YOUTH, TAREKAT, AND RELIGIOUS DERADICALIZATION IN INDONESIA THE ACTIVISM OF MAHASISWA AHLITH THARIQAH AL MU'TABARAH AN NAHDLIYYAH (MATAN)

Zulfan Taufik

STAI Nur El-Ghazy Bekasi – Youth Studies Institute

zulfantaufik@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

owadays, the relationship between youth and religious radicalism becomes a hot spot along the phenomenon of their increasing involvement in various acts of violence in the name of religion. Many reports indicate a significant increase in radicalization among young people led by terrorist organizations, both internationally and locally. In contrast to various studies that favor the study of contemporary Muslim youth relations with religious radicalism, this paper focuses on youth activism in stemming the flow of radicalism through tarekat (sufi order). In Indonesia, tarekat began to be an alternative choice in offsetting the current of radicalization that massively targeted the young. One of his concrete forms appears in the Mahasiswa Ahlith Thariqah Al Mu'tabarah An Nahdliyyah (MATAN). Using phenomenology, this study looks at MATAN that designed as a youth organization specifically based on the tarekat mu'tabarah in response to the phenomenon of radicalism and positivism among students and youth. The results show that MATAN seeks to balance the intellectuality and spirituality among youth with a claim of loyalty to the moderate, tolerant, inclusive and consistent (in shari'a, tariga, and ma'rifa) as well as maintaining state awareness based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This last point then animates every MATAN fellow to be awake towards religious radicalization efforts. In the end, the findings of this study confirm some studies and surveys conducted in the context of Morocco, Algeria, and Mali which concluded that the tarekat is a new fondness and is believed to be the savior of youth from religious extremism.

KEYWORDS: youth, tarekat, religious deradicalization, student organization, MATAN.

INTRODUCTION

Background

Indonesia now, which before the reform era was known as Islam-friendly (Islam yang ramah), seems as if it became Islam-angrily (Islam yang marah). The reform era which is formed post-New Order, generally, has opened up large space for religious movements to articulate their political and ideological aspirations aggressively and demonstratively. This new political contour has had an impact on the image of Islam Indonesia from the tolerance has become intolerance (Bruinessen, 2013: 21-53; Heiduk, 2012: 26-40).

Many indicators reinforce it. For example, the monitoring reports on the state of freedom of religion/belief condition released by The Wahid Institute, Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS) UGM Yogyakarta, and Setara Institute. The reports show that the situation of the macro and micro freedom of religion/belief in Indonesia in very poor condition. Some of that bad portraits are the absence of a settlement by the state in almost all cases of violence based on religion/belief, including impunity of offenders, lack of efforts to eliminate violence, and abandonment of the right and protection of victims of violence.

The condition is increasingly apprehensive because the radical movement has penetrated among youth and educational spaces. Students and youth have a strategic position with their autonomous and wide social outreach. Thus, most of the radical activists targeting them as the most suitable and easiest object to disseminate the ideals that they stand for. The survey of Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (2011), Maarif Institute (2011), and International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (2016) indicate an increasing trend of radicalization among young people between the ages of 15-30 years. Some of the indications are the agreement and justification for a series of violent acts of extremism and terrorism to uphold the Islamic state. In addition, religion, economy, and media such as television, online sites, and social media are no less important in influencing radicalization among young people (Fanani, 2013; Takwin, 2016).

The development of education as a counter of deradicalization needs to be our priority, considering the magnitude of youth potentiality that can be played in realizing nation's peacebuilding. Because if that is not our common concern, their potential will be exploited by parties who want to spread the destructive doctrine. Thus, the involvement of youth in cultivating and caring for the peaceful values of society must be recognized as a long-term social manifestation.

In contrast to more studies viewing youth both as victims of adult radicalism and as victims of uncertain economic and political circumstances, this paper focus on the youth as a voicing agency and activists in stemming the flow of religious radicalism through tarekat (congregation). As in Morocco, there is a belief that tarekat can be the savior of youth from religious extremism. This is evidenced by the strong tradition of tarekat and a new fondness of Moroccan youth (Bekkaoui, Lare'Mont, and Rddad, 2011a & 2011b). It similarly to sufism in Mali context, according to Benjamin F. Soares, is seen as part of a cultural expression of "rasta" which today is also popular with young people as an alternative to the Islamist movement (Soares, 2010: 241-258).

In the Indonesian context since the late twentieth century, both rural and urban societies seemed eager to follow the tarekat and other spiritual assemblies. Today's contemporary era, sufism appears to be increasingly existing among Muslims around the world, including Indonesia. It is showing new strength in many places, although it was drowned by forms of orthodoxy and other Islamic articulation. In addition, the current tarekat is considered to be an alternative choice for youth in anticipating the strengthening of radical movements in Indonesia after the New Order.

