

SCHOOL, SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE, AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF ABOGE YOUTH

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Abstract: This article reveals various forms of approaches taken by religious education teachers and religious materials in public and religious schools and madrasa teachers to Aboge youth. The teacher's strategy for managing diversity leaves a variety of problems because not all teachers are aware that their response to Aboge youth is a violation of religious freedom. Although there are teachers who commit symbolic violence with repressive-intimidating patterns, there is a dialogic pattern developed by a teacher in madrasas. Although it is also equally aimed at leading students' logic that the Aboge calendar method is irrelevant, the strategy makes students mindfully convert their beliefs without blaming their family's Aboge beliefs and being accommodating Aboge. Even though it seems democratic, MTs Maulana Utama has indicated that it has not carried out a policy of recognition of minorities, so there is a risk of violation of religious freedom if there are other non-Aboge minority students with a different ideological and school of fiqh background. Even though it seems democratic, MTs Maulana Utama has indicated that it has not carried out a policy of recognition of minorities, so there is a risk of violation of religious freedom if there are other non-Aboge minority students with a different ideological and school of fiqh background.

Keywords: Aboge, symbolic violence, school, minority.

Introduction

The practice of discrimination against minorities has become a global phenomenon. As if not familiar with religion and region, extraordinary cases of violations of basic human rights occur in various countries, both third world countries and developed countries. Perpetrators are not only the majority community but also the country. In the Middle East, massive human rights violations have taken place in 17 Muslim-majority countries in the region. Although 64.7 per cent of these countries have guaranteed religious freedom in their country's laws, Fox's 2013 release data says the other way round.

From this report, it is known that in 1990 and 2008, 45 out of 47 minority communities—including all non-community communities Muslims—in these countries, are the victims of the majority of discriminatory acts, especially in relation to religious freedom. Instead of protecting each other, some Sunni and Shiite groups, there are discriminated against by others, even though the numbers are not dominant. A massive amount of discriminatory treatment has befallen the Christian community, while Hinduism, Buddhism, Druze and Bahai are the objects of discrimination with the highest intensity.¹

In Latin American countries, with the demographic structure of the majority Catholic community, religious discrimination also affects non-Catholic minority groups. Based on Fox's release, based on the results of 1990 and 2008 research, Cuba is the country with the highest number of cases of religious discrimination with 28 cases affecting Catholics, 34 cases affecting Protestants, and 30 cases affecting believers. The Dominican Republic ranks second with 24 cases affecting followers of animism, Islam, other sects and Protestants. In other countries, the reality is no different, even though the numbers are fewer. In Bolivia, there were a series of 18 cases affecting the Protestant, Muslim and Baha'i communities, while 16 cases occurred in Honduras which affected the followers of Animism, Baha'i, Islam, and Protestantism. In Chile, there were also 14 cases affecting Muslim and Protestant communities, and 12 cases also affecting Jews, Islam, and Orthodox Christians in Argentina. Paraguay, Trinidad & Tobago, and Panama in the same year were

¹ Jonathan Fox, "Religious Discrimination against Religious Minorities in Middle Eastern Muslim States," *Civil Wars* 15, no. 4 (2013): 454-459.

countries with clean cases of religious discrimination against minorities.²

Similarly, cases of violations of religious freedom and intolerance also happen in Indonesia. Several state institutions and NGOs such as The Wahid Institute—now Wahid Foundation—, Komnas HAM, CRCS UGM, Setara Institute, TIFA, Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, and Infid who consistently monitor and document violations of religious freedom in Indonesia report in annual reports and thematic. Infid revealed that in 2010 there were 216 incidents of violations of religious freedom. Not getting lower, the following year, 2011, the number of cases of violations increased to 244 cases and in 2012 again increased to 264 cases.³ In the same period, in 2010, CRCS UGM recorded 39 cases of violations of religious freedom related to houses of worship, and in 2011 there were still 36 similar cases.⁴

The following year, cases of violations of religious freedom showed no significant decline. The Wahid Institute noted, during 2013 there were 245 cases of violations of religious freedom and intolerance with 278 actions.⁵ While in 2014, according to the same institution, 158 violations of freedom of religion/belief occurred with 187 actions with state and non-state actors.⁶ In 2015, the Wahid Institute also produced an interim report on monitoring freedom of religion and belief which showed that as of October 2015, 190 cases had occurred with 249 actions.⁷

In 2016, the trend of violations of freedom of religion and belief increased compared to the previous two years. Two hundred four cases with 313 actions occurred with 49.5%, the actors were the

² Jonathan Fox, *The Unfree Exercise of Religion: A World Survey of Discrimination against Religious Minorities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 97–98.

³ “Kebebasan Bergama Di Indonesia 2010-2012” (Jakarta: INFID dan Tifa, 2013), 3.

⁴ Zainal Abidin Bagir et al., *Laporan Tahunan Kehidupan Beragama di Indonesia 2011* (Yogyakarta: CRCS UGM, 2012), 40.

⁵ M. Subhi Azhari et al., *Laporan Tahunan Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan Dan Intoleransi 2013* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2013), 2 dan 23.

⁶ M. Subhi Azhar, *Laporan Tahunan Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan dan Intoleransi 2014: “Utang” Warisan Pemerintah Baru* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2014), 21.

⁷ The Wahid Institute, *Laporan Tahunan Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan (KKB) Di Indonesia: “Utang” Warisan Tak Kunjung Terlunasi* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2015), 32.

state, and the remaining 50.5% were carried out by non-state.⁸ 2017 seems to be the year with the highest number of violations of freedom of religion and belief compared to the previous three years. There were 213 cases recorded with 265 actions, with 36% of the actors being the state, and 64% of non-state⁹ even though the state involvement had declined sharply compared to 2016.

