

# RADICALISM IN SANTRI'S SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

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**ABSTRACT**--*This research intends to explore the social construction process of Santri (Students) in Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) about radicalism. The research method used in this study is qualitative with a phenomenological design. This research involved 70 santri from two well-known Pesantren in Java, namely Hikmatul Qur'an and Darul Qur'an. The important findings of this research are 1) externalization of the phenomenon of islamic radicalism among Santri forming an understanding that Islam is a strong religion so that many parties want to weaken it; 2) internalization of the meaning of radicalism among Santri forms the understanding that radicalism is a political term, not derived from the dictionary of religion, so that radicalism itself is more accurately referred to as the stigmatization of religious groups; and 3) objectification of radicalism is influenced by media coverage, group discussions, and religious lecturers, which gave birth to the idea that radicalism is not identical with Islam and there is state intervention in establishing radicalism in Islam. The conclusion of this research is that the meaning of radicalism needs to be clarified through socialization in Pesantren, this is intended to restore the image of Islam as a peaceful religion and has a strong intellectual tradition.*

**Keywords**-- *social construction, santri, radicalism*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Religious radicalism that emerged and developed in Indonesia, both ideologically and politically radicals, was inseparable from the development and theological thinking that occurred in West Asia, both Islamic thought that developed in medieval (classical) which was influential pioneered by Ibn Taymiyah (1263-1328), as well as during the New Islamic era spearheaded by Abdullah bin Abdul Wahab (1703-1791) who reconstructed the thought of Ibn Taymiyyah (Eliraz, 2004).

The figure that is considered sufficient to influence the religiosity of some Muslims, especially the "radical" group today is Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966). The strong influence of his thought on radical groups is finally by John L. Esposito, Sayyid Qutb is referred to be the godfather (Esposito & Voll, 2003). Mention as a godfather by John L. Esposito, may be it is because Sayyid Qutb offers a concept that is considered unusual in realizing an ideal society, called by *jihad*.

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For Sayyid Qutb, only by jihad, people will be released from un-Islamic life. The aspiration to realize a society that run the rules in accordance with the Shari'ah will become a reality. Therefore, Muslims must be active and offensive to fight the enemy.

Getting into the XXI century, there were many organizations which established with agendas that were not much different from religious organizations which were founded a century earlier, such as *Muhammadiyah*, *Persis*, *Al irshad* and so on. MMI, HTI, JAT, FKAWJ, PKS, etc. are organizations that have the same agenda, it is the effort to restore Islam to Islam during the time of the Prophet and Companions (Jati, 2013). Many observers believe that this organization is the long arm of *Ihwanul Muslimin and Wahabi*. In other words, these organizations are another face of *Ihwanul Muslimin and Wahabi* (Arifianto, 2018).

The mutual influence behavior between one thought with another thought, one group with another group, one organization with another organization is one thing that can not be avoided, and it is an inevitability that will definitely occur. IM, Wahabi, Jamaat Islami, Refah, Tandzim Alqaida by many social and political scholars are believed to influence many religious movements in Indonesia (Van Bruinessen, 2002). That influence also makes the face of Islam in some parts do not become the Indonesian face. It is Hard-faced Islam that later has colored Indonesia for the past 15 years.

Not all hypotheses put forward by all scholars are wrong. In the last 15 years in Indonesia there have been many "radical" religious organizations, transnational movements whose mean is different from the mean adopted by most Islamic practitioners in Indonesia (Fealy, 2004). As a result of these differences the organizations that carry radicalism with their transitional movements must be resisted and fought. For the opponents of the transitional movement, the threat to Indonesia does not come in the form of abroad military force. The real threat is actually within the country, in the form of a hard-line ideology movement.

