



## Transnational Understanding and Its Impact On Diversity in Indonesia

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### Abstract :

In this paper, we will examine the philosophical and psychological reasons regarding the thoughts and activities of transnational movements as to what makes these transnational Islamic movements so easy to captivate the hearts of Muslims in Indonesia. The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative with a literature study approach by referring to primary sources of books related to transnational Islam. This study indicates that transnational Islam is the embodiment of revivalism which beliefs in the overall teachings of Islam. Transnational Islam, in turn, can transform into Islamism, an Islamic political movement, or remain committed to its da'wah and social movements. The first is a movement that seeks to achieve power legally and constitutionally in a secular state system. The second is a movement that refuses to recognize the secular system and seeks to peacefully gain power from outside the system. The third is a movement that seeks to gain power by force, both at the level of discourse and action.

**Keywords :** *Transnational Islam, Islamic Revivalism, Diversity*

### INTRODUCTION

Islam as a religion revealed by God is one, but there are many interpretations of it. (Nashir 2013:51) The text of the Qur'an, as the core of Islamic teachings, which is believed to be sourced from God, when it enters human social life must become a text that stretches historically to be interpreted and misinterpreted. (Akyol 2014:8) The essence of Islam has always been getting different doctrines, rules, and behaviours that come from tradition and the level of human thinking ability that embraces it. One of the doctrines added and raised in the treasures of Islamic thought is about the perfection of Islam.

The doctrine of Islamic perfection then developed into a discussion about the existence of Islamic politics. There are two camps in addressing political and state problems in Islam. Ali Abdur Raziq is of the view that Islam is not related to forms of government. Meanwhile, Abul A'la al-Maududi, Sayyid Qutb, and Taqiyudin Al-Nabhani assume that Islam recognizes "governance of God" as a demand for the enforcement of the Shari'a, which is referred to as "caliphate". (Al Bana 2008:15) For those who accept an Islamic state, Al-Qur'an and Al-Hadith have provided a detailed description of all the life problems, including political affairs. On the other hand, for groups who reject the idea of Political Islam, neither the Qur'an nor Al-Hadith does not even give the slightest hint about it. (Al Bana 2008:156)

The group that believed in the perfection of Islam was then known as

Political Islam (Islamiyyuun). Nashir suspects that in addition to the complex structural injustice factor, the background of understanding the doctrine (belief system) is the root of the reproduction of Political Islam movements. The belief in the authenticity and perfection of Islamic teachings while still referring to the historical precedents of the early generations of Islam (al-salaf al-shalih) is the ideological basis of the political Islam movement. (Nashir 2013:17). One of the characteristics of Political Islam is the idea of an Islamic system that crosses space boundaries. And time. On that basis, Political Islam later became Transnational Islam (al-Islam al-umamiy).

Since the late 1980s, Indonesia has been enlivened by the growth of various transnational Islamic movements. It is a social, political, and religious movement based on Islam, which came from the territory of other countries. We can call them the Muslim Brotherhood (IM), which later transformed into PKS (Prosperous Justice Party), Hizbut Tahrir (HT), which transformed into HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), and Salaf, to name just a few. They are an Islamic movement that genealogically has its origins in Egypt, Palestine, and Saudi Arabia. This movement immediately received positive acceptance and response from various groups who craved Islamic puritanism (purification) by bringing Arabic attributes. In their view, the presence of Transnational Islam is considered to be a solution to the diversity of religions that are considered to have been mixed with local culture.

Through the liqa and halaqah methods, the Transnational Islamic movement massively introduced the ideas and doctrines of Islamic purification, Islamic revival, and the spirit of resistance to Western hegemony. These doctrines and ideologies were initially presented as propaganda and regeneration materials and eventually mushroomed into public discourse. The transnational movement on campuses and schools has contributed to a more symbolic religious atmosphere and an Arab culture in pluralistic Indonesian society. Through the hijrah movement, Transnational Islam can promote Islamic identities such as headscarves, robes, Koko clothes, small manuscripts, and various other Islamic attributes in urban communities, middle to upper class, and educated people. At first, their presence was considered as a breath of fresh air for Islam in Indonesia because Islamic identity was no longer considered old-fashioned and backward.