Violations of religious freedom with non-state actors led by CSOs occur because of the imposition of standardized interpretations of religious texts resulting from single-textual-rigid interpretations to other parties. This minimal interpretation of contextualization -not to say often without contextualization- often triggers cowboy actions in the name of religion. In the past year, the dissolution of the sea alms tradition in Bantul by a group of mysterious¹⁰ perpetrators, and the rejection of the Gandrung Sewu festival in Banyuwangi by FPI¹¹ added to the long list of intolerant actions that have harmed religious freedom in Indonesia, especially those targeting religious and cultural enculturation. Religion in human hands is indeed double-faced,¹² one side shows the face of ritual-textual religion with its transcendental focus, on the other side its interaction with culture gives birth to the local face of religion as a result of the interaction of religion with its locality expression. The sweeping action of local religious traditions denies the face of the second religion.

Like other minorities, the Aboge Muslim community that inhabits several regions in Probolinggo, Lumajang and Banyuwangi

⁸ Alamsyah M. Dja'far et al., *Ringkasan Eksekutif Laporan Tahunan Kemerdekaan Beragama Berkeyakinan (KBB) Di Indonesia Tahun 2016* Wahid Foundation (Jakarta: Wahid Foundation, 2016), 7; Baca juga Fauz Noor, Gamal Ferdhi, and Subhi Azhari, *Mengikis Politik Kebencian: Ringkasan Eksekutif Laporan Tahunan Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan (KBB) Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Wahid Foundation, 2018), 15.

⁹ Noor, Ferdhi, and Azhari, *Mengikis Politik Kebencian: Ringkasan Eksekutif Laporan Tahunan Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan (KBB) Di Indonesia*, 15.

¹⁰ Pradito Rida Pertama, "Tradisi Sedekah Laut Bantul Dibubarkan, Warga: Mereka Bilang Syirik," *detiknews*, accessed October 19, 2018, <https://news.detik.com/read/2018/10/13/134559/4254941/1536/tradisi-sedekah-laut-bantul-dibubarkan-warga-mereka-bilang-syirik>.

¹¹ "Ormas Islam Banyuwangi Tolak Gelaran Festival Gandrung Sewu 2018," diakses 19 Oktober 2018, <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-4262283/Ormas-islam-banyuwangi-tolak-gelaran-festival-gandrung-sewu-2018>.

¹² Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku, Islam Anda Dan Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006), ix.

often gets stigmatized by the media¹³ and local elites¹⁴ because the religious expression they do is religious behaviour as a result of the interaction of Islam and Javanese culture. In some areas, the horseshoe is also interconnected with networks of the Naqsabandiyah and Tijaniyah orders so that the perpetrators of this *tarekat* in their region are better known as the Aboge battens or *Abong Wong*.

Although it has never been recorded in the religious freedom report released by the institutions above, it does not mean that the religious life of Aboge Muslims in this region always runs functional and equilibrium. Thanks to the media spotlight that is routinely occurring every year and lively stigmatization of them makes the Aboge Muslim is not free, cadreization also goes where they have the same religious rights as mainstream religious communities to believe, express, and transmit their beliefs.

In line with his parents, instead of being protected by religious rights, Aboge youth informal education institutions were also affected. Some of them accept treatment that is not relevant to guaranteeing religious freedom at school. Discrimination and stigmatization from unscrupulous teachers and school friends become inseparable experiences for the life of Aboge youth. Schools that are supposed to be fun often turn into tense places when intolerant acts happen to them.

Researchers' attention to Aboge has been dominated by research focusing on dating methods,¹⁵ the face of Javanese Islam and

¹³ JPNN, "Seperti Biasa, Jadwal Salat Id dan idulfitri Jemaah Aboge Berbeda," www.jpnn.com, June 7, 2019, <http://www.jpnn.com/news/seperti-biasa-jadwal-salat-id-dan-idulfitri-jemaah-aboge-berbeda>; Bandingkan dengan M. Rofiq, "Jemaah Aboge Di Probolinggo Baru Lebaran Besok," *detiknews*, accessed June 17, 2019, <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-4577191/jemaah-aboge-di-probolinggo-baru-lebaran-besok>.

¹⁴ Although not misleading, Sulistio, Kamituwo of Blukar Village, he called aboge as Aboge Religion. He supports young people in the village to change the worship tradition of the Aboge community by means of mainstream community worship in Blukar Village. Interview with Sulistio, Kamituwo, Blukar Village, Sisik District, Banyuwangi, November 26, 2018.

¹⁵ Muhaimin meneliti Muslim Jawa yang menganut perhitungan Aboge di Cirebon. A. G. Muhaimin, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat Among Javanese Muslims* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2006), 73; Agung Prabowo membuat pemodelan matematika untuk perhitungan Aboge Agung Prabowo, Mustafa Bin Mamat, and Sukono, "Model Matematika Untuk Menentukan Lamanya Puasa Ramadhan Pada Komunitas Islam Aboge Di Cikakak," in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Pendidikan Matematika Etnomatnesia* (Etnomatematika: Prespektif Matematika dari Budaya

the Javanese teachings that are practiced,¹⁶ and values that are defended,¹⁷ historiography,¹⁸ traditions and local wisdom,¹⁹ belief systems, teachings, and religious practices,²⁰ the layout of settlements,²¹ Islamic behaviour and the touch of locality,²² its relations with other communities,²³ and the forecast system based on

Indonesia, Yogyakarta: Program Studi Pendidikan Matematika Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Universitas Sarjanawiyata Tamansiswa, 2017), 383–94; Ahmad Izzuddin, “Hisab Rukyah Islam Kejawa: Studi Atas Metode Hisab Rukyah Sistem Aboge,” *Al-Manahij* 9, no. 1 (2015): 123–40.

¹⁶ Abdurrahman Misno Bambang Prawiro, “Islam Aboge: Islam and Cultural Java Dialogue (A Study of Islam Aboge Communities in Ujungmanik, Cilacap, Central Java, Indonesia),” *International Journal of Nusantara Islam* Volume 1, no. 2 (2013): 102–17; Ika Maratus Sholikhah, Dian Adiarti, and Asrofin Nur Kholifah, “Local Wisdom Reflected in The Symbols in Masjid Saka Tunggal Banyumas” 15, no. 1 (2017): 165–78; Izzuddin, “Hisab Rukyah Islam Kejawa: Studi Atas Metode Hisab Rukyah Sistem Aboge,” 123–40.