One of the concrete forms is the student organization Mahasiswa Ahlith Tariqah Al Mu'tabarah An Nahdliyyah (MATAN). This organization is designed to be a youth organization specifically based on tarekat mu'tabarah (verified sufi orde by Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thoriqaoh Al-Mu'tabarah An-Nahdliyyah [JATMAN]), as a response to the phenomenon of radicalism and positivism among students. Furthermore, the first part of this article deals with the profile of MATAN as youth organization based on tarekat. The second part analysis tries to reveal the effort of MATAN in promoting tarekat and youth acceptance of it, relating to the moderately and inclusively thinking. The third part deals with religious deradicalization strategy through tarekat by MATAN.

Methodology

This study based on fieldwork and library research. I have directly involved as an active participant in MATAN. My first regeneration process on it, named MATAN Suluk 1.2, took place on December 23-24, 2016 at Al-Rabbani Islamic College Jakarta, and the second or MATAN Suluk 2 was held on February 24-27, 2017 at Cisarua, Bogor. At these two occasions, besides I got a lot of lessons and materials about the organization, I also got my oath (baiat) into one of tarekat muktabarah. I conducted interviews with the board members and organization committee of the MATAN derived from various campuses in Jakarta and surrounding areas. As for interview techniques, I tended to use unstructured techniques, conditionals and using recording devices

with permission from informants. This unstructured interview technique is helpful because it gives the interviewees the flexibility to define themselves and their environment, including the use of keywords based on their culture and understanding. On the process, I collected the internal organization publications such as standard operating procedure (SOP), technical and membership guidelines, along the statutes and bylaws. For a universal data, I also collected information from the MATAN official website and the parent organization named JATMAN and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Overall research, to achieve an integrative-interconnected understanding, I used a qualitative paradigm with a phenomenological approach (Erricker, 2002: 110-111; King, 2000: 303). For the data analysis techniques, I used data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions procedure which is pioneered by Mathew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman (1992).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Narration of MATAN: Student Organization Based on Tarekat

The emergence of MATAN can not be isolated from the role of tarekat member based on Jam'iyyah Ahlith Tariqah Al Mu'tabarah An Nahdliyyah (JATMAN), led by Habib Luthfi bin Yahya. Officially, MATAN was initiated on August 2, 2009 at the Kanzus Sholawat Building of Central Java. It was then declared to be one of the lajnah mustaqillah (autonomous body) at the Eleventh Conference of JATMAN in Pondok Pesantren Al-Munawwariyyah Sudimoro, Malang, East Java on January 10-14, 2012 (MATAN, 2015a: 1-2).

In 2002 long time before the birth of MATAN, Habib Luthfi, known as a tarekat leader who firmly upheld nationality ideas, had been eager to organize the youth of the tarekat. But was only in the third period of his leadership in JATMAN, which is a representation of tarekat society associations in Indonesia, the idea can be realized. The MATAN naming initiative was also from Habib Luthfi. He had great hopes for MATAN. He said, "I want a lot of murshid born from MATAN!" (Hamdani Mu'in, Interview, December 24, 2016).

In spite of taking categorized as student organization, MATAN is an organization whose membership is not limited the narrow sense of the student who is studying at a college. The term of the student in the context of Matan is extended to the students who are studying in pesantren (Islamic boarding school) and tarekat education (MATAN's SOP, Chapter IV.5). Thus, members of MATAN not only come from college students, but also from the adherents (mu□ibbīn) of a tarekat muktabarah. For example, the Chairman of MATAN who has a doctorate and a lecturer at UIN Wali Songo Semarang in the context of MATAN is still called a student. It because he is an adherent of tarekat under the guidance by Habib Luthfi bin Yahya.

At the beginning, MATAN grew through the network by some Kyai of Nahdlatul Ulama in pesantren that has Islamic Religious College (Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam/PTKI). The process of regeneration is done through the presence of students who are active in the campuses. The majority of them get direct guidance from their murshid teachers, who are also caregivers in the large pesantren in Indonesia. Then next, MATAN also reaches general campuses or non-religious campuses. Until now, the organization has management from the central, regional (provincial) level, branch (district/municipality level), and commissariat (college level/equal). At the provincial level, several fairly active stewardships include East Java, West Java, Central Java, Jakarta, Lampung, Jambi, Riau Islands, East Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and Yogyakarta. (Handri, Interview, February 27, 2017).

As an organization founded by the tarekat group of ideals and aims to disseminate the tarekat teachings among youth and students, MATAN based its normative values of struggle to the Qur'an, al-Hadis, Ijma 'and qiyas with the ideology of Ahlussunnah Wal jamaah. As constitutionally, MATAN adheres to Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and PD-PRT Jam'iyyah Ahlith Tariqah Al Mu'tabarah An Nahdliyyah (JATMAN).

In the direction of his movement, MATAN has a vision: "The birth of the next generation and future leaders of the nation who have the intellectual acumen, wisdom, and spiritual depth as a basis for building and to enforce the glory of the Republic of Indonesia. As for the mission are: (1) to maintain Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the ideology of the Republic of Indonesia; (2) to foster the love of the homeland and the spirit of nationalism among students to defend the Republic of Indonesia; (3) to develop national insight among students; (4) to stem the rate and spread of extremist movements and latenism within the Indonesian universities; (5) to preserve the Islamic ideology ala Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah based on moderate, tolerance, and inclusive Islam among students; (6) to inculcate character education among students based on spiritual values (thoriqoh/tasawuf/sufism) and good manners; (7) to improve intellectual ability to give more benefit and glory for Republik Indonesia; (8) to participate in keeping the relics of his al-□ālih salaf and his tarekat (congregation) early on.

