

# 125939638.pdf

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**Submission date:** 29-Dec-2021 09:08AM (UTC+0700)

**Submission ID:** 1736185973

**File name:** 125939638.pdf (375.63K)

**Word count:** 4912

**Character count:** 27286

# The Role of Teacher in Counteracting the Transnational Religious Ideology of *Khilafah*

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## ABSTRACT

This paper elaborates the role of teacher in counteracting the influence of the transnational ideology of *Khilafah* to high school students which has potentials to give birth to religious radicalism and endanger their nationalism. This qualitative research with ethnographic approach took place at SMA N 1, SMA 2 and SMA N 3 Purwokerto. The reason for choosing Purwokerto as the location of the research because it is a student city with Javanese Banyumasan cultural characteristics. Choosing high school students as the sample is due to their unstable and dynamic personality and their important role in determining the model of religious and national life in Indonesia in the future. Based on the research, 3 (three) conclusions were revealed. First, the pattern of students' religious views in general is moderate. Some students recognize the concept of *Khilafah* with a relatively minimal understanding of information that does not have implications for their personality in religion and nationality. Secondly, most students are familiar with the concept of *khilafah* through the internet, social media, and social and scientific interaction. Third, as a form of awareness of the dangers of transnational ideology (such as the ideology of *Khilafah*), teachers build and foster students' awareness both through structured learning and the development of religious activities in schools so that they are careful in associating and wise in utilizing the internet and social media thus avoiding the influence of radical religious ideology that endangers nationalism.

**Keywords:** *Islam, Khilafah, media, nationalism, high school students*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The "battle" of ideology and religious movements in the global era is developing freely, expanding and uncontrolled reaching almost all levels and segments of society, including high school students who live in the age-range of full dynamics and are the prototypes of future society. This research is an effort to find out the high school students' religiosity model in the onslaught of ideology that is very likely to affect them both through social media and social life in general, as well as the role of teachers in anticipating it. The conclusion of this research is very important as providing clarification with specific cases about the influence the ideology of transnational movement of *Khilafah* to high school students, which is feared by many parties.

In the current era, the symbols of formal Islam are increasingly apparent as a result of the struggle of ideology, discourse and religious movements on a global scale in which Indonesia is the arena. In this context, Islam as a symbol and collective identity system shows its vitality in Indonesia so that Noorhaidi Hasan predicted it would influence the format and direction of Islamic da'wah, movement and education. Various mass organizations and religious movements ranging from radical, militant, progressive moderate to liberal are trying to express their respective identities and interests through their respective activities and interests through dynamic discursive activities. Radical ideologies and religious movements increasingly preach intensively and massively so that it is

allegedly able to reduce the understanding and religious traditions of the Indonesian Muslim nation who are tolerant, friendly, harmonious, cooperative, and rahmat for others. In turn, this will threaten the unity of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) as a place for plural and multicultural nation [1]. Indonesia is the largest multicultural country in the world with plural socio-cultural conditions and broad geographical territory [2]. Pluralism actually is a valuable social capital for national development, however it also has potentials to cause conflict and social friction. These two effects depend on their management. In fact, governing nation's diversity is full of dynamics, even in the reformation era (post 1997, marked by the collapse of the New Order), acts of terrorism and Islamic radicalism spread in Indonesia [3].

A survey in October 2010 to January 2011 by the Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace (LaKIP) led by Prof. Dr. Bambang Pranowo (professor of Islamic sociology at UIN Jakarta)[4] found that nearly 50% of students agreed to radical action. This survey also revealed that 25% of students and 21% of teachers stated that Pancasila was no longer relevant. Students (84.8%) and teachers (76.2%) agreed with the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia. The number who agreed with violence for religious solidarity reached 52.3% of students and 14.2% justified bomb attack [5].

A research by the Center for Islamic and Community Studies (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in 2017 showed that 43.88% of respondents (from total of 1.859 students and university students) are categorized as intolerant while 6.56% are indicated as radical. Research

also classifies whether the internal and external tolerance of Muslim students. As it is uploaded on the site [www.m.jpn.com](http://www.m.jpn.com) there were 34.3% of students support external intolerance while 51.1% of students were agree with internal intolerance. This means that students are more tolerant to other religious adherents than to Muslims that perceived different views from them [5].

