

## Radicalism Preference of Islamic Senior High School Student in East Java

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### Abstract

*Islamic senior high school is assumed far and safe from intolerant and radical by society because they are out of reach of intolerant people. This study analyzed the preferences of Islamic senior high school Aliyah students towards the issue of radicalism in the Islamic senior high school. This research used quantitative research with 1167 Islamic senior high school students in East Java. The results showed that most of the respondents did not feel intimidated, to live around other religions' societies. In addition, for state ideology preferences, it was found that 512 out of 1,167 respondents indicated that Pancasila was the appropriate ideology. While 146 respondents stated that religion ideology-based was very appropriate for the Indonesian state. Oki Setiana Dewi was the most popular religious figure among Islamic senior high school students. Oki's popularity is a paradox because the majority of respondents are members of NU and Muhammadiyah organizations. Furthermore, in Indonesian state ideology preferences in Islamic senior high schools, 131 respondents strongly agreed that the khilafah was not appropriate in Indonesia, 256 respondents agreed that the khilafah was not appropriate in Indonesia, and 533 respondents had doubts about the inappropriateness of the khilafah in Indonesia, 166 respondents tended to agree about the implementation of the khilafah in Indonesia, and 81 respondents strongly agreed with the implementation of the Khilafah.*

**Keywords:** Radicalism Preference, Radicalism in Islamic High School, Intolerance, East Java

## INTRODUCTION

Radicalism and terrorism are public enemies. The term radical is often associated with political activity and extremism, religious fanaticism, and others (Neumann, 2003). Radicalism is a belief that demands changes, substitutions, and breaking down of a social system down to its roots. Radicalism hungers a total change in a condition or all aspects of people's lives (Usman et al., 2014).

The rapid spread of radical ideology has supported indirectly a succession of worldwide terrorist attacks in recent years. Understanding extremist development patterns and their encouragement for an individual to have action is important from a cultural point of view as well as formulating response and prevention strategies. Radicalism is not a new phenomenon; history has recorded several radical or terrorist movements in recent decades. As an example, since September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks (Malik et al., 2014), there have been several attacks by radical groups in almost all parts of the world (Bhaskara, 2018) such as in Asia: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and the Philippines; in America: The United States, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, and Canada; In Africa: Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Nigeria, Somalia, and Egypt; in Europe: Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, Britain, and France which become the most occurrence of radical action (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019).

School-age youths have been targeted by the radical ideology recruiter as a group that must be exposed to the radical ideology. As a matter of fact, researchers have shown that radicalization among young people is not a new step, but it is being embraced in the youth community (Alius, 2017; Poushter, 2015; Prasetyo, 2011). Furthermore, East Java population data for 2020 shows that almost half of East Java's population (45.8%) are 15-44 years old while official data from the East Java government show that the total number of high school

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students in East Java is 1,594,324 people (BPS Jawa Timur, 2018). Thus, knowing the religious perspective and attitude is imperative, especially to overview the future of religious life and various Muslim civil issues in Indonesia such as democracy, human rights, citizenship, and pluralism. In addition, Islamic senior high school is the realm of the blind spot since society assumes that Islamic high school students are mostly in Islamic boarding schools where they are out of reach from the radicalism belief. These assumptions may not be based on data because little research has been conducted specifically in east java. For this reason, it is urgent to do research on intolerance and radicalism among students at Islamic senior high schools in East Java.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Radicalism Among Students in Several Surveys**

The Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace (LaKIP) in 2010 was carried out in 59 private schools and 41 public schools in 10 areas throughout Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi). This survey took a sample of 993 junior high and high school students. What is noteworthy, this survey shows that almost 50% of students agree with acts of violence or radical actions for the sake of religion. 14.2% of students agreed with the acts of terrorism committed by Imam Samudra, Amrozi, and Noordin M Top. 84.8% of students also agreed with the enforcement of Islamic law. Meanwhile, 25.8% thought that Pancasila was no longer relevant as a state ideology. Although some parties have expressed doubts about the methodology and results of this survey, this survey should be used as an alarm or a red light for the future of the Indonesian nation. (Baedowi et al., 2013)