To realize the organizational goals contained in the vision-mission, MATAN based itself on the conceptualization of values that exist in the tarekat and tasawuf. These basic values are known as al-Asas al-Khomsah into life as an effort to realize the vision and mission of the organization. The five things are:

a. Tafaqquh fī al-dīn, is a spirit of movement based on strengthening the intellectual abilities and intellect. This is in an effort to improve the quality of human resources completely in all branches of science, without any separation between the science of religion and general science. Because according to MATAN belief, all science comes from the All-Knowing, that is Allah SWT.

- b. Iltizām al-□ā'ah, is the spirit of student movement based on obedience to Allah SWT. as Creator, Guide, and Educator of man; to the Prophet Muhammad SAW., as the Messenger of truth and role model of mankind, and Ulil amri, i.e. ulama and umaro.
- c. Ta fiyat al-qulūb wa tazkiyat al-nafs, is a spirit of movement based on the purge of the heart and the purification of oneself, both body and soul from all forms of bad nature and bad deeds.
- d. □if□ al-awrād wa al-adhkār, is the spirit of the movement based on the effort worship Allah that can bring the benefit, goodness, and reward of Allah SWT, both for oneself, others and the wider society—nation and state
- e. Khidmah li al-ummah, is the spirit of the movement to give devotion to humanity, to the nation and state as a form of devotion to Allah SWT.

These five fundamental principles are continually internalized and contextualized to every member of MATAN in all aspects of their lives. It aims to create a generation and future leaders of the nation that has a sufistic, intellectual, and nationalist character. Sufistic implies spiritual depth through the practice of tarekat mu'tabaroh to reach wushul ilallah so as to achieve Allah's approval; Intellectual means spirit of learning in improving intellectual ability to give benefit and glory nation; and nationalist meaning patriotism and nationalism spirit by increasing the love of homeland to defend the state (MATAN, 2015a).

It reminds us of the significant role of tarekat in the context of Islamic locality in Indonesia. In that the tarekat has played a significant role since the entry of Islam into the Archipelago (Johns, 1961; Azra, 2013: 14-16), the resistance to Dutch colonialism (Thohir 2002, Kartodirjo 1984: 257-282), and the strengthening and seize an independence with elements of nationalism (Bruinessen, 2006; Khanafi, 2013).

Promoting Tarekat and Moderate Islam among Youth

In Indonesia demographic data, based on UU No. 40/2009 about youth with age range between 16-30 years old, there are 61,68 million people or 24,20 percent from the total of Indonesian population which reach 254,9 million people (BPJS, 2015). In quantity, these 24.20% is quite large. Many experts predict that by 2020 to 2035, Indonesia will savor a rare era called Demographic Bonus. The situation where the number of productive Indonesians is projected to be the highest graph reaching 64 percent of 297 million from the Indonesian total population. One thing that we must understand, however, that young people who will occupy a significant proportion of the Indonesian demographic map are those who are now living in a conservative religious and vulnerable to social conflict situation (Ahnaf, 2013: 156).

In his report, Martin van Bruinessen mentioned that the period after Soeharto is an era of conservative turn. The face of Islam-friendly has disappeared with the disappearance of the New Order regime (Bruinessen, 2013: 1-20; Heiduk, 2012). The opinion of the conservative turn in Indonesia contemporary as previous opinions is actually not generalizable. Generally, it is difficult to reject the judgment that after the reform of Islamic identity appears to be strongly affirmed in the public sphere--in various sectors such as economy, politics, in the media, in schools, in markets, and in the streets through recitation of open dhikr, demonstrations, and In various ways, civilized or violent, or commercially. However, according to Zainal Abidin Bagir, the depiction of this phenomenon as the conservative turn is not entirely correct. It because the face of Indonesian Islam looks increasingly diverse. The reason he proposed was that in the atmosphere of political liberalization that accompanied democratization, many rivals previously pressed by the government suddenly had the same vast space. Even in certain situations, when the government seems unconcerned to keep the boundaries of public discourse, some variants of the conservative group begin to dominate. It shows that conservative forces have existed throughout the New Order period, and now in a democratic situation they have a wider space to perform (Bagir, 2014: 13-18).

Unlike the previous Bruniessen view, in Indonesia today clearly visible the other signs about the face of Islam-friendly and universalist. It is nicely represented by sufism. Even (to some extent), that religious conservatism is one of the triggers for the fondness of the tarekat in the spiritual pursuit of society, including young people. A Sufism study that focuses more on the mistaken and noble morality of giving and spreading affection (ra□matan li al-'ālamīn), can be an oasis for those seekers who are bored with labeling and rejecting by conservatives.

