

# REVEALING THE RELIGIOSITY IN *SEDULUR SIKEP* MACAPAT SONGS

Retno Hendrastuti

Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Tengah  
Jalan Elang Raya No.1 Mangunharjo,  
Semarang, Indonesia  
[retnohendras@gmail.com](mailto:retnohendras@gmail.com)

Paper received: 23 August 2021  
Paper revised: 26-30 November 2021  
Paper approved: 17 December 2021

## ABSTRACT

*Sikep society is known as one of Javanese cultural heritage keepers. Moreover, the society has unique religiosity attitudes that are somehow it misunderstood as disobedience. This research tries to dig the religiosity attitudes reflected on Sikep society's Macapat songs, especially their focuses and objects. The analysis used appraisal language theory as the approach. The data of the research are words, phrases, or metaphors that reflect attitude in the texts of Sikep society's macapat songs. The result of the study showed that there are only two dimensions of religiosity attitudes found in Sikep society's Macapat song, those are beliefs and values. The value of religiosity reflected on appreciation and judgment; the belief of religiosity consisted of appreciation, judgment, and affect. The objects of religiosity attitudes in the Sikep society's macapat songs include people (Sikep society, Ki Surantika, man, the children of Sikep society, government, and the ancestors), and something that is humanized (intention, body and soul). The focus of positive moral attitude involves all words, phrases, and metaphor that reflected the principles, prohibitions, ideals; the focuses of negative moral attitude expressed the negative attitudes and behaviors that they proposed to be avoided. Here, the dominant positive attitudes showed their social life. Then, the only two dimensions of religiosity indicate the lack of restricted rules and ritual applied in their religious life.*

**Keywords:** *Appraisal, Macapat, Religiosity, Sikep Society*

## INTRODUCTION

*Macapat* is one of popular Javanese traditional songs. There are eleven types of *macapat* known among Javanese. It contains messages and advices about main behavior in personal life or in society. Those are Maskumambang, Pocung, Gambuh, Megatruh, Mijil, Kinanthi, Durma, Pangkur, Asmarandana, Sinom, and Dhandhanggula. Each type associate with a sequence of human life journey from they in the womb until they die. Maskumambang is about the fetus floating in the mother's womb, Mijil is about birth, Sinom is about youth age,

Asmarandana is about love, Gambuh is about the period of achieving compatibility between men and women, Dhandhanggula is about time to become an adult, Kinanthi is about time to educate children, Pangkur is about have life principles and make a priority scale in life, Durma is about charity, Megatruh is about the separation of soul and body, and Pocung is about how human died and wrapped by the white cloth. It also gives instruction or guidance about attitude and behavior they should have from birth to death. It all is to achieve the magnificence of life in the world and the hereafter (Hascarya in Efendi, 2010: 202).

From the hierarchy of *macapat* songs above it is seen the nature of Javanese idea, rules, and characters. Those characters such as wise, honest, aware, heartfelt, mindful, brave heart, respect, harmonious, and friendliness support their dynamic social attitudes to live with multicultural society (Jatman, 2000: 22–25). However, there are some members of Javanese society that extremely confirm their existence by rigidly applying the Javanese rules. Sikep society is one of them. The societies can be found in some regency in Java such as Pati, Kudus, Blora, Magelang, Ngawi, Kediri etc.

The Sikep society (hereon abbreviated to SS) is a society that follows the life values which is known as the samin doctrine. They explore and inspire the doctrine as a human nature to do a good and honest life (Suyami, 2007: 29). Samin doctrine is a meditation of movement and the mobilization of internal power to against the lust founded by Ki Samin Surosentiko during the rebellion of Dutch capitalism. He was born in a village called Ploso, Kediren the north of Randublatung, Blora, East Java. Ki Samin Surosentiko is another name of Raden Kohar, son of Raden Surowijaya, who still had blood relation with Kyai Keti in Rajegwesi, Bojonegoro, and Pangeran Kusumoningayu that sovereign in Sumoroto Regency (now a small area in Tulungagung, East Java) in 1802–1826 (Zaenal, 2009).

SS has unique or different understanding about life. They hold firmly the values of truth, honesty, simplicity, unity, justice, and hard work. They strictly apply the values that they suggest person to have no religion (being an atheist), be poor, weird, retarded or old-fashioned, unwilling to pay taxes, and rebellious (Roesminingsih & Nugroho, 2017: 197). That is why it has been misunderstood as disobedience by others. They are considered to have many strange behaviors and activities. For instance, they apply different

purchasing rules that they must be transparent in sharing profits. They believe that they should not make any lie since there is God who always knows what they do (Oktafia, R & Mawardi, 2017: 100).

SS also has different daily lifestyle. Most people in this society are farmers, be they landowners or farmworkers. Sedulur Sikep habitation usually groups into a row in facing each other. It helps them to communicate effectively. Their houses are made from wood, particularly teak, bamboo, or half brick wall with typical Javanese roof with *limasan* or *joglo* shape. The house buildings are relatively large with a very simple and traditional, that it has a large living room, a bedroom, and a kitchen. The bathroom and draw-well is located outside the house and usually used for some families. Then, the corral lies beside the house. Moreover, SS wears clothes with the domination of black color. In Javanese society, it symbolizes wisdom, the highest Javanese lore, and also symbolizes equality (Norman, 2013).

One of the biggest Sikep societies that actively sing and create *macapat* songs in Central Java is found in Sukolilo, Pati Regency. They realize that they are a part of Javanese communities that preserv *macapat* songs as the folk songs. They keep the tradition of singing and even write their own *macapat* songs. They sing them in certain events, inside and outside their neighborhood i.e., birth marriage celebration, other cultural events, or during a formal or informal meetings with government (in a dialogue or demonstrations). Then, some elders also create some new *macapat* songs. It is stated by the informants that the song creation has been during this last 30 years. despite reflecting their attitudes in dealing with their daily problems and activities, some of the songs also reveal their religiosity. It shows their believe in a supernatural power that maintain their life.

