

Political Discourse and Moral Negotiations of the Tarbiyah Movement among Students: An Active Reception Analysis of LDK and KAMMI Students at UIN Jakarta

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Abstrak: Penelitian ini meneliti bagaimana mahasiswa menegosiasikan wacana politik dan standar moral yang disyarkan oleh Gerakan Tarbiyah di UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. Meskipun studi-studi sebelumnya terutama berfokus pada dimensi ideologis dan organisasional gerakan tersebut, perhatian yang terbatas telah diberikan pada bagaimana mahasiswa di lembaga pendidikan tinggi Islam secara aktif menafsirkan pesan-pesannya. Dengan mengacu pada teori pengkodean/dekode Stuart Hall dan perspektif penerimaan aktif, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologis kualitatif. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dan observasi non-partisipan yang melibatkan anggota Lembaga Dakwah Kampus Syahid (LDK) dan Persatuan Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI) selama periode 2020–2024. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa mahasiswa adalah khalayak aktif, bukan penerima pasif wacana Tarbiyah. Partisipan menunjukkan pembacaan dominan, negosiasi, dan oposisional terhadap pesan-pesan politik dan moral. Pembacaan dominan muncul ketika narasi Tarbiyah selaras dengan keyakinan agama dan orientasi identitas partisipan, khususnya mengenai standar berpakaian Islami. Sebaliknya, interpretasi yang dinegosiasikan dan bersifat oposisi lebih terlihat dalam kaitannya dengan afiliasi politik dengan PKS, hubungan antara agama dan negara, serta larangan merokok. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa penerimaan wacana Tarbiyah bersifat selektif, spesifik isu, dan dibentuk oleh latar belakang keagamaan mahasiswa, afiliasi organisasi, dan pengalaman pribadi.

Kata Kunci: Gerakan Tarbiyah, Penerimaan Aktif, Negosiasi, Wacana Politik, Standar Moral, Aktivistis Dakwah Kampus

Abstract: This study examines how students negotiate the political discourse and moral standards promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. Although previous studies have primarily focused on the ideological and organizational dimensions of the movement, limited attention has been paid to how students at Islamic higher education institutions actively interpret its messages. Drawing on Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding theory and the active reception perspective, this study employs a qualitative phenomenological approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews and non-participant observation involving members of the Syahid Campus Da'wah Institute (LDK) and the Indonesian Muslim Students Association (KAMMI) during the 2020–2024 period. The findings indicate that students are an active audience, not passive recipients, of Tarbiyah discourse. Participants demonstrated dominant, negotiated, and oppositional readings of political and moral messages. Dominant readings emerged when Tarbiyah narratives aligned with participants' religious beliefs and identity orientations, particularly regarding Islamic dress codes. Conversely, negotiated and oppositional interpretations are more evident in relation to political affiliation with PKS, the relationship between religion and the state, and smoking bans. This study concludes that the reception of Tarbiyah discourse is selective, issue-specific, and shaped by students' religious backgrounds, organizational affiliations, and personal experiences.

Keyword: Tarbiyah Movement, Active Reception, Negotiation, Political Discourse, Moral Standards, Campus Da'wah Activists

Introduction

Religious discourse through campus da'wah dominated by the Tarbiyah movement has now flourished in public universities in Indonesia.¹ In fact, according to the research results of Setara Institute in 2019, students who have a tendency to the Tarbiyah movement at Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta are considered to have the highest conservative understanding of other state universities.² This phenomenon is one of the implications of the minimal role and lack of influence of religious discourse by the student movement from major mass organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah.³ In addition, the tendency of students towards the religious concept of the old group has begun to shift. This is based on a comparison of their old religious experiences with the religious concepts of the Tarbiyah movement that they encountered in the campus environment. The Tarbiyah movement that carries the spirit of purification in living the concept of Islam is then considered by a group of students to be more rational.⁴

In addition, Arifianto in his research explained that students are partly dissatisfied with NU and Muhammadiyah because they view the two groups as part of the

¹ "Gerakan Islam eksklusif' tumbuh subur di kampus-kampus negeri, menurut studi NU," *BBC News Indonesia*, n.d., accessed July 25, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-48754115>.

² Anton Kustedja Abdullah and Rahmatul Fajri, "Kampus UIN Jakarta dan Bandung Paling Konservatif dalam Beragama," *mediaindonesia.com*, June 30, 2019, <https://mediaindonesia.com/humaniora/244271/kampus-uin-jakarta-dan-bandung-paling-konservatif-dalam-beragama>.

³ *Wacana Gerakan Keagamaan di Kalangan Mahasiswa* (Setara Institute, 2019), <https://setara-institute.org/wacana-dan-gerakan-keagamaan-di-kalangan-mahasiswa-2/>.

⁴ Interview AA, Student of the Faculty of Science and Technology and Member of LDK Syahid 2020-2023, At 16.00 WIB, Saturday, 14 October 2023.

establishment.⁵ This is due to the fact that national leaders and senior activists from NU and Muhammadiyah have established close ties with Indonesian government officials, especially during the Jokowi administration.⁶ As a result, young people tend to choose to join campus da'wah groups dominated by the Tarbiyah movement, which is considered more fundamentally rational, as an expression of their disillusionment with the existing public sphere.⁷

Some studies suggest that the Islamization process dominated by the Tarbiyah movement tends to thrive in secular (non-religious) public universities.⁸ Students who come from these secular educational backgrounds seem to be more enthusiastic in exploring religious knowledge that they have not previously received. This is in line with Salman's research,⁹ which states that the higher one's interest in studying at UIN, the less likely one is to participate in the Tarbiyah movement. Damanik¹⁰ then sees that the lack of interest in the Islamization brought by the Tarbiyah movement in State Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIN) is due to the accommodated religious knowledge possessed by students from the course content they have attended. In addition, PTKIN students are generally also considered alumni of Islamic boarding schools, having acquired a sufficient level of religious knowledge. However, the phenomenon that has been revealed in previous research then began to shift. The Tarbiyah movement in the form of campus da'wah institutions (LDK) in Islamic universities today has managed to grow and dominate the discourse of Islamization among students.

Tarbiyah movement activists show significant activity in spreading da'wah teachings and directing public policies on campus. They actively participate in da'wah activities and try to direct the campus atmosphere to always apply the Islamic principles they profess to be consistently applied, especially among its members.¹¹ Such actions not

⁵ Alexander R. Arifianto, "Rising Islamism and the Struggle for Islamic Authority in Post-Reformasi Indonesia," *TRANS: Trans-Regional and National Studies of Southeast Asia* 8, no. 1 (2020): 37–50.

⁶ Greg Fealy, "Nahdlatul Ulama and the Politics Trap," *New Mandala*, July 10, 2018, <https://www.newmandala.org/nahdlatul-ulama-politics-trap/>.

⁷ Arifianto, "Rising Islamism and the Struggle for Islamic Authority in Post-Reformasi Indonesia."

