The Role of Pancasila in Facing Radicalism and Exclusivism in Indonesia as Bhineka Tunggal Ika

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is intend to describe the role of Pancasila in dealing with radicalism and social exclusivism in the era of globalization. This paper also tends to see the impact of globalization on the spread of deviant views such as radicalism and social exclusivism. Finally, how is Pancasila as an ideology to stem radicalism and social exclusivism in the era of globalization in everyday life in the context of nationality in Indonesia. With the literature review method, the writer tries to find answers to the focus of the writing. It was found that cultivation and appreciation of the values of Pancasila need to be instilled in oneself from an early age.

Keywords

Pancasila, education, deradicalization

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bermaksud mendeskripsikan bagaimana peran Pancasila dalam menghadapi radikalisme dan eksklusi sosial di era globalisasi? Bagaimana pula dampak globalisasi terhadap merebaknya pandangan-pandangan menyimpang seperti radikalisme dan eksklusi sosial? Terakhir, bagaimana Pancasila sebagai ideologi untuk membendung radikalisme dan eksklusi sosial di era globalisasi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari dalam konteks kebangsaan di Indonesia. Dengan metode tinjauan pustaka, penulis mencoba mencari jawaban atas fokus penulisan. Ditemukan bahwa penanaman dan penghayatan nilai-nilai Pancasila perlu ditanamkan pada diri sendiri sejak dini.

Keywords

Pancasila, pendidikan, deradikalisasi

Introduction

Indonesia is a vast nation with diverse wealth. Indonesian society consists of various ethnic groups, races, cultures, religions, political groups, social groups, and so on. Therefore, Indonesia can be said to be a multicultural country. Pancasila as the fundamental of the state provides a means of unifying the diversity of the Indonesian nation through its principles. Nevertheless, there are still several groups of people who have not realized and understood the essence, value, function, and purpose of Pancasila (Fathani & Purnomo, 2020). As a result of this lack of understanding, there are also groups of people who want to change or replace Pancasila as the ideology and foundation of the Indonesian nation.

Based on a survey conducted by the Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) or National Counterterrorism Agency in 2020, it found that 85 percent of the millennial generation is vulnerable to being exposed to radicalism. In addition, BNPT also conducted a survey in 2019 which found the index for the potential for radicalism in the younger generation reached 38.4. Not only the BNPT survey, a survey conducted by the Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (Lakip) or Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace in 2010–2011, stated that 52 percent of students in Indonesia supported religious-based radicalism, 14.2 percent agreed with acts of terrorism, and 25.8 percent stated that Pancasila is no longer relevant to be the state ideology. Radicalism itself is a community group or movement that wants total change and renewal to its roots. The behavior of radicalism has been occurring in Indonesia for a long time, for example the Bali bombing, the Poso tragedy, the bombing of suicide bombings in churches, and so on. In fact, this radicalism can divide the nation and state ideology.

Pancasila is known as an ideology that can follow and adapt to the changing times. Therefore, Pancasila is often called an open ideology, whose development is also adjusted to the values and norms that apply in society.

With the implementation of a solid foundation, Pancasila can suppress and stem radicalism in the era of globalization (Widjojo, 2019).

The rush of globalization is often followed by the rapid development of technology, communication, and digitalization resulting in the practicality and convenience of the community in accessing and being exposed to teachings, understandings, and ideologies other than Pancasila which may be contrary to the ideology of Pancasila. Due to the world without borders in this globalization era, groups with deviant views that deviate from Pancasila can more freely spread their influence. This problem was also presented by an Indonesian thinker, Magniz Suseno, at the challenge of Pancasila during this globalization era is not only about radicalism which does not accept Pancasila, but also exclusivism.

From this review, it can be seen that Indonesia is a multicultural country. However, there are still deviant ideas such as radicalism that is developing in Indonesia. The focus of this writing is about the role of Pancasila in facing radicalism and social exclusivism in the era of globalization. Researcher also want to see the impact of globalization on the spread of deviant ideologies such as radicalism and social exclusivism and how is Pancasila as an ideology to stem radicalism and social exclusivism in the era of globalization in everyday life.

