

# Islamic Boarding School and the Deradicalization Efforts of Islamic Education in Madura

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## **Abstract**

*Deradicalization has become a priority agenda of Islamic education studies in the last few decades. This study aims to comprehensively understand the efforts to deradicalize Islamic Education conducted by the Annuqayah Islamic boarding school in Madura, East Java, Indonesia. Researchers used qualitative methods with a case study. Data collection was done through in-depth interviews, documentation studies, and observations. The results of this study found ten efforts at deradicalization conducted by Annuqayah Islamic boarding school, i.e. (1) Reactualization of learning resources; (2) Strengthening anti-radicalism; (3) Increasing literacy and discussion skills; (4) Strengthening the spirits of nationalism; (5) Promoting the principle of wasathiyah (moderatism); (6) Applying the theological concept of Ahlus-Sunnah wal Jama'ah (the group who perform the sunnah); (7) Initiating anti-radicalism curriculum; (8) Implementing progressive manhaj; (9) Formulating halaqa (meetings) with ulama; and*

(10) *Empowering friendship and brotherhood. The implications of this research provided considerations in evaluating the curriculum, teaching materials, and teaching and learning process to support the creation of Islamic education institutions that promote peace, non-violence, and rahmatan lil alamin.*

**Keywords:** *Islamic Boarding School, Deradicalization of Islamic Education, Madura.*

### **Abstrak**

*Deradikalisasi menjadi agenda prioritas studi pendidikan Islam dalam beberapa dekade terakhir. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami secara komprehensif tentang upaya deradikalisasi Pendidikan Islam yang dilakukan oleh Pondok pesantren Annuqayah di Madura, Jawa Timur Indonesia. Peneliti menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan jenis studi kasus. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam, studi dokumentasi, dan observasi. Hasil penelitian ini menemukan sepuluh upaya deradikalisasi yang dilakukan oleh Pondok pesantren Annuqayah, yaitu (1) Reaktualisasi sumber belajar; (2) Pendalaman paham anti-radikalisme; (3) Peningkatan keterampilan literasi dan diskusi; (4) Mengukuhkan spirit nasionalisme; (5) Mempromosikan prinsip wasathiyah (moderatisme); (6) Menerapkan konsep teologi Ahlus-Sunnah wal Jama'ah (golongan yang menjalankan sunnah); (7) Menginisiasi kurikulum anti-radikalisme; (8) Mengimplementasikan manhaj yang progresif; (9) Memformulasikan halaqa (pertemuan) bersama ulama; dan (10) Peneguhan silaturahmi dan persaudaraan. Implikasi dari penelitian ini memberikan bahan pertimbangan dalam mengevaluasi kurikulum, bahan ajar, dan proses belajar-mengajar untuk mendukung terciptanya lembaga pendidikan Islam yang mempromosikan peace, non-violence, dan rahmatan lil alamin.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Pondok Pesantren, Deradikalisasi Pendidikan Islam, Madura.*

### **Introduction**

Today, the phenomenon of terrorism perpetrated by radical Islamic organizations is increasingly prevalent in Indonesia, even though Islam itself carries the teachings of non-violent values<sup>1</sup>. Although the number of terrorists is small, it can have an impact on the image of Islam in Indonesia as a religion of the majority community. In 2010, Indonesia's population was more than 230 million<sup>2</sup>. About 85% of the population is Muslim<sup>3</sup>. In 2020, the population

<sup>1</sup> Amitabh Pal, 'Islam' Means Peace: Understanding the Muslim Principle of Nonviolence Today (ABC-CLIO, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Sumanto Al Qurtuby, 'UNDERSTANDING ISLAM IN INDONESIA: Politics and Diversity', *Pacific Affairs*, 84.2 (2011), 397.

<sup>3</sup> Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (Routledge, 2018).

is predicted to have reached 260 million<sup>4</sup>. The Indonesian police stated that many terrorist bombers have to do with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, the leader of *Jemaah Islamiyah*, a hardline Islamic group<sup>5</sup>. Another terrorist bombing occurred on Sunday, May 13, 2018, in three Catholic churches in Surabaya, East Java, killing more than 20 people and over 40 others injured<sup>6</sup>. What shocked the world was that the 2018 suicide attack used children as a suicide bomber. The attack was connected to JAD (*Jemaah Ansharut Daulah*), a militant group that supports Al-Qaeda's mission to build an Islamic state<sup>7</sup>.

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, and the Bali bombing on October 12, 2002, became a turning point where Islamic education institutions in Indonesia paid great attention to the issue of radicalism, especially since the Bali bombers were alumni of Islamic education institutions. The public is increasingly worried lately because some educational institutions are suspected of having an involvement in the process of radicalism with radical organizations in the world<sup>8</sup>. Al-Mukmin, one of the Islamic educational institutions in Central Java, was reported by international media to have links with the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization<sup>9</sup>. Islamic boarding school Al-Mukmin Amrozi, Muchlas (Ali Gufron), Asmar Latinsani, and Fathurrahman al-Ghazi are some of the terrorist bombers who graduated from Al-Mukmin Islamic boarding school<sup>10</sup>.

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4 D W Harjanti and others, 'Isolation and Identification of Bacterial Pathogen from Mastitis Milk in Central Java Indonesia', in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* (IOP Publishing, 2018), C11, 12076.

5 Azyumardi Azra, Dina Afrianty, and Robert W. Hefner, 'Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia', *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, 2010, 172-98.

6 ABC News, 'Indonesian Church Bombings Carried out by One Family, Police Say' (ABC, 2018) <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-05-13/indonesia-explosions-outside-churches-in-surabaya/9756260>>.