⁸ Ali Said Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002); Yon Machmudi, *Islamising Indonesian: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)* (Cannberra: ANU Press, 2008), <http://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/33709>; M. Imdadun Rahmat, *Ideologi Politik PKS: Dari Masjid Kampus Ke Gedung Parlemen* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2008); Fachri Aidulsyah, *Kampus, Islam, Dan Politik: Dinamika Elite Politik Dan Kegagalan Identitas Gerakan Tarbiyah Pascareformasi*, in *Penerbit BRIN* (Penerbit BRIN, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.55981/brin.591>; Muhammad Zaki Arrobi, *Islamisme Ala Kaum Muda Kampus: Dinamika Aktivisme Mahasiswa Islam Di Universitas Gadjah Mada Dan Universitas Indonesia Di Era Pasca-Soeharto* (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 2020); Lukis Alam, "Islamization, Piety, Fundamentalism: Religious Movement in Campus," *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies* 4, no. 2 (December 2018): 2, https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v4i2.785; Diah Ariani Arimbi and Deny Amos Kwary, "Konstruksi Perempuan Dan Gender Dalam Gerakan Tarbiyah Di Kampus-Kampus Universitas Negeri Di Surabaya: Sebuah Modalitas Pembangunan Karakter Bangsa," *Laporan Akhir Penelitian Unggul Perguruan Tinggi Tahun Anggaran 2015*, October 2015, 1–79; Yudi Latif, *Inteligensia Muslim Dan Kuasa: Genealogi Inteligensia Muslim Indonesia Abad Ke-20* (Bandung: Mizan, 2005).

⁹ Salman, "The Tarbiyah Movement: Why People Join This Indonesian Contemporary Islamic Movement," *Studia Islamika* 13, no. 2 (August 2006), <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v13i2.566>.

¹⁰ Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia*.

¹¹ Alexander R. Arifianto, "Islamic Campus Preaching Organizations in Indonesia: Promoters of Moderation or Radicalism?," *Asian Security* 15, no. 3 (September 2019): 323–42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2018.1461086>.

only reflect their commitment to religious teachings but are also a coherent part of their efforts to cement Islamic identity on campus and influence the orientation of student life in accordance with their vision and view of Islam.

Conversely, students at UIN Jakarta, who hail from a multitude of backgrounds, also possess a plethora of understandings and experiences in responding to da'wah Tarbiyah. The diversity of receptions gives rise to a broad spectrum of responses to the da'wah, with each individual evaluating and interpreting the da'wah in accordance with their personal context. It is evident that students' views are shaped by a multitude of factors, including their cultural background, educational experience, and social environment. Furthermore, the personal experiences of students also exert an influence on their responses to the Tarbiyah da'wah when they are involved in campus da'wah initiated by the Tarbiyah movement. Students who have received a variety of perspectives and religious teachings from other Islamic organizations prior to encountering Tarbiyah's da'wah may be more inclined to engage in critical and selective reception of the latter. This selective consideration of students with diverse backgrounds demonstrates a certain level of immunity to Tarbiyah's da'wah.

The Tarbiyah movement at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta has demonstrated its ability to coexist with other religious ideologies and discourses present on campus through the establishment of campus da'wah institutions. Those who participate in LDK Syarif Hidayatullah (Syahid) also hail from a variety of religious backgrounds and affiliations, including NU, Muhammadiyah, Islamic Unity (Persis), and others (non-Tarbiyah). Furthermore, the cohort of active participants is not exclusively comprised of alumni from public schools; it also includes individuals who have attended pesantren, both from modern environments such as Muhammadiyah and traditional ones such as NU. The involvement of a diverse range of religious backgrounds and student affiliations in the Tarbiyah movement at UIN Jakarta has created an opportunity for students to engage actively with the values of Tarbiyah preaching. It also appears that their activists have facilitated students' understanding of the Islamic teachings promoted by the Tarbiyah movement, despite the existence of different Islamic traditions in Indonesia.

The Tarbiyah movement exhibits distinctive characteristics and practices that diverge from those observed in established moderate and cultural Islamic organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah.¹² Some groups consider the Tarbiyah movement to be an exclusive movement, differing from mainstream movements such as NU and Muhammadiyah, which are more inclusive. The majority of Muslims in Indonesia are affiliated with NU and Muhammadiyah.¹³ NU is known for its approach that emphasizes traditional aspects of Islam, along with respect for the Ulama and classical teachings. In contrast, Muhammadiyah takes a more reformist and modernist approach.

In contrast, the Tarbiyah movement emerged as a *harakah siyasah*, emphasizing both *fardiyah* da'wah and the spirit of social da'wah and political activity. Some groups consider the Tarbiyah movement to espouse an Islamic caliphate agenda,¹⁴ which they

¹² Machmudi, *Islamising Indonesian*, h. 5.

¹³ M. Anas Fakhruddin, "Kontra Ideologi Terorisme Menurut Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah di Lamongan," *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)* 07, no. 01 (2017): 181–209, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15642/jrp.2017.7.1.181%20-%20209>.

¹⁴ The accusation that the Tarbiyah movement espouses an Islamic caliphate agenda is predicated on the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood's ideological texts, particularly the works of Sayyid Qutb, who is

perceive as at odds with the mainstream religious positions of organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah.¹⁵ The Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah) actively espouse and endorse the values of modernity and the principles of democracy,¹⁶ human rights¹⁷ and pluralism.¹⁸ They unwaveringly endorse the prevailing structure of the Indonesian state and the ideology of Pancasila as the foundation of the state. Conversely, they persistently oppose the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia and the implementation of sharia or Islamic law within the context of the existing Indonesian nation-state.¹⁹

Despite the fact that the Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia initially rejected the idea of a single principle underlying the Pancasila ideology, its members have since demonstrated a tendency to accept and negotiate the role of Pancasila as a foundational principle of the state. This acceptance has been accompanied by the observation that Pancasila is perceived as a synthesis of Islamic concepts. Furthermore, this group views democracy as a means of effecting change in the existing order. Abdul Hamid Al-Ghazali elucidates that Hasan Al-Banna espoused democratic principles due to his conviction that the process of deliberation was inherent to it.²⁰

At the university level, such as UIN Jakarta, contemporary activists of the Tarbiyah movement have also relaxed their Islamic fundamentalist doctrine by adopting a more moderate communicative approach. The strategy has been modified with the introduction of a more conciliatory approach and the elimination of any coercive elements in the inculcation of moral values. Additionally, the implementation of doctrinal elements such as Islam as a religion and the state, as well as the concept of *al-hizb huwa al-jama'ah wa al-jama'ah hiya al-hizb* (the party is the congregation and the congregation is the party), has been introduced. This is also perceived as a process of consolidating the electoral base of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which was established as an Islamic political party as a result of the movement. The campus-based da'wah movement, dominated by the Tarbiyah movement, which is also an ideologically oriented Islamic group, can be understood as a

regarded as the father of modern militant Islam. The works of Sayyid Qutb, in particular *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq* (Milestones), exerted a considerable influence on the Tarbiyah Movement. His conceptualisation of the contemporary jahiliyyah (ignorance) and the necessity of confronting it through the tenets of pure Islam have shaped the movement's perspective on society and the prevailing political order. See at Karen Armstrong, *Berperang Demi Tuhan: Fundamentalisme Dalam Islam, Kristen, Dan Yahudi* (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2001), h. 386. The violent movement that emerged during Qutb's lifetime represented an evolution of the Muslim Brotherhood from an ideology shaped by the ideas of Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Ridha towards a form of community development and empowerment, as exemplified by Hasan al-Banna. See at S. Yunanto et al., *Gerakan Militan Islam Di Indonesia Dan Di Asia Tenggara* (Jakarta: The Ridep Institute, 2003), h. 31.

¹⁵ Fakhruddin, "Kontra Ideologi Terorisme Menurut Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah di Lamongan."