The following survey was conducted by the SETARA Institute for Democracy and Peace (SIDP) for students at the senior high school level in Jakarta and Bandung cities, in 2016. The survey took 171 schools with a total population of 171 schools or an estimated student population of 18,000 by taking 760 samples. student. This survey gave the result that 8% of students supported the use of violence in fighting for beliefs and also agreed to replace Pancasila as the basis of the state. There are 2% of respondents who view jihad as a struggle to fully uphold religious teachings in any way, including by means of violence. While there are 3.4% of students who interpret the ISIS movement as an articulation of the struggle to establish an Islamic state / Khilafah (Tim, 2016).

In the same year, the Wahid Foundation conducted a survey of 1,466 high school students who were administrators of the Islamic Spiritual Student Activity Unit (Rohis). This survey found that more than 20% of Rohis activists stated that they often listened to radical religious teachings. In line with the aroma of radicalist studies, a survey by the Wahid Foundation found that 33% of Rohingya activists define jihad as war. What's worse, 60% of Rohis activists agree to do jihad today and 68% agree to do jihad, of course as meant that the meaning of jihad according to Rohis activists is to fight. The survey concluded with devastating data that 78% of Rohist activists support the idea of a caliphate (Zafi, 2019).

### **Characteristics of Radicalism in Indonesia**

Radical” has a negative meaning when it is embedded in religion, especially when it is placed alongside terrorism issues. In this case radical can be interpreted as an anti-social movement or a resistance movement by force in spreading its political ideas to replace the status quo. In addition, Radical movements use doctrines to influence and gain sympathy as well as support from society (Robingaton, 2017).

Radical movements become radicalism because there is a mosaic in the movement. The prefix "ism" in “radicalism” implies that the movement is not solely monotonous, that is using acts of terror to achieve radical goals. Radicalism has various mosaics and spectrums in its actions, ranging from soft to hard medium. Similarly, the targets of the action also vary, from non-expert people, and educated people to scholars (Pirol et al., 2020; Robingaton, 2017).

Rahir and Tahir explained that radicalism groups developed in Indonesia for personal reasons such as financial benefit. In addition, radicalism is able to become an interesting political benefit for its people to follow. Last but not least, the extreme attitude towards the religion of its people. Extremism is a part of the religious attitude in understanding the taught of the religion. The type of radicalism from extremist origin usually understands religion

in black and white (Rahir & Tahir, 2020).

### **Radicalism Among Students and Attitude Theory**

The Students are a digitally native generation – almost half of their time is spent on the internet and accessing social media from their smartphones. Diniaty and friends stated that social media is a medium to spread the belief of intolerance, radicalism, and terrorism among students (Diniaty et al., 2021). Furthermore, a minimum policy from the internet and mainstream social media such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Telegram, and so on about content limitation lets terrorist groups expand their radicalism propaganda (Diniaty et al., 2021). (Ahmad Zamzamy, 2016) explained that there is a term “cyberterrorism” which means a convergence between cyber/internet and terrorism. Zamzamy emphasized that the internet plays a very significant role in radical groups’ propaganda expansion.

Radical groups are well aware of the digital natives’ routine who are addicted internet and social media in their daily lives. As a matter of fact, Mubin and Setyaningsih found that people who always access radical content tend to affect their attitudes and habits toward radicalism. In other words, the intense and massive exposure of radical content to digital natives influence their paradigm. As a result, they believe that radical actions such as takfiri, Islamic state (khilafah) establishment is the right action. On the other hand, people with different view from this propaganda are wrong. Radical content intense exposure affects three aspects: cognitive, affective, and conative (Mubin & Setyaningsih, 2020). As a result, it is not a shock when a radicalism survey was conducted among students, the survey results show that the millennial group is potential for radicalism because the massive exposure of radical content on the internet and social media has been going on for so long. Moreover, the content has been repeatedly accessed by millennials.