¹⁷ Amien Wahyudi and Ulfa Danni Rosada, “Religious Value of Aboge People Tradition,” vol. 212 (Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Education Innovation (ICEI 2018), Surabaya: Universitas Negeri Surabaya, 2018), 6–8; Sulaiman, “Islam Aboge; Pelestarian Nilai-Nilai Lama Di Tengah Perubahan Sosial,” *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion* Volume 20, no. 1 (2003): 1–12.

¹⁸ Sakirman, “Islam Aboge Dalam Tradisi Jawa Alastua,” *Ibda’: Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* 14, no. 2 (July 2016): 173–87.

¹⁹ Resti Widiati, “Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Aboge Dan Upaya Pelestariannya Di Desa Cikakak Kecamatan Wangon Kabupaten Banyumas Dengan Tinjauan Geografi Budaya,” *Geo Educasia* 2, no. 6 (2017): 698–711.

²⁰ Falinda, “Sisten Keyakinan Dan Ajaran Islam Aboge,” *Ibda’: Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* 10, no. 2 (July 2012): 151–63; Moch. Ichiyak Ulumuddin, “Praktik Keagamaan Aliran Kejawa Aboge Di Antara Agama Resmi Dan Negara,” *Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 6, no. 1 (March 2016): 91–113; Mochammad Lathif Amin, “Eko-Sufisme Islam Aboge Masjid Saka Tunggal Cikakak Banyumas,” *Jurnal Penelitian* 14, no. 2 (2017): 131–50.

²¹ Wita Widyandini, Yohana Nursruwening, and Basuki, “Penerapan Konsep Dasar Pemukiman Aboge Cikakak Pada Pemukiman Aboge Cibangkong Di Kabupaten Banyumas” (SENATEK 2015 Fakultas Teknik, Purwokerto: Universitas Muhammadiyah Purwokerto, 2015), 7–13.

²² Haqql Yaqin, “Konstruksi Kearifan Lokal Islam Aboge Di Probolinggo,” *Humanistika: Jurnal Keislaman* 4, no. 1 (2018): 7–129; Sakirman, “Islam Aboge Dalam Tradisi Jawa Alastua,” 172–87.

²³ Sodli, “Dinamika Hubungan Antara Penganut Islam Aboge Dengan Umat Islam Lainnya Di Kabupaten Banyumas,” *International Journal Ihya’ Ulum al-Din* 18, no. 2 (2016): 235–52.

Primbon and Mujarabat.²⁴ No one has revealed the religious life of the youth.

In the midst of the study gap above, this research pays attention to exploring the religious experiences of Aboge youth who are a minority in educational institutions. In this article, the researcher focuses his attention to uncover the variety of discriminatory acts received by Aboge youth while they are educated in various educational institutions.

This article reveals the religious experiences of Aboge youth while studying at educational institutions, and highlights fragments of religious experiences they have experienced at educational institutions. However, these experiences influence the various survival strategies that he took in the past and present that the author will not explain in this article. As part of a research report funded by the campus BOPTN where I serve, the reviewer's recommendation to disguise the identity of informants and the region is also the author do it in an inseparable article as a unit of responsibility for this research activity.

This research is the result of in-depth interviews with Aboge youth, madrasa teachers and managers of educational institutions living in the Aboge residential area, which is located a few kilometres to dozens of kilometres from Probolinggo and Lumajang city centres. The study sites are scattered in several villages in Karang Lo and Budi Joyo Districts, Probolinggo District, and Sari Rejo District and Umpak Palu District, Lumajang Regency.

For Aboge youth, embedding other labels on Aboge often causes them to lack confidence in revealing their identity. Even if their identity as Aboge has been revealed or publicly known, it is not uncommon for them to deny it in order to avoid harassment and labelling that is not beneficial for their social interactions.

Guarantee of Religious Rights of Civil Society

In order to measure the guarantee of the fulfilment of religious civil society, Haidari Bagir and Dwipayana suggested the recognition, representation and redistribution of minorities in public spaces. This

²⁴ Sakirman, "Islam Aboge Dalam Tradisi Jawa Alastua," 186; Bruinessen mengungkap bahwa *Mujarabat* merupakan ringkasan kitab *Shams al-Ma'arif* yang cukup populer di Indonesia (khususnya di kalangan pesantren, pen.), baca Martin van Bruinessen, "Global and Local in Indonesian Islam," *Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 2 (September 1999): 160.

paper intentionally chooses one of the three devices, namely recognition. Indeed, although it is not comprehensive, it is enough to help measure how minorities are recognized, is recognized that they are part of the sociocultural diversity of school residents, even religious madrasas, are differentiated, and are respected. In recognition, all elements do not focus on seeing differences as differentiators and there are no attempts at uniformity, but differences are used as shared realities and are used to enhance social cohesion by putting forward fundamental similarities. The politics of recognition that runs in schools not only respect each other's differences but also ensures that every school member can express his religious and belief rights.²⁵

Habitus and Determinants of Symbolic Violence

Despite the peripherals, the Aboge community often crosses the pages of the media before each celebration of Islamic religious holidays, including the Aboge community that inhabits Kuncoro Village, Jember, the Aboge Karang Lo Subdistrict community and Budi Joyo, Probolinggo.

Communities that have different methods of calculating the Hijri calendar often get minor stigma because of their belief in the results of Aboge, *Alif*, *Rebo*, *Wage* calculations. Because they do not follow the results of the government's Isbat meeting held by the Ministry of Religion, the stubborn label is often pinned by the community to the Aboge community.²⁶ For Aboge followers, following the parents' orders to always preserve Aboge is more important to heed than following government directives, although not denying Aboge is only one of many methods of determining the beginning of the Hijri month which is believed to be the truth.

²⁵ Zainal Abidin Bagir and AA GN Ari Dwipayana, "Keragaman, Kesetaraan, dan Keadilan: Pluralisme Kewargaan dalam Masyarakat Demokratis," in *Pluralisme Kewargaan: Arab Baru Politik Kenegaraan di Indonesia*, ed. Zainal Abidin Bagir et al. (Yogyakarta: CRCS UGM dan Mizan, 2011), 42–44 Bagir menyerap ide pluralisme kewargaan dari Martyn Marty, Diana L. Eck, dan Robert W. Hefner; Compare with Suhadi, "Pendahuluan," in *Politik Pendidikan Agama: Kurikulum 2013 dan Ruang Publik Sekolah*, ed. Suhadi et al. (Yogyakarta: CRCS UGM, 2014), 8–9.

