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THE TARBIYAH MOVEMENT: WHY PEOPLE JOIN THIS INDONESIAN CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Salman

MUSLIM INSURGENCIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: INTRACTABILITY, THE SECURITY DILEMMA, AND "ISLAMIC FACTOR"

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The Tarbiyah Movement: Why People Join This Indonesian Contemporary Islamic Movement

Abstraksi: Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk memberikan penjelasan tentang variabel-variabel yang mendorong orang untuk terlibat dalam gerakan tarbiyah—suatu gerakan sosial-kegamaan yang berbasis di kampus dan kelas menengah Muslim di perkotaan. Tulisan ini didasarkan pada survey yang dilakukan pada 2006, dengan jumlah responden 206 mahasiswa di empat perguruan tinggi di Jakarta, yakni Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) 67 orang, Universitas Negeri Jakarta (UNJ) 69 orang, dan Universitas Indonesia (UI) 70 orang. Di samping itu, sample responden juga diperluas ke 35 orang anggota Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), yang selama ini dilihat sebagai bentuk dari gerakan tarbiyah di kampus.

Penelitian menunjukkan bahwa di antara 16 variabel yang digunakan dalam studi ini sebagian besar terbukti mempunyai hubungan signifikan dan positif dalam mendorong seseorang terlibat dalam gerakan tarbiyah, yaitu variabel biologis, motivasi, konsep diri, keyakinan, sosialisasi, pencarian aktif, experimentasi, jaringan, ketersediaan biografis, dan hubungan batin. Sementara itu, variabel pertimbangan rasional dan tekanan situasional mempunyai pengaruh yang signifikan namun negatif dalam kerangka

partisipasi ini.

Selanjutnya, variabel struktur makro, keanggotaan dalam organisasi, dan tekanan psikologis insidental terbukti tidak mempunyai pengaruh signifikan untuk membuat orang terlibat dalam gerakan tarbiyah. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa teori yang menjelaskan bahwa sebuah gerakan sosial sesungguhnya terjadi karena adanya tekanan sosial tidak terbukti. Sebaliknya, penelitian ini justru menunjukkan bahwa keterlibatan sementara sesorang dalam gerakan tarbiyah bukan karena adanya situasi sosial yang berat, tapi lebih karena adanya faktor keyakinan, mobilisasi kepemimpinan, jaringan serta optimisme bahwa gerakan tersebut akan berhasil mewujudkan cita-citanya.

Ada banyak informasi lain yang juga penting untuk diperhatikan dari studi tentang fenomena gerakan tarbiyah ini. Pandangan sebagian orang selama ini yang menganggap bahwa para aktivis tarbiyah cenderung lebih banyak berasal dari perguruan tinggi-perguruan tinggi umum (bukan perguruan tinggi Islam seperti IAIN atau UIN), ternyata menemukan landasan empirisnya. Semakin seseorang cenderung memilih kuliah di perguruan tinggi umum, semakin besar kemungkinan ia terlibat dalam gerakan tarbiyah. Asumsi lainnya, orang-orang yang mempunyai latar belakang pendidikan umum (SMU) cenderung lebih tertarik untuk terlibat dalam gerakan tarbiyah daripada lulusan pesantren atau Aliyah, yang terbukti valid hanya dalam hal keanggotaan, bukan dalam hal partisipasi pada kegiatan-kegiatan tarbiyah seperti ligo', daurah, atau mabit. Latar belakang pendidikan eksakta seperti kedokteran dan teknik selama ini juga diyakini . mempunyai hubungan dengan keikutsertaan pada gerakan tarbiyah. Namun penelitian ini membuktikan bahwa asumsi tersebut tidak benar. Tidak terdapat hubungan yang signifikan antara kedua variabel tersebut.

Pertanyaan mengenai variabel yang paling dominan mempengaruhi keterlibatan seseorang dalam gerakan tarbiyah juga dijelaskan dalam tulisan ini. Dalam hal keanggotaan, hanya satu variabel yang memainkan peran paling dominan sekaligus independen, yaitu variabel eksperimentasi. Artinya, semakin seseorang mempunyai kecenderungan untuk bereksperimen dalam partisipasinya pada gerakan tarbiyah, maka semakin besar kemungkinannya ia menjadi aktivis tarbiyah. Variabel ini mempunyai tingkat hubungan yang sangat signifikan dan tidak tergantung pada faktor-faktor lain di luarnya.

Sementara itu, dalam hal partisipasi pada kegiatan-kegiatan tarbiyah, ditemukan bahwa variabel-variabel yang mempunyai pengaruh paling dominan dan independen terhadap variabel-variabel lain adalah variabel konsep diri, sosialisasi, dan eksperimentasi. Mereka dengan konsep diri yang kuat—yakin bisa mempengaruhi orang lain, yakin bisa memperbaiki kondisi masyarakat bahkan umat dalam skala lebih luas—cenderung terlibat dalam kegiatan-kegiatan tarbiyah. Mereka yang mempunyai tingkat sosialisasi yang tinggi dengan gerakan tarbiyah juga mempunyai kemungkinan lebih besar untuk menjadi aktivis gerakan ini. Selanjutnya, sebagaimana terjadi dalam hal keanggotaan Tarbiyah, analisis multivariat juga menunjukkan bahwa tingkat ekperimentasi seseorang terhadap Tarbiyah, antara lain ditandai kebiasaan menilai dan membandingkan gerakan ini dengan gerakan-gerakan sosial lain, mempunyai hubungan sangat signifikan, dominan dan independen dalam mendorong seseorang mengikuti aktivitas-aktivitas dan agenda-agenda tarbiyah.

The Tarbiyah Movement: Why People Join This Indonesian Contemporary Islamic Movement

الخلاصة: يهدف هذا البحث إلى توضيح المتغيرات التى تدفع الناس إلى الانضمام إلى الحركة التربوية هي حركة اجتماعية دينية تتركز في الجامعة والطبقات المتوسطة في المدن. ويبني هذا البحث على البحوث الميدانية التي أجريت عام ٢٠٠٦ لعدد ٢٠٦ الطلاب الجيبين في أربع الجامعات بجاكرتا وهي جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بعدد ٢٧ مجيبا، وجامعة جاكرتا الحكومية بعدد ٢٠ مجيبا، والجامعة الإندونيسية بعدد ٧٠ مجيبا، بالإضافة إلى عدد ٣٥ شخصا مجيبا في حزب العدالة الرفاهية التي تعتبر شكلا من أشكال الحركة التربوية في الجامعة.

يشير البحث الميداني إلى أن من بين ١٦ متغيرا مستخدما في الدراسة أثبتت علاقات مشتركة بين الناس في الانضمام إلى الحركة التربوية وهي متغيرات البيولوجيا، والدوافع، والمفهوم الشخصي، والمعتقدات، والتطبيع الاجتماعي، والبحث النشيط، والخبرات، والشبكة، واستعداد السيرة الذاتية، والعلاقة الباطنية. بينما نجد أنه بالرغم من أهمية متغيرات المبرر العقلي والضغط الوضعي وتأثيرها، إلا ألها سلبية في العلاقة المذكورة.

وأثبتت أيضا أن متغيرات الهيكل الكبير والعضوية في التنظيم والضغوط النفسية الوقتية ليس لها تأثير ملحوظ في حث شخص على الانضمام إلى الحركة التربوية. وتشير هذه النتيجة إلى عدم صحة النظرية القائلة بأن الحركة التربوية ظهرت بسبب الضغوط الاجتماعية. و في المقابل قد أكدت الدراسة أن انضمام شخص إلى الحركة التربوية لم يرجع إلى وضع اجتمعاعي ضاغط، بل إلى عوامل الاعتقاد، وتحريك القادة، والشبكة، والتفاؤل بقدرة الحركة على تحقيق أهدافها.

هناك الآراء الأخرى ذات الأهمية التي لا بد من ملاحظتها في الدراسة على ظاهرة هذه الحركة التربوية. ويرى البعض حتى الآن بأن ناشطى

الحركة التربوية لم بأتوا من الجامعات الإسلامية ، بل من الجامعات الأخرى التي يعتبر الالتحاق بها يتيح فرصة أكثر في الانضمام إلى الحركة التربوية. ويعتقد البعض الآخر بأن رغبة الشخص الذي له خلفية تعليمية في المدرسة الثانوية العامة غيل أكثر إلى الحركة التربوية ممن تخرج من المدارس الدينية. وهذا الراي صحيح من ناحية البطاقة العضوية وغير الصحيح من ناحية البطاقة العضوية وغير الصحيح من ناحية الانشطة الفعلية مثل اللقاء الديني والدورات أو التدريبات المكثفة. هناك من يرى بأن لخريجي الكليات العملية مثل كلية الطب والهندسة مشاركة فعلية في الحركة التربوية، لكن نتائج البحث الطب والهندسة مشاركة فعلية في الحركة التربوية، لكن نتائج البحث المنت عدم صحة هذا الرأي وليست لها علاقة متميزة بين المتغيرتين المذكورتين.

ويجيب هذا البحث التساؤلات عما هو المتغير أكثر تأثيرا على رغبة الشخص في الانضمام إلى الحركة التربوية، وفي العضوية نجد هناك متغير واحد يلعب دورا مهما في التأثير هو متغير البحث عن الخبرة يعنى رغبة الشخص في الحصول على حبرة المشاركة هي التي تتيح فرصة أكبر ليصبح ناشطي الحركة التربوية. ولهذا المتغير علاقة مؤثرة مميزة على أعلى المستوى ولم يعتمد على عناصر المتغيرات الأخرى.

ومن ناحية المشاركة في الأنشطة التربوية، توجد فيها عناصر المتغيرات أكثر تأثيرة ومستقلة عن الأخرى هي عناصر المفهوم الشخصي والتطبيع الاجتماعي والحصول على الخبرة. إن الشخص الذى له مفهوم شخصي وقوة التأثير على الآخرين وإيمان بقدرته على تحسين أحوال المجتمع يرغب بشدة في المشاركة في الانشطة التربوية. كذلك بالنسبة إلى الشخص الذي له مستوى التطبيع الاجتماعي في المجال التربوي تتاح له فرصة أكثر ليكون ناشطى الحركة التربوية.

ونفس الأمر يحدث فى متغير العضوية فى الحركة التربوية الذى أشارت التحليلات البحثية إلى أن مستوى تجربة تربوية معينة مثل الميول فى التقييم والمقارنة بين الحركة الاجتماعية والأحرى هو الذى يدفع شحصا إلى المشاركة فى الانشطة التربوية وبرنامجها.

his study seeks to explain the reasons behind people's participation in the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia. Although this movement has had phenomenal political and social achievements, it appears to be exclusive in the sense that it is dominated by a certain type of Indonesian Muslim. That is, as observed by the likes of Bahtiar Effendy, the core participants of the Tarbivah Movement tend to be Muslims who are young and welleducated. This does not mean, however, that all those who fit this description join the Tarbiyah Movement. In fact, there are many of those with the same characteristics who not only do not participate in the movement but even oppose of it. This research will attempt to provide an answer to the question as to why certain people participate in the Tarbiyah Movement. Although a number of studies regarding the phenomenon of the Tarbiyah Movement have been conducted,1 none of these studies elaborate on the reasons why people choose to participate in the Tarbiyah Movement and others do not.

This study primarily draws on theories reviewed by John Lofland in his book, *Social Movement Organization: Guide to Research on Insurgent Realities*, which discusses sixteen variables that potentially urge people to join a certain social movement. The sixteen variables are (1) biological, (2) deeper motivation, (3) self-concept, (4) belief and socialization, (5) active seeking, (6) benefit calculation/rational choice, (7) experimentation, (8) macro-structure, (9) organizational membership, (10) prior activism, (11) prior contact/network, (12) suddenly imposed grievances, (13) situational stress, (14) biographical availability, (15) coercive persuasion, and (16) affective bond.² Due to a lack of available resources, two variables that not examined in this writing are prior activism and coercive persuasion.

The Tarbiyah Movement was born in the early 1980s, spreading initially from university campuses. Because it was forced to move underground as a result of the political repression it faced under the New Order regime, it has never really been clear how the Movement developed in its early days. In spite of the obstacles it faced, the Tarbiyah Movement managed to grow stronger and stronger over time, promoting improved religious understanding and the introduction of Islamic values and principles into followers' daily lives, and thus facilitating religious development in the religious community. May 21, 1998 marked the beginning of the reformation era in Indonesia, and with it a freer political at-

mosphere. As a result the Tarbiyah Movement was able to transform into political party, and in the first national elections in 1999 the party, now known as Partai Keadilan Sejahtera or PKS, came in as the seventh strongest party. This sharp rise sparked considerable interest in the party, not just nationally but also worldwide.³

This study is important in the sense that it provides analytical answers to the question of why certain movements are attractive for some people and not for others. While in many instances there are simple answers to this question, such as people joining purely because they are invited by friends or because they believe the movement can meet their expectations, such explanations have a theoretical basis. For example, people joining a movement because of their friends could actually be explained using the theory of prior contact. The theory says that prior contact or what other theorists call "social networks," "network ties," or "pre-existing groups and affiliations" is the single richest source of a movement's recruits. The theory that people join a movement simply because they believe it could meet their expectations also has its theoretical basis saying "activism grows out of strong attitudinal support for the values and goals of the movement".

As suggested by John Lofland, not all theories could be used to explain individuals' reasons for participating in certain movements. This study will prove that certain theories are not appropriate for the case of the Tarbiyah Movement. In fact, even within one theory, there might be some assumptions that are not appropriate in explaining the involvement of certain followers of the Tarbiyah Movement. Benefit calculation is an example of this. The theory of benefit calculation functions to explain that people join or do not join a movement after counting advantages and disadvantages of joining that movement. Theory of benefit calculation or rational choice says that one would prefer not to take the risk of participating in certain social movement once he or she knows that the responsibility is already handled by other people. On the contrary, the same notion of calculating benefit also contributes to urging people to participate in a social movement since they rationally calculate that the change could only be achieved through struggle facilitated by movements. Those who hold this kind of belief then are understood to be an example of the same theory in a contrary application.

Interestingly, for other types of activists, the variable of benefit calculation might not even work at all. Most students who participate in recruitment programs conducted by Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK), or the Campus Dakwah League, at many campuses where the Tarbiyah Movement has already been a stable informal religious movement seem not to consider whether or not they will gain advantage in terms of personal merit at present nor in the future. What is important for them might be that they are a member of a university student organization.

Using the case of the Tarbiyah Movement to examine the effectiveness of theories regarding variables that influence people to participate in certain social movements, I believe, could then be used to determine reasons behind participation in other social movements that exist in this country. Indonesia has produced many social movements throughout its history as a response to the prevailing situation facing the people. In more recent times, these include Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the Islamic Defenders Front or Front Pembela Islam (FPI), the Salafi Movement, and Laskar Jihad.7 In fact, all of these religious movements could be analyzed by using theories of social movement, particularly in terms of the reasons why those movements emerge and why people join them. In spite of differences found among the existing Muslim movements in Indonesia, exploring the case of the Tarbiyah Movement might contribute to explaining many issues pertaining to other groups and movements.

The objective of this study is to provide a theoretical basis for explaining why the activists of the Tarbiyah Movement join the movement so that the phenomenon is not left simply to be the matter of assumption of one observer to another. Theories that have been tested in many cases by will be examined to determine their suitability.

