
	<h1>KHATULISTIWA</h1> <p>Journal of Islamic Studies</p> <p>Institute for Research and Community Service (LP2M) of Pontianak State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN Pontianak)</p>	P-ISSN	: 1412-5781	
		E-ISSN	: 2502-8499	
		<i>Volume 13, No. 1, 2023</i>		

DOI : <http://dx.doi.org/10.24260/khatulistiwa.v13i1.2380>

RELIGION AND CASTE AS POLITICS IN JAVANESE CULTURAL DIVERSITY

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HIGHLIGHT

Javanese culture and Islam are two patterns and points that are difficult to separate. Because both of them will have a broad impact in creating various outcomes of extraordinary existence and will even give a very unique impression on its subtle and shady features so that what happens in the discussion of Javanese culture can hardly be separated from Islam, even this is also true. will be the basis of

ABSTRACT

In this article, Religion and Caste as Politics in Javanese Cultural Diversity, the author focuses on religion and caste as a form of politics that runs in Javanese culture. Javanese culture and Islam are two patterns and points that are difficult to separate. Because both of them will have a broad impact in creating various outcomes of extraordinary existence and will even give a very unique impression on its subtle and shady features so that what happens in the discussion of Javanese culture can hardly be separated from Islam, even this is also true. will be the basis of which is included in the political field. The ideas brought about by the concepts brought by Islam and Java continue to emerge and even continue to be something better and more advanced, especially those contained in

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various different but similar perspectives. Then since Geertz began to conduct various studies on The Religion of Java, various kinds of studies continued, while various opinions emerged, those who agreed with it or those who rejected it. This paper takes the points and patterns that are in the study carried out by a Geertz while the discussion revolves around the concept presented by him about his trichotomy. However, from various opinions that provide an overview of the strengths or weaknesses of Geertz's conception, Geertz's conception still exists as an option in providing an explanation that tells about how Javanese religion, even from this concept, has become a source of inspiration and continues in the study of Javanese culture. This research generates questions in the form of how the political concept of Javanese people in religion and caste. The approach used in this research is the knowledge of sociology, Emile Durkheim. Thus the article summarizes the findings obtained, namely caste as a political social status, Javanese culture as a political mechanism for Javanese people.

KEYWORD

Religion, Politics, Trichotomy, Santri, Abangan, and Priyayi.

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A. INTRODUCTION

Every child has spiritual needs that must be met. Spiritual needs must be instilled from the beliefs and obligations of religious values from an early age. Because, if the child's needs are not met, he will experience spiritual emptiness, loss of purpose, spiritual lowliness, and the development of neuritis anxiety will be attached.(Hafidz, 2023) If you look at the flow of developments that have occurred in the dynamics that have influenced the process of political development in Indonesia, then it is very necessary to pay more attention from a subjective perspective. Then if you look through the lens through a historical perspective, then this will provide an explanation in the form of a chain of processes that are

mutually continuous through a very close relationship.(Heriansyah, 2023) This is the main reason in assessing and looking back at the situation that formed the bureaucracy in a certain period of time, it will be very biased if it is separated with cultural and political roots which are increasingly being discussed day by day. Meanwhile, if you look back at a historical law that has begun to explain the problems experienced by the former people which then produce products from the past. (Effendi, 2021).

The process that occurs in development continues to experience various kinds of changes and reforms which then give various influences on the era in a process of forming a historical delegation, then it is followed by the emergence of various types of bureaucracy that are increasingly new. The form of the new bureaucracy has a fundamental difference with the bureaucracy that was owned by the past, but even so in the new bureaucracy there are the same forms and images that manifest the old bureaucracy. (Hertati & Arif, 2020). The forms and patterns of culture in the world of politics in Indonesia are pioneered or the basic things of this are ideology and structures in the field of politics by the authorities, this includes various absolute ruling structures, namely kingdoms, colonial rulers, and colonial occupying powers. in Indonesia. In this connection, the rulers in Indonesia generally form a feudal system that tends to be the same.

