

Uncovering the Relationship between Political Policy and Religious Understanding with Political Participation: A Historical Approach

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Abstract

Political participation is one of the factors that can affect government policies. However, public political participation is volatile, depending on influencing factors. This research aims to uncover the relationship between political policy factors and religious understanding and political participation. The research was conducted on the Samin community of Tapelan Village using an oral history research method through interviews with 5 resource persons, including 2 Samin figures from Tapelan Village, 1 official from Tapelan Village, and 2 Muslim leaders from Tapelan Village. The results of the study show that there is a relationship between political policy and religious understanding of political participation. The policy of taking over the management of the Bola teak forest during the Netherlands colonial government encouraged the growth of Saminism (Agama Adam) where the political participation of the Samin community was apathetic. Meanwhile, the development program on the spiritual and mental aspects encourages the religious conversion of the Samin community to Islam where the political participation of the Samin community is spectators and gladiators which is indicated by participation in election activities, active lobbying, and establishing contact with Tapelan Village government officials to convey the aspirations of the community, and active in organizational activities even though it is only at the village government level.

Keywords: *Samin Community, Political Participation, Apathetic Political Participation, Spectators Political Participation, Gladiators Political Participation*

INTRODUCTION

Political participation is one of the important points in the democratic system. In today's modern era, most countries tend to organize a democratic political system. However, the democratic system cannot be properly implemented without adequate political participation from all citizens. It is not surprising that many studies are specifically focused on the studies of political participation.

Yosira D. Macias Mejia (2024) conducted a study that linked the fate of racial and ethnic groups to political participation. The study, which was conducted on racial and ethnic groups in America, namely Latinos, Blacks, and Asian Americans, produced interesting findings. The measure of fate is a strong predictor of the political participation of Latinos and Blacks, but it does not predict the political participation of Asians. This means that political participation to represent the interests of racial or ethnic groups is essential for Latinos and Blacks. The same does not happen to people of Asian descent (Macías Mejía, 2024).

Anna Suni & Reetta Mietola (2023) seek to link age, race, and ethnicity with political participation. The ethnographic research conducted on various races and ethnic minorities in Finland examined the conception and representation of political participation. This research focuses on the question of how political participation is conceptualized to involve the marginalized young generation, and what opportunities for political participation can be utilized by the younger generation in political practices. This study found that the young generation is a political agent who not only needs access and resources but also negotiations about what forms

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of political participation can be carried out and how the impact of political participation is carried out (Suni & Mietola, 2023).

The research of Gerson et al. (2019) on how ethnic minorities have similar feelings with other ethnoracials can shape attitudes and support for coalition building. The interests of ethnic groups as a representation of the interests of each ethnicity that has a common fate tend to be followed by the same political actions so that they have the potential to support political participation (Chan & Jasso, 2023).

In connection with the study of political participation above, the Samin community of Tapelan Village, Ngraho District, Bojonegoro Regency, Republic of Indonesia, has its uniqueness. The experience of the Samin people during the colonial period of the Netherlands and the independence of the Republic of Indonesia provides an experience that influences the ebb and flow of their dynamic political participation.

As is known, from the colonial rule of the Netherlands to the early days of independence, the Samin people grew as an exclusive society. Under the leadership of Samin Surosentiko, they developed a system of traditions and beliefs known as *the Agama Adam*. The traditional system and belief system have made the Samin people a closed society and apathetic to government policies, both the colonial government of the Netherlands and the government of the Republic of Indonesia in the early days of independence.

Statement of the Problem

Currently, all residents of the Samin community of Tapelan Village, Ngraho District, Bojonegoro Regency are followers of Islam, have an inclusive character like Javanese people in general, and participate in political activities even though they are limited to the village level only. The main question in this study is what are the factors that affect the change in political participation of the Samin Community in Tapelan Village, Ngraho District, Bojonegoro Regency, from apathetic participation to spectator participation and gladiator participation?