The phenomenon of the rise of the tarekat movement in the context of modern society, including among young people, has undermined previous important arguments which conclude that the tarekat—which is identical to the common people and the rural elderly—will disappear with the process of modernization and globalization. Many social scientists who studied Muslim societies throughout the twentieth century, using the frame of secularization "mixed" with modernization theory, took for granted that the tarekat is a movement that is certain to die. The reason is because Muslim countries have followed Western development models and the educated elite have abandoned traditional forms of religious organization (Arberry, 1950: 122; Geertz, 1960: 183).

Many factors that explain the rise of tarekat in contemporary times lead to dissatisfaction with the ongoing conditions. As Wallace puts it, the change of the social culture causes the people who involved in the revival of Sufism feel that their social cultural life as a system is not satisfactory any more.

Thus, they need a new cultural system, especially new features (Wallace, 1956: 264-281). The condition of MATAN members who come with various motivations, that generally revolve around the following two factors: First, in reaction to the strengthening of modernity and its decadence follow-up: apart from cultural roots, anonymity, insignificance, and spiritual crisis. Second, dissatisfaction over the formal aspects of religion. In other words, the popularity of Sufism can be explained (to some extent) as a reaction to dogmatism and ritualism that ignores the need for mystical expression and inner or soul experience.

In the first factor, the revitalization of Sufism in contemporary times is often understood as a reaction to the negative effects of modernity. In other words, modernization is seen as a process that does not always succeed in fulfilling the promises of welfare that it offers. Modernization that followed by globalization often leads to new difficulties, from the rise of the materialistic lifestyle, hedonistic, up to social disorientation and depression in society. The stressful dynamics of metropolitan life require citizens to always fill and lighten their hearts and souls. So, no wonder if sufism becomes a destination to seek calm and considered to be an enlightening way out.

Atmo Prawiro, a S3 student of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, said his motivation to be a tarekat follower and to join with MATAN: "I enter the tarekat because I want to find peace of self and balance the worldly values that are massively offered the urban world. In addition, I can gather with friends who have thoriqah and can spread the values of peace possessed by sufism," (Interview, January 10, 2017). The same thing was also explicitly expressed by Fitri Afina Radityani, a graduate student of the Institut Pertanian Bogor, that the main thing that made her participate in the tarekat was because there was a personal (psychic) problem (Interview, 26 February 2017).

As for the second factor, the awakening of the role of sufism (including other mystical streams) becomes an indication that the evolving religious model has become very rational and religious law becomes very formalistic and legalistic. This situation causes siltation and drainage in the appreciation of religion. In other words, religion becomes a series of rules but loses its spirit. The illustration of this second factor is also evident from the motivation of some of the students/youths who participated in MATAN with the motivation to achieve solemnity in the prayer and can inspire the essence of their regular worship rituals (Zulfa Ulinnuha, Interview, 26 February 2017).

The attractiveness of MATAN, as a tarekat based youth organization for many students, can be understood by examining the various efforts it undertakes as outlined in SOP of MATAN on Chapter VI, Articles 11-18, as follows:

(Article 11) In the field of religion, to spread and intensify the implementation of Islamic teachings according to Ahlussunah wal

Jama'ah ideology among students; (Article 12) In the academic field, to actualize the spiritual tradition of tasawuf based scientific tradition without abandoning the element of rational intellect; (Article 13) In the field of morals, to develop the tradition of sufism in order to achieve noble character among the students; (Article 14) In the field of ukhuwah ijtima'iyyah, to strengthen the fraternal races of fellow students; (Article 15) To socialize sufism ethics in the midst of the campus community; (Article 16) In the field of thorigon, to seek the achievement of Asysyari'atil Ghourok wath-Thorigil Baidlo', i.e. shari'at Islamiyyah and thoriqoh muttashil sanaduha ila-Rasulillah sallallaahu alaihi wasallam; (Article 17) In the field of movement, to increase al-amar bil ma'ruf danan-nahyi 'anil mungkar, based on akhlaq mahmudah and realizing Islam Rohmatan lil Alamin; (Article 18) In the field wathoniyyah, to increase the love of the homeland, to keep upholding the Republic of Indonesia to the practice and appreciation of ethical mysticism/thoriqoh.

[(Pasal 11) Di bidang agama, mensyi'arkan dan mempergiat pelaksanaan ajaran Islam menurut faham Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah di kalangan mahasiswa; (Pasal 12) Di bidang akademis, mengaktualisasikan tradisi ilmiah berbasis spiritual tasawuf tanpa meninggalkan unsur intelektualitas rasional; (Pasal 13) Di bidang akhlak, mengembangkan tradisi tasawuf dalam rangka tercapainya akhlak mahmudah di kalangan mahasiswa; (Pasal 14) Di bidang ukhuwah ijtima'iyyah, mempererat dan memperkuat tali persaudaraan sesama mahasiswa; (Pasal 15) Mensosialisasikan etika tasawuf ditengah-tengah masyarakat kampus; (Pasal 16) Di bidang thoriqoh mengusahakan tercapainya Asysyari'atil Ghourok wath-Thoriqil Baidlo', yakni syari'at Islamiyyah dan thoriqoh muttashil sanaduha ila-Rasulillah Shallallahu Alaihi Wasallam; (Pasal 17) Di bidang pergerakan meningkatkan al-amar bil ma'ruf danannahyi 'anil mungkar, berbasis akhlaq mahmudah serta mewujudkan terciptanya Islam yang Rohmatan lil Alamin; (Pasal 18) Di bidang wathoniyyah, meningkatkan kecintaan tanah air, menjaga tetap tegaknya Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia dengan pengamalan dan penghayatan etika tasawuf /thoriqoh].

