role in internalizing the religious values through the *Rohis* organization among the subjects in the Regency of Temanggung are the *Rohis* coaches and the mentors. The coaching teachers and mentors possess equally strong intensity and influence in internalizing the religious values among the *Rohis* members.

The intensity of meeting among the *Rohis* coaches, the mentors and the *Rohis* members could be more than twice in a week. These meetings could be held regularly. These intensity might be raised when there are events of *mabit*, social service, and religious activities in Wednesday and Friday. The intensity itself might even be higher when the mentors invited the *Rohis* members into outbound activities and alike.

Religious Values and the Use of Social Media

The religious values intended in this study are the messages from the Islamic missionary by which the communicators (internal mentors, Islam Education teachers, external mentors, and *da'ia* and also *mubaligh*) have delivered directly and indirectly. These messages might be considered direct when face to face communication is made, both the one-way communication and the two way communication, occurred. On the other hand, these messages might be considered indirect delivered when certain media, such as social media, movies around the Islamic missionary endeavor, bulletins, and like, are utilized.

The materials related to the internalization of religious values among the *Rohis* members include *siroh nabawi*, *siroh sahabat*, *birul walidin*, courtesy of social relationship, reading Qur'an carefully and eloquently (*tartil*)-based manner in reading the Qur'an. The last activity is programmed since now children rarely read the Qur'an due to their school assignments, and the present problems such as Aleppo, Rohingnya, Act of Islam Defence or *Aksi Bela Islam*, and alike depending on the situation and the condition. The materials related to the *siroh nabawi* and the *siroh sahabat* are compulsory among the *Rohis* members in order that the *Rohis* members had good religious knowledge.

The message of Islamic missionary in the form of religious values delivered in these mentoring activities leads the *Rohis* members to the interpretation in the form of encoding and decoding. In the encoding process, there should be language capacity between the communicator (the mentors) and the communicant (the *Rohis* members). In this process, the mentors actively pick the messages that will be delivered and formulated these messages into symbols that take the form of sounds/writings.

The success of the mentors (the communicator) in internalizing the religious values would be apparent from the *Rohis* members' response toward what the mentors have proposed in the form of language, writings, figures/photos, or even other symbols. From the results that the researcher collected, the response toward what the mentors had given could be in the form of writings, photos, figures uploaded in social media such as Instagram, *Rohis* members' wall magazine, and bulletins.

The social media typically used by the *Rohis* members for expressing their diversity are WhatsApp, Instagram, and Twitter. They do not use other social media such as Facebook anymore because, in their opinions, such media is outdated. The last trace from one of the subjects in their Facebook account is dated November 19th, 2012.

On the contrary, in relation to Twitter, during this study the first tweet is dated on October 5th, 2014, while the last tweet is dated on February 11th, 2016. From 2012 to 2016 the *Rohis* organization from one of the subjects had tweeted for 542 times, had been followed by 243 people, and had tweet followers around 116 people.

The *Rohis* organization's Twitter account followed several tweets from the famous figures or the *Rohis* organizations in Indonesia such as Yayasan Rumah Rohis, *Rohis* Indonesia, Komunitas Aku Cinta Indonesia, Ust. Felix Siaw, and alike.

The *Rohis* Indonesia's Instagram account is filled with the posts from Ahmad Heryawan, a politician from *PKS* who is also the Governor for the Province of West Java. His account is followed by the *Rohis* organizations' official accounts and the contents of his account are nuanced with motivation and appreciation for living in the ways of Allah.

In addition to Instagram and Twitter, the *Rohis* members also frequently watch the Islamic missionary in both television channels and Youtube channels. The television programs that becomes the students' reference are as follows:

Table 1. The television programs that become the students' reference

Television Channel	Program	Youtube
Trans TV	Mozaik Islam	Zakir Naik
Trans TV	Berita Islam Masa Kini	HabibRiziq
Trans 7	Khazanah Islam	

Other communication media that the *Rohis* students benefitted for establishing communication and expression is wall magazine and bulleting. The wall magazines made the *Rohis* members are installed in front of and around the school mosque within each subject. These wall magazines covers the *Rohis* students' creativity in drawing comics of Islamic missionary endeavor, motivation, and maintaining courtesy in social relationship.