Post-Reformation, when the faucet of freedom was wide open, transnational movements were no longer just active in the field of da'wah. They also began to penetrate the political realm. The presence of Transnational Islam in post-Reformation Indonesia was marked by the emergence of a Political Islam movement that fought for the formalization of Islamic law in the life of the nation and state. According to Nashir, the Islamic Shari'a movement in Indonesia began with efforts to reinsert the Jakarta charter in the amendments to the 1945 Constitution, demands for the application of Shari'a laws, to the discourse on upholding the Islamic caliphate. (Nashir 2013:55)

To achieve this agenda, Transnational Islam is divided into three groups:

1. A movement that accepts democratic mechanisms and fights for its aspirations through the existing system, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, which founded the Justice Party/PK (and later changed to the Prosperous Justice Party/PKS).
2. A movement rejects the existing system and struggles through gradual social change to replace the existing system with a caliphate system, such as HTI.

3. A group that wants political and revolutionary change, such as Jamaah Islamiyah.

The presence of Transnational Islam is thus a latent danger for the stability and continuation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). In this paper, we will examine the philosophical and psychological reasons regarding the thoughts and activities of transnational movements, such as what makes these transnational Islamic movements so easy to attract the hearts of Muslims in Indonesia? Why are Indonesian Muslims proud to be part of this transnational movement? What is Indonesian people's motivation and encouragement to believe that this movement is truth and goodness? Is what transnational movements strive for in their global ideologies a truth or a mistake? Answering this problem requires a broader, more profound, and deep-rooted perspective on transnational movements. In other words, it is not merely a descriptive study of their international network, which many previous studies have done.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative, where the research results obtained contain information in the form of notes and descriptive data from the text and objects studied. The approach used is library research, which refers to books related to transnational Islamic genealogy as the primary source. The secondary sources used in this study are the results of previous studies discussing transnational Islam. The data obtained are then analyzed to produce precise, objective, systematic, and critical descriptions and information regarding the typology of the Transnational Islamic movement and its impact on Indonesian pluralism.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **1. Transnational Islam: Its Origin and Development**

Basyir Musa suspects that the rise of Transnational Islamic movements that carry the vision of revivalism, fundamentalism, and even politics is conditioned by the absence of mainstream Islamic groups in the contestation of Islam as an ideology vis a vis modernism and westernization (Musa 2010). Mainstream groups have failed to assert their identity, position, and struggle orientation during strong global intervention from liberalism and secularism. (Moses 2010)

In addition to complex structural injustice factors, the background of understanding the doctrine (belief system) is the root of the reproduction of the Transnational Islamic movement. Belief in the creed of "Islam as a solution", understanding of Islamic integralism, Belief in the authenticity and perfection of Islamic teachings while still referring to the historical precedents of the early generations of Islam (al-salaf al-shalih); it has become the ideological basis of Transnational Islam (Nashir 2013)

Transnational Islam is often equated with the Political Islam movement (Islamism) in the Middle East. This revivalism movement emerged because of anxiety about the dangers that were considered to threaten Islam and Muslims. The danger, in their view, lies in the threat of the West with its cultural and political penetration of the existence, ideological heritage, and state of Muslims (Musa 2010). According to the revivalists, the traditional religious and ulema institutions considered the guardians of Islamic values continue to decline. That is

why the revivalists discourse on religious reform, liberation religion from taqlid and calls to revive ijihad (Musa 2010). According to them, Muslims have experienced defeat and setbacks in various sectors and fields of life due to their inability to carry out Islamic teachings comprehensively. The scriptures in their Belief have provided complete legal rules, including state administration and government (Qarnas 2008: 7).

The view of the whole of Islam also strengthens beliefs about the supremacy of Islam. In the modern era, the progress of Western civilization has disturbed the beliefs of Muslims about their superiority. This sense of disturbance has led to the assumption that Muslims have retreated because non-Islamic cultures have polluted their culture. Furthermore, for Muslims to return to progress culturally, it is necessary to take steps to authenticate Islam.