The SS *macapat* songs (hereon abbreviated to SSMS) have a common *macapat* song standardization in its theme and structure. They mostly express moral values and guidance for people to get happiness in life and hereafter. It also represents man's life journeys from birth to death (Hascarya in Efendi, 2010: 202). For some reasons, it emphasizes on how to overcome their daily life problems. However, from the structure, some missed in some lines of songs was found. As we knew, the *macapat* song is Javanese poem that has *titilaras* 'rhyme and tone'. There is a rhyme pattern in *macapat* that determine as *guru gatra* 'number of lines', *guru wilangan* 'tone of last syllables', *guru lagu* 'vowels at the end of the line', *titilaras* 'tone', and theme 'context of the situation' (Saputra, 2010: 27). There are some missed syllables and sounds found in SSMS text. Here is the example of the missed lines in a asmaradana text song.

*Ing gubug pringgono seba (8a)*  
'Sitting in the hovel, shyly  
*Kanggo nglempak sêdulur sami (9i)*  
'To gather the folks around'  
*Ndapuken pamanggihipun (8u)*  
'Unifying opinions'  
*Madêgya paguyuban (7a)*  
'To set up the fellowship'  
*Kang aran kadang sikêp punika (10a)*  
'What is call the sibling's attitude'  
*Kanggo nggayuh tujuanipun (9u)*  
'To gain the goal'  
*Nglêluri luhur sêdaya (8a)*  
'Conserving the ancestor's values'

The song above have 7 lines with the pattern 8a, 9i, 8u, 7a, 10a, 9u, 8a. As we know that asmaradana song has 7 lines with the pattern 8a, 8i, 8e, 8a, 7a, 8u, 8a. It sees that there missing pattern in four lines. Line 2 is over syllables, that it should has 8 syllables, rather than 9 lines. Line 3 is missed sound, rather has /a/ sound, it has /u/ sound. In line 4 there is lack of syllable which is instead of eight, it has 7 lines. Line

5 has too many syllables, that is 10 syllables instead of 7. Then, in line 6 there are exceed syllables, that it rather than 8 lines, it has 9 lines. However, in this study missed syllables and sounds are not counted, since the point of the study is on the content rather on the structure of the songs.

From the song above it can be noticed that some values of SS are especially concerned with maintaining the SS heritage of togetherness to achieve their life goals. Beside, it also reflects religiosity aspect. It is mentioned that they should conserve the ancestor's values. It means that they have a faith and believe that the spirit of their ancestor exist and gave them lessons.

Moreover, the religious aspect that SS use as their way of life can be seen clearly in Dhandhanggula song text below.

*Gegarane ngaurip puniki*  
'Life principles for greater living'  
*Tumrape Ki Samin Surantika*  
'According to Ki Samin Surantika'  
*Myang pra kabeh sedulure*  
'Be of service to others'  
*Adam agemanipun*  
'Embrace Adam'  
*Aja dahwen nyolong lan drei*  
'Do not steal, envy others, and do not be jealous'  
*Tukar padu tan kena*  
'Do not quarrel and dispute'  
*Gya sabar lan jujur*  
'Be patient and honest'  
*Ngertiya mring urip ira*  
'Understand the meaning of your life'  
*Sukma siji nunggal sandangngane reki*  
'Hold on to God, the one and only'  
*Tumindak becik mula*  
'And behave well'

The Dhandhanggula text above showed Samin Surosentiko's lessons that related with SS religiosity. It tells what they should do and do not and that they should embrace Adam religion with all life principles taught by Ki Samin Surantika.

Based on the facts above this research was conducted to describe how the SS religiosity influences SS attitude and behavior that reflected on SSMS. Further, this article will dig the religiosity attitudes, especially on their focuses and objects using appraisal linguistic theory.

SS is recognized has strong principles of life. The principals are 'I'm Javanese' and 'Adam is my religion'. SS assumed that they are the children and followers of prophet Adam that they named their religion as Adam. They believed that God has nature, power, and absolute will. God set human faith and freedom. They also admit the concept of belief in their lessons. Their belief source was admitted from serat *Jamus Kalimosodo*. In serat *Jamus Kalimosodo* there was one of ajaran about etic or moral published in *Uri-uri Pambudi*. SS adopted basic principle of etic or moral about not to be *drengki* 'making slander', *srei* 'greedy', *panesten* 'easily offended', *dawen* 'accusing without evidence', *kemeren* 'envy', etc. Moreover, SS follows the religion as the embodiment of *pangucap* 'speech', *laku* 'behavior', and *panganggo* 'how to dress'. *Pangucap* means when the universe is zero the existence of the world is inhabited by Adam. *Laku* proposes that attitude do not violate the principle of Samin. *Penganggo* deal with all activities depend on Adam as first person in the world (Rosyid, 2014, 11–12). All those principals are still applied in their daily life. Although they realize that they have different values of life, they still preserve it very well. Even consciously and consistently, they attempt to show their ethnic identity in their social interaction. They are committed to reject the rules considered against their life values.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

There were some related studies about the religion of Sedulur Sikep. Associated with Islamic religion, Oktafia & Mawardi (2017) make a research entitled "Islamic Values in the Tradition of Samin

Community in East Java". It analyzed the wisdom values in Samin community culture. The study showed that there was a synergy between local culture and Islamic culture. Previously, Mukodi & Burhanuddin (2016) held a study entitled *Islam Abangan dan Nasionalisme Komunitas Samin di Blora*. This study aimed to explore the relation of Islam Abangan and nationalism among Samin community and exposing the resistance of Samin community in recent time in Blora regency. The result showed that the relation between Islam Abangan and nationalism among Samin community in Blora were coherently intertwined and in harmony. The consistency of the community in carrying out the teachings of Ki Samin Surosentiko caused them still exist to survive amid the onslaught of modernism currents. The local culture and Javanese Islam were the means to strengthen the humanity affinity as well as the seeds of nationalism spirit.

Then, Mustofa in 2014 wanted to explore samin's Islamic educational models in a study entitled "Model Pendidikan Islam Suku Samin di Dusun Karangpace Desa Klopoduwur Kecamatan Banjarejo Kabupaten Blora". The study showed that the formal and informal Islamic education model in the Samin tribe in Karangpace is the same as the model of Islamic education in general. The Samin principles are in accordance with Islamic lessons. The informal Islamic education model of exemplary also found that parents provided example to go to public Quran recitation to get lessons.

There was also a study entitled "Adam Religion in The Religious Life of Samin Tribe in Sumberbening Village Ngawi 1969–1999" by Habsari (2017). It showed that religion in the society is a source of altruistic attitude that has the effect of controlling and encouraging to sacrifice. People of Samin state that they have not religion but the believe on the faith of Adam. They point of Adam religion is *manunggaling kawulo gusti* 'doing activities, leading to the God'. People

of Samin call the almighty as *Hyang Wenang Pramesti Agung*.