²⁶ Interview with Misyanti, son of followers of Aboge Desa Kuncoro, Kecamatan Kacabelah, Jember, August 2016.

The minor label as *kejawan* Islam²⁷ which is identical to the quadrant of his *abangan* Geertz often becomes a barrier to the fulfilment of the religious rights of the Aboge community, including its youth, because minor stigma also accompanies it. This label is often placed in the ears of the Aboge community at the beginning of Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, and Eid al-Adha. The stigma was internalized in the younger generation of Aboge.²⁸

Although some Aboge figures and followers are followers and leaders of the *tarekat*,²⁹ it does not prevent the stigmatization of *abangan* against the Aboge community. The implementation of the *tarekat* ritual by singing praises such as the intentions, bathing in the middle of the night before the midnight prayer,³⁰ and *selawat* in the Javanese language often backfires because it increasingly reinforces people's suspicion of the Aboge community as adherents of the Javanese tradition.³¹

At school, Aboge youth receive various unpleasant experiences while studying at school and madrasa. The range of discriminatory acts, from the more democratic to the repressive ones, is carried out by unscrupulous teachers who are a form of symbolic violence. To understand it, it can be approached with symbolic violence which is a product of habitus, both of these ideas proposed by Bourdieu.

Conscious actions committed by individuals cannot be released or are always determined by values and norms that are believed to be true by community groups. Individuals in the social landscape have the ability to identify and control their actions. They are able to read and adapt to situations that intersect with them,³² both to the

²⁷ Ulumuddin, "Praktik Keagamaan Aliran Kejawan Aboge Di Antara Agama Resmi Dan Negara," 94; Izzuddin, "Hisab Rukyah Islam Kejawan: Studi Atas Metode Hisab Rukyah Sistem Aboge," 125.

²⁸ Interview with Fauzi Amin, young man of Aboge Kendang Kempul, December 2, 2018.

²⁹ For example Kiai Dolah, is a local figure of the Naqshabandiyah order. Kiai Syaokani is a follower of the Tijaniyah Abdolah order, Interview with Kiai Dolah, Kuncoro Village, Kacabelah District, August 2016; Interview with Kiai Ahmad Syaokani, Podang Village, Karang Lo District, Probolinggo, August 2016.

³⁰ Praise containing 20 obligatory attributes of Allah. Interview with Mr. Tuki Baituloh, Aboge follower of Kuncoro Village, Kacabelah District, August 2016

³¹ Interview with Misyanti, child of Aboge followers in Kuncoro Village, Kacabelah District, Jember.

³² Kukuh Yudha Karnanta, *Mengakari Teks, Menjelajahi Ko(n)Teks: Sekumpulan Esai Sastra Dan Budaya* (Surabaya: Airlangga University Press, 2018), 29.

subjective structure resulting from the personal interaction of agents with others, as well as the objective structure, which is the result of their interrelation with the community. As an intermediary, habitus places agents actively and creatively to create autonomously and often disposes of agents as objects of ideas and practices and independent subjects produce ideas and trendsetters.³³

The nature of habitus, which often experiences dispositions, makes agents have diverse life and lifestyle practices with each other that are strongly influenced by life experiences internalized from other agents and how objective reality influences them. Agents always experience internalization of right-wrong, good-bad, logical-illogical, and so on. In practice, habitus allows the agent to adapt to the situation and conditions around it so as to produce a strategy that runs naturally and is responsive to the situation to survive.³⁴

Aboge's youth strategy to respond to the variety of actions taken by the teacher against him is strongly influenced by subjective values that have been internalized in him, as well as also influenced by how the teacher's actions towards him. The production of responses will give birth to a variety of survival strategies which the authors will describe in the following paper.

Collective truth that is believed to be true in a community is a product of communal construction³⁵ that often forces the individual to "swallow it" as a form of internalization of externalities, that is when the rules and external realities are internalized by agents.³⁶ Instead of the interaction of agents and structures only in the same direction, Bourdieu provides both dialectical spaces by giving each individual the opportunity to improvise his actions during a corridor that can be tolerated by the community in which he acts.³⁷

The agent has the power to externalize the subjective structure, which becomes his habitus through the externalization of internality.

³³ Ibid., 31.

³⁴ Pip Jones, Liz Bradbury, and Shaun Le Boutillier, *Pengantar Teori-Teori Sosial: Dari Fungsionalisme Hingga Post-Modernisme*, trans. Achmad Fedyani Saifuddin (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2016), 215; Baca juga Karnanta, *Mengakari Teks, Menjelajahi Ko(n)Teks: Sekumpulan Esai Sastra Dan Budaya*, 31.

³⁵ Elya Munfarida, "Kekerasan Simbolik Media Terhadap Anak," *Komunika* 4, no. 1 (n.d.): 72–90.

³⁶ Karnanta, *Mengakari Teks, Menjelajahi Ko(n)Teks: Sekumpulan Esai Sastra Dan Budaya*, 21.

³⁷ Munfarida, "Kekerasan Simbolik Media Terhadap Anak," 72–90.

Through this dialectical relation, agents are placed as active individuals who can use their subjective structure to influence the objective structure in an arena of contestation. Bourdieu described in a literary arena, the monopoly of literary legitimacy by a writer who became an agent. Each agent enters the arena in varied ways, according to his habitus, so that in the arena, the agents who contest develop a strategy to monopolize and seize the capital. Consecrated agents, who have the legitimacy to produce and claim the truth of an objective structure have the potential to force other agents who have not been consecrated, who do not have the power of knowledge and social capital to defend their subjective truth so that they are often forced to accept the truth of the objective structure and change their subjective structure artificially, as a survival strategy.³⁸

Symbolic violence is like sociocultural indoctrination by dominant agents against other groups with various advantages possessed by dominant agents. Not infrequently they use the legitimacy of power relations, power of knowledge, social capital, network power, and the economy using various symbols of interaction with various forms of intimidation.³⁹ As part of the cognitive structure and expression of actions which are the product of habitus, symbolic violence is often carried out unconsciously⁴⁰ by the perpetrators, although it often also has specific motives and is carried out with full awareness.

