Anti-Radicalism Education at Faith-Based Schools in the Era of Strengthening the Theo-Democracy Movement

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Abstract- Many theodemocracy movements grow and develop post-1998 reform. Basically, this pro-theodemocracy movement wants the application of Islam sharia and khilafah Islamiyah (Islamic Caliphate) constituting the derivation of Islam state's thought as initiated by Hasan Al-Bana developing later in such states as Greek, India, and Pakistan. In Indonesia, theo-democracy movement is present in such groups or organizations as: Hiszbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Ikhwanul Muslimin and etc. Religion-based education becomes very important in the religious-political movement developing process.This article explained how anti-radicalism education is held in religion-based schools in Surakarta City. The data of research was obtained through Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with representatives of religion-based schools in Surakarta City, in-depth interview with stakeholders such as teachers, students, and school management, and documentation data from Ministry of Education and Culture. The result of research showed that the strengthened theo-democracy movement in Indonesia is identical with radical movement. Anti-radicalism education is not a curriculum or certain subject but a substance of "anti radicalism" material given by religion-based education institution included into (civic, religion education, and sociology) subjects ad extracurricular activities. One of strategies taken by education institution, particularly religion-based education in Surakarta is to provide "anti radicalism" education, starting form understanding the root of radicalism including: religion misconception, economic problem and social-media effect. The strategies taken to organize "anti-radicalism education" were: to give right religious understanding, to reinforce teachers, parents, and community's role, and to educate them about the importance of nationalism and tolerance.

Keywords: antiradicalism education, faith-based schools, theo-democracy movement

I. INTRODUCTION

The religious movement tending to be radical in Indonesia got a space to grow and to develop since the 1998 reform. Such movement got the moment post-reform because during post-reform era, the state was on democratization and transparency euphoria. It was different from New Order government period tending to repressive against radical religious organizations. For example, organization or individual posts banner containing a sentence "*tegakkan khilafah Islamiyah di Indonesia* (enforce Islamic Caliphate *in Indonesia*)" will be likely in a trouble, as it is considered as establishing Islam state. In the certain reform era, of course, it would be responded to differently, recalling that in reform era, the state is entrapped into "freedom of expression", "transparency", and "democratization" concepts that is encouraged as well by human right issue in the international world. Theo-democracy movement started with an idea of an Islamic state, proposed by Hassan al-Banna in Greek and then spread to India and Pakistan. Basically, this religious movement was characterized with three matters [1, p. 80] return to Islam just like what is done by pious Salafi Islam scholar, sharia and *Khilafah Islamiyah* application, and tendency to refuse western products. Theodemocracy movement has been justified when Syah Iran's regime could be overthrown by Islam scholars under Imam Khomeini's leadership in 1980s. This movement transforms into religious political movements such as Hizbut Tahrir, Majelis Mujahidid, Ikhwanul Muslimin, Islamic State of Iraq and Suriah (ISIS) developing in some states, including Indonesia currently. Theo-democracy or religious political movement in Indonesia grows and develops. Syam [1, p. 83] stated that some strategies are used to develop this religious political movement. Politically, theodemocracy movement has entered government system. This strategy is called infiltrating strategy or transforming system from inside gradually. It is manifested firstly into the sharia-nuanced rules. Secondly, this movement attempts to achieve the youth's sympathy. Most of those recruited are the educated youths from several universities, primarily from exact program. Thirdly, this movement also establishes education institutions in a certain area, particularly from early age education level to elementary school. Education institutions developed are generally managed very well using integrated system combining formal (school) and non-formal education (Islamic boarding school).