Focusing on the worship of SS, Rosyid (2020) held a study entitled “Agama Adam dan Peribadatan dalam Ajaran Samin”. The research aimed to get rid of SS stigma as a dissident, ateiis, and poor by understanding about them. The result showed that adam religion is considered as indigenous religions that teach by oral traditions. The Adam religion also teach semedi ‘pray’ and fasting, and manifest it in their life wisdom. The do their worship in house of pamujan ‘worship’ with best time of the worship is at midnight. However, because of poverty, SS leave their village as urban worker that created disharmony among them in preserving their lessons.

Similarly, using *macapat* songs as data Iriyanto (2020) in “Tembang Macapat: Kritik Sosial Sedulur Sikep terhadap Ekspansi Industri Semen di Pegunungan Kendeng” analysed social criticism conveyed through the SSMS (five Pangkur songs and one Dhandhanggula). The results showed that the social criticism found in Sedulur Sikep’s *macapat* songs. The social criticisms included 1) farmers land planted with cement factories, 2) justice must be upheld, 3) casualties caused by miners, 4) the government torments farmers, 5) the earth begins to prosecute nature destroyers, 6) commemoration of earth day is useless.

Recently, Supratikno & Adi (2021) also focus on Samin adherent live experiences associated with the role of Adam Religion. The study entitled “The Samin Community in the Globalization Era: Role the Religion of Adam in the Post-Cement Industry Advocacy”. The article showed that Samin or Sikep community is still treated by other members community as the group of people in underdeveloped life. The religion they observed also felt as a social deviance, and in some degree is construed as atheist. Consequently, they are object of

some discrimination action in the community. However, what for a long time is felt as underdeveloped or backwardness now has given a significant impact, particularly in the advocacy program of the cement company or industry. Even though, they are not the main actor, what they perform is giving a positive and significant result.

It is seen from the related studies above that there is no study of religiosity in SSMS. for that reason, this study wants to explore the religious aspect of the SSMS which are considered as the potential source of attitude using appraisal theory. The attitude itself has close relationship with religiosity. As Graafland (2017: 121–122) stated that religiosity is found to encourage pro-social behavior and it rather increases hypocrisy by enlarging the gap between attitude and behavior. It seems that SS religiosity has negative images because of some strange activities doing in their daily life. Moreover, people and state have different views toward adam religion that is considered as a cult or part of cultures (Rosyid, 2014: 1).

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### Attitude and Appraisal Theory

Religiosity as reflected in a text can be explored by analyzing the attitude on it. Attitude associated with manner, disposition, feeling, and position about a person or thing, tendency, or orientation, especially in mind (dictionary.com). Further Azwar (2005) differentiated experts’ views on the definition of attitude that are generally divided into three groups. The first group represented by Thurstone, Likert, and Osgood that viewed attitudes as a form of evaluation or emotional reaction to an object, which can be either supportive or impartial. The second group represented by Chave, Bogardus, La Pieree, Mead, and Allport in Azwar (2005) considered the attitude to be readiness to react to an object in a certain way if the individual is faced

with a stimulus that requires a response. The third group presented by Secord & Backman in Azwar (2005) considered attitudes to be a constellation of cognitive, effective, and co native components that interact with each other in understanding, feeling, and behaving towards an object.

As linguists have tried to correlate the attitude with text, appraisal is one of theory that can explored it. Like Martin & Rose (2003:16) that used appraisal to focus on attitude evaluation build in text that associated with social interaction. This appraisal theory focused on how attitude and value negotiated to the readers. The main aspect of appraisal is the opinion source that is naturally built. As Martin & Rose (2003: 22) said, "Appraisal is concerned with evaluation: the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feeling involved and the ways in which values resourced and readers aligned". In other words, the appraisal aimed to analyzed the relation of speaker-hearer or writers-readers, especially attitude. It is concerned with the construction by texts of communities of shared feelings and values, and with the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments (Martin, & White, 2005: 1).

Appraisal broke attitude in to three categorizations. White (2006) said that attitude realized three aspects that can be positive or negative, those are affect, judgment, and appreciation. Affect deal with the expression of emotions such as happy, sad, love hate, etc. Judgment is the evaluation of character that is legal/illegal, moral/immoral, polite/impolite, etc. Appreciation related with evaluation of the quality of things, processes, and products whether it was beautiful/ugly, good/bad, big/small, long/short, etc. (Martin, & Rose, 2003: 22).

In a text the aspect of attitudes can be seen through the use of some linguistics features. As Martin, & Rose (2003) stated that attitude was realized in four kinds of focuses Those were

intensifier, attitudinal lexis, metaphor, and swearing. Intensifier includes word of quantity, manner, degree, and modality. Example:

- ***tan kendhat memuji*** 'never stop praying' (datum 4/1)
- ***sakehing pitutur*** 'many messages' (datum 10/2).

Attitudinal lexis is word that contain attitude. The attitudinal lexis is usually realised in adjectives, but other lexicogrammatical units also can express the attitude. Example:

- ***tukar padu tan kena*** 'do not quarrel and dispute' (datum 2/6)
- ***bisa a lestari*** 'may be everlasting' (datum 19/7)

Metaphor is words with connotative meaning. Example:

- Adam agemanipun is not 'adam is the cloth' but 'adam is the religion' (datum 2/4)
- wiji kendheng is not 'kendheng seed' but 'the SS children' (datum 5/3)).

Then, swearing associates with profanity or cursing that usuall found in oral speech. All this linguistic feature is a physical substantive of attitude in text.

## **Religiosity**

In every culture, religiosity plays an important role. Religiosity is an expression of spiritual perspective and refers to an external, formal system of beliefs, values, rules, and rituals (Kaye, & Raghavan, 2002: 232). Understanding religiosity can not be separated from religion as the root term. Religiosity is the implementation of religion in social setting. It refers to individual and social involvement in religion. As Ellwood (1913) stated as follows.

Practically, therefore, religion is belief in the reality of spiritual life. It is essentially an emotional, a valuing, attitude toward the universe; it is the attitude which projects mind,

spirit, life into all things. Religion is, therefore, a mental attitude which finds the essential values of human personality and society in the universe as a whole, or, as in the lower religions, in material objects (293–294).