7 Joshua Roose, 'How Indonesia is Dealing with the New Threat Posed by Returning Islamic State Fighters' (The Conversation, 2018) <[https://theconversation.com/how-indonesia-is-dealing-with-the-new-threat-posed-by-returning-islamic-state-fighters-96535?utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=Latest from The Conversation for May 16 2018 - 101908949&utm\\_content=Latest from The Conversation for Ma](https://theconversation.com/how-indonesia-is-dealing-with-the-new-threat-posed-by-returning-islamic-state-fighters-96535?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Latest from The Conversation for May 16 2018 - 101908949&utm_content=Latest from The Conversation for Ma)>.

8 Hasanudin Ali and L Purwandi, 'Radicalisme Rising Among Educated People', *Alvara Reseach Centre*, 2018.

9 Florian Pohl, 'Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia', *Comparative Education Review*, 50.3 (2006), 389-409.

10 Sun Ummah, 'Akar Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia', *Humanika*, 12.1 (2012).

Another phenomenon that is developing in society today is the idea of making Indonesia an Islamic state. A report states that 4% of Indonesia's population supports the establishment of an Islamic state<sup>11</sup>. The group supports the formation of a country similar to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)<sup>12</sup>. This wave is considered dangerous because it might foster radicalism, which results in acts of terrorism<sup>13</sup>. Islamic organizations in Indonesia known to have radical views include Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid and *Front Pembela Islam* (the Islamic Defenders Front)<sup>14</sup>. Besides, the Islamic organization Hizbut Tahrir is targeting to create an Islamic state. This organization is thought to contribute to racism and Islamophobia<sup>15</sup>.

How dangerous radical Islamic organizations in Indonesia in supporting terrorism can be seen from how Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) established the Daulah Islamiyah Nusantara in Indonesia. JI recruits members from several countries in Southeast Asia, such as Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines. JI is closely connected with the hazardous terrorist organization in the world, Al-Qaeda, and JI makes Indonesia its base<sup>16</sup>. In 2003, JI launched a suicide bombing at the Australian Embassy, which killed 12 people. Another bombing was carried out in 2004 at the JW Marriot hotel in Jakarta, killing nine people and injuring 400 others<sup>17</sup>. After these attacks, in 2014, Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi, who was declared the leader of the Islamic State (NI) announced the establishment of the Islamic caliphate

<sup>11</sup> Jacob Pousher, 'In Nations with Significant Muslim Populations, Much Disdain for ISIS' (Pew Research Center, 2015) <<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/17/in-nations-with-significant-muslim-populations-much-disdain-for-isis/>>.

<sup>12</sup> Audrey Kurth Cronin, 'ISIS is Not a Terrorist Group: Why Counterterrorism Won't Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat', *Foreign Aff.*, 94 (2015), 87.

<sup>13</sup> Mirra Noor Milla and Djamaludin Ancok, 'The Impact of Leader-Follower Interactions on the Radicalization of Terrorists: A Case Study of the Bali Bombers', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 16.2 (2013), 92-100.

<sup>14</sup> Arie W. Kruglanski, 'Psychological Insights into Indonesian Islamic Terrorism: The What, the How and the Why of Violent Extremism', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 16.2 (2013), 112-16 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12019>>.

<sup>15</sup> Tahir Abbas and Assma Siddique, 'Perceptions of the Processes of Radicalisation and De-Radicalisation among British South Asian Muslims in a Post-Industrial City', *Social Identities*, 18.1 (2012), 119-34.

<sup>16</sup> John Thayer Sidel, *The Islamist Threat in Southeast Asia: A Reassessment* (Institute of Southeast Asian, 2007), XXXVII.

<sup>17</sup> Kumar Ramakrishna, "Constructing" the Jemmaah Islamiyah Terrorist: A Preliminary Inquiry', 2004.

in the regions of Iraq and Syria. Many people from all over the world, including radical Islamic groups in Indonesia, joined and supported NI<sup>18</sup>.

Responding to the violent terrorist acts, the Indonesian House of Representatives approved the law on the Eradication of Terrorism Acts No.5 of 2018 on 25<sup>th</sup> May 2018<sup>19</sup>. This law was passed to stop the development of radical Islamic organizations in Indonesia<sup>20</sup>. The Government of Indonesia has also formed the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) to stop and overcome radicalism. The main task of the BNPT is to formulate programs, strategies, and policies to prevent terrorism—including deradicalization, protection, prosecution, and national preparation for anti-radicalism<sup>21</sup>. Government efforts with the establishment of BNPT are considered to be a perfect step to overcome radicalism and terrorism that threaten the diversity and multiculturalism of Indonesia<sup>22</sup>.

In practice, BNPT cannot work alone. BNPT needs to work closely with the Ministry of Education and Islamic organizations to reach out to other parties' involvement. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education must also build cooperation with broader Islamic institutions. One of the leaders in the Muhammadiyah organization argued that the Ministry of Education had not yet developed unique cooperation with Muhammadiyah regarding anti-terrorism actions<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, BNPT needs to achieve more cooperation through the field of Islamic education because some teachers in the

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<sup>18</sup> Catherine McGlynn and Shaun McDaid, 'Radicalisation and Higher Education: Students' Understanding and Experiences', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2016, 1-18.

<sup>19</sup> Tabita Diela, 'Indonesia Toughens up Anti-Terror Laws Days after Worst Attack in Years' (Reuters, 2018) <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-security-bill/indonesia-toughens-up-anti-terror-laws-days-after-worst-attack-in-years-idUSKCN1IQoDQ>>.

<sup>20</sup> Abdil Mughis Mudhoffir and Rafiq Qurrata A'yun, 'Does Indonesia Need a Tougher Anti-Terrorism Law?' (The Conversation, 2018) <<https://theconversation.com/does-indonesia-need-a-tougher-anti-terrorism-law-85731>>.