Teachers, as the dominant social class, are often the perpetrators of hegemony towards students from minority backgrounds with a variety of symbolic violence. In this complicated situation, Aboge youth are peripheral agents who do not have the role and legitimacy to maintain their identity, on the other hand, teachers have the power of knowledge, social capital and are able to provide legitimacy of truth so that teachers can do anything, both democratically by developing dialectics although the goals are the same, changing the perception of Aboge youth, as well as labelling to repression to invite, suggesting, and forcing the Aboge youth to

³⁸ Karnanta, *Mengakari Teks, Menjelajahi Ko(n)Teks: Sekumpulan Esai Sastra Dan Budaya*, 30.

³⁹ I Ngunah Suryawan, *Genealogi Kekerasan Dan Pergolakan Subaltern: Bara Di Bali Utara* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2010), 136.

⁴⁰ Ine Fausayana, *Dinamika Pembudidaya Rumput Laut: Dari Kontestasi Hingga Model Design Bank Rumput Laut* (Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2018), 75 dan 83.

abandon their faith to pledge themselves across to the mainstream community.

Teachers, as the dominant social class, are often the perpetrators of hegemony towards students from minority backgrounds with a variety of symbolic violence. In this complicated situation, Aboge youth are peripheral agents who do not have the role and legitimacy to maintain their identity, on the other hand, teachers have the power of knowledge, social capital and are able to provide legitimacy of truth so that teachers can do anything, both democratically by developing dialectics although the goals are the same, changing the perception of Aboge youth, as well as labelling to repression to invite, suggesting, and forcing the Aboge youth to abandon their faith to pledge themselves across to the mainstream community.

School and Religious Experience of Aboge Youth

“Be careful with Aboge. If there is it the victory can be invalid. Fasting one day must be replaced.” Mr. Broto’s warning, PAI SMPN Sari Rejo Lumajang teacher to Akmal Mulya, Aboge youth who inhabited the Jumeneng Village area, Sari Rejo Lumajang Subdistrict like lightning in broad daylight which succeeded in making Akmal bow down resigned while continuing to think, thinking about the validity of Ramadan during his last day. This anxiety and curiosity often haunt him as Aboge Youth, until now, three years after graduating from the state junior high school.⁴¹

Akmal was given the details of the calculation of good and bad days by his grandfather based on the calculation of the Javanese market day of his birth. The calculation refers to Primbon, the numerological basis of the Muslim Aboge Jumeneng. He, like his other brothers, was required to obey the account of the day, especially by his grandfather. During school, he admitted that he often resigned when he could not leave the house to do work or discuss when the day was a bad day for him to do activities. But this ban does not apply to schools. He can go to school as usual, even though that day is not a good day to leave the house. He and his family could not move without a note of the calculation of this good day.⁴²

⁴¹ Interview with Akmal Mulya, young man of Aboge Jumeneng, December 2018.

⁴² Ibid.

In the midst of all the rigid rules governing the personal and social behaviour of Aboge Muslims, Aboge followers in Jumeneng Village such as Akmal live in harmony in a society that accepts Aboge as a social fact of this village. This equilibrium life changed when he had to hide his identity as Aboge after Pak Broto, the PAI teacher who taught him in 9th grade gave a warning in class. The warning was given to every student who is still fasting when mainstream Muslims have been on Eid al-Fitr and ended his fast. Pak Broto warns that Aboge followers seem to have to replace the fast that he left at the beginning of Ramadan and replace the fast that is still being carried out when other Muslim societies have spread. Although he did not specifically appoint himself and other Aboge youths, he thought the warning was aimed at Aboge youths, it seems.⁴³ The last one to two days of Aboge youths are fasting, which is the day when the majority of mainstream Muslims have celebrated Eid, even sometimes it has to be different for up to three days.

Akmal is a village youth who has the luxury of being a small number of Jumeneng village youth who join formal education, in public schools too, even though every day they have to go through non-smooth roads and steep slopes. However, the hope of obtaining democratic treatment must be excluded because the attitude of the PAI teacher is irrelevant to the fulfilment of citizenship rights.

Public secondary schools ideally become the right environment for studying democratic life behaviour, a conducive learning place for young people from various religious backgrounds who uphold the religious rights of each student, instead provide contradictory experiences with democratic values. The burden of Aboge's youth to get an education that guarantees the fulfillment of civil rights must disappear because Akmal is appealing to leave the belief of his family, Aboge, and is asked to replace part of his Ramadan fast.⁴⁴

Although he often avoided when he met Mr. Broto, he was not worried about interacting with school friends and other teachers. They never questioned his reasons for fasting and Eid at different times. In front of them, he was frank as a young Aboge, but not to Pak Broto. He was always overshadowed by the truth about Mr. Broto's statement stating his last fast with Aboge was cancelled and had to replace the beginning of Ramadan fasting that he

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

“abandoned.” Although this anxiety often struck when the moment of Ramadan arrived, he never asked the “truth” of Mr. Broto’s statement to Mak Sukmo.⁴⁵

Akmal’s experience is similar to that of Hoiri, a young Aboge who dropped out of school, graduating from the Lumpak Palu Lumajang State Junior High School during his studies at the school. The question “why joining?” In Javanese, Madurese accent he claimed to respond with the phrase “*ancen tekok biyen ncen ngunu, yo melok wong tumo*”⁴⁶ (it has always been like that, yes, follow the parents, pen.).”

The statement made in front of the class by the teacher, as also happened to Akmal, is addressed to Aboge students. Understandably, the existence of the Aboge community has become common knowledge in the Umpak District of Palu. People call it Reng Aboge or Wong Aboge, which means Aboge people. So that in class, anyone easily probes the identity of students from Sindang Kerto Village as Aboge followers. Even though it is no longer a majority, it is not difficult for school residents to identify it from the difference in the day of the implementation of the Id prayers so that they risk stigmatization from students.