Communicants

In general, the students are intelligent and full of achievement. The reason is that the schools are the top class schools in the Regency of Temanggung. In order to be enrolled in these schools, the students' graduation grade should be high. According to the confession of a principal from one of the subjects, during the selection process more than 50% of the student candidates failed due to the graduation score-based selection.

In the process of transmitting the religious values, the *Rohis* members are the communicant who retrieved the Islamic materials that the communicator (the mentors, the *Rohis* coaches) has conveyed. The *Rohis* members come from different educational background yet they are united by the vision and the mission of the *Rohis* organization in their senior high school. This is due to the communicator's language

flexibility and use of humanistic approach to the *Rohis* members.

Before the students become the *Rohis* members, they should be selected first through a recruitment process during the school orientation period in Grade X. There are three requirements for being accepted as the *Rohis* members namely: (1) beholding Islam; (2) having good personality; (3) having a strong will and determination in doing kindness and in performing the Islamic missionary endeavor.

The students interested and accepted in the recruitment process come from different educational background; however, in general they might be classified into two categories namely the general junior high school and the plus junior high school. For example, the *Rohis* organization from one of the subjects the RoisAam come from the state junior high school while the Akhwan Chief come from an integrated Islamic junior high school in Parakan. In a *Rohis* organization from another subject, the Chief come from an integrated Islamic junior high school in Kedu. In terms of Qur'an recitation, the Rois Aam come from a general junior high school and he had not been better than the Akhwan Chief who come from an integrated Islamic junior high school. She had been able to memorize 3 chapters of the Qur'an.

At the beginning of the service period, the *Rohis* members should undergo multiple programs designed by the Board. These programs comprise the night of faith and piety coaching and the Foundation of Leadership Training.

The night of faith and piety coaching conducted once in a year at the beginning of the new academic year involve the new *Rohis* members, the Board, and the active members, the alumni, and the mentors. This program requires the students to stay in the school because the activities would be held wherein. The principal would not give any permission if the program is implemented outside the school.

The agendas of the program are congregational prayer *salat berjamaah* and *tilawah*, Islamic art performance, mid-night prayer *salat tahajjud*, alumni motivation, reading *wirid al-ma'tsurat*, early moning lecture, and wide games. The mentors who consisted of the alumni and the volunteers from the Iqro Club usually attended this

program because they still cared about their alma mater. These alumni are usually university students. The program is considered as a right event for implanting the vision and the mission of the *Rohis* organization so that the new members would have a vision that went in accordance to the *Rohis* vision.

The *Rohis* members are also provided with the fundamental leadership training. This is conducted in order to shape the leadership spirit and to prepare the regeneration of *Rohis* Board. The fundamental leadership training is conducted at the end of the even semester for the Grade X students as part of their preparation to welcome the leadership succession since the Grade XI students would be promoted to the Grade XII.

Political View and Orientation of the *Rohis* Members to the State Form

a. View toward the Idols, the Mass Organizations, and the Political Parties

The process of internalizing the religious values from the mentor to the *Rohis* members is not apart from the communication transmission that involves the mentors, the *Rohis* coaches, and also the *da'i* and *mubaligh* through media both verbally and non-verbally within the *Rohis* activities. This transmission process certainly had the objective of transferring the knowledge from the mentor to the *Rohis* members so that there would be a change of knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors among the *Rohis* members as having been expected by the communicator.

There are three issues related to the political orientation of the *Rohis* members. The first issue is the *Rohis* members' idols and views toward the Islamic mass organizations, the general political parties, the Islamic political parties, and the *salafi* religious movement. In relation to their idol, the *Rohis* members are asked about the religious idols that they adore during the study. The name of these idols appeared or is frequently mentioned both in the questionnaire and during the interview without considering the quantity. Then, the name of their idols might be viewed in Table 2 as follows.

Table 2. *Rohis* Members' Idols

Frequently Mentioned	Rarely Mentioned
Yusuf Mansur, Raja Salman, Habib Riziq, Zakir Naik.	Makruf Amin, BactiarNatsir, Quraisy Shihab, Din Syamsyudin, Lukman Hakim Syaifudin, Uje (Jefri Al Bukhori)

From the above table, it is apparent that the idols the *Rohis* members selected are Yusuf Mansyur, Habib Riziq, Zakir Naik, and King Salman. On the other hand, the names that rarely appear are BachtiarNasir, Ma'ruf Amin, Quiraisy Shihab, Lukman Hakim Syaifuddin, and Jeffri Al Buchori.