Objectives of the Article

This research reveals how the relationship between the political policies of the ruling government and the religion embraced by the Samin community to their political participation. The research was conducted using a historical approach that focused on the period between 1890 and the present.

This article is important for the following three reasons. *First*, it describes the policies of the Netherlands colonial government as a factor that encouraged the change of the Samin society, which was originally an inclusive Javanese Islamic society, to become an exclusive adherent of the Adamic religion and tended to close itself to the influence of modern culture and science. They not only did not have political participation but also resisted the policies of the Netherlands colonial government and were apathetic to the government of the Republic of Indonesia at the beginning of independence. *Second*, it describes the government policies of the Republic of Indonesia that encourage the change of the Samin community from adherents of the Adamic religion who are exclusive and against legitimate government policies, to an inclusive and open Javanese Islamic society to the influence of modern culture and science, and to have political participation in legitimate government policies.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted on the Samin community in Tapelan Village, Ngraho District, Bojonegoro Regency, using the oral history research method (Balaram, 2021; Dere, 2019; Dutta & Vauqueline, 2018; Tóth, 2023; Vauqueline, 2015; Vrzgulová, 2021) in order to reveal the relationship between government and religious policies on the political participation of the Samin community. The researcher conducted interviews with 5 resource persons including 2 community leaders of Samin Tapelan Village, 1 Tapelan Village official, and 2 Muslim leaders of Tapelan Village, to obtain comprehensive data to construct the heritage of the past that is relevant to the research theme.

The data obtained from the interviews were analyzed at six levels. The first level of analysis yields a description of the suffering of the Samin people due to the policy of the Netherlands colonial government taking over the management of teak forests. The second level of analysis produces a description of the role of Samin Surosentiko in giving birth to the *Agama Adam* and at the same time the conversion of the Samin community to adherents of the *Agama Adam* (Saminis' principles). The third level of analysis resulted in a description of the Samin Society's resistance to the colonial government of the Netherlands. The fourth level of analysis produces a description of Islamiyah da'wah activities in the Samin community, especially those that have been going on since the 1970s. The fifth level of analysis produces a description of the religious conversion of the Samin people to Islam. The sixth level of analysis produces a description of the growing political participation of the Samin community in the policies of the government of the Republic of Indonesia. The main finding of this research is to obtain an overview of the relationship between political and religious policies on the political participation of the Samin community.

To complement the research data, the researcher also conducted a study of relevant texts (Laurén, 2012) especially concentrating on notes about the Dutch colonial government's policy in taking over the management of teak forests, the principles of Saminism (*Agama Adam*), Samin Surosentiko's struggle to lead resistance to the Dutch colonial government, Islamic da'wah activities among the Samin community in Tapelan Village, as well as the political participation of the Samin community during the New Order government.

RESULT

Takeover of the Blora teak forest by the colonial government of the Netherlands

Indonesia is known as the country with the second-largest tropical *rainforest* area in the world after Brazil (Maulana et al., 2019). Considering that teak wood products provide very high economic value, the colonial government of the Netherlands tried to take over the management of teak forest resources, especially the famous Blora teak forest of high quality (Nurkholifah, 2018; Rokhmad, 2017; Sari & Agung, 2023).

On May 26, 1808, the colonial government of the Netherlands established *the Dienst van het Boschwezen (Jawatan Kebutanan)* which was given the authority to manage the forests in Java and Madura (Tanaya, 2024). Furthermore, in 1865 the Netherlands colonial government issued *Boschordonantie voor Java en Madoera 1865 (Undang-Undang Kebutanan Jawa dan Madura 1685)* which was a forest management regulation in Java and Madura for the first time. Then followed by the issuance of *the Domeinverklaring 1870 (Peraturan Agraria 1870)* which stipulated that any land or forest on which it could not be proven that there was a right to it would be the domain of the Netherlands colonial government (Nugraha & Mahzuni, 2023; Rachman, 2015; Sari & Agung, 2023; Tanaya, 2024). Meanwhile, the need for teak wood to supply timber companies, to build tobacco drying warehouses, sugar factories, and to build workers' barracks and housing for plantation employees, continued to increase in the *cultuurstelsel period* (Sari & Agung, 2023; Tia Pusvitasari, Tun Susdiyanti, 2020; Wartyo, 2017). In 1865 the colonial government of the Netherlands issued the Decree of the Governor General No. 6 of 1865 dated September 10, 1865, to support the increase in forest exploitation. In addition, the *Reglemen Kebutanan 1865 (Forestry Regulation 1865)* was also issued as a legal instrument for the exploitation of teak forests (A. B. Purwanto et al., 2013). The colonial government of the Netherlands through *the Boschreglement Stbl. No. 61 of 1897* authorizes the Forestry Department (*Boschwezen*) to manage and market forest products (Nugraha & Mahzuni, 2023; Ovi Amalia Sari, 2022).