<sup>21</sup> Abu Rokhmad, 'Radikalisme Islam dan Upaya Deradikalisasi Paham Radikal', *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 20.1 (2012), 79-114.

<sup>22</sup> Cici Marlina Rahayu, 'Wiranto: Terorisme Adalah Ancaman Kebangsaan Negara' (Jakarta: DetikNews, 2017) <<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3513008/wiranto-terorisme-adalah-ancaman-kebangsaan-negara>>.

<sup>23</sup> Rima Sari Indra Putri, 'Anti-Terrorism Cooperation between the National Agency for Contra Terrorism and Civil Society: Study Case of Muhammadiyah Disengagement', *Defense Management*, 2.4 (2012), 12.

education sector are suspected to be intolerant of religious diversity<sup>24</sup>. A survey conducted by the Center for Islamic and Community Studies at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah in 2018 showed that 53.06% of 2,237 teachers in 34 provinces were intolerant of non-Muslim neighbors who held religious activities<sup>25</sup>. Strangely, some Islamic organizations do not agree with the deradicalization program initiated by BNPT. For example, the secretary-general of the Islamic Community Forum claims that the initiation of deradicalization is a threat to the Muslim community. Others claim that deradicalization policies are more conceptual than its implementation<sup>26</sup>. In 2018, the BNPT collaborated with the Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology, and Education in producing guidelines for overcoming radicalism at universities, but the real action was not yet explicit<sup>27</sup>.

Seeing the challenges faced by BNPT, this is where Islamic education institutions can play a significant role in the efforts to deradicalize. There are 21,521 Islamic education institutions such as Islamic boarding schools that have contributed to the education sector in Indonesia, which accommodated around 3,818,469 students and 281,591 teachers in 2008. The majority of these Islamic boarding schools are located in West Java, East Java, and Central Java, i.e., 6,205, 4,189, and 3,433, respectively<sup>28</sup>. Although a large number of Islamic boarding schools have made significant contributions to Indonesia, some are suspected of contributing to radical militant organizations such as Jamaah al-Takfir, Jamaah Islamiyah, Islamic Jihad, and Hizb ut-Tahrir. In general, radical Islamic organizations in Indonesia follow two organizations: Jamaat-I Islami, which was developed by Abul A'la Al-Maududi (1903-1978) from

<sup>24</sup> Laraswati Ariadne Anwar, 'Guru Cenderung Anti Keberagamaan' (Kompas, 2018) <<https://kompas.id/baca/utama/2018/10/17/guru-cenderung-anti-keberagamaan/>>.

<sup>25</sup> KOMPAS, 'Guru Cenderung Intolerance' (Jakarta: KOMPAS, 2018) <<https://www.pressreader.com/indonesia/kompas/20181017/>>.

<sup>26</sup> Rokhmad.

<sup>27</sup> Ria Nurdiani, 'Ministry Sets up Task Force on Campus Radicalisation' (University World News, 2018) <<http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20180705180902889>>.

<sup>28</sup> Kementerian Agama, 'Pondok Pesantren Menurut Jenis Penyelenggaraannya Tahun Akademik 2008', *Kementerian Agama*, 2008 <<https://kemenag.go.id/file/dokumen/Data0859.pdf>> [accessed 12 February 2010].

Pakistan, and the Ikhwanul Muslim, developed by Hasan Al-Bana (1906-1949) from Egypt<sup>29</sup>.

Previous studies have the following themes: deradicalization program in Indonesian prisons<sup>30</sup>, experience of prison wardens in a deradicalization program<sup>31</sup>, success parameters of deradicalization according to former Indonesian terrorists<sup>32</sup>, the deradicalization program in Indonesia based on the study of Islamic literature<sup>33</sup>, the effectiveness of the deradicalization program such as involving former terrorists<sup>34</sup>, comparison of the Indonesian government's policies on deradicalization with other countries<sup>35</sup>, the efforts of Muslims and Christians in Maluku to prevent religious violence<sup>36</sup>, deradicalization programs in a number of Muslim majority population countries, but Indonesia is not discussed<sup>37</sup>, the counter-terrorism strategy in Saudi Arabia<sup>38</sup>, the Danish government's anti-radicalism policy<sup>39</sup>, the views of former Indonesian jihadists on anti-terrorism laws<sup>40</sup>, literature review-based

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<sup>29</sup> Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Harvard University Press, 1994).

<sup>30</sup> Milda Istiqomah, 'De-Radicalization Program in Indonesian Prisons: Reformation on the Correctional Institution', 2011.

<sup>31</sup> I Suarda, 'An Examination of Indonesian Prison Officers' Experiences on Deradicalisation: Towards Better Practice' (Queensland University of Technology, 2018).

<sup>32</sup> Zora Sukabdi, 'Terrorism in Indonesia: A Review on Rehabilitation and Deradicalization', *Contemporary Voices: St Andrews Journal of International Relations*, 6.2 (2015).

<sup>33</sup> Masdar Hilmy, 'The Politics of Retaliation: The Backlash of Radical Islamists to the Deradicalization Project in Indonesia', *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 51.1 (2013), 129-58.

<sup>34</sup> John Horgan and Kurt Braddock, 'Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of de-Radicalization Programs', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22.2 (2010), 267-91.

<sup>35</sup> N A K Rosili, 'De-Radicalization Programs In South-East Asia: A Comparative Study of Rehabilitation Programs In Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia & Singapore', 2016.

<sup>36</sup> Sumanto Al Qurtuby, 'Peacebuilding in Indonesia: Christian-Muslim Alliances in Ambon Island', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 24.3 (2013), 349-67.