Then, Durkheim (2008: 117) simplify the religion as a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things. Belief is defined as belief in spiritual beings (God, Scripture, miracles and other religious beliefs). Practice deals with devotional practices, spiritual experiences, and other practices. Those two aspects in spiritual system can be said as the basic aspect in religiosity.

Religiosity serves values that determine the behavior of a society. Durkheim (2008: 10) proposed that religion has three major functions in society; it provides (1) social cohesion to help maintain social solidarity through shared rituals and beliefs, (2) social control to enforce religious-based morals, and (3) norms to help maintain conformity and control in society, and it offers meaning and purpose to answer any existential questions.

There are many components of religiosity proposed by the experts. Such as Glock & Stark (1966: 20-21) stated that there are five dimensions of religiosity, they are ideological, ritualistic, consequential, intellectual, and experiential. The experiential dimension focuses on the personal belief experience, perhaps a transcendent encounter, while the ritualistic domain involves the worship experience that is involved in community. The ideological dimension is “constituted by expectations that the religious will hold to certain beliefs” (i.e., professed doctrines), and the intellectual dimension “has to do with the expectation that the religious person will be informed and knowledgeable about the basic tenets of his belief and sacred scriptures” (i.e., history, sacraments, morality; p. 20). Further they admitted that these latter two dimensions are closely related, “since knowledge of a belief is a necessary condition for its acceptance”. However, they also acknowledge that belief does not necessarily flow from knowledge,

nor does all religious knowledge accompany belief (Holdcroft, 2006: 90).

The basic components of religiosity also vary according to several experts. Like Duke, (1998) proposed three general components of religious, those are belief, commitment, and behavior. Belief is defined as belief in the existence of God, life after death, satan, and the Bible. Commitment are identified in the model: spiritual commitment and church commitment. The distinction between the two is in the object to which commitment is given. Behavior deals with the two dimensions of religiosity contained in the behavioral component are called religious behavior and religious participation. Simply Durkheim (2008: 47) stated that religious are naturally arranged in two fundamental categories, those are belief and rites. The first are states of opinion, and consist in representation. The second are determined modes of action. He proposes a religion is a unified system of beliefs dan practices relative to sacred things.

This study uses the aspects or components of religiosity proposed by (Kaye, & Raghavan, 2002: 232) as the step foot of the analysis. It was intended, to simplify the analysis as they mentioned religiosity basically involved four dimensions, those are beliefs, values, rules, and rituals. We could borrow the definition of the terms from Cambridge dictionary that beliefs dealt with the feeling of being certain that something exists or is true. Values is the principles that help you to decide what is right and wrong. Rules is an accepted principle or instruction that states the way things are or should be done, and tells you what you are allowed or are not allowed to. Rituals is a set of fixed actions and sometimes words performed regularly, especially as part of a ceremony.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This is a qualitative research that employs

analytical descriptive data. It uses primary and secondary data dealing with religious attitude aspects in SS *macapat* songs. Sutopo (2006: 56–61) stated that the data sources of qualitative research can be informant, document, activities, locations, things, pictures, and recordings. The primary data of this study were linguistic features (words, phrases, sentences) that reflected religious attitude using appraisal approach. Those were taken from 21 SSMS texts that was selected from 40 songs in which considered had religious values. The primary data sources were supported by other focuses of data such as informants, books and other studies.

The ethnographic method also used in this study since it involved field research. It was to get the relation between the kinds of study objects, problems, and the context of situation and culture (Spradley, 2006: vi). However, focus of the discussion was exploring the data from SSMS. The research location was in Baturejo, Sukolilo, Pati Regency. The data were collected through observation, recording, and interview. First of all, the researcher came to observe the activity of the SS deals with the SSMS. Then, the SSMS was copied and recorded from their schooling and some daily activities. Moreover, some interviews were held to dig further information about the song and their culture, especially about the song creation from 3 local villagers of the community (Gunarti (50 years old from Dukuh Bombong), Gunretno (55 years old from dukuh Baturejo), Juhri (61 years old from dukuh Galiran)) as informants. They considered as secondary sources to get valid and strong data instead of providing main data to answer the questions.

This study adapted four steps of analysis that Spradley (2006) proposed. Those are the analysis of domain, taxonomic, componential, and thematic. First step is domain analysis. It determined whether the object were data or not. Here, the writer used the linguistic interpretation and intuition to

determine the data based on religiosity dimensions and appraisal theory. They were broken into kinds of attitude: focuses and objects.

The next step is taxonomic analysis. In this step the data categorized into the attitude focuses and objects. The results were classified that the percentage of it can be detected. Then, the data were described in componential analysis. It focused on how kinds of attitudes related with religiosity aspect.

Finally, the last step was thematic analysis or finding the cultural values. The analysis was about to see the concordance of the theories, the characteristic of primary data, the results, the cultural context, and the secondary data of related articles about SS. After all of information from those steps were collected, the result was served and concluded.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

This section discussed the religiosity aspects distinguished based on three kinds of attitude aspects: appreciation, judgment, and affect. The data used were words, phrases, and sentences with religious content that were taken from SSMS. There were 20 songs used as data source of this study. It comprised of four kinds of songs, that were *asmaradana*, *dhandhanggula*, *gambuh*, and *pangkur*.

From the data sources it was recognized that there are only two kinds of religiosity found in the songs, those are beliefs and values. It means that clear rules and rituals of SS can not be found in the song. The songs are dominated with messages and suggestions to SS and all people about what should they do to gain life happiness. Then, the two kinds of religiosity were reflected on three kinds of attitude aspects, those were appreciation, judgment, and affect whether they are positive or negative ones. The types of attitude and their distribution based on the kinds of religiosity can be seen in the following description.



### Belief Reflected in Attitude

There were only six data with belief aspects. Those were reflected in appreciation and judgment. It means, there is no belief reflected in effect found in the analysis. There were two data of belief that reflected in appreciation attitude. The data with the aspect belief in appreciation and the objects can be seen in the table below.

**Table 1** Belief Reflected in Appreciation

Focus	Object
<i>paweling</i> (1/1)	Ki Surantika
<i>bakal sirna</i> (3/6)	wealthy

The table above shows that in the SSMS, two data belief with appreciation aspect. Those are related to two different polarities. The first datum (1/1) was marked by the nominal word *paweling* 'message' indicated positive term. It was directed to Ki Surantika as the one who said it. The second one was datum 3/6 that was marked by the adjective *bakal sirna* 'will disappear'. It referred to negative quality of *banda dunya* 'live treasures' as something that could make man losing their attitude control. Both indicated a point of life to believe another power that control their live.