Saminiism (*Agama Adam*) and the resistance of the Samin Community

The implementation of regulations on the use of forest products greatly restricts the socio-economic life pattern of the community to the point of giving rise to the resistance of the peasants. Local movement figures emerged from Blora, including Samin Surosentiko who resisted with a typical strategy of apathy and ignoring all policies and regulations issued by the Netherlands colonial government (Melani, 2023; Trisnova, 2010; Wildha Nurrochsyam, 2019), such as refusal to pay taxes, the practice of stealing teak wood from the forest (*blandong*), cultivating land that has been cut down (*bibrikan*), and so on (Aristia Sa'ida et al., 2021; Syahrul Kirom, 2012; Trisnova, 2010). Until the 1930s, the conflict between the colonial government of the Netherlands and the forest fringe communities driven by Samin Surosentiko was still ongoing (Abritama, 2023; Melani, 2023).

In 1890 Samin Surosentiko spread his thoughts to the people in the surrounding environment. Samin Surosentiko's thoughts are written in a book called *Serat Jamus Kalimasada* which consists of five parts (Kirom, 2020; Nurkasanah et al., 2021). *First, Serat Punjer Kawitan* which contains the genealogy that the people of Bloro are descendants of Adam and Pandawa. *Second, Serat Pikukuh Kasajaten* which contains marriage procedures. *Third, Serat Uri-uri Pambudi* which contains moral norms. *Fourth, Serat Jati Sawit* which contains the glory of the afterlife after death in this world. *Fifth, Serat Lampahing Urip*, contains records related to births, matchmaking, and good days for life activities. Samin Surosentiko's thoughts received a wide welcome among the people of Bloro and at the same time became a bond of solidarity between them. The followers of Samin Surosentiko are known as the Samin people. Meanwhile, Samin Surosentiko's thoughts are known as *Agama Adam* which is the substance of Saminism (Handitya & Rian Sapiro, 2023).

Saminiism (*Agama Adam*) has become a binder for solidarity among the Samin community. Even the idea of Saminism has also become a principle of resistance to the policies of the Netherlands colonial government (Efrianto, 2024; Rosyid, 2023; Samiyono, 2009). The resistance of the Samin people was carried out without violence, such as not being willing to pay taxes because it would only be used for colonial grapevines, not willing to be ruled because it would only harm the nation itself, not willing to go to formal school so as not to become a colonial government employee, and so on (Melani, 2023; Nurmala & Rusmawati, 2020). Although the Samin people chose a peaceful strategy, the resistance of the Samin people lasted for a long time. In addition, the followers of Saminism are also getting wider until they reach the areas of Bloro, Ngawi, Kudus, Pati, Grobogan, Madiun, and so on (Melani, 2023). Thus, the resistance of the Samin people developed into a movement that was very troublesome for the Netherlands colonial government.

The resistance of the Samin community was a consequence of the accumulated misery of the people as a result of the issuance of *Boschreglement* Stbl. No. 61 of 1897 concerning the collection and marketing of forest products which could only be carried out by *the Boschwezen (Jawatan Kehutanan)* and followed by the issuance of *Boschordonantie Voor Java en Madoera* in 1927 regarding the restriction of land clearing for agriculture (Abritama, 2023).