More technically, the pattern of MATAN's deployment is through recruitment with an activity model that essentially is about "Ta'aruf Sufi MATAN" or abbreviated Taman Sufi (Sufi Garden). This activity specifically contains an introduction of MATAN as a tarekat based student organization. The general contains about the role of Islamic religion (especially tarekat) in human development efforts, the importance, and the purpose of the tarekat. The activities, that are usually carried out at the beginning of the new school

year in each commissariat (college level), aims to attract students interested in learning sufism and tarekat and become part of MATAN.

However, as an organization that is still new and an integral part of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), MATAN's pattern and strategy in recruitment has not been well structured since it is still dominated by the NU's network. Thus, most of the members are students affiliated with NU or friends of members who have joined previously. These conditions, at least visible in commissariat located in the area of DKI Jakarta as in UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, and Institut Pertanian Bogor (Atmo Prawiro, Interview, January 10, 2017; Arip Suprasetio, Interview, February 27, 2017; Hamzah, Interview, December 24, 2017).

As for the member's regeneration of MATAN, just like any organization in general that apply tiered regeneration by using the tarekat's term, Suluk. Suluk is a tradition of santri tarekat who follow the activities of guidance and direction of a murshid, to improve morality, purify the charity, and clarify the knowledge (http://sufismenews.blogspot.co.id/2011/04). But unlike the suluk which in tarekat terminology is a long and heavy spiritual practice process, suluk in the context of MATAN is more to education and training of its members. The material presented in the suluk includes the Aswaja, the MATAN, the Thoriqoh, the Indonesia, and the leadership/kemursyidan (Handri Ramadhan, Interview, 27 February 2017). Through this process of regeneration, MATAN hopes to balance the spiritual and intellectual aspect among students and improve inclusiveness of thinking, harmony in acting, and spiritual depth in youthfulness to build a nation, strengthen nationalism spirit, and keep the unity and integrity of Indonesia.

Religious Deradicalization of Student through Tarekat

"MATAN comes in response to several things, such as: the emergence of ideologies that threaten the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, the rise of terrorist movements, the fertility of radical movements and ideologies in universities, the vacuum of inner space among students, and the spread of positivism and pragmatism," (Hamdani Mu'in, Interview, 24 Desember 2016).

That expression of the Chairman of MATAN, can be found in the organization profile of MATAN, which states that the existence of MATAN is really a concern of JATMAN over the symptoms of radicalism and positivism among students which ultimately gave birth to an exclusive and pragmatic student movement pattern. In this context, many tarekat practitioners view the importance of the idea of coaching students for the birth of the next generation of nations with intellectual heights and spiritual depth. That is the two elements that become pre-requisites for future leaders of the nation. For them, students are the symbol of change for the future of a nation. Because of the intellectual ability and the criticality of the student is able to give birth

to a new phenomenon and a very remarkable change. However, this becomes only an inevitability if the student movement is dried up from the spiritual aspect morality. It is, therefore, most likely that the emerging movement will elicit pragmatic ideas of radicalism and be trapped in instantaneous hedonism (MATAN, 2015).

These concerns are well founded if we look at the phenomenon in which radical movements have targeted many young people and educational spaces. Students who are in the process of searching for self-identity and learning many things are the most strategic targets to strengthen this movement of religious radicalism. Moreover, the strategic position of students who have a broad and relatively autonomous association, by radical movements is considered as the most fitting and easy to proliferate the radical ideologies they strive for.

Since the last decade in Indonesia, campuses and the public have been shocked by the many cases of terrorism in the name of religion involving college students and alumni, as well as religious-based colleges. For example, in 2009, three students of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta were arrested by Anti-Terrorism Detachment 88 for acts of terrorism and sentenced to 4.5 years in prison in September 2010. In mid-May 2010, the Detachment 88 troops also arrested two students of the University of Muhammadiyah Solo (UMS) on suspicion of involvement in the spread of terrorist activities in Aceh. In addition, terrorism that is motivated by radical and extreme religious understanding is also targeted to many intellectuals of college graduates. In August 2010, Detachment 88 arrested a terrorist suspect named Kurnia who is known as an alumnus of Chemical Engineering Institute of Institute Teknologi Bandung. In 2011, the public was also shocked by the terror event "Bom Buku" (books boom) that gave rise to the figure of Peppi Fernando as an important actor. Together with Peppi, seventeen people have been arrested for alleged involvement in a series of actions. It was later discovered that four of the seventeen suspects (including Peppi) had attended UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta (Tempo Magazine, 2-8 May 2011).