The reasons why many *Rohis* members choose those Idols are probably caused by the media trend that blew up the Act of Islam Defence regarding the blasphemy of Islam and Islamic scholars presumably conducted the Governor of Special Capitol Region Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama around 2016-2017 massively both in the television and the social media. This trend is assumed to influence the *Rohis* members' perception toward their idols. This matter is also confirmed when Indonesia is visited by King Salman from Saudi Arabia. The media trend at time also blew up his visit; as a result, this trend is assumed to influence the *Rohis* members' paradigm in relation to their idols.

After having found out the idols of the *Rohis* members, the researcher would try to view the pro and the contra of the *Rohis* members toward the mass organization and political party movement in Indonesia. In general, the attitude of the *Rohis* members toward the mass organization and the political party might be viewed in Table 3.

Table 3. The Pro and the Contra toward the Existing Mass Organization and Political Party.

Organization	Attitudes and Notes	
	Pro	Contra
1 FPI	Pro	
2 NU	Pro	
3 Muhammadiyah	Pro	
4 PKS	Pro	
5 Wahabi		Contra
6 Salafi		Contra
7 PDIP		Contra

b. Political Orientation of the *Rohis* Members to the State Form

The *Rohis* members are asked to share their opinions regarding their political view and orientation, especially toward the state form such as NKRI, democracy, *syariat Islam* implementation, Pancasila, national flag, governance system, and *khilafah*. Through the questionnaire distribution, the researcher found that more than 60% of the *Rohis* members in the Regency of Temanggung agreed with the Unified Nations of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) while the remaining 40% of the students stated that *khilafah* might be applied in Indonesia.

There are certain reasons why the *Rohis* members view the form of our unified nations and one of these reasons is related to the historical background namely the agreement initiated by the founding fathers and the diversity that should be unified (tribe, religion, language, and culture). The *Rohis* members also viewed that unity is a great capital and a great force that might be benefitted for advancing a nation.

On the other hand, the *Rohis* members who agreed with the *khilafah* stated that they opted for that form because most of Indonesian people had been Moslem. However, *khilafah* had been difficult to implement in Indonesia. Although most of Indonesian people had been Moslem, the implementation of *khilafah* might disintegrate the state because several regions might detach themselves from this unity.

In relation to the form and the principles of democracy in selecting the leaders, the *Rohis* members agreed with the form and the principles. The reason is the principles of democracy there had been *syuro* or discussion. However, there are several notes that the *Rohis* members emphasized. They prioritized male Moslem person as the leader because, in their opinion, male Moslem person as a leader is in accordance to the guidance in Islam.

In coping with the implementation of *syariat Islam* in Indonesia, most of the *Rohis* members stated that they agreed the implementation of *syariat Islam* in Indonesia. In order to manifest this implementation, most of the members would select the parliament representatives who fight for to put the *syariat Islam* into implementation in Indonesia. They refer to the *siroh nabi* regarding the Medina Charter, which stated that the law in this period

implemented the *syariat Islam* by still protecting the Jews and the Christian people. On the other hand, the *Rohis* members who disagreed with the implementation of *syariat Islam* stated that it is not appropriate time for the *syariat Islam* implementation in Indonesia. However, they believe that one day *syariat Islam* might be implemented in Indonesia.

In relation to the political orientation toward Pancasila as the state foundation, all of the *Rohis* members in the subjects of this study agreed that Pancasila is still a legitimate state foundation. This agreement is based on the multiculturalism and their views that Pancasila is not against Islam.

In relation to flag honoring, most of the *Rohis* members said that they do not have any problems with that, because it is not against Islam as well. Similar statement is also found with regard to the song entitled *Bagimu Negeri* by Kusbini; these members said that this song has no relationship to the creed in Islam.

About the government, the *Rohis* members are asked to provide their expectations regarding the ideal government. The *Rohis* members comment that an ideal government is fair in terms of laws, rights, and duties. This is in accordance to the era of prophets; the leader in that period is Moslem and subjected to the Islamic teachings. They also held the Qur'an and Hadits.