In addition, the resistance of the Samin community was also driven by the belief system in *the Agama Adam* which believed in the emergence of the figure of Ratu Adil in Samin Surosentiko (Abritama, 2023; Nurmala & Rusmawati, 2020; Rosyid, 2023). Thus, the resistance of the Samin people was not only in the form of rejection of the policies of the Netherlands colonial government but also influenced the way of life and spirituality of its followers (Arif, 2020; Melani, 2023; Nurmala & Rusmawati, 2020).

The Samin people's resistance took place continuously as a historical "documentation" of the peasant resistance in daily life (Mukodi & Burhanuddin, 2016). The resistance of the Samin community is a concrete form of daily resistance that includes various elements of action. The resistance of the Samin society can only be properly understood in the framework of religion or philosophy of life as seen in *Agama Adam* (Nurkasanah et al., 2021).

The mental and spiritual development of the Samin community through Islamic da'wah

Until the beginning of the independence period of the Indonesian nation, the Samin people of Tapelan Village were adherents of *the Agama Adam*. They still carry out the traditional system by the teachings of *the Agama Adam* (principles of Saminism) in daily life. This kind of situation lasted until the 1980s (Kirom, 2021; Nurmala & Rusmawati, 2020; Rosyid, 2020, 2023).

Along with the development programs implemented during the New Order period, including development in the spiritual and mental field, the Samin people are increasingly familiar with the principles of Islam. There are several media of introduction to Islam among the Samin community, including daily social activities with non-Samin communities, population activities at village offices, through preachers who carry out Islamic da'wah programs, and educational institutions both formal and non-formal (Arif, 2020; Hidayah, 2019; Yahya, 2009).

The perpetrators of Islamic da'wah in the Samin community, Tapelan Village, Ngraho District, and Bojonegoro Regency can be explained as follows.

First, Modin. In the village government structure, *Modin* is an official officer who takes care of religious matters, especially related to marriage. But in everyday life, a *Modin* is a figure who is often invited to lead prayers in birth, circumcision, marriage, and death ceremonies (Arifin, 2017; Muhsin, 2022; Romadhoni et al., 2023; Yahdi, 2023). Before leading prayers, *Modin* often starts by inviting gratitude to Allah, praying to the Prophet Muhammad, strengthening brotherhood (*silaturrohim*), shahada, and carrying out Islamic teachings as well as possible. Invitations like this make the Samin people accustomed to receiving knowledge and understanding related to Islam. As a village government officer in the religious field, a *Modin* is also required to own a mosque, become a mosque imam, and not infrequently have a madrasah as a place for children to learn Islam. The introduction of the Samin community to Islam which takes place naturally in daily life has encouraged the Samin people to adhere to Islam as well as get married according to Islamic religious rules which are carried out in front of the head of the Religious Affairs Office (KUA). Before the wedding was held, *Modin* taught the reading of *shahadadatain* and Islamic sharia to the two brides-to-be. Thus, a *Modin* has carried out da'wah to the Samin community, both structurally because it is an official duty in his capacity as a village government employee, and culturally in line with the daily life cycle of the Samin people of Tapelan Village.

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Second, Guru Ngaji. *Guru Ngaji* is a predicate for a figure who not only has knowledge, understanding, and consistent behavior based on the principles of Islam but also teaches Islam to the people around his home (Fitriyani & Aini, 2024; Saefudin & Fitriyah, 2020). In the Samin community of Tapelan Village, *Guru Ngaji* has a significant role in the spread of Islam, especially for Samin residents who marry in Islam and convert their religion to Islam. In this case, *Guru Ngaji* plays a very important role in helping converts to deepen their knowledge and understanding of Islam. Based on interviews with sources, it is known that not a few residents of Samin Tapelan Village are married to members of the Islamic community. Responding to cases like this, *Guru Ngaji* and *Modin* gave suggestions that marriage be carried out in Islam. Of course, families like this will be given special guidance by *Guru Ngaji* to strengthen their knowledge and understanding of Islam. In general, the children from the marriage will learn Islam from the *Guru Ngaji*. There are even several children from the Samin family who go to Islamic boarding schools to deepen Islam. Thus, naturally, more and more members of the Samin Community adhere to Islam.