Based on Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) survey [6], it was found as many as 79.3% of respondents stated that the Republic of Indonesia is the best for Indonesia. As many as 9.2% of respondents who agreed that there may be an alternative of Indonesian states, like khilafah or Islamic state. About 11.5% of respondents said that they did not know or did not answer. Saiful Mujani argued that 9.2% of people who proposed an alternative for Indonesian state was not a small number, so it should be taken into account and looked for a solution.

Although NKRI has become final decision of the Indonesian nation, the above findings actually show the dynamics of conflict, shifting, fighting, and hegemony in the meaning of the dynamic relationship between religion and nation. In historical reality, the polemic of the relation between the state and religion in Islam has developed even since the death of Rasulullah SAW. Broadly speaking, political understanding and movement is pursued in two camps, namely Islamists who want religion and the state to be totally integrated and secular groups who want a strict separation between religion and state [7]. Although the era of the nation state developed into the mainstream politics of modern statehood, supporters of the first group of Islamic model were still developing in a closed and hidden manner with the demands of the establishment of an Islamic state as a whole (kaffah). When this religious model grows and develops in a multicultural Indonesia, it has the potential to give birth to conflict based on religion. The harmony of the nation has become difficult to materialize because the harmony of the religious community has become a foundation that has collapsed. Religious harmony requires a life filled with tolerance, respect for pluralism and inclusive thinking. Harmony means a situation where all parties are in a state of peace with one another, keen on cooperation, accepting each other in a calm and agreeable atmosphere [8].

Based on the background of the problem, the authors are interested in studying and tracing: First, the pattern of students' religious views in the constellation of ideological attacks and the transnational movement of the Khilafah which has implications for their personality in religion and nationhood; Second, the mode of introduction of students to the concept of Khilafah; and Third, the role of the teacher in building and fostering students' awareness of the dangers of Khilafah ideology. The reason in choosing high schools as the setting of the research is due to the unstable and dynamic psychological condition of high school students in the context of looking for identity, so they are fulnurable to be influenced by the new idiology and movement and able to build convincing narratives for them. Meanwhile, opting Purwokerto as the city to be researched is because it is a student city in the center of the Javanese civilization of Banyumasan. Purwokerto City is a historically influential city of civilization in the West of Central Java Province, a

meeting point with Javanese and Sundanese civilizations, and is a reputable city or is recognized at national level.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research used a qualitative the concept of khilafah approach in entire process of extracting, presenting and analyzing data [9][10]. The researchers carefully investigated the program, events, activities, processes of a group of individuals, namely students and teachers as well as school communities at SMAN 1, 2 and 5 Purwokerto related to their responses and receptions regarding the transnational ideology of the "Khilafah". In constructing the meaning is based on the phenomena and views of the research subjects and informants [11].

The primary subjects of this research are religious teacher (teachers of Islamic Religion) and all persons involved in the activities of the Rohis (Student Spirituality) organization, namely the Rohis' trustee, chair, members and students as well as the mosque manager. Principals and PAI teachers become key informants for further tracing of data using by snowball strategy.

For data gathering, it applies observation, interview and documentation methods. Observations are usually carried out in a participatory manner especially in the process of religious learning and Rohis activities by observing and asking for visible behavior [12]. Therefore, all phenomena (events and behaviors) related to the context and focus of the study are recorded and documented. In-depth interviews are conducted in a semi-structured manner, which uses interview guidelines in the form of an outline of research themes to elaborate the values, meanings and views of informants [13]. The documentation method is intended as a method of extracting and studying documents related to student religiosity and Rohis religious activities such as programs, in the form of books, performance reports, and other documents that contain relevant information and data to the focus of the research [14]. Documentation studies are also focused on exploring internet sites and social media which are the basis for the dissemination of the concept of "Khilafah" among senior high school students.

The data obtained through observation, in 4 views, and documentation are then analyzed, namely the process of organizing and sorting data into patterns, categories and basic units of description so that themes and meaning are constructed based on data. Methodologically, the data analysis technique uses the Miles and Huberman model, namely the data reduction, display, verification and conclusion. As a qualitative study, the analysis was conducted integrally since the research design, data collection, to data interpretation [10].

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1. Student Understanding of Religion

The findings of this research actually becomes a kind of clarification for some researchs, such as done by PPIM UIN

Jakarta and the Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace (LaKIP), finding intolerant view of Indonesian Muslim students. LaKIP found nearly 50% of students who were agree with radical action. PPIM found 43.88% of respondents support intolerant. On the contrary, this research found that students understand Islam as peaceful and tolerant religion. They are not agree with radical Islam and any religious radicalism.