Hypotheses

Participation

Among the assumptions that I intend to verify in this writing is that most activists of the Tarbiyah Movement are those who have educational background from non-Islamic universities. In other words, students of such religious-orientated institutions as State Islamic Universities (UIN) are unlikely to participate in this movement. If this notion is true, I expect to find that the more one prefers to study at UIN, the more unlikely it is that he or she would participate in the

Tarbiyah Movement (1). Another assumption is that those actively joining the Tarbiyah Movement are usually graduates of general senior high schools (not Islamic senior high schools, like Madrasah Aliyah, or pesantrens [Islamic boarding schools). If this assumption is true, I would like to prove it as the hypothesis that the more one prefers to study at a public senior high school, the more likely it is that he or she would participate in the Tarbiyah Movement (2). The other assumption is that the participants of the Tarbiyah Movement are mostly students of natural or technical sciences faculties instead of social or religious science faculties. If this claim is true, I would see that the more one prefers to study natural or technical science, the more likely it is that he or she would participate in the Tarbiyah Movement (3).

Biological

To be actively involved in certain social movements, one should be physically (biologically) healthy and fit. If this proposition is true, the hypothesis is the healthier a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she would participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Deeper Motivation

Only those who have strong motivation will join a social movement organization. If this proposition is true, I expect to find that the more motivated a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Self-Concept

Self-concept, that is the perception one has of oneself, is believed to influence people's decision to participate in social movements such as the Tarbiyah Movement. For this purpose, the hypothesis is formulated as follows, the stronger a Muslim's self-concept is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Belief

John Lofland groups the variable of belief together with the variable of socialization in his book. However, since the first is measured with significantly different items compared to the latter, this study differentiates the description and analysis of the two variables. The belief variable is here defined in two ways, that is, ritual performance and opinions towards some religious issues. The hypothesis used is the stronger a Muslim's opinions on

Islamic doctrine is as well as his or her practice of Islamic rituals, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Socialization

Another theory that could be used to detect the variables behind one's participation in a social movement organization is the socialization variable, that is, one's exposure to a particular social movement. The hypothesis to be tested in this study is the more exposed a Muslim is to the Tarbiyah Movement, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in it.

Active Seeking

John Lofland, quoting Snow and Machalek, explains that another potential variable that makes people participate in a movement organization is active seeking, an individual journey to seek an ideal organizational affiliation. The hypothesis to be tested is the more active a Muslim is in seeking an ideal Islamic organization, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Benefit Calculation/Rational Choice

As discussed earlier, the variable of rational choice theory basically describes the idea that people choose a particular option – such as, in this case, which organization to join or whether or not to join that organization – based on what they believe is likely to be the most beneficial. The hypothesis to be tested is the more rational a Muslim is when dealing with the Tarbiyah Movement, the more unlikely it is that he or she will participate in it.

Experimentation

Quoting Balch, Bromley and Shupe, Beckford, and Straus, Lofland says that joining has a decidedly *experimental quality*, a 'trying-it-out' motive in which joiners act in Social Movement Organization (SMO) terms but do so in a tentative way and without embracing the beliefs. The hypothesis is that the more experimental a Muslim is in viewing the Tarbiyah Movement, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the movement.

Macro Structure

The hypothesis to be tested in this regards is the more complex the macro structure a Muslim experiences, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Organizational Membership

Those who are organizationally active are more likely to regard activism as potentially effective and therefore worth participating in. Besides, participating in organizations increases a person's chances of learning about movement activity. The hypothesis to be tested in this study is the more a Muslim joins Islamic organizations, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Prior Contact

This variable is relatively straightforward, as outlined above. The hypothesis to be tested here is the more contact one has previously had with the Tarbiyah Movement, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Suddenly Imposed Grievances

While it could be argued that there should actually be more questions provided in questionnaires if one wishes to explore the variable of suddenly imposed grievances, applying this variable in the Indonesian context is not a simple matter. The only highly publicized and unexpected event that I could find that serves to dramatize and therefore increase public awareness was the riots of May 21, 1998. Therefore, the hypothesis to be tested is the more a Muslim has an extreme feeling to a highly publicized, unexpected event like the riots of May 1998, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Situational Stress

The theory of situational stress emphasizes that those suffering from stress, like marital problems, the loss of a family member, pressures of higher education, are more likely to join a social movement. The hypothesis to be tested is the more frequent a Muslim experiences situational stress, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement

Biographical Availability

Some sociologists may call this variable "structural availability," "biographical availability" or "differential availability" which means biographical circumstances of a person's life that may serve to encourage or constrain participation. The hypothesis to be tested is the more biographically available a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Affective Bond

The last variable this study wishes to explore is whether or not the variable of affective bond can be applied in the case of the Tarbiyah Movement. John Lofland suggests that the more intensive one's interaction is with a particular group, the more likely there are to be positive affective bonds and, therefore, the more likely that person is to join. Furthermore, quoting Snow and Machalek, Lofland explains that a positive interpersonal tie to one or more group members can function as an information bridge, which in turn increases the credibility of appeals, and intensifies the pressure to accept these appeals and corresponding practices. The hypothesis to be tested is the better the quality of the relationship of a Muslim with a participant of the Tarbiyah Movement, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the movement.

Methodology

This study combines qualitative and quantitative approaches to understanding and explaining an individual's participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. Its quantitative approach relies on the random sampling method of the population of Universitas Indonesia (UI), UIN, and Universitas Negeri Jakarta (UNJ) students, and members of the PKS central board. Respondents were selected for the following reasons:

- Preliminary observations indicate that Tarbiyah Movement activities are most commonly found on campuses. Many observers suggest that activists and PKS committee members are originally exposed to the Movement through these activities.
- This study requires that the respondents are competent enough to respond to the types of questions where average people are assumed to have insufficient knowledge and information. Students and committees of PKS are considered competent for in this regards.
- 3. The populations of UI, UIN, and UNJ were selected due to the limitation of time and funds. However, the three universities are considered to have reasonably great variation conducive for further analysis. UI and UNJ are the two biggest state universities in Jakarta, while UIN Jakarta is perhaps the biggest and most prominent Islamic University the country. Many observers claim that the Tarbiyah Movement has a stronger presence in UI than in UIN since most students of the later have a religious educational background while those of UI have a sec-

ular educational background. This high school educational background is predicted to have some influence on Tarbiyah participation. For the sake of this variation, respondents from the three campuses are divided into two categories, that is, faculties of social sciences or humanities and natural or technical sciences for the case of UI and UNJ, and faculties of religious sciences and general sciences for the case of UIN.

The total number of the respondents was 241.8 Since the population for this research comprises four groups (UI, UNJ, UIN, and PKS) and each university has two faculty categories, the minimum quota for each sub-group (seven in total, see table 1.1) is then made 30 so that the total number of the respondents is 241. Students were selected from the 2003 – 2005 academic years.

Table 1.1 Sampling Composition

| No | University/Group | Category | Faculty | Year | Population | Sample |
|----|------------------|-----------------------|---------|------|------------|--------|
| 1 | UIN | Religious | Adab | 2003 | 220 | 33 |
| | | General | Science | 2005 | 431 | 34 |
| 2 | UNJ | Social | FBS | 2004 | 304 | 35 |
| | | Natural | FMIPA | 2005 | 264 | 34 |
| 3 | UI | Social | FISIP | 2003 | 386 | 35 |
| | | Natural/ Technical | FK | 2003 | 217 | 35 |
| 4 | PKS | | | | | 35 |
| | Total | | | | | 241 |

The qualitative approach relies on data taken from interviews with key figures of the Tarbiyah Movement and those who are outsiders of the movement but have knowledge about the Tarbiyah Movement. The interviewees who are key internal figures include Hidayat Nurwahid, Untung Wahono, Abu Ridho, Almuzammil Yusuf, Mahfudz Siddiq, Rahmat Abdullah Anis, Matta (who are PKS members of the People's Representative Council [DPR]), Tifatul Sembiring, (the current president of PKS), Salim Segaf Aljufri, Daud Rasyid Sitorus, Abdullah Baharmus and Satria Hadi Lubis, who are senior activists of the Tarbiyah Movement. There are other people whose information and views about the movement contributed significantly, namely Suryana Abdurrah-

man, Suryono, Deka Kurniawan, and Maria Ulfa. The external figures are Ali Said Damanik, Aay Muhammad Furkon, and Fachri Ali, AM Saefuddin, Idy Muzayyad, and Hilman Nawawi, Komaruddin Hidayat.

Next, to back up the data taken from interviews, I have drawn also on published material regarding the involvement of people in this movement. Since this study analyzes the reasons behind the involvement in Tarbiyah Movement activities, most data taken from printed materials simply provide general ideas of joining. It is my task, then, to extract the accounts and transform them into 'ready-for-use' data that can be analyzed in the frame of "why people join a movement."

In terms of theoretical reference, this work primarily relies on John Lofland's book, Social Movement Organization: Guide to Research on Insurgent Realities, (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1996). The reason for this is an obvious one: this study essentially intends to prove the application of theories in this book in the case of the Tarbiyah Movement. Other books have been drawn on also for theoretical reference, particularly those discussing social movement issues.

THE TARBIYAH MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

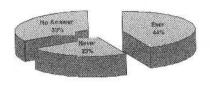
Defining the Meaning of Tarbiyah

One important notion that first needs to be understood when studying certain organizations and movements is the meaning of its name. Tarbiyah is an Arabic word which in English is translated as 'education'. It comes from the verb rabba yurabbi meaning to educate, to train, to care, to bring up, to maintain. While there is no clearly definite meaning of the word tarbiyah issued by the central board of PKS, many books have been produced which include relevant discussions on this topic and it is from analyzing those books that I derive my own definition of the word 'tarbiyah' in the Indonesian context. Tarbiyah is a systematic method used to educate Muslims to understand Islam in the ideal manner so that they then have characteristics all Muslims should have like strong and clear beliefs (aqidah), true practice of Islamic rituals (ibadah), good ethics (khuluq), economic independence, and a clean method of thinking.

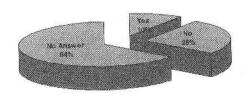
It is important to note that the term tarbiyah is popularly used for two other meanings. Firstly, it is used as the name of the edu-

cation faculty at most Islamic higher educational institutions in Indonesia. Secondly, the term is also associated with a formal religious organization called Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (Perti) established in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, on 5 May 1928 by Syeikh Sulaiman Arrasuli and Syeikh Sirajuddin Abbas. ¹⁰ However, there is no direct relationship between the use of the word *tarbiyah* with regards to the Tarbiyah movement and the two uses mentioned here.

An interesting finding from this study regarding the term "the Tarbiyah Movement" is that among the 241 respondents for this research, less than half had ever heard the term. A much smaller proportion (10 % of respondents) was found to have recognized that the name of the movement to which their organization belonged was indeed the Tarbiyah Movement. However the validity of this result might be questioned as 64 % of respondents failed to answer this question. At any rate, what's important to garner from these results is that there appears to be little importance on recognizing the name the movement as the 'Tarbiyah Movement' and in fact there are many other Tarbiyah activists who prefer to call the movement the *Dakwah Movement*.



Graph 3.1 Ever Hear the Term the Tarbiyah Movement



Graph 3.2 Whether Directly Recognize the Term Tarbiyah Movement

The Emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia

The Tarbiyah Movement, like other social movements, is a distinctly modern form of collective action; that is to say that it is a relatively new and modern phenomenon in this country. There were, at roughly the same time as the Tarbiyah movement, other Islamic movements that emerged, including Hizbut Tahrir and the Salafi Movement. Movement.

As mentioned above, there are two academic works that significantly discuss the notion of the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia, namely those of Ali Said Damanik and Aay Mohammad Furkon. From these two studies there are three "theorizations" that could be used to explain the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia. The first explanation suggests that the birthplace of the Tarbiyah Movement was Salman Mosque in Bandung. It has been said that TM Soelaiman, Ahmad Sadali, and Nukman were the first people to initiate the establishment of a small group of Islamic discussions, then recognized as the *usrah* system¹³ Salman Mosque, ITB (Institut Teknologi Bandung or Bandung Institute for Technology). Another figure critical to the development of the Tarbiyah Movement is Imaduddin Abdurrahim, who is popularly known as Bang Imad. 15

Islamic activities organized by and for students of ITB then spread to other universities like UI, IPB, UGM, Airlangga University, and Hasanuddin University. Intensive discussions and training on various Islamic principals were held to complement the limited studies on Islam provided by the universities. Basic Islamic teachings were emphasized, as was their application in daily life. It is assumed that it was these activities that motivated students to produce quite "specific" attitudes that made them different from other Muslim students including those who graduated from Islamic boarding schools. A number of characteristics can be easily associated with tarbiyah followers, and these include strong emphasis on the principle of ukhuwah (brotherhood), dress-code (with, for instance, the female activists always wearing long, big jilbabs [veil] that properly covered their bodies with the exception of the face and hands), regular study of the Qur'an, and not smoking.16

A second explanation for the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement is related to the return of many Indonesian students from Middle Eastern universities and the presumed relationship between the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia and the Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood) in Egypt. There a number of reasons behind such an explanation. The first is that the *usrah* system used by the Tarbiyah Movement, as referred to above, was actually developed by the Muslim Brotherhood as an education and training method for its members.¹⁷ Thus it is believed that Indonesian students who returned from Egypt brought this method with them and tried to implement it in Indonesia.

Another implication of the return of these students is that they translated many books written by leaders or prominent figures of the Muslim Brotherhood. Among the books translated are Majmu'at al-Rasail of Hasan al-Banna, Ma'alim fi al-Tariq and Tasfir Fi Zhilal al-Qur'an by Sayyid Qutb, Fi Afaq al-Ta'lim and Allah, Al-Rasul, and Al-Islam by Sa'id Hawwa, and many other books written by Mushtafa Mashur, Yusuf al-Qardhawi, Abu Hasan Ali al-Nadawi, Fathi Yakan, and so forth. These books became integral reference resources for the halaqah discussions which in turn are believed to have influenced the ideological direction of the movement.

The presumed relationship between the Tarbiyah Movement and the Muslim Brotherhood might also persist because figures like Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb are continually viewed as inspiring figures for Tarbiyah Movement activists. ²⁰ Significant concern on many aspects of these figures as well as the history and experience of the Muslim Brotherhood often appear in lots of the Tarbiyah movement icons. One obvious example can be seen in the Saksi Magazine which puts writing from the general leader (al-murshid al-'am) of the Muslim Brotherhood as one of its primary rubrics of every series published. ²¹

The two explanations above about the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia are unfortunately not further elaborated on by Ali Said Damanik. He even clearly recommends further studies to investigate, for example, the real relationship between the Tarbiyah Movement and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. In terms of the origins of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia, what Damanik discusses in his book does not really provide satisfactory answers. There is no specific explanation about which of the two theories best explain the real roots of the Tarbiyah Movement. The assumption that the origins of the Tarbiyah Movement are the *dakwah* activities in Mosque Salman is in fact not relevant for at least two reasons.²² The first is the fact that the key figure of Mosque Salman, Bang Imad, is not recognized by recent activists of the Tarbiyah Movement as one of its key figures. The

second is the fact that Islamic groups in Mosque Salman, at present, are not carrying out the same activities usually done by groups of the Tarbiyah Movement.

Next, Damanik's discussion that the return of Indonesian Muslim students from the Middle East is, also, unfortunately not very satisfactory to trace the origins of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia. Why is it that not all students coming back from the Middle East brought back with them *tarbiyah* ideas to Indonesia, such as those who maintained their traditional Muhammadiyah or NU religious attitudes?