Third, Guru Agama Islam (Islamic Religious Teachers). In line with the Presidential Instruction Elementary School (*SD Inpres*) program implemented during the New Order regime (Anjasari, 2022; Jailani & Muhammad, 2019; Kusmawati, 2023; Nadhif Muhammad Mumtaz, 2022; Safei & Hudaidah, 2020; Salsabila, 2021), the Samin community is increasingly aware of sending their children to formal schools. They want their children to master science and get a good job in the future. Not a few Samin children whine to their parents to be registered in formal schools. The existence of formal schools in Tapelan Village further strengthens the spread of Islam in the Samin community, considering that Islamic Religious Education (*PAI*) is part of the curriculum in the formal school. Although Islamic Religious Subjects are only required for Muslim students, almost all Samin children participate in the Islamic Religious Subjects. In cases like this, *Islamic Religious Teachers* play an important role in strengthening Islam for Samin children. Following the demands of the curriculum, Islamic Religion Teachers teach Islamic Religious materials, including the Qur'an, faith (*aqidah*), Islam (*sharia*), fiqh ibadah, morals, and Islamic history (*tarikh*) (Noorzanah, 2019). Islamic religious education in formal schools further

encourages the Samin Community of Tapelan Village to embrace Islam massively. Currently, all residents of the Samin community of Tapelan Village are adherents of Islam.

Islam and the political participation of the Samin community

Political participation is the activity of citizens who act as individuals who influence the decision-making process by the government. Political participation can be individual or collective, spontaneous or organized, peaceful or through violence, legal or illegal, effective or ineffective (Bartoletti & Faccioli, 2016; Halder & Campbell-Phillips, 2020; Lues, 2014; van Deth, 2016).

Myron Weimer explained that political participation is influenced by several things. *First*, the occurrence of modernization has implications for progress in various fields, including the flow of openness and the acceleration of access to information. *Second*, there is a change in the structure of the new social class as a result of the formation of the middle class and new workers. *Third*, the emergence of intellectuals is accompanied by the increase in modern mass communication to encourage the growth of public participation. *Fourth*, there are conflicts between political leaders who compete for power so they need the support of the masses. *Fifth*, government involvement in the economic, social, and cultural fields stimulates the growth of organizations that influence political decisions (Evans et al., 2021; Palomares et al., 2021; Van Deth, 2001).

Myron Weimer's conception above can be used to capture the growth of political participation of the Samin community. The conversion of the Samin community to Islam has encouraged the change of the Samin society, which was previously an exclusive society, to an inclusive society. This inclusive nature in turn has encouraged the Samin community to accept outside cultural influences including science and technology. The awareness of the Samin community to study in formal schools is also increasing so that an educated group emerges from among Samin young people. They also get good jobs besides being farmers. Such a situation further opens the awareness of the Samin community to increase participation, both in the social and political dimensions.

The political participation of the Samin community can be explained using the Huntington & Nelson conception which distinguishes the forms of political participation into five categories which include: (1) *electoral activity*, (2) *lobbying*, (3) *organizational activity*, (4) *contacting*, and (5) *violence*.

First, electoral activity is a form of political activity that is directly or indirectly related to general elections. *Electoral activity* includes voting, campaign contributions, seeking mass support for certain candidates, and other activities that aim to influence the results of general election activities. In this case, the resource person explained that all residents of the Samin community of Tapelan Village used their right to vote, especially during legislative elections, regional head elections (*pilkada*), or presidential elections (*pilpres*). Samin residents give their right to vote honestly according to the impulse of conscience, without being persuaded, let alone forced in any way. Samin residents think that every citizen needs to respect each other and be tolerant of other people's voting rights. Uniquely, Samin residents are not interested in participating in campaign activities to avoid hostility between fellow residents due to different choices. If invited to participate in campaign activities, the Samin community still does not budge because they prefer to enjoy a peaceful and peaceful atmosphere at home.