In 2011, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) published a report affirming the phenomenon of radicalism on campus, saying there has been an increase in radicalism in five major campuses in Indonesia, namely UGM, UI, IPB, UNDIP, and UNAIR. The investigation into terrorism in Jakarta in early 2016 further underscores how the campus became a "fertile field" for the widespread understanding of radicals that later produced terrorist seeds. The brain of the action, Bahrun Naim, was a young man who began to engage in radical movements since he attended Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS) Surakarta. The radical understanding that has been firmly entrenched in him enables him to take bolder action by joining international terrorist organizations. Again, the campus environment indicated a strategic place for radical groups to expand ideas and mobilize new terrorist candidates.

Various factors explain the phenomenon of religious radicalism among young Indonesians who started a lot of symptoms since the collapse of the New Order regime. Najib Azca summarizes at least three important factors: First, the high degree of turmoil and uncertainty as a result of socio-political dynamics in the transition phase to democracy; Secondly, the transformation of radical Islamic movements that partly possessed the genealogy of the early period of independence; Third, the high unemployment rate among Indonesian youth (Azca, 2013; Sastramidjaja, 2015; Hasan, 2010: 59-62). Similar views are also summarized by Stein Kristiansen (2003), that the youth-based violence groups in Indonesia began to grow considerably with the economic crisis, unemployment, and weak state institutions since the fall of the Soeharto regime in 1998. In these times, young people suffer from the weakness of broken income and expectations. Consequently, youth groups also formed and directed by economic motivations as well as identity-forming media and existence. As for religion, in some cases, it is used only as a means of legitimizing acts of violence and reinforcing group membership (Kristensen, 2003).

In relation to the phenomenon of radicalism, as agents of change, young people have a stronger tendency and greater likelihood to engage in radical social movements than adults. This, in the opinion of Erik H. Erikson (1968), is due to a transitional phase in the growing age of youth making them more vulnerable to an identity crisis' In situations of identity crisis, a person usually tends to be more prone to a "cognitive opening": an important phase experienced by an activist to join a radical movement, commonly beginning with a crisis of uncertainty, including self-identity. It makes them easy to accept the possibility of new ideas and life views.

Nevertheless, although a young man has a cognitive opening experience, many of them are subsequently plunged into radical movements. In this case, Wiktorowicz reveals his observations on the process of involvement of young Muslims in Britain into a radical movement called Al Muhajirun based in London. He said, "Those who are most likely to enter into the movement... discover the interpretations and institutions that represent them as enthralling... so that the seeker of religious meaning extends the search for meaning from perspectives outside the mainstream," (Wiktorowicz, 2005: 86). The process of the cognitive opening, for example, occurs as a result of intersection and association with the teachings of radical Islamic groups, whether they are political, salafi, or jihadi (Azca, 2013: 27-28).

In this context, tarekat people are very confident about the urgency of ideas. They are also sure to introduce and incorporate tarekat teachings among students through MATAN. Because in their opinion, tarekat is a science to know the things of lust and its properties, forming a solid soul based on the clarity of thinking, able to distinguish which is bad to be shunned and good to be practiced. In addition, the teachings of the tarekat also strive to

preserve the Islam ala Ahlussunnah Wal-Jama'ah that is moderate, tolerant, and inclusive consistently in the field of shari'ah, hakikat, and makrifat in the community of the state based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (MATAN, 2015: 6-7).

Because of MATAN is a student organization, it is necessary to have a proper method and phase so that it can be accepted well, especially about their ideology. In MATAN, the ideology that will be transformed to the members is a paradigmatic ideology. Then some methods used are as follows:

- a. Al-manhaj al-Naqlī (textual): The method referring to the texts of Revelation literally, especially on the issue of faith based on scientific transmission obtained from Rasulullah Saw., companions, salafus shaleh, up to teachers who teach directly. This method is taken for granted without having to provide an opportunity for the rationality except for systematization in the ease of studying, understanding and practicing the principles of faith.
- b. Al-manhaj al-'Aqlī (rational): The method which assumes ratio as the dominant tool in translating text (naql), so, aqidah must be based on rational knowledge. Then the results of rational thought are empowered to reinforce the truth and add to the belief.
- c. Al-Manhaj al-Iqtishadī (moderate): The synthesis method is a rational and textual method that seeks to apply both methods in a balanced way, assuming that sticking to one of the above methods can lead to extreme, fanatic, and radical attitude.
- d. Al-Manhaj al-Jadalī (dialektical): The method of dialogue (debate) to maintain the beliefs of a truth of their own opinions and to discourage opponents' opinions, both textually and rationally.
- e. Al-Manhaj al-Dhawqī (intuitive): The method used based on intuition (feeling) based on the beliefs of the truth transmitted by Allah SWT. directly into the human soul without learning or reasoning. This method follows the methods of the sufis to acquire and discover the truth of knowledge (essence-makrifat) which comes directly from Allah Swt. (MATAN, 2015b: 24-26).

In other words, the process of regenerating and spreading ideology by MATAN is not only based on ideological indoctrination without any critical thinking. MATAN performs a balancing of textual methods with rational and dialectical methods to preserve and develop students' critical reasoning power. In addition, typical in the regeneration of MATAN is, of course, the use of intuitive methods through the process of spiritual practice. Therefore, members of the MATAN who have not oathed (baiat) to a tarekat, will be introduced and oath into one of the sacred tarekat.