The other explanation for the emergence of the Tarbiyah movement is linked with a prominent dakwah organization called DDII [Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (Institute for Indonesian Islamic Dakwah)] and its most important figure, Muhammad Natsir. This notion is raised by Aay Muhamad Furkon who assumes that PKS has DDII origins.²³ This perspective also explains how tarbiyah activities are actually significantly influenced by the DDII agenda as well as its figures. Both Bang Imad and Abu Ridha, just to mention two prominent tarbiyah figures, are described as having a very strong DDII background. In addition to the facts that the relationship between Natsir and Bang Imad²⁴ and Abu Ridha's position as a member of DDII, the influence of the latest can also be seen from, at least, three other points: first, the fact that it was DDII that assisted the building of many campus mosques; second, DDII played a very important role in sending Indonesian students to study in Middle East universities like Al-Azhar University, Madinah University, and Ibn Sa'ud University; and third, the publication of many translated books of figures of the Muslim Brotherhood was also under the management DDII (at least during years 1981-1990).²⁵

Furkon's conclusion that the Tarbiyah Movement comes from DDII is, to my understanding, not very relevant. In fact, there are many factors in the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement. The role of DDII is mostly related with the general phenomena of the emergence of *dakwah* activities in Indonesia around the 1980s. However, those activities took different forms from place to place and had their own characteristics. Hence the Tarbiyah Movement is just one of the many variants of Islamic group activities.²⁶

One important historical fact regarding the Tarbiyah Movement that is not widely known is that the Movement was founded by four Muslim students - Hilmi Aminuddin, Salim Segaf Aljufri, Abdullah Said Baharmus, and Acep Abdul Syukur - returning from the Middle East in the early 1980s.²⁷ Yusuf Supendi - although a late-comer - is also recognized as a founding figure for the Movement.²⁸ Tarbiyah Movement activists usually refer to these figures as *muassis*, meaning founding fathers. Interestingly, all of these figures are graduates of Middle East Islamic universities, with all (with the exception of Yusuf Supendi) being graduates of the same university, that is, the Islamic University of Madinah. This would provide some weight to the suggestion that the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia is related to the return of students from the Middle East.

The weakness of Damanik's theory is that although he provides a general account of the movement's origins, it has particular aspects that can not be simply explained by the return of Indonesian students from the Middle East. There are many other Indonesian students who also returned from the Middle East but did not get involved at the same activities. However, explaining the position of the four figures mentioned above might be the key to understanding the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia.

When these students returned to Indonesia in 1980, there was a kind of collective push to think about effective ways to manage dakwah activities for the Muslim community under the difficult socio-political circumstances of that time. In fact it was not to really create a completely new method of dakwah, but rather develop the existing method and improve some points that might not be well managed previously. It was around the 1980s when the Soeharto regime implemented repressive political controls regarding many issues existing within the state including matters related to religious or more specifically Islamic activities. The government was promoting the use of Pancasila (the state ideology) as the ultimate reference for any social organization and activities; thus the Pancasila took precedence over religion.²⁹

In 1980 when the Tarbiyah Movement was first put in motion, the primary aims of the Movement was to make a plan for this new method of dakwah in Indonesia, identify problems, observe dakwah organizations that should be considered, calculate the challenges, formulate the systems, and define the targets. For reasons that remain unclear, Hilmi was imprisoned from 1981 to 1983. During that time, the planning for a new format of dakwah was not implemented since communication was difficult. When Hilmi was

released in 1983, the dakwah activities continued. It was in that year, the muassis did a kind of "social contract (akad sosial)" to seriously organize a comprehensive system of dakwah. Besides the muassis, among the first generation of the Tarbiyah Movement (aljail al-awail) was Rahmat Abdullah, Zainal Muttaqien and Aboe Bakar Alhabsy.

Among the main recruitment targets of the Tarbiyah Movement were senior high school and university students. The logic of this was obvious: this generation had yet to be contaminated by the New Order regime's ideas. What is of note regarding the Tarbiyah Movement was that it was able to respond to the failures and weaknesses of other dakwah organizations or movements – such as Salman Mosque, the Syi'ah faction, DDII, and Jama'ah Shalahuddin – and make improvements. Almost none of those movements really had clear and comprehensive programs and systems for effective dakwah. At that time there was also an intellectual battle taking place against the ideas of Nurcholish Madjid who promoted the issue of Islamic secularization.³⁰

From the early 1980s, Rahmat Abdullah, amongst the early figures of the Tarbiyah Movement, began to organize *halaqah*s in a more systematic and comprehensive manner, similar in fact to his counterparts who were graduates of Middle Eastern universities.³¹ Abdullah had realized that the *dakwah* method applied by other Muslim activists who simply introduced and taught Islam to people without a system or strategy did not produce the expected results. Thus he adopted the *usrah* system which was the same as that which was organized by the *muassis* of the Tarbiyah Movement.³²

Communications between leaders of the *halaqahs* and activists with the same ideas of how to manage informal Islamic education for Muslim youth seemed to be the way in which the Tarbiyah Movement grew. In fact, knowledge and information of how the *usrah* systems might result in much better *dakwah* products are owned by many Muslim activists. The books and reference to which the activists could refer to were the same. Translations of books written by Muslim Brotherhood scholars could be read by the general public.

In the 1980s, the government closely monitored all religious activities and figures anticipating anti-government activities in response to government policies. It was a common phenomenon for many religious activists during these years to experience liv-

ing in prison due to their protests against the state policy. Names like Husen Umar, AM Fatwa, Abdul Qadir Jaelani are among those who spent some time in prison for encouraging people not to accept government regulations, particularly in relation to the state ideology, the Pancasila. Another well-known repressive policy was that which prohibited students from carrying certain activities that promote religious discourses. For example, at that time it was prohibited to raise the theme "Islamic community" as opposed to "community". In other words, issues related to Islam were to be avoided except were it was put as simply an object of analysis without any preference to promote its values. ³³

It was under such a situation that Aminuddin, Aljufri, Syakur, and Baharmus, all of whom had just returned from their studies in the Middle East, agreed to face the challenge and search for a new dakwah strategy which eventually became recognized as the Tarbiyah Movement. Indeed, at its initial appearance, even the term tarbiyah as the name for the activities was not known. The term tarbiyah was just later used by outsiders to identify the phenomenon and activities conducted by groups who disseminate the teachings of Islam through routine small, intensive groups meeting and trying to implement Islamic doctrine in a more consistent manner. The term tarbiyah has never been collectively and formally agreed on by activists of the movement.³⁴

The existence of the Tarbiyah Movement certainly cannot be separated from the development of *dakwah* activities at campuses, which began long before the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement, namely around the early 1970s marked by the phenomenon of Salman Mosque in Bandung. In fact, one might even go so far as to say that there is actually nothing completely new in the Tarbiyah Movement; this movement adopted many good ideas regarding the implementation of Islam although they generally came from other Islamic groups.³⁵ For example, the attitude of almost all Tarbiyah Movement activists not to smoke was actually developed by Imaduddin Abdurrahim who is not a Tarbiyah Movement figure.

Activities under the Tarbiyah Movement

The Tarbiyah Movement has a number of defining characteristics, namely its activities. However there might be some similarities between activities organized by the Tarbiyah Movement and those of other Islamic movement organizations. Therefore, it is

not easy for common people to recognize whether certain events, activities, or institutions are under the Tarbiyah Movement, and an observer might need more knowledge of Islamic movements to do so. Take a *nasyid* performance, for example. One cannot simply assume that all people attending that *nasyid* concert are Tarbiyah activists. It is that some attendees just enjoy listening to *nasyids*. Nonetheless, typical Tarbiyah Movement activities could be summarized as follows:

Liqo36

Liqo is an Arabic word meaning 'meeting'. In the tarbiyah context, Liqo refers to a weekly meeting held by activists to discuss and learn various themes about Islam and related issues. One liqo group usually contains around 5 to 12 members.³⁷ The liqo is headed by a teacher who is usually called *ustadz* or *murabbi*. The member of the *liqo* is called *mutarabbi* or *mad'u*. The *liqo* is held in places like the campus mosque, the house of the *murabbi*, the residence of a *mutarabbi*, or at other places mutually agreed upon by members.

For *liqo* there is a systematic curriculum to which any group is expected to refer. This curriculum is called the Tarbiyah Curriculum. Among the primary themes discussed in the *liqo* are the meaning of the *syahadat* (proclamation of entering Islam), getting to know Allah (*ma'rifat Allah*), knowing the Prophet (*ma'rifat al-Rasul*), and learning more of the Qur'an and about Islam.³⁸

Liqo groups are generally organized on campuses by LDK. The recruitment drives are carried out at the beginning of each academic year at university campuses. New members are assisted in establishing their own liqo groups with a particular murabbi appointed by the LDK committee. Liqo is not only held in campuses but also outside campuses recruiting as many people as possible. However, the development of liqo in campuses is faster than that outside the campuses.

Mabit³⁹

Mabit constitutes spending the night at the mosque or the like to concentrate on doing more *ibadah*. The activities done during *mabit* usually are *ta'lim* or *taushiyah*, that is, talks on certain Islamic themes, beginning after Isya prayer until around 10 pm after which the participants are allowed to sleep. *Qiyamullail* (performing *tahajjud* [early morning prayer] together) is done at around 3.00 am until near morning prayer. While performing *tahajjud* prayer, it is

not uncommon for participants to cry as they listen to recitations of the Qur'an. A collection of prayers, named *Al-Ma'tsurat*, is also often read by participants. This small book was compiled by Hasan al-Banna based of the sayings (Hadith) of the Prophet Muhammad.

Mabit is usually held monthly where participants come together from many different *liqo* groups within one district or campus. This program primarily functions as a spirituality exercise for activists, but also functions as a method of bringing all activists of the Tarbiyah Movement together in order to promote solidarity as well as disseminate information about the movement more effectively.

Daurah⁴⁰

A daurah is a special learning session held with the aim of enriching followers' knowledge and understanding of important Islamic issues related to dakwah. Among the issues explored in a daurah are life management skills, dakwah management skills, marriage, in addition to more practical affairs like the skill of adzan (calling for prayer), being imam (leading prayer), and so on. The agenda is usually done outside the city so that participants can concentrate more on the program and enjoy different and refreshing surroundings.

A daurah is usually the first activity attended by new university students who enter the Tarbiyah Movement, and even functions to attract new recruits. In UI, for example, some faculties like the Faculty of Medical Sciences and Faculty of Exact Sciences experience close to a 100% percent turnout, with almost all new students participating in the daurah program. The obvious consequence of such enthusiasm is a rise in the Islamic atmosphere on campus, evident, for example, in the dress of students.⁴¹

Rihlah42

Rihlah is a travel program where Tarbiyah Movement activists travel in groups to exciting tourist destinations outside the city centre or other destinations. Just like the last two programs of Tarbiyah mentioned earlier, rihlah involves many participants from different liqo groups coming together. In this program, Tarbiyah activists usually can go with their family so that there is a more familiar and relaxed atmosphere. If organized by LDK, a rihlah is usually combined with a daurah since both usually need to be held outside the city centre.

Rihlah is among the most enjoyable programs carried out under the Tarbiyah banner since the primary objective of it is, in fact, to reinvigorate the activists so that they make carry out dakwah activities more effectively and with more enthusiasm. This program also shows the flexibility and solid organization of the Tarbiyah program.

Mukhayyam⁴³

Mukhayyam literally means 'camping'. But, based on the Tarbiyah curriculum mukhayyam means tarbiyah program focusing on physical activities and discipline stimulation in order that the participants are prepared to be militant dakwah personnel and ready to implement Islamic values within societal life. Among the objectives of mukhayyam are to teach the activists basic survival skills, to listen to and obey the leader, to build strong discipline, to evaluate the ability of participants to implement Islamic teachings in a comprehensive manner, and to promote physical health and environmental awareness. Mukhayyam is held at special camping location at least once a year and usually takes three days. Hiking and marching are among the more challenging aspects of this program.

Nasyid

A nasyid could be described as Islamic singing. It is not usually considered to be music since the singing is not usually accompanied by musical instruments although in some cases simple musical equipments are used. This kind of art performance is usually recognized as accapella in conventional musical theories. The themes raised by the singers of nasyid in the Tarbiyah Movement are mainly related to dakwah materials or Islamic values in general, like expressing love for Allah and the Prophet, the spirit of jihad, brotherhood in Islam and so forth.

Nasyid activities are not exclusive to the Tarbiyah Movement. However it is employed by the Movement as a kind of cultural tool to counter Western influence which is often presumed to have many negative effects on the Muslim culture. Nasyids have grown in popularity since the early 1990s and appear to be inspired somewhat by the same tradition developed earlier in Malaysia namely by the Islamic group Darul Arqam. Although nasyid performances have most commonly been associated with the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia, increased professionalism of the nasyid groups has led to greater public acceptance. For example, groups such as Snada, Izzatul Islam, Gradasi, as well as Malaysian groups like Raihan, Hijaz, and Brothers, have released albums.

Media

The Tarbiyah activists also manage to use the media to promote Islamic teachings for the entire Muslim community in general as well as to disseminate the doctrines of the Tarbiyah Movement. Some common Tarbiyah Movement publications are Sabili, Saksi, Tarbawi, Ummi, Annida, Tarbiyah, and dakwahtuna.

Sabili might be considered the first mass publication produced by Tarbiyah Movement activists. The magazine, which provides a considerably different perspective on Islamic news and issues compared to other Islamic magazines, was established by two senior Tarbiyah Movement activists Zainal Muttaqin and Rahmat Abdullah. Sabili was firstly launched in 1988 but was banned in 1993 by the government since it was assumed to oppose the regime. Following greater press freedoms brought about by the reform era, Sabili was launched again. Sabili is now considered one of the more controversial Islamic magazines, not to mention one of the most popular with a readership of around 120,000 copies per edition.

Magazines like Saksi, Tarbawi, Ummi and Annida, as mentioned above, are publications of Tarbiyah activists. Saksi contains articles mostly related to political issues, with a focus on informing the public about policies of the Movement's political party, PKS. Saksi also contains many other rubrics concerning subjects of tarbiyah, international reports, family life skills, and so on.

Tarbawi focuses on such issues are the essence of dakwah, the importance of jama'ah (community), the meaning of militancy in calling for Islamic principles, following the example of shalih (pious) people, the arts of loving in Islam, and so on. The magazine seems to specialize in the field of maintaining the spiritual dimension of the Tarbiyah activists in order to keep fit in operating dakwah agenda through out the life.

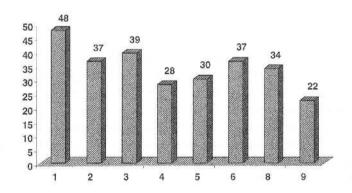
Ummi and Annida both have a female target audience, with the former addressing those who are married while the later is for the unmarried. Since it is a special publication for married women, the contents of Ummi are much related to family issues, like life skills for wives, problems around polygamy, topics about educating children, building better love within couples, inter-religious marriages, relations with parents-in-law, and so on. Annida, on the other hand, explores Islamic subjects through short stories mostly written by young and talented writers, epics, diaries, continued stories, profiles of young Muslims and so forth.

Formal Institution⁵¹

The Tarbiyah activists also establish many social institutions for the sake of promoting their Islamic view. Some institutions are educational institutions and others are professional and social ones. Such institutions include foundations like Nurul Fikri, Al-Hikmah Boarding School, Husnul Khatimah Boarding School, SIDIK, PAHAM, and so on.

It was through these institutions that prior to the establishment of their political party that Tarbiyah activists in the late 1980s could promote *dakwah* activities and contribute to the betterment of the Muslim community in particular and society in general. Since the Tarbiyah Movement was in the past forced underground, many of these institutions are not commonly known as being attached to the Tarbiyah Movement.

Having seen a brief description of activities organized under the Tarbiyah Movement, it is important to note the findings of this research regarding the participation of the Tarbiyah activists in the various activities. As can be seen from the graph below, *liqo* and *mabit* are the two most popular Tarbiyah activities.