Radicalism is a doctrine or practice of followers of radicalism or extreme understanding. Radicalism comes from Latin, which is radix which means root. Radicalism in the religious sphere is a religious movement that attempts to drastically overhaul the social and political order with violence. Social radicalism is the desire to make fundamental changes in accordance with social reality and the ideology that it adopts.

Religious radicalism is religious behaviour that violates the Sharia, takes on a very strong character to achieve certain targets or changes the social situation by violating religious rules (Qodir & Zuly, 2014). The emergence of radical Islamic movements in Indonesia is caused by 2 factors, namely internal factors originating from Muslims who deviate from religious norms and external factors outside of Muslims, namely western rulers, for example the Jihad command of the Warsidi movement, Salaman Hafidz, and Imron who arousing radicalism in Indonesia (Afadhal, 2012). Indeed, acts of terrorism in Indonesia have decreased from around 2000, but the root of terrorism, namely religious radicalism, remains in society (Hafid, 2020). Special Staff of the Head of the Steering Committee for the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) Antonius Benny Susetyo stated that radicalism considers the truth it adheres to as absolute, feels that it is the most righteous and dangerous if it manipulates religion to seize power for a moment (Beritasatu.com, 2021). He also stated that if law enforcement is good and all laws are in effect, hate speech and intolerance will not develop and radicalism will be overcome. According to the Dean of the UGM Faculty of Philosophy, Dr. Arqom Kuswanjono, Pancasila values can face radicalism, so it is important to build and strengthen the Pancasila ideology in society (Ika, 2017). Pancasila values also need to be actualized in the life of the diverse Indonesian people (Muhaimin, 2018). He also stated that if law enforcement is good and all laws are in effect, hate speech and intolerance will not develop and radicalism will be overcome (Dewantara, 2015).

The differences that exist in this pluralistic state of Indonesia are very likely to become a source of conflict. Education is needed to keep people away from attitudes that are incompatible with a pluralistic society, such as exclusivism with the first, namely developing an attitude of tolerance, namely mutual respect and respect for existing differences, so that they do not humiliate or insult other cultures and can coexist with each other, people of different ethnicity, religion, and race. Then the second is to develop an attitude of empathy, which is to foster social awareness, if there are social problems it becomes a shared responsibility, so that they can help each other and work together. Then the last one, namely developing an inclusive attitude. In contrast to the exclusive, this inclusive attitude keeps away from being closed to other groups.

Globalization is a process or event of increasing global relations, international integration, and dependence on technological, economic, cultural, social, ecological, and even political fields. Basically, globalization is an attempt to achieve a positive goal, namely, to unite the whole world in a market system that has free movement.

Method

This research uses a case study method with a qualitative approach. A case study is a series of intensive, in-depth, and detailed scientific activities about an event and activity carried out by individuals, groups of people, institutions and organizations to gain in-depth knowledge of these events and activities. In case studies, the why and how questions are used to gain in-depth knowledge (Rahardjo, 2017) . The data collection technique used for this research is literature study. This data collection activities are related to collecting library data, reading, taking notes and processing research materials. Data obtained from books, journals, articles, newspapers which contain the concepts under study.

Discussion and Result

Background to the Emergence of Radicalism in Indonesia

Radicalism, which is a movement that uses drastic and extreme violence to bring about social change and reform, currently leads to religions, especially Islamic radical groups. Globally, Islamic radicalism emerged as a reaction to the colonialization carried out by western countries, especially the United States of America, in Islamic countries which resulted in the splitting of these countries into several nation-states (Asrori, 2015). So that radicalism is used for a political target.

Meanwhile in Indonesia, the emergence of the radicalism movement was seen in the post-New Order era, where politics in the Reformation Era appeared to be free and open (Hilmy & Masdar, 2015). In this era, religious radicalism movements began to emerge, such as Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Laskar Jihad, Laskar Jundulloh, the Front Pembela Islam (FPI) or Front Islamic Defenders, MMI, HTI, and so on. During the era of President Soeharto, there was an anti-subversion law, namely in the Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 in 1963 which was considered to suppress public freedom and independence (Rijal, 2010). In the Reformation Era, the Law was repealed which explained the beginning of the reopening of radical religious groups to come back.