Mubin and Setyaningsih classify the characteristics of radical content as follows: First, the interpretation principle of the group is different with the common tradition or group movements that have existed. Second, they view violent as acceptable in the teachings of their group. As an example, actions against the government or apparatus even killing someone against them. Third, blaming other people or groups with different understandings from their beliefs as well as suspecting other groups of having bad intentions towards their group. And fourth, provoking people with words so they can join to carry out propaganda in fighting other groups (Mubin & Setyaningsih, 2020).

### **METHODOLOGY**

The data of this study is from Islamic senior high school in East Java. East Java is one of the regions in Indonesia that has the highest number of public Islamic senior high school compared to other provinces. Islamic senior high school in East Java, both private and public, is the highest quantity in Indonesia. Thus, it is important to conduct this research, so the mapping of similar research can be replicated in other provinces in Indonesia.

This research was conducted for 8 months, from early April to early November in 2021. To complete the data, the research was expanded until mid-November. It was approximately 15 days until the end of November. In the other word, the total implementation of this research will take approximately 9 months. This extension is intended to make the research more comprehensive with more massive respondent.

The respondent in this study were 1167 students. The majority of respondents are 16 years old (403 respondents) and 17 years old (342 respondents). The rest, were about 15, 18, and 19 years. 70% of the respondents were female, and the rest were male.

Respondents were students of Islamic senior high school in East Java Province. Data was collected from randomly distributed questionnaires to students at Islamic senior high school in East Java. The number of respondents from State Islamic senior high school were 843 respondents and 324 respondents from private Islamic senior high school. Furthermore, 792 respondents had studied at Islamic boarding and 375 respondents had never attended Islamic boarding schools.

### **RESULTS**

Researchers observed the activities of the social religious organizations that were attended by the parents of the

respondents. It is important to know the respondents' parents' social religious organizations in order to obtain an overview of the respondent's profile since, their social religious organizations can be a variable to influence respondents' religious activity preferences and radicalism preferences. The majority of the social religious organizations participated by the respondents' parents were Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). 700 out of 1167 respondents' parent were the NU while 286 respondents stated that their parents did not join any mass organizations. 92 respondents stated that their parents joined other unidentified social religious organizations and 59 respondents' parent were from Muhammadiyah.

Respondents refer to many references apart from the family to solve their religious problems and questions. In Figure 1, respondents stated that "teachers" was the first source of reference in matters of religion with 834 respondents. Meanwhile, "the family" was second as the source of information on religious matters with a total of 381 respondents. "Friend" was the third as sources of information of the respondents. In this section, the highlight is "classic Islamic book" as the seventh with 102 respondents.