Graph 3.3 Level of Participation (%) of Activists in Tarbiyah Movement Activities

- 1. Liqo
- 4. Demonstration
- 7. Social Service
- 2. Daurah.
- 5. Mukhavvam
- 8. Rihlah

- 3. Mabit
- 6. Book Discussion
- 9. Campaign

The Tarbiyah Movement and its Cultural Characteristics

The Tarbiyah Movement is a considerable phenomenon in the Indonesian context particularly because of the significant changes the Movement has brought about in terms of implementing Islamic values in the day to day lives of society. Such changes have, over time, become an accepted part of life. This is what is called institutionalization which is one fundamental sociological concept.⁵² The way its women activists dress using the *jilbab* is proof of its influence on social life. It is an example of institutionalization for it was not practiced several decades ago but has now become common place. Attitudes toward smoking is another example of the positive social changes resulting from the *tarbiyah* process.

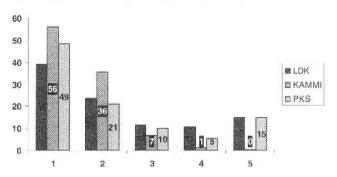
Another clear example of how the Tarbiyah Movement has been able to generate strong Islamic awareness is expressed in showing solidarity with Muslims in other parts of the world. The Palestinian crisis is one of the most popular issues to which the Tarbiyah Movement always pays serious attention. Massive demonstrations, not only in Jakarta but also in many other parts of Indonesia, are held to show solidarity with Muslims and further encourage the international community to push harder for a long-lasting solution to the crisis and conflict occurring between Palestine and Israel.

Explaining People's Choices for Joining the Tarbiyah Movement: Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

In this study, participation in the Tarbiyah Movement is defined in two categories; *first*, membership in at least one of the organizations under the Tarbiyah Movement and *second*, participation in activities organized under the Tarbiyah Movement. Membership in organizations under the Tarbiyah Movement (LDK, KAMMI⁵³, and or PKS) are measured on a five-point scale (from committee to neither member nor sympathizer)⁵⁴, while participation in the Tarbiyah agenda is measured on a three-point scale (do not participate, no answer, participate).⁵⁵

As can be seen from the graph above, the number of those who are either committee members or just members of Tarbiyah groups is not very high. This fact, however, is not uncommon with social movements throughout the world experiencing similarly low numbers.⁵⁶ One important fact that should be taken into account is the significant, positive relationship between the different institutions under

the Tarbiyah Movement (i.e. LDK, KAMMI, and PKS). Statistical analysis on correlations between these institutions (see table 4.1 below) shows that there is a statistically significant relationship between the institutions which may lead us to further understand their existence as organizations having, by and large, common goals.



Graph 4.1 Membership in LDK, KAMMI, and PKS (%)

1 = Neither Member Nor Sympathizer 2 = No Answer

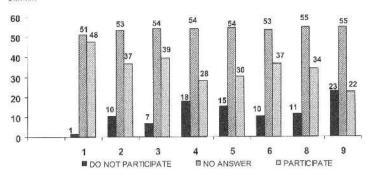
3 = Sympathetic 4 = Member 5 = Committee

| | | 22. I.DK | 23. KAMMI | 24. PKS |
|-------|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| LDK | Pearson Correlation | 1 | .328(**) | .166(**) |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | .000 | .010 |
| | N | 241 | 241 | 241 |
| KAMMI | Pearson Correlation | .328(**) | 1 | .476(**) |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | | .000 |
| | N | 241 | 241 | 241 |
| PKS | Pearson Correlation | .166(**) | .476(**) | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .010 | .000 | (4 |
| | N | 241 | 241 | 241 |

Table 4.1

Relationship between Institutions under the Tarbiyah Movement ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

As discussed earlier, participation in the Tarbiyah Movement is not merely indicated by being a committee member but more dependent on the participation in one or more Tarbiyah activity (see graph 4.2 and table 4.2).



Graph 4.2 Participation in Tarbiyah Activities (%)

- 1. Liqo
- 4. Demonstration
- 7. Social Service
- 2. Daurah
- 5. Mukhayyam
- 8. Rihlah
- 3. Mabit
- 6. Book Discussion
- 9. Campaign

As can be seen above, almost half of the respondents participate in this most preliminary Tarbiyah activity. We can see from table 4.2 below that there is a significant, positive relationship between the component of Tarbiyah membership and all forms of activities organized in it. This means that the activists of the Tarbiyah Movement are committed to joining all activities run by the Tarbiyah organizations.

In order to explore the relationship between the fifteen variables and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement, items of membership are added to construct an index of membership and items of participation in agenda and activities of the Tarbiyah Movement are added to construct an index of participation. It is these two indexes that will be further used to examine to what extent the fifteen variables developed by John Lofland correlate with participation in the Tarbiyah Movement.

| | MEMBER | | | MEMBER |
|---------------|----------|---------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Ligo | .631(**) | | fukhayyam | .237(**) |
| Dauroh | .463(**) | | ook Launch ocial Event | .443(**) .472(**) |
| Mabit | .565(**) | | ihlah | .497(**) |
| Demonstration | .293(**) | 955 | ampaigning | .162(*) |
| | T: | able 42 | | |

Relationship between Tarbiyah Membership and Participation. Significance level (correlation co-efficient). Pearson Correlation.

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). a List wise N=241

Regarding this variable, the hypothesis to be tested is *the more* one prefers to study at UIN, the more unlikely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement, where 0 = non-UIN universities (UI, UNJ) and 1 = UIN universities.

The number of respondents who are students of UIN, UNJ and UI is 67, 69, and 70 respectively. When this number is correlated with indexes of Tarbiyah membership and participation, we find that there is significant, negative correlations between the UIN/Non-UIN variable and Tarbiyah membership and participation. This means that the more one prefers to study at UIN, the more unlikely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement. In other words, this study proves that the above assumption held by observers has its empirical basis.

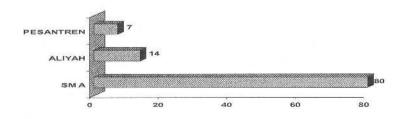
| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|---------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| UIN/NON-UIN.1 | 322(**) | 158(*) |

Table 4.3 Correlation between UIN/Non-UIN and Tarbiyah Participation

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

SMA/Non-SMA Variable

Regarding this variable, the hypothesis to be tested is *the more* one prefers to study at a public senior high school, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement, where 0 = Non-SMA senior high school (Aliyah and Pesantren), and 1 = SMA (Public Senior High School).



Graph 4.3 Participation in Tarbiyah Agenda (%)

Among the respondents of the research, around 80% come from an SMA educational background, 14% from Aliyah, and 7% from pesantrens (Islamic Boarding Schools). When these figures are statistically analyzed, we find that there is a significant, positive relationship between the fact that one has an SMA background and his or her being a member of Tarbiyah institutions like LDK, KAMMI, or PKS. However, this pattern is not the case for Tarbiyah participation. There is no influence, whether or not one comes from SMA, Aliyah or Pesantren, to the participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. Thus, the hypothesis stating that the more one prefers to study at a public senior high school, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement can only be verified in terms of Tarbiyah membership.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| SMA_NON-SMA | .145(*) | .029 |

Table
4.4 Correlation between the SMA/Non-SMA variable with participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Exact/Non-Exact Variable

Dealing with this variable, the hypothesis is the more one prefers to study natural or technical sciences, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement, where 0 = Social or Religious Science Faculties and 1 = Natural or Technical Science Faculties.

The number of respondents from technical science faculties is exactly the same as those from religious or social science faculties, that is, 103 each. When this number is put into statistical analysis, we find that there is no correlation between one's educational background and his or her participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. Thus, the hypothesis that the more one prefers to study natural or technical sciences (exact sciences), the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement has no empirical basis.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Faculty of Study | .089 | 069 |

Table 4.5
Relationship between Educational Background and Participation in the Tarbiyah
Movement

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Interestingly, this study found that 30% of the respondents came to know of the Tarbiyah Movement from their school mates or seniors, while 35.7 % believed that the school or campus was the place where most Tarbiyah activities took place. This figure is useful in providing some indication of the Tarbiyah Movement's breeding grounds.

Variable of Gender

In relation to the hypothesis that gender influences membership and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement, correlation analysis shows that while there is positive significant correlation between gender and Tarbiyah participation,⁵⁷ The same cannot be said for Tarbiyah membership (i.e. membership in LDK, KAMMI, or PKS) where no significant positive correlation was found.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|--------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Gender | .074 | .249(** |

Table 4.6 Relationship between Gender and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

Variable of Age

To test the effect of the age variable, this study employs data of educational period at campuses (differences according to semester). The result is a positive and significant correlation, meaning that the older someone is, the more potential he or she has to become a member of the Tarbiyah Movement or participate in it.

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|-----|---------------------|------------------------|
| Age | .292(**) | .491(**) |

Table 4.7 Relationship between Age and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

The Ethnicity Variable

Another important hypothesis which this research examines is whether or not there is significant correlation between ethnic background and Tarbiyah membership and participation.59 The result is that there is no correlation between one's ethnicity - or more specifically in this case one being Javanese - and his or her membership or participation in the Tarbiyah Movement.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|-----------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Ethnicity | 042 | 029 |

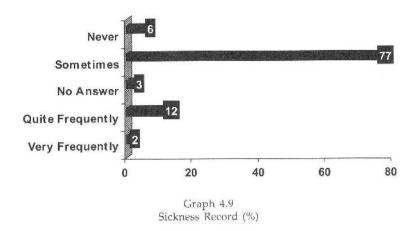
Table 4.8 Relationship between Ethnic Background and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

Biological Variable

The first variable this study tests is the biological variable. The hypothesis is, 'The healthier a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.' To test this hypothesis, the study employs four indicators: sickness throughout the year;60 regular sporting activities;61 intensity of supplement drink consumption (respectively measured from very frequently to never); and hours slept on a nightly basis (measured from less than 4 hours to more than 8 hours).62

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).



The more significant results of this section of the survey could be summarized as follows:

- Only 6% of respondents reported that they never got sick;
- 34% of respondents answered that they very frequently do sport;
- 16% said that they drink health supplement drinks on a frequent basis.
- 3% reported that they sleep less than 4 hours a day.

| INDICATORS | MEMBERSHIP | PARTICIPATION |
|--------------------------|------------|---------------|
| Sickness Record | .049 | .120 |
| Doing Sport | .066 | .175(**) |
| Health Supplement Drinks | ,071 | .059 |
| Sleeping Duration | .293(**) | .360(**) |

Table 4.9

Relationship between Membership and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement and Biological Variable.

Significance level (correlation co-efficient). Pearson Correlation

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). a Listwise N=241

Looking at table 4.9, we can see that indicators of biological notions correlate significantly and positively to membership or participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. With regards to participation, it would appear that doing sport and sleeping duration have the most significant positive correlation. In other words, the more frequent a Muslim does sport, the more likely it is that he or

she will participate in some Tarbiyah activities. Regarding sleeping duration, data show that the more a Muslim gets a good night's sleep, the more likely it is that he or she will participate – as well as become a member - in a Tarbiyah group such as LDK, KAMMI or PKS. When the four biological points are considered as a whole, it's the correlation to Tarbiyah membership and participation is significant. This means that this study verifies the hypothesis that the healthier a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

| | MEMBER | PARTICPT |
|------------|----------|----------|
| BIOLOGICAL | .232(**) | .341(**) |

Table 4.10 Relationship between Biological index and Tarbiyah Membership and Participation

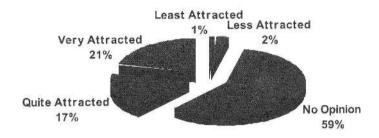
Deeper Motivation

The second variable tested in this research is what Lofland calls "deeper motivation." The hypothesis to be tested is the more motivated a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement. Indicators of deeper motivation used in this work are one's attraction to the Tarbiyah Movement's goals and programs, conviction that the Tarbiyah Movement can help to implement Islamic values in society, personally experiencing injustice at the hands of the government apparatus, having witnessed social injustice particularly against close people and respected figures, and opinions on three points regarding the obligation to work collectively in improving the umma, the fact that there is almost no ideal Islamic organization that can develop the umma, and the presence of authoritarian governance.

Respondents' attraction to the Tarbiyah Movement's goals and programs is measured on a five-point scale, from very attracted to not attracted at all.⁶³ Other indicators are similarly measured on five-point scales respectively, such as very convinced to not convinced at all (with regards to the belief that the Movement can help institute Islamic values in society),⁶⁴ very frequent to never, with regards to witnessing cases of injustice and mistreatment, for example.⁶⁵

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The variable of deeper motivation is further measured, also on a five-point scale, of whether one agrees (from strongly agrees to strongly disagrees) with the statements mentioned above. ⁶⁶ In terms of being attracted to the goals and programs of the Tarbiyah Movement, the data shows that almost 40 % of the respondents reported they were very attracted. The same proportion can also be seen in the point of the conviction that the Tarbiyah Movement can make the dream of implementing Islamic values come true.



Graph 4.5 Attraction to the goals and programs of the Tarbiyah Movement

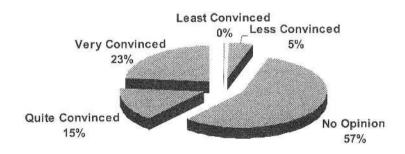


Figure 4.6

Conviction that the Tarbiyah Movement can help institute Islamic values in Society

Regarding the experience of seeing or personally facing unjust treatment from government officials, the survey shows that 90% of the respondents said they saw such injustices on a frequent basis, while a considerably lower percentage of respondents – only about a quarter – said that they themselves were treated unjustly on a frequent basis. Almost 40% of respondents also said they frequently saw relatives or close friends being treated unjustly,

while around a third of respondents said that figures they respect were the victims of injustice quite frequently.

Almost 80% of the respondents agree that the improvement of the *umma* can only be achieved collectively (*berjama'ah*). Only 60% however agreed that there are very few Islamic organizations that can effectively struggle for the improvement of the *umma*. Lastly, 81 % feels that the current form of governance is authoritarian.

| | MEMBERSHIP | PARTICIPATION |
|--|------------|---------------|
| Attracted to the Tarbiyah Movement | .618(**) | .683(**) |
| Convinced Tarbiyah Movement can institute Islamic values | .617(**) | .609(**) |
| Injustices within Society | .183(**) | .224(**) |
| Treated Unjustly | .175(**) | .213(**) |
| Close People treated Unjustly | .135(*) | 248(**) |
| Respected figures treated Unjustly | .186(**) | .159(*) |
| Collective Improvement | .296(**) | .285(**) |
| Ideal Islamic Organization | .058 | .003 |
| Authoritarian governance | 043 | 181(**) |
| DEEPER MOTIVATION INDEX | .456(**) | .466(**) |

Table 4.11 Relationship between Deeper Motivation Components and Tarbiyah Membership and Participation.

All information above is used to determine the correlation between motivational indicators and membership as well as participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. As can be seen from table 4.11, there is significant relationship between components of deeper motivation and membership and participation. Thus we can quite confidently say that the more motivated a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Self-Concept

Self-concept is believed to have a certain role in leading people to participate in social movements like the Tarbiyah Movement. In examining the hypothesis 'The stronger Muslim's self-concept is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement', self-concept is then translated into four items measured in five-point scale, from very convinced to not convinced at all. The

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

four items are: whether a Muslim is sure that he or she can influence other people; achieve their dreams or aspirations; improve the surroundings; and improve the *umma*.