Then especially in Java, between the various power holders and similarly the symptoms of sufficient power are seen as a real unity. This also gives a signal that spearheading in the political world is considered to lead to the power holder from the lowest to the highest, while the structure in the political world in its vertical form sometimes competes with each other, exalts it, with the aim of obtaining personal protection or veto rights. from the highest authority holders, but from these activities it is not uncommon for the rulers to encounter opposition and resistance to the power they have. (Subair, 2015).

For example, what happened within the Javanese community which influenced the Indonesian political work system that occurred in the New Order era, at that time the regime that was in power then and now is the product of a political system that relies on personal networks.(Oktavianti, 2018) In the political concept and pattern described by the Javanese people, there is a division that becomes a separator and differentiator in the culture that occurs, this division is between abangan and santri. The division that occurred resulted in quite clear competition between abangan and santri who often held competition not only for power and influence but also for competition in the pillars of power. The santri who had a wide enough influence and held the highest powers over the Islamic kingdoms in Java (Sofyan, 2010).

The existence brought by Java and Islam is a form of two entities that are difficult to separate between one unit. Because the two of them meet and then create various forms of co-existence, this makes the discussion covering Javanese culture almost inseparable from the influence of Islam in it, even including the political work system which is a form of its product. Various kinds of thoughts and works that intersect on Islam and Java continue to experience upheaval, development and are increasingly emerging, this can be seen from a sociological-anthropological perspective. Likewise, since Geertz promoted studies related to The Religion of Java, the studies have continued to elicit various responses in it. This explanation led to Geertz's study which was caused by his trichotomous concept. What is the bottom line at this time is related to the conception offered by Geertz which is also very closely related to Islamic and Javanese elements which later became a source of inspiration in existing cultural studies, it cannot even be avoided in its development in the form of a conception that is brought into political arena and then camouflaged into a separate identity. (Pongsibanne, 2017).

The culture that is owned by the Javanese is a unity that cannot be separated from various kinds of influences which are a combination of various elements such as Hindu-Buddhist, Chinese, Arabic/Islamic and Western. Then this is the meeting point that actually delivers culture in Java as a unique vessel in the cross-cultural cross between various ethnicities, races, and groups more intensely. Studies that make various research objects about Java, which are then contrasted with Islamic culture, will still provide enchanting impressions and great influences from various colors, shapes, characters, identities, and cultural patterns. except for its influence on the political character in it. In fact, of all the uniqueness that is owned by Java, it has aroused the desire of the Western world to research, study and continue to dig up information on the uniqueness that is owned by Java (Subair, 2015).

Penelitian Clifford Geertz dilakukan tahun 1950-an. Setelah melakukan penelitian serius di Pare (wilayah ini masuk Kabupaten Kediri, sebuah Kabupaten di Jawa Timur yang dekat dengan Blitar) yang disamakan dengan istilah Mojokuto, Clifford Geertz membuat tiga kategori aliran dalam masyarakat Jawa, yaitu abangan, santri, dan priyayi. (Burhani, 2017). In a certain context, Clifford Geertz also traces more specifically the origins of the Javanese palace and folk religion with its various Indian prototypes. (Amrozi, 2021).

In looking back at religion and politics, in the perception of the Javanese they map into these three categories and have caused many controversies, Clifford Geertz then uses an approach in the form of camouflaged religion as a cultural system. Culture is not only defined as habits, actions or behavior, but in general these patterns usually consist of a series of rules, recipes and instructions that humans use to regulate their behavior. However, the concept they map is even

more than that, culture which is seen by Clifford Geertz as an effort to form a form of classification into a certain level form that has a social and political role and has an influence on religion through notions that are tied into interrelated roles and meanings. on the existence brought by the human character. (Kuntowijoyo, 1995).