State Middle School Umpak Palu Lumajang as a state school does not encourage school residents to recognize and differentiate against Hoiri who celebrate Id prayers based on Aboge. The absence of recognition has an impact on the lack of acceptance and recognition of students’ sociocultural diversity. Equally important, the absence of differentiation led to Aboge youths being forced to develop defensive tactics so that they could carry out Id prayers in the village while simultaneously being able to carry out Id prayers in schools.

During school, it was not uncommon for Hoiri’s friends to ask “why are you watching Aboge?” and advised not to look good (why join Aboge? join (offering Id, pen.) right?)⁴⁷ As a form of an invitation to no longer attend worship based on Aboge calculations. Stereotyping that Aboge worship is wrong appears from this suggestion.

⁴⁵ Mak Sukmo is the leader of the Aboge community in Jumeneng Village, Sari Rejo District, Lumajang. Mak is a nickname for the village kiai which is a short term for Mak Kaeh, meaning Pak Kiai. Ibid.

⁴⁶ Although he communicates every day in Madura, Hoiri can also communicate in Javanese *Ngoko*.

⁴⁷ Interview with Hoiri, young man of Aboge Sindang Kerto, December 2018.

The experiences of the two Aboge youths from Lumajang are similar to those of Fauzi Amin, an Aboge youth who is now studying at a Muhammadiyah high school who lives in Kendang Kempul Village, Budi Joyo District, Probolinggo. The young man, who was raised by the Aboge family from an early age, had been studying the Koran at the home of Bindereh Zul, an Aboge figure in Bendo Village, a few hundred meters from his childhood home and approximately 4 kilometres from where he lives now.

Since small age, Fauzi used to play with recitation friends and the majority of the games were Aboge. But entering high school, he entered the Pure Abadi High School, which has a traditional Islamic religious tradition. In this school whose curriculum is affiliated with NU, he received a series of recommendations to leave Aboge from the teachers who taught him.⁴⁸ This suggestion in his mind meant to position himself as (Liyan) another person, outside the NU community as the mainstream community. He was repeatedly encouraged to leave the Aboge religious tradition as evidence that he had become part of the mainstream group, NU, by following the Id Prayer in the beginning with the people of the Budi Joyo region, meaning he was demanded to no longer recognize Aboge calculations and no longer complete Ramadan fasting like the community.

Fauzi chose to stay with Aboge despite facing many challenges that he suffered during school.⁴⁹ According to him, the choice was made because he followed the principle of “following the teacher’s behaviour (following the teacher’s behaviour and habits of reciting pen.)”, basis of learning Alquran and Islamic knowledge.⁵⁰

Motivation to survive as done by Fauzi is like rationality (Wertrationalitat) Weber⁵¹ because it is motivated by the fulfilment of noble values to always follow the actions of the teacher. The value of obeying the teacher will be achieved if the action is carried out. For him, choosing to follow the habits of Bindereh Zul for Id prayers according to the Aboge calendar is prioritized more than fulfilling the invitation of his school teacher because according to him following

⁴⁸ Interview with Fauzi Amin, young man of Aboge Kendang Kempul, December 2, 2018.

⁴⁹ Interview with Fauzi Amin, young man of Aboge Kendang Kempul, January 24, 2019.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹ I.B. Wirawan, *Teori-Teori Sosial Dalam Tiga Paradigma; Fakta Sosial, Definisi Sosial & Perilaku Sosial* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2003), 101.

the teacher who taught he the basis of religion was more important than the teacher who taught him material in school.⁵²

Like his friend, Abdul Karim, as a fellow Aboge youth spends his time playing and reciting at Bindereh Zul and both of them attend High School Abadi, while studying at the same school, experiences a series of suggestions to leave Aboge. He and Fauzi have some things in common, they are equally large in the Aboge environment but now live in a non-Aboge environment.

While in high school, in responding to a tendentious question from his school friend who asked him why he was following Aboge, he claimed to respond with the argument that his decision to follow Aboge was due to two first considerations to follow the habits of the Aboge village in Bendo Village and to follow the tradition of the teacher, Bindereh Zul. This action is no different from traditional actions⁵³ carried out without the accompanying logical arguments.

Similar to his junior class, Fauzi, he was asked several times the reason “still” following Aboge. He also directed some of his teachers to leave the Aboge tradition and declare themselves into NU. According to him, when his classmates talked about his identity as Aboge—generally before the Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr—he became confused. It is not easy to melt back the atmosphere because these days, the other impression is attached to it. This situation is made worse if the teacher asks questions or encourages him to repent by leaving Aboge. Thanks to this other stigma, Karim felt that his relationship with his schoolmates could not search because he had not started fasting during Ramadan.⁵⁴

The encouragement of SMA Murni Abadi and other Aboge youth are understood by Karim as a way for the teacher to cut off the regeneration of the Aboge community in Bendo Village. According to him, the teacher could not directly invite parents of students, namely the older generation to leave Aboge. So, he perceives, the invitation to leave Aboge which was repeatedly done by several teachers is a way of instilling the hegemony that Aboge must be abandoned because

⁵² Interview with Fauzi Amin, young man of Aboge Kendang Kempul, December 2, 2018.

⁵³ Wirawan, *Teori-Teori Sosial Dalam Tiga Paradigma; Fakta Sosial, Definisi Sosial & Perilaku Sosial*, 101.

⁵⁴ Interview with Abdul Karim, Pemuda Kendang Kempul, December 2018.

some of its teachings and traditions are not relevant to mainstream Islam.⁵⁵

Karim also once “tricked” by his teacher because he did not heed the teacher’s invitation to leave Aboge. After the teacher caught him not yet implementing Ramadan fasting, he was given an “extra” assignment to clean up the school environment. Later, this task which he said was quite torturous and tiring was pondered as a form of “punishment” because he did not obey the teacher’s suggestion to leave Aboge.⁵⁶

Fauzi and Karim both received the urge to leave Aboge by educators in the same school, even though they did not study contemporaries. The difference is, Fauzi experienced it in the public room of the school, while in the private classroom. The experience as a minority experienced by both of them is the same, position as other people although their religious traditions are the same as NU plus some of their traditions and beliefs on Aboge numeration are similar to Javanese Mataraman and Banyumasan. (Check Aboge Mojokerto Religio and Aboge Banyumas).