Spiritual Organization (Rohis) is an activity of guidance, direction conducted by teachers, especially Islamic Religious Education (PAI) teachers in order to broaden students' knowledge of religious knowledge to achieve educational goals. Rohis' activities in the school are included in religious-based extracurricular activities. Rohis activity aims to increase knowledge, skills, value attitudes, broaden students' insights in thinking, including strengthening students' Islam in the school environment [15].

Rohis as an Islamic da'wah organization in schools is used as an extracurricular activity to support intracurricular success. The existence of Rohis in high school really helps students in learning and living the religion of Islam because of the PAI hours in class. Rohis activities are mostly guided by the PAI teachers of the school concerned, so that in the implementation of the activities they are directed and controlled so that they do not overstep the boundaries or occur infiltrations from outside, for example outsiders who try to incorporate radical ideological religious ideas.

Rohis's activities in the three high schools that were used as research samples, namely SMAN 1, 2 and 5 Purwokerto, generally included routine study sessions every week, Islamic Commemoration programs, Faith and Piety Night (Mabit), Short Pesantren Program, literary development, Islamic studies for girls, Islamic arts of Qur'an recitations and hadrah. All Rohis activities are directed towards achieving the vision and mission of the organization. Rohis' vision in schools is to form students who have faith, piety, morality, knowledge, and good deeds, and always be tolerant, open, critical, creative and innovative. In simple language, the vision of Rohis is the realization of devotion and excellence based on akhlaqul karimah. The vision and mission formulation of each school is different but revolves around the formula.

Rohis' mission is almost the same in all high schools, namely: (1) Training Islamic cadres who are pious, moderate, critical, and care about civilization; (2) Making Muslims role models in the community at school; (3) Applying the culture of mengaji (religious discussion) to all Muslim students; (4) Preventing radicalism; (5) Realizing the generation who love Qur'an, al-Hadith, and sholawat according to the teachings of the Prophet; (6) Maintaining harmony and tolerance between religions in general and in Islam in particular; and (7) Applying the perspective of Islam rohmatan lil 'alamin. Mission point (4), which is to prevent radicalism, is interesting because it shows the awareness of Rohis mentor to respond to the strengthening of the radical movement in some schools or students.

Based on an interview with one of the leaders of Chairperson Rohis, AM, that the presence of Rohis at school is based on that the school needs a vehicle for preaching that is driven by Muslim students to balance students' intellectual and spiritual needs. Rohis aims to

realize Islamic life in school. Rohis is also responsible for stemming radicalism in schools. Therefore, teachers often explore the media consumed and produced by students. The teacher randomly checks the sites visited as well as the content that is downloaded, read, commented on and uploaded. When a suspicious search is found, monitoring will be carried out and even provide counseling to students who are suspected of being influenced by radical ideology and movements.

Rohis activities include: reorganization; A Day with Rohis (SBR); Amaliyah Ramadhan (AR); Amaliyah Dzulhijah (AD); Amaliyah Muharram (AM); Islamic Competition (IC); Saturday Morning Religious Teaching (PSP); General Religious Teaching (PU); Dolan Bareng; Organization Management Training (OMT); Ukhuwah Forum (FU); Fast breaking; Tasyakuran; Lailatuna (Our night) and Live in. All of these activities were developed in order to realize a better way for students to become Muslim.

Observing Rohis's activities, all showed a conducive academic atmosphere far from formal activities that led to the process of cultivating radical ideologies. Associated with the khilafah, the mentor Rohis (MLN) and PAI (RH) high school teachers are of the view that Islam and the Indonesian nation are plural so that it is impossible to implement an Islamic government system. He put forward the concept of tolerance in religion and longed for Indonesia as the most populous Muslim country to become the most inclusive religious country in the world.

3. Itna, one of the students, is of the view that Muslims may agree with the implementation of Islamic government in Indonesia but the diversity of the national religion and culture makes it impossible. By enforcing Islamic politics, harmony will be difficult to materialize and national unity may be divided. This is not in accordance with the nature of Islam as a religion that loves peace and teaches a harmonious life together.

In general, the perspectives and religious attitudes of students of SMAN 1, 2 and 5 Purwokerto are in the moderate category. Some students recognize the concept of khilafah with a relatively minimal understanding and are considered as information so that it does not have implications for their personality in religion and nationality. Rohis's activities at Purwokerto State High School also included supporting religious and nationalist life, namely supporting the NKRI on the basis of the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution that lived united and harmonious in a climate of diversity.