This embryo of theodemocracy instead grows and develops very well through education channel. But this thesis is opposed by Bull [2] in their studies showing that the argument that pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) is the source of radicalism is misplaced. *Pesantren* has a strong history of accommodation, pluralism, and non-radicalism. It is in line with what Abdullah[3] said that the development of radicalism instead occurs in public education institution due to inadequate Islamic discourse among students and even teachers, making them very opened to a variety of radical ideologies blown withot

critical filtering process, while in religion-based education institution has filtered the religious tenet understanding strongly. This article is different from previous studies, as it tries to portrait the reality of education in religion-based school institution in the process of treating anti-radicalism education, particularly in Surakarta area.

II. THEORETICAL REVIEW

Religious radicalism has several characters among others; first, the monolithic literal interpretation of the scriptural text; second, this movement is always related to fanaticism, exclusivism, intolerance, militantism, and radicals; third, this Movement always strives to cleanse and struggle to purify the religion of modernisms; fourth, these people monopolize the truth of religious interpretations and therefore reject the plurality of meanings religious truth; and fifth, This group rejects all ideas of pluralism[4]. Because pluralism aside from being the biological child of modernism, this understanding also makes the interpretation space for religious texts wide open.

In the study of democracy[5], there are two kinds of understanding. Namely, understanding normatively and empirically. Normative understanding regarding democracy as a goal teaches the ideal values of how democracy should be realized. Whereas empirical understanding or procedural democracy is the formulation of democracy that has been implemented.

This theory is often called Teo-Democracy[6][7] , which is a democracy that considers transcendental values. All religions, according to this theory, emerged and developed with a mission to protect and uphold human dignity. The actualization of this mission is the realization of justice and independence for its adherents. In this condition, democracy and the process of democratization are a necessity for the realization of justice and independence. Therefore, although religion does not systematically teach the practice of democracy, it has always been an ethos, spirit and doctrinal content for its adherents.

The terrorist movement driven by radicals is growing so rapidly. Terrorist regeneration continues and it is likely that in our immediate environment has been entered by radical groups. Seeing the deteriorating condition of the Indonesian people, so the actualization of the values forming the character of the younger generation is important to be encouraged. One of the nets is anti-radicalism education[2], [7], [8]. Through anti-radicalism education children can be socially constructed[9]. Through the process of internalization, objectification and externalization. As in the case of social construction in schools on diffability education in Sleeter's research [10]. So that anti radicalism can no longer develop in the era of theo-democracy.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This study was qualitative research with case study approach. The research was conducted in Surakarta City, Indonesia for some reasons. Firstly, Surakarta or Solo is conducive politically and sociologically to the development of radical groups. Secondly, a variety of ideologies flourish in this city. Thirdly, many facts showed that many terrorists were arrested in Surakarta City and surrounding, and finally, many religion-based schools grow in Surakarta City, 40.86% of total school number at various levels. Data of research were collected through: firstly, two-time Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with management and teaching staff consisting of 14 persons and with 29 students coming from various religion-based schools in Surakarta City. Secondly, an in-depth interview was conducted to collect data with stakeholders including school management, teacher, and students in religion-based school. Thirdly, documentation study was conducted on documentation from the Department of Education or Ministry of Education and Culture. Data analysis was carried out using interactive model continuously and completely, so that the data delivered was saturated one [11]. This analysis involved three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and data verification. Data validation was carried out data and author triangulation techniques.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Surakarta is one of the cities located in the province of Central Java. The city which is called the city of culture is classified as a city of national movements, for example, the beginning of the national movement in the colonial era such as Syarikat Dagang Islam (SDI) and several other movements. By being known as a city of movement, the sociologically diverse political or ideological poles flourish in this city, including ideas that are pro-theo-democracy even those that tend to be radical. For example, the parent organization Laskar Jihad was established in Surakarta by Ja'far Umar Thalib (a Madurese-Hadrami Arab) on February 14, 1998, just three months before the overthrow of President Suharto. Talib was a central figure in the design of Laskar Jihad.