Last but not least, about the vote all of the *Rohis* members will indeed take part in the national election or the gubernatorial election if they are provided with a vote. They would give their vote to the Islam candidates who had high nationalism. They would not vote the party but the Moslem people who are nationalist and just.

DISCUSSIONS

The internalization of religious values among the *Rohis* members has been determined by several factors that include communicator, message, channel, and communicant. The communicator refers to the mentors, the *Rohis* coaches, and also the *da'i* and *mubaligh*. Then, the figures who serve as the communicator perform the transfer of knowledge and the transfer of value in the form of religious values both verbally and non-verbally using several media such as face to face meeting and group communication using social media. These

messages then are interpreted by the *Rohis* members both verbally and non-verbally (symbol). Finally, this interpretation will internalize the *Rohis* members' knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors toward their political orientation in the Indonesian governance system.

Based on the data in this study, the researcher has found a description that the communication model that has been established between the communicator and the *Rohis* members in transmitting the religious values are the one way communication model. Although there has been a dialogical process between the mentors (the communicator) and the *Rohis* members (the communicant), the dialog itself is merely a question and answer session between the communicator and the communicant.

The information or the messages delivered by the communicator, both verbally and non-verbally, through the oral media or the social media then will be interpreted by the *Rohis* members as the communicant. Eventually, the objective of this transmission is changing the *Rohis* members' knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors in accordance to the communicator's expectation. The one way traffic communication model has been very effective in indoctrinating the communicator's intention to change the *Rohis* members' perception. This model

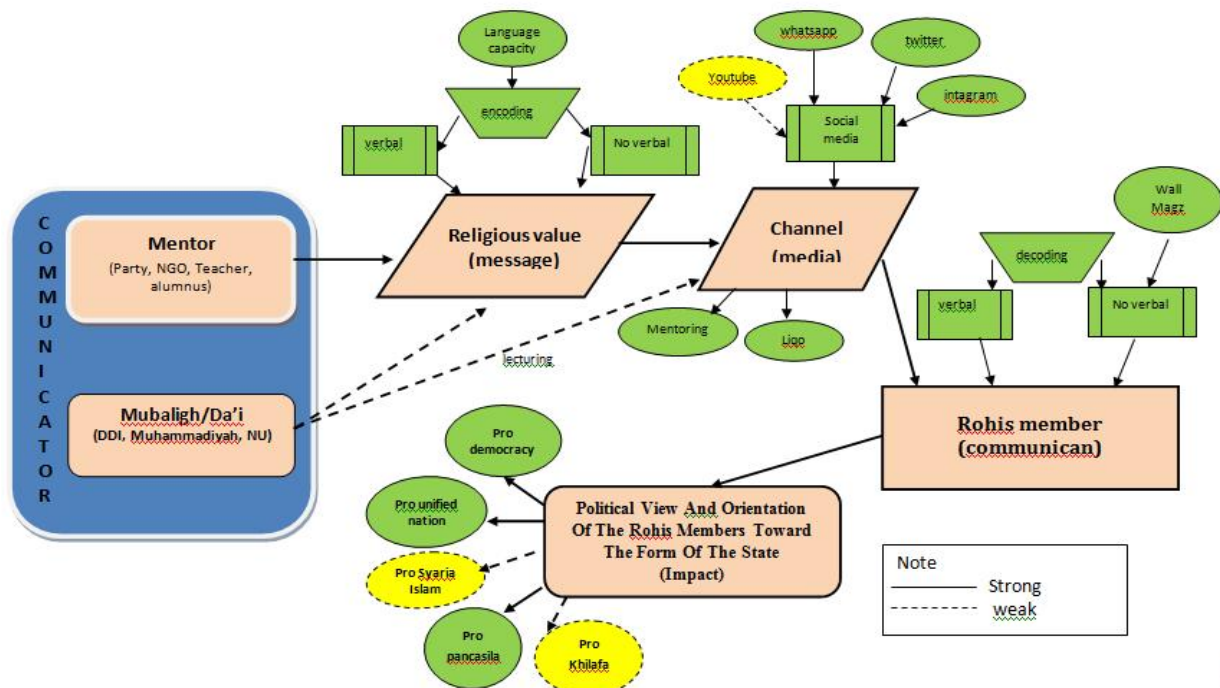
depicts a set of messages that the communicator delivers to the *Rohis* members without any opportunity to reconstruct the messages that have been delivered during the mentoring activities (*liqo* or *halaqoh*).