<sup>37</sup> Hamed El-Said, 'De-Radicalising Islamists: Programmes and Their Impact in Muslim Majority States', 2012.

<sup>38</sup> Christopher Boucek, *Saudi Arabia's "Soft" Counterterrorism Strategy: Prevention, Rehabilitation, and Aftercare* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Washington, DC, 2008), xcvi.

<sup>39</sup> Lasse Lindekilde, 'Neo-Liberal Governing of "Radicals": Danish Radicalization Prevention Policies and Potential Iatrogenic Effects', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)*, 6.1 (2012), 109-25.

<sup>40</sup> Ian Chalmers, 'Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia: Bringing Back the Jihadists', *Asian Studies Review*, 41.3 (2017), 331-51.

deradicalization concept investigated by Alex<sup>41</sup> and Irwan Masduki<sup>42</sup>, comparison of deradicalization between Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen based on literature<sup>43</sup>, deradikalisasi Islam berdasar kajian review-based Islamic deradicalization<sup>44</sup>, and Beyond Bali curriculum studies for peace education<sup>45</sup>.

From the studies above, it is apparent that the study of deradicalization in Islamic education institutions in Indonesia is still full of literature-based research. So far, there has been no research that examines the deradicalization efforts of Islamic education institutions (Islamic boarding schools) in Madura, East Java, Indonesia explicitly. This study aims to comprehensively understand the steps in deradicalizing Islamic education carried out by the Annuqayah Islamic boarding school in Madura, East Java, Indonesia.

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study, which is the most popular method for producing data in social sciences<sup>46</sup>. The case study provides holistic and in-depth investigation, exploration, and understanding of complex issues<sup>47</sup>. Data collection was done by conducting in-depth interviews, documentation studies, and observations. In-depth interviews were organized with nine participants; teachers, students/alumni, and school principals using open and semi-structured interview questions. The selection of participants uses the snowball sampling technique. Then, the transcript data is analyzed using thematic analysis (thematic analysis). This thematic analysis aims to analyze, report, and identify themes in the data findings,

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<sup>41</sup> Alex P Schmid, 'Radicalisation, de-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review', *ICCT Research Paper*, 97.1 (2013), 22.

<sup>42</sup> Masduqi, I. (2013). Deradikalisasi Pendidikan Islam Berbasis Khazanah Pesantren. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 2(1), 1-20.

<sup>43</sup> Jason-Leigh Striegler, 'The Deradicalisation of Terrorists', *Salus Journal*, 1.1 (2013), 19.

<sup>44</sup> Ahmad Darmadji, 'Pondok Pesantren dan Deradikalisasi Islam di Indonesia', *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama*, 11.1 (2011), 235-52.

<sup>45</sup> Elisabeth Taylor and others, "Beyond Bali": A Transformative Education Approach for Developing Community Resilience to Violent Extremism', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 37.2 (2017), 193-204.

<sup>46</sup> Peter Svensson, 'From Re-Presentation to Re-Creation: Contributing to a Radicalisation of Linguistically Turned Interviewing in Management Studies', *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 4.2 (2009), 168-85.

<sup>47</sup> Zaidah Zainal, 'Case Study as a Research Method', *Jurnal Kemanusiaan*, 5.1 (2007).



which then help the researcher identify various important themes of deradicalization<sup>48</sup>.

### **The Deradicalization Efforts of Islamic Education undertaken by Annuqayah the Islamic boarding school in Madura**

Radicalism is explicitly interpreted as a religious understanding that justifies extreme actions<sup>49</sup>. These actions can lead to acts of violence<sup>50</sup>. At first glance, the legitimacy of acts of violence in the name of religion does not only occur in Indonesia, even in America there are a handful of Muslim communities who approve acts of violence to defend Islam<sup>51</sup>. Besides, deradicalization means a new technique in counter-terrorism<sup>52</sup> or how to prevent and ward off radicalism and violence<sup>53</sup>.

The appearing views are very diverse. A teacher, Abdullah, stressed the importance of Islamic education institutions in presenting inclusive religious learning materials. This means that the danger of radicalism is clearly explained to students who are expected to be able to encourage respect for human rights. He explained,

Islamic education institutions can play many roles in rejecting radicalization, [namely] through the provision of suitable religious learning materials and learning true religion, respecting the rights of others, ... and do not be quickly provoked by news of unclear sources, or hoaxes. (Abdullah, Teacher, Male)

The above notion is reiterated by a student, Hikmah, who argues that the teacher must teach Islamic material that supports the value of mercy for all the universe or, in other words, *rahmatan lil alamin*. In addition to the

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<sup>48</sup> Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3.2 (2006), 77-101.

<sup>49</sup> Lidewijde Ongerig, 'Homegrown Terrorism and Radicalisation in the Netherlands: Experiences, Explanations and Approaches', *Testimony to the US Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee*, 2007, 1-10.

<sup>50</sup> BNPT, 'Strategi Menghadapi Paham Radikalisme Terorisme-ISIS', *Jakarta: Belmawa*, 2016.

<sup>51</sup> Clark McCauley and others, 'Tracking the War of Ideas: A Poll of Ottawa Muslims', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 23.5 (2011), 804-19.

<sup>52</sup> Mark Dechesne, 'Deradicalization: Not Soft, but Strategic', *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 55.4 (2011), 287-92.