Which becomes the category of abangan based on the views of a Clifford Geertz who sees and weighs with more emphasis on puritanical Islam. whereas what happens to the santri actually sees and weighs with more emphasis based on all aspects that are based on elements that exist in the Islamic religion; and then it continues at the priyayi level where all views are more focused on emphasizing aspects of Hinduism. (Nurhayati et al., 2018). The embodiment that occurs in each image and character forms a social, religious and political structure which is the ladder that separates and differentiates between them. The view that discusses abangan as something that is considered too biased because the Dutch are quite sentimental in defining abangan as someone who follows Islamic law. (Effendi, 2021). From here there is also hope for what good Javanese people hold, that it is hoped that their behavior will adhere to religious provisions.

B. METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method of content analysis.(Ahmad, 2018) Qualitative research according to Krick & Milner. It's a tradition. (Amrozi, 2021) In social science fundamentally relies on human observation. This research uses the approach used in this study, namely the sociology of knowledge, Emile Durkheim.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Caste As Politics On Social Status

Politics that grows and develops in Javanese society increasingly provides a deep picture in providing an assessment that politics that is shrouded in its demarcation lines increasingly clearly determines a person's identity through the role and social status he carries, so that the political actions he gives will increasingly prioritize various interests. -the interests of members and groups of a group, this is because they are triggered by a sense of having similar or equivalent identities, characteristics and social status, activities that occur are based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion. Politics as identity is a series of formulations that are not interpreted simply but need to be understood in depth, because in it there are various kinds of political values that further clarify the differences between each character. (Ahmad, 2018).

The emergence of politics which is increasingly clear as time actually becomes a bridge separating and connecting one's identity both as a sign of social

and economic stability which can also be a form of response that leads to various implementations of individual and group social equality but does not apply to human rights which often work but it is applied unfairly and leans sharply downwards blunts upwards. If seen more concretely, then the political presence that transforms into an identity will incarnate and move deliberately carried on by groups of people who are increasingly putting pressure on the lower classes and the equality they bring will continue to be trampled on as a result of unfair practices on equality. which experience continuous marginalization. The rights and freedoms they have will begin to influence their belief in their continued self to look further into the future. mereka pada kelanjutan diri mereka untuk menatap lebih jauh masa depan.

Movements and efforts that are considered as a form of performance in politics are increasingly positioning themselves as the first step in their position to reach levels of identity, as well as in viewing various forms of oppression. Politics, which is increasingly becoming camouflaged as a new identity, will get a better place by starting to place individuals in the highest social reality. Politics which starts to become an identity will always be related to this construction. In other words, politics that has transformed into an identity which will then continue to crawl is an understanding that individual identities will be based on the place or position in which the individual is placed. (Yulianto, 2008).

Then it continues with the opinion conveyed by Madan Sarup, at this stage politics is increasingly becoming a form that deserves to be considered as the best identity in prioritizing social interests for personal or even just to satisfy social desires personally, the identity in question is an image which is real and is a term that, if conveyed, is "Aspolitics is about the production of identities—politics produces the subject of its action".

Another meaning of politics that continues to position itself as identity is politics about the production of identity, the creation of subjects along with actions and values that are seen as getting better and should be lived on these subjects as a life that cannot be questioned anymore. In the perspective of social construction of reality, politics exists in identity and tends to be seen as the result of social construction, whereas efforts in the construction and foundation of creating an identity are carried out consciously and then move through various ways, this is not seen as something that considered natural or not considered as something bestowed by God or something that is not considered as a product of anatomical nature.

If Stuart Hall's point of view is linked to Madan Sarup's view, then what is in identity politics can continue to be understood as the result of the production of

identity through various forms of creation in a place or in a position that leads to subjects in a social environment along with all its forms. the actions that should be carried out include subjects that are appropriate to the place and position.