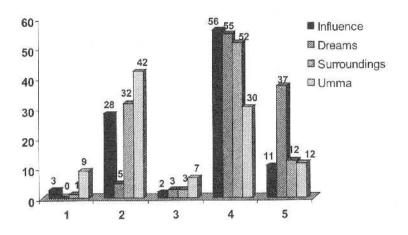


Figure 4.7 Indicators of Self- Concept (%)

1 = least sure 3 = no opinion 2 = not very sure

4 = quite sure

5 = very sure

Regarding the self-conviction that one is able to influence other people, almost 70% of the respondents said they were sure they could influence others. When asked whether they were sure they were able to achieve their dreams, a very significant proportion, in fact 90 %, reported they were confident they could do this. Regarding the self-conviction that one was able improve their surroundings, 64 % said they were convinced they were able to improve their surroundings. With regards to respondents' self-concept and the question of the extent to which they were sure they could improve the situation of the *umma* today, only about 40 % said they were confident they could make a difference.

Through statistical analysis, we can conclude that there is a significant correlation between self-concept and Tarbiyah membership and participation. In other words, this study verifies the hypothesis 'The stronger a Muslim's self-concept is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement'.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Sure to Influence Other People | .231(**) | .344(**) |
| Sure to Achieve Dreams | .076 | .164(*) |
| Sure to Improve the Surroundings | .171(**) | .364(**) |
| Sure to Improve the Umma | .318(**) | .497(**) |
| Self Concept | .287(**) | .487(**) |

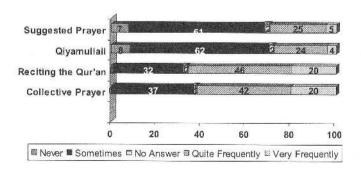
Table 4.12 Relationship between Tarbiyah Membership and Participation with items of Self-Concept

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Belief

As mentioned earlier, different to John Lofland's approach, this study differentiates between the variables of belief and socialization. The belief variable is here defined in two ways, i.e. ritual performance and opinion towards some religious issues. The hypothesis to be tested here is the stronger a Muslim's opinions on Islamic doctrine is as well as his or her practice of Islamic rituals, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

In terms of evaluating ritual performance, respondents were asked about their intensity in doing congregational or collective prayers (shalat berjama'ah), reciting the Qur'an, performing midnight prayers (tahajjud/qiyamullail), and suggested (or non-obligatory) prayer. Each of these items are measured on a five-point scale, from never to very frequently.67



Graph 4.8 Intensity of Rituals (%)

The survey data reveals that 62% of the respondents reported they frequently perform collective prayers. Regarding the habit of reciting the Qur'an, a similar pattern was found, with 66% reporting that they frequently recited the Qur'an. However with regards to performing *tahajjud* (midnight prayer) and doing suggested prayer, two rituals which are relatively challenging, the figure drops to below 30%.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Collective Prayer | .357(**) | .449(**) |
| Reciting the Qur'an | .366(**) | .399(**) |
| Performing Qiyamullail / Tahajjud | .336(**) | .427(**) |
| Suggested Fasting | .378(**) | .404(**) |
| RITUAL INDEX | .460(**) | .538(**) |

Table 4.13
Relationship between ritual and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Table 4.13 above shows the relationship between ritual intensity and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement, and we can see, then, that there is a significant correlation between rituals and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement.

The second measure of one's belief employed in this study is his or her opinions about some Islamic issues.⁶⁸

There are six items or statements used for belief measurement in this research, that is: (1) Islam should be the state constitution, (2) the seven words regarding the obligation to implement *shari'a* in Indonesia in the Jakarta Charter should be accommodated in the Constitution of 1945, (3) the government should enforce stoning as punishment for those who commit adultery, (4) the government should enforce hand amputation as punishment for thieves, (5) inter-religious marriages should be banned in Indonesia, and (6) one definition of jihad is physical war against the non-Muslims who mistreat Muslims.

Survey data reveals that 53 % of the respondents reported they agree or strongly agree with the idea of replacing the Pancasila with Islam as the state principal. With almost the same proportion, more than half said they agreed if the seven words of the

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Jakarta Charter were to be reintroduced to the 1945 Constitution. With regards to stoning as the punishment for adultery, almost 60% of the respondents agreed that the punishment should be introduced in Indonesia. For hand amputation for thieves, about 50% said they agreed. The highest level of support was found regarding the issue of banning inter-religious marriages, with more than three-quarters (78%) saying that they would support such a move in Indonesia. Lastly, when asked about the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the definition of jihad as a physical war against those who mistreat Muslims, 56% agreed.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Islam as the State Constitution | .237(**) | .149(*) |
| The Jakarta Charter | .149(*) | .069 |
| Stoning | .138(*) | .019 |
| Hand Amputation | .119 | .074 |
| Inter-religious Marriage | .225(**) | .149(*) |
| Definition of Jihad | .269(**) | .299(**) |
| OPINION | .272(**) | .181(**) |

Table 4.14
Relationship between Opinion towards Some Religious Issues and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement.

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

When the ritual index and opinion index are combined to form the belief variable index and its relationship with membership and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement, we find that there is a significant relationship (see table 4.15), which verifies the hypothesis that the stronger a Muslim's opinions on Islamic doctrine is as well as his or her practice of Islamic rituals, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|--------|---------------------|------------------------|
| BELIEF | .450(**) | .446(**) |

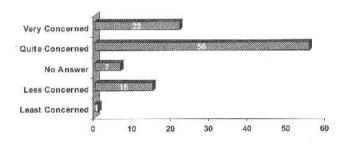
 ${\it Table 4.15} \\ {\it Relationship between Belief and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement} \\$

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

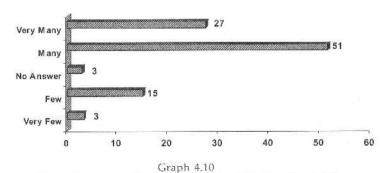
Socialization

The indicators used to measure the correlation between socialization and Tarbiyah Movement membership and participation are the following: preference to see that *dakwah* be carried out through a political party, ⁶⁹ family attention towards efforts to improve the *umma*, ⁷⁰ the presence of more Islamic organizations in one's area, ⁷¹ and the involvement of one's parents in the Tarbiyah Movement, and the two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah. ⁷² The hypothesis to be tested is *the more exposed a Muslim is to the Tarbiyah Movement, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in it.*

The survey data show that when asked about whether or not they agree that *dakwah* should also be organized through political party 58 % reported they agreed. It was further found that there is positive, significant correlation between this variable and participation in the Movement.



Graph 4.9 Family Attention towards the Umma Development (%)



Islamic Movement Organizations in the Neighbourhood (%)

When asked about the presence of Islamic organizations in their work or living area, 78% reported that there were many Islamic

organizations around them. However, when this item is statistically correlated with participation in the Tarbiyah Movement, no significant correlation was found. The same could be said for the variable of family's attention to the development of the *umma*.

Data about parents' involvement in the Tarbiyah Movement, NU, or Muhammadiyah, shows that only 6.6% of the respondents' fathers participate in the Tarbiyah Movement, 9.5% in NU, and 8.7% in Muhammadiyah. For the case of mothers' involvement, 5.8% reported their mothers get involved in the Tarbiyah Movement, 4.6% in NU, and 5.4% in Muhammadiyah. When these figures are correlated with the variable of Tarbiyah participation, none of them has a significant relationship.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Dakwah through Political Party | .382(**) | .446(**) |
| Family Attention to development of umma | .102 | .348(**) |
| Islamic Organizations in the Neighbourhood | .000 | .084 |
| Father :Tarbiyah Movement | .065 | .050 |
| : NU | 085 | 025 |
| : Muhammadiyah | 020 | .095 |
| Mother : Tarbiyah Movement | .067 | .038 |
| : NU | -,053 | 040 |
| : Muhammadiyah | 032 | .056 |

Table 4.16
Relationship with Components of Socialization Variable

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

When all items above are combined to show the socialization variable, we find that there is a positive, significant correlation between the socialization variable and Tarbiyah Movement membership and participation (see table 4.17).

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|---------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Concern | .192(**) | .341(**) |
| Affiliation | 016 | .043 |
| Socialization | .129(*) | .275(**) |

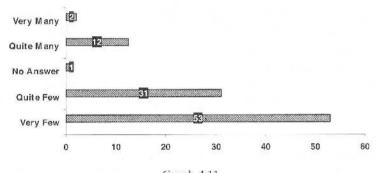
Table 4.17 Relationship between Tarbiyah Participation and Socialization

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Active Seeking

In this study, the variable of active seeking, as described earlier in this writing, is measured through four indicators, that is, the intensity of one's thinking about how to seek the most ideal Islamic organization (measured by five-point scale, from very frequently to never)⁷³, the strong willingness to seek an ideal Islamic organization (measured by five-point scale, from very strong to not strong at all)⁷⁴, the intensity of one's involvement in the surrounding organizations, and one's experience of moving from one organization to another (respectively measured by also five-point scale, from very few to very many).⁷⁵ The hypothesis to be tested is the more active a Muslim seeks an ideal Islamic organization, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

The data reveals that 30% of respondents frequently think about ways to find an ideal organization. When asked about how willing they are to seek an ideal Islamic organization, 40% expressed willingness to seek an ideal Islamic organization. Regarding the intensity of getting involved in local organizations, 41% said they participated in many organizations around their home or work place. Lastly, in terms of moving from one organization to another, only 14 % said they had such experiences.



Graph 4.11
Experience of Moving from One Organization to another

If all items regarding the active seeking variable are correlated with Tarbiyah participation almost all of them correlate positively and significantly, with the exception of the point of experience of moving among organizations. When all components are added to constitute an index, we find a number that shows a significant positive correlation between active seeking and Tarbiyah membership and participation, thus indicating the hypothesis in this respect is true

| Items | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|---|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Seeking Ideal Organization | .164(*) | .151(*) |
| Willing to Seek Ideal Organization | .272(**) | .258(**) |
| Get Involved in Surrounded Organization | .275(**) | .287(**) |
| Experience of Moving | .069 | .106 |
| Active Seeking | .298(**) | .304(**) |

Table 4.18
Relationship between Active Seeking and Tarbiyah Participation

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Benefit Calculation/Rational Choice

By replicating Klandermans' questionnaire, this study defines rational choice as the unwillingness to participate in the Tarbiyah Movement because one thinks the movement will be effective regardless of the individual's participation, the number of participants is sufficient, and that his or her non-participation will not endanger the effectiveness of the movement. There are four items formulated as indicators of rational choice in this work; (1) non-participation will not matter (measured by preference, from strongly agree to strongly disagree), (2) one's own participation is not important (measured in the same way as the previous item)), (3) participants of the movement are many (measured from very few to very many), and (4) the conviction that the movement will be effective. The hypothesis to be tested is the more rational a Muslim is when dealing with the Tarbiyah Movement, the more unlikely it is that he or she will participate in it.

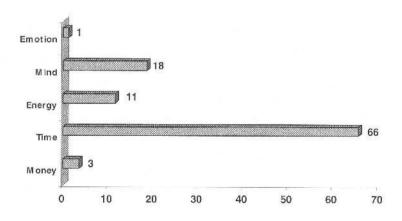
Survey data reveals that when asked whether non-participation matters, only 21 % agreed compared to 61% who disagreed with the statement. Next, regarding the notion of the importance of participation in activities to rehabilitate society, as logically can be predicted, almost 90 % said they agreed. Only 2 out of 245 respondents disagreed. Furthermore, when asked how many people would join in social development activities, 60 % believed that support would be strong, compared to 35 % who thought the opposite. Lastly, regarding their opinion on the effectiveness of the movement, 71 % reported they were sure that the movement would be effective.

Statistical analysis of the correlations between the items above and Tarbiyah Movement membership and participation shows that three items have a significant but negative correlation, and one item does not have a significant relationship at all. When all of these items are added to construct the rational choice index, there is significant but negative correlation between this and Tarbiyah Movement membership, while with the Tarbiyah Participation, there is no significant correlation. This leads us to conclude that the hypothesis is not correct; the fact is rather that the more rational a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will become a member of Tarbiyah groups like LDK, KAMMI, or PKS.

| Items | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Non-participation Does Not Matter | 277(**) | 237(**) |
| Participation is Important | .312(**) | .274(**) |
| Many People Participate | ~.101 | 041 |
| Movement will Be Effective | ,295(**) | .324(**) |
| RATIONAL CHOICE | 145(*) | 064 |

Table 4.19 Relationship between Rational Choice and Tarbiyah Participation

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).



Graph 4.12 The Biggest Sacrifices in Joining the Tarbiyah Movement (%)

It is worth noting other data from the survey concerning this theory of benefit calculation, that time is presumably the biggest sacrifice by those joining the Tarbiyah Movement. It is interesting to note also that not all respondents joining the Tarbiyah Movement reported that Allah's reward is the ultimate goal of their participation in this *dakwah* organization. Only 76 % said so, while 12 % said they participated in it because they wanted to seek Islamic knowledge, and the same proportion wanted to have an Islamic friendship environment.

Experimentation

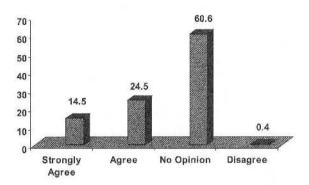
In this study, the variable of experimentation is measured by five items: (1) the agreement with the goals and concepts of the Tarbiyah Movement;⁸⁰ (2) the advantages of being involved in the Tarbiyah Movement;⁸¹ (3) the intensity of practicing "doctrines" of the Tarbiyah Movement,⁸² (4) the intensity of evaluating the Tarbiyah programs;⁸³ and (5) One's opinion of the Tarbiyah Movement.⁸⁴ The hypothesis is that the more experimental a Muslim is in viewing the Tarbiyah Movement, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the movement.

Survey data reveals that of those asked whether or not they agree with the Tarbiyah agenda, 39% said that they agreed. In fact, only one respondent disagreed, while the proportion of those who did not answer this question was quite high (60%) due to the fact that this question – along with the others in this section – was only presented to members or participants in the Tarbiyah Movement. When asked about the advantages of joining the Tarbiyah Movement, 38% said that there were many advantages in getting involved in the Tarbiyah Movement compared to only 2.5% (6 respondents) who reported that there were few advantages in joining the Tarbiyah Movement.

The findings of this section could be summarized as follows:

- 32% of respondents reported that they put Tarbiyah ideas into practice, compared to 8% who practiced them very little.
- Only 24.5 % of the respondents said they frequently evaluated the Tarbiyah agenda compared to 16 % who only sometimes or never evaluated the agenda.
- With regards to respondents' views on the Movement, 30% showed a positive view of the Tarbiyah Movement rating it as being better than others while only one respondent said that the Tarbiyah Movement was worse than others.

With respect to the relationship between the items of the experimentation variable and Tarbiyah participation, statistical analysis shows that there is a very significant and positive correlation between the variables and the participation in the movement. This would seem to indicate that the hypothesis is true.



