

Youth Deradicalization Through Educational Institutions: Philosophical Perspective

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Article Info	Abstract
<p>Article History</p> <p>Received: March 21, 2023</p> <p>Revised: May 03, 2023</p> <p>Accepted: June 5, 2023</p> <p>Published: June 6, 2023</p> <p>Keyword: Ideology, Radicalism, Deradicalization, Youth, Criticism of Ideology</p> <p>Copyright (c) 2023 Biyanto</p> 	<p>This article aims to discuss the deradicalization of youths and the important position of educational institutions. The perspective used in this paper is the philosophy of ideological criticism of Jurgen Habermas. This analysis is used to examine more deeply the ideology and character of the radicalism movement and deradicalization programs carried out by various elements of the nation. By critiquing ideology, we can understand the background of the emergence of radicalism. We can also analyze all forms of expression of resistance to the ideology of radicalism through deradicalization programs, especially through youths. Youths are important to be involved because they are a group that is very vulnerable to exposure to the ideology of radicalism. This paper concludes that to carry out deradicalization, the most important thing is to understand the character and ideology of radicalism movements. This strategy is important because in reality incidents of radicalism continue to occur. Even though the security forces have arrested and detained, even shot dead, the perpetrators of radicalism. This reality shows that radicalism has become a growing ideology among its followers, especially youths. By understanding the character and ideology of the radicalism movement, deradicalization programs among youths through educational institutions will be more effective. Deradicalization programs must also be carried out in a dialogical and humane manner. It is in this context that cultural dialogue involving youths across ethnicities and religions must be carried out in a sustainable manner.</p>
<p>How to Cite:</p> <p>Biyanto, B. (2023). Youth Deradicalization Through Educational Institutions: Philosophical Perspective. <i>Progresiva : Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam</i>, 12(01). https://doi.org/10.22219/progresiva.v12i01.25529</p>	

Introduction

Eradicating radicalism with its various expressions is important to do with the right strategy and approach. This is because although one by one the perpetrators have been arrested and detained by security forces, even some have been shot dead, incidents of radicalism and terrorism continue to occur in various regions in Indonesia. This condition shows that, as an ideology, radicalism continues to grow, develop, and never die. The ideologues of radicalism and terrorism continue to spread radicalism, especially among youths who are studying at universities. The ideologue of radicalism has also made students in secondary education targets for regeneration. Radical ideologues have used spiritual and religious extracurricular activities in schools as a medium to sow radical ideas. Through this strategy, radicalism continues to be developed among students, students, and youths in general.

Youths are targeted by regeneration of radicalism and terrorism networks because they are considered to be unstable. They are generally in the process of finding their true selves (*becoming*). In the midst of the struggle to find their identity, they are fascinated by religious beliefs with radical ideology. This is inseparable from the strategy of radical group ideologues who sophisticatedly package the doctrine of radicalism with religious teachings and symbols. Among the religious teachings instilled in youths are leadership (*khilafah*), equality (*al-musawa*), independence (*al-hurriyah*), justice (*al-'adalah*), getting out of perverted life to religiosity (*hijrah*), as well as other social dimensions of humanity (*al-insaniyah*). Discourse on food security, political, and economic independence, global justice, and social welfare are also central themes of radical groups. It is with these sweet promises that many youths are tempted to follow radical ideas.

The doctrine that Indonesia is an infidel country (*dar al-kufr*) and war zones (*dar al-harb*) is also echoed by radical groups. For radical groups, the form of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) and the ideology of Pancasila are seen as not meeting the expectations of realizing an ideal state according to their minds. That's why radical groups constantly invite all their cadres to carry out jihad in order to turn the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila into an Islamic ideological state. The target is to make Indonesia an Islamic country (*dar al-Islam* atau *Dar al-silm*). In fact, NKRI and Pancasila for the founders of Indonesia are consensus states. Some religious leaders even view the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila as the final price (Nashir, 2017).

In the perspective of religious organizations like Muhammadiyah, the State of Pancasila is understood as *Dar al-'Ahd* (Consensus State) and *Dar al-Shayadah* (State of Witness). The Consensus State clearly has a religious dimension so it demands a commitment to continue to maintain the ideology of Pancasila with full trust. The state of Pancasila is also an arena where we show our best devotion to be witnessed by the nation's citizens (Amar, 2018). This means that all elements of the nation must compete to be the best with a commitment to realizing the ideals of their beloved country.

Since the ideology of radicalism continues to develop among youths, all elements of the nation must be actively involved in the movement against radical ideology. The resistance movement against the ideology of radicalism is popularly called deradicalization. One of the *civil societies* strategically involved in the deradicalization program is educational institutions. The involvement of this educational institution is very strategic to counter radicalism that occurs among youths. The perspective used as

analysis is philosophy. Through a philosophical perspective, this paper is expected to be able to critically examine the phenomenon of radicalism. Youths as targets who are very vulnerable to exposure to radical ideology can also be involved in counter-radicalism movements.