Ahmad Rizky argued that radicalism movements emerged in Indonesia due to gaps in the social and economic aspects (Rizky & Umar, 2010). Islamic groups that consider themselves to be disadvantaged in the political field will take actions that have a radical and militaristic character. A survey conducted by the Lembaga Survey Indonesia (LSI) or Indonesian Survey Circle shows that the increase in acts of terrorism is due to the influence of economic factors. Several cases of terrorism that have occurred in Indonesia previously show that the perpetrator has a difficult economic background. The low economic condition also makes the reason why a weak society becomes more easily indoctrinated to enter a radical group.

In terms of the sociology of citizenship, radicalism is seen as a result of the failure of the welfare of citizens which should be realized by the state as a social service to its citizens. The high number of poor people and the number of unemployed in Indonesia shows that there is a gap on the economic and social side of Indonesia which is one of the causes of the radical movement which views the government as incompetent in realizing social justice and welfare for the community. However, radical actions such as bombing and changing the form of the state are considered to occur for two reasons, namely the inability of the government to provide rights to people who experience poverty, and because Islamic radical groups have a strong fundamental against the colonialists, and the presence of foreign corporations.

The changes brought about by the current era of globalization are inevitable. The developments that occur in all areas of life, including science, have an impact on the behavior, perspective and actions of mankind. With technology, all information can easily be owned by everyone (Husein, 2017). Changes that occur globally also ultimately affect the lives of religious communities.

When religions are unable to answer the demands of society in this era, people will look for other references that are considered more adequate than their religion. Islamic radical groups respond to globalization emotionally, reactionary, and seem to have collided with the development of social conditions. Martin F. Marty argues that the actions of radical groups are a reaction to modernism, a quick and instant change in life that causes radical groups to be unwilling to have a dialogue with the reality they are facing.

Before the era of globalization and the digital era, the spread of radicalism was carried out directly and through books to strengthen their understanding. However, currently the spread of radical ideas has shifted to electronic media by utilizing digital media to more easily recruit and spread radicalism, especially among the

younger generation. The use of the internet by radical groups is a new challenge in fighting radicalism. Kominfo (Indonesian Communications and Information Technology Ministry) during 2017-2019 managed to handle 13,151 content containing digital radicalism, this shows how the spread of radicalism has shifted to the internet sector. The target of this understanding is no longer limited to university students, but also includes school-age children. Young people aged 17-25 years are said to be vulnerable to being exposed to radical ideas by the Badan Intelenjen Negara (BIN) or State Intelligence Agency, because at that age phase, young people are easier to be influenced because they are still in the process of looking for their identity. To date, 65 cases have been recorded as acts of radicalism in the name of religion. At the end of 2019, there was a radical action, namely the stabbing of an official by an individual who was part of a radical group, and a suicide bombing at the Medan Police Station by a group of individuals.

The Role of Pancasila in Facing Radicalism in the Age of Globalization

Radicalism in the name of religion is an act that is very contrary to the values of Pancasila. Pancasila as the ideology and fundamental of the state has values that clearly aim to unite the Indonesian nation from all differences in ethnicity, culture, religion and race. So that a radical action not only affects the groups targeted by the radicalism movement but also affects all of us as Indonesian citizens whose basic country is being opposed by a group (Khanif, 2017).

Therefore, to overcome the problem of radicalism, the values contained in Pancasila are the right choice to be used in fortifying ourselves and against acts of radicalism that are occurring in our country (Nento & Ahmadin, 2017) . As Soekarno had said; If the Indonesian nation forgets Pancasila, does not implement it and does not even practice it, the Indonesian nation will fall to pieces. So that understanding and practicing the values of Pancasila must be developed.

By looking at how the young generation of our nation has become the main target of the spread of radicalism, BNPT has set a strategy to eradicate radicalism through two programs, namely counter-radicalization and deradicalization (Muhammad, 2016). These two programs have differences from the target recipients. For the counter-radicalization program, it is more focused on the general public, young people, students, and community leaders to instill the values of nationalism and nationality to fortify them from radicalism. Meanwhile, the deradicalization program is targeted at individuals who have been exposed to radicalism, namely those who are included in radical groups or individuals who have the status of sympathizers for radicalism.