Graph 4.13 Overall view of the Tarbiyah Agenda

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Agree with the Tarbiyah Agenda | .670(**) | .634(**) |
| Getting the Tarbiyah Advantage | .642(**) | .662(**) |
| Practicing the Tarbiyah Ideas | .508(**) | .631(**) |
| Evaluating the Tarbiyah Agenda | .259(**) | .486(**) |
| Comparing the Tarbiyah Movement | .657(**) | .642(**) |

Table 4.20
Relationship between Experimentation Variable and Tarbiyah Participation

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Macro-structure

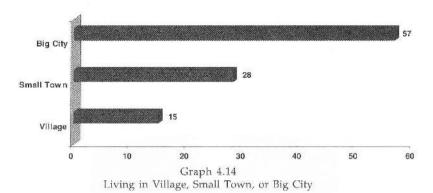
When elaborating on points about macro-structure as a variable that may make people participate in social movement organizations, John Lafland dedicates a considerable part of his book to explaining the wide coverage of the macro-structure. But for this work, I simply use six items as indicators of this variable: (1) social discrepancy between the rich and the poor by asking people's opinion whether or not they agree with the assumption; (2) people's opinion about the freedom to vote in a national election; (3)

people's opinion about free competition;⁸⁷ (4) people's opinion about freedom to join certain organizations;⁸⁸ (5) personal spending per month, measured from less than Rp 200 thousand to more than two million or uncertain spending;⁸⁹ and (6) people's living in a village, small town, or big city.⁹⁰ The hypothesis to be tested is the more complex a macro-structure a Muslim experiences, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Research from the field showed that regarding the point of whether or not people the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer, 82 % agreed with this notion. However, when this is correlated with participation in the Tarbiyah Movement, there is not significant correlation. Next, responding to the question of whether or not people are free to vote in the national election, almost 94 % believed that people were free to vote. Yet again, there is no significant correlation between this situation and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement.

In terms of competition, 69 % reported they felt it was quite free. This item also has no significant correlation with joining the Tarbiyah Movement. Furthermore, when asked about the presence of freedom to get involved in any organization, almost 93 % felt that people were indeed free to choose. Interestingly, this point alone has a significant correlation with both Tarbiyah membership and Tarbiyah participation. The point of monthly spending reveals that there is a positive and significant correlation with participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. In other words, the higher one's spending, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement. The two higher spending categories are those who spend between Rp two hundred thousand and four hundred thousand (25.7 %) and those spending between Rp four hundred thousand and Rp 600 thousand (20.7 %). But such significant correlation is not found in the item of one's living area. 58.8 % of the respondents live in big city, 28.2 % live in small town, and 14.9 % live in village.

Having seen the data and statistical analysis provided here, the conclusion is then that the hypothesis stating that the more complex a macro-structure a Muslim experiences, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement is not true. That is to say, there is no significant correlation, in general, between macro-structure and participation or membership in the Tarbiyah Movement.



Tarbiyah Tarbiyah Participation Membership The Rich and the Poor .093 -.070 Freedom in Elections .014 .064 Freedom in competition -.004 .038Freedom of Organization .184(**) .166(*)Monthly Spending .346(**) .624(**) Place of origin .026 .037

Table 4.21 Relationship between Tarbiyah Participation and Macro-Structure Items

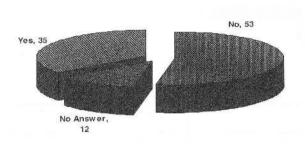
Organizational Membership

Those who are organizationally active are more likely to regard activism as potentially effective and therefore worth participating in. Furthermore, participating in organizations increases a person's chances of learning about movement activity. These two sentences are of Lofland's quotation from McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald's investigation of social movement phenomena. In this work, the variable of organizational membership is indicated by: (1) participation, measured by a three-point scale, (yes, no, no answer), (2) participation in popular Islamic organizations i.e. NU, (3) Muhammadiyah, (4) PII, (5) HMI, (6) PMII, (7) IMM, where involvement in each of these organizations is measured by five-point scale from committee to neither member nor sympathizer, and (8) advantages learned from participation in a previously joined organization, measured by five-point scale, from very much to

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

very little. ⁹³ The hypothesis to be tested is *the more a Muslim joins Islamic organizations, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.*



Graph 4.15 Involvement in Other Organizations (%)

As can be seen from the graph above, 35% of the respondents reported that they got involved in other organizations while 53% did not. This variable has a significant, positive correlation with Tarbiyah Movement membership and participation. Furthermore, the data shows that, on average, relatively few people become members or committee members in some of the most popular Islamic organizations. Only 2.5% of the respondents were members or committee members of NU, 3.3 % of Muhammadiyah, 1.6 % of PII, 3.3 of HMI %, 1.2 % Of PMII, and 3.7 % of IMM. Next, when all of these items are correlated with Tarbiyah participation, only the cases of HMI, PMII and IMM membership show that there is a significant, positive correlation with membership in Tarbiyah Movement organizations. However, there is not a significant correlation between those items and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement.

The absence of significant correlation also occurs in the last item of the variable of organizational membership, that is, the question of how much one learns from participation in organizations. Only 14.5% of respondents reported that they learned much from their participation in those organizations. From this small figure, it is evident that there is not a significant correlation between this and both participation and membership in the Tarbiyah Movement. By and large, regarding the variable of organizational member-

ship, the hypothesis is not necessarily true. In other words, the experience of being a member or participant in other organizations does not correlate with one's involvement in the Tarbiyah Movement.

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Involvement in other Organizations | .129(*) | .127(*) |
| NU | 050 | .024 |
| Muhammadiyah | .003 | .076 |
| PII | 115 | 028 |
| НМІ | 177(**) | 045 |
| PMII | 149(*) | 070 |
| IMM | 178(**) | 069 |
| Learning about Organization | .079 | .107 |

Table 4.22 Correlation between Organizational Membership and Tarbiyah Membership and Participation

Prior Contact

Quoting Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, in regards to the variable of prior contact, Lofland writes:

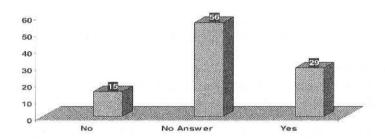
Those outsiders who are linked to one or more movement members through preexisting extra movement networks will have a greater probability of being contacted and recruited into that particular movement than will those individuals who are outside the members' extra movement networks.

For this study, the variable is measured by: (1) the fact of whether or not one has experience of being contacted by someone to join the Tarbiyah Movement, measured on a three-point scale, yes, no, or no answer, and (2) the frequency of being contacted, measured on a five-point scale, from never to very frequently. In addition, this study looks as the people who most commonly contact the candidate of the Tarbiyah Movement, namely from family, school mates, friends living around one's home, lecturers, and others. The hypothesis to be tested is the more one has the opportunity to be contacted, the more likely he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Data gathered shows that 29% of the respondents reported that they previously been contacted to participate in the Tarbiyah Movement. This item, when being correlated with Tarbiyah participation, has very significant, positive correlation. Furthermore, when asked about the frequency of being contacted to join the Tarbiyah Movement, 19% said that they were quite or very frequently contacted to join the movement. This item similarly has a very significant, positive correlation. It is important to note that the most frequent figure to contact those who then became activists of the Tarbiyah Movement are school mates (22.4 %). This finding confirms the widely held belief that the Tarbiyah Movement spreads from schools and campuses. The second most likely people to invite others to join the Tarbiyah Movement is family, although this figure is much lower at 3.7%. Statistical analysis shows that the hypothesis is true; that is, the more one has the opportunity to be contacted, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.



Graph 4.16
Those who have previously been contacted to join the Tarbiyah Movement

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participatior |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Previously Contacted to Join the Tarbiyah Movement | .411(**) | .522(**) |
| Frequency of Being Contacted | .268(**) | .253(**) |

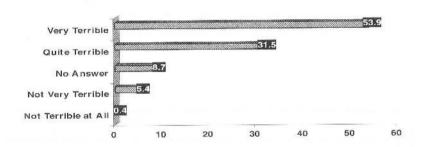
Table 4.23 Relationship between Prior Contact Variable and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Suddenly Imposed Grievances

As discussed earlier, this variable is measured using just two items, that is, whether or not one knows about the May 1998 riots, ⁹⁶ and the extent to which the riots were seen as a terrible event, measured on a five-point scale, from extremely terrible to not terrible at all. ⁹⁷ The hypothesis to be tested is the more a Muslim has an extreme feeling to a highly publicized, unexpected event like the riots of May 1998, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

The data shows that 96 % of the respondent recognized the tragedy of May 1998 and that there are 85 % who said that they thought the tragedy of May 1998 was terrible. However, this does not necessarily mean that there is a significant, positive correlation between these items and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. Testing this variable in this case study was not carried out in full since the items used are just too simple to evaluate a theory of suddenly imposed grievances.



Graph 4.17 People's View on the Tragedy of 1998

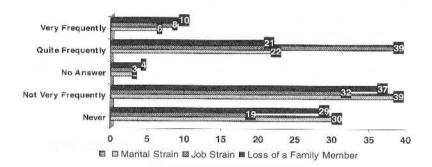
| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| May 1998 Riot | .057 | .080 | |
| How Terrible is the Riot | .012 | 049 | |

Table 4.24 Relationship between Suddenly Imposed Grievance and the Tarbiyah Movement

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Situational Stress

Theory of situational stress emphasizes that those having private strains, like marital problems, the loss of a family member, pressures of higher education, are more likely to join a social movement. Among the many indicators that can be used to measure situational stress, I here employ three of them: (1) marital strains;⁹⁸ (2) work place stress or stress at place where one studies such as school or campus; (3) stress resulting from the loss of a family member. The hypothesis to be tested is the more frequent a Muslim experiences situational stress, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement



Graph 4.18 Items of Situational Stress Variable

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation | |
|---|------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Marital Strains | 079 | 167(**) | |
| Workplace Stress | 048 | 161(*) | |
| Stress resulting from the Loss of a Family Member | 163(*) | 104 | |

Table 4.25 Relationship between Items of Situational Stress Variable and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

As can be seen from the graph, only 28% of the respondents experienced stress from marital problems on a frequent basis. 47% however reported that they suffered workplace stress frequently. There were 31% of the respondents who said they experience stress

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

as a result of the loss of a family member compared to 66 % who claimed that they did not suffer from such stress.

When put to statistical analysis, all of these items have a significant, yet negative correlation with membership and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. Furthermore, when all items are combined to construct an index for the variable of situational stress and then the index is correlated with participation in the Movement, we can see that there is a significant, negative relationship between this and both Tarbiyah membership as well as Tarbiyah participation. In general, we can conclude that contrary to the hypothesis, the less a Muslim experiences situational stress, the more likely that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

| 1-00-00 | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| INDEX OF SITUATIONAL STRESS | 128(*) | 189(**) |

Table 4.26
Relationship between the Variable of Situational Stress (stress)
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

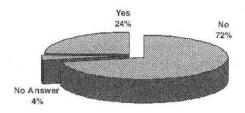
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Biographical Availability

Some sociologists may call this variable "structural availability," "biographical availability" or "differential availability" which means biographical circumstances of a person's life that may serve to encourage or discourage participation. Here, I employ five indications to apply the theory to the case of the Tarbiyah Movement, that is (1) marriage;⁹⁹ (2) number of dependents; (3) job;¹⁰⁰ (4) total work hours in a week;¹⁰¹ (5) monthly income, measured on a 12-point scale, from less than Rp 200 thousand to more than 2 million.¹⁰² The hypothesis to be tested is the more biographically available a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Data from the field shows that 15% of the respondents are married. In terms of dependents, 12% have 5 or more dependents, while 2% have 3-4 people. In fact, since most respondents are students, it is understandable that only a small proportion of the respondents are married. Regarding job or workplace, 24.5 %

worked while 71.8 % did not. When asked about personal income, 13.3 % have a monthly salary of more than Rp 2 million, while 3.3% make less than Rp 200 thousand per month. Those with a salary of more than Rp 2 million are the DPP PKS senior activists.



Graph 4.19 Do you work (%)

| | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Married | .416(**) | .678(**) |
| Number of Dependents | .411(**) | .711(**) |
| Employed? | .387(**) | .574(**) |
| Hours worked per day? | .094 | .355(**) |
| Monthly Income | .117 | .621(**) |

Table 4.27 Relationship between Items of Biographical Availability variable with participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

The table above shows that there are very significant, positive relationships between items of biographical availability variable and both Tarbiyah membership and Tarbiyah participation. This means that the hypothesis proposed is true. That is, the more biographically available a Muslim is, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Affective Bond

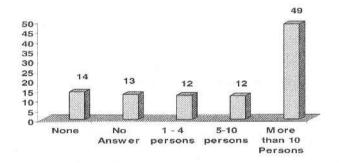
The last variable this study explores is whether or not the variable of affective bond can be applied in the case of the Tarbiyah Movement. John Lofland writes, the more intensive the interaction, the more likely are positive affective bonds and, therefore, the more likely it is for someone to join. Furthermore, by quoting Snow and Machalek, Lofland explains that a positive interperson-

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

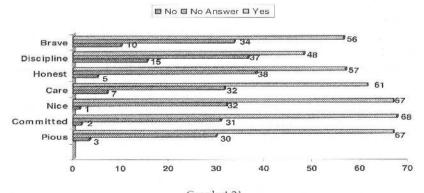
al tie to one or more group members can function as an information bridge, increase the credibility of appeals, and intensify the pressure to accept these appeals and corresponding practices.

This variable is measured by: (1) the number of Tarbiyah activists one recognizes;¹⁰³ (2) one's evaluation of the attitudes and characteristics of the Tarbiyah activists particularly pertaining to their piety and commitment to performing rituals, Islamic attitudes, Islamic morality (*akhlaq*), care, honesty, discipline, and bravery;¹⁰⁴ (3) intensity of personal interaction,¹⁰⁵ (4) quality of interaction;¹⁰⁶ (5) quality of more personal interaction like the possibility to ask for help from Tarbiyah activists;¹⁰⁷ and (6) responses from Tarbiyah activists when being asked for help.¹⁰⁸

The hypothesis to be tested is the better the quality of the relationship a Muslim has with a participant of the Tarbiyah Movement, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the movement.



Graph 4.20 Number of the Tarbiyah Activists Known (%)



Graph 4.21 Views towards the Tarbiyah Activists

| Items | Tarbiyah Membership | Tarbiyah Participation |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Tarbiyah Activists Known | .417(**) | .428(**) |
| Seems Pious | .348(**) | .301(**) |
| Seems Committed | .311(**) | .284(**) |
| Seems Nice | .384(**) | .325(**) |
| Seems Caring | .245(**) | .323(**) |
| Seems Honest | .405(**) | .372(**) |
| Seems Disciplined | .293(**) | .287(**) |
| Seems Brave | .219(**) | .320(**) |
| Intensity of Interaction with Tarbiyah Activists | .461(**) | .521(**) |
| Quality of Interaction with Tarbiyah Activists | .440(**) | .493(**) |
| Warm Interaction with Tarbiyah Activists | .444(**) | .473(**) |
| Sharing Financial Problems | .123 | .054 |
| Financial Assistance | .252(**) | .399(**) |
| Sharing Study Strains | .202(**) | .125 |
| Assistance in Study Strains | .145(*) | .160(*) |
| Sharing Family Problems | .045 | .111 |
| Assistance with Family Problems | .204(**) | .138(*) |

Table 4.28 Relationship between Items of Affective Bond and Participation in the Tarbiyah Movement

- ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
- * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

As can be seen from graph 4.20, almost 50 % of the respondents know more than 10 Tarbiyah activists. Next, those who know between 1 and 10 Tarbiyah activists totals accounts for 24% of those surveyed, which indicates significant socialization of the Tarbiyah activists within society. When this socialization is correlated with participation in the Tarbiyah Movement, we find a very significant, positive correlation. Furthermore, when asked about their views towards Tarbiyah activists in terms of their personal qualities, positive responses were received from more than 50% of respondents for almost all of the character qualities, and in some cases even reached almost 70%. If all of this social evaluation towards the characteristics of the Tarbiyah activists are correlated to participation in the Tarbiyah Movement, we see again a very significant, positive correlation indicating that as people's views of Tarbiyah activists becomes more positive, the more likely it is that they will join it.