Like an empty glass, these messages are like the water that the communicator wants the communicant (the *Rohis* members) to contain. There should be good communication skills from the communicator in order to deliver these messages to the *Rohis* members so that there will be a change of knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors among the students in accordance to the communicator's expectation.

The internalization of religious values through this manner has been more effective because communication disturbance can be minimized whenever it occurs. Therefore, the mentors make use of *liqo/halaqoh* method or divide the students into smaller groups in order to minimize the disturbance. In the same time, the mentors also make use of the night of faith and piety coaching event to internalize the religious values. In this event, the students will be in a dark situation and they are only accompanied by candles. As a result, the situation will be very silent and the religious values might be internalized.

Here is a communication scheme that has taken place in *Rohis*'s organization on the subject of research (see figure 1).

Figure 1
Transmitting communication model through rohis member



From the figure 1, it is apparent that the mentors, comprising of Islam Education teachers and other volunteers, have a stronger role than the *da'i* and *mubaligh*. The mentors have more intensive presence among the *Rohis* members in internalizing the religious values according to their respective understanding and interpretation. The materials that the mentors bring about will be more intensified through the mentoring technique that involves *liqos* or *halaqoh*.

Such intensive role has been possible due to the number of meetings that the mentors, both the coaches and the volunteers from the Iqro Club, have; they meet the *Rohis* members at least for 32 times and maximum for 96 times under an assumption that in one week there will be two meetings. With good language and communication capacity, the mentors have been able to encode the political messages in the form of religion both verbally and non-verbally. Verbally, the mentors make use of oral language with both one-way communication (lecture) and two-way communication using the student-need model; as a result, the students have their feedback so that the mentors' objectives, namely the internalization of religious values/understandings, can be achieved so that the mentors may change the students' religious attitudes and behaviors. This is in accordance to the objective of communication that has been proposed by Hovland, namely changing the communicant's behaviors (Budyatna and Mutmainah, 2004:2-3). On the other hand, non-verbally religious values are also internalized by the communicator through the stimuli in the social media such as Face Book, WhatsApp Messenger, Twitter, and alike.

In addition, the mentors also make use of media in stimulating the *Rohis* members. Usually, these mentors make use of the moments in direct meeting such as lecture, *liqo-liqo* (*halaqoh*)-associated mentoring activities, night of faith and piety caching, outbound, social service, and more. There are two types of social media that have been assumed to influence the *Rohis* members in internalizing the religious values namely the strong type and the weak type.

The strong social media refer to the social media which has higher usage

intensity among the *Rohis* members. The social media that belong to this type include WhatsApp Messenger, Instagram, and Twitter. WhatsApp Messenger is used for establishing communication among the *ikhwan* members and the *akhwat* members; in the same time, it is also used for establishing general organizational communication and the communication between the members and the mentors. Then, Instagram is also one of the social media that most of *Rohis* members use for viewing the posts that have been uploaded to their group by the mentors or the religious figures in politics that they adore. The *Rohis* members also make use of Twitter which has also been benefitted by the mentors or the religious figures in politics to tweet (upload postings) regarding the materials of Islamic missionary endeavor.

On the contrary, the weak social media refer to the social media that has lower usage intensity in the transmission of religious values. This type of media includes Facebook and Youtube. Facebook and Blog have long been abandoned by the *Rohis* members. In the same time, the *Rohis* members also rarely open their Youtube account because the materials of Islamic missionary endeavor in Youtube are not always up to date over time.

Both the verbal and the non-verbal religious messages that have been stimulated by the communicator to the communicant in the *Rohis* organization through these media directly and indirectly influence the members' paradigm in their daily media and behaviors. The daily media in this study refers to the members' social media and wall magazine. Through the social media, the governing process is similar to what the communicator has stimulated in relation to the social media namely the strong type and the weak time.

Regarding the *Rohis* members' political orientation, based on the above scheme of communication transmission the researcher may conclude that the *Rohis* members' attitude toward the system of democracy in Indonesia is supportive. The reason is that within that system there has been an element known as *syuro* (discussion), which can also be found in Islam teachings.