Research Method

This article examines the deradicalization of youth in educational institutions using a descriptive qualitative research method. Because the object of study in this study has become a widespread discussion among undergraduates, the researcher uses a philosophical approach in order to have novelty in obtaining research conclusions. The perspective used in this paper is the philosophy of criticism of Jurgen Habermas' ideology. This approach intends to be able to explore theoretical frameworks that can be applied in efforts to deradicalize youth in educational institutions.

This research method combines qualitative and descriptive-analytical approaches. The first step involves an in-depth literature study to understand the basic concepts of Jurgen Habermas' critical philosophy of ideology as well as theories related to youth radicalization. Furthermore, this research involves participatory observation in educational institutions involved in deradicalization efforts.

The collected data were analyzed using a content analysis approach. The results of the analysis reveal the factors that influence the process of radicalization among young people, as well as the potential of Jurgen Habermas's ideological critical philosophy approach in overcoming this problem. In this analysis, critical elements are identified that can be applied in educational institutions to develop critical awareness and dialogue skills, thereby reducing the predisposition to radicalization.

These findings can serve as a basis for policy makers, educators and other related parties to design programs and strategies that are effective in preventing and overcoming radicalization among young people, as well as promoting critical thinking and dialogue as a more constructive alternative.

Results and Discussion

Ideology and Character of Radicalism

Every movement must have an ideology that becomes the basic values in the struggle to achieve its goals. According to Blumer, ideology has to do with many aspects. Within ideology is a set of critiques of the existing order that it seeks to change. Ideology is also concerned with doctrine to justify the goals to be achieved (Blumer, 1996). In other words, ideology is concerned with strong values, beliefs, criticisms, reasons, and defenses embedded in its followers. Based on that ideology, the orientation of struggle, strategy, and stages to achieve the goals to be achieved is determined. In the movement of religious praxis, ideology has been used as direction, justification, weapon, as well as to defend the inspiration and hope of its followers. As a manifestation of radical religious social movements, radicalism, and terrorism also have ideologies that their characters always fight for. In the context of the plague, the attention of all elements of the nation must be directed to examine the ideology championed by radicalism and terrorism. Therefore, what the former head of the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), Marciano Norman, said was just right. It was that acts of terrorism in Indonesia will not

end. Acts of radicalism and terrorism will never end as long as the ideology of the movement is not paralyzed.

As radicalism continues to metamorphose in many movements, all that needs to be done is to wage jihad to paralyze its ideology. This effort must involve all elements of *civil society*, including the world of education. It needs to be emphasized that this effort must be carried out tirelessly. As a first step, efforts to counter the ideology of radicalism must begin by understanding the factors that trigger radicalism and terrorism. In addition, it is also necessary to understand the character of the radicalism movement. It is definitely not an easy job because the ideology of radicalism has become a deeply rooted religious social phenomenon among its followers. Regarding factors the emergence of radicalism, especially those that occurred after the events of September 11, 2001, can be explained by three theories (Rabi', 2002). *First*, structural theory that links radicalism to external causes such as political, social, cultural, economic, and the presence of intellectual actors. *Second*, a psychological theory that explains a person's motivation to be interested in joining an organization with a radical ideology. With high motivation, followers of radical movements have volunteered themselves if they are appointed as suicide bombers, as happened in many terrorist incidents in Indonesia. *Third*, rational choice theory that explains the calculation of profit and loss that is considered by radicalism.

Structural theory explanations always link a background of radicalism with two main factors. *The first* is precondition factor. This is an indirect cause of radicalism and terrorism movement. This factor is an accumulation of the disappointment of radical and terrorist groups, especially related to the failure of the religious elite in realizing Islamic political ideals. This explanation is understandable because religious movements with a radical pattern always have a political agenda to establish a state with an Islamic ideology. The political character of this radical movement can be observed through the struggles of its figures in the context of power, such as the desire to establish an Islamic state, formalize shari'ah, and understand religion and politics as an inseparable unit. The understanding that emphasizes the totality of Islamic teachings in all aspects of life, including government and state politics, is very strong in the realm of thought of radical groups. It's just that, these political ideals are still limited to imagination because they have not been successfully realized in a concrete political system in a country. That's why Oliver Roy called the ideals of this political Islamic group as Islamic political imagination. Oliver Roy gave examples of several organizations with radical views that failed to realize their struggles such as the Ikhwan al-Muslimin in Egypt and Jama'at-i Islami in Indo-Pakistan (Roy, 1994). Through the figures such as Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) and Abu al-A'la al-Maududi (1903-1983), the two organizations have tried to define Islam as a system of political ideology when dealing with the great ideologies that emerged in the 20th century. As a result, the two Muslim ideologues have failed to realize the ideals of Islamic politics within an established system of government.