Furthermore, in terms of the intensity of interaction, data shows that more than 50% of the respondents have frequent interaction with Tarbiyah activists. A higher proportion is found when asking the quality of the interaction where almost 70% reported good interaction. As far as the statistical analysis is concerned, all of these items have very significant, positive correlations with participation in the Tarbiyah movement, thus indicating that the relevant hypothesis is indeed correct.

The Strongest Variable to Tarbiyah Membership and Participation

As mentioned earlier, there are many variables that contribute to one's being a member of the Tarbiyah Movement or participating in it. The variables which have the most significant and positive correlations with both Tarbiyah membership as well as participation are biological variables, deeper motivation, self-concept, biographical availability and affective bonds. The question is, "Which variable is strongest?"

To provide answers for such a question, multivariate analysis is used, resulting in a conclusion that in terms of being a Tarbiyah member, the variable of experimentation (see table 4.26) is the most dominant. In this study, the variable of experimentation is measured by five items: (1) the agreement with the goals and concepts of the Tarbiyah Movement, (2) the advantages got from involvement in the Tarbiyah Movement, (3) the intensity of practicing "doctrines" of the Tarbiyah Movement, (4) the intensity of evaluating the Tarbiyah programs, and (5) the way one views the Tarbiyah Movement. As has been elaborated on, when put in correlation analysis, it is found that there is a very significant, positive correlation between this variable and Tarbiyah membership. The hypothesis verified is the more experimental a Muslim is when dealing with the Tarbiyah Movement, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in it.

Furthermore, when seen from another perspective, that is one's UIN or non-UIN higher educational background and its influence on his or her willingness to be a member of the Tarbiyah Movement, it is also evident that this variable has a dominant and independent effect. As was discussed in the previous part, the fact that one prefers not to choose a UIN higher education means that he or she has more potential to become a member of such Tarbiyah organizations as LDK, KAMMI or PKS. Compared with other variables of social movement motivation as well as personal

background (gender, ethnicity, age, etc), this variable has the most dominant influence.

Regarding the most dominant variable in attracting people to participate in the Tarbiyah agenda and activities, multivariate analysis shows that four variables of Lofland's has the most dominant and independent impact, namely variables of self-concept, socialization, experimentation, and suddenly imposed grievances. In this research, self-concept is translated into four items namely: whether a one is sure that he or she can influence other people, achieves dreams, improves one's surroundings, and whether he or she is sure that he or she can improve the *umma*. In this case, analysis shows that there is very significant and positive correlation between the strength of one's self concept and his or her willingness to participate in Tarbiyah activities; the stronger the self-concept is, the greater the willingness to participate.

| Nο | | Unstandardized Standardize Coefficients Coefficien | | | | Sig. |
|----|---|--|------------|--------|--------|-------|
| | Items | В | Std. Error | Beta | 1 | |
| 1 | (Constant) | -2.188 | 0.936 | | -2.339 | 0.021 |
| 2 | Biological | 0.074 | 0.096 | 0.047 | 0.772 | 0.441 |
| 3 | Deeper Motivation | 0.105 | 0.124 | 0.062 | 0.851 | 0.396 |
| 4 | Self-Concept | -0.101 | 0.080 | -0.089 | -1.260 | 0.210 |
| 5 | Belief | 0.171 | 0.093 | 0.137 | 1.835 | 0.068 |
| 6 | Socialization | 0.000 | 0.184 | 0.000 | 0.998 | 0.002 |
| 7 | Active Seeking | 0.071 | 0.081 | 0.065 | 0.878 | 0.381 |
| 8 | Rational Choice | -0.148 | 0.099 | -0.093 | -1.490 | 0.138 |
| 9. | Experimentation | 0.741** | 0.150 | 0.417 | 4.953 | 0.000 |
| 10 | Macro Structure | 0.091 | 0.096 | 0.058 | 0.950 | 0.343 |
| 11 | Organizational Membership | -0.128 | 0.110 | -0.075 | -1.160 | 0.248 |
| 12 | Prior Contact | 0.224 | 0.126 | 0.117 | 1.779 | 0.077 |
| 13 | Situational Stress | -0.018 | 0.053 | -0.021 | -0.340 | 0.735 |
| 14 | Affective Bond | 0.000 | 0.167 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 1.000 |
| 15 | Suddenly Imposed Grievances | 0.071 | 0.063 | 0.068 | 1.122 | 0.263 |
| 16 | Gender (male) | 0.066 | 0.107 | 0.038 | 0.617 | 0.538 |
| 17 | Ethnic (Javanese) | -0.126 | 0.104 | -0.072 | -1.211 | 0.228 |
| 18 | Age | 0.013 | 0.080 | 0.013 | 0.161 | 0.872 |
| 19 | Origin (village, small town, big city) | -0.045 | 0.077 | -0.038 | -0.580 | 0.563 |
| 20 | Marital Status | 0.428 | 0.356 | 0.072 | 1.202 | 0.231 |
| 21 | Employment | -0.043 | 0.081 | -0.034 | -0.534 | 0.594 |
| 22 | Educational Background | -0.020 | 0.163 | -0.009 | -0.120 | 0.905 |

| No | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | | Sig. |
|----|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|--------|-------|
| | Items | В | Std. Error | Beta | t | |
| 21 | Employment | -0.043 | 0.081 | -0.034 | -0.534 | 0.594 |
| 22 | Educational Background | -0.020 | 0.163 | -0.009 | -0.120 | 0.905 |
| 23 | Field of Study | 0.099 | 0.131 | 0.058 | 0.757 | 0.450 |
| 24 | UIN Background | -0.348* | 0.149 | -0.191 | -2.330 | 0.021 |
| 25 | R Square | 0.473 | | | | |
| 26 | N | 189 | | | | |

Table 4.29 Multivariate Analysis for Tarbiyah Membership

Dependent Variable: Tarbiyah Membership
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The second variable that also plays the most dominant and independent influence in attracting people to participate in the Tarbiyah agenda is the variable of socialization. In this study, the indicators used to measure the variable of socialization are the following: preference to see that *dakwah* be carried out through a political party, family attention towards efforts to improve the *umma*, the presence of more Islamic movement organizations in one's area, and the involvement of one's parents in the Tarbiyah Movement and the other two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah. It is proven here that the more exposed one is to certain Islamic movements or organizations, the more likely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement.

Like the case of Tarbiyah membership, the variable of experimentation is the third variable that has the most dominant and independent role in attracting people to participate in the Tarbiyah activities. The last variable that results in the most dominant and independent impact in making people participate in the Tarbiyah Movement is Suddenly Imposed Grievances. To measure this variable, this research employs only one indicator that is the feeling one has when thinking about the massive riots that occurred in May 1998. Interestingly, when put in correlation analysis, this variable of suddenly imposed grievances does not have a significant correlation with both Tarbiyah membership and Tarbiyah participation. Yet when put in multivariate analysis to find the strongest and most independent variable that make people

participate in Tarbiyah activities, this variable is among those that has such a quality.

In addition to the four Lofland's variables, gender is the other point that produces the most dominant and independent effect in attracting people to participate in the Tarbiyah movement. Through correlation analysis we can see that men have much more potential to participate in Tarbiyah activities compared to women. In other words, there is a very significant and positive correlation between being male and participation in this Islamic movement. Regarding the most dominant points that attract people to the Tarbiyah Movement, this variable again is among the strongest and most independent.

| No | • | Unstandar- dized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | | ā. |
|-----|---|----------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|--------|-------|
| INO | Items | В | Std. Error | Beta | t | Sig. |
| 1 | (Constant) | 0.209 | 0.347 | | 0.602 | 0.548 |
| 2 | Biological | 0.038 | 0.036 | 0.063 | 1.067 | 0.287 |
| 3 | Deeper Motivation | 0.039 | 0.046 | 0.061 | 0.851 | 0.396 |
| 4 | Self-Concept | 0.059* | 0.030 | 0.137 | 1.981 | 0.049 |
| 5 | Belief | 0.058 | 0.034 | 0.124 | 1.685 | 0.094 |
| 6 | Socialization | 0.161* | 0.068 | 0.155 | 2.365 | 0.019 |
| 7 | Active Seeking | 0.004 | 0.030 | 0.011 | 0.145 | 0.885 |
| 8 | Rational Choice | -0.003 | 0.037 | -0.006 | -0.090 | 0.928 |
| 9 | Experimentation | 0.327** | 0.055 | 0.488 | 5.896 | 0.000 |
| 10 | Macro Structure | -0.046 | 0.036 | -0.077 | -1.281 | 0.202 |
| 11 | Organizational Membership | 0.014 | 0.041 | 0.021 | 0.333 | 0.739 |
| 12 | Prior Contact | 0.037 | 0.047 | 0.051 | 0.793 | 0.429 |
| 13 | Situational Stress | 0.011 | 0.020 | 0.034 | 0.549 | 0.584 |
| 14 | Affective Bond | -0.107 | 0.062 | -0.135 | -1.731 | 0.085 |
| 15 | Suddenly Imposed Grievances | 0.057* | 0.023 | 0.145 | 2.426 | 0.016 |
| 16 | Gender (male) | 0.108** | 0.040 | 0.166 | 2.720 | 0.007 |
| 17 | Ethnic (Javanese) | -0.011 | 0.039 | -0.017 | -0.294 | 0.769 |
| 18 | Age | 0.036 | 0.029 | 0.100 | 1.223 | 0.223 |
| 19 | Origin (village, small town, big city) | 0.011 | 0.028 | 0.025 | 0.395 | 0.694 |
| 20 | Marital Status | -0.082 | 0.132 | -0.037 | -0.621 | 0.535 |
| 21 | Employment | -0.019 | 0.030 | -0.039 | -0.627 | 0.532 |
| 22 | Educational Background | -0.009 | 0.060 | -0.012 | -0.157 | 0.875 |
| 23 | Field of Study | -0.003 | 0.048 | -0.004 | -0.060 | 0.952 |
| 24 | UIN Background | -0.045 | 0.055 | -0.066 | -0.820 | 0.414 |
| 25 | R Square | 0.492 | | | | |
| 26 | N | 189 | 21 | | | |

Table 4.30 Multivariate Analysis for Tarbiyah Participant

Dependent Variable: Tarbiyah Participation

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Seen from this analysis, it is important to understand, that the case of the Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia (represented by sample of this research) verifies the popular theory of resource mobilization. In fact, the role of networks, leadership, and socialization for example, provides more room for many to select the existing social movement organizations and participate in them. Taking again the case of variable of experimentation for example, which here has a very strong and independent influence in leading people to become members of the Tarbiyah movement and participate in it, we can see how people need to first enter the system of the movement and interact with its members in order that he or she then can consider whether or not he or she will continue to get involved.

CONCLUSION

This study has tried to explore fifteen variables listed by John Lofland theoretically assumed to make people participate in social movements where the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia is taken for this work as the case study.

Regarding some assumptions about participation in the Tarbiyah Movement held by observers saying that participation has certain correlations with educational background, this study proves that some assumptions actually have empirical basis but some do not. For the case of UIN vis-à-vis UI and UNI, it has been proven that the assumption is valid; that is, the more one prefers to study at UIN, the more unlikely it is that he or she will participate in the Tarbiyah Movement. In other words, there is a negative correlation between one being an UIN student and participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. Second, in terms of senior high school background, this research proves that the more someone prefers to study at an SMA, the more likely it is that he or she will be a member of the a Tarbiyah institution. But this likelihood does not occur in terms of Tarbiyah participation. There is no relation between the fact that someone has an SMA background and his or her participation in activities organized under the Tarbiyah movement banner.

Another assumption on Tarbiyah participation that has been explored empirically in this study is the notion of one's field of study influencing one's joining the movement. It is here proven that there is no correlation between the variables. This means that one cannot say that a student of the faculty of engineering at UI or UNJ, for example, might be more likely to become a Tarbiyah activist than those from the faculty of social and political sciences, for example.

| No | Variables | Participation |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | UIN/Non-UIN | - |
| 2 | SMA/Non-SMA | ±110 |
| 3 | Exact/Non-Exact | 0 |
| 4 | Biological | ++ |
| 5 | Deeper Motivation | ++ |
| 6 | Self-Concept | ++ |
| 7 | Belief | ++ |
| 8 | Socialization | + |
| 9 | Active Seeking | 4-4- |
| 10 | Benefit Calculation | - |
| 11 | Experimentation | -+ |
| 12 | Macro Structure | 0 |
| 13 | Organizational Membership | 0 |
| 14 | Prior Contact | ++ |
| 15 | Suddenly Imposed Grievances | 0 |
| 16 | Situational Stress | - |
| 17 | Biographical Availability | ++ |
| 18 | Affective Bonds | ++ |

Table 5.1
Summary of the relationship of the variables in social movement participation for the case of the Tarbiyah Movement. 0 = the relationship is not significant;

+ = the relationship is positive and significant, but not very significant,
 ++ = the relationship is positive and very significant,
 - = the relationship is significant but negative

In applying social movement theories compiled by John Lofland in his book *Social Movement Organizations*, this study has proven that participation in the Tarbiyah Movement is not the result of a single factor; a lot of factors play a significant role in making people participate in the Tarbiyah Movement. That is, this study has shown that variables of biological, deeper motivation, self-concept, belief, socialization, active seeking, experimentation, prior

contact, biographical availability, and affective bonds do work together in making people join the Tarbiyah Movement. They all have a significant, positive correlation with the Tarbiyah Movement. On the other hand, variables of benefit calculation and situational stress have a significant but negative correlation. Next, variables of macro-structure, organizational membership, and suddenly imposed grievances, have no significant correlations with the participation in the Tarbiyah Movement. This indicates that relative deprivation theory or strained condition theory is proven invalid. In resource mobilization theory, participation in the Tarbiyah Movement is not the result of stressful situations, but rather due to values, mobilization of leadership, networks, and optimism that participation will achieve the movement's goal.

Furthermore, when many may question the strongest variable among those that pushes people to be member or to participate in this Islamic movement, multivariate analysis shows that in terms of being a Tarbiyah member, only one of Lofland's variable plays a dominant and independent impact in making people become member of the Tarbiyah Movement, that is, the variable of experimentation. Regarding the most dominant variable in attracting people to participate in the Tarbiyah activities, multivariate analysis shows that four variables of Lofland's has the most dominant and independent impact, namely variables of self-concept, socialization, experimentation, and suddenly imposed grievances.

More scholarly works concerning many other Islamic social movement organizations in Indonesia like HTI, Jama'ah Tabligh, FPI, and others, are needed to provide us with a better understanding of this contemporary phenomenon of Islamic social movements.