Uniquely, when facing the village head election, Samin residents will only give their voting rights if the contestant is a single candidate. If the election of the village head is attended by many contestants, then the Samin people do not give their voting rights. In addition to avoiding envy and jealousy, it is also driven by the desire not to discriminate against others. In this case, the Samin community prioritizes the principle of honesty to avoid envy and jealousy between one contestant and another. The principle of honesty is one of Samin Surosentiko's teachings that is still maintained by the Samin community to this day.

Second, lobbying, is an individual or collective act to contact government officials or political figures to convey certain aspirations. Lobbying carried out by the Samin community can be seen at village-level meetings, among others. The aspirations conveyed included proposals for the construction of waterways to support agriculture, the preservation of Samin culture, road repairs, and other public facilities. On the other hand, the Samin community also accepts and complies with all policies issued by the government, ranging from village governments, and local governments, to the central government. Indeed, during the Netherlands colonial

government, the Samin people resisted. However, after knowing that the Indonesian nation had become independent and the government had switched to the Indonesian nation itself, the Samin people were committed to complying with all policies made by the legitimate Indonesian government.

Third, organizational activity, is the involvement of community members in various social and political organizations. In this case, the Samin community is also active in government organizations. For example, currently, several Samin residents are officials in the government structure of Tapelan Village. In carrying out their duties, they still hold the principles of Saminism such as prioritizing honesty, harmony, peace, and not discriminating against others. However, until now the Samin people still think that politics is cruel and often the cause of conflicts in people's lives. That is why no Samin community has joined a certain political party or run as a legislative member of a certain party. The Samin community has always avoided acts of violence because it is not under the principles of Saminism which prioritizes peace and harmony together.

Fourth, contacting, is the participation carried out by community members in the form of communication to build a cooperation network. So far, the Samin community tends to limit communication only with the Tapelan Village government. In the view of the Samin community, the affairs of the people of Tapelan Village are the responsibility of the Tapelan Village government. For example, when an accident occurs, a house fire disaster, a proposal for the construction of a waterway, and so on, it is enough to be submitted to the Tapelan Village government. Until now, the Samin community has never communicated with the local government, especially the central government. However, for the Samin people, the commitment to comply with all policies made by the legitimate government is an attitude that needs to be put forward.

Fifth, violence, is a means of violence to influence government policies or change the political system through revolution. In this case, the resource person emphasized that the Samin community is a society that wants to live together in harmony and peace, without any disputes. This is under the principle of Saminism that fellow human beings are brothers. Therefore, the Samin community always avoids activities that have the potential to cause violence such as campaign activities or being involved as a successful team for certain candidates. One of the principles of the Samin community is anti-violence to strengthen brotherhood.

DISCUSSION

Before adhering to the principles of Saminism in 1890, the Samin community was not much different from Javanese society in general. They have accepted religious understanding for a long time (Kirom, 2020; Maftuhah, 2022; Setyaningrum et al., 2017). In the era of the Majapahit Kingdom, they received the influence of Hindu-Buddhism, while in the era of the Demak Sultanate, they received the influence of Islam. In the Majapahit era, the Samin people were Hindu-Buddhists, while in the Demak era, they were Muslims. However, their religious understanding tends to be inclusive and friendly to local traditions. Thus, the Samin community has integrated Hindu-Buddhist values, Islamic values, and local wisdom values in an acculturative manner.

The situation changed when the colonial government of the Netherlands had a monopoly on the management of teak forests. Via *Boschreglement Stbl.* No. 61 of 1897 the Netherlands colonial government monopolized the management of the Blora teak forest. Through the establishment of *the Forestry Office (Boschwezen)*, the colonial government of the Netherlands carried out logging activities to market teak forest products (Afifah, 2020). Especially when the Netherlands colonial government issued *Boschordonantie voor Java en Madoera* in 1927, one of the contents of which was a restriction on the clearing of agricultural land for the people (Sari & Agung, 2023; Tanaya, 2024). This kind of policy is what causes anxiety for the people of Blora because they have lost their economic rights to the Blora teak forest as their source of livelihood.

