THE DILEMMA OF POLITICAL EDUCATION AS A TRANSFORMATION BASIS OF *JEMAAH TARBIYAH* MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This research aims at finding out the dilemma occurring in the political education, performed by the organization named Gerakan Jemaah Tarbiyah. A qualitative approach by critical analysis was employed, and the data was gathered by documented and in depth interview methods. The result explained that; first, political education in a phase of the missionary movement could influence Jemaah Tarbiyah in transforming the movement by transmitting various knowledge, attitude and political awareness that Jemaah Tarbiyah had. Second, there was a political education trend which already shifted the roles as the indoctrination instruments for the party to transmit values and justifier various policies decided by the elite of the party.

ملخص

يهدف هذا البحث إلى معرفة المعضلة التي تحدث في التثقيف السياسي الذي يقوم به منظمة تسمسحركة جماعة التربيه. كان يعمل نهج نوعي من التحليل النقدي، وجمعت البيانات بواسطة موثقة وفي أساليب مقابلة العمق. وأوضحت نتيجة أن أولا، يمكن أن التثقيف السياسي في مرحلة من مراحل الحركة التبشيرية يؤثر جماعة التربيه في تحويل الحركة مع نقل المعرفة المختلفة والمواقف والوعي السياسي عندهم. ثانيا، كان هناك اتجاه التثقيف السياسي الذي تحول بفعل الأدوار كصكوك التلقين للحزب لنقل القيم وتيريز السياسات المختلفة التيقررها نخبة الحزب.

Keywords: *political education, transformation, political party, Jemaah Tarbiyah*

A. Introduction

Political education plays a very vital and strategic to the survival and re-generation of an organization in politics. Through political education activities members of a political organization, the congregation religious movement organizations get the transfer value and the heritage values of the previous generation. More than that through a process of political education of members of a political party as well as gain insight into the knowledge of politics also shaped the attitudes and political awareness.

Through a process of political education of members of political organizations and citizens, generally it has an idealistic attitude on the supportive state policies authority in accordance with the aspirations of the people and at the same time is also possible to have a critical attitude to government policies that do not fit with the people's aspirations.

The assertion about the importance of political education among others, delivered by Gutmann as stated below.

" ... we can conclode that political education -- the cultivation of the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation--has moral primacy over others pusposes of public education in a democratic society. Political education prepares citizens to participate in consciously reproducing their society and conscious social reproduction is the ideal not only of democratic education but also of democratic politics" [1]

Terminology of political education is often distinguished from political socialization. Therefore it is important to be firstly introduced the sense of political education before the discussion proceeded to the main issue of this study.

Besides of the terminology of political education, there is another terminology that needs to be clarified, it is the political socialization term. According to John J. Patrick

> " Political socialization refers to the process by which people learn to adopt the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors accepted and practiced by the ongoing system, political socialization refers to the individual's acquisition of his society's political culture or norms for managing "the authoritative distribution of advantages and disadvantages". The end towards which this process functions is the development of

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[1]   Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education*, (Princeton New Jersy: Princeton University Press, 1999), p.287.

individuals who accept approved motives, habits, and values relevant to the political system of their society and who transmit these norms to future generations. (Stanley Allen Renshon)[2]

Furthermore, Ben Rosemond states that

"Political socialization as the process or the set of processes, through which people learn about politics and acquire political values. There is much dispute about which processes are significant and about whwn in the life cycle the most important socialisation takes place"[3]

Meanwhile, other scholars Bay states that

"as with all education, political science education must aim at liberating the student from the blinders of the convensional wisdom, from political totems and taboos, so that may make the basic choice of how to live and of political ideals as an independent person with optimal critical powers"(Louis J. Cantori, Andrew H. Ziegler, Jr).[4]

Moreover Pranger explains that

"a broad political education emphasizes the artificiality of political order and the citizen as creative actor within this order." Pandangan yang senada dikemukakan oleh Entwistle, ia berpendapat bahwa "political education, in contrast to socialization, should help youngsters learn to question basic assumptions of their polity and to consider alternative answers (Louis J. Cantori, Andrew H. Ziegler, Jr.).[5]

The different meaning between the political socialization with political education as presented above has implications for curriculum development and learning design, between political socialization and political education. According to John Patrick, the difference is as follows.

student of political socialization should be concerned primarily with

2   Stanley Allen Renshon, *Handbooks of Political socialization Theory and Research*, (London: The Free Press a division of Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc, 1977), p.191.