SS people had a big intention to grab those messages. It was like a need to them to remain that all live things are just a temporary. As Ki Surantika to the people talk about it, they obeyed it. That is what they said that they should follow Ki Surantika messages and they would have a happy life and hereafter.

Then, four data were found expressing belief reflected in judgment. Here is the table that showed the attitude aspect of judgment that represents the belief.

**Table 2** Belief Reflected in Judgment

Focus	Object
<i>gegarane ngaurip</i> (2/1), <i>Adam agemanipun</i> (2/4),	

<i>nunggal sandangngane</i> (2/9) <i>tan kendhat memuji</i> (4/1)	SS/Man
--	--------

All the data above showed positive attitude that referred to SS as part of *manungsa* 'man' that represented human being who generally had a belief. It was evaluated through in the SSMS texts reflected their religion aspects. This object in the analysis was marked by phrases *gegarane ngaurip* 'live beliefs' (data 2/1), *Adam agemanipun* 'adam is the religion' (data 2/4), *nunggal sandangngane* 'one God' (data 2/9), and *tan kendhat memuji* 'never stop praying' (data 4/1).

The positive attitudes in this aspect associated with the faith of SS about the power of God. It showed their main set of religion and how they believe to God. As part of man, they declare that they also had a religion. They call their religion adam. They also believe that there is only one God that He had given a rule as their way of live. One of the rule is about how they should keep praying and thankful to God.

### Value Reflected in Attitude

The analysis of the attitude with the value of religiosity shows that 3 aspects of attitude are found, those are appreciation, judgment, and affect. The following table shows the attitude aspect that reflecting the value of religion and the distribution of each aspects.

**Table 3** Value Reflected in Appreciation

Focus	Object
<i>nusantarane</i> (4/3), <i>pertiwi</i> (20/3-2)	mother earth
<i>wiji kendheng</i> (5/3)	SS children
<i>dilestarekno</i> (6/10)	Javanese culture
<i>thukul metu adame</i> (8/3)	SS children
<i>wong sudo pepeki</i> (9/3), <i>becik</i> <i>wuruk</i> (9/4)	SS statement
<i>sakehing pitutur</i> (10/2)	parents of SS

<i>mbangun kluwargi (6/5-2), kawula alit (14/2,14/6)</i>	SS small people
<i>pan pangêmbat ngêmbani amanahipun (14/5), rinusak tan kêtêpung ing wuri (16/2), aji godhong krapa aking (17/7)</i>	government
<i>mung sak derma (15/1)</i>	the purchase
<i>lelakune asarana (18/1)</i>	man
<i>widada lêstari (18/7)</i>	desire
<i>bendu (19/2-2)</i>	disaster
<i>bisa a lestari (19/7)</i>	water infiltration

Table 3 above shows that there are three categories of objects found in the data value of religiosity, those are mankind, physical object, and abstract object. The first category is mankind from the objects of the children of SS, the parents of SS children, SS small people, children, government, and man. They are characterized by the use of lexis and metaphors *wiji kendheng* ‘the seed of Kendheng’ (5/3), *thukul metu adame* ‘have a child’ (8/3), *sakehing pitutur* ‘many messages’ (10/2), *mbangun kluwargi* ‘build a family’ (6/5-2), *angladèni kawula alit* ‘serving people’ (14/2 and 14/6), *pan pangembat ngembani amanahipun* ‘will the ruler bear the trust’ (14/5), *rinusak tan kêtêpung ing wuri* ‘it was broken in the end’ (16/2), *aji godhong krapa aking* ‘even dry teak leaves still useful’ (17/7), and *lelakune asarana* ‘the attitude is meaningful’ (18/1).

All the attitude aspects in mankind object represented the message about how a man should act and behave when they became part of family, society, and ruler. As part of family they should build a family and transfer all good messages about life to their children. As part of society they should have a good attitude and be useful to the environment and the others. As part of ruler they should serving the people and bear people trust.

The next category of the object of the aspect is the physical object. Those are mother earth and spring water. In the SSMS texts they are marked

by the use of lexis *nusantarane* ‘the archipelago’ (4/3), *pertiwi* ‘mother earth’ (20/3-2), *kreseping tuya* ‘water infiltration’ (19/6), *bisa a lestari* ‘may be everlasting’ (19/7). They reflected two aspects of nature that human must maintain and respect with. It represented live lessons to build positive relation with earth and environment. It believed that it became one of the SS duty and obligation to preserve the environment.

The last category of object of value of religiosity is the abstract one. It can be seen from the referred objects of *kabudayan Jawa* ‘Javanese culture’, SS statement, *pitukone* ‘the purchase’, *hawa nafsu* ‘desire’, disaster, and planting. They all stated of basic human need to have a good live. It related with good behavior of communicating, controlling attitude, exchange, and food producing. It was SS believe that all the activities must be done to maintain good quality of life.

However, much more of judgment aspects were found in the value of religiosity. There are four objects of attitude have meanings related to the value of religiosity in judgment aspects. Those are SS/man, SS children, Sria and Juri, and government. They are dominated the distribution of the attitude and value of religiosity as shown in the tables below. Since there so many data found in this category the data would be showed vertically based on the objects of attitude. Here is the table of judgment aspects with SS object.