The bombings that have occurred in Indonesia in recent years, prove and confirm that the radical movements influenced by hardline religious organizations abroad are true. The "Cooperation" between Imam Samudra and Dr. Azahari reinforces the thesis that the transitional movement influenced by Tandzim Al Qaida has entered and infiltrated into people's lives in Indonesia. Imam Samudra's confession that he carried out the bombing in the name of Jihad was done after he "asked" the fatwa of the mujahidin who called by Imam Samudra as Ahlut Tsughur. Ahlut Tsughur is a term for Mujahidin scholars who are on the battlefield. These scholars are used as a guide for the mujahidin in resolving disputes, as Sufyan bin Uyainah said, "If you see humans having disputes, then you should follow (opinions) Mujahidin and Ahlut tsughur" (Hadiz, 2008).

For Imam Samudra and other bombers, jihad is something that must be carried out. There is no reason to stop or cause jihad to stop just because there is no caliph. As said by Ibn Qudama, that in fact the absence of an Imam does not cause the jihad is delayed, because the benefit of jihad will be disrupted by the delay. Especially from the West (the United States and its allies) are so aggressive and blindly fighting the Eastern world (Islam) that resulted in the destruction of the social system of civilization that exists in the attacked countries.

The problem of Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, which is not being resolved, is stirring the Imam Samudra Group to demand revenge for the Western cruelty of Islam. The place and time of jihad can be carried out anywhere in the world as long as there are Western interests. Imam Samudra's group believes that a global warfare is indeed taking place. In addition, as a trigger for global warfare, there is the statement of George W. Bush who said the crusade. In other words, it is the real United States (US) that started it first. The US is the

one who has spread the minefields by carrying out terror in various Islamic countries in the world. George W. Bush's statement was later responded to by Usama bin Laden as an invitation to the US war against Muslims. The call for jihad was later resounded, the call turned out to be much welcomed by Muslims (Rabasa, 2014). No exception with the group of Imam Samudra who then carried out bombings against the US interests and its allies in Indonesia.

Looking at the history of Imam Samudra's life journey which is long enough doing jihad in Afghanistan, he has indirectly introduced himself to the Tandzim Al Qaeda commanded by Ayman Al Zawahiry, Abu Mus ab, Abu Ayyub, Mullah Umar, Osama bin Laden and so on. Al-Qaeda group, in the eyes of the mujahidin, is seen as the most persistent against the West in an effort to liberate Afghanistan with a population of Muslim. Therefore, it is proper that then Imam Samudra would rather trust the fatwas issued by Ahluts Tsughur scholars than to the qa'idin scholars. Since Imam Samudra set foot in Afghanistan, the spirit of jihad in defending Islam is so strong, that he prefers to live on the battlefield defending of Islam to having to live a "normal" life (Interview with Abu Ghufron, 6 May 2009). In his evidence, Abu Gufron said that Imam Samudra returned to see his family only 3 to 5 months. After that Imam Samudra will go again for a long time to Islamic countries which are struggling to defend themselves from the arbitrariness of Western countries.

The contacts that Imam Samudra often makes with the Mujahideen in various countries, especially in Afghanistan, become one that influence the Imam Samudra Group. Therefore, it is very difficult to say that events occurred in one country are not affected by events in other countries. There is a historical link that cannot be avoided when the world has entered into a world that is not insulated. If it is seen from the various events of radicalism / terror that occurred in Indonesia from 2000 until now, it can be said that the suspected terrorists offender "all of them" have an educational background of "*pesantren*". It can be said that almost all terror events in the form of bombs after they can be revealed by the apparatus that the doers are people who have been in touch with the *pesantren* world.

In responding and anticipating the emergence of radicalism / terrorism the government then made a policy to "intervene" *pesantren* by making a de-radicalization program by carrying out anti-terror trainings (Lim, 2005). This is done because the government sees that there is something wrong in the curriculum that is applied in the *pesantren*, because of that error, so there is a need for countermeasures by implementing a curriculum that is in line with Indonesian tastes, in other words, it is done in order to *pesantren* graduates have a sense of nationalism as expected. Therefore, the government's effort to eliminating radicalism is continue to do, in hope that Indonesia will not enter into a tomb of prolonged of conflict as happens in the country so that it becomes an insecure country or region. Related to this problem, the writer tried to look at *Santri's* Social Construction of Radicalism Phenomena. There must have been many scientific works that discuss this issue, but this paper is different from the work that has been published because the *santries* observed are the students whose parents are accused of being terrorists or stigmatized as followers of radical movements.