There were indeed students who were allegedly influenced by radical ideology and movements, but in a way that is still in a controlled and handled limit. Such indications included participation in activities outside school such as the Long March of Gerakan Menutup Aurat (Aurat covering movement-GEMAR) which was held in Purwokerto Square on January 25, 2018 or joining the "Hijrah Akhwat" and "Hijrah Ikhwan" groups allegedly affiliated with fundamental Islam. This is the impact of digital globalization with a flood of information on social media and open social interaction. Their numbers are very small and not mainstream but should be observed as a phenomenon.

### **3.2. The Model of Spreading the Khilafah Ideology**

Indonesia is a country that was born with diversity, in terms of ethnicity, language, tradition and religion. Although Muslims make up the majority and even Indonesia is the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia is not an Islamic state. With these characteristics, Indonesia is very likely to be the target of implementing a Formalistic Islamic State, especially by transnational religious movements, such as the Khilafah. The ideology and movement poses a threat to the ideology of the nation and the continuity of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). However, it is presumed that there is a seeding attempt of the transnational ideology implicit, closed and hidden manners through infiltrations and induction within the community, including Educational Institutions. The target is that people unconsciously follow their mindset and then follow their movement model. This is certainly dangerous for the survival of NKRI.

In this context, the media becomes an efficient accelerator for persons who want to spread exclusive, fundamental and radical religious discourse. Social media, especially in this modern era can benefit religion and religious communities; or vice versa. According to Hoover in "Religion in the Media", the media becomes the context of social and cultural relations of religious communities; and even construct it. In turn, religion and religious communities become a strategic battleground for discourse and power; and on the other hand, the media becomes a strategic and effective actor in the process of conflict, struggle and hegemony of the meaning and actions of religious people. Some of the content takes the context and moments that are prone to conflicts that smell SARA (Tribe, Religion, Race and tradition = racism) in such as presidential or regional head elections so that it is easy to provoke the community [16].

The media, especially the internet, creates an unlimited flow of information in the space and time in which this happens continuously and touches almost all aspects of human life. Just one-click away, humans can access various information and disseminate information, including religious information. The media in its openness are very vulnerable to being used by individuals for the benefit of certain groups. In its mechanism, the media uses religion as content and context information to get public support because of the nature of religion that touches the emotionality of its adherents. Because of the sensitivity and lack of religious knowledge, religious communities are easily influenced and profiled, thus endangering unity and harmony in the life of the nation and state of Indonesia.

Regarding reception research and responses to the transnational ideology of Khilafah, it was found that a number of students in SMAN 1, 2 and 5 did not pay attention and did not get information related to the developing religious ideologies, including khilafah ideology, except after there was an anti-radicalism socialization in schools. Some of them have obtained information about the fundamental and radical Islamic ideology of khilafah through internet, magazines, television, broadcast articles, videos on whatsapp, and / or other social media. Among the media, the internet is the most effective and massive information provider because of

the ease and freedom of access. Some of them get information just as knowledge and only a few are affected by the mindset and then interested in following the site's invitation. This reality justifies Da'far's opinion that the face of religion and with its varied thoughts are displayed and reproduced through internet media. It's just that the face of religion in the public media space implies contestation and struggle for the influence of each religious group in the public sphere [16].

Based on interviews with TM (a leader of the female Rohis), she confessed that she often sought out about the concept of khilafah ideas or radical movements. TM tried to find out through sources that it considers relevant and not hoaxes. For example, she traced information about the disbanding of HTI which was declared a banned mass organization in Indonesia in 2017 because it was considered incompatible with Pancasila with the mission of establishing a formal Islamic State. She also traced information about the entry of radical Islamic ideologies and movements such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) into Indonesian territory and its recruitment of Indonesian citizens. She often searched articles randomly on internet related to Islamic content. She watched videos sourced from <http://youtu.be/1TXFP2fdzy> in the form of a procession of allegiance and declaration of the Khilafah state allegedly carried out by hundreds of IPB students.

Such content endangers the survival of NKRI as a result of the national consensus of the founders of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, most students were aware of the dangers of the information so they knew precisely how to anticipate. Few of those who due to lack of religious scholarship, and family and teacher guidance were affected even though they had not yet been involved in the movement. In this context, the cooperation of schools, families, communities and related parties is very important to anticipate them so that they are not affected in the midst of the vortex of freedom and the breadth of access to media and social relations.