The proliferation of pro-theodemocracy movements which tend to be radical even is nothing other than the regeneration process or the educational process in Surakarta. Movement cadres who are educated youth come from schools or boarding schools in the city of Surakarta and its surroundings. In Surakarta City, almost the majority of private schools are religious-based schools. While for the total number of schools in Surakarta City from various levels, both elementary, middle and high school, 40.86% are religious-based schools, and the exact data in table 1:

Table 1. Number and Proportion of Religion-Based Schools in Surakarta

No	Type of Education	No. of School	No. of Religion-based Schools	Percentage
1	SD/MI	257 schools	86 schools	33.46%
2	SMP/MTS	83 schools	40 schools	48.81 %
3	SMA/MA/ SMK	91 Schools	50 schools	54.94 %
	Total	431 Schools	176 schools	40.86 %

Source: (data of Ministry of Education and Culture 2018, processed)[12]

The Role of Teachers, Parents, and Communities

Anti-intolerance education and radicalism cannot be borne or become school responsibility. Anti-radicalism education must start from the cooperation between schools (teachers), parents, and the community because most of the time students are with parents at home and socialize in the community. Schools have an important role to be able to optimize the potential of students and transfer values and norms, not just transfer knowledge. These three elements (teacher or school, parents or family, and community) are very instrumental in providing understanding and education to the sons and daughters of the next generation.

Families, schools and communities have a very important role in the education process for children. As agents of socialization, the three agents can optimize their roles. As people who are considered older teachers and parents must be agents of change because they become learning resources for children. According to one informant said that the principle of the Javanese is "learn from the older". What is meant by old here is not just understanding old age but is an adult both physically and mentally? Another principle held by the Javanese community is that parents must eat a lot of sour salt, which means older people have a lot of experience and knowledge. So that it can be shared with the younger generation. So parents here have an important role in the process of transforming children, and the role is taken over by the teacher as parents of students when at school. According to Langeveled, as quoted by M. Sa. Muchith in the book Education Without Reality, education is a guidance process carried out by adults with the aim of maturing others who are characterized by three general characteristics, namely: (a) stable, namely attitudes and personalities that remain in all situations and conditions, both normal, happy and difficult conditions; (b) responsibility, namely people who have the ability to provide strong arguments for what has been said and implemented; (c) independent, namely the ability to make decisions on the basis of their own abilities, not because of coercion from other parties.

In the anti-radicalism education process, the role of the teacher becomes very important as a substitute for parents in school, the reality system that occurs in Indonesia is different. Based on data from the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in 2018 launched the survey results entitled, "The Faded Lamp: A Portrait of Indonesian Teachers' Religion". Based on the survey results, it was shown that 10.01% of Muslim teachers in Indonesia had very intolerant opinions implicitly and 53.06% had implicitly intolerant opinions. In addition, 6.03% of Muslim teachers have very intolerant opinions, and 50.87% of teachers have explicit intolerant opinions [13]. The survey shows that the education of anti-radicalism and anti-intolerance in Indonesia is still not finished. The teachers should be agents of socialization for anti-radicalism education but on the contrary the majority have explicit intolerant opinions.

In contrast to the results of the survey, the results of this study show how the strong commitment of subject teachers in faith-based schools in Surakarta City to instill tolerance and anti-radicalism. Both Islamic, Christian, and Catholic religious schools or religious-based schools that apply gender and heterogeneous segregation are committed to instilling values of tolerance and anti-radicalism amid the strengthening of the theo-democratic movement. Commitment to planting tolerance and anti-radicalism in the form of curriculum and non-curriculum.

For students the planting of tolerance and anti-radicalism through OSIS or PRAMUKA activities, in addition to sports extracurricular activities such as basketball which instill to be able to understand each other's character. Likewise, in Islamic schools, gender segregation also tolerates through cultural activities after prayer, which makes students know each other by not discriminating between junior, Arab or Javanese seniors. The implementation of tolerance and anti-radicalism in other schools is that we carry out certain holiday activities to invite lion dance so that students can get to know each other. By knowing the culture that is different from the others is expected to foster a sense of tolerance.