¹⁶ Azyumardy Azra, "Cultural Pluralism In Indonesia: Continuous Reinventing of Indonesian Islam in Local, National and Global Contexts," *Asia-Pacific Journal on Religion and Society* 2, no. 2 (May 2019): 2, <https://doi.org/10.24014/apjrs.v2i2.6399>.

¹⁷ Masykuri Abdillah, *Islam dan Demokrasi: Respons Intelektual Muslim Indonesia Terhadap Konsep Demokrasi 1996-1993*, Revisi (Jakarta: Kencana, 2015).

¹⁸ "Survei SMRC: NU Dan Muhammadiyah Memberi Ruang Tumbuhnya Pluralisme," *Indonews*, July 22, 2022, <https://indonews.id/artikel/326423/Survei-SMRC-NU-Dan-Muhammadiyah-Memberi-Ruang-Tumbuhnya-Pluralisme/>.

¹⁹ Azra, "Cultural Pluralism In Indonesia."

²⁰ Abdul Hamid Ghazali, *Meretas Jalan Kebangkitan Islam* (Solo: Era Intermedia, 2001), h. 222.

collective social movement. This collective action is undertaken with the objective of achieving a specific outcome through confrontation with those perceived as adversarial.²¹ The adoption of the doctrine of *al-wala' wa al-bara'* serves to differentiate between the concepts of jamaah and non-jamaah, and between the individual and those outside their group, in order to foster militancy among the cadres.²²

Furthermore, the Islamic student organizations (LDK) and The Indonesian Muslim Student Union (KAMMI) on campus are ideologically aligned with the Tarbiyah movement and the Islamic political party, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). The ideas of the *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (IM) movement were readily absorbed by the student population, who were imbued with the characteristics of Islamic youth spirit.²³ Those who underwent Tarbiyah training in LDK and KAMMI subsequently became PKS cadres.²⁴ They continued to contribute to the political sphere. The training and development programs they implemented resulted in the production of cadres who not only demonstrated a comprehensive understanding of religious teachings but were also prepared to engage actively in preaching and socio-political activities. Consequently, the relationship between LDK, KAMMI, and PKS reinforced the movement and influence of Tarbiyah among students and at the national political level.

In the context of the Islamic movement known as Tarbiyah, which is active at the UIN Jakarta, mentors or *murabbi* are *Dai*, that is, religious teachers, who disseminate the teachings of the movement and attempt to influence students to embrace the values of Tarbiyah. The communicators hope that the students will undergo a transformation in accordance with their desired outcome. This is consistent with the concept of communication, which involves transmitting a message or idea to another party in a way that they can comprehend, accept, or adhere to the message's intended content.²⁵

Communication is employed as a means of achieving objectives, particularly in the context of preaching to effect change, whether that be a change in awareness, attitude or behaviour on the part of the recipient of the message. In this context, the communication and da'wah objectives place the sender of the message in a more dominant role than the recipient, who is often referred to as the more passive party (top down). This assumption

²¹ Ilyya Muhsin, Nikmah Rochmawati, and Muhammad Chairul Huda, "Revolution of Islamic Proselytizing Organization: From Islamism to Moderate," *QIJS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 7, no. 1 (June 2019): 1, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v7i1.5076>.

²² Richard Paul Mitchell, *Masyarakat Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimun: Gerakan Dakwah Al Ikhwan Di Mata Cendekiawan Barat* (Solo: Era Intermedia, 2005), h.406-409.

²³ Ahsanul Khalikin, "Ikhwanul Muslimin Dan Gerakan Tarbiyah Di Banten Dan Kota Batam," *Harmoni* 11, no. 2 (2012): 53-71.

²⁴ Muhsin, Rochmawati, and Huda, "Revolution of Islamic Proselytizing Organization."

²⁵ Dakwah shares several elements with the concept of change in the field of communication studies. For instance, Bakti identifies elements such as *tabligh*, *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*, *takwin*, and *taghyir* within the context of Islamic da'wah. See at Andi Faisal Bakti, "Communication and Da'wah: Religious Learning Groups and Their Role In the Protection of Islamic Human Security and Rights for Indonesian Civil Society," in *Comparative Education, Terrorism and Human Security: From Critical Pedagogy to Peace Building?*, ed. Wayne Nelles (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2003), https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403982391_8; Andi Faisal Bakti and Isabelle Lecomte, "The Integration of Dakwah in Journalism: Peace Journalism," *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam (Journal of Islamic Communication)* 5, no. 1 (June 1, 2015): 185-203, <https://doi.org/10.15642/jki.2015.5.1.185-203>.

is reinforced by several communication theories that emphasize the greater influence of the sender in the communication process, as seen in the magic bullet or syringe theory.²⁶

The theory of the miraculous bullet subsequently became obsolete when it was realized that the message did not affect all people in the same way at all times. The development of the theory of the effect and the theory of audience reception posits that the audience is active and will interpret the message based on their perception of its benefit. Similarly, students constitute the audience or receivers of the Tarbiyah movement. The capacity of individuals to process information based on their desires, needs, attitudes, and psychological factors, as well as rational choices, is known as selective perception (bottom-up). This role is crucial in communication. It is a fallacy to assume that a communicator's message will be received and acted upon in the same way by all receivers. Individuals have diverse needs and respond rationally to messages according to their subjective interpretation. The most effective communication is that which is perceived as having the greatest impact on the communicator, but this will only occur if the receiver is prepared and willing to accept the message.²⁷

Furthermore, experts in communication such as Lee Thayer²⁸, René-Jean Ravault²⁹, and Andi Faisal Bakti³⁰ have proposed an active reception model, which posits that the receiver of a message is not passive. Instead, the receiver is assumed to possess the ability to discern, accept, and reject messages. The Active Acceptance Theory is deemed to be pertinent for the analysis of the acceptance of the students as the receivers of the messages or the values conveyed by the Tarbiyah movement at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

Existing studies have provided important insights into the Tarbiyah Movement in Indonesia. Arifianto primarily examined the ideological transformation, political engagement, and broader socio-political influence of Tarbiyah networks in Indonesian Muslim society.³¹ Arrobi explored the interaction between Islamic activism, religious authority, and contemporary political dynamics³², while Aidulsyah analyzed the development of Islamic student movements and their role in shaping religious and political identities among youth.³³ Although these studies have substantially advanced our understanding of the Tarbiyah Movement as an organizational, ideological, and political phenomenon, they have largely focused on institutional structures, movement strategies, and ideological trajectories. Less attention has been paid to how individual members

²⁶ Ghislain Thibault, "Needles and Bullets: Media Theory, Medicine, and Propaganda, 1910–1940," in *Endemic*, ed. Kari Nixon and Lorenzo Servitje (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), 67–92, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-52141-5_4.

²⁷ Inemesit Umoren, "Expatriation on Magic Bullet Theory Extinction Through The Evolution of Perception Studies," *BW Academic Journal* 8, no. 2 (2022): 75–85.

²⁸ Lee Thayer, *Communication and Communication Systems in Organization, Management, and Interpersonal Relation* (Homewood: Richard Irwin, Inc, 1968).

²⁹ René-Jean Ravault, "Resisting Media Imperialism by Coerseduction," *Intermedia* 13, no. 3 (1985): 32–37.

³⁰ Andi Faisal Bakti, *Communication and Family Planning in Islam in Indonesia: South Sulawesi Muslim Perceptions of A Global Development Program* (Leiden: INIS, 2004).

³¹ Arifianto, "Islamic Campus Preaching Organizations in Indonesia"; Arifianto, "Rising Islamism and the Struggle for Islamic Authority in Post-Reformasi Indonesia."