3   Ben Rosamond, *Politics: an introduction second edition*, (London: Routledge, 2002).p.58

4   Louis J. Cantori and Andrew H. Ziegler, Jr, Political socialization a Note on the Ambiguity of Political socialization: Defenitions, Cruticims, and Strategics of Inquiry in Comparative Politics. (2002) p.191

5   Louis J. Cantori and Andrew H. Ziegler, Jr, Political socialization a Note on the Ambiguity of Political socialization: Defenitions, Cruticims, and Strategics of Inquiry in Comparative Politics, (2002)..., p.192

question about the maintenance of political systems, about the transmission of political orthodoxy. Tey should ask how individuals learn to confrom to the sociopolitical status qou so that political norms are observed and established political roles are performed (Stanley Allen Renshon).[6]

Political Education has a wider attention. Political education is not only limiting individual to learn prevailing political order, but also require individuals to learn, create and modify political order. "They should not merely ask how individuals learn to conform so that political orders endure; but they also should ask how individuals learn to create and to change political orders.[7]

 In contextual, political education conducted by the political parties to citizens as a conscious effort to change the political socialization process, so that they really understand and appreciate, the values contained in an ideal political system that will be built. [8]

From these differences perspective, it is interesting and important to study deeper whether dilemma is faced by political education as an instrument for transformation?

B.   Dilemma of PKS's Political Education as Transformation Instruments

Before we come to the conclusion about the dilemma of political education "*tarbiyah siasah*" PKS as a basis transformation, it is very important to observe the tarbiyah siasah's curriculum structure which has referred by PKS, as can be observed in statement below.

Curriculum coverage in *Manhaj* (PKS's political education format) based on the research' summary; consist of the following materials:[9]

I.   Islamic:

1) *Syumuliyatul Islam* and the political history of Islam

2) Monotheism: Paradigm Muslim faith

3) Islam as a way of life

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[6]   Stanley Allen Renshon, Handbooks of Political socialization Theory and Research..., p.193

[7]   Stanley Allen Renshon, *ibid*.

[8]   Alfian, *Pemikiran dan Perubahan Politik di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1986), p.226.

9   Kurikulum Tarbiyah Islamiyah. Buku 1, Buku 2, (Solo: Tim Kerja Penyusunan Kurikulum, 2000).

4) Islam as the cornerstone of the philosophy and operational basis in politics
5) Propagation and *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar*
6) The Islamic Society of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* in perspectives
7) The concept of social change in the Islamic perspectives
8) *Shura*: principles, ethics, mechanisms, and historical practice
9) *Fiqih ikhtilaf*: principles and applications in life

2. Party affairs:
   1) The history and identity of the Partai Keadilan(Justice Party/PKS)
   2) The Partai Keadilan's Constitution and Principles
   3) Ideology, values, and methodology of the party
   4) Identity of Partai Keadilan
   5) Organizational Sanctions
   6) Partai Keadilan in a political format in the reform era
   7) The struggle doctrine of Partai Keadilan
   8) Partai Keadilan as the party's propaganda
   9) Partai Keadilan among Islamist Parties
   10) Future Cadre of Partai Keadilan
   11) Strategies of Partai Keadilan in Social Transformation
   12) Partai Keadilan in Empowering People

3. Introduction to the structure and management of the party

4. Insight, which is consists of:
   a. Political Insight, which is includes:
      1) Fundamentals of Political Islam
      2) Indonesia Political System
      3) Social Relations System in Islam
      4) Images of the political realities of contemporary Islamic world
      5) Governance and social policy
      6) Social relations, propaganda, and *tarbiyah*
      7) Politics Channel
      8) The Muslim Brotherhood's Political Education
      9) *Dakwah*/speech of Party
   b. Insights history:
      1) The political struggle of Muslims in Indonesia

2) History of Indonesia's politics affairs
3) Reality of Political Islam in the *Khulafa'Rasyidin* era
4) History of Islamic civilization glory
5) perjalanan Gerakan Dakwah Pemuda and *Dakwah* in the Muslim lands *Al ¬ Khashaisul Arnal Syar'iyah*