Differences that occur in culture and culture that occur in society sometimes give an immature response or even often give rise to primordial attitudes within society, even this attitude can lead to various forms of conflict that are formed between communities, this is also caused by there are various struggles for resources and interests of various kinds of needs that can support the growth and work of politics. This is because it will be closely related to the cultural values that exist within the community itself. Geertz himself has said that the values embodied and rooted in culture will be more likely to take and play an important role in conflicts that occur in the world of politics because this is supported by citizens who are increasingly inclined to portray themselves as people who will return to their values. cultural values and primordial groups respectively when involved in conflict with other parties because they feel dissatisfied with political developments. (Drs. Rudi Susilana & Cepi Riyana, 2009).

In the struggle to prioritize political interests, the use of identity will indeed bring and provide promising results. These symptoms and patterns can be seen in the women's movement which is based on the framework of feminist theories. The spaces formed in women's politics which were originally limited to the domain that occurred in the domestic (household) will be able to be revealed. However, in treading the next journey, politics that leads to the realm of identity will actually get a coup and begin to be hijacked and embraced by the majority group to establish various dominations in their power. Through the pattern that exists in the use of identification, when the majority group will strengthen and increasingly want to get back up and raise the flag of superiority.

The use of politics which is increasingly being activated towards the peak of identity to gain power, which here will stand even more firmly will actually harden the symbols of difference and will increasingly provide impetus for endless conflict, does not mean this will not reap sharp criticism. Politics towards identity seems to be increasingly strengthening its power in the existence of essentialistic wholeness about how the existence of a particular social group will increasingly move based on primordial identification. Whereas what happens at this stage, as Stuart Hall has argued, identity is something that is actually formed through an unconscious process that transcends time, not a condition that is simply given to consciousness from birth. (Subair, 2015). In that identity, there is something that is "imaginary" or fantasized about its wholeness. Identity remains incomplete, always "in process", "under construction".

Preservation is done for identity in the steps taken by a politician who might be able to provide a stimulus to gather support from the masses in an instant. However, then on a more pressing issue to be manifested in prioritizing democracy with efforts to create inclusivity rather than exclusivity. Then inclusiveness does not mean all the differences that arise from primordial identities that are forced to merge and become completely one unit and which are uniform, namesake, and synonymous. Thus the differences that occur will still exist and will continue to occur and indeed must be allowed to develop, it's just that they are bound by commitments that are expected to realize common interests.

Geertz Opinion About Javanese Culture (Trichotomy)

The terms contained in the book "Religion of Java" which discusses Trichotomy are santri, abangan, and priyayi which are forms of vocabulary widely introduced by Geertz through his book, entitled The Religion of Java. The book was written by Geertz when he was still in the process of completing his doctoral degree. The book he wrote takes the background of research on the people of Pare, Kediri Regency, East Java. However, in that book, Geertz disguised the name Pare as Modjokuto.

What actually became the initial milestone in the new thinking of a Geertz so that the concept was contained in his book. He then raised it and concluded that in a religion, what is valued for humans is a personal form and affair between humans and God himself. But on the other hand, religion will actually be greatly influenced by the social and cultural environment that surrounds it. The symbols contained in a religion in society will appear not because it is just a personal matter, namely the relationship that occurs between humans and their God, but what is meant here is the relationship that is deliberately created by humans because it has an influence on their social and cultural environment. Because the symbol for Geertz as a vehicle to convey a certain conception.

Then as for what is stated in the method and how the delivery is given by a Geertz who has presented from various kinds of patterns and phenomena without exception to the concepts that exist in the Javanese Religion into three main types of components, namely: abangan, santri, and priyayi. Of course it was not Geertz who discovered or became the ancestor because the terms santri, abangan and priyayi were born, as he explained, because these terms had indeed been used by certain groups whose pronunciation and interpretation of their meanings were more limited. However, it was Geertz who was the first to systematize these terms as representatives of important cultural groups. An explanation of the concepts contained in the trichotomy of the Javanese Religion which until now continues to

be mentioned in social, political and cultural discourse in Indonesia and even then the vocabulary makes it a form of main reference when young researchers and scientists who are behind after Geertz, this can be a new bridge in dissecting and for those who are trying to review and deepen existing and related knowledge about Java. The main stability possessed by a Geertz in uncovering various forms of phenomena related to Javanese Religion is in his ability to describe in detail the three existing variants, and this rearranges them in various kinds of conclusions related to conflict and logical integration and intact for all three variants. (Studi et al., 2017).