³² Arrobi, *Islamisme Ala Kaum Muda Kampus: Dinamika Aktivisme Mahasiswa Islam Di Universitas Gadjah Mada Dan Universitas Indonesia Di Era Pasca-Soeharto*.

³³ Aidulsyah, *Kampus, Islam, Dan Politik*.

actively interpret, negotiate, and accept the political and moral messages promoted by the movement in their everyday experiences.

Moreover, previous studies have predominantly been conducted in public universities or broader socio-political contexts, leaving the reception dynamics within Islamic higher education institutions relatively underexplored. In particular, little is known about how members of campus-based organizations affiliated with the Tarbiyah Movement, such as LDK and KAMMI, construct meanings around political discourse and moral standards within a State Islamic University (PTKIN) setting. This gap is significant because PTKIN students are exposed not only to movement-based religious socialization but also to formal Islamic academic traditions that may shape their interpretations differently. Therefore, this article contributes to the existing literature by employing an active reception perspective to examine how LDK and KAMMI members at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta receive, negotiate, and internalize the political discourse and moral standards of the Tarbiyah Movement. By focusing on participants from diverse educational, organizational, and social backgrounds within a PTKIN environment, this study offers a more nuanced understanding of audience agency in the reproduction and transformation of Islamic political and moral narratives.

Building on this gap, the present study investigates how members of LDK and KAMMI at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta actively receive and interpret the political and moral narratives of the Tarbiyah Movement. Specifically, this study addresses the following questions: 1) How do LDK and KAMMI members at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta receive and negotiate the political discourse of the Tarbiyah Movement? 2) How do LDK and KAMMI members at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta receive and negotiate the moral standards promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement?

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with a phenomenological study design. The phenomenological approach was chosen because it allows researchers to explore in depth how individuals understand and give meaning to their life experiences in relation to a particular phenomenon.³⁴ In this study, the main focus is on understanding the subjective experiences of students who are members of the Campus Da'wah Organization (LDK) and the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (KAMMI) at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, particularly in receiving and interpreting messages of morality and political discourse that develop within the Tarbiyah Movement environment.

This study departs from a constructivist paradigm that views social reality as something that is complex and shaped through social interaction and individual interpretation.³⁵ With this perspective, researchers seek to understand how students, as an active audience, construct meaning from the religious messages they receive. This process can take the form of acceptance, negotiation, or rejection of the message, which is influenced by each individual's social background, experiences, and religious affiliations.³⁶

³⁴ John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, Second (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2007), h.58.

³⁵ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London: SAGE Publications, 2018), h.196-197.

³⁶ Egon Guba, *The Paradigm Dialog*. Beverly Hills (London: SAGE Publications, 1990).

The research subjects were students who were active as campus da'wah activists at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta during the period 2020–2024. Informants were determined through a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques.³⁷ The selected informants must meet several criteria, namely: (1) active students involved in the Syahid Campus Da'wah Institute (LDK) or the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (KAMMI); (2) having a diverse background in religious organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Persis, or those not affiliated with any particular organization; and (3) having at least two years of experience interacting with the Tarbiyah Movement.

Table 1. List of Informants and Their Backgrounds

Code	Gender	Faculty	Background	Length of Involvement
AE	Male	Faculty of Adab and Humanities	Persatuan Islam	4 years
AF	Male	Faculty of Dirasat Islamiyah	Muhammadiyah	3 years
AD	Male	Faculty of Da'wah and Communication	Nahdlatul Ulama	3 years
AG	Female	Faculty of Dirasat Islamiyah	Nahdlatul Ulama, PMII	3 years
AC	Male	Faculty of Science and Technology	Non-affiliated	4 years
AL	Female	Faculty of Adab and Humanities	Nahdlatul Ulama	3 years
AK	Female	Faculty of Adab and Humanities	Nahdlatul Ulama	3 years
HAG	Male	Alumnus	Tarbiyah (Murabbi/ Shura Council/LDK Leader)	-
ARS	Male	Alumnus	Tarbiyah (Murabbi/ Shura Council/LDK Leader)	-

This study adhered to ethical principles for qualitative research involving human participants. Prior to data collection, all participants were informed about the objectives of the study, the voluntary nature of their participation, and their right to withdraw from the research at any stage without consequence. Informed consent was obtained from all participants before interviews and observations were conducted. Given that the study explored sensitive issues related to political affiliation, religious beliefs, and personal behaviors such as smoking, particular attention was paid to participant confidentiality. To protect participants' identities, all names were anonymized and replaced with pseudonymous codes (e.g., AE, AF, AG, AD, AC). Any identifying information that could

³⁷ W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 7th ed. (London: Pearson, 2014).

reveal participants' personal identities or organizational positions was removed from the interview transcripts and research reports. The data were used solely for academic purposes and stored securely throughout the research process.

Data collection was carried out using two main techniques. First, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted to explore students' personal experiences, motivations, and responses to the religious messages they received. Interviews were conducted both in person and online. Second, non-participant observation was employed, in which the researcher observed various campus da'wah activities such as mentoring sessions, daurah programs, and social interactions within the LDK environment without directly participating in these activities, thereby obtaining a more objective understanding of communication practices and group dynamics.

Data analysis was conducted using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana³⁸, which consists of three interconnected stages: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The interview transcripts and observation notes were selected, organized, and interpreted by focusing on participants' responses to the political discourse and moral standards promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement. The analysis was guided by Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding framework³⁹ and Andi Faisal Bakti's Active Reception Theory⁴⁰, both of which emphasize the active role of audiences in constructing meaning rather than passively receiving messages. Accordingly, the coding process was conducted issue by issue rather than participant by participant. Statements were categorized as dominant readings when participants accepted the preferred meaning promoted by the movement with little reinterpretation, negotiated readings when they accepted the general message but modified its implications according to their own experiences, beliefs, and social contexts, and oppositional readings when they understood but rejected the preferred meaning embedded in the movement's discourse. To ensure data validity, source triangulation was employed by comparing information obtained from informants with diverse backgrounds, thereby enhancing the consistency and credibility of the findings.⁴¹

Results and Discussion

1. The Political Discourse of the Tarbiyah Movement and Dominant Readings

Organizationally, the Tarbiyah movement, the concept of inter-congregation and partisanship by this group is termed with the narrative al-hizb huwa al-jama'ah wa al-jama'ah hiya al-hizb (the party is the congregation and the congregation is the party). Then there is a doctrine that views religion and the state as entities that cannot be separated. This ideology emphasizes the importance of applying the principles of Islamic law in the context of statehood. In mentoring or liqo' efforts at the takwin level, or the process of forming student activists, students are prepared to take comprehensive action based on

³⁸ Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (2014), h.10.

³⁹ Bakti, *Communication and Family Planning in Islam in Indonesia*.

⁴⁰ Bakti, *Communication and Family Planning in Islam in Indonesia*.

⁴¹ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2001), h.178.

correct principles, whether through a Sufi or militaristic approach.⁴² In the process of indoctrination of this ideology, there are often efforts to build the political affiliation and orientation of members towards the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) as a political forum based on Islam that grew out of this movement.