**Table 4** Value Reflected in Judgment with SS Object

SS/Man
<i>aja ninggal tata carane (1/3), madepa kanti teguh (1/4, pelahen kanti waspada (1/6), mlebunging gegayuhanipun (1/7), nggayuh kamardikan (1/8), netepna rasa kang nyawiji (1/9), adil (1/10-1), sabar (2/7-1), djudjur (2/7-2), ngertiya mring urip ira (2/8), tumindak becik (2/10), tan ngilingi ing tembe mburi (3/5), kegedhean rumangsa (3/8), amung melek anggondong lali (3/9), datan prayoga (3/10), aja kelu ngaku suci (1/5-2), adja dahwen nyolong lan drei (2/5-3), tukar padu tan kena (2/6), aja banjur padha lali (3/1),</i>

*amburi nepsu (3/4), wanito mring anak rabiya (4/2), kang tumrap bebrayan sami (4/5), gumragut anggone padha tumandang (5/1), ora ninggal kuwadhipane (5/2), kanggo butuh warga agung (5/3), tentrem digayuh (5/6) tebehna ing niat srakah (7/6), lan kang nedya nglebur (7/7), keh jalma lena (7/8), sami ngudi kabudayan jawa (6/2), aja nganti ilang jawane (6/3), ngilingi tujuanipun (6/4), guyub rukun kluwargi (6/5-1), ngetrapna mring putra wayah (6/6), marang laku jujur (6/7), pitutur bener iku (9/1), sayektine kang kudu tiniru (9/2), iku pantes siro enggo (9/5), wajibe wong tuwo iku (10/1), nurunake sakehing pitutur (10/2), gyo lumuntur kangge ingkang putra putri (10/3), kedan wuspada ing laku (10/4), Lelaku ing kang sayekti (10/5), wajibe nom-noman (11/1), anampeni sakehing pitutur (11/2), kang lumuntur akedah koyoto katiti (11/3), katitiyo laku nipun (11/4), lelaku ing kang utama (11/5), nggenep ake kerukunan kudu (12/2), kang tumuju garwo putri ojo keru (12/3), opo maneh bopo biyung (12/4), suprambahing dulur tonggo (12/5), kanggo nglêmpak sêdulur sami (13/2), kang aran kadang sikêp punika (13/3), madêgya paguyuban (13/4), kanggo nggayuh tujuanipun (13/6), nglêhuri luhur sêdaya (13/7), suwala (14/4), wajipe manungsa iku (12/1), weruh ing becik ala (17/4), têtêgi angêngingkan dhiri (18/2), mawas dhiri (18/3), angurangi hawa napsunipun (18/5), nggayuh kautaman (18/6), gara-garane (20/1), kurban jiwa raga tuhu (20/3), jaga (20/4), sugeng tindak sedulur (21/1), mapag tekane adil (21/2), pertiwi den bela (21/3-2), tan eling pamburi kang pikoleh (21/6), kalisa saka serakah (21/4), cekak pikir (21/5)*

From the table 4 it showed that SS or man became the dominant object of attitude in the MSS songs. The object of SS or man in fact had more than 75 focuses of attitude. They consist of much of positive polarity as dominant attitude and small of negative attitudes. It actually refers only for the attitude SS itself, however it cannot be neglected that the SS directs all the values to all man as society member. They propose all the value to the goodness of social life universally. The goodness is related to how to interact and to love the others, the environment, and the nation.

The second object is the SS children. It was only found a few of SS children as religious object.

The object just found in one song that was about their informal schooling activities. The object was stated in the values reflected in judgment as follows.

**Table 5** Value Reflected in Judgment with SS Children Object

SS Children
<i>sengkud sinau (5/4), maca itung lan uga nulis (5/5), sinau tata adat (5/6), mrih geneping laku (5/7), lamba urip saben dina (5/8), migunani sasama (5/10)</i>

There are six focuses of attitude that reveal value of religiosity related to the object of SS children. They focus on the activity and behavior of SS children as part of the next generation. It can be seen through the lofty activities such as *sengkud sinau* 'hard study' (5/4), *maca itung lan uga nulis* 'reading, counting, and writing' (5/5), *sinau tata adat* 'learning norm' (5/6), *mrih geneping laku* 'to complete the action' (5/7), *lamba urip saben dina* 'every day sincerely heated' (5/8), *migunani sasama* 'useful for others' (5/10).

The all aspect of attitude referred to what SS children do in their studying activity. They do all common kids activity in studying such as learning how to read, write, and count. However, they do it not in formal education. They do it in an informal study group with no standardized curriculum. Here, parents have a moral responsibility to educate their children that they might be useful for their society and the nation. Those, they were thought attitudes and behaviors that can be used for them to gain life succeed and happiness.

Then, there is also an object that refers to a SS marriage couple. They are Sriah and Juri, senior SS family members. They become the central character of a song that comprises the religiosity aspect reflected in judgment. Here were focuses of the object.

**Table 6** Value Reflected in Judgment with Sriaah and Juri Object

<b>Sriaah lan Juri</b>
<i>bisa a kukuh lakonipun (8/4), kuat nggayuh tentrem nagari (8/5), loma wirahsa mring bebrayan (8/6), renggo rinenggo mring sedulur (8/7), urip rukun marang bangsa (8/8), bareng mbangun nagari(8/9), prasudi negara merdeka (8/10-2)</i>

The table above notices that the focuses were broken into seven attitudes that reflect value of religiosity. Those are *bisaa kukuh lakonipun* 'may have firm stand' (8/4), *kuat nggayuh tentrem nagari* 'able to achieve the peace of the country' (8/5), *loma wirahsa mring bebrayan* 'being generous to others' (8/6), *renggo rinenggo mring sedulur* 'taking care of each other' (8/7), *urip rukun marang bangsa* 'living in harmony with the nation' (8/8), *bareng mbangun nigari* 'together build the nation' (8/9), *prasudi negara merdeka* 'seeking an independent state' (8/10-2).

As mentioned above, the next object of attitude is an old married couple of SS. They are chosen to be a raw model for building an ideal family. The focuses are connected with good attitude of being useful for the family, the environment, and the nation. Those off course reflect the value of religiosity, especially focused in the aspect attitude aspect of judgment.

The last kind of object in this study is referred to government. It was found in four SSMS that tell about a good and bad government attitudes. The attitudes are in judgment aspect that comprises the value of religiosity can be seen in the table below.