## II. METHODS

This study used a qualitative research approach with the phenomenological method. Qualitative research is a research that more prioritizes the problem process and meaning / perception, from this research, it is expected

that it is able to reveal various qualitative information with careful and meaningful analysis-description, which also does not reject quantitative information in the form of numbers or quantity (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). The method used was a method commonly used in social research, the phenomenology method. Phenomenology is a scientific approach that aims to examine and describe phenomena as they are experienced directly without any process of interpretation and abstraction (Dowling, 2007; Husserl, 1999).

This study involved 70 Santries from two well-known pesantren in Java, they are Hikmatul Qur'an Pesantren and Darul Qur'an Pesantren. In this research, observations were made to see how santri in understanding radicalism which in the last decade has become a very hot issue discussed. Those were made on two pesantren focused in this study, they were the Hikmatul Qur'an Surakarta Pesantren and the Darul Qur'an Pekalongan Pesantren. Researchers made observations by entering and participating in activities that exist in pesantren. In this way (participants) were hoped that the problems existed in the pesantren (santri) can be recorded, noted properly, so that the expected results could meet the desires as the researchers expect.

In qualitative research, documents are a very important component. Said to be important because in the document, it is stored information needed in a study. Documents come from sources either from primary sources, sources obtained from the testimony of someone with their own eyes or five other senses, or with mechanical devices such as dictates, ie people or devices present at the event he told. The primary source that the researcher used in this study was direct interviews with Santries and religious teachers in Islamic boarding schools. In addition, the primary sources in this study also used data that come from secondary sources. The source in the form of everyone, who is not a witness, evidences who did not watch for themselves in an event, in historical science is often referred to an eye witness, i.e. from someone who was not present at the event he told. The sources (documents) used by the author included books about pesantren, radical movements, newspapers, photographs, letters, journals both national and international which are relevant to the problem. The data analysis model used in this study was an interactive model (Miles et al., 2014).

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### *3.1 Radicalism: Santri's Sociological-Historical Assumptions*

Radicalism is a problem that has been widely discussed in the 2000s to the present, both by social experts and by society in general. All are busy debating what radicalism really is both in terms of meaning, the purpose of the movement, the factors that cause the movement, as a result of radicalism, who or from which group the radicalism movement often appears, etc. In short, everyone was very enthusiastic to debate and find the answers. In general what is meant by radicalism is back to the beginning, because the root of the word radicalism comes from the word *radik* which means root (KBBI, 2017). Looking at the meaning of it, then radicalism can be interpreted as an effort to re-implement religious teachings based on the teachings as how the beginning of it was revealed, or in the view of the Rifyal Kaaba: "a movement which aims to return to the basic ideas and practices which characterized Islam in its earliest days", a movement that aims to return to the basic ideas and practices that characterized Islam at the beginning of its history (Van Bruinessen, 2002). In contrast to what Saifudin said that interpreting radicals as a large and comprehensive meaning, hard, firm, advanced and sharp (in thinking) (Saifudin, 2011). What he said was not wrong because he related the radical meaning in the political point of view of the state. Therefore, if radicals are understood that way, then radicals should not be interpreted as something

negative (Martin van Bruinesen, 19994). Consequently, it is not then in understanding the meaning of radicals must always be interpreted as a negative that opposed to the values that develop in society. Moreover, this research was related to the Islamic religion, of course what is meant by radical meaning is the effort to carry out religious teachings based on the Qur'an, a collection of divine revelations and as Sunnah, all theological activities of the prophet which are used as a source of truth.