Therefore, the lessons learned from mentoring or activities attended not only increase members' knowledge of Islam, but also build their political awareness and forge a common Islamic cultural and political identity among members. These lessons emphasize certain perspectives and practices not only regarding religious values such as faith and worship, but also political values such as *ghazwul fikri*. These lessons are designed to create piety, obedience, and commitment in *liqo'* members, both religiously and politically. This provides a way to express their individual piety and Islamic identity. This piety and identity then create certain characteristics in the Tarbiyah movement, which has become a common symbolic expression that unites this community while distinguishing it from other religious communities in the Indonesian public sphere.⁴³

In the process of indoctrinating the political values of the Tarbiyah movement, Tarbiyah da'wah activists conduct a selection process to provide students with an understanding of affiliations, political material, and other aspects of the political school agenda organized by the campus-level shura council. For members who have not yet received the material, the approach used is more of a soft sell, with a focus on building Tarbiyah political values in interactions without directly mentioning affiliations. Once students have accepted Tarbiyah's political values and a sense of commonality and compatibility has been established, political content and discussions are provided, so that they will automatically be in line with each other, both conceptually and in terms of affiliation.⁴⁴

Furthermore, students who are interested in deepening their understanding of *siyasah* or politics are usually found at the advanced *liqo'* level, after a period of management in campus da'wah institutions. For students who have not yet reached that level or do not yet have sufficient experience with the Tarbiyah movement, they can develop their understanding naturally while participating in Tarbiyah movement activities. Several LDK members who are interested in *siyasah* or politics are also encouraged to get involved in the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (KAMMI), which is also an extra-curricular organization and political vehicle for the Tarbiyah movement at the campus level.⁴⁵

Regarding the view that Islam is both a religion and a state, AE considers religion to be a comprehensive system because it encompasses various aspects of life, including political affairs. Therefore, AE also expresses his preference for Islamic parties within the

⁴² Nur Ahmad, *Etika Jama'ah: Telaah Evaluatif Kedisiplinan Terhadap Rambu-Rambu Jama'ah Dakwah* (Solo: Media Insani, 2011), h. 142.

⁴³ Ai Fatimah Nur Fuad, "Da'wa and Politics: Lived Experiences of the Female Islamists in Indonesia," *Contemporary Islam* 14, no. 1 (April 2020): 19–47, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-019-00442-x>.

⁴⁴ Online interview with APY, Shura Council and Tarbiyah Da'wah Coordinator at UIN Jakarta, at 8:15 p.m. WIB, Friday, February 9, 2024

⁴⁵ Online interview with AS, Shura Council and Tarbiyah Da'wah Coordinator at UIN Jakarta, at 6:30 a.m. WIB, Sunday, January 28, 2024

Tarbiyah political movement.⁴⁶ In this regard, AF also argues that religion and politics are intertwined because the two have a fundamental relationship. According to him, religion as a system of moral values participates in regulating various aspects of human life, including politics. This shows that religion not only influences but also actively participates in the formation and implementation of political policies. Thus, the separation between religion and politics is impossible because the two complement and influence each other.⁴⁷

From Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding perspective, the responses of AE and AF can be categorized as dominant-hegemonic readings of the Tarbiyah Movement's political discourse. Hall argues that dominant readings occur when audiences decode a message according to the preferred meaning encoded by its producers.⁴⁸ In the context of the Tarbiyah Movement, the preferred meaning embedded in mentoring, liqo', and political training activities is that Islam constitutes a comprehensive system governing both personal and public life, and that political participation serves as a legitimate extension of Islamic da'wah. AE and AF accepted this framework with little evidence of reinterpretation or resistance. Their responses indicate that the preferred meaning encoded by the movement was successfully decoded and accepted.

The dominant reading demonstrated by AE and AF suggests that the political discourse promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement resonated with their existing interpretive frameworks. AE's preference for Islamic political parties and AF's belief that religion should actively shape political decision-making illustrate how both participants viewed political engagement as an integral part of religious commitment. In Hall's terms, they occupied a dominant-hegemonic position because they largely reproduced the movement's understanding of the relationship between religion and politics rather than challenging or renegotiating it.⁴⁹

This finding is consistent with Yakin's argument that da'wah and politics have a symbiotic relationship in which political engagement functions as a means of realizing Islamic values in society.⁵⁰ Political da'wah is therefore understood not only as moral and spiritual guidance but also as an effort to promote social welfare and societal transformation through public institutions. The acceptance shown by AE and AF reflects a similar understanding that political participation can serve as a legitimate expression of religious commitment and collective responsibility.

2. Active Reception: Negotiated and Oppositional Readings of Tarbiyah Political Discourse

Approaches regarding similar political views and the concept of Islam as a religion and state do not necessarily cause all students who are members of the Tarbiyah movement to show a dominant response. In this case, AD explains that he does not have a

⁴⁶ Online interview with AE, Student of the Faculty of Adab and Humanities and Member of LDK Syahid 2020-2024, at 9:30 p.m. WIB, Monday, January 29, 2024.

⁴⁷ Online interview with AF, Student of the Faculty of Islamic Studies and Member of LDK Syahid 2021-2024, at 10:15 a.m. WIB, Tuesday, January 30, 2024

⁴⁸ Stuart Hall et al., *Culture, Media, Language Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-79* (London: Routledge, 2004), h.125-127. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203381182>.

⁴⁹ Hall et al., *Culture, Media, Language Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-79*.

⁵⁰ Syamsul Yakin, "Dakwah Politik Dalam Paradigma Simbiotik," *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 9, no. 1 (2019): 58-81.

direct inclination towards PKS as his political affiliation. AD states that he has no particular preference for PKS. In fact, AD believes that everything depends on the current political dynamics and the needs of the country, whether an Islamic party such as PKS is needed or whether other parties can accommodate these needs, so he does not have any inclination towards the Tarbiyah political movement.⁵¹

Similarly, AG, a female student with a NU background who is also a PMII cadre, is skeptical of Tarbiyah's preaching when it is juxtaposed with political activities, especially those represented by PKS in Indonesia. She disagrees with the involvement of religion in the political sphere. AG believes that the existence of political parties that carry a religious agenda has the potential to cause significant changes in the existing social structure. In the context of Indonesia with its rich cultural diversity, she believes that a political approach that is too oriented towards religion can lead to conflict and slander that is detrimental to society and can threaten social harmony and stability. Therefore, AG does not support the presence of political parties that emphasize religious narratives in politics.⁵²

From Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding framework, AD's response can be categorized as a negotiated reading. Although he accepted certain Islamic values conveyed through Tarbiyah activities, he did not fully embrace the political implications associated with support for PKS or the broader political agenda of the movement. Instead, he reinterpreted the message through a pragmatic lens, arguing that political preferences should be determined by contemporary national needs rather than ideological affiliation. Hall describes this position as a negotiated reading because audiences acknowledge the legitimacy of the dominant discourse while simultaneously modifying it according to their own experiences and interests.⁵³ AD's response demonstrates that acceptance of religious values does not automatically translate into acceptance of specific political affiliations.

This finding is also consistent with Bakti's Active Reception theory, which emphasizes the central role of message recipients in the communication process. According to Bakti, audiences are not passive recipients who simply absorb messages transmitted by communicators. Rather, they actively interpret, select, accept, modify, or reject messages based on their intentions, needs, experiences, cultural backgrounds, and social environments.⁵⁴ In this perspective, AD's response reflects an active interpretive process in which the political discourse of the Tarbiyah Movement was not accepted in its entirety but was adjusted to his own understanding of political realities and national interests.