An example of a radical ideological movement that is also important to mention is Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami which was founded by Taqi al-Din al-Nabhani (1909-1977) in Jerusalem in 1953. This movement explicitly declared itself a party politics by making Islam as its ideology. This movement is classified as radical and reactionary because it makes jihad as a strategy of struggle to achieve goals. According to this movement, all

countries in the world have not implemented Islamic law. Therefore, these countries fall into the category of *dar al-kufr*, although the majority of the citizens are Muslim. Furthermore, this movement offers a political system with a transnational pattern as a solution to various problems of the people (Ayubi, 1991). Because it is radical and reactionary, Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami is classified as a banned organization in the country of its birth. Even though it was banned in their country of origin, in Indonesia Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is growing rapidly. HTI in Indonesia was finally disbanded by the government based on Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 2 of 2017 concerning Community Organizations signed by Indonesian President Joko Widodo. The decision was taken because HTI activities were considered to be endangering the ideology of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. HTI activities were also considered to have threatened security, public order, and endangered the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia because it wanted to establish a state with a caliphate system in Indonesia.

The second is triggering factor. It is the direct trigger for radicalism and terrorism. Included in the triggering factors for the emergence of radicalism and terrorism are socio-economic injustices, the absence of law enforcement, blockage of political participation so that people experience powerlessness, and the availability of weapons. Meanwhile, psychological theories explain the psychological aspects of the perpetrators of radicalism and terrorism, starting from the recruitment phase, self-identity, personality, ideological cultivation, and the motivation of its members. Through psychological explanations, it is known the social background of the perpetrators of radicalism and terrorism. For example, it was found that the perpetrators of radicalism were individuals or groups who experienced social alienation and economic difficulties. Meanwhile, rational choice theory explains that radicalism is carried out with considerations of profit and loss. Through this theory, an explanation is obtained regarding the cost and benefit factors that are considered by actors. For example, it was found that the suicide bombers were those who were socially and economically disadvantaged. This fact shows that there are actually socio-economic reasons behind their courage to carry out terrorist movements.

However, it must be admitted that there are some individuals who are tempted to join radicalism networks for religious reasons. By becoming members of the radicalism movement, they can wage jihad, hope for martyrdom, and then go to heaven. This religious spirit is awakened based on a partial understanding of Islamic teachings about jihad. Jihad they only understand in terms of war, physical struggle, or armed resistance. In fact, in an Islamic perspective, there are teachings of jihad that are bigger than physical struggle or war, namely jihad against lust. This is in accordance with the words of the Prophet Muhammad when he returned from the Battle of Badr which occurred in the second year of the Hijra. Prophet Muhammad said; *raja 'na min al-jihad al-asghar ila al-jihad al-akbar, jihad al-nafs* (We return from the smallest jihad to the biggest jihad, that is jihad against lust) (Shihab, 1996). Among Muslims, the teachings of jihad are also not always understood in terms of war against enemies. This opinion was expressed by Buya Ahmad Rasyid Sutan Mansur (1895-1985), a charismatic cleric from West Sumatra. The figure who once led Muhammadiyah in the 1953-1959 period defined jihad as "working wholeheartedly." This interpretation is interesting because Buya

Sutan Mansur does not use the word war and other forms of physical struggle when interpreting jihad (Rahardjo, 2002).

Regarding the ideological character of the radical movement, Hrair Dekmejian explained that this movement has three main characteristics; pervasiveness, polycentrism, and persistence (Dekmejian, 1980). The first character, pervasiveness, shows that radicalism is a social-religious movement phenomenon that occurs evenly in almost all parts of the world. This movement generally also highlights the symbolic aspects of religious teachings. Because it is not an exaggeration to say that radicalism networks are transnational in nature. An important theme that is constantly being discussed is global injustice. The second character, polycentrism, is shown through the many socio-religious organizations with radical ideologies. The activities of religious movements with radical characteristics are carried out by many organizations. Each organization has a different ideology, leaders, programs, strategies and tactics. Uniquely, each of these movements is organizationally independent of one another. However, if examined further, one can feel that these organizations have the same agenda of struggle. One of them is realizing an Islamic state as an ideological state whose domain covers all aspects of people's lives (Dekmejian, 1988).

The third character, persistence, means that the radical movement fights continuously, never gives up, and dares to take any risks as long as its goals are achieved. With this character, ideologues of radicalism are required to recruit as many new cadres as possible. Through this method, the ideology of radicalism continues to be instilled so that it is firmly rooted in its followers. As a socio-religious phenomenon, radicalism also manifests itself in many forms. As stated by Amien Abdullah, radicalism has now intersected with salafist movements. In this context, Amien Abdullah mapped the salafism movement into three important categories; Salafi Da'wa, Salafi Movement, and Salafi Jihadi (Abdullah, 2015). Salafi Jihadi is the ideological basis of radicalism and terrorism movements. Among the important doctrines of the Salafi Jihadi ideological movement is *al-wala' wa al-barra'* (loyalty and rejection). In social life, this doctrine creates social disharmony, divisions, sectarianism (*ta'ifiyyah*), parochalism (*mazhabiyah*), and primordialism (*hizbiyyah*). As a result, every individual or group with a radical ideology must become exclusive, intolerant, reactionary, and use violence in struggle. We can imagine how dangerous it would be if these characters happened to youths, the nation's future generation.