Then, regarding Pancasila, the *Rohis* members' attitude is also supportive. For these members, the problem of Pancasila as a state foundation has been clear and should not be disputed anymore since it has been the agreement of the founding fathers. Furthermore, Pancasila itself is a representation of Islam especially the first *sila*: "*Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*" ("Divinity"). This statement can be seen from two subjects in the Regency of Temanggung; however, between the two subjects there have been a pro and contra about the use of *NKRI* and the use of *Khilafah*.

Within the state law implementation, based on the above scheme of religious values transmission among the *Rohis* members it is apparent that the *Rohis* members heavily support the implementation of *syariat Islam*. This support is also based on the history of Medina Charter through which Muhammad the Prophet stated that the governing law at that time is Islamic law; however, the Jews and the Christian are still under the protection of Islam.

CONCLUSION

There are two conclusions that the researcher may draw from this study. First, the transmission model of religious values through the *Rohis* organization has been the one way traffic communication model. The implication of this model is that the communicator's role is more dominant; as a result, there is a concern that the tendency of indoctrination appears. The process of this transmission involves the communicator, namely the mentors, the *Rohis* coaching teachers, the *da'i* and *mubaligh* with the mass organization (political parties or non-governmental organizations) background, and alumni. The internalization of these religious behaviors is pursued both verbally and non-verbally through the social media (WhatsApp, Instagram, Twitter, Line). These religious values are transmitted to the *Rohis* members in order to change their attitudes and behaviors.

Second, the *Rohis* members have certain political view and orientation regarding the leader and the state form. Regarding the leader, the *Rohis* members will opt for the male and Moslem person.

Then, regarding the state form some of the *Rohis* members consider that Pancasila and democracy have still been relevant to the Indonesian governance system, some other members demand the Unified Nations of Republic of Indonesia, and several members demand the *khilafah* system. However, the supports of the unified nations-concept are higher than those of the *khilafah*.

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h. Example:

Table 4. Number of Rice, Corn and Sweet potato Production

product	2010	2011	2012	2013
Rice	1.500 Ton	1.800 Ton	1.950 Ton	2.100 Ton
Corn	950 Ton	1.100 Ton	1.250 Ton	1.750 Ton
Sweet potato	350 Ton	460 Ton	575 Ton	780 Ton

Source: Balai Pertanian Jateng, 2013.

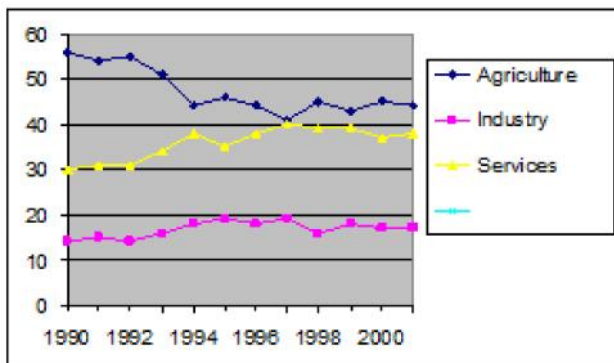
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Example:

Figure 1

Indonesian employment in agriculture compared to others sectors (% of the total employment)



Source: World Development Indicator, 2005

6. Research finding

This part consists of the research findings, including description of the collected data, analysis of the data, and interpretation of the data using the relevant theory

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Culture is not only associated with the description of certain label of the people or community, certain behaviour and definite characteristics of the people but also it includes norm and tradition (Afruch and Black, 2001: 7)

Afruch and Black (2001) explain that culture is not only associated with the description of certain label of the people or community, certain behaviour and definite characteristics of the people but also it includes norm and tradition.

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Quotations are the actual words of an author and should be in speech marks. You should include a page number.

Example:

Tibi (2012: 15) argues that "Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world."

It has been suggested that "Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world" (Tibi, 2012: 15)

- Citations - Paraphrasing a book or journal article

Paraphrasing is when we use someone else ideas/works and write them in our own words. This can be done two ways, either is correct.

Example:

Batley (2013) argues that some of the detainees in the bombing cases were members of JI.

It has been suggested that some of the detainees in the bombing cases were members of JI (Batley, 2013).

- Citing a source within a source (secondary citation)

Citing the source within a source, it should be mentioned both sources in the text. But, in the reference list, you should only mention the source you actually read.