In contrast, AG represents an oppositional reading because she rejected the preferred meaning embedded in the Tarbiyah Movement's political discourse. Rather than viewing the integration of religion and politics as a desirable objective, she interpreted it as potentially harmful to pluralism and social cohesion in Indonesia. Her NU pesantren background and involvement in PMII provided alternative interpretive resources through which Tarbiyah's political narratives were evaluated and challenged. From Hall's perspective, AG occupied an oppositional position because she understood the intended

⁵¹ Interview with AD, Student of the Faculty of Da'wah and Communication Sciences and Member of LDK Syahid 2021-2023, at 2:30 p.m. WIB, Monday, January 29, 2024

⁵² Online interview with AG, Student of the Faculty of Islamic Studies and Member of LDK Syahid 2022-2023, at 10:25 a.m. WIB, Sunday, February 4, 2024

⁵³ Hall et al., *Culture, Media, Language Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-79*.

⁵⁴ Bakti, *Communication and Family Planning in Islam in Indonesia*, h.110.

meaning of the message but consciously rejected its ideological assumptions and political implications.

AG's response further supports Bakti's argument that communication outcomes are strongly influenced by audiences' socio-cultural contexts and worldviews. Similar to the Active Reception tradition developed by scholars such as Lee Thayer⁵⁵ and René Jean Ravault⁵⁶, Bakti argues that individuals actively construct meaning through their prior experiences, values, and social affiliations. AG's religious socialization within the NU tradition and her organizational involvement in PMII shaped a worldview that differed significantly from that promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement. As a result, she interpreted the movement's political discourse through a different ideological framework and ultimately rejected its preferred meaning.

The different responses of AD and AG demonstrate that the reception of Tarbiyah political discourse cannot be understood as a linear process of ideological transmission or indoctrination. Rather, consistent with both Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model and Andi Faisal Bakti's Active Reception theory, audiences actively participate in the production of meaning. Their interpretations are shaped not only by the content of the message itself but also by their cultural backgrounds, organizational experiences, religious orientations, and personal interests. Consequently, the same political discourse may generate negotiated or oppositional readings depending on the interpretive resources available to individual audiences.

The findings suggest that the reception of Tarbiyah political discourse among PTKIN students is shaped not only by the ideological content of the movement but also by the communicative environments and interpretive resources available to audiences. While dominant readings emerge when Tarbiyah's preferred meanings align with students' existing religious orientations, negotiated and oppositional readings are more likely to appear when students possess alternative organizational, theological, or socio-political reference frameworks.

3. Dominant and Negotiated Readings of Tarbiyah Moral Standards

In this study, indoctrination is understood not as a successful one-way transmission of values that automatically produces acceptance among students. Rather, it refers to the encoding strategies employed by murabbi through mentoring, liqo', religious training, and organizational activities to transmit particular moral standards. Following Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding framework, the success of these encoding efforts cannot be assumed in advance because audiences actively interpret, negotiate, or reject the messages they receive.⁵⁷ Therefore, the present analysis focuses on how students decode the moral standards promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement through dominant, negotiated, and oppositional readings.

a) Dominant Readings of Sharia Clothing as a Moral Standard

Campus outreach activities carried out by the Tarbiyah congregation place appearance as a representation of the moral and ethical values they adopt. In this case,

⁵⁵ Thayer, *Communication and Communication Systems in Organization, Management, and Interpersonal Relation*.

⁵⁶ Ravault, "Resisting Media Imperialism by Coerseduction."

⁵⁷ Hall et al., *Culture, Media, Language Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-79*.

moral standards of dress not only serve as a group identity but also as a means of outreach that is consistent with the religious principles they adopt. Physical appearance, such as wearing clothing that covers the chest and is loose-fitting, especially for akhwat or women, is a form of obedience to the code of ethics upheld by the Tarbiyah movement. The Islamic dress code applied by the Tarbiyah movement can be seen as a form of moral indoctrination of its members.

AG, a member of LDK Syahid Jakarta, stated that wearing a hijab that covers the chest and a gamis provides a sense of security. AG's experience shows that Islamic dress standards are not only seen as a form of religious obedience but also as a strategy to protect oneself from potential harassment.⁵⁸ AL, a member of LDK Syahid, also emphasized the importance of covering the legs, which are considered aurat, even though she did not wear socks at first. The knowledge she gained from the campus da'wah institution made her accept and adapt to the moral standards of the Tarbiyah movement.⁵⁹

The case of AG demonstrates that reception is selective rather than uniform. While she adopted a dominant reading of the Tarbiyah Movement's moral standards concerning Islamic dress, she simultaneously expressed an oppositional reading of its political discourse. This finding suggests that students do not simply accept or reject the movement as a whole; instead, they actively evaluate different elements of its teachings and construct meanings according to their own interpretive frameworks.

AK, another member of the Tarbiyah congregation, also follows Islamic dress codes despite differences of opinion among scholars regarding the obligation to cover the feet. AK chooses to follow his own beliefs, which are in line with the teachings of Tarbiyah, demonstrating that individual interpretation and personal beliefs play an important role in the application of teachings.⁶⁰ This then highlights how individual piety can influence the acceptance of teachings that are considered good, demonstrating the dynamic interaction between indoctrination and personal awareness as active recipients.

Through the acceptance and internalization of Islamic dress codes, student members of the campus da'wah at UIN Jakarta have succeeded in creating an environment that upholds moral values. The experiences of AG, AL, and AK show how members or congregations adapt to the moral standards that apply to Tarbiyah da'wah, which not only reflect religious obedience but also provide a sense of security. This shows indoctrination in shaping individual moral identities in line with the concept of akhlak.

Regarding the hijab or Islamic dress indoctrinated by student members of the Tarbiyah movement at UIN Jakarta. This then highlights the development of urban Muslim social piety as reflected in dress practices, which mark, categorize, and display the body in public spaces and indicate the boundaries between parts of the body that may be seen and those that must be covered. According to Siregar, clothing not only functions as a marker of social status or identity, but also shapes individual subjectivity. Clothing has strong symbolic meaning, restricting or revealing certain parts of the body, and plays a role in

⁵⁸ Online interview with AG, Student of the Faculty of Islamic Studies and Member of LDK Syahid 2022-2023, at 10:25 a.m. WIB, Sunday, February 4, 2024.

⁵⁹ Online interview with AL, Student of the Faculty of Adab and Humanities, member of LDK Syahid 2021-2023, at 8:45 p.m. WIB, Sunday, May 26, 2024.

⁶⁰ Online interview with AK, Student of the Faculty of Adab and Humanities and Member of LDK Syahid 2021-2023 and KAMMI UIN Jakarta, at 7:20 p.m. WIB, Sunday, May 26, 2024

personality formation. Clothing also becomes an arena for cultural contestation and an effective tool of control in everyday life, displaying identity and blurring the boundaries of its origin.⁶¹

Therefore, in the context of student members of the Tarbiyah movement at UIN Jakarta, Islamic clothing becomes a concrete manifestation of collective or social piety in maintaining the moral identity of the Tarbiyah movement. The strict application of Islamic dress standards, such as covering the chest and wearing loose clothing, marks and categorizes group identity and demonstrates commitment to Islamic values. Islamic clothing not only functions as a symbol of religious status but also as a means of shaping campus da'wah members from objects of da'wah to subjects of da'wah who can be examples in the campus environment and among students. Through guidance in halaqah or mentoring, these campus da'wah members are indoctrinated to internalize and comply with these standards, showing that clothing is an important tool in maintaining their morality and social identity.