Radicalism, Youth, and Education

To a certain degree, the doctrines of radical groups have succeeded in turning youths into closed, militant and reactionary individuals. The regeneration of the indoctrination model is usually carried out directly by leaders or ideologues of radical groups. Not only through the cadre of conventional models, the ideologues of this movement also use social media to sow radical views. As a result, youths are easily exposed to information from social media that provides various contents of radicalism and terrorism. Moreover, youths belong to the millennial generation who are very skilled at operating technology, information and communication devices. With sophisticated they interact through virtual worlds such as *blogs*, *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *Telegram*, and *WhatsApp*. They have become part of *virtual society*. According to data from

Indonesian Internet Service Users Association (APJII), until 2016 in this beloved country there were around 132.7 million internet users. Most of its users are students, university students, and youths. Even some of the youths have more than one mobile device and gadget. With such a reality, it is certain that youths are the group most vulnerable to being affected by the influence of social media which contains content of radicalism and terrorism.

Because they are very vulnerable to being exposed to radical ideas through the internet, the Chairperson of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), Commissioner General (Komjen) Suhardi Alius, reminded youths to be careful with social media. Youths must be smart and wise in using social media. BNPT data explained that in 2018, there were around nine thousand sites on the internet that taught radical ideology. This means that one can learn radical ideology self-taught through the internet. Through manuals available on the internet, youths can also learn how to build bombs. Testimony of a suspected terrorist from Bandung, Agus Wiguna (22 years), honestly admits that he knows radical ideas and how to make bombs from the internet. Even through the internet, he has pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, the supreme leader of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). A similar statement was made by a young man from Jakarta, Rehan (17 years). He stated that he was interested in understanding radical ideology after interacting through cyberspace with a number of terrorist groups in Syria. Attracted by the sweet promises of the radical group, Rehan and his family left for Syria. Arriving in Syria, it turned out that Rehan and his family were getting the opposite treatment. Rehan and his family were imprisoned so that they suffered for about two months in Syria before finally returning to their homeland.

Agus Wiguna's and Rehan's testimonies are just an example. The cases experienced by both of them are very likely like an iceberg phenomenon. Although on the surface it looks a bit, in reality there are many similar incidents that have yet to be uncovered. Due to the fact that there are many youths who are tempted, even become cadres of the radicalism movement, educational institutions and parents must be extra vigilant. There must be synergy from the education tricerter, namely; families, educational institutions, and the social environment, to save youths from the dangers of radicalism. youths must receive education regarding nationalism, especially civic values. Not only knowledge (*civic knowledge*), youths must also actualize it in the form of attitudes (*civic disposition*) and daily behavior (*civic skills*). Youths should also acquire a moderate religious education (*al-wasathiyah*). Moderate religious understanding is important so that youths are more tolerant and open to pluralism. Moreover, the fact is that this country is very diverse in terms of ethnicity, culture, and religion. It is in this context that the national motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" is important to instill in youths. So that awareness arises from them that even though Indonesia is diverse, it must remain *unity in diversity*.

Youths, especially those studying at university, can actually be pioneers of the deradicalization movement. Youths can emulate great figures in the world of movements in Indonesia without having to become radicalists. One of the great figures that is important to emulate is Ahmad Wahib (1942-1973). He is a campus activist who continues to struggle in the search for identity through his thoughts. It was through the struggle of his thoughts that monumental works were born; *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam:*

Catatan Harian Ahmad Wahib. Together with his friends in the group “*Lingkaran Diskusi Limited Group*”, Ahmad Wahib has discussed various themes around religion, culture and society, in the Indonesian context (Ali, 2003). Another figure who became a legend and is worthy of emulation is Nurcholish Madjid (1939-2005). Tirelessly, young Nurcholish continued to spread the idea of “Islam Yes, Islamic Party No”. This idea is part of Nurcholish's great aspirations to refresh the religious understanding of the people (Madjid, 1993). The work of Ahmad Wahib and Nurcholish Madjid is worthy of being an inspiration for youths to have a dialogue on religious values, modernity and Indonesianness. It is in this context that youths play an important role in the deradicalization movement. Youths must actively discuss civic values themes such as Pancasila ideology, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), democracy, pluralism, and multiculturalism.

