

Patterns of Religious Behavior in the Sundanese Community: Insights from Hasan Mustapa's Work

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Abstract: This study fundamentally aims to comprehend the construction of religious life in the community, dissect the process of socialisation or the introduction of religion within the community, and analyse the internalisation of religious life from the perspective of Peter L. Berger. This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive-holistic method. Data are gathered through documentation and the study of texts authored by Hasan Mustapa. The data analysis method employed is literary analysis, particularly focusing on Hasan Mustapa's work, "*Sasaka Dika Islaman*," using procedures that encompass thematic identification, inclusion and exclusion criteria, structuralisation, interpretation, and integration. The findings of this study reveal that: (1) The construction of religious life in the Sundanese community, as depicted in "*Sasaka Dika Islaman*," reflects a reflective model of the development of individual and communal life; (2) The process of socialising religious teachings and values produces two patterns of religious behaviour in individuals within the community, namely critical and apathetic religious behaviours, each with its own consequences; (3) The process of internalising religious life gives rise to a duplicative consciousness, encompassing a social self and a non-social self, resulting in alienation. This study contributes to the academic knowledge and discourse in the fields of Religious Studies and Sociology of Religion. The analysis of Peter L. Berger's social construct offers a fresh perspective in comprehending the religious behaviours of individuals and communities, particularly within the Sundanese community, as elucidated in Hasan Mustapha's work, "*Sasaka Dika Islaman*."

Keywords: Internalization; Hasan Mustapa; Religious Life; Sasaka Dika Islaman; Social Construction.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini pada dasarnya bertujuan untuk memahami konstruksi kehidupan beragama di masyarakat, membedah proses sosialisasi atau pengenalan agama di dalam masyarakat, dan menganalisis internalisasi kehidupan beragama dalam perspektif Peter L. Berger. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif-holistik. Data dikumpulkan melalui dokumentasi dan studi teks yang ditulis oleh Hasan Mustapa. Metode analisis data yang digunakan adalah analisis literer, khususnya berfokus pada karya Hasan Mustapa, "*Sasaka Dika Islaman*," dengan menggunakan prosedur yang mencakup identifikasi tematik, kriteria inklusi dan eksklusi, strukturisasi, interpretasi, dan integrasi. Temuan penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa: (1) Konstruksi kehidupan beragama dalam masyarakat Sunda, seperti yang digambarkan dalam "*Sasaka Dika Islaman*," mencerminkan model reflektif perkembangan kehidupan individu dan komunal; (2) Proses sosialisasi ajaran dan nilai agama menghasilkan dua pola perilaku beragama pada individu dalam masyarakat, yaitu perilaku beragama yang kritis dan apatis, yang masing-masing memiliki konsekuensinya sendiri-sendiri; (3) Proses internalisasi kehidupan beragama memunculkan kesadaran yang bersifat mendua, meliputi diri sosial dan diri non-sosial, yang mengakibatkan keterasingan. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi terhadap pengetahuan dan wacana akademik di bidang Studi Agama dan Sosiologi Agama. Analisis konstruk sosial Peter L. Berger menawarkan perspektif baru dalam memahami perilaku keagamaan individu dan masyarakat, khususnya dalam masyarakat Sunda seperti yang diuraikan dalam karya Hasan Mustapa, "*Sasaka Dika Islaman*."

Kata Kunci: Internalisasi; Hasan Mustapa; Kehidupan Beragama; Sasaka Dika Islaman; Konstruksi Sosial.

1. Introduction

The concept of religious culture has permeated various strata of society since the inception of human existence, although the precise timeframe remains undetermined (Parrinder, 1974). Raymond Firth asserted that religious life stands as a universal characteristic across societies, and Henri Bergson further emphasised the ubiquity of religious traditions within societies (Wach, 1984). This foundation substantiates the presumption of human beings' distinctive trait as *Homo Religiosus*, a typology deeply rooted in a sacred realm filled with religious values, enabling them to perceive the sanctity pervading the universe and humanity (Sastrapratedja, 1983). The historical perpetuity of religion can be attributed to its origins in two facets of human existence: the individual and the social. On an individual level, religious life emanates from a consciousness born out of peak experiences known as religious experiences, wherein individuals respond to what they perceive as the Absolute reality (God's reality), emerging through their interactions with the worldly environment (Wach, 1984).