**Table 7** Value Reflected in Judgment with Goverment Object

<b>Government</b>
<i>wajibing pangêmbat praja (14/1), angladèni kawula alit (14/2), tanggung jawabipun (14/3), pan pangêmbat ngêmbani amanahipun (14/5),</i>

*nêtêpake darmane ngaurip (15/2), agêng labuhipun (15/3), tan kêna ing laku nistha (15/4), adigang adigung adiguna (15/5), nindake mumpung kuwasa (15/6), lali prasetya lan janji (15/7), janjine sêpisan rusak (16/1), angrêrintih nyuwun dipun sêngkuyung (16/5), bisa kasêmbadan (16/6), iming-imingi (16/7), nêthêg pênganggo ing raganipun (17/5)*

As seen in table, the government got much attention from SS that it was found fourteen focuses on it. However, unlike the other objects dominated by positive focuses, the government object conveyed negative focuses as much as positive ones. The positive attitude is marked with some attitudinal lexis such as *wajibing pangêmbat praja* 'government obligations' (14/1), *angladèni kawula alit* 'serving people' (14/2), *tanggung jawabipun* 'the responsibility' (14/3), *pan pangêmbat ngêmbani amanahipun* 'but the ruler carried out his mandate' (14/5), *nêtêpake darmane ngaurip* 'carry out life obligations' (15/2), *agêng labuhipun* 'the big heart' (15/3), and *tan kêna ing laku nistha* 'must not act contemptible' (15/4). Then, the negative attitudes are marked by *adigang adigung adiguna* 'boast in strength, power, and skill' (15/5), *nindake mumpung kuwasa* 'act while still in power' (15/6), *lali prasetya lan janji* 'forgetting loyalty and promise' (15/7), *janjine sêpisan rusak* 'one promise is broken' (16/1), *angrêrintih nyuwun dipun sêngkuyung* 'begging politically support' (16/5), *murih bisa kasêmbadan* 'hopefully it can be achieved' (16/6), and *nganti den iming-imingi* 'until given hope' (16/7).

All of negative and positive aspects of the attitudes above are referred to government. The negative attitude shows that the relation between SS and government are used to be in a distance relationship. SS positioned themselves to be critical with the government, especially with the unfaithful

and corrupt ones. They remain ones who used the power to stress the people and enrich themselves. For SS, it against the rules of being a good person as their religion do not propose it.

However, through using some positive attitudes SS also tried to build good relationship with the government. They recommend some good attitude that a good government ruler must do. The attitudes deal with the characters that good officer should have as they had to take the responsibility to serve people.

As it is not as much as the other aspect of attitude, the effect that reflect values only appear in eleven data. The aspect that was found in the nine SSMS, along with their focus and object, are shown in the table below.

**Table 8** Value Reflected in Affect

Focus	Object
<i>merdiko</i> (1/10-2), <i>sayekti</i> (10/5) <i>pringgono seba</i> (13/1)	SS
<i>datan prayoga</i> (3/10), <i>tuhu geng lelabuhmu</i> (4/4), <i>waspada</i> (18/4)	Man
<i>tentreming</i> (5/5)	Marriage
<i>murih hayu iku kang dadi jangkahne</i> (5/9)	SS children
<i>prihatin</i> (8/2)	Sriah and juri
<i>tega</i> (16/3)	Government
<i>nggegirisi</i> (19/2-2)	Disaster

The eleven data in the table above show positive and negative attitudes that reflected value of religiosity. The positif aspect deals with the object SS, *manungsa* ‘man’, *bebrayan* ‘marriage’, and SS children. The objects were signed with some emotive adjectives such as *merdiko* ‘freedom’ (1/10-2), *sayekti* ‘truth’ (10/5), *pringgono seba* ‘sitting shy’ (13/1), *tuhu geng lelabuhmu* ‘to your fall’ (4/4), *waspada* ‘alert’ (18/4), *tentreming* ‘peaceful’ (5/5), *murih hayu iku kang dadi jangkahne* ‘to be safe in the step’ (5/9).

All the aspects of attitude above reflect positive attitude that expressing good feeling. They are about being free, honest, shameful, careful, and peaceful. It deals with some attitudes to gain life happiness. SS people asumed that to gain life happiness need some rule. It intended to avoid social conflict within and between the members of society. They keep the attitude since it also part of the heritage of Ki Surantika lessons. The simplicity in their concept of thinking becomes their advantages (Hendrastomo, 2011: 7). It also became a habit that it is difficult to influence them with other ideas (Suyami, 2007: 29). As the attitudes are considered good in the the community, they will become a habit (Oktafia & Mawardi, 2017).

There are only four negative attitudes found in the value of religiosity. They are marked by attitudinal lexis such as *datan prayoga* ‘will not be noble’ (3/10), *prihatin* ‘sorry’ (8/2), *tega* ‘heinous’ (16/3), and *nggegirisi* ‘concern’ (19/2-2). Those lexises showed the negative feeling of SS deal with some bad condition of the social and political life outside their environment.

Finally, we can say that creating *macapat* songs was one of the evidence that SS tried to preserve the religiosity doctrines of Ki Samin Surantika and also preserved traditional folk songs of Javanese people. However, there were only six type of songs that they created. Those were *asmaradana*, *dhandhanggula*, *gambuh*, *maskumambang*, *pangkur*, and *pocung* Those type of songs were considered as the list of *macapat* songs with simple constructions. Gunretno, one of the SMSS composer, said he wanted every SS, especially the children can sing and learn it. Meanwhile, the message patens on certain moral values and characters for every song were disobeyed. They used SSMS to express their feeling about their life problems. As it all they intended to achieve the happiness of life in

the world and the hereafter (Hascarya in Efendi, 2011: 202).

Then, the result showed that the dominant attitude in SSMS was positive one. There were only a small number of negative attitudes using the aspect of affect that found to appear only several times. Juhri, one of the character adopted in the song, claimed that they always had positive thinking about all the condition and others, whether it was good or bad. The lack of negative attitude indicates that SS paid small attention to or avoided negative behavior. They applied the attitudes that represented their cultural wisdom. Somehow it believed affected their social and religious life that they followed the doctrine as a human nature to do a good and honest life (Suyami, 2007: 29).

Moreover, from the result can be seen that most focuses were associated with the object of SS themselves. It is interesting enough that all focuses with the SS objects related to dominant positive attitude. It off course reflected the social culture of SS emphasized a good relationship with others, God, and nature. Through the SSMS they want to manifest and introduce it to people and institutions. It was clearly seen when they sang their songs proudly in certain occasions outside their community. As Gunarti said that she always sings the songs whenever she had meeting with other people even with Jokowi, the Indonesian President. It assumes that they had attempt to spread their religiosity lessons around their neighbourhood.

There are four dimensions of religiosity used as starting point in this study, those are beliefs, values, laws, and rituals (Kaye & Raghavan. 2002). However, there were only two kinds of dimensions found in this study, those were beliefs and values. The two other

dimensions of law and ritual were not found in this study. Beside it deals with the nature of the data (text), it represents that SS has lack of rituals and formal rules. Considering the invariability of religiosity dimensions composition it also clearly indicates the simplicity that they conveyed in their daily life. It also shows their mind set of religion and how they believe in God. Moreover, the simplicity also indicated the peaceful air that the want to spread to other people. Like Donahue & Nielsen (2005) said that there is the complex nature of religion in people live and in society- on the one hand religion can promote prejudice, intolerance, and war, on the other hand, it can promote understanding, tolerance, and peace.