In this alarming atmosphere, a Samin Surosentiko appeared who led the peaceful resistance against the Netherlands colonial government. After developing the principles of Saminism (*Agama Adam*), the Samin people chose political participation in apathy towards the Netherlands colonial government. This is shown by the actions of the Samin people who chose to leave their village in 1905, then continued with acts of defiance in the form of (1) throwing rice deposits in the village barn, (2) refusing to pay taxes, (3) refusing to send their children to formal schools, and rejecting all policies made by the Netherlands colonial government (Aristia Sa'ida et al., 2021; Kirom, 2020). The Samin people think that rice deposits, paying taxes, sending children to

formal schools, and the like only benefit the Netherlands colonial government and vice versa harm the Indonesian nation. Since 1906, the acts of disobedience of the Samin people have spread to various regions in Java in the form of the Saminism Movement (Kiom, 2020). The resistance strategy of the Samin community based on the principles of Saminism (*Agama Adam*) has slowly encouraged social change. Initially, the characteristics of the Samin community were not much different from the Javanese society in general which was inclusive, but gradually changed to an exclusive Samin society. This exclusivity has caused a delay in receiving news that the Indonesian nation has proclaimed independence since August 17, 1945. That is why their political participation, which was apathetic towards the colonial government of the Netherlands, continued against the government of the Republic of Indonesia until the 80s.

The political participation of the Samin community changed after the New Order government intensified development programs in all fields. In addition to development in the social, economic, and political fields, the New Order government also intensified the development program of spiritual and mental aspects. In connection with the development of the spiritual mental aspect, in Tapelan Village, Ngraho District, Bojonegoro Regency, Islamic da'wah was carried out, especially by *Modin*, *Guru Ngaji*, and *Islamic Religious Teachers*. *Modin* conducts Islamic da'wah formally and informally in connection with his capacity as a religious official in Tapelan Village. *Guru Ngaji* conducts Islamic da'wah in a non-formal manner through education and teaching provided to the wider community. Meanwhile, *Guru Ngaji* conducts Islamic da'wah formally through the learning process at school in connection with his capacity as *an Islamic Teacher* at school. The synergy between the three elements of the preacher took place effectively.

The Samin community of Tapelan Village welcomes Islamic da'wah well because there are many similarities between the principles of Saminism and Islamic principles, including in terms of the oneness of God, honesty, justice, peace, non-violence, and brotherhood. The effectiveness of Islamic da'wah is shown by the fact that the entire Samin community of Tapelan Village has converted their religion to Islam.

The phenomenon of religious conversion of the Samin community from adherents of *the Agama Adam* (Saminiism) to adherents of Islam cannot be separated from social factors. Several social factors encourage religious conversion: (1) the influence of interpersonal relationships, both religious and non-religious relationships, (2) the influence of routine religious meetings, both formal and non-formal, (3) the influence of encouragement or propaganda from the closest people, (4) the influence of the charisma of religious leaders, (5) the influence of associations based on hobbies, and (6) the influence of power policies (Alawiyah, 2021; Marshall, 2019; Yuliawati & Asri, 2024). Islamic da'wah, both formal and non-formal, has become a strong social factor that has caused religious conversion in the Samin community of Tapelan Village, Ngraho District, Bojonegoro Regency.