1. Counter-radicalization Program

Counter-radicalization is a program designed to prevent a radical ideology from developing. Law number 5 of 2018 states that counter-radicalization is a planned, integrated, systematic and sustainable process for people who are vulnerable to being exposed to radicalism of terrorism with the aim of stopping the spread of this understanding (Aisy, Ibrahim, & Khusnul, 2019). The counter-radicalization strategy is regulated in several laws, one of which is Government Regulation number 77 of 2019 concerning the Prevention of Criminal Acts of Terrorism and Protection of investigators, public prosecutors, judges and correctional officers.

Some of the strategies implemented were monitoring and counter propaganda, vigilance, and protection. These strategies are carried out through 2 media, namely offline and online. This online method is supported by the BNPT which forms a media centre to deconstruct ideas against mass media propaganda. The offline method is carried out with seminars, workshops, discussions, lessons. In addition, this strategy can also be carried out externally, involving institutions, stakeholders, other ministries to prevent radical ideologies, and internally, namely the use of videos, posters and articles.

Social media in this era of globalization is a strategic platform for people to express their opinions. In addition, social media has anonymous features and a wide reach from the lower middle class to the top as a means of mass communication. Various political views such as radical ones can reach those who have online networks. Therefore, a good response and sorting out the information presented is at the forefront of eradicating this radicalism. The Ministry of Communication and Informatics of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemkominfo RI) establishes cyber patrols to prevent the dissemination of information that could potentially

contain radicalism. Access to alternative sites is limited in their space for movement, especially social media that voices radical views.

Even though the government has tried to limit the limits on social media, it is necessary to develop an understanding and critical thinking from the people themselves who will become the nations next generation. This can be done by socializing regulations on online media use and the duties, obligations and rights of each person in using the internet. The government has enforced the law through the ITE Law (Law on Information and Electronic Transactions) which has ensnared perpetrators of discussing politics. In fact, the ITE Law should also be used as a guide to combat the spread of radical content.

The ability of the public and the government in counter-opinion propaganda of social media radicalism is an effort that must be fought for. Although blocking controversial sites is the main effort made by the government, the aspect of peoples ability to ward off radicalism through counter-opinion is the most important thing because it involves our mindset and mindset. This capacity building can be a sandpaper or deframing tool of various information. Back again to the implementation of Pancasila in the way of life of everyone, where every action must practice Pancasila, not against it. BNPTs national policy is the leading sector that has the authority to formulate and formulate policies and strategies to coordinate the counter-terrorism sector. The BNPT consists of three policy areas, namely the field of prevention of protection and deradicalization, the field of repression and capacity building, and the field of international cooperation. The field of prevention of protection and deradicalization (Febriyansah, Khodriah, & Wardana, 2017).

Formal and non-formal education needs to be instilled for the nations future generations with the aim of instilling Pancasila as a guideline as early as possible. This counter-radicalism program must be initiated by teachers from the lowest level even to universities to be flexible. The notion of Pancasila as the value that is the source of all these laws must be well understood by the teachers so that there are no mistakes when it is passed down to the nations future generations (Subagyo, 2020). Counter-radicalization is directed through cooperation with religious, educational, community, indigenous, youth and even influencers to provide national values.

2. **Deradicalization Program**

Deradicalization is one of the governments main programs in fighting against radical acts such as terrorism occurring in Indonesia. Deradicalization includes various fields that must work together to achieve the goals of this program, namely the fields of law, psychology, religion, and socio-culture. Good cooperation between the deradicalization system and law enforcement is needed so that law enforcement can be achieved together and neutralize radicalism in our country (Hartanto, 2019). So that in addition to the deradicalization program.

The government established the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) to eradicate terrorism, as well as the enactment of Law number 15 of 2003 concerning the Stipulation of Perpu number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism into law. The enactment of this law resulted in the sentencing of terrorism perpetrators to the death penalty with the aim of providing a deterrent effect on other radical groups. For the deradicalization program itself, it is clear that the program is based on the values contained in Pancasila so that the life guidelines and guidelines for the target nation and state of the deradicalization program are in line with the Pancasila ideology.