The existence of a regeneration procession with various methods suitable for the student is specifically intended to:

- a. As a means of understanding and strengthening Akidah Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah to the members of MATAN, thus forming a character who has a strong ideology, has a broad knowledge insight, discipline, militant, and noble character.
- b. As a space in the deepening of Islam ala Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah, especially in Islamic Shari'a.
- c. As a center of education and training of mental formation, soul development, and morals for the members toward the nation's next generation responsible (accountable) to the Nation and the State (Nationalism) as a form of faith and piety to Allah Swt.
- d. As a medium of learning and practice of Sufism in accordance with the teachings of tarekat exemplified by each member (MATAN, 2015b: 32-33).

Deradicalisation religion conducted by MATAN among students and young people, in fact has also been a similar phenomenon in other countries such as Morocco, Algeria, and Mali. In a survey conducted in Morocco, one of the most important findings is that Moroccan youth believe that Sufism promotes the values of peace, tolerance, anti-modernism, and anti-fanaticism. Moroccan youth suffer from poverty, lack of jobs, and social marginalization that turns them into easy prey for radical Islam. These youth are left with the option of either drugs and crime or religious fanaticism. This becomes alarmingly evident with the terrorist bombings in Casablanca in 2003. The perpetrators were young men from Casablanca's most deprived shantytowns. Because of the terrorist attacks, the Moroccan state adopted Sufism as a component of Moroccan Islam to counteract Islamist activism and influence among the youth in particular. This study shows that an important portion of respondents believe that Sufism can save youth from extremism (Bekkaoui, et.all, 2011: 61-62). Survey in Algeria also has revealed that a majority of Algerian youth view Sufism positively, believing that it encourages peace, tolerance, and social cohesion. But at the same time, unlike youth in Morocco, they are unlikely to join Sufi orders because they view Sufism as anachronistic and 'unmodern'. (Khemissi, Larémont, Eddine, 2012). Similarly, Sufism in the context of Mali, by Benjamin F. Soares, is seen as part of the expression of the "rasta" culture which today also favored its youth as an alternative to the Islamist movement (Soares, 2010: 241-258).

CONCLUSION

Because of their position at the age of transition, young people as an agency, on the one hand, are very vulnerable to become victims of religious radicalization by adults since the birth of reform era. But on the other hand, their activism can be a pioneer in the deradicalization of religion as clearly seen in MATAN activism.

MATAN, as a tarekat-based student organization, was present to respond to the condition of radical phenomena among young people and students. MATAN believes that radicalism occurs due to an imbalance between intellectuality and spirituality. So MATAN sees that spirituality in the teachings of the tarekat mu'tabarah is the right solution to reach young people. Relying on this tarekat, MATAN is an organization devoted to the moderate, tolerant, inclusive, and consistent efforts of Islamic conservation. It includes all religious affairs such as svariat (shari'a), hakikat (essence), and makrifat (knowledge). These values are aspired to bring young people to Pancasilaate state awareness and be wary towards the efforts of religious radicalization. Nevertheless, the author sees that the greatest challenge for MATAN lies precisely in its strategic ability to be accepted by young people from any background. Until now, the network of MATAN relations is still dominated by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)-network as a "safe" route since the tarekat was once the target of marginalization of modernist Muslim groups who considered the congregation to be heretical and impure. Because to achieve a great vision of deradicalization and peace, MATAN must be able to melt away beyond the barriers of organization.

Finally, the findings of this study confirm some studies and surveys conducted in the context of Morocco, Algeria, and Mali, that the tarekat is a new fondness and is believed to be the savior of youth from religious extremism. The use of the tarekat as a de-radicalization ammunition among these youths, as well as undermining various important arguments before that tarekat that is identical with the common people and the rural elderly will disappear along with the process of modernization and globalization. Whereas in today's contemporary context, tarekat still shows its vitality as well as an integral part of the Islamic revival. This is where great hope lies on the shoulders of the tarekat, as a manifestation of Islamic esoterism that can complement the sometimes stiff and conservative Islamic exoterism.

REFFERENCES

- Ahnaf, Mohammad Iqbal. "Struktur Politik dan Deradikalisasi Pendidikan Agama Bagi Anak Muda di Indonesia", Jurnal Pendidikan Islam 2, no. 1 (2013): 153-171.
- Arberry, A. J. Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1950.
- Azca, Muhammad Najib. "Yang Muda, Yang Radikal: Refleksi Sosiologis terhadap Fenomena Radikalisme Kaum Muda Muslim di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru", Maarif: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial 8, No. 1 (2013): 14-44.