Instead of accepting and differentiating Aboge youth, some PAI teachers and religious subjects do not do any recognition for the Aboge minority in their schools. The invitation to leave Aboge and question the implementation of fasting Aboge confirmed them as other people. Some even seemed to ask to repent.

The unpleasant religious experience that befell Akmal, Hoiri, in public and Fauzi and Karim in religious public schools happened that school residents driven by teachers had not yet developed an inclusive ecosystem and mainstreamed multiculturalism through the fulfilment of civil rights. The policy of doing recognition by schools and at the initiative of teachers towards the diversity of students’ beliefs has not become mainstream. The unification of Aboge minority students into the majority indicates that the school does not fully understand the importance of maintaining diversity by recognizing the fundamental civil rights of each student, namely religious rights.

Another experience experienced by Aboge youth when studying at madrasa. Madrasa which is being promoted as a medium for spreading moderate Islam to the public becomes an arena of cultural, ideological and cultural contestation, between students and teachers

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

of the great traditions of the mainstream community versus students from family backgrounds who maintain the little tradition, who understand religion anthropocentrically.⁵⁷

Namiroh, a young man from the Kombong community, Budi Joyo Subdistrict, like other Aboge youths, has been confident in calculating and carrying out the Aboge tradition since childhood. He also, like a cousin of generations and other distant relatives, always celebrated the Feast and fasting based on Aboge's calculations. Aboge celebrations in his village were carried out with the community and his grandfather's extended family who became Aboge figures in Kombong Village.⁵⁸ However, his grandfather always entrusted himself and his grandfather's extended family to be educated in madrassas whose institutions were cared for by Kiai Nasrudin Baihaki, one of the chief executive officers of the NU branch representative in Budi Joyo sub-district.⁵⁹ Kinipun Namiroh studied at one of the religious campuses in Jember and studied at a pesantren that was nurtured by the son of a NU management figure in Jember.

Namiroh's attitude towards Aboge changed after his dialect with Najih at MTs Budi Joyo. The cognitive process that occurred in this private classroom made Namiroh think again about her participation in the fasting of Ramadan Aboge. This cognitive dialectic made him reconstruct the truth of the Islamic Hijri calculation, from the Aboge method as one-on-one truth to the belief that the results of the government's Isbat trial were also true. Several times dialectics with Mas Najih in the private classroom made him switch choices to believe that the determination of the beginning of the month of the Isbat trial results was more appropriate than Aboge.⁶⁰

This conversion of opinion made him change his Ramadan fasting behaviour by no longer following the Aboge calculation tradition. After the cognitive process, Namiroh started and ended

⁵⁷ According to Redfield, large traditions develop within educational institutions and religious institutions, while small traditions develop naturally in the wheels of life of rural communities. Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), 70.

⁵⁸ Interview with Namiroh, young man of Aboge Kombong, November 29, 2018.

⁵⁹ Mas is a term for Kiai's son who is also popular in the Pasuruan Najih area. Interview with Mas Najih, son of Kiai Nasrudin Baihaki, Kombong, January 23, 2018.

⁶⁰ Interview with Namiroh, young man of Aboge Kombong.

fasting earlier from the Aboge community, based on the results of the government's Isbat trial. This decision is not without risk. His actions were opposed by his family, especially the grandfather who hoped he would continue to perpetuate the family tradition. However, he was defended by his mother, who freed her choice to fast early. Namiroh, was one of the Aboge youths who fasted at the beginning but still respected the Aboge tradition by celebrating at the end, together with the Aboge community.⁶¹

After dialectics in class with Najih, Namiroh claimed not to deny the truth of Aboge. For him, Aboge is exactly the same as the method of determining the beginning of the Islamic month which the government uses. Nothing is more correct. He argued the truth of the Aboge calculation held by his family was as true as the Hijriyah calculation based on the ISBAT trial, which he now held.⁶²

Unlike Namiroh, Abdan, Aboge youth from Kombong Village, Budi Joyo Subdistrict, Namiroh's cousin, and Habiban, Aboge youth from Kijing Asri Village, the same sub-district revealed that during his schooling at MTs Maulana Utama, he did not feel that he received questions and suggestions from his teachers regarding desert with his identity as Aboge. The question actually arises from his friends who ask the question "why don't you join the government? I see, "apart from the question" how come the Hari Raya is not the same? What basis? "Abdan said.⁶³

According to Najih, Namiroh, Abdan, and Habiban, in class, he deliberately touched on differences in the method of calculating the Hijri calendar with a dialogical approach. The cognitive process that was deliberately aimed at Aboge youth was considered effective in making Aboge youth abandon their ancestral beliefs about Aboge. According to him the Aboge community carried out the same tradition as the NU Budi Joyo community, even with the more active Sunnah and *wirid* prayers. However, the method of calculating Aboge to determine 1 Ramadan and Shawwal is considered inappropriate,⁶⁴ so he felt the need to invite the Aboge youth to leave him.

Najih does not agree with the expression of some people who perceive Aboge as heretical. According to him, in the *bahthul masail*

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Interview with Abdan, young man of Aboge Kombong, December 2018.

⁶⁴ Interview with Mas Najih, son of Kiai Nasrudin Baihaki, Kombong, January 23, 2018.

forum held by the pesantren deliberation forum in 2004, it was decided that there was nothing wrong with the Aboge tradition. This forum recommends “correcting” the Hijriyah Aboge calculation method used by the Aboge community. Although according to Najih, this forum did not judge Aboge as heretical, the Aboge calculation method was judged wrong in a fiqh perspective. The madrasa that he manages is also active in telling Aboge youths who study there that Aboge is no longer relevant to be implemented even though he also advises Aboge youth who study him in madrasas to respect his family’s beliefs.⁶⁵