Endnotes

- 1. Some of these include studies by Ali Said Damanik and Aay Muhamad Furkon. Ali Said Damanik studies the emergence and development of the Tarbiyah Movement and its transformation into a political party. Said explains how dakwah activists in campuses who had begun to gather under the banner of the Tarbiyah Movement since the early 1980s were able to get past difficult social and political challenges under the New Order regime while spreading and teaching Islamic doctrines and principles to young educated Muslims. Ali Said draws on theories of social breakdown, resource mobilization, rational choice, amongst others to analyze the phenomenon of the Tarbiyah movement. The theory of social breakdown, for example, is used to explain the trigger of the emergence of the movement in the early 1980s as a reaction to the New Order regime's repressive policies. See Ali Said Damanik, Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah Movement di Indonesia, (Bandung: Teraju, 2003), in particular pp. 321 - 337. Aay Muhamad Furkon, on the other hand, investigates the influence of Hasan Al-Banna's ideas on PKS. Furkon finds that despite the fact that the principle of tarbiyah is adopted by the Tarbiyah Movement from Al-Banna's ideas, there was no structural relationship between the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia and the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic movement organization established by Al-Banna in Egypt in 1928. Aay concludes that the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia is the product of the Indonesian dakwah Council (Dewan dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia), or DDII, countering Ali Said's explanation that the Tarbiyah Movement came into existence as a result of the efforts of students returning from the Middle East. See Aay Muhammad Furkon, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Ideologi dan Praksis Politik Kaum Muda Muslim Indonesia Kontemporer, (Bandung: Teraju, 2004).
- 2. John Lofland, Social Movement Organization: Guide to Research on Insurgent Realities, (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 214 236. As indicated by its title, this book covers a wide range of issues regarding the accounts that should be recognized by researchers of Social Movement Organizations (SMOs). Lofland elaborates even the very basic question such as why people study SMOs, notions on selecting cases and collecting data, questions about SMOs and their answers, SMO beliefs, how they are organized, their causes, why people join SMOs, their strategies, reactions to SMOs, and impact of SMOs.
- 3. One example can be mentioned here as written by Quintan Wiktorowicz when giving a picture of how Muslims all over the world protest the US decision to launch a military campaign in Afghanistan in response to the September 11 attacks. One protest event is that of PKS. Quitan Wiktorowicz (ed.), Islamic Activism: Social Movement Theory Approach, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), p. 1. This notion by Wiktorowicz, to me, clearly indicates that the Tarbiyah Movement has already been a matter of international observation object.
- 4. John Lofland, Op. Cit.
- Ibid., 228. This theory is based on the conclusion produced by Doug McAdam, John McCharty, and Mayer Zald (MMZ, 1988, 707). These researchers call it "prior contact with a movement member."
- 6. Ibid., 221. For this theory, Lofland quotes Doug McAdam et. al (1988, 706).
- 7. Further discussion about Muslim groups in Indonesia that could be categorized as part of the phenomena religious social movements might be read in books like those of Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni (eds.), Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia, (Jakarta: PT RajaGrafindo Persada, 2004) and Khamami Zada, Islam Radikal: Pergolakan Ormas-Ormas Islam Garis Keras di Indonesia, (Bandung: Teraju, 2002).
- 8. This number was initially planned to be 245 (with 35 respondents for each group) but during the process of data entry and cleaning, it was found that 4 questionnaires were invalid. This issue was not viewed to warrant further surveys, while scholars of statistical sciences agree that the number of 30 respondents for probability sampling method will produce normal curve and is reliable for analysisFurther discussion on sampling method and its use in statistical analysis, see Theresa L. Baker,

- Doing Social Research, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1988, Masri Singarimbun, Sofian Effendi, et. All., Metode Penelitian Survai, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1989,
- Ahmad Warson Munawwir, Al Munawwir: Kamus Arab-Indonesia Terlengkap, (Surabaya: Pustaka Progressif, 1997), p. 470; John M. Echols, Hassan Shadily, Kamus Indonesia Inggris, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989), p.33.
- Alaiddin Koto, Pemikiran Politik PERTI (Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah) 45 70, (Jakarta: Nimas Multima, 1997), pp. 9 – 10. See also, Deliar Noer, Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900 – 1942, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1991), p. 241
- 11. Steven M. F, Kurt Cylke Jr., Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues, (California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1997), p. 575
- 12. Ismail Yusanto, interview, July 25, 2005. Ismail is the spokesperson of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia which is assumed by average people as just the same as the Tarbiyah Movement in spite of its some fundamental differences.
- 13. Usrah is derived from the Arabic word meaning family. In this case, the term usrah is a popular term used to identify any small Islamic discussion group which consists of 5-15 members with a teacher (ustadz) as the leader of the group.
- 14. Ali Said Damanik, Op. Cit., pp. 68-69.
- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Ibid., pp. 75-79. Damanik calls such phenomena "cultural identities" of the activists which naturally appear at the surface as a result of growing understanding and awareness toward Islamic values and teachings.
- 17. Ibid., pp. 88-90.
- 18. Ibid., pp. 95-97. See also Aay Muhammad Furkon, Op. Cit., pp. 128-130.
- 19. Halaqah is another more name used for the meeting of the small discussion group of the usrah. There is still another popular term used to name the forum that is ligo, which means meeting.
- 20. For the case of Hasan al-Banna, Aay Muhammad Furkon does actually focus his study on the influence of this figure's thoughts on PKS's agenda. Furkon's book Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Ideologi and Praksis Po.litik Kaum Muda Muslim Indonesia Kontemporer was so concerned with this subject that it seems to be inspired by Damanik's recommendations in his last part of the book Fenomena Partai Keadilan that suggest further study to investigate whether or not PKS is a kind of "branch" of Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimum organization in Indonesia.
- 21. The Saksi Magazine could be called the official bi-weekly magazine of PKS. Although it does not clearly claim this, it might be so easily identified so since almost all parts of the magazine are concerned with the agenda of the party or other matters related with tarbiyah activities.
- 22. Interview with Satria Hadi Lubis, 26 February 2005, a member of the PKS central board, and also a prolific writer specializing in the topic of Tarbiyah teachings.
- This notion is strongly emphasized by Aay Muhammad Furkon in the conclusion of his book about PKS. See Aay Muhammad Furkon, Op. Cit., pp. 279-284.
- 24. Ali Said Damanik, Op. Cit., p. 73
- 25. Aay Muhammad Furkon, Op. Cit., pp. 126-130.
- Aay Muhamad Furkon himself admits that his elaboration on DDII covers general issues of dakwah activities in Indonesia. Interview with Furkon, 28 February 2005.
- 27. Many activists of the Tarbiyah Movement seem to emphasize the role of Helmi Aminuddin more so than the other founding figures. Informal conversation with Suryana Abdurrahman, my own murabbi (teacher or leader of my weekly Tarbiyah discussion group). Deka Kurniawan (former activist of campus dakwah league UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, recently journalist at Hidayatullah magazine), and Suryono (former neighbour of mine who is well known by the surrounding neighbours as PKS activist).
- 28. Mahfudz Sidiq was the first person who clearly states these figures as the initiators of the movement. Interview with Mahfudz Sidiq 15 March 2005, at his office, DPR RI, Jakarta. Sidiq is not a member of the founding board of PK but is so popular among followers of this movement and holds an important position in the central

board of PKS (i.e. chief of the department of human resources). Agus Widiarto, personal assistant of K.H. Yusuf Supendi is the second person who indirectly confirms the fact that the figures mentioned were the first people who began to organize the movement. In fact, Salim Segaf Aljufri in the interview with him noted that figures like K. H. Acep Abdus Syakur and H. Abdullah Said Baharmus are among the most authoritative informants to talk about the origins of the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia.

- 29. Interview with Abdullah Said Baharmus , 8 April 2005, at his home in Cipinang Muara Jakarta.
- 30. Anis Matta, interview, 28 June 2005, DPR RI
- 31. It is not very clear whether or not Rahmat Abdullah is among the founding figures of the Tarbiyah Movement or he came in the second layer of the movement. Ali Said Damanik mentions that Abdullah began to participate in the Tarbiyah Movement through an ustadz living in Tanah Abang. Damanik does not mention the name of the ustadz, but the most possible figure is Ustadz Hilmi Aminuddin. Damanik, p. 205. Ustadz Suryana Abdurrahman, my own murabbi also said that Rahmat Abdullah is the second generation of the Tarbiyah Movement.
- 32. Rahmat Abdullah, interview.
- 33. Interview with Almuzzammil Yusuf, 14 March 2005 at his office at DPR RI, Jakarta.
- 34. Abu Ridho, 2 April 2005, at his home, Estate for members of DPR RI, Jakarta. Abu Ridho stresses that it is misleading to assume that the Tarbiyah Movement is a movement which is systematically organized in a typical manner. The movement is the result of a kind of "natural" social process.
- Interview with Untung Wahono, 8 March 2005, at his office, DPR RI, Jakarta. Wahono is member of house of representative, DPR RI, from PKS.
- 36. Interview with Aay Muhamad Furkon, 28 February 2005, at his office, Ma'arif Institute, Jakarta. Furkon is the writer of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, the second primary book I use for this study since it also discusses the origins of the Tarbiyah Movement. Actually, Furkon's book is a kind of counter research of Damanik's book which seeks to prove that the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood is only found in the ideas of the movement.
- 37. Tim Departemen Kaderisasi DPP PK-Sejahtera, Manajemen Tarbiyah Anggota Pemula, (Jakarta: DPP Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, 2003), p. 29 30
- 38. Ibid.
- 39. Irwan Prayitno, Kepribadian Muslim, (Bekasi: Pustaka Tarbiyatuna, 2002), pp. vii ix
- Ali Said Damanik, Op. Cit., pp. 133 134. Tim Departemen Kaderisasi DPP PKS, Op. Cit., 40 - 41
- Ali Said Damanik, Op. Cit. pp. 129 130. Tim Departemen Kaderisasi DPP PKS, pp. 40 - 41
- 42. Damanik, pp. 130 and 200
- 43. Ali Said Damanik, Op. Cit., p. 132-133. Tim Departemen Kaderisasi DPP PKS, pp. 35-37
- 44. Tim Departemen Kaderisasi DPP PKS, Op. Cit., pp. 42 44
- 45. Manajemen Tarbiyah Anggota Pemula, p. 42
- 46. DPP PKS, Manajemen Tarbiyalı Anggota Pemula, p. 42
- 47. DPP PKS, Manajemen Tarbiyah Anggota Pemula, p. 43-44
- 48. There are different opinions regarding arts, especially music, as being contradictory to Islamic values. Musical instruments in particular are viewed as being unislamic.
- 49. Damanik, p. 176 and 207 208
- 50. Damanik, p. 158 159 and 204 205.
- 51. Damanik, p. 160
- 52. Ali Said Damanik, Op. Cit.,p. 158. In this part of his book, Damanik actually simply discusses the phenomenon of Sabili magazine.
- 53. Steven M. Buechler, F. Kurt Cylke Jr., Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues, (California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1997), p. 575
- 54. The detailed five-point scale is as follows: 1 = neither member nor sympathizer; 2 = no answer; 3 = sympathetic, 4 = member, 5 = committee

- 55. The three-point scale is stated as follows: 1 = do not participate, 2 = no answer, 3 = participate
- Saiful Mujani, et. All., Benturan Peradaban; Sikap dan Perilaku Islamis Indonesia terhadap Amerika Serikat, Freedom Institute, PPIM: Jakarta, 2005, p. 53
- 57. This item constitutes a two-point scale: 0 = women, 1 = men
- 58. The scale is: 1 = second semester, 2 = four semester, 3 = six semester, 4 = PKS (assumed to have already pass ages of higher education).
- 59. The scale is 0 = non-Javanese, 1 = Javanese
- 60. This item constitutes a five-point scale of the first biological indicator i.e. sickness experience: 1 = very frequently, 2, quite frequently, 3 = no answer, 4 = sometimes, 5 = never.
- 61. This item, and also the next item, intensity of supplement drink consumption, constitutes five-point scale but with different direction from the indicator of sickness. Here the scale begins from 1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently.
- 62. This item constitutes the following scale: 1 = more than 8 hours, 2 = between 7 8 hours, 3 = no answer, 4 = between 5 6 hours, 5 = less than 4 hours
- 63. The detailed scale for this item is as follows: 1 = not attracted at all, 2 = less attracted, 3 = no opinion, 4 = quite attracted, 5 = very attracted.
- 64. The detailed scale for this item is as follows: 1 = not convinced at all, 2 = less convinced, 3 = no opinion, 4 = quite convinced, 5 = very convinced.
- 65. The detailed scale for these items is as follows: 1 = never, 2 = rare, 3 = no opinion, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently.
- 66. The detailed scale for these items is as follows: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = no opinion, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.
- 67. The five-point scale is: 1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently.
- 68. The items are constructed in five-point scale as follows: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = no opinion, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.
- 69. This item is measured in five-point scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = no opinion, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly disagree.
- 70. This item is also measured in five-point scale: 1 = very least concerned, 2 = less concerned, 3 = no opinion, 4 = concerned, 5 = very concerned.
- 71. This item is also measured in five-point scale: 1 = very few, 2 = few, 3 = no answer, 4 = many, 5 = very many.
- 72. These items are measured in three-point scale: 1 = no, 2 = no answer, 3 = yes
- 73. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently.
- 74. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = not strong at all, 2 = less strong, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite strong, 5 = very strong.
- 75. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = very few, 2 = few, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite many, 5 = very many.
- 76. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = no opinion, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.
- 77. The question in the questionnaire is formulated in positive form,"participation is important," and the scale is as follows; 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = no opinion, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.
- 78. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = very few, 2 = few, 3 = no opinion, 4 = many, 5 = very many.
- 79. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = very unsure, 2 = quite unsure, 3 = no opinion, 4 = quite sure, 5 = very sure
- 80. The detailed scale is as follows: : 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = no opinion, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.
- 81. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = very few, 2 = quite few, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite many, 5 = very many

- 82. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = very little, 2 = quite little, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite much, 5 = very much.
- 83. The detailed scale is as follows:1 = never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently
- 84. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = the Tarbiyah Movement is worse, 2 = no answer, 3 = the same, 4 = the Tarbiyah Movement is better
- 85. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = no opinion, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree
- 86. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = extremely not free, 2 = not free, 3 = no opinion, 4 =free, 5 =extremely free
- 87. The detailed scale is the same as the above footnote.
- 88. Same as above.
- 89. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = less than Rp 200 thousand, 2 = uncertain, 3 = between Rp 200 and 400 thousand, 4 = between Rp 400 and 600 thousand, 5 = between Rp 600 and 800 thousand, 6 = between Rp 800 and one million, 7 = between Rp one million and 1.2 million, 8 = between Rp 1.2 and 1.4 million, 9 = between Rp 1.4 and 1.6 million, 10 = between Rp 1.6 and 1.8 million, 11 = between 1.8 and two million, 12 = more than two million
- 90. Put in scale, this becomes 1 = village, 2 = small town, 3 = big city
- 91. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = no, 2 = no answer, 3 = yes
- 92. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = neither member nor sympathetic, 2 = no answer, 3 = sympathetic, 4 = member, 5 = committee
- 93. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = very little, 2 = little, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite much, 5 = very much
- 94. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = no, 2 = no answer, 3 = yes
- 95. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = only once, 2 = some time, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently
- 96. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = no, 2 = yes
- 97. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = not terrible at all, 2 = not very terrible, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite terrible, 5 = very terrible
- 98. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = never or very rare, 2 = rare, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently
- 99. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = no, 2 = no answer, 3 = yes
- 100. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = none, 2 = no answer, 3 = 1-2 persons, 4 = 3-4person, 5 = 5 persons or more
- 101. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = no, 2 = no answer, 3 = yes
- 102. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = 1-2 hours, 2 = 3-4 hours, 3 = 5-6 hours, 4 = 7-68 hours, 5 = more than 8 hours
- 103. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = less than Rp 200 thousand, 2 = Rp 200-400 thousand, 3 = Rp 400-600 thousand, 4 = Rp 600-800 thousand, 5 = Rp 80
- 106. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = very rare, 2 = quite rare, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently
- 107. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = very bad, 2 = quite bad, 3 = no answer, 4 = quitegood, 5 = very good
- 108. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = never, 2 = rare, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite frequently, 5 = very frequently
- 109. The detailed scale is as follows: 1 = not helpful at all, 2 = less helpful, 3 = no answer, 4 = quite helpful, 5 = very helpful
- 110. But this positive correlation only occurs in terms of Tarbiyah membership, not in Tarbiyah participation.

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