<sup>53</sup> Donatella Della Porta and Gary LaFree, 'Guest Editorial: Processes of Radicalization and de-Radicalization', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)*, 6.1 (2012), 4-10.

teaching material presented, it also puts forward information that upholds tolerance. Hikmah revealed,

The way to do it can be by overcoming religious extremism through the provision of religious material in which religious learning prioritizes *rahmatan lil alamin* Islamic ideas and tolerance. (Hikmah, Student, Female)

Very closely related to the above view, a teacher here, Rahmi, who has 20 years of teaching experience, proposes deradicalization efforts through the way teachers explain to their students the danger of radicalism. This is primarily as a foundation for students who live in an age accustomed to social media, so radical notions do not contaminate them. Here, she stressed the importance of the process of anticipating Islamic education institutions for students to avoid becoming involved in radicalism. Rahmi stated,

Children need to be explained about what radicals are ... if they have gained understanding, have been taught about anti-radicalism at school, I think this basic knowledge might become a fortress for students. (Rahmi, Teacher, Female)

No less important, in addition to the strategy of teaching anti-radicalism, Kasmu, who has studied in an Islamic educational institution during his junior through senior high school years, believes that the effort to deradicalize can be by increasing literacy. He added that the next way is through discussion forums, which can prevent students from being influenced by radical militant views. This strategy is strongly recommended for students to oppose radicalism because they can learn how to think critically and avoid misunderstandings from reading books. Kasmu explained,

If reading becomes a habit of the students, the effective way is also to read anyway, as I have experienced. So as soon as my thoughts have started to enjoy, to dive into the concepts of radicalism in quotes, there are other more exciting concepts outside of it. Then, [the concepts of radicalism] automatically will be eroded too, discussions must be often carried out. (Kasmu, Student, Male)

Furthermore, Kusniati highlighted the importance of Islamic education institutions to transfer the values of nationalism for students. Teachers need to encourage their students to love their own country, in this case, Indonesia. Even Islam itself places to love and loyalty to the country as an obligation for the Muslim community. Kusniati discussed,

If the present form is more instilling nationalism, the love of the motherland ... as a child of the nation it is obligatory to love the country, in Islam, it has also been explained. (Kusniati, Student, Female)

A school principal, Saiful, raised a fundamental reason why Islamic education institutions must be free from radicalism or extremism. The reason is that Islamic education institutions implement a process of education based on *taklim* or *tarbiyah*, where the teaching-learning process puts forward moderate values. Therefore, when they have promoted moderate values, students automatically reject radicalism and extremism. Saiful explained,

Because we ... are educational institutions ... then the content is always *tarbiyah*, *taklim*, which emphasizes the values of moderatism, *wasathiyah* values, so that automatically when there are concepts of extremism, these ideas are rejected. (Saiful, Principal, Male)

It is important to note that the majority of stakeholders in Islamic boarding schools do not agree if radicalism is considered to exist in the world of Islamic education. Mashudi, a student, revealed this. Mashudi's opinion was like representing other participants whose Islamic boarding school was connected with the doctrine of radicalism because the institution was not involved in the doctrine of radicalism. Mashudi argues that Islamic boarding schools are not responsible for reducing radicalism, and what is needed is to reject radicalism. He stressed that Islamic boarding schools must practice the concept of *Ahlu-Sunnah wal Jama'ah* as a step of deradicalization. Mashudi explained,

During this time, they were maintaining, not reducing, maintaining that students are not poisoned by radicalism. What is maintained is the teachings of *Ahlu-Sunnah wal Jama'ah*, as the concept that is held firmly in Islamic boarding schools. (Mashudi, Student, Male)

Although, on the one hand, the participants revealed that radicalism does not exist in Islamic education institutions, on the other hand, some disagree with some of the systems implemented in it. One student, Kasmu, criticized the punishment method applied at the Islamic boarding school based on his experience. He said he had received punishment while studying at an Islamic boarding school. He, therefore, proposes a curriculum that encourages non-violence and anti-radicalism from the teaching-learning

process and stops methods that have the potential to build hatred for students because it is incompatible with Islam. The following is his opinion,

There must be a unique curriculum ... yes, we know that in Islamic boarding school, if we give punishment to students who are not good in their point of view, which sometimes it is also anarchic and the solution ... it needs to be ... reviewed by the teachers ... meaning that if I was sentenced, which is rather harsh, which is not under the point of error that I do, usually there appear seeds of hatred ... that radical action is outside the concept of Islam. (Kasmo, Student, Male)

Another participant, Adrian, stressed the importance of instilling anti-radicalism at an early age, and this opinion is under the previous opinion of a curriculum that is needed for the step of deradicalization, which can be started for Islamic education institutions at lower levels. He argued,

To reduce the understanding of radicalism, of course, we start by providing an understanding from an early age, the starting point from an early age will be better. (Adrian, Student, Male)

Saiful, a school principal, gave a more specific opinion about deradicalization efforts. He stressed the importance of implementing the right *manhaj* for the Islamic education system. *Manhaj* is considered fundamental for an Islamic educational institution where it is attached to belief, worship, and interaction with the community. Saiful argues that many Islamic boarding schools do not use progressive *manhaj*, which ultimately creates anomalies. The Principal considered that the wrong choice of *manhaj* would cause a contradiction between one principle and another in managing Islamic education institutions. Saiful argued,

Islamic education institutions must choose the right *manhaj* ... in a layperson's language, the methodology ... This *manhaj* is not only a methodology but also an attitude, a way of life. This *manhaj* is an accumulation of the basis of thinking, philosophy of thinking, philosophy of action, all of this *manhaj* ... we at the Islamic boarding schools have one *manhaj* that is connected to the pious clerics before ... where every change of times is responded to by our *manhaj* with a progressive response ... thus, our *manhaj* is always compatible throughout the ages. (Saiful, Principal, Male)