Historical facts have shown that educated youth, including university students, always play an active role in various events that determine the nation's journey. Through the theory of the 20-year cycle, we see that the contribution of youths in the history of nation-building is very prominent. This can be observed through several historical events which show the important role of youth as a driving force for change in the nation. The 20-year cycle began with the events of the national awakening (1908), the youth oath (1928), the proclamation of independence (1945), the student movement (1966), to reform (1998). Although it only showed results in 1998, the critical attitude of youths and students towards various government policies that did not side with the people actually began in the mid-1980s (Rahardjo, 1993). At that time, youths who were represented by student strength never seemed to get tired of providing sharp corrections and criticisms of the New Order regime. As a result, the student movement was able to topple the New Order regime and the leadership of President Suharto. The reform era which later replaced the New Order in this context can be said to be an accumulation of various corrections and criticisms from youths.

The progress of youths as reflected in the 20-year cycle shows that they actually have a scientific culture as well as great organizational and network building skills. But it is very unfortunate, this culture was immersed in the political frenzy during the reform era. In fact, we witness the strengthening of political interest among youths. Today's youth tend to show more interest in practical politics by becoming party activists, members of the legislature, and successful teams in regional head elections. Meanwhile, the progress of youths who move through cultural paths feels less well-placed. This can be observed from how little achievement youths have in international Olympics, research, social work, and applied research that is useful in people's lives. The involvement of youths in political activities has found the right momentum in line with the multi-party policy. Local political dynamics in the regions also provide an open space for youths to take part through political channels. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that currently there has been an increase in “political passion” among youths.

The irony is that this increase in political passion does not only occur in the regions, but also on a national scale. Among the indicators is the joining of some young intellectuals in the management of political parties. Even though they were previously classified as young intellectuals who were critical and independent from a number of well-known campuses in Indonesia. As a consequence of the increase in the political

passion of youths, their progress and struggles are mostly channeled through various political activities. This phenomenon clearly shows that some youths are tempted by political life which is considered to have a more promising future. As a result, the scientific culture and critical thinking that should be the spirit of the struggle of youths continues to be eroded. What happened then was a culture of loyalty to the party leadership. As a result, there is no longer any fighting idealism that encourages youth activities. The increase in youth's political interest also creates a culture that is easily divided as a consequence of differences in political choices. The struggle of youths is no longer based on long-term interests, but for pragmatic, short-term goals and calculations of power politics.

The choice of some youths to take part in politics is clearly a right that must be respected. Their choice to become party activists must also be seen as the most basic political right. However, problems will arise if the choices of youths who take part in politics practically become mainstream. Under these conditions the journey of youths will always be colored by intrigue and tug-of-war of political interests. As a result, there will be an increase in the mobilization of youth resources for practical political interests. If this condition occurs, the power of the youth will definitely be divided into several political factions. Responding to these various choices, all the energy of youths should not be spent on acting through political channels. There must be a commitment from some of them to continue to take part through cultural channels by becoming intellectuals, researchers, athletics, arts and culture workers, and other social workers.

In that context, inviting youths to contribute to countering radicalism is important. With great knowledge and organizational skills, youths are in an important position to fight against various forms of radicalism. In other words, it is important for youths who are studying at schools and campuses to be involved in the deradicalization movement. There are at least three reasons why educational institutions must be involved in the deradicalization movement. First, educational institutions have a set of knowledge. Human resources and knowledge in educational institutions can be a valuable capital in supporting the deradicalization movement. Second, educational institutions have an even network throughout the country. If educational institutions are able to maximize their potential, the deradicalization movement will be effective. Third, the fact is that in many incidents of radicalism and terrorism, youths are involved as the main actors. Youth is a group that is very vulnerable to exposure to radicalism ideology. For this reason, it is important for youths as part of the educational ecosystem to involve themselves in the deradicalization movement.

Deradicalization and Internalization of Civic Values

The need to cultivate civic values among the nation's citizens feels so urgent in the midst of rampant incidents of radicalism and terrorism involving so many youths. This is due to the fact that we live in a very pluralistic environment. In the perspective of social theories, the plurality of society in general can be seen from a horizontal perspective, such as differences in religion, ethnicity, local language, geography, clothing, food, and other material culture. Meanwhile, when viewed from a vertical perspective, the plurality of society is evident through differences in educational status, economy, settlement, employment, and other socio-cultural levels (Pelly & Menanti,

1994). It is in this context that Indonesia is classified as a very pluralistic country. Indonesia is an archipelagic country with the largest number of islands in the world. The number of islands in this country reaches 17,667 large and small islands. Even though in one of the 1928 Youth Pledges it was agreed to speak one national language, in reality there are still 350 ethnicities, customs, cultures according to certain environmental conditions. More than 700 regional languages are used to communicate with various ethnic groups and tribes, including those in the interior. This reality shows that it is very hard to believe that Indonesia is one country. Therefore, all elements of the nation must maintain diversity so that Indonesia remains a unitary state.