Thus, Islamic clothing in the Tarbiyah movement serves as an effective means of control and a vehicle for cultural contestation, reflecting the power of clothing in shaping individual identity and subjectivity in the public sphere. Islamic clothing becomes a visual symbol of moral commitment and collective piety, which is continuously reinforced through a systematic and consistent process of indoctrination. This indoctrination process has succeeded in creating a strong moral consciousness, which is in line with the principle of *khairiyah al-ummah*, striving to become the best community that upholds good morals.

According to Ismail, there are four aspects of ethical commitment that Muslims must have as *khairu ummah*. First, they must have a strong commitment to truth and goodness. Second, they must be able to distinguish between good and evil. Third, they must be able to do good and avoid evil. Fourth, they must be able to influence others to do good (*al-amr bi al-ma'ruf*) and prevent evil (*al-nahy 'an al-munkar*).⁶² Therefore, student activists on campus are also expected to be able to distinguish between good and bad, do good and avoid evil, and be able to invite others to do good and forbid evil so that they can become the best people (*khairu ummah*).

Therefore, the overall analysis of student indoctrination and negotiation in the political discourse and moral standards of the Tarbiyah movement reflects the variety of responses given by students at UIN Jakarta as recipients of messages or audiences of the Tarbiyah movement. There are students who are receptive, and there are students who negotiate and reject the messages they receive. However, these responses are often influenced by rationalizations rooted in the cultural context and life experiences of these students. Messages that are considered relevant to their lives are then selected and adopted (dominant), while those that are not so relevant can be negotiated or even rejected or interpreted differently and oppositely (opposition).

b) Negotiations on Smoking Behavior

Indoctrination regarding the moral standards of the Tarbiyah movement takes place through an understanding of the values of Muwashofat Tarbiyah in mentoring

⁶¹ Herianda Dwi Putra Siregar, "Gelombang Ideologi Islam Transnasional Dalam Sekolah Islam Terpadu," *J. Ilmu Sos. Indones* 2 (2021): 27–39.

⁶² A. Ilyas Ismail, *The True Da'wa Menggagas Paradigma Baru Dakwah Era Milenial*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2018).

groups or individual da'wah, as well as through collective awareness of da'wah bil hal or the example set by the murabbi and other members. The values of Muwashofat Tarbiyah that are formed are required to become moral values and standards for the Tarbiyah congregation. However, the findings show that there are also students who reject this. This relates to the context of qowiyul jismi, namely physical strength or health. Qowiyul jismi is considered to be contrary to smoking, which can damage health. Smoking in the Tarbiyah movement is something that its congregation must avoid.⁶³

Furthermore, the Tarbiyah movement views smoking as related to the importance of monotheism, in which cigarettes are seen as a violation of monotheistic values. Those who generally do not smoke consider it not only a matter of halal and haram, but in such circumstances, individuals tend to be willing to become subjects of the dominance of smoking, either consciously or unconsciously.⁶⁴

Therefore, in the view of the Tarbiyah movement, cigarettes transcend their original function and become a symbol of domination that significantly influences individuals. Therefore, in this case, cigarettes become the center of attention, equivalent to God. An individual's dependence on cigarettes as Allah can cause them to fall into violation of the concept of tawhid, which in Islam is called shirk (associating partners with Allah), thus facing the threat of a great and unforgivable sin.⁶⁵

HAG explained that in the context of Tarbiyah, the prohibition against smoking is indeed enforced in accordance with the messages of Tarbiyah's da'wah. However, the diverse backgrounds of students at UIN Jakarta can influence their interpretation of the implementation of these norms.⁶⁶ Students who come from different backgrounds are considered to have faith or belief. Faith is defined as the recipient's conviction that remains consistent with their understanding⁶⁷ based on their stock of knowledge⁶⁸ or preferences.

AC, a campus missionary activist, stated that in the context of the Tarbiyah movement, smoking is considered haram and is a prohibited act. However, AC has a subjective view. He believes that the view that the use of tobacco is not haram has a strong basis or argument.⁶⁹ This highlights the rejection of Tarbiyah's message or values regarding student freedom, such as AC, to make choices based on personal preferences, even if they conflict with the moral standards espoused by the Tarbiyah movement.

Similarly, AE stated that although he was involved in the Tarbiyah movement, he had a different perspective on smoking. AE realigned the moral standards adopted in Tarbiyah's preaching with his own subjective thinking. AE also emphasized that his approach to continue smoking was based on his personal beliefs, and therefore, in this

⁶³ Al-Imam Hassan Al-Banna, "Usrah & Dakwah," 1979, <https://kobar.inf.my/ebook/albanna/Usrah%20Dan%20Dakwah%20Al-Banna.pdf>.

⁶⁴ Afwan Faizin, *Gerakan Kaum Muda Islam Dan Pluralisme Agama*, n.d., accessed March 22, 2024, <https://www.academia.edu/download/35541281/Artikel-LDK.pdf>.

⁶⁵ Faizin, *Gerakan Kaum Muda Islam Dan Pluralisme Agama*.

⁶⁶ Online interview with HAG, Shura Council and Tarbiyah Da'wah Coordinator at UIN Jakarta, at 1:40 p.m. WIB, Sunday, February 18, 2024.

⁶⁷ Bakti, *Communication and Family Planning in Islam in Indonesia*, h.110.

⁶⁸ Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociological of Knowledge* (United Kingdom: Penguin Books, 1991), h. 56..

⁶⁹ Interview with AC, Student of the Faculty of Science and Technology and Member of LDK Syahid 2020-2023, 3:10 p.m., Friday, January 26, 2024

case, he rejected the message of the Tarbiyah movement's preaching and moral standards.⁷⁰

Highlighting how campus activist students such as AC and AE in the Tarbiyah movement reject or refuse the smoking ban, AC and AE maintain their behavior and group identity by not engaging in activities on campus. This is consistent with the findings of Praptiningsih et al., who state that nearly all teenage smokers engage in dramaturgy, where there is a difference in smoking behavior between the front stage and the backstage. Smokers apply Goffman's self-presentation theory, for example, smoking behind the scenes but hiding their smoking behavior on the front stage, especially when dealing with people who have authority over them, such as teachers, parents, leaders, or superiors.⁷¹

In this context, AC and AE also engage in a kind of dramaturgy in the context of campus da'wah activities. On stage, when interacting with the campus environment as campus da'wah activists, they display attitudes that are in line with anti-smoking norms. However, behind the scenes, they feel more free to express their personal preferences regarding their behavior. In this case, AC and AE have rejected the moral standards of the movement with their personal preferences through a process of reinterpreting values. AC and AE feel that, even though there is a ban on smoking in the Tarbiyah movement, they express their personal views as having a valid basis.

This then highlights that the recipient of the message in the communication process has an active and critical role in interpreting and determining the meaning of the message received. In the context of da'wah, this underlines the importance of understanding that mad'u not only receive messages directly, but also process and interpret messages according to their personal values and experiences (faith).

According to ARS, as an effort to apply moral standards so that campus da'wah members abandon smoking, da'wah is carried out with continuous guidance from murabbi or mentors.⁷² This was also reinforced by Deka Kurniawan, who stated that continuous guidance is needed so that they accept and gradually internalize the belief that the true essence of da'wah is our ability to apply Islamic morality based on good character, so that students are shaped and accept this understanding without doubt.⁷³

Therefore, the smoking ban in the context of the Tarbiyah movement at LDK UIN Syahid and KAMMI UIN Jakarta faces complex dynamics between compliance with moral standards set by campus da'wah institutions and their personal preferences regarding smoking laws. Although the Tarbiyah movement emphasizes the smoking ban as part of the Islamic values they adhere to, not all students who are campus da'wah activists show that they accept these moral standards. This shows that even though there is a clear ban, the interpretation and implementation of the Tarbiyah movement's moral standards regarding the smoking ban as Tarbiyah congregants can be negotiated by students.