In contrast to Najih, Kiai Nasrudin Baihaki, his father-in-law who is the leader of the educational institution revealed that the decline in Aboge youth interest in the Budi Joyo area to follow the Aboge tradition of parents and teachers taught him thanks to the active Islamic educational institutions, as well as his institution, in “neutralizing” the Aboge influence through Akidah learning in the madrasas that it manages. The cleric who was the board representative of NU Budi Joyo Sub-district on several occasions advised his students not to fast when the government had announced the results of the Isbat session. He told Aboge youths that fasting at the beginning of Shawwal (*isbat*)⁶⁶ was not permissible, not rewarded, forbidden, and sinful.⁶⁷

As a teacher, in class, Najih introduces various methods of calculating the Hijri calendar to their students. He invited his students to choose - not to say that they should no longer use Aboge as the basis for starting Ramadan to end it - the calendar calculation method used by their students, including the Aboge youth. As a madrasa based on Islamic faith and worship-style, MT's Maulana Utama does not give students the choice of space to hold on to Aboge traditions and beliefs. This madrasa does not recognize, does not differentiate in Aboge youth. However, this madrasa teacher did not encourage and force Aboge youth who studied there to leave Aboge, but through the dilemma developed in learning, tucked the mission to invite Aboge.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ When mainstream Muslims celebrate Eid al-Fitr because based on the results of the Isbat trial the following day has entered Shawwal, the Aboge community is still carrying out Ramadan fasting because based on Aboge calculations the Ramadan month has not changed Shawwal.

⁶⁷ Interview with Kiai Kiai Nasruddin Baihaki, 23 January 2018.

Symbolic Violence versus Dialectical Intolerance

Public schools that were once the place of Akmal Mulya and Hoiri attended school and religious public schools that were once where Fauzi Amin and Abdul Karim studied and gave madrassas a place to study Namiroh, Abdan, and Habiban discriminatory experiences with them with different patterns: first, questioning reasons for widening at the end and reasons for “still” following Aboge as experienced by Hoiri, secondly, public threats that his fast at the end of Ramadan Aboge is invalid and must be replaced, as experienced by Akmal Mulya, third, invitation to leave Aboge religious traditions, as experienced by Fauzi Amin and Abdul Karim, the fourth gave an extra task because he never left Aboge as Abdul Karim’s experience, the fifth, encouraged repenting by leaving Aboge as happened to Abdul Karim. The sixth statement is that Ramadan fasting after the determination of the Isbat trial should not be done, did not get rewarded, forbidden, and sinful.

The variety of symbolic acts of violence perpetrated by PAI teachers and Islamic subjects against Aboge youth at school are not all aimed specifically and explicitly at targeting Aboge youth but are realized as a form of intolerance, although sometimes as Abdul Karim feels, Aboge youth-only understand it as a form of violence the symbolic post reflected back a few years ago. However, Namiroh did not feel it as a form of violence because the arguments presented by the dialectical approach made by Mas Najih felt rational to be followed.

The school where four Aboge youths attend school in Bourdeau becomes an arena of symbolic violence to maintain and strengthen the status quo guru by instilling subjective hegemony of truth. The Aboge Youth as a peripheral group is defined by others which must be converted, both from all their traditions and beliefs and in part. Aboge youth who do not have access and power often must submit, as well as display submission to teachers who have the authority of knowledge and other social capital.

Symbolic violence committed by teachers occurs because habitus is not felt by teachers as a form of violation of religious freedom. The culprit did not realize that his invitation by questioning threatening, coercing, inviting, giving tendentious tasks and encouraging repentance is a form of violation of civil liberties and injuring the fulfillment of civil rights.

Instead of getting symbolic violence, Najih, MT's teacher of Maulana Utama developed a dialogic strategy. The strategy he used was contradictory to his father-in-law's strategy, Kiai Nasrudin Baihaki, who forbade and declared fasting after the determination of the Isbat trial brought sin to the culprit. The dialogical approach undertaken by Mas Najih by providing a comparison of the method of determining the beginning of the Hijri month is a habitus that is influenced by the objective structure of knowledge derived from his perception of the results of the *bahthul masail* by the pesantren deliberation forum in 2004 which he joined, in addition, as an entrant by internalizing piety normative Aboge community that has crystallized into subjective structures that contribute to choosing actions.

The decision did not force the Aboge youth to abandon the tradition of the Aboge community because he believed that there were no deviations in the tradition of the Aboge community, as the results of the *bahthul masail* were believed to be a fair legal product in reading Aboge's reality. Nevertheless, he felt he had a moral responsibility to "straighten" the beliefs of Aboge youth towards the calculation of Hijriyah Aboge, which he felt was no longer relevant. In learning, he invites Aboge youth to compare computational methods because they are motivated by the results of the *bahthul masail*, which assesses the use of Aboge calculations in the current context is wrong in fiqh perspective.

The strategy to convey arguments with dialectics without having to force and uproot Aboge youth from its traditional roots is a form of strategy formed by habitus, as is the discriminatory action was taken by Mr. Broto against Akmal Mulya and the teachers of Murni Abadi High School against Fauzi Amin and Abdul Karim.

Although it seems democratic, when viewed from the perspective of recognition politics, Mas Najih's dialectics still do not meet all the recognition parameters for minority students in schools. Even though he did not label the Aboge youth he had taught as *liyan*, Mas Najih had not yet developed the politics of recognition as a whole. By not developing a politics of recognition of minorities, MT's Maulana Utama teachers are still at risk of violating religious freedom when they get minority students from diverse backgrounds of beliefs and ways of worship because the realm of differences in dialogue—not to say they want to be uniformed—in the realm of fiqh.

Conclusion

This article reveals various forms of the approach taken by religious education teachers and religious materials in public and religious schools and madrasa teachers to Aboge youth. The teacher's strategy for managing diversity leaves a variety of problems because not all teachers are aware that their response to Aboge youth is a violation of religious freedom. Among other teachers who commit symbolic violence with repressive-intimidating patterns, there is a dialogic pattern developed by a teacher developing in madrasas. Although it is also equally aimed at leading students' logic that the Aboge calendar method is irrelevant, the strategy makes students mindfully convert their beliefs without blaming their family's Aboge beliefs and being accommodating towards Aboge. Even though it seems democratic, MTs Maulana Utama has indicated that it has not carried out a policy of recognition of minorities, so there is a risk of violation of religious freedom if there are other non-Aboge minority students with a different ideological and school of fiqh background.

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