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, in their work "The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge," initially posit that an individual is not inherently a member of society. Instead, society (in the form of significant others) draws them into membership through the processes of socialisation and internalisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Consequently, an individual first undergoes the process of acquainting themselves with religion and religious life during their interactions with society before experiencing what is considered the foundation and source of religious consciousness (Wach, 1984). From the perspective of social construction presented by Berger and Luckmann, religion constitutes an integral part of the societal structure (a social institution). Religion is not perceived as an external entity separate from human society; it parallels other institutions within society.

For individuals, religion represents nothing more than a social tradition transmitted through language and various social activities collectively referred to as religious practices. This tradition is instilled from their immediate environment, primarily within the family institution, through the roles of parents and close relatives. New individuals assimilate this religious tradition, with all its facets, as an objective reality of language and religious tradition into their subjective consciousness.

According to Berger, anything constructed socially is inherently precarious and unstable. This process is influenced by human activities, which are simultaneously challenged by innate human tendencies towards personal interests and human fallibility. Social institutions are susceptible to subversion due to conflicts of interest among individuals within society (Berger, 1973). Religion and religious traditions within society are distinct entities. Religion has objective references in sacred texts and the historical origins in the life of its founder, both of which are objective facets rooted in the past. In contrast, religious tradition and the social aspects of religious life manifest as the objectification of the externalisation process undergone by individuals engaged in social activities and the process of socialisation carried out subjectively by those acting as socialising agents towards new individuals during the internalisation phase. This subjective phenomenon, marked by the socialisation activities of these agents, is perceived as an objective reality and a subjective perception by new individuals, resulting in a dual consciousness within their realm of awareness, as depicted figure 1.

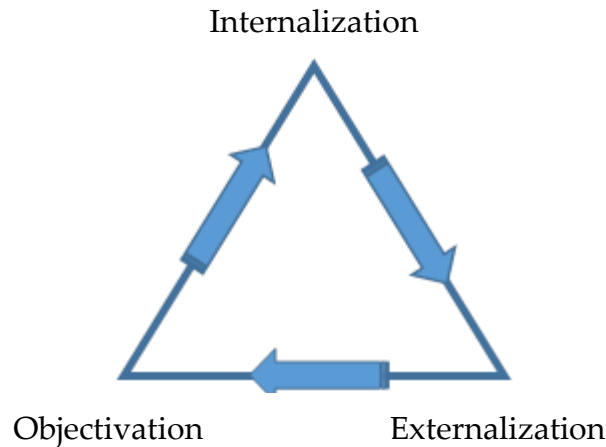


Figure 1. Three Moments of Human Existence

Society, as a dialectical phenomenon, undergoes three distinct phases: Externalization, Objectivation, and Internalization. Externalisation is the process of individuals projecting or expressing themselves into the external world, encompassing both mental and physical aspects. This phase serves as a means of self-expression to fortify one's presence within society. During this stage, society is perceived as a product of human agency. In simpler terms, externalisation represents a continual outward projection of one's self into the world, manifesting in both physical and mental activities.

Objectivation represents the culmination of externalisation efforts, resulting in a tangible objective reality, mentally and physically, which stands apart from its initial human producers. At this juncture, society is recognised as an objective reality or a complex process of social interaction within the institutionalised intersubjective framework. Internalisation, on the other hand, pertains to the reabsorption of the objective world into an individual's consciousness in a manner that profoundly influences their subjective self. Various components of the objectified world are perceived as external phenomena, simultaneously serving as internal elements within an individual's consciousness. Through the process of internalisation, humans metamorphose into products of society. In essence, internalisation signifies humans reabsorption of this reality, leading to its transformation from the structural confines of the objective world into the subjective structures of consciousness.