At the ontological level, interpreting radicalism by referring back to the roots of the initial teachings in religion is not something wrong nor is it then that people who try to carry out their religious teachings in accordance with the original source in this case the Qur'an and Sunnah must be common enemies, because actually radicalism is a religious teaching that contains truth that is based on revelation. If then the meaning of radicalism must be drawn in the epistemological region, then what happens is a long debate among experts in interpreting radicalism which then the debate is like never ending. And of course this article will discuss more about the meaning of radicalism in its epistemological region.

The distinction in interpreting radicalism had occurred because each person, including santri, had a different academic footing by one another, so that their perspectives were different (Wasino et al., 2019). This difference of perspective is greatly influenced by how someone looked at something which then influences social attitudes as desired by each expert. The result of all this is that radicalism is not infrequently interpreted the same with the meaning of fundamentalism even with jihad.

As the researchers have mentioned in other parts, when radicalism is then interpreted to be the same as other meanings, so what happens is a mistake in looking at problems in the field. It is said to be wrong because there is a coercive attempt to describe it, so the meaning obtained is very different from the supposed meaning. Especially then the radicalism that occurs must be connected with Islamic teachings. The consequences as understood by society today is that radicalism is part of the teachings of Islam.

Wherefore, radicalism is considered as part of Islamic teachings, and then the wrong understanding develops, which equalize the meaning of radicalism with fundamentalism. The two vocabularies are very different and meaningful indeed. The meaning of Radicalism, as the author has mentioned in the previous section, is returning to the roots or returning of religious teachings at the beginning of the religious teachings revealed. From this meaning, anyone who attempt to restore religious understanding as the religion was first revealed, it can be said that the effort is stated to be a radical act. Meanwhile, fundamentalism is an unknown tradition and does not originate from Islam. The fundamentalism term is actually a known term and derived from the Protestant Christian tradition. This term arises because of the anxiety that occurred among the higher-ups when he saw the development of community life that is considered to have deviated from the Bible's teaching. Therefore, they try to return the fundamental teachings of Christian which is interpreting religious teachings based on the Bible book rigidly and literally. Though in the end the fundamentalism then must be interpreted as radicalism so it can be said that it is completely inaccurate and forced, because as Sun Choirol Ummah said, fundamentalism has interpretable meanings, which have other meanings that sometimes unclear the intended meaning (Sun Choirol Ummah, 2012). Meanwhile, Yusri Ihza Mahendra firmly said that the use of the word fundamentalism to refer to Islamic teachings is not very neutral and very tendentious (Yusri Ihza Mahendra, 1999). It may be that his disagreement is because of the meaning of fundamentalism as Anzar Abdullah said, he more expose liberalism in interpreting religious texts, and end in actions with tight insights, which often produce

distruction and anarchic actions (Anzar Abdullah, 2016). Although the fudamentalism term does not originate and is not an Islamic tradition, as Yousef M. Choueiri said, the term of fundamentalism is eventually more and more attached and "imposed" into the Islamic world (Yousef M. Choueiri, 1990). Such labeling by the West to Islam is a form of religious harassment because in Islam there are no commands towards violence.

It is even more absurd when some experts later equate the meaning of radicalism with the meaning of jihad. This equalization is clearly very wrong and very tendentious, because the meaning of jihad is very different from the meaning of radical, fundamental or other terms especially with terrorists. Jihad is a holy teaching which has a very important position in Islam. Jihad is the culmination of practice in Islam (dzirwatussanamihi al jihad on sabilillah) which is by Ibn Taymiyya it was positioned as the roof of religion. The same thing was also said by al Maududi and Sayyid Qutb, who placed jihad as the most important religious obligation. Jihad is the duty of all Muslim men, especially when their religion is under attack. The consequences of ignoring jihad or abandoning it are disoedient attitude and very great sin deed (Youssep M. Choueiri, 2003).