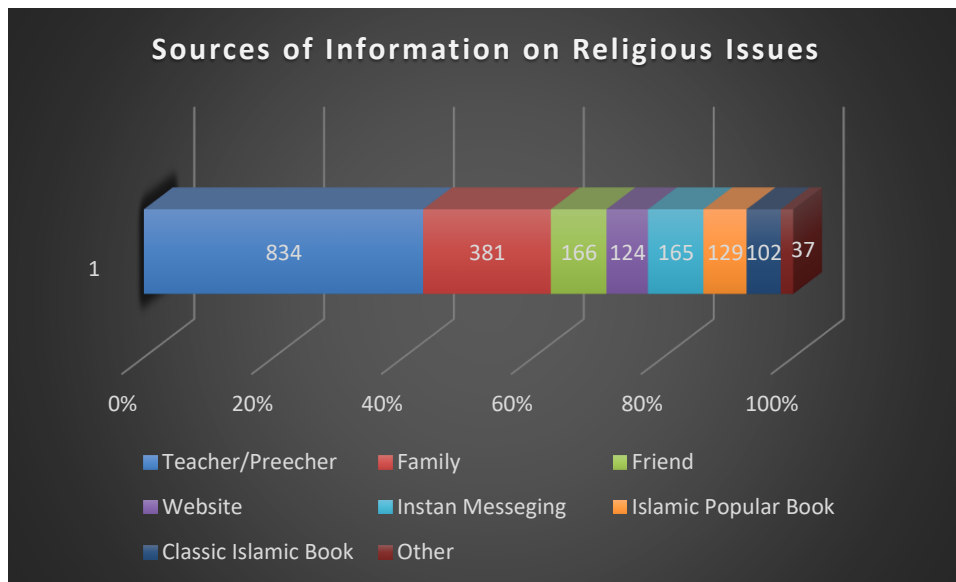


Figure 1 Sources of reference to solve religious problems among respondents.

The next data is about the popularity of religious figures in respondents' view (Figure 2). Oki Setiana Dewi is the most popular religious figure among Islamic senior high school students with a total of 692 respondents. The second was KH. Ma'ruf Amin and Ustadz Abdul Shomad with 671 respondents. The fourth was Mama Dedeh with 661 respondents. Habib Syech bin Abdul Qodir Assegaf, known as good prayer performance, was fifth with 529 respondents.

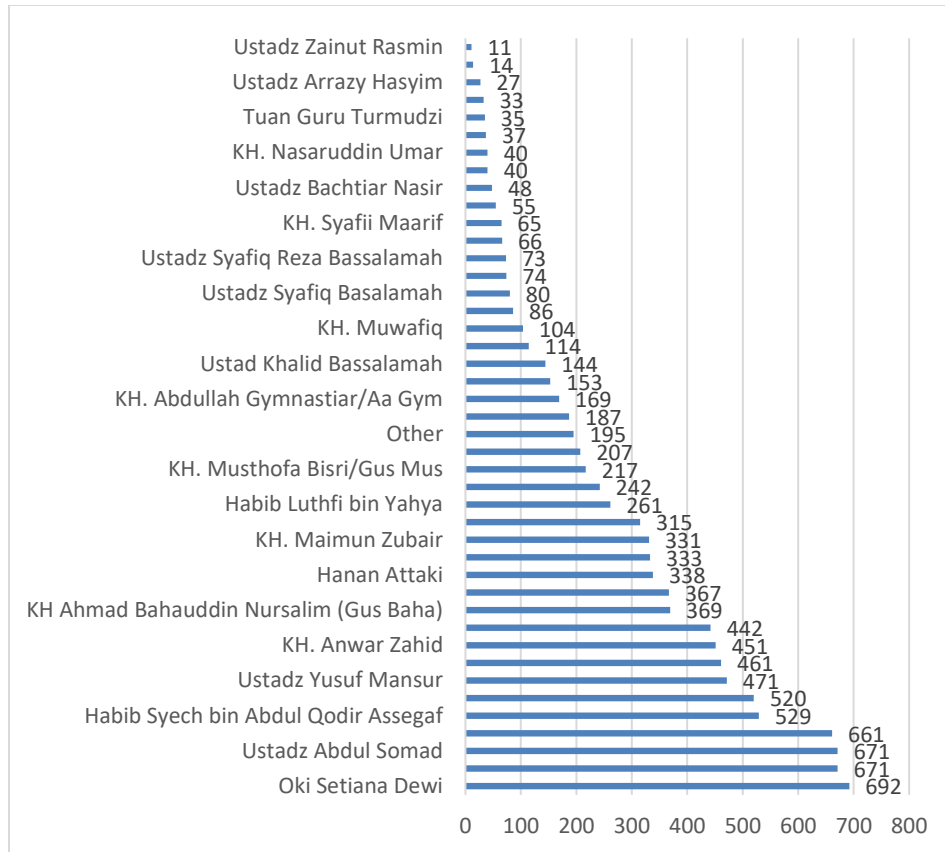


Figure 2 Religious figures known or known by the respondents

The second big five group is KH. Miftah Maulana Habiburrahman, more popularly known as Gus Miftah with 520 respondents. The second is Ustadz Yusuf Mansur with 471 respondents then Ustadz Solmed with 461 respondents. The next is KH. Anwar Zahid with 451 respondents who is famous with his hilarious speech and Buya Yahya with 442 respondents who is proficient in Sufism, fiqh and aqidah.