- Azra, Azyumardi. Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia, edisi perenial. Jakarta: Kencana, 2013.
- Badan Pusat Statistik, Statistik Pemuda Indonesia 2015. Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik, 2015.
- Bagir, Zainal Abidin. "Pengantar: Membaca Beragam Wajah Islam Indonesia", in Conservative Turn: Islam Indonesia dalam Ancaman Fundamentalisme, ed. Martin van Bruinessen. Bandung: Mizan, 2014.
- Bekkaoui, Khalid, Ricardo Rene, Lare'Mont, and Sadik Rddad. "Survey on Moroccan Youth: Perception and Participation in Sufi Orders/ Evaluation and Interpretation", Journal of the Middle East and Africa 2 (2011): 47–63,
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Saints, Politician and Sufi Bureucrats: Mysticism and Politics in Indonesia's New Order, dalam Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam, ed. Matin van Bruinessen dan Julia Day Howell. London: IB Tauris, 2006.
- _____. Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the "Conservative Turn". Singapore: ISEAS, 2013.
- Butler-Dines, Katherine. "Youth Perceptions and Engagement with the Moroccan State's Promotion of Sufism", (2015). Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection (Paper 2196). Accessed from http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/2196, 26 Desember 2016
- Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Erikson, Erik H. Identity: Youth and Crisis. London: Faber & Faber, 1968.
- Erricker, Clive. "Pendekatan Fenomenologis", dalam Aneka Pendekatan Studi Islam, ed. Peter Connolly, terj. Imam Khoiri. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002.
- Fanani, Ahmad Fuad. "Fenomena Radikalisme di Kalangan Kaum Muda", Maarif: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial 8, No. 1 (2013): 4-13.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. "The Drama of Jihad: The Emergence of Salafi Youth in Indonesia", dalam Being Young and Muslim: New Cultural Politics in the Global South and North, ed. Linda Herrera and Asef Bayat. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Heiduk, Felix. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Radical Islam in Post-Suharto Indonesia", International Journal of Conflict and Violence 6, No. 1 (2012): 26-40.
- Johns, A.H. "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History", Journal of Southeast Asian History 2, No. 2 (1961): 10-23.
- Johns, A.H. "The Role of Sufism in the Spread of Islam in the Malaya and Indonesia", Journal of the Pakistan Hitorical Society 9 (1961): 143-161;
- Kartodirdjo, Kartono. Pemberontakan Petani di Banten 1888. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1984.

- Khanafi, Imam. "Tarekat Kebangsaan: Kajian Antropologi Sufi terhadap Pemikiran Nasionalisme Habib Luthfie", Jurnal Penelitian 10, no 2 (2013): 336-385.
- Khemissi, Hamidi, Ricardo René Larémont, and Taybi Taj Eddine, "Sufism, Salafism and State Policy toward Religion in Algeria: A Survey of Algerian Youth", The Journal of North African Studies (2012): 1–12.
- Kristiansen, Stein. "Violent Youth Groupin Indonesia: The Cases of Yogyakarta and Nusa Tenggara Barat", Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asian Studies 18, No. 1 (2003): 110-138.
- Majalah Tempo, 2-8 Mei 2011
- Miles, Mathew B. dan A. Michael Huberman, Anaalisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber tentang Metode-metode Baru, terj. Tjetjep Rohendi Rohidi. Jakarta: UI-Press, 1992.
- Pengurus Pusat MATAN, SOP dan Juknis Mahasiswa Ahlith Thariqoh Al-Mu'tabarah An-Nahdliyyah, 2015a.
- Pengurus Pusat MATAN, Pedoman Pengkaderan Mahasiswa Ahlith Thariqoh Al-Mu'tabarah An-Nahdliyyah MATAN, 2015b.
- Soares, Benjamin F. "Rasta" Sufis and Muslim Youth Culture in Mali, in Being Young and Muslim: New Cultural Politics in the Global South and North, ed. Linda Herrera and Asef Bayat. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Takwin, Bagus. et.al, Studi tentang Toleransi dan Radikalisme di Indonesia: Pembelajaran dari 4 Daerah Tasikmalaya, Jogjakarta, Bojonegoro dan Kupang. Jakarta: International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development, 2016.
- Thohir, Ajid. Gerakan Politik Kaum Tarekat; Telaah Histories Gerakan Politik Antikolonialisme Tarekat Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyyah di Pulau Jawa. Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 2002.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. "Revitalization Movement", American Anthropologist 58, No. 2 (1956): 264-281.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan. Radical Islam Rising: Muslim Extremisn in the West. Boulder, Toronto and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2005.

Interviews:

- Hamdani Mu'in, Ketua Umum MATAN, Interview, Jakarta, 24 Desember 2016.
- Handri Ramadhan, Departemen Pengkaderan MATAN DKI Jakarta, Interview, Bogor, 27 Februari 2017
- Atmo Prawiro, Ketua MATAN Cabang Ciputat, Interview, Ciputat, 10 Januari 2017
- Fitri Afina Radityani, Anggota MATAN-Mahasiswa S2 Institut Pertanian Bogor, Interview, Bogor, 26 Februari 2017

- Zulfa Ulinnuha, Anggota MATAN-Mahasiswa S2 Institut Pertanian Bogor, Interview, Bogor, 26 Februari 2017.
- Arip Suprasetio, Ketua MATAN Komisariat Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Bogor, Interview, 27 Februari 2017;
- Hamzah, Ketua MATAN Komisariat Institut Pertanian Bogor, Jakarta, Interview, 24 Desember 2017