Although there are parts of the community / experts who equate the radical meaning is the same with jihad later, it cannot be blamed, because there are factors that influence them so that they holds that view. The alignment of radical and jihad can be seen by the Islamic historian John L. Esposito when discussing the issue of jihad. For him jihad is a concept that has multiple meanings that are used and misused throughout Islamic history (Esposito, 2003). Jihad in his perception is a problem that has not been completed and has not been resolved in its meaning. He further said that jihad is in fact a radical movement, a movement of violence and terrorism which is used as a symbol in the fight against western hegemony. Therefore, to solve this problem, it is necessary to have wisdom in interpreting it so that the answers can be found as expected and it does not deviate the meaning (Ibnu Sodiq, 2009).

For most people, jihad is something that is very frightening and must be avoided. Even though, this is not for jihadists, jihad is a sacred practice that must be carried out by Muslims as the obligation of other religions. This obligation must be fulfilled when a Muslim finds other Muslims persecuted and oppressed. For the jihadists, Muslims are like one body, if there are parts of the body that are sick then the pain will be felt all of them, the parable of the Muslims in loving each other, caring and helping the weak is like one body. If one member of the body feels pain, all other parts of the body have difficulty to sleep and get fever (Abu Dawut, HR. Bukhari in Kiyabul Adab. No. 6011). They strongly believe that defending religion by jihad, then he will get a reward in the form of heaven. Such a strong belief because they based on a hadist of the Prophet narrated by Abu Dawud, At Tirmidzi, An Nasa'i and Ahmad who informs how great the jihad is:

"Whoever fights in the way of Allah even just for a moment, he must enter the Heaven. Anyone who asks God honestly to die in the way of Allah and then he dies or is killed, then he gets a reward of martyrdom. Anyone who is injured in the way of Allah or spilled his blood will come in abundance on the Day of Judgment, in which the color is the Zafaron tint and the smell is the smell of misik. Whoever comes out of pus in the way of Allah, and then he gets a stamp of martyrs".

The alignment of radical with jihad may be due to the failure of Western scholars in seeing phenomena that occur in society, especially Islamic societies. It seems that they only look at it from the physical / performance side, as a result when they see some Muslims doing jihad, then jihad is nothing more than a Muslim army carrying swords attacking various regions of the Middle East who forces non-Muslims to convert to Islam. That

is the way they see the image, so that any facts and arguments put forward by Muslims are difficult to be accepted by Western society (Azyumardi Azra, 20002).

The failure in interpreting radicalism was increase when radicals then must be interpreted with a veil, short pants, black forehead and active in prayer together at the mosque for men. If then this meaning is used as a foothold, so what Yusril said is true that there is a negative tendency towards Islam as a religion which is devoted to lil alamin.

### ***3.2 Self-Identification and Santri's Social Construction Process about Radicalism***

Externalization as said by Peter L Berger is the earliest process for someone in adjusting themselves to their social environment. The adjustments to know the social environment certainly require a device that can make someone know and understand what they want. The main device used by humans to know their social environment is language. It is the main instrument for humans when they will adapt themselves to their social environment. According to Berger and Luckman, language is interpreted as a place for the storage of collective deposits obtained monetically by individuals. In a sense, language is located as a collection of sediments that are cohesive so that there is no need to reconstruct in its formation process. Language is used to give meanings, to facilitate, and understand something as knowledge related to the community, so that the individual can adjust to his social environment or vice versa. Meanwhile Habermas said that language is a means of interacting / communicating for the achievement of an understanding (Habermas, 1987, 30). Therefore, it can be that one individual can accept and can adjust it while the other individual actually rejects it. It is included in the case when the individual examines religious texts.

Religious texts relating to the issue of jihad, for example, are found in the Qur'an and as Sunnah, if it is approached with scientific ontology, which is a truth. No one will deny the truth of the prominence of jihad. Although, when the issue of jihad is then practiced by individuals who accept it and not merely discuss it, it is assured that there will be debate among individuals who both accept and reject it.