Next, it continues based on what is contained in the glasses used to support the observations made by a Geertz about his presentation which is very closely related to Modjokuto, this related matter which discusses the profession of local residents and their classification by residents according to the views held by the Modjokuto community and things This is based on the principles of belief, ethnic preferences and how a culture can provide a fairly broad view of actions in the world of politics, and then the discovery of three core social structures which are important milestones as a support for political sustainability, namely villages, markets and government bureaucracy. which reflects three types of culture: abangan, santri and priyayi.

From the social structure of the village which usually continues by being associated with farmers, artisans and small laborers who really need it and this community, it is indeed very full and thick with the animistic tradition of the slametan ceremony, belief in spirits, medical traditions, magic and magic which refer to all the abangan religious traditions. Then proceed to the next understanding, while this relates to the market which is considered to be the arena of people who are considered rich and quite important, but at this stage it does not allude to domination by ethnic Chinese which is not a form and target of observations made by a Geertz, As for those who are groups associated with farmers in his view, they are considered quite rich and as for those whose observations are to become big traders based on observations made on a group of Islamic groups who continue to receive supervision based on historical and social conditions where at that time the Middle Eastern religion was developing. and spread widely through trade and the fact that has dominated the economy in Modjokuto, and it was they who gave rise to various religious sub-variants brought by the santri. Then it continues at the last level which becomes the third level, namely the priyayi subvariant. This variant shows how an element with a background in advanced Hinduism looks further into an understanding of the tradition that forms the Hindu-Javanese patterned Keraton. Then, as was the case

with the Keraton which captured a symbol showing the strength and breadth of government bureaucratically, so at the aristocratic level it gave more tangible emphasis on a kind of power that was considered sufficiently polite and refined, high art, and intuitive mysticism as well as on its social potential which is felt to be very, very influential and able to meet social needs in filling the government bureaucracy and political power it has. (Muzakki, 2017).

Javanese Culture (Trichotomy) in the Political Sphere

By going through the various challenges that occurred, there were more problems that were faced more than just reaping the comments and criticisms that had been submitted by various parties, regarding concepts that tended to refer to Javanese culture, the culture meant to provide an explanation of social responses which are still being read and he feels quite important about his study of the birth of culture which provides a bridge for social status to get a high place in the realm of the world of politics. (Pribadi, 2020).

Trichotomies, which are three different levels at the level of social status that exist and are attached to the concept of Javanese life, are studied through various considerations and observations by obtaining data through the cultural and economic aspects of the Javanese people themselves. Based on the three types that are in the variant, those who are in this difference are abangan, santri, and priyayi which are the basic holes in the institutionalization of a number of groups and classes in the political sphere based on their flow and social status. Then, as happened in the past experience related to the implementation of the election in 1955 which explained and also explained how the polarization system that occurred in Javanese society into four major parties, namely: PKI ("abangan"), NU (santri " traditionalist"), Masyumi (santri "modernist") and PNI ("priyayi"). And within these parties a great influence was formed and of course Trikotomi moved to drive these four giant parties accompanied by spreading the views, concepts and mandates they carried.