5. Abilities:
    1) Introduction to the fundamentals of the organization
    2) Management of the organization
    3) Leadership
    4) Problem solving
    5) Technical discussions and making decision
    6) Establishment of Public Opinion
    7) Think creatively
    8) Strategic planning
    9) Public speaking skills
    10) Debating skills
    11) Lobby and negotiating skills
    12) Leadership skills
    13) Investigative techniques
    14) Mass mobilization techniques
    15) Media relations
    16) Analysis of discourse
    17) Legal drafting
    18) Budgeting skills
    19) Evaluation skills
    20) Conflict Management
    21) Self development
    22) Leadership

6. Complement
    1) All about the DPC
    2) All about the DPD
    3) All about the DPW
    4) All about the DPP
    5) Workshop, create a strategic plan DPC / DPRA

6) Workshop: a strategic planning DPD. (Source: Adapted from PKS's internal documents, 2000-2007,''*Tarbiyah Islamiyah* Modul '', published by the Institute of Manhaj Tarbiyah (LKMT) and Robbani Press, Jakarta, 2009).

Political education or *tarbiyah siyasiyah* began embodied in a standardized curriculum around 1421 H. But long before its existence as a political party, political education has been implanted as a foundation to realize the benefit of the world. Tarbiyah siyasiyah understood by PKS as one aspect of a series tarbiyah overall, in addition to the faith of tarbiyah, worship, and morality. PKS sees politics (*siyasi*) and preaching as an integral entity and cannot be separated, thus fostering strategies pursued on two sides, that is tarbiyah to corroborate the existence of preaching and the congregation through the sense of *tarbiyah harokiyah* and tarbiyah to corroborate the existence of a role do party politics through *tarbiyah hizbivah* in which is the essence of *tarbiyah siyasiyah*. Both are embodied as *tarbiyah islamiyah* which essentially emphasize each tarbiyah cadre on the formation *syakhsiyah Islamiyah* (Islamic personality) as a model for humans and syakhsiyah daiyah (personality of dai) as a human caller to enter into Islam.[10]

There are three stages of the Islamist political interaction as part of the manifestation of political education which has been conducted by PKS, including :

a) First Stage: Mastery Politics (*al-ilm as siyasi*)

Mastery of political science is needed to determine mastering steps are taken when there is encouragement and a political response from within and from outside, which consists of:

1) *Muthola'ah siyasiyah* (critique of political literature), included: assessment blibiotic, meet informants, observations on the political dynamics of local, national, and international levels.

2) *Munawaroh siyasiyah* (political dialogue) with diverse political streams, maps and signs are clear, both conceptually and operationally to the field.

3) *Mutaba'ah siyasiyah* (evaluation) of all the steps that have been taken, so it will know the full scope of politics has been well understood.

b) Second Stage: Doing Action Awareness (*Tan'iyah As-Siyasiyah*)

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[10] Interview with Mr. Cahyadi Takariawan. March 24, 2010, in Yogyakarta.

The step is taken to foster a cadre of internal solidarity, both of falls on the political field or those who support from outside and followed by efforts the growing of internal political institutions as a vehicle *tadribat* (exercise) charity activists prepared plunge into politics. In this stage, it followed by an attempt to do some political action, such as the spread of Islamic political theory, political local actions (*al ¬ munawaroh as-siyasi*), political propaganda (*ad-di'yan as-siyasi*), the establishment of the political organization (*at-tandzim as-siyasi*), and political penetration (*al-ikhtiroq as-siyasi*).

c) Third Stage: Political Participation (*al musyarokah as-siyasi*)

Begin with social participation (*musyarokah ijtima'iyah*) involvement to the active form for the efforts of strengthening and restructuring society in all aspects, *ruhiyah*, *fikriyah*, *jasadiyah*, and *maliyah*. It is expectation for the individuals which are known and entrenched to the society, and then it will be born of society support and benefit programs to the society. With a solid base of society support, the next step is expected to be easy. The establishment of political institutions will have adequate public support, when entering the electoral arena (*al-intikhobiyah*), parliament, and government.[11]

By those perspectives from the data before, Gerakan Tarbiyah's political education system could be elaborated in more detail. According to the writer's observation, there are some limitations and dilemma in PKS's political education system as follows:

1. Since the beginning political education system strongly influenced by the environmental education campus, the participants from the educated segment was easy to absorb the information, it is the middle class. So when political education model was used to expand the base of support for the PKS to a wider mass base such as rural communities, farmers, the workers, the people who are less educated, community sociologically instead of the students having difficulties and limitations to be developed. Manhaj is in a dilemma between on the one hand emphasizing quality with limited mass support or are more concerned with quantity at the expense of quality.