The acceptance of religious texts depends very much on the language abilities of the individual concerned. When a religious text is taught, not all individuals can accept them. It really depends on the knowledge owned by individuals in interpreting the intended religious texts. For individuals who consider jihad as a sacred teaching that must be practiced, they will practice it when it is ordered. Of course, when they do or practice jihad, it is not done wildly, but they have studied the religious texts which they follow under the guidance of their teachers who stand with them. The experience as mujahidin in various battlefields, which later when in the battlefield, they "get" the features of Allah, indirectly it becomes a stimulant for other individuals who believe that what is done by the mujahidin get the pleasure of Allah.

The existence of 3 birds that fly over Selokuro Village, the appearance of clouds by forming the writing of God with a cloudy atmosphere and the sweet smell of Amrozi's and friend's body after execution is believed to be a sign of martyrs of Amrozi and friends, which is then believed by santri to be a truth. As said by Umar;

"By looking at the events at the funeral of ustadz Amrozi, in which at the burial, three birds appeared from behind the clouds and not a few moments at the funeral of the mujahid appeared clouds bearing the recitation of Allah. I am increasingly convinced that Ustadz Amrozi and others were truly mujahid who died in the Islamic

tradition. Isn't the Prophet narrating one characteristics of a person who is martyred, his spirit will be picked up by a bird ", (interview, 3 March 2019).

Certainly, the beliefs formed in santri are not accepted instantly. The long process until the santri have such strong belief in what Amrozi does, surely starts from the social environment in which they live and they come from. In other words the social environment (family / community) that forms students has such a point of view, while the social environment (family / community) has indirectly forms students to become "strange" individuals (Azra, 2006; Hosen, 2018). Here, it is very clear that the position of language plays a quite important role in the process of forming students' beliefs.

This formation is not done in ways that are not procedural, but it is done by giving information taken from religious texts and field experience (Esposito & Voll, 2003). It is said by the field experience because the majority of students (respondents) come from families who in their lives have had contact with jihad issues. The awareness for jihad arises in the social environment gained after they get the social reality that the Islamic community is not in luck due to Western policies that do a lot of political intervention in the Islamic world. The religious texts which later become a reference, all confirm that doing opposition to Western policies that have intervened in Islamic countries is not wrong, it is obligatory to defend, because if there are Muslims killed, it is being a disaster and for who do not make a defense, they must be prepared to take responsibility for the world and beyond (interview, Said Sungkar, March 25, 2008).

The story of the mujahidin gets a lot of *karomah* like bombed but the bomb did not explode and only exploded after being moved away from the their position, a tap that suddenly flows when the they look for water for wudhu even though the tap has been worked, prisoners can be bent, corpses which is dry and continues to bleed fresh or the body of Imam Samudra who continues to recite the verses of the Qur'an even though he has been shot, etc., develops among the santri and is believed to be true. The students' beliefs of course are the result of communication between students and the social environment in which they live and then the result of communication as said by Habermas is the creation of mutual understanding between individuals (Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

However, there are many of people refused and distrusted the stories related to the *karomah* obtained by the Mujahidin. The rejection is based more on how the community looks at the reality in the field that the methods used by Imam Samudra et al have more *madlarot* side than the benefits. Many victims are caused by them, more than that the image of Islam is even worse in the eyes of the world. The form of rejection and disagreement can be seen from the language used, which said that jihad is to fight in the path of Allah, not in the way of Thamrin, the interpretation that said that jihad by the Mujahideen is a mistake that leads to error, and those acts are included in radical actions. In this regard Ilman said:

"It is very unfortunate that these people are so reckless in their religion, because of them then Islam is labeled as a radical religion that is intolerant even said as a terrorist religion. If you want jihad, don't do it in Indonesia, isn't Indonesia a country at war? If you want jihad, just do that in countries which are at war like in Afghanistan, Palestine, etc., not in Indonesia ", (interview, 15 March 2019).