The crux of these three dialectical phases lies in the continuous actions and interactions of humans, collectively shaping a shared social reality, including the daily experiential reality. Berger underscores that externalisation positions society as a product of human creation. Objectivation, in turn, elevates society to a sui generis reality that is uniquely distinctive. Finally, through internalisation, humans themselves become products of this societal construct.

Within the triadic paradigm, society exists simultaneously as an objective and subjective reality. Nonetheless, individuals are not inherently members of society upon birth. Instead, they possess an innate predisposition toward sociality, eventually becoming active members of society (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). The social world, in actuality, precedes and envelops individuals from birth. The social environment, meticulously constructed and transmitted by preceding generations (parents and ancestors), supplants innate instincts in guiding an individual's orientation within the world. In essence, human openness becomes delimited by the encompassing presence of their social world. Consequently, individuals are never truly isolated and do not inhabit a world devoid of societal influence from the moment of birth.

The fundamental distinction from the animal kingdom lies in the origin of the "conception" of the world and the guiding elements shaping human world orientation. Unlike animals, whose specific instincts dictate these aspects, humans derive their understanding and orientation from the intricate framework of their social order. This social order within their social world designates particular individuals to oversee and direct the orientation of newcomers through the process of internalisation.

Thus, the initial point of an individual's engagement with their social world is internalisation, not externalisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

Within the process of internalisation, two interpretive events transpire. Firstly, the interpretation is orchestrated by socialising agents, individuals or agents of socialisation, who provide immediate subjective interpretations of an objective occurrence, intending to introduce it to the new individual. Secondly, interpretation arises from the subjective comprehension of individuals concerning the meanings conveyed by socialising agents. These meanings are regarded as objective realities. Consequently, socialising agents, or socialising actors, serve as both conduits and filters throughout the internalisation process via socialisation.

The comprehension and meanings acquired by individuals during this process of socialisation do not emerge from autonomously created significations by isolated individuals. Rather, individuals "assume control" of a world previously inhabited by others (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). It becomes evident that during the process of internalisation through socialisation, there is a moment of mutual "taking over" of the world. Fundamentally, socialisation is intended to "take over" individuals and incorporate them into the objective social world through socialising agents. This "taking over" process involves the implantation of the social world into an individual's consciousness, aligning individuals symmetrically with the social world. Simultaneously, individuals "take over" the social world into their realm of consciousness through internalisation.

Hence, the process of internalisation ultimately constitutes a dialectical phenomenon that gives rise to intersubjective relational situations. This process involves mutual and simultaneous definitions of each other. Intersubjective relations give birth to a sense of "we-ness." At present, each "we" not only comprehends the other party's definition of the jointly experienced situation but also reciprocally defines the situation (Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

As individuals undergo the process of socialisation, particularly during the initial phase of internalisation, they experience a dialectical tension between the reality of the social world provided to them socially (objectively) through socialisation and the reality of the social world they subjectively apprehend during internalisation. The social world attains the status of reality and finds its place within consciousness. This occurs because consciousness predates the process of socialisation. Subsequently, the social world residing within consciousness becomes an additional component, manifesting as the duplication of consciousness formed from socialised and non-socialized components.

Socialisation is inherently partial. Consciousness cannot be entirely socialised; hence, individual consciousness is never wholly absorbed within the social world. Part of consciousness is shaped by socialisation into a particular identity that renders it socially recognisable. As with all products of internalisation, a dialectical tension exists, in this case, between the identity conferred by society (thus, being objective) and the identity subjectively embraced. The duplication of consciousness triggered by the internalisation of the social world leads to an internal confrontation between the socialised self and the non-social self components. Within an individual's consciousness, there is a replication (mimicking) of the external confrontation between the individual and society, and vice versa.