If not managed properly, the plurality factor has the potential to become a source of conflict within society. Yet pluralism is a necessity. In the perspective of Islamic teachings, it is even emphasized that pluralism is part of Allah's determination (*sunnatullah*). In the Qur'an, it is emphasized that if Allah wills, then all humans will be made into one people. However, this was not done because Allah wanted to test and command humans to compete to be the best on earth (*fastabiq al-khairat*). By relying on Words of Allah, we should try to show ourselves as the best people. Among the best ummah categories are those who have a strong commitment to upholding human values regardless of ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. Commitment to these human values is expected to become an important pillar in building a life of peace, tolerance and mutual respect. These values become part of civic values, which are important to be developed among youths through educational institutions

Even though every individual has distinction, that should not prevent him from working with others. This ideal desire turns out to be much inconsistent in social life. Due to differences in ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds, a person or group is involved in a horizontal conflict, thus forgetting human values. What is concerning is that in each of these conflicts it is generally accompanied by violent behavior. Radicalism has now also penetrated into the world of education. The phenomenon of brawls between students and anarchistic demonstrations involving educated circles shows how radicalism is growing at dawn in educational institutions, starting at the elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels. The trend of radicalism in the world of education is also shown in the case of the involvement of a number of high school students (SMA) and university students in religious movements with radical ideologies such as the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII). In the NII case, it appears that there has been a fairly systematic attempt by the radicalism network to involve students.

Even today there is a tendency for acts of terrorism to involve children. Among the examples are the incidents that occurred in Surabaya on May 13 and 14 2018. Children of elementary, junior high, and senior high school ages were involved by their parents in a series of suicide bombings. These children have become victims of ideology from the understandings and beliefs of their parents. They obey whatever their parents order, including committing suicide bombings. As part of a pluralistic nation, we are of course very sad to see that there is a lot of radicalism based on differences in ethnicity, culture, and religion, and religious understanding. In particular, incidents of radicalism with a religious background and religious understanding seem to continue to increase. For example, we witnessed the bloody conflict in Sampang, Madura, East Java. This conflict involved adherents of the Shi'a and anti-Shia sects. There were also social

conflicts involving the Ahmadiyya and anti-Ahmadiyya groups in several areas. In social conflicts with nuances of differences in religious understanding, minority groups are always the victims. In these cases, there has even been destruction of assets, expulsions, physical violence, even murders, which involve different religions and religious understandings.

These several incidents show how we as a nation known by other nations as a nation that is very tolerant and civilized, have not yet prepared ourselves well to live together in diversity. The basic values of national and state life which are summarized in Sanskrit; “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*” in its implementation is still far from expectations. By borrowing the term Abdul Mukti Ali (1923-2004), we should be committed to realizing a culture of agree in disagreement. The view of Mukti Ali, the former Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, clearly requires that every believer and adherent of a true religious understanding have differences and similarities (Ali, 1992). The task of each adherent of a religion and a adherent of a religious understanding is to find points of similarity and understand differences. That's why we should realize that ethnic, cultural and religious plurality is a necessity, and has even become the determination of Allah (*sunnatullah*).

In a multi-ethnic, cultural, and religious society, we must instill civic values such as democracy, pluralism, and multiculturalism in every citizen of the nation. The role of building a cultured community life is also the responsibility of educational institutions. In this context students must gain adequate insight in order to be able to apply civic values in all aspects of life. So far, the inculcation of civic values in students has been carried out through various activities, for example, through Civic Education learning. Civic values education is in line with the goals of national education, namely developing the potential of students to become human beings who believe in and fear God Almighty, have noble character, are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens. answer. For some experts, Civic Education is identified with Democracy Education. While some others interpret Civic Education with Citizenship Education (Hidayat, 2006). Even though they have different perspectives, learning Civic Education is very important to grow civic culture among youths.

Civic Education learning aims to foster an understanding of government, constitution, state institutions, rule of law, rights and obligations of citizens, democratic processes, and active participation of citizens in civil society. Teaching Civic Education is apparently not only carried out in Indonesia. Experience in developed cultural countries also shows a similar step (Wiranataputra, 2008). Although it must be admitted, a number of countries have used different terms such as *Civic Education* (USA), *Citizenship Education* (Inggris), *Sachunterricht* (Jerman), *Obscevovedine* (Rusia), *Education Civicas* (Mexico), *Civics* (Australia), *Social Studies* (New Zealand), *Life Orientation* (Afrika Selatan), *People and Society* (Hungaria), *Civics and Moral Education* (Singapore), and *Ta'limat Muwathanah* atau *Tarbiyatul Wathaniyah* (Timur Tengah). Even though they use different terms, the substance that they want to instill in students is civic values. The goal is for future generations to have Indonesian characteristics and high integrity.