The following are the objectives and details of the deradicalization program implemented by BNPT which is carried out on terrorism convicts in various prisons.

a. Fostering terrorism convicts to abandon the views, attitudes, and actions of radical terrorism through religious, social, cultural and economic approaches.
b. Providing enlightenment of thought to terrorism convicts with peaceful and tolerant religious knowledge and national insight within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia.
c. Fostering independence for terrorism convicts in the form of personality improvement.
d. Preparing terrorism convicts before returning to life as a nation and state.
e. Helping the families of prisoners to re-accept prisoners in their lives and in social life in the community.
f. Using former terrorism convicts and their families in de-radicalization programs with religious, social, and cultural approaches.

g. Helping people to leave behind the radical views and attitudes that continue to develop in society.

The implementation of this de-radicalization program has been quite visible in various prisons throughout Indonesia. In 2019, Rizky conducted research on the deradicalization program carried out on terrorism convicts in class IIA Wirogunan prisons. This program is carried out on 15 prisoners and correctional students. Guidance is carried out in terms of religion, nation and state, intellectual ability, and legal awareness (Munif, 2018). The indicators for the success of this program as determined by the BNPT have two points. First, terrorism convicts are willing to sign a statement of loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia and are willing to cooperate with the government. The second point is further divided into two, namely the hard effect which can be seen from the absence of any more radical actions related to the prisoners concerned, and the soft effect which can be seen from the reduced spread and inculcation of hatred in other ethnic groups, religions, or other nations. Since the second point is more towards long-term results, this study only assesses the success of the first point of this program. Of the 15 terrorism convicts and correctional students who participated in the deradicalization program, 12 of them were willing to sign a statement of loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia and to the government. Deradicalization has also been carried out on terrorism convicts in the Lamongan IIB class prison by carrying out three development programs, namely personality development, independence, and awareness of the nation and state, and the responses and responses of prisoners are divided into two groups, namely a sufficient attitude to accept national and state coaching, and an attitude of disrespect. receive national and state development.

Pancasila and Social Exclusivism in the Globalization Era

As explained in the theory basis, exclusivism is a notion that tends to separate themselves or groups of individuals from society. Broadly speaking, this understanding has a positive side, namely the culture, culture and culture of the group can be maintained even though in this era many changes and developments have occurred. However, the negative side of this understanding is the view that individual, or group interests are the most important compared to common interests.

Indonesia with so much diversity in terms of religion, culture, language, and race shows how complex the diversity of the Indonesian people is, this makes Indonesian society a multicultural society (Rantung, 2017). This fact is one of the reasons behind the emergence of exclusivism in our country. Although this understanding of exclusivism can occur in all areas of life such as groups, ethnicities, and so on, one of the most prominent examples of exclusivism in our country is exclusivism in the field of religion (Siswantara, 2012). Exclusivism is seen from how each religion considers its belief to be the most correct compared to other religions, only that it is true and has the right to live, and other religions have wrong views, this is called formalistic legal-exclusive religious practice. This practice of exclusivism is at the root of the emergence of intolerance in our country.

Conclusion

From the results and discussion, it can be concluded that the challenges and strengthening of the Pancasila ideology in facing radicalism and social exclusivism in the era of globalization can be done by understanding that Indonesia is a multicultural nation and has Pancasila that must be recognized and fought for together. An understanding and appreciation of the values of Pancasila need to be instilled in oneself from an early age. So that the understanding of Pancasila as the ideology of the nation has been attached to a person. The unity of this nation is built on the fundamental of diversity in culture, religion, ethnicity, race, etc. The fundamental threat to this multicultural democratic country is the emergence of a sectarian culture. One manifestation of sectarianism is an anti-tolerant attitude towards the other that is the door to becoming radical. The diversity of this nation should not be a trigger for hostility. Rather, it embodies life in peace and tolerance. The presence of Pancasila is the fundamental for uniting the diversity of the Indonesian nation. Radicalism is an act that destroys humanity. As fellow human beings, we must respect the dignity of life. Treat each other humanely, as he treats himself or expects others to treat him the same.

Challenges and strengthening of the Pancasila ideology in facing radicalism and social exclusivism in the era of globalization can be done by grounding Pancasila in developments in the era of globalization by increasing understanding of Pancasila, reducing social exclusivism, reducing social disparities, increasing

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Pancasila insights for state administrators and making Pancasila an example. In facing the era of globalization, strengthening Pancasila in the face of the era of globalization is by increasing superior Indonesian human resources in accordance with the values of Pancasila, maintaining the existence of Pancasila as the Indonesian State Ideology.

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