In the process of communication between individuals, absolutely, the dialogue occurs between individuals in which each individual will influence each other. The dialogue will then produce a decision which will be made as a truth. When santri are in a social environment later in which the majority have the same point of view of

radicals that the meaning is only appropriate for groups that are hostile to Islam (the Western world), thus at the same time the majorities' dialectics become the winner. It is said to be the winner because the majority of individuals, who are issued from the cultural products of their social environment, agree that what is done by those who defend their religion is not a radical act but a very noble act in the eyes of religion.

The problem is when the beliefs / understanding within the santri environment are drawn to a wider social environment; the results will certainly be different because quantitatively individuals who disagree with the santri will be more numerous. This difference occurs because the discourse of radicalism is at the epistemological level which is indirectly related to religious issues. Meanwhile, when discussing religious issues, the problem of ratio will be the basis for finding the truth. Therefore, for individuals who make religion as something that must be followed, the ratio will play a role because the ratio is the source of truth. This thought is better known as the flow of rationalism. This flow is the opposite of the authority that is usually used to criticize religious teachings. While the social environment groups who do critically religious teachings are quantitatively more than individuals who accept religion as santri. The externalization of the radicalism phenomenon among santri has shaped the understanding that Islam is a strong religion so that many people want to weaken it.

Objectivity is the stage of human activity that produces objective reality whose position is outside the human self. Because it is objective, at this stage two realities appear, they are the reality that exists in human beings and the reality that is outside of humans. The next step is to start raising critical questions about a number of issues related to the problem that are easily understood.

Basically objectivity is never on the side of anyone, because it is outside of human beings, when then social reality (objectively) enters / relates to elements of the subjective elements that exist in humans, it will form an inter-subjective through the institutionalization process. The institutionalization that has been formed then proceeds to become a habit which will then become an action that will be carried out automatically. In other words, the action will be carried out without a command because it has become a mechanical action of human beings.

This relationship can be explained when words such as mujahidin, beard, robe, isbal, turban, azan, etc., are mentioned among students, so the names of Amrozi et al are repeated and continue to flow out of their mouths. The repeated and continued stories unconsciously will form a belief in the santri how Amrozi's heroism in his defense of Islam. Santri will also agree that jihad, robe, beard, turban, azan, etc., are practices of mu'akad Sunnah that cannot be abandoned unless there is a strong reason or there is an aging (Mahfud et al., 2018). Therefore, in the pesantren made to be object by the researcher, that habit has been institutionalized. Santri will immediately prepare them selves to immediately go to the mosque when the call to prayer echoes. The robe and turban (cap) clothing will become inherent attributes of the santri.

On the other hand, for individuals who refuse, of course they have different views. Mechanically they will mention that Amrozi is a Bali bomber, terrorist, radical, and beard, robe, isbal are the characteristics of radical groups and should be used as role models and they will not imitate the style of dress that has become a tradition in pesantren.

The most role and becomes an important actor in the process of awareness and habitualization of individuals or groups is the existence of agents. Almost all understandings related to religious values then in the social level there are differences; it is because the agents who deliver are also different. Jihad is not always

interpreted as qital (war) or robe, as Islamic clothing as has been institutionalized among Santri. Jihad can be interpreted as seeking knowledge, fighting against lust, etc., or robe clothing, etc. are not clothing that shows one's obedience to their religion. Likewise with the call to prayer, it is not then a person who does not pray in congregation, his prayer is not received, because the congregational prayer is seen as a virtue of worship not an obligation. Therefore, in the objectivity, to form an awareness of the role of the agent is crucial; the agent's activities determine the quality of individuals' self-awareness who is invited to interact (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Muzakki, 2014).