Regarding this revivalist movement, as Masduqi (Masduqi 2011) stated, quoting Hasan Hanafi's opinion, who put forward the positive side of the revivalists. First, it is closely related to the resistance movement against imperialism. Second, his da'wah can touch traders, farmers, and students. Third, the organizational structure can work effectively. Fourth, open to accepting experiences from other civilizations without sacrificing the authenticity of their traditions. While the opposing side. First, tend to be dogmatic and irrational. Second, hegemony by the concept of God's sovereignty. Third, they are prone to be radicalized with ambitions to implement Islamic law and a theocratic state and sometimes rush to make social changes. Fourth, the dichotomy of Islam and infidelity is simplistic. Fifth, trapped in exclusivism.

Starting from these concepts, the Islamic revivalist movement slowly but surely turned into a Political Islam movement (Islamism). The Islamism movement has an agenda of Islamic universalism, namely the implementation of Islam without the boundaries of nationalism (nation-state). Although in its development, this movement was forced to compromise with political realities so that some of them accepted nationalism, but the idea of inheriting the earth as a gift from Allah to Muslims remains the spirit of this movement. Based on the belief that the earth will be inherited by the faithful, this movement is often referred to as a transnational movement.

It should be emphasized that the term transnational does not always have a negative and political meaning. Several religious movements that have developed in Indonesia and other parts of the world can be categorized as transnational movements because they have grown beyond their territorial boundaries, such as Salafiyah (Arabic), Tablighi Jamaat (Pakistan), 'Alawiyah (Hadhramaut), Sulaimaniyah (Turkey), and so on. However, as long as these movements are not oriented towards achieving a specific political agenda and do not politicize religion for pragmatic interests, they are not categorized as Transnational Islam which is discussed in this study.

## **2. Transnational Islam and the Politicization of Religion**

An understanding of the wholeness, authenticity, and supremacy of Islam encouraged the birth of Islamism. Islamism is the ideology of Islam so that it becomes the political identity of Muslims to face the onslaught of non-Islamic civilizations. It is a totalitarian ideology that presents itself as an Islamic solution to the problems of modern life (Tibi 2016:267). Those who believe in perfection, wholeness, authenticity, and the supremacy of Islam state that Islam is not just a



matter of faith, but more than that, it is an ideology. Islam is the political identity of the ummah, in the midst of the incessant invasion of infidel culture. According to Bassam Tibi, this ideology is called Islamism, namely politics that is religious ed with concepts that are reductively taken from Islamic teachings.

Those who are categorized as bearers of Islamism, according to Tibi First. Interpretation of Islamic teachings as Nizham Islami (Islamic order). Second, consider the Jews as the main enemy because they, with their political "conspiracy", become the main rival in realizing the goals of Islam. They were third, doubting democracy, democratization, and a democratic state. Fourth, reformulation of jihad as an instrument of political struggle. Fifth, a re-creation of the Shari'a, and Sixth, purification and desecularization efforts to fight the contamination of Western culture and secularism (Tibi 2016:7)

Islamism often simplifies Islam as just political discourse. Islam as God's revelation by the thought of Islamism is reduced to a pragmatic ideology. Another thing worth noting about this movement is the neglect of the historical reality and experience of humanity in general and Muslims in particular. The Islamist movement (Islamism) has a dichotomous paradigm towards society, "us and them". "We" are those who have emigrated to follow their vision and mission. While "they" are people whose faith is dull and sleeps in their souls, they do not want to emigrate. This movement often uses the iqsa (removal) method against parties that are ideologically different from them. One of the methods of this iqsha can be seen from the hijrah discourse that they often use.