Example:

Tibi (2012, cited in Benneth, 2014: 15) argues that Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world.

It has been suggested that Islamism is not about violence but as the order of the world (Tibi, 2012 as cited in Benneth, 2014: 15).

- Citing several authors who have made

similar points in different texts

In text citations with more than one source, use a semi colon to separate the authors.

Example:

Understanding the cultural differences is an important element for mediation process (John, 2006: 248-289; Kevin and George, 2006: 153-154; Kriesberg, 2001: 375; Alaeda, 2001: 7).

- Citations - Government bodies or organizations

If you reference an organization or government body such as WHO, the Departments for Education or Health, the first time you mention the organization give their name in full with the abbreviation in brackets, from then on you can abbreviate the name.

Example :

The World Health Organization (WHO) (1999) suggests that.....

WHO (1999) explains that

- Citing from the internet

If you cite a source from the internet (website), write last name of the writer, year of the uploaded/released: page numbers. If there is no author in that page, write the name of the body who release the article in that website, year of release.

Please do not mention the address of the url in the in-text citation.

Example:

Syrian uprising has been prolonged for almost six years and has caused thousands people death as well as millions people has forced to flee from their homeland to seek safety (Aljazeera, 2016).

Religion is an important aspect for the life of many people in the recent era. The believe system of religion plays as a guidance for some people (David, 2015: 12-13)

b. Reference list

- Book

Last name of author/s, first name of the author/s year of publication. *Title of the book*. Place of publication: name of the publisher.

Example:

Aly, Anne. 2011. *Terrorism and global security, historical and contemporary perspectives*. South Yara Australia: Palgrave Macmillan.

Effendy, Bahtiar. 2003. *Islam and the state in Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

- Chapter of the book

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. "Title of the chapter". In title of the book. Editor name, place of publication: name of publisher.

Example:

Dolnik, Adam. 2007. "Suicide terrorism and Southeast Asia." In *A handbook of terrorism and insurgency in Southeast Asia*. Tan, Andrew.T.H (ed). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA: Edward Elgar.

- Journal article

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article". *Name of the journal*. Volume. (Number): Page number.

Example:

Du Bois, Cora. 1961. "The Religion of Java by Clifford Geertz." *American Anthropologist, New Series*. 63. (3): 602-604

Sirry, Mun'im. 2013. "Fatwas and their controversy: The case of the Council of Indonesian Ulama." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 44(1): 100-117.

- News paper

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article". *Name of the newspaper*. Date of publication.

Example:

Eryanto, Hadi. 2010. "Menyiapkan Jihad di Aceh." *Kompas*. 18 March 2010.

- Internet

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the article or writing". Date of access. Web address

Example:

Suhendi, Adi. 2012. "Dana Osama bin Laden dipakai untuk bom Bali 1" (Osama bin Laden's fund was used for Bali Bomb 1). Accessed August, 20, 2014 from: <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/03/26/14001755/Dana.Osama.bin.Laden.Dipakai.untuk.Bom.Bali.1>

- Internet

If there is no author in that page, write the name of the body who release the article in that website, year of release, date of accessed, address of the website

Example:

Aljazeera. 2017. The voices missing from Syria's peace talks. Accessed 23 June 2017, from: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/03/syria-war-missing-voices-syria-peace-talks-170322073131728.html>

- Unpublished thesis/dissertation

Last name of the author/s, first name of

the author/s. Year of publication. *Title of the thesis/dissertation*. Name of the university.

Example:

Muhtada, D. 2005. *Zakat and Peasant Empowerment: Case Study on Zakat Organizations in Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: Unpublished Master thesis for graduate school of social work at State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga.

- Article/paper presented at seminar/conference

Last name of the author/s, first name of the author/s. Year of publication. "Title of the paper." Article presented at seminar/conference, host of the seminar, place of the seminar, date of the seminar.

Example:

Anwar, K. 2007. "Mengungkap Sisi Akidah dalam Naskah Syair Kiyamat." Paper presented at a seminar on text of religions, hosted by Office of Religious Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic Indonesia. Jakarta, 30 November 2007-03 December 2007.

8. Transliteration system

Transliteration Arab-Latin system refers to SKB Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Education and Culture Republic of Indonesia Number 158 year 1987 and 0543/b/u/1987



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