Confrontation possesses dialectical attributes, transcending mere mechanistic cause-and-effect relationships. It involves mutual and simultaneous causation, taking place persistently and concurrently. Within this context, the components of the social self and the non-social self give rise to internal dialogues parallel to the external dialogues between individuals and external entities (external individuals) within their social environment. In these dialogues, be they internal or external, participants assume identities based on their internal desires or in accordance with their actual roles and circumstances in the social sphere. The dialogues occurring in the external world find their reflection in the internal realm of consciousness, mirroring a process akin to the triadic moment of externalisation.

In contrast, the process of socialisation induces a transformation in laws, norms, social morality (legitimacy norms), and analogous elements. They evolve into what can be termed as the "voice of conscience." In the realm of socialised self-awareness, or the social self, these norms become carriers of *Kapangeranan*. Conversely, within non-social self-awareness, they transform into carriers of *Iblis*,

antinomies, and demonic forces. From a Freudian psychoanalytic perspective, this “voice of conscience” bears a resemblance to the super-ego, constituting a subconscious element that crystallises through the awareness of values and social norms.

This matter has attracted serious attention from a prominent cultural and religious figure in the Sundanese region of Indonesia, Hoofd Panghulu K. H. Hasan Mustapa. His concerns are documented in a manuscript entitled “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*,” also known as “Aji Wiwitan Sasaka.” This manuscript delineates the social interaction processes of individuals within a religious community and how they internalise the social world, encompassing the patterns of religious life. Hasan Mustapa employs a unique writing structure to illustrate the internal and social dialectics experienced by individuals in the practice of religion.

2. Method

The primary objective of this study is to elucidate Hasan Mustapa’s viewpoints concerning the religious processes expounded within the manuscript “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*.” To achieve this, we adopt an analytical approach rooted in Peter L. Berger’s Social Construction Theory (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Curiously, “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*” has often escaped the attention of the general public, cultural scholars, cultural observers, and even the academic community. This inclination to neglect the manuscript is partly attributed to the prevailing emphasis on Hasan Mustapa’s literary works, which indeed constitute the majority of his oeuvre. In contrast, our investigation delves beyond the literary domain, concentrating on Hasan Mustapa’s religious contemplations. These encompass his interpretations of Sufism, particularly his elaborations on the Martabat Tujuh, as exemplified in “Aji Wiwitan Martabat Tujuh,” and his in-depth understanding and interpretations of the Quran, prominently featured in “*Qur’anul Adhimi*.” Regrettably, “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*” has yet to garner the level of attention it arguably merits, as demonstrated by the scant references in existing scholarship (Albustomi, 2002; Jahroni, 2018; Millie, 2017; Rohmana, 1970, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015, 2017a, 2017b).

The research methodology for this study employs a qualitative approach, incorporating a descriptive-holistic method (Meolong, 1990). Data collection relies predominantly on documentation, along with an in-depth examination of Hasan Mustapa’s literary corpus. The data analysis technique is firmly grounded in the principles of literary analysis, with a particular focus on the contents of “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*” by Hasan Mustapa. This analysis encompasses thematic identification, inclusion-exclusion criteria, structural examination, interpretative processes, and a comprehensive integration of findings. Furthermore, our analytical framework draws upon the theoretical tenets articulated by Peter L. Berger within the domain of Social Construction Theory.

3. Result and Discussion

The manuscript “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*” represents a significant intellectual work by Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930 AD; 1268-1348 H), presented in the form of an essay. Typically, his works are in the form of “*dangding*” or “*guguritan*,” which are traditional poetic forms well-known in the Java region, including the Sundanese community in West Java. The tradition of “*guguritan*” and “*dangding*” literature began to gain prominence in the Sundanese community with the influence of Mataram in the Priangan region (Asura, 2020). Another notable work closely or indirectly related to “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*” is “Aji Wiwitan Martabat Tujuh.”