In the first election that took place during the New Order era in 1971 which then became a chapter and a new era of changes in political history which began to move to choose a different path from the previous political era. Meanwhile, it is at this point that it is actually only possible to provide movement that can be examined clearly about when the boundaries of the resulting blurring occurred and what could have an impact on the new political world. In submitting various opinions, especially in proposing concepts related to "abangan santrization" and "priyayi santrization", a strong fact was obtained in mobilizing santrization into the political realm towards the milestone of power which also began to fly its

flag as a sign of showing the positive response that occurred "priyayinisasi Students". As for the opinion which says that in playing a role in an educational institution, religion which is considered sacred also contributes to controlling the activities organized by the state in regulating and those who have authority in regulations, so that it does not close the opportunity for him to play a big role in obscuring it.

However, from various kinds of opinions, it is stated that they have something that is no less influential on the concept being presented. For example, if there is a first view, on a thought that is considered capable of creating a giant political institution that is very sophisticated today we call it a party, in fact it is the party that is responsible for the vision and mission that they offer, which is precisely from all of that what will make individual understanding as well as groups are increasingly disguised as ideological solidarity. (Chairul Basrun Umanailo, 2016). Indeed, parties that are born still need to be built on the basis of sentimental and ideological concepts, but that does not mean that parties that are not in line are forced to resign as long as they do not interfere with sovereignty in the world of politics.

Second, the largest Islamic society, which is considered to have all the cultural capital, as it exists and is common in society, namely tahlilan which greatly influences the blurring and tension that occurs between the santri and abangan. This institution is considered capable of being a bridge that is used as the basis for patterns between those who are truly religiously strong, so they are considered "devout religious" and those who are weak in faith or who are "disobedient in religion" and in daily social interactions. (Madrasah & Negeri, 2019). Then those who are in cultural forums such as abangans will suddenly feel themselves inside the santri community, without having to lose their initial identity as abangans.

D. CONCLUSION

The need for a good reception about the planting of a concept that tells how the Javanese religion is formed. This has also attracted the attention of anthropologists, sociologists and people who are deepening their knowledge of Islam and Indonesia, as well as political scientists who tend to be interested in the relationship between religion and political behavior. Because the material in the description felt complete and fulfilled its cohesion and seemed quite logical, Geertz's study was then used as a reference book by many people interested in studying religion or culture or society in Java. (Arsyad, 2019).

Clifford Geertz who tends to divide Javanese society into three different types which then serve as a general description of the culture influenced by Islam and

Hindu-Buddhism. As with the "caste" system in Javanese society, it is a product of the same guise as the caste system adopted by Hindus. This system is then better known as trichotomy which comes from the Javanese community. At this stage, the class with the highest position is the aristocratic class. Where the priyayi are descendants of ancient kings and warriors who are considered to have the highest social status. Next there is a class in the middle which is the santri class, while the lowest class is called the abangan class. These three classes have always been in conflict in the history of the socio-cultural development of the Javanese. According to Geertz, there are ideological differences that cause conflict and tension between these classes.

The tension that occurs generally involves the santri class with the priyayi and abangan classes. In addition, what is happening in the academic world is the persistence of several studies on Indonesian Islam which still use old conceptual frameworks due to the strong influence of Geertz's classic modern-traditional dichotomy. (Geertz, 1956) The closed cultural concept category by Geertz generally tends to view traditional Islam as an old-fashioned variant of Islam, not ideal because it is filled with local elements. The use of the concept of the modern-traditional dichotomy of the Geertz model has implications for the emergence of justifications for hatred between one group and another.

The implication is that at the level of social life, people become unconsciously identify themselves in these categories so that they become a frictional identity. This situation is exploited and exacerbated by political parties to garner support or perpetuate the political support that has been obtained. As a result, Geertz's trichotomy, which was originally a categorization of Javanese religion, has transformed into a categorization of identity politics, which of course is very vulnerable to social conflict, both vertical and horizontal. Even so, in the established view, Islam and Java are two entities that are designed separately, are different, are opposites, and cannot possibly be combined. Islam is contrasted with Java which is seen as romantic, archaic and full of charm. (Amrozi, 2021).

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