The next important step in deradicalization efforts is to hold religious meetings. In the Islamic community, it is known as *halaqa* (Islamic meeting

forum). This meeting aims to provide an opportunity for the *ulama* to teach excellent and appropriate Islamic values. *Ulama* can fight the wrong understanding of Islam by using the Qur'an and Hadith as legitimacy to fight the understanding of radicalism based on violence. Therefore, it is essential to arrange regular *halaqa* meetings in building a better understanding of Islam for the Islamic community. Hikmah argued,

Reducing radicalism by holding a *halaqoh* ... aims to maximize the role of religious scholars. Where the *ulama* can have a role in educating their people, rectifying their understanding which people sometimes are still rigid towards the teachings of Islam ... so as not to cause extreme attitudes. (Hikmah, Student, Female)

Furthermore, a teacher, Abdullah, stressed the importance of strengthening the fabric of *silaturrahim* and friendship in the efforts to deradicalize as an anticipatory step in the spread of radicalism. Abdullah argued,

In my opinion, some preventive measures need to be promoted in order to minimize radicalization ... that is to strengthen *silaturrahim* and brotherhood. (Abdullah, Teacher, Male)

The researcher identified ten main points of deradicalization efforts. However, there may still be anything that can be raised based on data from interviews, documentation studies, and observations. The ten deradicalization efforts include: first, the re-actualization of learning resources that elevates the value of human rights and tolerance; second, strengthening anti-radicalism in good ways; third, literacy and discussion skills improvement; fourth, educating the values of nationalism which are also emphasized in the teachings of Islam; fifth, promoting the values of moderatism in education which is indeed the spirits of Islamic education; sixth, applying the theological concept of *Ahlu-Sunnah wal Jama'ah*; seventh, initiating anti-radicalism curriculum; eighth, implementing the correct *manhaj*; ninth, formulating *halaqa* (meetings) with *ulama*; and tenth, strengthening *friendship* and brotherhood.

## Efforts to Deradicalize Islamic Education: A Discussion and Contribution

In the discussion below, the researcher takes the main points of view of the participants regarding the deradicalization, which is summarized by the thematic analysis method. There are ten broad themes regarding deradicalization in Islamic educational institutions. The following sections discussed in broad outline and detail the views of deradicalization in the struggle against radicalism and terrorism obtained from interview data with the participants. The data presented is also discussed and compared with Islamic literature and findings in other studies conducted by previous researchers.

### 1. Reactualization of learning resources

Learning resources within Islamic education institutions need to be actualized or certainly must reflect Islam, which supports *rahmatan lil alamin* (a blessing for humanity) and upholds the value of human rights. This effort can be useful in improving the image of Islam that is often assumed by Western practitioners as an aggressive and violent religion<sup>54</sup>. Especially during September 11, 2001, attacks in the US that killed around three thousand people, the reputation of Islam in the world was affected<sup>55</sup>. Therefore, the participants expressed the importance of ensuring that the existing learning materials should be directly sourced from Islam—from the Qur'an and Hadith. This is due to the existing learning material needs to be filtered so that it is free from a hoax. In the Qur'an itself as a source of Islamic teachings, this is explained in Surah Al Hujarat verse 13, which contains an order to make peace even though living in different nationalities, ethnicities, and genders<sup>56</sup>. Learning resources should prioritize the values of tolerance and compassion, which is true. Islam supports the culture of the liberal values of a multicultural society. This is in line with presenting learning material about the struggle of the Prophet Muhammad in the initiation of the

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<sup>54</sup> Mohammed Abu-Nimer, *A Framework for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding in Islam* (Majlis Ugama Islam Singapura, 2008).

<sup>55</sup> Michael Sorkin and Sharon Zukin, *After the World Trade Center: Rethinking New York City* (Routledge, 2013).

<sup>56</sup> RI Depag, 'Alquran dan Terjemahnya', Jakarta: Depag, 2009.

Medina Charter, which governed the lives of multicultural society to respect each other in the socio-political field<sup>57</sup>.

## 2. Strengthening anti-radicalism

After actualizing the learning resources, it is vital to instill anti-radicalism because the Prophet Muhammad was sent to bring the teachings of Islam as a mercy to all nature, as mentioned in the Qur'an Surah Al Anbiya 107<sup>58</sup>. The point is that Islam exists on earth to promote peace. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) came to the world with a humanitarian mission, so that the current Islam must also uphold non-violence. The presence of the Prophet carries two essential values, *basyariah* or *insaniah*. The intention is that although the Prophet had unique advantages as a Messenger of Allah SWT, he also has the nature of a normal human being, such as sleeping, hungry, sick, sad, and so on. Therefore, it is fitting that the presence of Islamic education institutions must carry a humanization mission. Another strategy that can be taken to instill anti-radicalism is to teach stories of the struggle of the Prophet Muhammad inputting the values of equality in which slavery was abolished. Thus, supporting equality means promoting equality and non-violence. However, it is essential to remember that in strengthening anti-radicalism, both verbally or in writing, needs appropriate ways and coupled with the ability to understand Islam as a religion that supports the goodness, generosity, and prosperity for all humankind.

## 3. Improving literacy and discussion skills

Improving literacy and discussion skills is a part of the deradicalization efforts. The ability and habit of reading are beneficial for students in Islamic education institutions such as reading books, newspapers, magazines, and bulletins, especially the activities of reading Islamic books that uphold the values of humanism. The aim is to fortify and strengthen students' understanding of Islam as a peaceful religion and to avoid misunderstandings that are only based on reading one

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<sup>57</sup> Abu Bakar and Hurmain Hurmain, 'KERUKUNAN ANTARUMAT BERAGAMA; Telaah atas Piagam Madinah dan Relevansinya Bagi Indonesia', *Toleransi: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama*, 8.2 (2017), 204-16.