### **3.3. Teachers' Strategies in Protecting Students from the Khilafah Ideology**

Based on interviews, it was found that the Rohis mentor, PAI teacher and head of SMAN 1, 2 and 5 Purwokerto did not address the possibilities that occurred to students, that they could be trapped in the flow of exclusive Islamic discourse and even tended to be radical as a result of media influence. Provisions of students' minimal religious knowledge plus minimal PAI study hours have implications for the possible influence of deviant religious indoctrination. They do not know the basis and logic of religion holistically and comprehensively so that sometimes they could be influenced by persuasive and provocative arguments. However, so far no students had reached the stage of following deviant ideologies and movements. Almost all high school students are loyal to the religious ideology of their hometown which is tolerant and harmonious. The dynamics of change in students are only related to how to build arguments, not ideology and religious movements.

It's just that the phenomenon of students who know the radical transnational movement deserves serious attention

from the school, especially PAI teachers, to provide inclusive religious understanding. As coaches of Rohis as well as PAI teachers, they always supervise and supervise both the learning process, school activities, and especially Rohis activities. They realized that Rohis was very likely to be targeted because it was a container in Islamic activities. Carefulness is very important because students in public schools tend not to learn much about religious knowledge and tend to come from family environments and the community does not have adequate religious scholarship so it tends to easily accept doctrinal discourse followed by an attitude of truth claims to the outside.

According to AM, a PAI teacher, when facing information about certain individuals or groups who want a country with the application of formal Islam such as HTI or other radicalism discourses, schools provide an explanation for students not to be affected either through learning activities or Rohis activities. The school even selects presenters who will fill out studies by examining biographies and educational backgrounds so as to avoid being indoctrinated by extreme religious ideology and movements. Alumni involved in school were also selected because in 2014 they were cheated, which is a kind of halaqoh and mentoring with outsiders with discussions that lead to extreme religion. In principle, the school carries out maximum development to maintain nationalism, reject radical ideologies.

A Religious Supervisor (MLN) said that Rohis activities are prepared to facilitate students in living Islamic values. In the process of Islamic learning and study, he gives knowledge and understanding to students so that they are not easily indoctrinated with radical Islamic concepts. Students are directed to be able to understand the concept of the state in the Indonesian context. Concepts that are prone to support radicalism are also interpreted in a more appropriate context for Indonesia. For example, jihad is interpreted in the context of seeking knowledge, not fighting so bloodshed occurs.

Even though school leaders and PAI teachers try to fortify and direct students to wisely use social media, it is undeniable that students learn fundamental Islam through internet sites and are then influenced by the religious doctrine. As a result, he tends to blame something different from himself or take a passive path by taking a closed and quiet attitude. TM feels concerned because students prefer to study via the internet rather than meet with the teacher or teacher.

In essence, PAI schools and teachers have tried to anticipate that students are not affected by radical Islam through a variety of ways, both in class learning, extracurricular activities, Rohis religious activities, and the creation of religious life in peaceful and harmonious schools. Appeals are made so students are smart and wise in consuming and utilizing information media. It's just that, they recognize the limitations that because of the openness and flexibility of the use of information media, they ask all parties to be involved together in handling the problem of religious diversity of students to be quality and tolerant.

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#### 4. CONCLUSION

Based on the research, 3 (three) conclusions were formulated. First, the pattern of students' religious views in general is moderate. Some students recognize the concept of Khilafah with a relatively minimal understanding of information that does not have implications for their personality in religion and nationality. Secondly, most students are familiar with the concept of khilafah through the internet, social media, and social and scientific interaction. Third, as a form of awareness of the dangers of trans-national ideology (such as the ideology of the Khilafah), teachers build and foster students' awareness both through structured learning and the development of religious activities in schools so that they are careful in associating and wise in utilizing the internet and social media so avoid the influence of radical religious ideologies that endanger nationalism.

This research is still preliminary so it is possible to develop further research with a focus on more specific studies with specific settings as well. Then, the relevant parties can respond to this finding more wisely so that it becomes the basis for developing an appropriate policy. For example, educational policy holders, especially in the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religion, should continue to develop an integrated and comprehensive school curriculum by completing the discussion of the theme of transnational ideology of Khilafah not to reduce the spirit of student nationalism. School managers and teachers should monitor and control so that students and teachers are related to the use of resources, references and learning media so that there is no gap for radicalism in schools. There needs to be integrative cooperation between schools and related parties in maintaining destructive and dangerous religious behavior for the integrity of NKRI.

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