The manuscript “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*” was initially published by the “Comite Mendakna” in 1937, with the support of R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema, the colonial-era regent of Bandung. However, precise information regarding when Hasan Mustapa composed this manuscript remains unavailable. The version issued by the Comite Mendakna was a revision of a copy written on 7 Rajab 1317 H, which corresponds to approximately November 11, 1899 (Rosidi, 2018).

In “*Gelaran Sasaka Dika Islaman*,” Hasan Mustapa commences the exploration of the religious process of an individual residing within a religious community (Islam) with the moment of “*brag gumelar dina rasa Kaislaman*” or “*gumelar dina rasa Kaislaman*.”

“Barang brag pisan gumelar dina rasa ka-Islaman ku perbawa Kapangeranan ti katuhu...” (Mustapa, 1937).

“Barang brag gumelar dina rasa ka-Islaman ku perbawa Iblis ti kenca...” (Mustapa, 1937).

In Sundanese, “*gumelar*” roughly conveys the idea of being born or coming into existence. The term “*dina*” serves as a locational indicator, and “*rasa Kaislaman*” signifies the “place” of birth or existence. The use of “*dina*” and “*rasa Kaislaman*” is quite distinctive, especially when “*gumelar*” is interpreted as being born. This is not coincidental. “*Gumelar*” originates from the root word “*gelar*,” which means position or expanse, and it evolves to mean being born or coming into existence. “*Brag*,” which precedes “*gumelar*” in Sundanese grammar, functions as a determiner that imparts specific meaning to the following word. Regarding “*rasa Kaislaman*,” it is a combination of “*rasa*” and “*Kaislaman*.” This combination cannot be interpreted word by word but should be comprehended as a concept that needs to be understood within the context of the complete sentence, even in connection with other sentences.

The preposition commonly employed to delineate the event of birth is the preposition “*ka*” or “*di*.” Consequently, the sentence takes the form “*Barang brag (pisan) ka (di)*,” followed by a locational specifier or a similar descriptor. It is plausible that the usage of the term “*dina*” is intrinsically linked to the concept of being born or coming into existence within the sphere of Islam. When contextualized within the amalgamation of “*rasa*” and “*Kaislaman*,” “*Kaislaman*” can be construed as something intertwined with Islam. When conjoined (initiated) with the term “*rasa*,” which parallels its Indonesian equivalent, “*rasa*,” the expression “*rasa Kaislaman*” can be comprehended as a “sensory experience” of something, namely, an entity characterized as “Islamic.” Within “*Sasaka Dika Islaman*,” Hasan Mustapa illustrates this Islamic narrative in two diametrically opposed situations and stances: “*perbawa Kapangeranan ti katuhu*” (the influence of the Divine, on the right) and “*perbawa Iblis ti kenca*” (the influence of Iblis, on the left). The fundamental question revolves around whether this occurrence is experienced by disparate individuals (two individuals) or unfolds within a singular individual, either simultaneously or concomitantly.

Subsequent sentences serve as the linchpin for disentangling the intricacies introduced in the inaugural sentence. The ensuing sentences commence with a query concerning the choice between action and inaction, articulated in akin phrases, “*Mending lakonan atawa montong?*” and “*Hade lampahkeun atawa montong?*” These queries are predicated on the premise that whether undertaken or not, the outcome remains invariant: neither advantageous nor detrimental, nor deleterious, specifically, the practice of Islam (Mustapa, 1937).

The essence of “*milampah Islam*” (practicing Islam) essentially revolves around embracing (ngandel, having faith) the narratives (what is spoken or conveyed) proffered by parents and kin (*kolot jeung baraya*) pertaining to the tenets of religious belief (Islam), as elucidated in the articles of faith (“...there is Allah, because there is a narrative; there are angels, because the Qur’an also mentions angels; there are Books, because the Prophet has the Qur’an; there is the Day of Judgment, because there is a narrative; there is predestination, because all of it is from God Almighty”) (Mustapa, 1937). It entails the execution and observance of the counsel (*papatah*) and adherence to the tenets encompassed within the core of Islam.