Schools also call tolerance and anti-radicalism during society by sharing, such as sharing a simple lunch. The students make rice packs at home and collect them at school, after they have gathered they go to a designated point, for example in crowded centers like Pasar Gede. Through sharing activities with the community, it certainly does not record what ethnicity, caste, religion or religion, everyone we consider needs to be treated equally, regardless of who it is. Furthermore, student recognition of people's lives is certainly different from their daily lives, namely with life in activities or living in people's homes. Life in activities, which are students staying in a village and home residents. From them interacting directly with the villagers, children can learn and understand the ways of life and culture of the residents they live in, which is certainly very different from the culture or habits they live in every day.

The life of students or students who are not familiar with youth is not only about social life in a real society, but at this time the influence of cyberspace has influenced the attitudes of the youth. Not a few of the terrorists or radicals who get their terrorist knowledge or understand that is misleading through the internet. According to Natana J. DeLong-Bas (Azca, 2013) mentions that young people are a deterrent to the wave of change as "generation Facebook" or "generation of the internet" because massive and intensive use of social media in the orchestration demands changes made in the Arabian Peninsula. Not only in the Arabian Peninsula does this orchestration take place, with globalization as at present the changes of osteoastration in the Arabian Peninsula will also appear to be felt in Indonesia. Globalization then fosters what is called a new situation in the community, fosters a variety of societies that sometimes become contested frictions between one group and another group. This is where political globalization then manifests a religiopolitical movement, including among young people who are still economically unstable and emotional

In addition to the internet world, the challenge of the existence of radicalization in schools with its religiopolitical movement entered through the path of organizations such as the Student Council and the ROHIS. The inclusion of radical understanding is through agencies, which are alumni of the school and organization. These agencies can influence the religious understanding of students. So this is where anti-radicalism and tolerant education must be strengthened by the commitment of agents, namely teachers (schools), parents (family), and the community.

Anti-radicalism learning and centralized tolerance can occur if teachers in Indonesia are of good quality. The problem of radicalism which is currently a trend in the world of our education is quickly blocked when qualified teacher roles can be optimized. This advocacy program is aimed at increasing the capacity of teachers to be more alert and sensitive to the problems of radicalism that occur in their school environment and to equip them with complete understanding and capable skills so that they can stem the flow of radicalism in the learning process. The lack of reading material on PAI, Civics, Sociology and so on with content that can strengthen character and national values is one of the main problems in the lack of success of these two subjects in shaping the character of students in the learning process.

Also, monotonous and non-varied teaching methods make students bored and less attentive to teaching in some schools. Students are more interested in learning Islamic teachings through mentoring meetings conducted by Rohis with mentors from outside the school who are affiliated with certain radical groups. Nearly all schools that are part of this program make Rohis the most important vehicle for strengthening Islamic knowledge for students. Rohis becomes the crater of candradimuka for the formation of a worldview of students, where new Islamic material is obtained from liqa, recitation, discussion, sermons, bulletins. But all these positive activities must certainly be well monitored by the school. The hope is that understanding religion is good and true there is no more radicalism.

The Importance of Understanding Nationalism and Tolerance

Radicalism is basically from the word radic which has a simple meaning, namely "root" or ideology or idea. This ideology for informants is interpreted as a speech or one that changes the system in a country through violence, of course, it deviates from the Pancasila which is the ideology of our nation. Pancasila itself has existed since ancient times, so the Pancasila is certainly expected to be an ideology to fight other incoming ideologies, including rebellion. So every subject in school must instill that respect and respect that we need to teach children. Besides, it is always instilled that the Pancasila becomes an ideology, to share, respect each other in loving life in a state.