In Indonesia, Civic Education is positioned as a compulsory subject in the national education curriculum, starting from elementary, secondary, to higher education

levels. This shows that the government is committed to instilling civic values in youths. Civic Education learning gains momentum because simultaneously we witness that in the life of the nation and state there are so many cases of radicalism. The current trend of radicalism is also allegedly continuing to strengthen. In fact, various incidents of radicalism have used religious symbols as a medium to play on the religious emotions of the people. The phenomenon of radicalism with religious nuances has manifested itself in various radical movements that are rife in Indonesia. If we examine further, it can be said that one of the elements targeted by the radicalism movement is youths. This can be observed from several cases of terrorism and radicalism involving youths, especially students. As a group that is vulnerable to being the target of radical movement regeneration, students must be invited to be involved in the deradicalization program. Besides that, it is also important to internalize civic values through educational institutions (Biyanto, 2019). In this way, the spirit of nationalism of the youth will continue to grow so that they are proud of being a nation and state of Indonesia.

Youth Deradicalization: A Philosophical Perspective

The philosophical perspective used in this study refers to the critical philosophy of ideology of Jurgen Habermas. He is the second generation of the Frankfurt School. He is also known as a companion to Hans George Gadamer (1900-2002). He is one of the most prominent successors of critical theory. Habermas formulated ideological criticism as a philosophical reflection to liberate human knowledge from hidden or obscure interests. By carrying out ideological criticism, society will awaken from the false awareness that is continuously instilled by the ruling group to perpetuate their power (Hardiman, 2009). It is in that context that Habermas has presented a different understanding of ideology. In general, ideology is interpreted as a whole value system regarding the goals to be achieved as well as the strategies to achieve these goals. For Habermas, the word ideology refers to false awareness (Lubis, 2015). Thus, what is meant by ideological criticism in this context is a conscious effort to dismantle the interests that underlie various incidents of radicalism and deradicalization programs.

Habermas' critique of ideology is formulated in four stages; (1) interpreting the existing conditions, (2) reflecting on the various factors that caused the incidents observed, (3) preparing an agenda to improve conditions, and (4) evaluating the achievements of the efforts that have been made (Lubis, 2015). By using the analysis of Habermas' ideological critical philosophy, we can conduct an in-depth study of the causes of various incidents of radicalism and terrorism. Furthermore, we can also evaluate the government's deradicalization program. Through an analysis of Habermas's ideological criticism, we can anticipate the influence of modernism and global world conditions on the emergence of fundamentalist groups in Indonesia. This is because groups with a fundamentalist ideology generally intend to respond to the challenges posed by modernization and aim to offer Islamic ideology. They wish to make Islam an alternative ideology that replaces modern-secular ideology. However, because many ideologues are also social and political activists, the typology of fundamentalist movements reflects a more radical character (Ahady, 1992).

It is in this context that terrorism is associated with radical and reactionary fundamentalist religious movements in various parts of the world. The development of

the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism then emphasizes the political dimension of Islamic movements. This is partly due to the shift in organizational figures from religious experts (theologians) to social thinkers and political activists. This development can be especially observed in the Sunni fundamentalist tradition (Sidahmed & Ehtesami, 1996). As a result, in a Western perspective, Islamic fundamentalism has a new connotation which means radicalism. Western mass media also often use the label fundamentalism to almost all religious movements that tend to use violence to achieve their goals. The term fundamentalism is commonly given to political movement groups from Palestine, Algeria, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Afghanistan, Yemen and Syria. Even in Indonesia, a country with a majority Muslim population, the terms fundamentalism and radicalism are often used interchangeably. This is understandable because the ideology of fundamentalism and radicalism in the political context has many goals in common.

In an effort to fight the ideology of radical groups, what is important is not to provide opportunities for the emergence of radicalism and terrorism. This desire will be achieved if the factors that trigger the emergence of radicalism and terrorism are minimized. Included in the category of triggering factors in this context are social injustices, both on a global, national and local scale. Economic, legal, and political injustice must also be a common concern. One more thing that is very important to note in this deradicalization movement is the matter of the interests of the elite. The issue of conflicting interests of elite groups, both civilian and military, must be put away if we want Indonesia to be free from incidents of radicalism and terrorism. The handling of large-scale corruption cases that are currently of public concern must also be resolved by law enforcement officials by upholding the principle of justice. If these corruption cases are not carried out fairly, then the issue of legal injustice will definitely trigger incidents of radicalism and terrorism.

The issue of law enforcement is important to be the attention of the government and political elites so that the latent dangers of radical ideology do not manifest into radicalism and terrorism movements. A factor that should not be overlooked is the meaning of the teachings of jihad which are often partially understood by perpetrators of radicalism and terrorism. In this context, it is important for youths to fully understand Islamic teachings about jihad. In the viewpoint of the Qur'an, an earnest effort to do everything is called jihad. The word jihad has the same root as *ijtihad*, namely *jahd*. It's just that the term *ijtihad* comes from the Hadith, while *jihad* comes from the Qur'an. The substance of the words *ijtihad* and *jihad* is earnest (*total endeavour*), that is, mobilizing all energy, power, funds, and thoughts so that the values that are blessed by Allah are realized. In the perspective of Hubermas' ideological criticism philosophy, the accumulation of political, economic, legal, social, cultural, and system of belief issues must be a concern for understanding radicalism and terrorism movements.