⁷⁰ Online interview with AE, Student of the Faculty of Adab and Humanities and Member of LDK Syahid 2020-2023, at 9:30 p.m. WIB, Monday, January 29, 2024.

⁷¹ Novi Andayani Praptiningsih, Sarah Handayani, and Vilya Dwi Agustini, "Dramaturgy Analysis in Self-Presentation of Smokers," *Informasi* 52, no. 2 (2022): 245–52.

⁷² Online interview with ARS, Coordinator of Dakwah Tarbiyah Development at UIN Jakarta, at 7:35 p.m. WIB, Friday, May 31, 2024.

⁷³ Online interview with Deka Kurniawan, Founder and First Chairman of LDK Syahid. 10:00 a.m. WIB, Wednesday, May 29, 2024.

Therefore, the complexity of each member's background, individual piety, and personal choices as active recipients plays a significant role in internalizing the smoking ban, which is a moral standard of the Tarbiyah movement, to be accepted, negotiated, or rejected.

4) Active Reception of Tarbiyah Moral Standards: Between Collective Identity and Personal Habits

Through Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding perspective, the moral standards promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement are best understood as preferred meanings encoded through mentoring, halaqah, and various campus da'wah activities. Through these mechanisms, murabbi attempt to transmit particular understandings of Islamic morality, including standards of modest dress and the prohibition of smoking. However, Hall argues that audiences are not passive recipients of messages. Instead, they actively decode, negotiate, or reject the meanings embedded in communication processes.⁷⁴ The findings of this study demonstrate that students occupying the same organizational environment often produce different interpretations of the moral messages promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement.

The dominant readings observed in relation to Islamic dress standards illustrate this dynamic. AG, AL, and AK generally accepted the preferred meaning that modest dress represents an important manifestation of Islamic piety and moral commitment. These participants actively interpreted Islamic dress as compatible with their own religious convictions and personal experiences. AG, for example, associated the use of a long hijab and gamis not only with obedience to religious teachings but also with feelings of security and protection in public spaces. Similarly, AL and AK interpreted Tarbiyah dress standards through their own understandings of aurat and personal piety. These findings indicate that dominant readings emerged because the encoded message resonated with participants' existing religious orientations and practical concerns.

The case of AG is particularly important because it demonstrates that reception is selective rather than uniform. While she adopted a dominant reading toward Tarbiyah's moral discourse concerning Islamic dress, she simultaneously expressed an oppositional reading toward the movement's political discourse. This finding challenges assumptions that members either fully accept or completely reject organizational teachings. Instead, students selectively evaluate different aspects of the movement according to the issue being discussed. Hall's framework helps explain this phenomenon by showing that reception positions are issue-specific and dependent upon the relationship between the encoded message and the interpretive resources available to audiences.⁷⁵ Consequently, the same individual may simultaneously occupy dominant and oppositional positions across different domains of discourse.

A different reception pattern appeared in relation to smoking behavior. Unlike Islamic dress standards, the anti-smoking discourse promoted by the Tarbiyah Movement generated negotiated and oppositional readings among several participants. AC and AE acknowledged the movement's position that smoking contradicts Islamic values and the principle of *qowiyul jismi*⁷⁶, yet both reinterpreted this message according to their own understandings of Islamic law and personal preferences. Rather than fully accepting the

⁷⁴ Hall et al., *Culture, Media, Language Working Papers in Cultural Studies* 1972-79.

⁷⁵ Hall et al., *Culture, Media, Language Working Papers in Cultural Studies* 1972-79.

⁷⁶ Al-Banna, "Usrah & Dakwah."

prohibition, they questioned its religious basis and continued smoking while maintaining their involvement in Tarbiyah activities. Their responses illustrate Hall's negotiated and oppositional positions, in which audiences recognize the dominant discourse but modify or reject aspects of its preferred meaning according to their own experiences and beliefs.⁷⁷

The contrast between Islamic dress and smoking behavior can be explained theoretically by examining the different symbolic functions of these moral standards. Islamic dress operates as a visible marker of collective identity. It provides immediate symbolic benefits, including social recognition, religious legitimacy, and membership within a moral community. Drawing on Siregar's analysis of clothing and identity, dress functions not merely as a practical object but as a symbolic representation of selfhood, piety, and group belonging.⁷⁸ Consequently, adopting Islamic dress standards allows students to publicly display their commitment to religious values while simultaneously strengthening their identification with the Tarbiyah community. Because these standards reinforce both personal and collective identity, they are more likely to generate dominant readings.

In contrast, smoking is not primarily a symbolic marker of collective identity but an embodied personal habit. Unlike clothing, which can be adopted relatively easily as a public expression of belonging, smoking is often embedded within long-established routines, social relationships, and bodily practices. Changes in smoking behavior therefore require not only ideological agreement but also the transformation of personal habits and lifestyles. This distinction helps explain why participants more readily accepted dress regulations than anti-smoking norms. While Islamic dress offered symbolic and social rewards associated with collective identity, smoking restrictions directly challenged established personal practices, making negotiated and oppositional readings more likely to emerge.

Taken together, these findings extend Hall's encoding/decoding model by demonstrating that reception outcomes are influenced not only by audience characteristics but also by the nature of the message itself. Moral standards functioning as visible identity markers tend to facilitate dominant readings, whereas messages that challenge embodied habits and personal preferences are more likely to generate negotiation and resistance. The reception of Tarbiyah moral standards among students at UIN Jakarta therefore cannot be understood as a linear process of indoctrination. Instead, it reflects an ongoing process of interpretation in which students actively accept, negotiate, and sometimes reject organizational messages according to their own experiences, identities, and interpretive frameworks.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the reception of the Tarbiyah Movement's political discourse and moral standards among LDK and KAMMI students at UIN Jakarta is neither uniform nor linear. Consistent with Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model, students actively interpreted the messages transmitted through mentoring, liqo', and organizational activities, resulting in dominant, negotiated, and oppositional readings.

⁷⁷ Hall et al., *Culture, Media, Language Working Papers in Cultural Studies* 1972-79.

⁷⁸ Siregar, "Gelombang Ideologi Islam Transnasional Dalam Sekolah Islam Terpadu."

Dominant readings emerged when the movement's preferred meanings aligned with participants' existing religious beliefs, experiences, and identity orientations, particularly regarding Islamic dress as a visible marker of piety and collective belonging. Conversely, negotiated and oppositional readings were more evident in relation to political discourse and smoking prohibition, where students drew upon alternative religious traditions, organizational affiliations, personal preferences, and embodied habits to reinterpret or reject the movement's messages. The findings further reveal that reception is issue-specific rather than holistic, as illustrated by participants who accepted Tarbiyah's moral standards while simultaneously rejecting its political narratives.

Theoretically, this study extends previous research on the Tarbiyah Movement by showing that the acceptance of organizational messages depends not only on ideological content but also on the symbolic characteristics of the message itself. Moral standards functioning as visible collective identity markers, such as Islamic dress, tend to generate dominant readings, whereas messages that challenge established personal habits or involve contested political issues are more likely to produce negotiated and oppositional readings. Therefore, the reception of Tarbiyah discourse among students should be understood as an ongoing process of interpretation, negotiation, and contestation through which audiences actively construct meaning within specific social, cultural, and organizational contexts.

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