The third big five group is KH. Bahauddin Nur Salim, more famously known as Gus Bahak, with 369 respondents. Then Ustadz Maulana with 367 respondents, later Hanan Attaki with 338 respondents who tend to support the Islamic right wing group. Then ustadz Adi Hidayat with 338 respondents and the last in the third top five group is KH. Maimun Zubair with 331 respondents.

The respondents also have been exposed with several religious figures from the ex-radicalist and textualist groups such as Ustadz Felix Siau, HTI activist, with 1847 respondents. Ustadz Khalid Basalamah with 144 respondents and Ustadz Syafiq Basalamah with 80 respondents.

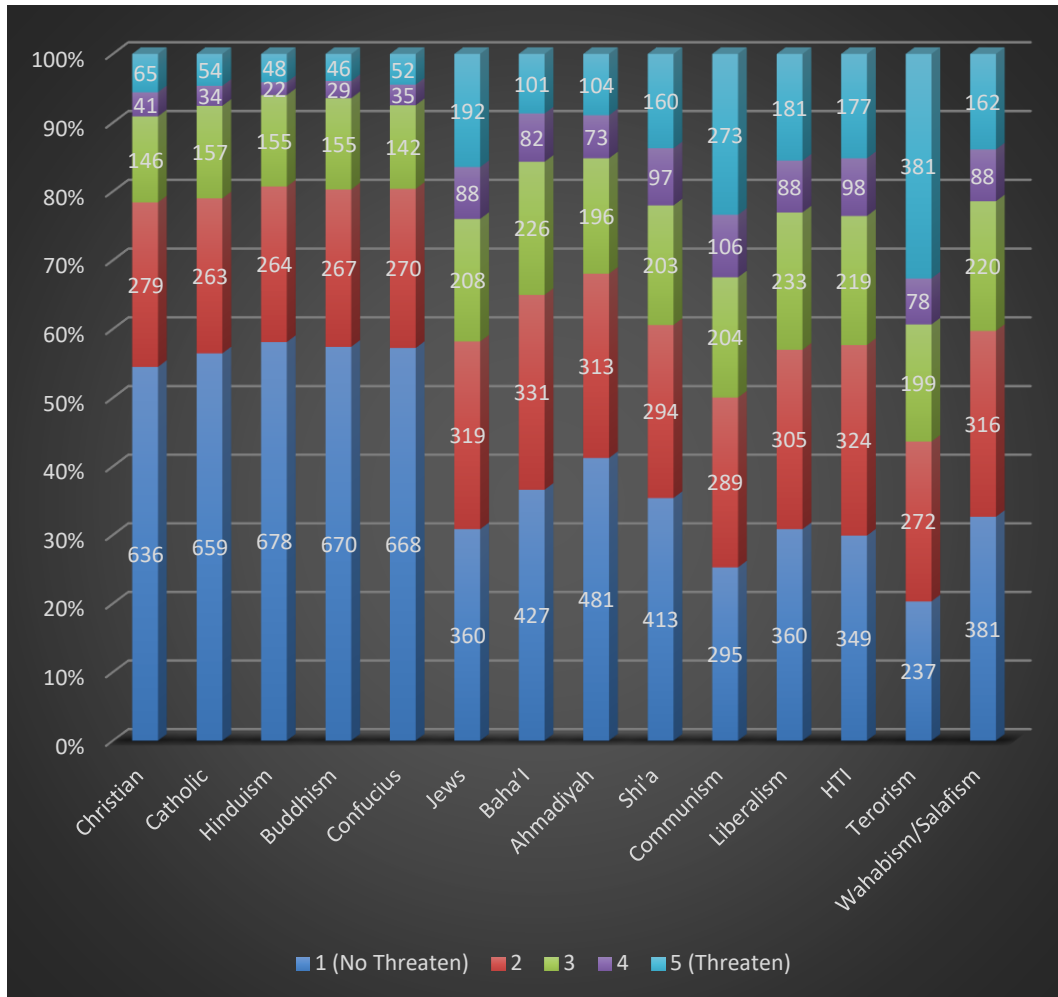
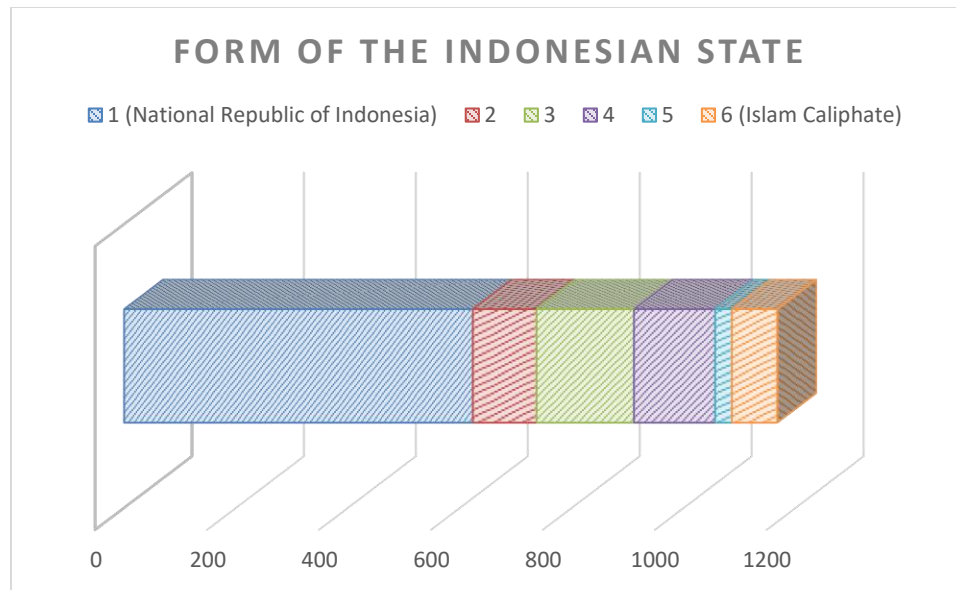