One of the significant concepts of Islam that are often used as jargon for Islamists is the term hijrah. Lately, we often hear the term millennial hijrah, hijrah community, modern muhajirin, even in some recitation groups, we often hear the term musyahadah hijrah (testimonials to emigrate). At first glance, these expressions look interesting and religious because they suggest an invitation to leave bad things and move on to better behaviour. The problem is when the word hijrah is politicized in such a way as a form of ideological resistance. In this case, hijrah is interpreted textually as the Prophet who emigrated from Mecca to Medina. The move of the Prophet as a historical event that occurred as a result of the political, socio-cultural dynamics that occurred at that time was ideologically transformed into a strategy of resistance to the existing socio-cultural reality. The term hijrah is also used as a medium to stigmatize reality and people who are different from them. In their view, society is divided into two, namely those who have emigrated (muhajirin) and those who are still ignorant (not yet emigrated). At first, the distinction was made at the moral level. When people whose attitudes are far from Islamic morality, they are categorized as still ignorant or have not migrated. Those who are considered ignorant people (not yet emigrated) are objects of da'wah who must be given religious advice and teaching to want to emigrate.

The dichotomy of "us" and "them" for fellow Muslims make the bearers of this hijrah ideology even more exclusive. The characteristics of their exclusivity are often shown in specific attributes and symbols, such as the veil, cingkrang pants, and so on. Attributes like that are also used to mark "them" (people who are not yet one fikrah). The use of the veil, short pants, or beard basically cannot be used as a measure to attach a radical label to someone. However, the use of veils, cingkrang pants, and beards as a resistance movement during most Muslims who have shown obedience to a certain degree can be considered religious radicalism.

Later, hijrah is misunderstood, as is the attitude of mufaraqah (separation) in congregational prayers. This means that they secretly declare to separate themselves (against) from the community, society, or country they belong to. The same thing was done by several Islamic splinter groups, such as NII/DI/TII (Negara Islam Indonesia/Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia), which carried out a musyahadah hijrah procession (wijrah witness) for each new member. In the procession, prospective new members must read the proclamation and statement of loyalty to the Islamic State of Indonesia as a state within a state. This statement of hijrah is also called bai'at (bai'ah), which is a promise to be loyal to a specific Islamist group. This statement of hijrah and allegiance is very effective in building the militancy of new members so that they are willing to sacrifice anything to win their ideology.

From the description above, it can be concluded that Islamic groups have ideologically conceptualized hijrah as a historical event as a strategy of da'wah and resistance to specific social orders. Hijrah is interpreted as a transformation of morals and attitudes and is politicized into a kind of resistance movement against political authorities, religious authorities, scientific authorities, and other authorities that are contrary to them in fikrah. Hijrah as a historical event is very different from hijrah as a political strategy and da'wah. As a historical event, hijrah was not designed or planned from the start as a strategy of resistance. That is, the hijrah can be said to be a mere historical coincidence. On the other hand, if it is considered a strategy, then hijrah is prepared and planned by the Prophet. Because it is planned, it is part of the da'wah phase that must be passed and even carried out.

Not only the term Hijrah, the term "kafir" with its various derivations often appears in the discourses raised by the Islamism movement (political Islam/Transnational Islam). Takfir weapons are the ultimate means of discrediting their political opponents. Through accusations of infidelity against its opponents, this group aims to seek public support by positioning itself as a defender of Islam against those who fight Islam. The use of infidel stigma is carried out gradually against political opponents through the dissemination of hoaxes and media framing. In Indonesia, the stigma of infidel does not necessarily use the word infidel but can use accusations such as: "blasphemy of religion", "Islamic heresy", "liberal secular", "Shia", "Chinese stooge", "communist", "agent of Islam". Islam Nusantara", and so on. All these accusations indirectly position those accused with these stigmas as opponents of Islam.

At the next level, accusations of infidel with its various derivations can be used as justification for committing acts of violence and even the disappearance of these political opponents (Al-Jufri 2015). Experience in the Middle East shows that Islamism is very loudly voiced through various media and mosque pulpits and seminars so that it often forms mass opinion effectively. Habib Ali al-Jufri suspects that often the friendly supporters of Islam are gripped with fear to voice views different from those of Islamism. As a result of the silence carried out by most Muslims, Islamism can hijack Islam to be politicized at will to achieve its pragmatism agenda (Al-Jufri 2015).