Individuals exhibit two distinct attitudes toward these narratives and the counsel of their elders. Initially, individuals within the realm of “*perbawa Kapangeranan*” elect to invest faith (ngandel, have faith) in the pronouncements of their elders and faithfully implement (*ngalampahkeun*, enact) their counsel. Conversely, individuals dwelling in the sphere of “*perbawa Iblis*” tend to oppose (*Anggur sahadena jalma kaparentah batur*, manifesting a physical refusal to act, experiencing increasing humiliation for engaging in unprofitable endeavors, refusing to incur losses: the body is harmed and debased. It is discharged with no gain) or, at the very least, feign belief and dutifully adhere to them (*Geuning aing acan manggih nu baha matak cilaka, nu henteu ngandel dipaksa. Angguran tambah susah, tambah hina, tambah matak ngarugikeun harta banda. Wondening sieun ku kolot atawa ku baraya, eta mah beunang ku pura-pura*) (Mustapa, 1937).

The phenomenon of “*gumelar*,” as perceived through Peter L. Berger’s lens, denotes a scenario where an individual encounters the objective reality of the established social structure (the social world) within which they were born and nurtured. This objective reality has been shaped by preceding generations through the continuous process of externalization. The individual’s experience reflects the phase of internalization in the secondary socialization, occurring subsequent to primary socialization.

The emergence of “*perbawa Kapangeranan*” (the Divine influence, right) and “*perbawa Iblis*” (the influence of Iblis, left) signifies the vestiges of socialization originating from selective moments of internalization. These entities become evident in expressions during the externalization phase, manifesting as attitudes and thought patterns that polarize (left-right; *perbawa Kapangeranan*—*perbawa Iblis*) and consequently lead to corresponding actions. Hasan Mustapa characterizes “*perbawa Iblis*” as someone who embodies the attributes of “*perbawaning Iblis ti kenca, wawatekna belet, guru bukti saharita*” (Mustapa, 1937). This portrayal represents an imitation of certain features of socializing agents, as elucidated by Berger, in an attempt to subvert the institutional framework or the social world of Kailsaman. These individuals are motivated by human inclinations, including self-interest (*guru bukti saharita*) and human folly (*belet*).

“All socially constructed worlds are inherently precarious. Sustained by human agency, they face perpetual jeopardy owing to the intrinsic human factors of self-interest and foolishness. Institutional programs are susceptible to subversion by individuals with divergent interests.” (Berger, 1973).

“*Perbawa Kapangeranan*” and “*perbawa Iblis*” arise from the replication of consciousness. This replication yields internal confrontations between socialized self-elements (social self, *perbawa Kapangeranan*) and non-social self-elements (non-social self, *Perbawa Iblis*). Within an individual’s consciousness, there is a recurrence (emulation) of the external conflicts between the individual and society, and vice versa (Berger, 1973). These confrontations possess a dialectical nature, devoid of mechanistic cause-and-effect relationships, as they mutually generate one another. They coexist as both causes and effects, persisting concurrently. These social self-elements and non-social self-elements subsequently enable internal dialogues (internal conversations). Likewise, external dialogues occur between the individual and external entities (external individuals) within the domain of their social world. In these dialogues, both internal and external participants adopt identities according to their desires (internally) or in accordance with their real positions and conditions within their social lives. The dialogues taking place in the external world are mirrored within the internal realm of consciousness (Berger, 1973).

Conversely, legal principles, norms, social morality (legitimacy norms), and the like undergo transformations as a consequence of the socialization process. They evolve into the form of the “voice of conscience” (Berger, 1973). In the socialized self-awareness or the social self, they manifest as carriers of *Kapangeranan*. Conversely, in non-social self-awareness, they transform into carriers of *Iblis*, antinomies, and demonic forces. From a Freudian psychoanalytic standpoint, this “voice of conscience” bears resemblance to the super-ego—a subconscious construct shaped through the crystallization of awareness regarding values and social norms.