Figure 3 In your opinion, how big is the threat level of the following groups towards Muslims?

Another result from the survey is respondents view about the existence of religion or groups other than Islam as shown in Figure 3. The result shows that, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian Christianity are considered not to threaten Islam. Thus, the majority of respondents do not feel intimidated or are still comfortable living together with adherents of other religions. Furthermore, the interesting data from the Figure 3 is that the average threat level to Muslims from Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism is classified as non-threatening with score of 662. This result shows that respondents do not feel intimidated by the presence of five other religions alongside Islam in Indonesia. In other words, respondents are able to live together and blend with other religions.

Similarly, the threat level to Muslims from Figure 3 shows a positive result that is the majority of respondents assumed that terrorism is a threat to Muslims with 381 respondents. This result is a good sign since the respondents' awareness toward the existence of terrorism will keep them aware that terrorism is a common enemy and must be fought. Fighting terrorism is not solely the duty of the state, or some religious groups such as NU and Muhammadiyah, but it is a collaboration between the state, religious groups, and society.

In addition, 512 out of 1,167 respondents stated that Pancasila is the right ideology for Indonesia. However, even though almost 40% of respondents approved that Pancasila is the appropriate Ideology for Indonesia, there is a paradox where as many as 146 respondents stated that religion-based ideology fits with the Indonesian state. It indicates that there are few seeds of radicalism that is against Pancasila as Indonesian ideology, even worse, religion-based ideology vis a vis Pancasila.



**Figure 4** Which do you think is the most ideal form of the Indonesian State, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia or the Islamic Khilafah?

Figure 4 shows that 623 respondents strongly agree that Indonesia is a unitary state. On the other hand, there were still 81 respondents who are against the view that Indonesian state is a unitary state. Furthermore, the 81 respondents showed their support toward the Islamic Caliphate for the Indonesian state.