### **3. Challenges and Threats of Transnational Islam to the Republic of Indonesia**

Transnational Islamic movements are still looking to develop or survive in

Indonesia (the Indonesian government has officially banned the HTI movement, but its sympathizers and figures are still actively spreading the caliphate ideology). According to Suratno Muchoeri's records and PKS and HTI, Sulaimaniyah and JIL; Tablighi Jamaat, Salafi, Ahmadiyya, and Shia are also part of the Transnational Islam genus (Muchoeri 2020:2). From reading these movements through the perspective of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), they – although not all – are almost always positioned as disruptors to unity and a threat to the future of the Indonesian nation. Alternatively, it is considered to reduce love and loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia (M. Dawam 2012).

In this context, the problem is not where the movement comes from, under whom, and for what purpose. The problem is also not about loving Indonesia or hating fellow nations' children. The problem is that the values possessed by this movement, for its followers, are far higher than just the value of a nation-state or the value of loyalty to "artificial" ideologies such as Pancasila or the state constitution (M. Dawam 2012:59 ). In movements such as PKS, HTI, Salafi, Sulaimaniyah, and Tablighi Jamaat – their association is a sacred association, which strives to be faithful to the covenant between man and God. They prefer to be loyal to Allah rather than loyal to Pancasila and the Republic of Indonesia (M. Dawam 2012:33). In the belief and understanding of each member of the movement, Islam which they fully believe in as the only and final truth – because it comes from the God of the universe – is the object they will defend to the death; because common sense will defend the truth and essence (Maarif 2018:56). In this case, they believe that Islam – which is embodied in the movement they follow – is the essence. Ontologically they do not distinguish between the ideology of the movement and Islam as revelation (Maarif 2018:58).

Psychologically – by using a psychoanalytic approach – members of the transnational movement feel satisfaction and comfort during an uncertain and fearful life they are currently experiencing. Empirically, many of the movement's members are people who are trying to survive in the face of a narrow economic life (Aslan 2015: 56). This is coupled with the belief that today's world conditions are not friendly and even hostile to Islam and its people. The colonial experience of the colonialists also contributed to the cause of Muslims feeling afraid and worried about Western-centric modernity.

Transnational movements are vulnerable to becoming a mouthpiece for the emergence of radicalism because of their blind attitude towards the sacredness of religious teachings. Abd A'la suspects radicalism as a religious phenomenon that divides people and destroys the joints of life because it puts forward truth claims on religious interpretations accompanied by anarchic actions (A'la 2014:v). According to Abd A'la, the solution to the problem of radicalism must be carried out thoroughly and systematically. Complete and systematic efforts to deal with radicalism need to begin with efforts to eradicate the ideas and thoughts (A'la 2014: VIII). Along with that, Arkoun offers religious deideology to anticipate radicalism. The second offer is the desacralization of religious institutions, legal systems, and political systems, which are often manipulated in the form of theocracy.

It appears that strengthening religious moderation (wasathiyah) is one strategy to prevent the development of religious piracy, religious misunderstanding, the politicization of religion, and various extreme religious practices. Religious moderation is directed at understanding the people that

religion has sacred and profane elements. Sacred elements are universal, are in the area of symbolic rituals and moral values. The profane element is a religious area that accepts innovations in line with cultural developments. Moderation is expected to lead the people that Islam as abstract values and teachings from God can only be incarnated through culture. Based on that awareness, religious puritanism is impossible because Islam must manifest in diverse and diverse cultures.

Politically oriented transnational movements (Islamism) are often the seeds for the development of radicalism, even religion-based terrorism. Religious radicalism is a threat to diversity in the Unitary States of the Republic of Indonesia. Since 2019, the escalation of religious radicalism has persisted, as reported by the BNPT (2020 Editorial Team), namely:

1. Abu Hamzah (Sibolga), alias Husain, is a suspected terrorist arrested by Densus 88 Anti-terror on March 12, 2019. Based on a report from the Public Relations Division of the National Police, it was stated that Abu Hamzah had been active in terrorist network groups and had expertise in bomb assembly. Terrorist groups in Lampung and Sibolga are networks of the Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) linked to ISIS. During the arrest process, Solimah (his wife) blew herself up using a homemade bomb when she was with her child in the room at home.
2. Rofik Ansharuddin (Sukoharjo) was the perpetrator of the suicide bombing at the Kartasura Sukoharjo police post on June 3, 2019. Based on the police report, at the end of 2018, Rofik made allegiance to the leader of ISIS (Abu Bakar Al-Baghdadi) through social media. Then, Rofik learned how to assemble a bomb on a small scale through social media.
3. The 2019 Presidential Election (Jakarta), on May 21-22, 2019, there was a riot in front of the Bawaslu building after announcing the results of the 2019 presidential election. The mass action resulted in riots that spread to several areas of Jakarta, such as Slipi, Petamburan, and Tanah Abang. The riots claimed several lives and were injured them. Later, the police arrested the rioters suspected of being involved in the action. The riots had a long tail after it was revealed that there was a plan to kill four national figures, namely Wiranto, Luhut B. Pandjaitan, Budi Gunawan, and Gories Mere.
4. Abu Rara (Pandeglang) attacked the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto on October 9, 2019, at the Menes Pandeglang square, Banten. The attack was in the form of a stabbing carried out by Abu Rara and his wife.
5. Nas (Bekasi), the search conducted by Densus 88 Anti-terror at the suspect's rented house with the initials NAS in Tambun, Bekasi. Based on the information provided by the Police, NAS has the same network as the perpetrators of the stabbing Wiranto. Then, NAS is also known to be part of the Khilafatul Muslimin, who is allegiance to the ISIS leader.
6. Abu Zee CS (Bekasi), the arrest of a group of people suspected of being terrorists in Bekasi, West Java by the Densus 88 Anti-terror Team on October 23, 2019. Several names are suspected of being associated with terrorism, namely Surya Juniawan Alias Haidar Al-Ghazi, Asep Roni, Early Septo Hadi, Sandi Purnama alias Abu Said, Fazri Pahlawan alias Abu Zee Ghuroba, and Igun Gunawan alias Gunawan.



7. Rabbial Muslim Nasution (Medan), at that time a student who was born on August 11, 1995. RMN carried out a suicide bombing that killed himself and injured six other people at the Medan Polresta at that time.

Radical groups carried out propaganda quite massively through social media in 2019. Three issues were often raised by the group, namely Intolerance, Anti-Pancasila and Anti-NKRI. It is undeniable that the spread of propaganda and political agendas is carried out through social media by various groups (Editorial Team 2020). Radical groups use social media to spread the issue of intolerance. The issues he raised, such as wishing me a merry Christmas and guarding during the procession of religious ceremonies, were encouraged by radical groups to narrate that these acts were prohibited or not allowed in religion. In addition to this, radical groups also spread slander against moderate clerics who allow them to congratulate followers of other religions, namely by labelling ulema su'u (ruler-licking clerics).

Another form of narrative circulating on social media is quite a lot, namely Anti-Pancasila. The narrative built by radical groups is that Pancasila is an artificial product, so it is obligated to replace it with God's law. The narrative aims to replace Pancasila with the caliphate system, which has become history in Islam. The third narrative that radical groups usually raise is Anti-NKRI. According to the group, brotherly ties only exist with Ukhuwah Islamiyah, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is not a place that can strengthen this ukhuwah. Brotherhood was created based on religious equality. Therefore, brotherhood will always run if the caliphate system can replace the democratic system in Indonesia (2020 Editorial Team). Without realizing it, the narratives that have been disseminated can shape some people's opinions so that gradually these narratives can divide the community. Sometimes political contests can be used as a field to play identity politics which can quickly weaken the condition of national brotherhood.

One of the transnational challenges for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is the various forms of religious revival that are harsh, exclusive and fundamentalist. One of the characteristics of his religiosity is arrogance, so it is easy to belittle, oppress, and insult anyone who does not follow their path. This can make extremist groups claim that they have the right to determine who is allowed to live and who is not so that they feel themselves in God's position.