Religious life, anchored in the teachings of a religion conveyed as a body of cognitive knowledge, is highly susceptible to multifaceted interpretations. Various religious practices, encompassing rituals and social-religious traditions, offer a canvas upon which both individuals and socializing agents can paint their unilateral attempts to legitimize their actions. Within the milieu of everyday social life, religion assumes a dual character. On the one hand, it embodies the transcendent and sacred, drawing its formidable legitimacy from sacred texts and an extensive historical narrative. Conversely, in the hands of particular individuals, its sanctity becomes the most effective source of legitimacy when faced with those lacking profound understanding and driven by self-interest.

Hence, it is conspicuous that the moment of internalization in the process of socialization constitutes a pivotal concern in the broader schema of social development, including the architecture of religious social life. The ongoing dialectical mechanism concurrently designates the moment of internalization as the catalyst, dictating how the dynamics of externalization and objectification

materialize to give form to the social milieu. The duplication of consciousness ushers in an internal confrontation between the components of the socialized self (social self) and the non-social self. Within an individual's consciousness, there unfolds a replication or emulation of external confrontations between the individual and society and vice versa (Berger, 1973).

This confrontation inherently bears a dialectical character. It does not adhere to a mechanistic cause-and-effect relationship but rather mutually begets each other. Both elements function as causes and effects in tandem, perpetuating in a continuous and sequential manner. These components of the social self and the non-social self subsequently facilitate an internal dialogue (internal conversation). A parallel dialogue transpires externally between the individual and external actors in their social sphere. In these dialogues, whether internal or external, each don's identity is of their own volition (internally) or according to their actual positions and conditions in their social lives. The dialogue transpiring in the external realm mirrors the dialogue within the internal realm of consciousness (Berger, 1973). The same principle applies in moments of triadic externalization.

Hasan Mustapa's opus, "*Sasaka Dika Islaman*," overtly elucidates the phenomenon of internal confrontation within an individual when they navigate and coexist within their social milieu. Emerging individuals, often children, perceive and react to religion and the activities of religious life as an alternative social reality, one meticulously depicted and socialized by their parents and other societal influences. The moment of "*gumelar*," or through the lens of Peter L. Berger's perspective, the moment of internalization, emerges as a pivotal juncture in shaping an individual's religious attitudes and conduct. It is also the determining factor regarding which element will assert dominance, be it "*perbawa Kapangeranan*" (the social self) or "*perbawa Iblis*" (the non-social self).

4. Conclusion

Religious life is a phenomenon that unfolds in tandem with the formation and maintenance of society. Initially, individuals, particularly children, do not distinguish religion as something separate from the traditions and structures of other social components. Consequently, religion becomes ingrained as an alternate manifestation of social consequences when individuals transgress social norms by defying advice and doubting the narratives and guidance provided by their parents. The process of internalizing religion, a vital aspect of religious life, occurs through both primary and secondary socialization. However, when this process is deficient or insufficient, it has the potential to foster religious attitudes that deviate from the ideal values of a given religion and the broader objectives of social development.

The implications of this are profound. Inadequate internalization of religious values can lead to a superficial understanding of faith and spirituality, resulting in religious practices that lack depth and meaning. This can hinder the positive impact of religion on society, as individuals may engage in religious rituals without a genuine connection to the underlying beliefs and principles. Furthermore, it may contribute to the perpetuation of religious conflicts and misunderstandings, as individuals may adhere to religious labels without truly comprehending the core tenets of their faith.

The process of internalizing religious beliefs and values, particularly in the formative years of an individual's life, plays a crucial role in shaping one's religious attitudes and practices. Inadequate internalization, often stemming from insufficient socialization, can lead to a shallow understanding of religion and hinder its potential to contribute positively to society. As such, it is essential for religious institutions and educators to place a strong emphasis on effective socialization processes to ensure that individuals develop a deep and meaningful connection with their faith, promoting a more harmonious and enlightened society.

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