Youths, including college students, as civil society forces who have proven their contribution in the history of the nation's journey, have an important position in the deradicalization movement. Youths can also become a moral force to urge the government to be serious about realizing good governance. Included in this connection is the issue of example from leaders. According to Haedar Nashir, leaders at each level must be good at managing their words and maintaining their behavior. In other words, the public of this country must really have integrity by making words and actions as one

unit (Nashir, 2018). The culture of being corrupt, consumptive, hedonic, materialistic, and breaking the rules must be completely avoided to set an example in life. If the government and elite groups fail to realize the nation's noble ideals and leadership with integrity, then radicalism and terrorism will flourish. Students can also take a role by continuing to discuss themes about civic values, such as democracy, pluralism and multiculturalism.

Undoubtedly, the democratic values that are currently thriving in developed countries are ideas that are in line with the principle of deliberation (*syura*) in Islam. Although it must be admitted that there are still many democratic practices that are contrary to Islamic values (Ubaidillah & Rozak, 2006). But all these problems must be a challenge for all elements of the nation. Our task is to guard that democracy is not only understood procedurally. What is far more important are the substantive values in the teachings of democracy itself. In addition to democracy, efforts to foster pluralism and multiculturalism values are also important. In this case pluralism does not have to be understood as an understanding that teaches that all religions are equal and correct, as understood by the *Indonesian Ulama Council* (MUI) (Hadriyanto, 2007). Based on this understanding, the MUI condemned secularism, pluralism, and liberalism as misguided and misleading teachings. Even though the definition put forward by the MUI is only one of many academic notions of pluralism (Hasyim, 2015).

According to Diana L. Eck, pluralism is different from diversity, passive tolerance, and relativism. The substance of pluralism teaches dialogue across ethnicities, cultures and religions. Pluralism also requires that the parties involved in the dialogue are committed to sharing and open to criticism (Eck, 1993). This more humanist model of dialogue must be developed to replace dialogue that emphasizes a theological approach. Interfaith dialogue that is theological in nature must be replaced with humanitarian dialogue so that interpersonal and interreligious relations become more open. Meanwhile, multiculturalism is an understanding that teaches the importance of recognizing cultural plurality. Multiculturalism also requires the majority group to accommodate minority groups so that their unique identity is maintained (Kymlicka, 1995). Recognition of cultural plurality in time fosters concern so that minority groups are integrated into society. The majority group must also accommodate the differences of the minority groups so that their unique identity is still recognized. The direction of multiculturalism is to create, guarantee and promote public space so as to enable various communities to grow and develop according to their respective characteristics. If properly understood, pluralism and multiculturalism can be a solution to symptoms of radicalism against a background of ethnic, cultural, religious and religious understanding differences.

Conclusion

Since radicalism has become a socio-religious phenomenon, effort to fight radical ideology is a necessity. It is in this context that educational institutions must take a role in the deradicalization movement by cultivating civic values among youths. Youths as one of the educational ecosystems must be pioneers in the deradicalization program. Youths can become propagators of civic values such as democracy, pluralism, and multiculturalism as a long-term endeavor to ward off radicalism. By continuing to discuss civic values in time, we will see changes in behavior in youths so that they become a strategic component for fostering civic culture. The problem lies in the strategy used; whether the civic values are institutionalized separately in the curriculum structure or through insertion in certain courses. If you look at the structure of the curriculum which is already so fat it seems that the inserting strategy will be more relevant. Apart from learning, exemplary issues must be a concern. If exemplary success is realized, then youths will surely find a figure worthy of exemplary in the life of society, nation, and state.

Taking into account the progress of youth in the history of the nation's development, it must be acknowledged that they actually have a strategic role in the deradicalization program. Based on Habermas' theory of ideological criticism, ideological issues are important to pay attention to if we want to involve youths in deradicalization programs. The counter-ideological narrative of radicalism must be continuously carried out by all elements of the nation. Most importantly, the internalization of ideological values in the deradicalization program is carried out by considering the human aspect. It is in this context that the deradicalization movement is important in the form of cross-cultural and religious dialogue for the benefit of humanity. Dialogue in this case does not have to be understood formally, but informal dialogue, for example through art performances, theatrical games, music, sports, and social services. It is through informal encounters that people will forget social status, culture, ethnicity, ideology, and religion, which in formal situations can be the distance that differentiates between individuals. The task of all elements of the nation is to increase informal meetings to reduce prejudice between different individuals and groups, especially among youths.

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