<sup>58</sup> Depag.

literature. Therefore, if students fall into one of the readings indicated to support radicalism and terrorism, they already have another view to confront the radical-terrorism group's argument. Students are also encouraged to read various disciplines so that they have an inclusive and non-exclusive thinking paradigm. The impact of the habit of reading literature is expected to improve discussion skills to sharpen critical thinking. The ability to think critically can be a tool to filter out hoax wherever it is, such as hoaxes/false news in cyberspace. This can be a good capital for students who can then contribute to the efforts of deradicalization. In another study, it showed that student participation in implementing deradicalization efforts is highly valuable<sup>59</sup>.

#### 4. Reinforcing the spirits of nationalism

Another deradicalization effort found in this research is the grounding of the values of nationalism in Islamic educational institutions. Even Islam itself teaches how important it is to love one's country and everything in it. In other words, do not damage and must obey the leader as commanded in the Qur'an Annisa' verse 59<sup>60</sup>. Reinforcing the spirits of nationalism means that Islamic education institutions must educate their students to love their own country and support each other amongst Indonesian Citizens (WNI). Looking back at the two terrorist acts that occurred in Bali, many of the victims were Indonesian citizens. The impact is also tremendous on the economy of Bali, which focuses on tourism. Many Balinese who were Indonesian citizens lost their relatives, and those left behind also had to struggle because of losing their livelihoods. As a citizen who has a high spirit of nationalism, the citizen will not hurt other Indonesian citizens, but together with other Indonesian citizens, they need to build a beloved homeland. As stated in the Youth Pledge: "We the sons and daughters of Indonesia, acknowledge one motherland, Indonesia. We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, acknowledge one nation [are one people], the nation of Indonesia. We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, respect the language of unity, Indonesian". The word "we" here is the people of Indonesia must unite to build the Indonesian nation and be proud of the

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<sup>59</sup> Lindekilde.

<sup>60</sup> Depag.



motherland. As was also stated in the 3rd precepts of Pancasila— "Indonesian Unity." Therefore, there is no reason not to refuse the development of radicalism because it is not in line with the spirit of Indonesia, which upholds *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*—or Unity in Diversity. Allah SWT also confirms in the Qur'an Al-Maidah verse 8 that justice is upheld. In other words, people who perpetrate radicalism and terrorism mean that they have damaged the spirit of nationalism and acted unfairly.

5. Promoting the principle of *wasathiyah* (moderatism)

Islamic education institutions must contribute to instilling the principle of moderatism or *wasathiyah*, or in other words, not being extreme right or left. Panteli, in their research, contended to the importance of the participation of educational institutions in combating the growth of radicalism in a country<sup>61</sup>. Islamic education institutions need to anticipate the influence of excessive extreme views on students who are feared to lead to acts of radicalism and justify acts of violence. This is where Islamic education institutions can play an important role by promoting moderatism or *wasathiyah* (middle way) principle in the teaching-learning process and also in the existing curriculum. Therefore, education management should also evaluate the teaching-learning process that exists to avoid notions that are not in line with the spirit of Islamic education institutions in spreading peace.

6. Applying the theological concept of Ahlus-Sunnah wal Jama'ah

It is essential for Islamic Education institutions to consistently apply the theological concept of Ahlus-Sunnah wal Jama'ah (ASWAJA) as a direction for their educational goals. ASWAJA is a group that follows the Sunnah of the Prophet and the Sunnah of the Prophet's Friends. They also follow the examples of the Prophet Muhammad<sup>62</sup>. Furthermore, ASWAJA can be defined as Muslims who use the Qur'an and Sunnah (Hadith) brought by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as a guide in daily

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<sup>61</sup> Paraskevi Panteli, 'Prevention of Radicalisation and Violent Extremism of Potential Homegrown Terrorists~ Reverse Inner Reinforcement Through EU Education~', 2016.

<sup>62</sup> Abida Malik, 'Identities, Islamophobia, and the State: Diverse Perspectives and Experiences of Muslim Civic Actors from Islamic Organizations in the UK', in *Islamic Organizations in Europe and the USA* (Springer, 2013), pp. 203-23.

life in order to avoid misguided understanding<sup>63</sup>. Therefore, when an Islamic educational institution uses the concept of ASWAJA theology, it does not deviate from the sources of the Qur'an and Hadith, which both reject radicalism and violence because it is not in line with the teachings of the Prophet.

#### 7. Initiating an anti-radicalism curriculum

No less critical, Islamic education institutions need to take the initiative to format the curriculum used by accommodating to instill anti-radicalism values. This does not have to be with a new curriculum format, but it is developed or evaluated whether it is free from radicalism. The anti-radicalism curriculum aims to educate students to have critical thinking in overcoming radical-violence views. The curriculum can encourage students to be more firm in their understanding that Islam does not support radicalism or terrorism at all. The output is that the students have a tolerant and inclusive character and mindset. Furthermore, one respondent who has experience where he received punishment in an Islamic educational institution is an example that supports the existence of an anti-radicalism curriculum in order to avoid a repetition of the violence that could result in increased seeds of student's hatred. This is related to a study that states that children who experience discrimination and criminalization are vulnerable to radical group recruitment efforts<sup>64</sup>.

#### 8. Implement progressive *manhaj*

Islamic education institutions need to implement progressive *manhaj*. *Manhaj* is interpreted as a way of thinking in religion or a way of behaving in everyday life<sup>65</sup>. More than that, one participant, in this case, the Principal (Kepsek) said that the *Manhaj* was like a methodology, and even broader, because it covered the basics of thought, philosophy of thought, and philosophy in action. Islamic *Manhaj* means collaboration

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<sup>63</sup> Terence Helikaon Nunis, 'What is Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamma'h?' (20`5: Quaro, 2015) <<https://www.quora.com/What-is-Ahlu-Sunnah-Wal-Jammah>>.