The ideology of Pancasila is final, which is the result of the thoughts of state leaders. It's just that there are more and more ideologies of intruders entering Indonesia through various things. Like the streams of radicalism through its political religion which grew and developed in the post-reform period. Radical streams have indeed become so global and not only in Indonesia. As is the case in cases in Arab countries such as Syria which until now have fought, because it was triggered through issues on social media. Indirectly through exposed social media such as photos or videos of recorded atrocities or victims of war will have an impact that can influence ideology and then be attracted to "get there", such as examples of photos of children carrying firearms to fight. This can especially occur in children who experience social problems such as a broken home. Indonesian cases also show that the Internet is not persuasive enough to mobilize people for extreme actions such as murder. Although it does not rule out the possibility that it can happen.

The growth of theo-democratic ideology in Indonesia is due to various misconceptions about globalizing ideologies. This notion coincides with the notion of what is called radicalism, although the theo-demographic movement is subtle or through violent or radical means. Based on the results of the focus group discussion, the roots of radical notions can be embedded in the Indonesian youth genre are through three ways, namely: First, by looking for young cadres to be brainwashed usually in school through a spiritual alumni network or student council in school. Second, the understanding of religion is wrong because of a superficial understanding of religion. The third member recruitment occurs because prospective members experience economic difficulties, with a guarantee of a better life and paradise so prospective members are very interested in joining the movement.

One of the religiously based schools in the rapidly developing Surakarta city is the Muhammadiyah school. Muhammadiyah schools have academic strategies such as teaching Muhammadiyah understandings that are intended or prepared to advance the nation, based on the Pancasila. Activities in schools such as youth studies with mentoring from the school are aimed at strengthening Muhammadiyah's ideology. Heterogeneous types of schools are a field for planting tolerance. Cyclic toleration is carried out by the teacher in various ways, for example in the learning process in the classroom by sharing experiences, children are told to come to the front of the class then share experiences about tolerance, after advancing, we know that children understand what tolerance is. Suppose the child tells of the experience at home there is a celebration event and then there is the voice of the call to prayer then it must be put aside, by sharing these experiences the children will understand what tolerance is. Then there is one of the stories of the child when Eid al-Fitr prayers friends with other religions helped to keep the motorbike. So in the implementation of the children, it turns out that they already understand what tolerance is.

Furthermore, to prevent anti-radicalism at school, the school has fortified its students from the beginning, from the beginning of entering school we introduced the school environment, in collaboration with the TNI, Polri.

Collaboration is carried out to instill the love of the Indonesian homeland, which of course our country by sharing these differences becomes a cultural richness. In Surakarta City, several schools have implemented inclusion schools, by becoming an inclusive school to provide our children or students with empathy for their lack of themes. Teachers should educate with very important love, and all religions do not plunge into a direction that is not good and always teach love to fellow humans. In Surakarta City, it is classified as multicultural in terms of tradition, religion, and belief, economic status and even food problems, with differences that certainly exist for this radicalism, we will keep it away from students.

IV. CONCLUSION

Referring to Berger and Luckmann, it is explained that in the dialectics of society discourse and praxis are knowledge realities. As a knowledge, both are the knowledge that is detached from the problem, the most basic validity or invalidity (based on any criteria) from that knowledge. As both human knowledge is developed, transferred and maintained in various social conditions, these processes ultimately form a reality that is considered natural by ordinary people. In this case, the relation with the youth community in Indonesia, especially Surakarta City, especially elementary, middle and high school children, is a community that is psychologically still vulnerable and unstable so that it will easily be affected by provocation. By strengthening the understanding of theo-democracy it is not impossible that the regional governments will be carried away. Moreover, the current leads to the anti-radicalize movement. The existence of radicalism is rooted in three things, namely: wrong understanding regarding religion, the influence of organizational networks, and economic crisis. The role of the school in establishing education that is anti-radicalism and tolerance is very necessary. In addition to the school, the role of teachers, parents and the community is also needed in the context of their commitment to anti-radicalism education. In addition to this, strengthening the spirit of nationalism and tolerance is expected to be able to overcome radicalism problems, especially in the younger generation.

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