Policies of spiritual mental development, Islamic da'wah activities, and religious conversion of the Samin people to Islam have encouraged a change in the political participation of the Samin community. If before the 1980s their political participation was apathetic in the form of withdrawing from political activities, then after the 1980s it became the political participation of the spectators and the political participation of the gladiators. The political participation of the spectators is evidenced by the participation of the Samin community in national election activities (*pemilu*), regional elections (*pemilukada*), and village head elections (*pilkades*). The political participation of gladiators is evidenced by their active role in deliberative activities or conveying political aspirations to fight for the public interest in the Tapelan Village government. However, until today the Samin people have not been interested in joining a certain political party. The Samin community is not interested in participating in politics as a critic because of its characteristic of wanting to live a life with other people in harmony, peace, and non-violence. The phenomenon of growing political participation of the Samin community is reminiscent of the results of research by Gerson et al. (2019) that the existence of the same feelings between ethnic minorities and other ethnoracials can form attitudes and support to build coalitions. The interests of ethnic groups as a representation of the interests of each ethnic group that has a common destiny tend to be followed by the same political actions so that they have the potential to support political participation (Chan & Jasso, 2023).

Political participation is an activity of citizens, both individual and collective, to influence government decisions (De Moor, 2017; Iman Nurchochim, 2020; Intentilia, 2020; Oliveira & Ckagnazaroff, 2022; Prats & Meunier, 2021; Sung & Jang, 2020; Yaakub et al., 2023). In this case, two variables affect the high or low political participation of citizens. *First*, there is political awareness in the sense of awareness of rights and obligations as citizens, such as political rights and obligations, economic rights and obligations, rights and obligations of legal protection, and so on. *Second*, there is an assessment and appreciation of government policies and their implementation. In addition to these two factors, there are independent factors, including social status, political affiliation, organizational experience, and even religious understanding (Abdelaal, n.d.; Badaru & Adu, 2021; Deželan, 2023).

CONCLUSION

There is a close relationship between political policy and religious understanding of the political participation of the Samin community. This phenomenon can be traced through the study of the history of political participation of the Samin community at the end of the Netherlands colonial period during the current independence era.

During the era of the Netherlands colonial government, precisely when the management of Blora's teak forest was taken over by the government, the people of Blora suffered due to the significant loss of economic access. Resistance arose in several places, including the resistance led by Samin Surosentiko. To foster solidarity among the people of Blora, Samin Surosentiko developed the principles of Saminism written in a book known as *Serat Jamus Kalimasada Serat Jamus Kalimasada*. The principles of Saminism became the basis for the Samin people in building a system of traditions and even a belief system known as the Religion of Adam. The policy of taking over the management of the harmful teak forest is intertwined with religious understanding (*Agama Adam*) in arousing the resistance of the Samin people against the Netherlands colonial government. This phenomenon shows that the Samin people showed apathetic political participation during the Netherlands' colonial rule. Unlike Javanese people in general who were cooperative with the Netherlands colonial government, the Samin people chose to withdraw from political activities and carry out peaceful resistance to the Netherlands colonial government.

After entering the independence era, the New Order government carried out development programs in all fields, including development in the spiritual and mental aspects. The spiritual mental development program is based on Islamic da'wah activities in the Samin community, especially those carried out by *Modin, Guru Ngaji*, and *Islamic Religious Teachers*. These figures effectively carry out Islamic da'wah, both formally and non-formally, according to their respective capacities.

The Islamic da'wah was well received by the Samin community so all residents of the Samin community of Tapelan Village have converted their religion to Islam because of the assumption of the Samin community that the teachings of Islam contain many similarities with the teachings of *the Agama Adam*. This reality shows that the development programs offered by the New Order government and Islamic da'wah activities are well received by the people of Samin Tapelan Village. Both have a positive relationship in the form of increased political participation in the Samin community, especially as shown in several indicators as follows: (1) *electoral activity*, is a form of political activity that is directly or indirectly related to general elections, (2) *lobbying*, is an individual or collective act to contact government officials or political figures to convey certain aspirations, (3) *organizational activity*, is the involvement of community members in various social and political organizations, dan (4) *contacting*, is the participation carried out by community members in the form of communication to build a cooperation network. However, the Samin community is not willing to participate in politics in the form of *violence* because it is contrary to the principle of non-violence as taught by Samin Surosentiko.

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