<sup>64</sup> Magnus Ranstorp, *Understanding Violent Radicalisation: Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe* (Routledge, 2010).

<sup>65</sup> Din Wahid, 'Nurturing Salafi *Manhaj*: A Study of Salafi Pesantren in Contemporary Indonesia', *Wacana*, 15.2 (2014), 367-76.

in ways to trust, worship, and interact with the community that is based on the Qur'an and *Hadith*. *Manhaj* is divided into three types, i.e., traditionalist, modernist, and integrated. The Principal further considers that the failure to implement progressive *manhaj* in Islamic education institutions can be a paradoxical cause in utilizing one principle with another. Therefore, Islamic education institutions must choose progressive *manhaj*, which is appropriate in all places and times, which can always face global problems such as terrorism.

9. Formulating *halaqa* (meetings) with the *ulama*

Another view of deradicalization efforts is to formulate *halaqa*, religious gatherings with *ulama*. *Halaqa* is an excellent place to increase students' and community's knowledge about the importance of living in peace with the *ulama* being given the role as speakers. *Halaqa* activities can be initiated at educational institutions and the community. The purpose of this *halaqa* is to ground Islamic values that originate from the Qur'an and Hadith following the challenges of times. Therefore, the teachings of Islam become contextual to answer the problem of terrorism and radicalism. This step is appropriate in increasing the knowledge of students and the public about the misinterpretation of radical ideas that justify violence against other communities. This is due to misinterpretation itself can cause problems for the adherents of the religion<sup>66</sup>.

10. Strengthening *silaturrahim* and brotherhood

The tenth deradicalization effort focused on strengthening *silaturrahim* and brotherhood despite different religions or beliefs. The Qur'an Surah Ali Imran verse 103 contains a call for humanity to be brothers, not hostile, and not segregated<sup>67</sup>. Therefore, it is evident that Islam is very supportive of establishing *silaturrahim* and brotherhood because the effort to deradicalize requires community participation<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> Daniela Nascimento, 'The (in) Visibilities of War and Peace: A Critical Analysis of Dominant Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Strategies in the Case of Sudan', *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 2011, 43-57.

<sup>67</sup> Depag.

<sup>68</sup> Kevin Mark Dunn and others, 'Can You Use Community Policing for Counter Terrorism? Evidence from NSW, Australia', *Police Practice and Research*, 17.3 (2016), 196-211.

With *silaturahmi* and brotherhood activities, the *ulama* can provide an understanding of Islam, which upholds non-violence and Islam, which is *rahmatan lil alamin* and can correct misconceptions about Islam, especially those concerning the linking of Islam with acts of terrorism and radicalism. It is hoped that the relationship between *silaturahmi* and brotherhood can give birth to social networks that strengthen each other. This is because mistakes in social networking become one of the causes of an individual falling into the radicalism movement<sup>69</sup>. *Silaturahmi* and brotherhood activities can undoubtedly strengthen the harmonious life of the people in the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, regardless of ethnic, language, and cultural differences.

As a result, some of the deradicalization efforts above are very relevant and urgent to be implemented in the world of education and Islamic-based social institutions, specifically Islamic educational institutions. Some efforts can be directly considered to be applied, such as strengthening anti-radicalism, increasing literacy and discussion skills, applying the concept of the *Ahlu-Sunnah wal Jama'ah* theology, implementing progressive *manhaj*, formulating *halaqa* with the *ulama*, and *actualizing* learning resources. This last effort, the reactivation of learning resources, applies not only to Islamic educational institutions but also to communities where many people learn the religion from the internet, such as on YouTube. The habit of utilizing learning resources on the internet may not be controlled, so it needs to be ensured that existing learning resources support the value of tolerance and compassion. Four other efforts, such as strengthening *silaturahmi* and brotherhood, initiating anti-radicalism curriculum, promoting the principle of moderatism, and strengthening the spirit of nationalism are very urgent to be instilled in all levels of educational institutions and society, not only in Islamic educational institutions. Moreover, efforts to strengthen the spirits of nationalism need to be persisted because education institutions should not only focus on fostering Islam but forgetting to develop a love for the Indonesian state.

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<sup>69</sup> Mina Al-Lami, 'Studies of Radicalisation: State of the Field Report', *Politics and International Relations Working Paper*, 11.7 (2009), 9-79.

## Conclusion

In brief, the deradicalization efforts undertaken by the Annuqayah Islamic boarding school are (1) Reactualization of learning resources; (2) strengthening of anti-radicalism; (3) Increasing literacy and discussion skills; (4) Strengthening the spirit of nationalism; (5) Promoting the principle of *wasathiyah* (moderatism); (6) Applying the theological concept of *Ahlus-Sunnah wal Jama'ah* (the group that carries out the *sunnah*); (7) Initiating anti-radicalism curriculum; (8) Implementing progressive *manhaj*; (9) Formulating *halaqa* (meetings) with *ulama*; and (10) Strengthening *silatullah* and brotherhood. The implications of this research provide consideration in evaluating the curriculum, teaching materials, and teaching and learning process to support the creation of Islamic education institutions that promote peace, non-violence, and *rahmatan lil alamin*.

In the future, there should be an evaluation of the teaching and learning process, teaching materials, curriculum, and the existing national education system in order to support the efforts of deradicalization fully. The hope is that sustainable deradicalization efforts can be achieved, and all parties involved become pioneers of peace actors.

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