When Santri do something that has been institutionalized as researchers have mentioned in the previous section, it certainly cannot be separated from the interference of the Ustadz who guide them. Ustadz as an agent will certainly be followed by santri because what is taught is believed from the arguments of the studies' result of religious sources. Therefore, when the Ustadz conveyed it continuously then unconsciously it would become something that was later institutionalized, so that when the santri left it as if there was something left behind.

Meanwhile, for those who say that what santri do are part of radicalism, it could be that the formation of institutionalization is influenced by agents outside the santri community; it is government agents (security forces). Institutionalization that is formed in an individual then defines Amrozi, beard, robe, *niqob* is a form of radical, because it is more caused by a single meaning used by the government. In this connection it is interesting what is said by Michel Foucault that authority with their power can pressure other groups to follow the desires (Kazmi, 1997; Van Bruinessen, 2002). The authority with their authorities can determine what they want. In connection with this radicalism it can be said that everyone who interpret a radical with Amrozi, beard, turban is the result of a single meaning from the authority. The objectivity of radicalism is influenced by media announcement, group discussions, and kyai lectures, which delivered the idea that radicalism is not identical with Islam and there is state intervention in establishing radicalism in Islam.

Internalization is individual learning process which then he try to bind himself into his social environment values (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Hoesterey, 2012). In internalization, the individual tries to re-understand the reality that exists, then he transfers the value that exists in the objective world structures into the structure of subjective awareness. Through objectivity, society becomes a reality that is quite unique, because it will then bind humans to become societies' product. In this study the results of the communities' product can be seen from the way santri use daily clothing that is very unique and different from the members of the community at large.

Internalization will be more "mature" when then individuals gather with groups as identical as them, then interaction will be more fluid. The barriers that become obstacles in the activity of the social environment in which individuals live will be lost. The comfortable feeling rose because they feel "protected" and makes individuals more independent in their activities. Being to gether with similar individuals, at the same time, a different group of individuals is created. Starting from those classification, thus it came the term of Salafi or even Wahhabi for groups that physically have bearded characteristics, robe, turban, etc. while the groups outside called Salafi santri will then be referred to as traditional santri (salafiyah). Unconsciously, groupings that occur in the community result in non-smooth communication, especially when it has entered into religious practice (Santosa, 1997). Even if the two groups doing interaction, the matters related to the issue of "religion" are not become the topic of conversation.

The occurrence of "separation" can be traced from a long history that eventually becomes a "trade mark" that is different from one another. The eruption of the Padri War in West Sumatra was basically due to differences between the adat groups who tried to preserve the tradition and the ulama (Padri) were restless when the adat did not care about religious teachings which become an embryo of the disruption. Likewise, when the Muhammadiyah Association established in 1912 with the aim of purifying religion by opposing tuberculosis in the community, it had "offended" groups who were trying to preserve the established traditions, so NU stood as its antithesis (Abdullah, 2009).

The dialectics between traditional and puritans, who try to restore the religious teachings as in the beginning of religion was revealed, always happens all the time. It looks like this dialectics will not stop, but will continue to happen. For santri group, this dialectical will end and become an eternal synthesis when Imam Mahdi descends to earth as an individual in charge of organizing the world (the glory of Islam) which begins first with the establishment of the Caliphate as a sign. Internalization of the radicalism meaning among santri forms an understanding that radicalism is a political term, not derived from the dictionary of religion, so that radicalism itself is more accurately termed as stigmatization of religious groups.

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

For Santri, radicalism is not something to be avoided, for them, radicalism must be fought for because it is part of carrying out the Shari'a in religion. Beards, turban, robes or niqob (veil) or other attributes, are not characteristics of radicalism as understood by some members of the community. For santri the attributes categorized as radicalism are religious guidelines which all have legal basis, so that when santri who look different from members of society in general, they do not then leave it. Santri remained in his stance to continue running his beliefs. The conclusion of this research is that the meaning of radicalism needs to be clarified through socialization in pesantren and schools, this is intended to restore the image of Islam as a peaceful religion and has a strong intellectual tradition.

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