In addition, respondents' preferences about the ideology of the Indonesian state shows that 131 respondents are “strongly agree” about the inappropriateness of the khilafah as Indonesian ideology. Similarly, 256 respondents are “agree” about inappropriateness of the khilafah in Indonesian as well as 533 respondents are “doubtful” about inappropriateness of the khilafah in Indonesian. Even, a number of 166 respondents tend to support the implementation of the Khilafah in Indonesia besides 81 respondents are “strongly agree” about the implementation of the Khilafah in Indonesia.

Moreover, the survey about the preferences of Pancasila as Indonesia ideology shows that a total of 393 respondents stated that they are “strongly agree” to look after Pancasila as the Indonesia ideology and even it was obligatory for all Muslims to defend Pancasila. Moreover, this result is in accordance with positive preferences toward the Indonesia ideology with 431 respondents while 67 respondents have opposite view. However, in one of the statement dealing with the preference for Indonesia ideology that is “every political movement to change the Pancasila with another ideology is an act of betrayal toward country” showed unfavorable result where 492 respondents are doubtful about the statement. Beside 215 respondents are “disagree” with the statement as well as 100 respondents are “strongly disagreed”. The last preference in the survey is about Pancasila as absolute ideology. Most of the respondents gave positive respond about the finalization of Pancasila as the state ideology with only a few number of respondents who view Pancasila as provisional ideology for Indonesia.

Furthermore, the next survey is about the preferences of social issues such as human rights, gender, tolerance between religious communities. Regarding the issue of human rights, a total of 494 respondents assume that human rights are substantially in line with Islamic teachings. Dealing with the issue of gender, 466 respondents agree that Islam allows women to become public leaders from the lowest level (social community) to the highest level (President). In addition, Respondents' support toward women's empowerment was manifested in the positive response toward the statement “women have a strategic role in making decisions within the family” with 430 respondents. In addition, the last issue is tolerance between religious communities. A total of 388 respondents stated that they are “strongly agree” with the statement “Islam prohibits various forms of violence even in the context of enforcing amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar”. Similarly, 527 respondents have positive response toward the issue of inter-religious tolerance where Islam prohibits disturbing or destroying places of worship

of other religions. This positive tolerance preference is supported by the result of tolerance preferences between religious communities where the 381 respondents have positive response toward the statement “people have to help members of other religions and provide places of worship for other religions if they do not have one”

## CONCLUSIONS

Symptoms of radicalism among Islamic senior high school Aliyah students in East Java are not in a worrying condition as well as the respondents' threatening-alert view about the existence of other religions or groups towards the existence of Islam in Indonesia. As a matter of fact, based on the survey, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian Christianity are not to threatening Islam according to respondents' view. Thus, the majority of respondents do not feel intimidated or are still comfortable living together with other religious belief members.

In addition, the result reveals that 512 out of 1,167 respondents identified that Pancasila was the right ideology for Indonesia. On the other hand, a paradox was found with 146 respondents stated that religion-based ideology is appropriate for the Indonesia. These results provide an information that there are ideological seeds against Pancasila as the state ideology.

Moreover, the data on the preference of religious figures shows the unexpected result from the researchers' prediction. Oki Setiana Dewi is the most popular religious figure among Islamic senior high school students. The second are KH. Ma'ruf Amin and Ustadz Abdul Shomad. Oki's popularity is paradoxical since the majority of respondents are students from the NU and Muhammadiyah organizations.

Additionally, another data is about the respondents' preferences toward the issue of tolerance in several cases. Dealing with the ideology of Indonesia, a total of 131 respondents are “strongly agree” that the khilafah was not appropriate ideology for Indonesia then 256 respondents are “agreed” while 533 respondents are “doubtful”. On the other hand, 166 respondents tend to agree and support the implementation of the Khilafah in Indonesia as well as 81 respondents are “strongly agree” with the implementation of the Khilafah.

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