## CONCLUSION

This study on the religiosity of SS has found out that SS has abundant positive attitudes, especially dealing with beliefs and values. The attitudes consist of appreciation, judgment, and affection with dominant positive polarity. It reflected the SS principles, prohibitions and ideals; the focuses of negative moral attitude expressed the negative attitudes and behaviors that SS proposed to be avoided. Here, the dominant positive attitudes showed their positive social life. Then, the only two dimensions of religiosity indicated the lack of restricted rules and ritual applied in their religious life. However, the use of *macapat* songs as the only main data and linguistics as the only approach may not give comprehensive results in profiling SS religiosity. Therefore, a further study with many data sources and analysis approaches should be held. Moreover, it also needs a study to examine the acceptability of SS religiosity to others and the acceptability of official religiosity in this country to SS for building a good relationship among SS, other community, and government.

## REFERENCES

- Azwar, S. 2005. *Sikap Manusia Teori dan Pengukurannya*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Duke, J. T. & et all. 1998. "The Dimensions of Religiosity: A Conceptual Model with an Empirical Test in Latter-day Saint Social Life: Social Research on the LDS Church and its Members". *UT: Religious Studies Center*, 203–230.
- Durkheim, E. 2008. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Efendi, M. N. 2010. "Tokoh Sedulur Sikep Mantu (1) Akademisi, Mantan Pejabat hingga Masyarakat Umum Hadir". *Suara Merdeka*, p. A, B Colum 1.
- Ellwood, C. A. 1913. "The Social Function of Religion". *American Journal of Sociology*, 19, 289–307. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1086/212254>.
- Glock, C. & Stark, R. 1966. *Religion and Society In Tension*. Chicago: University of California.
- Graafland, J. 2017. "Religiosity, Attitude, and the Demand for Socially Responsible Products". *Journal of Business Ethics*, 144, 121–138.
- Habsari, N. T. 2017. "Adam Religion in The Religious Life of Samin Tribe in Sumberbening Village Ngawi 1969--1999". *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, 19(2), 155--165.
- Hendrastomo, G. 2011. "Wong Sikep: Penjaga Eksistensi Ajaran Samin". Retrieved from <http://staffnew.uny.ac.id/upload/132318574/pengabdian/Wong+Samín+Sikep.pdf>.
- Holdcroft, B. 2006. "What Is Religiosity?" *A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, 10 (1), 89--103.
- Iriyanto, E. 2020. "Tembang Macapat: Kritik Sosial Sedulur Sikep terhadap Ekspansi Industri Semen di Pegunungan Kendeng". *Utasoma : Jurnal Sastra Jawa*, 8(2), 70--79. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.15294/sutasoma.v8i2.43185>.
- Jatman, D. 2000. *Psikologi Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya.
- Kaye, J. & Raghavan, S. 2002. "Spirituality in Disability and Illness". *Journal of Religion and Health*, 41 (3), 231–242. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020284819593>.
- Martin, J. R., & Rose, D. 2003. *Working with Discourse: Meaning Beyond the Clause*. London: Continuum.
- Martin, J. R., & White, P. R. R. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mukodi & Burhanuddin, A. 2016. "Islam Abangan dan Nasionalisme Komunitas Samin di Blora". *Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 24 (2), 379--400. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.21580/ws.2016.24.2.1086379>.
- Mustofa, H. 2014. "Model Pendidikan Islam Suku Samin di Dusun Karangpace Desa Klopoduwur Kecamatan Banjarejo Kabupaten Blora". Thesis. Institut Agama Islam Negeri Salatiga.
- Norman, Y. 2013. "Makna Warna Menurut Orang Jawa". Retrieved from <http://yusufnorman.blogspot.com/2013/10/makna-warna-menurut-orang-jawa.html>.
- Oktafia, R & Mawardi, I. 2017. "Islamic Values in The Tradition of Samin Community in East Java". *QIJIS. Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, 5(1), 97–114.
- Roesminingsih, Maria Veronika & Nugroho, R.

2017. "Local Wisdom of Samin Community: The Core Values to Build Characters". *Education and Humanities Research*, 173, 196–198.
- Rosyid, M. 2014. "Mengevaluai Ulang Dakwah pada Pemeluk Agama Lokal: Studi Kasus pada Konunitas Samin". *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, 34(1), 1–23.
- Rosyid, M. 2020. "Agama Adam dan Peribadatan dalam Ajaran Samin". *JUurnal Sosiologi Agama Indonesia*, 1(2), 121--131. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.22373/jsai.v1i2.500>
- Saputra, K. H. 2010. *Sekar Macapat*. Jakarta: Wedama Widya Sastra.
- Spradley, J. 2006. *Metode Etnografi*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Supratikno, Agus & Adi, S. 2021. "The Samin Community in the Globalization Era: Role the Religion of Adam in the Post-Cement Industry Advocacy". *Supratikno, Agus & Adi, Suwanto*, 4 (1), 47--55. Retrieved from [www.ijassjournal.com](http://www.ijassjournal.com)
- Sutopo, H. 2006. *Penelitian Kualitatif: Dasar Teori dan Terapannya dsalam Penelitian*. Surakarta: Universitas Sebelas Maret.
- Suyami. 2007. "Wong Samin Penganut Agama Nabi Adam yang Anti Poligami". Retrieved from [http://www.kompasiana.com/abyarsyyadwahaby.blogspot.com/wong-samin-penganut-agama-nabi-adam-yang-anti-poligami\\_550097d98133110c51fa6fca](http://www.kompasiana.com/abyarsyyadwahaby.blogspot.com/wong-samin-penganut-agama-nabi-adam-yang-anti-poligami_550097d98133110c51fa6fca)
- White, P. R. 2006. *Appraisal: An Overview*. Retrieved from <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal-guide>.
- Zaenal. 2009. "Komunitas Samin, Perintis Siasat Perlawanan tanpa Kekerasan Orisinil Khas Indonesia". Retrieved from <http://wongalus.wordpress.com/2009/06/28/komunitas-samin-perintis-siasatperlawanan-tanpa-kekerasan-orisinil-khas-indonesia/>.