Radicalism through the transnational movement has penetrated the education sector. The Research Team of the Semarang Religious Research and Development Center in 2017 showed a radical nature in the religious understanding and attitudes of state high school students in Central Java. Radicalism indicates that several students agree to the changes to the primary state of Indonesia, Pancasila and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The findings reveal that, in general, favourite high schools or senior high schools that become referrals experience "miss" by planting seeds of radicalism that arise through Islamic Spiritual (Rohis) activities. The Makassar Religious Research and Development Center (BLAM) also conducted the same research using quantitative research on 1100 SMA/SMK students. The results show a potential that refers to intolerant behaviour and radicalism with a percentage of 10% among high school / vocational students.

The emergence of radicalism is not merely coincidental or sudden. This radicalism emerged through spiritual activities organized by transnational movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb ut-Tahrir, and Salafiyah Jihadiyah. In addition to several local movements that idealize Darul Islam, the Islamic State of Indonesia, and the like. These movements spread and recruit through religious activities such as Islamic Spirituality (ROHIS)/ Campus Da'wah Institutions and student organizations outside schools/ campuses that use religious attributes. The transnational movement operates in public schools and universities because the campus community does not understand profound religious teachings and always thinks mathematically and scientifically so that the exclusive doctrine of Islamic teachings easily influences them.

From the description above, it can be concluded that, as usual, a movement,

formal and informal networks are easily used to recruit members. A *formal network* is a network developed through an institution, one of which is LDK. In comparison, informal networks are developed individually or personally, such as in the realm of friendship, friendship and family. The most accessible and most proven form of recruiting members of the transnational movement is through informal networks, primarily through clandestine organizations (Syahril et al., 2020).

Broadly speaking, the factors that cause the emergence and fertility of transnational movements that lead to radicalism can be seen in the following table:

No	Factor	Description
1	Mental health (psychological)	Radicalism appears as a psychological product of a vulnerable soul when he tries to find and assert his identity.
2	Economic inequality	Radicalism is driven by injustice and economic inequality experienced by an individual, so that he is encouraged to systematically fight these injustices, starting from the ideological and theological aspects.
3	Socio-Political	Radicalism emerged as a response to global socio-political conditions, which tended to divide human life further.
4	Religious emotions	Radicalism arises from religious interpretations that encourage individuals to see the gap between idealism and religious norms and the reality of the people.
5	Government policies	Radicalism arises as a result of government policies that are considered by religious communities not to refer to religious values and norms.

According to Yusuf Al-Qardawi, in his book entitled *Al-Shahwah Al-Islamiyah Bayn Al-Juhud was Al-Tattarruf* shows that seven factors lead to the emergence of radicalism (Al-Qardawi 1985), including:

1. Knowledge of half-hearted religion obtained through the doctrinal process.
2. Literal in understanding religious texts, so that understanding of Islam is only obtained outside, but there is very little understanding of the essence of religion.
3. Only focus on secondary problems while forgetting the primary problems, such as lengthening the beard, elevating the pants, and others.
4. Excessive attitudes in forbidding many things that burden Muslims.
5. Having weak historical and sociological insight, the issued fatwas are against the benefit of the people, common sense and the spirit of the times.
6. Reactions often appear in forms of radicalism, such as radical attitudes towards secularists who reject religion.

Religious people in general, and Muslims in particular, cannot remain silent in responding to the development and strengthening of religious radicalism. There need to be strategic steps to counter the discourse put forward by them to prevent the people's exposure to radical ideologies and deradicalization efforts for those who have been exposed. Arkoun offers religious deideology to anticipate radicalism. The second offer is the desacralization of religious institutions, legal

systems, and political systems, often manipulated in the theocracy. Efforts to prevent and eradicate the understanding and expression of transnational movements that lead to radical behaviour can be carried out with the following programs:

No	Factor	Description
1	Education and Guidance	Prevention and eradication of radicalism is carried out through Islamic religious education that is open, comprehensive, historical contextual, anthropocentric approach, and dialogical learning.
2	Da'wah	Islam is not ideological and political, promotes dialogue and openness, respects local culture and wisdom, and mainstreams Islamic moderation. In Islam, it is necessary to inflame the spirit of Islam, rahmatan lil Alamin.
3	Politician	The firmness of the government and the DPR in dealing with acts of violence and anarchism utilizing: a balance between freedom and interests to protect the security of the nation and state, political support for security forces to take action against radical actions. In addition, it is necessary to raise awareness of the nation's leaders, government, moderate religious leaders about the threat of radicalism, followed by a synergy between them and law enforcement officials to respond to radicalism.
4	The law mpts to treason against the state.	The law is carried out by 1) strengthening the legal framework such as criminalizing propaganda that leads to hatred and hostility, and criminalizing those conducting military training, 2) enforcing the citizenship law by revoking the citizenship of people who take oaths and pledges of allegiance to foreign countries, 3) tighten immigration to monitor the entry and exit of terrorist networks, and 4) enforce criminal laws regarding any conspiracy activities, and attempts to treason against the state.

Efforts are made to prevent radicalism which Transnational Islam often promotes. In the process of religious learning, it can be done by straightening teachings that tend to be textual and rigid so that it can easily disbelieve other groups who have different understandings. In this case, either formally or informally, religious learning needs to be oriented towards strengthening the awareness that Islamic teachings respect differences of opinion and conflicting beliefs. Religious teachings that display the universal view of Islam towards all human beings without discriminating between them need to be strengthened.

Strengthening understanding of the importance of preserving humanity is another strategy to prevent radicalism through Islamic religious education. There are five universal foundations of Islam aimed at community groups and individuals, namely: (1) basic guarantees for the physical safety of the community from acts outside the law. (2) Guarantee for the safety of their respective religious beliefs, without any coercion to change religions. (3) Guarantee for family and

descendants. (4) Guarantee the safety of property and private ownership outside of legal channels, and (5) guarantee the profession's safety. This guarantee underlies the internal relationship between religious people and between religious communities to create tolerance, mutual respect and freedom of religion under their respective personal beliefs.

The government has made every effort and method to prevent the rise of radicalism by finding the root of the problem, analyzing the root of the problem, and then finding the wisest and most appropriate solution. In this effort, the government involves related parties, especially the perpetrators, so that no party feels disadvantaged. Among these efforts and methods include:

1. Changes in attitudes and views of Western countries towards Muslim countries in the world. It is time and should not be positioned as Muslims globally as opponents of the West after the end of the cold war era. On the other hand, Muslims must be treated as friends and partners in various fields of life in a dignified and non-discriminatory manner.
2. Reducing and eliminating social, economic, political, educational, and cultural inequalities at the national, regional and international levels.
3. Reorientation of textual, rigid, and narrow religious understanding into contextual, flexible, and open understanding.
4. To modernize people's lives selectively by accommodating the positive side and eliminating the opposing side. To instil awareness of "agree to disagree" in responding to social, cultural, and religious pluralism developing during society and the nation. It is also necessary to sow the awareness of religious people in this era of globalization to live together during society, nation, and state even though they do not have to merge into one.

The above methods are expected to prevent radicalism from spreading widely in Indonesia so that people can live in quiet without terror and threats from the people or groups involved.

## CONCLUSION

From the description above, it can be concluded that Transnational Islam is the embodiment of revivalism which beliefs in the overall teachings of Islam. Transnational Islam, in turn, can transform into Islamism, an Islamic political movement, or remain committed to its da'wah and social movements.

When transformed into Islamism, Transnational Islam was divided into three models. The first is a movement that seeks to achieve power legally and constitutionally in a secular state system. The second is a movement that refuses to recognize the secular system and seeks to peacefully gain power from outside the system. The third is a movement that seeks to gain power by force, both at the level of discourse and action.

The doctrine of the faith of the transnational movement is a challenge for the sustainability of a country. Because of the belief that God's teachings are higher and transcend space and time, adherents of this understanding will immediately reject cultural values that are local and temporal. All of them stem from the understanding of Islamic purification (puritanism), which positions Islam as an alien creature outside the circle of human history.



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