2. PKS's political education system inspired by the Manhaj Tarbiyah Ikhwanul Muslim, require revision, modification, adaptation by remembering condition factor and the dynamics of the Indonesian people. PKS's political

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[11] Jasiman, *Syarah Rasmul Bayan Tarbiyah*, (Solo: Auliya Press, 2005), p.10.

education system still require adaptation of the various aspects to be used for the benefit of broadening the base of support. Adaptation is related to the simplification of matter (issues to be provided); adaptive learning models; simplification of the language used; cultural symbols are allowed to be understood by the lower classes; simplification languages abstract ideological language that can be understood by the bottom. Orientation are less ideological political education that gave birth to out put the figure of the PKS's cadres ideological, militant, less communicative, culturally and symbols can be expressed as one form of limitation of *PKS's manhaj tarbiyah siyasah* . Manhaj tarbiyah experiencing dilemma between on the one hand to maintain originality manhaj and pragmatic interests to do modification, moderation manhaj.

3. From the observations was found that only a few party cadres can passes the steps beyond taken by the PKS cadres. The condition causes many prospective cadres were broken in the middle of the road, not forward regeneration in the later stages. The things that cause the breakdown of the cadre (loss of prospective volunteers), among others. First, unavailability of instructors who have intellectual competencies required by members. Secondly, because of the orientation is less clear: the three materials and the process of regeneration is not completely in accordance with the interests of its members; Fourth, members of beginners feel bored because the process is too long and in part felt too heavy. Manhaj in a dilemma between maintaining its orientation as a party cadre with strict recruitment or mass party with a loose recruitment.

4. Quantitatively rarely found that the number of members who attend the cadre can be surviving from the initial till the end stages without experiencing shrinking number of members. It often happens that the process occurs is very drastic shrinkage.

5. Model of political education which is owned by the PKS has even been proven capable of producing party cadres and militants loyal to the party but the PKS's political education still has limitations and weaknesses in order to penetrate a wider mass base. This is confirmed by the voting results

of three times of the PKS's elections, it is around 7%. PKS still cannot break the above 10-15% of the national vote.

From the overall discussion of the dilemma of political education as a basis transformation which has described before, it would be made a statement that internally the Gerakan Tarbiyah has been able to do a process of institutional transformation in certain extent from informal institutional organization (the underground) famous by Jemaah Tarbiyah in the span of the 1980s until the late 1990s of government's Orde Baru turned into a political party, a formal organization and the formal political structure in Indonesia.[12] But it must be underline that the ability Gerakan Tarbiyah with Manhaj Tarbiyah (Tarbiyah system) has limitations and faces dilemmas in the process of transformation of both internal and external transformation. Manhaj tarbiyah facing the dilemma between maintaining orintasi political education that emphasizes originality, authenticity manhaj, quality but with limited mass support or emphasizes quantity mass support by ignoring originality manhaj and quality of the educational process of political education.

C. Concluding Remarks

From the description and discussion as stated, it can be concluded that political education system in the next development having dilemma whether encourage the transformation permanent role or having experienced a shift reduction orientation serves as the inheritance of values and giving legitimacy of measures taken by the political elite when it is entering the political movement. In the phase of political movements, the functions of political education are creating a critical awareness and build an ideal system being reduced.

Jemaah Tarbiyah political education system is necessary to contextualize with the conditions Indonesian itself especially on the orientation of political education and political education curriculum structure, to be accepted broadly by the Indonesian society. Solution to face the dilemma in the implementation of political education is required to maintain consistent policy baseline values of manhaj tarbiyah and innovate on the values that are instrumentally.

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[12] Yon Machmudi, *Islamising Indonesia: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*. (Australia: ANUE Press, 2008).

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