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PANCASILA EDUCATION AS A TRANSNATIONAL AND DERADICALIZATION AND ISLAMIC ISLAMIC STRATEGY

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Abstract

The aim of education is to humanize human beings in a humane way so that the order of mutual respect and respect is realized above all differences. Such idealism is not fully run as expected with the challenges of the times and the many unexplained thoughts. Among them is radicalism, this radicalism needs to be stopped, because the movements and thoughts of individuals and groups that are oriented towards radical activities, such as those that lead to violence, war and terror, are pleasing to the community. It is Pancasila as an integration between religion and nationalism that is able to stem this thinking from alienating the world of Education.

Keywords: Education, Pancasila, Deradicalization.

Introduction

After the reformation, various kinds of ideologies, both from the western and Islamic spirits, surfaced, both the embryo of the stream has long existed in the body of the Indonesian Islamic community, as well as new ideologies imported from the outside with radical and transnational movement patterns. Indonesia has become an arena for fighting various kinds of ideologies which are mostly against the spirit of Islam and Indonesianness. Radical fundamentalist ideology, with loud voices often claims that the group is on the line that is the most correct and most in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Outside groups are considered heretics, heretics, polytheists, and anti fight for the Shari'a.

This radical transnational pattern is getting stronger and continues to spread its wings in all parts of Indonesia. The variants of these groups are so many, although they have different perspectives, including in the details of religious understanding, the purpose of the movement that was built tended to be the same, namely the formalization of Islamic law. In order to achieve this goal, these hardline groups use all means, not even against the teachings of Islam itself. Accuse of heresy and other infidel groups who are not as understanding. Even violence in the name of religion is normal in their view. The phenomenon of bomb terror often involves their cadres with justifications based on the interpretation of the Qur'an and al-Hadith according to their will.

Indirectly radicalism systematically fills the empty spaces of state ideology (Pancasila) which used to be massively taught and sown through education. So it is important to start counter radicalism, we start from Pancasila Education and citizenship, in which there are noble Islamic values. It is necessary to have an integration between Pancasila Education and Islamic religion which actually does not have a dichotomy in both, and equally in fighting for peace in the nation and state.

Education must take an important role in stemming the development of radicalism. However education is a very vital aspect of human life. The thing that is done by every human being, from waking up to dying, is part of the process and at the same time educational products. Ki Hadjar Dewantoro calls it life long education which is defined as the lifelong process of education. Benjamin Samuel Bloom has the concept of educational taxonomy which includes three domains, namely cognitive, affective, and psychomotor.

Education is integrative and comprehensive, meaning that it has various aspects or materials that are

interrelated and interrelated between materials with each other. Education not only directs the quality of the mind, but also involves ethics and mechanical or muscle intelligence. In other words, the measure of educational success is not enough to be seen from the success of giving birth to cognitive or affective or psychomotor skills, but the three domains must be achieved in a complete and perfect manner.

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Research methods

Qualitative research is research about research that is descriptive and tends to use analysis. Process and meaning (subject perspective) are more highlighted in qualitative research. The theoretical foundation is used as a guide so that the focus of the research is in accordance with the facts in the field. According Sugiyono (2010: 15), explains that: This method is a research method based on the philosophy of positivism, used to examine the condition of natural objects, (as opposed to experiment) where the researcher is a key instrument, data source sampling is carried out purposive and snowball, collection techniques with triangulation, data analysis are inductive / qualitative, and the results of qualitative research are more pressing meaning than generalization.

Transnational Islamic and Radical Movement Genealogy

Radicalism is not born just like that but based on the background of the social, political and economic context that preceded it. However, are there theological and ideological factors that are the basis for the development of this Islamic movement? The emergence of Islamic radicalism movement in the realm of our nationality is actually inseparable from the presence of Islamic ideology in the typical 20th century salafism (Noorhaidi Hasan, 2006: 18), namely a flow of Islamic movements that not only emphasize religious purification, but become an ideology of resistance to various understand that is not in accordance with religious values, such as modernism, secularism, capitalism, and others. The characters include Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb (Ikhwānul Muslimin) and Abu al-A'la al-Maududi (Jama'ati Islami).

Hermeneutical interpretation is considered to tarnish the sanctity of religion so that the religious expression of society becomes textual. Such religious appearance influences the understanding of radicalism because the text of the argument is not seen based on the context of community life but as an indicator of right and wrong. Textual understanding of radical Islamic movements that are transnational are usually associated with the argument that there is no law except from Allah (al hukma illa lillāh), and whoever uses the law other than Allah is an infidel (Al Māidah: 44). This argument is certainly the foundation of the idea that Islam is a religion that is very perfect and perfect to regulate all aspects of life, including politics.

God's Law in QS. Al-Māidah verse 44 is understood as a codified group law, as well as laws that have been codified by Shia scholars or Sunni scholars. The historical context of the decline of the verse relates to Jews who were sentenced to be lashed and beaten by their bodies committing adultery and having a family (Imam Al Wahidi, 2003: 150). This explains that the verse is not related to the establishment of an Islamic state or a system of khilafah but the obligation for divine religion to carry out the law in its own holy book.

Table 1. The arguments of violence in the name of religion (Nasarudin Umar, 2014: 83)

No	Propositon	Understanding
1	Q.S. al-Ma'idah [5]: 44	Judging other than Allah's law is infidel
2	Q.S. al-Ma'idah [5]: 3	Islam has perfectly regulated all fields
3	Q.S. al-Fath [48]: 29	Being violent towards unbelievers
4	Q.S. al-Ma'idah [5]: 5	The command to kill, capture, and stalk the polytheists
5	Q.S. al-Baqarah [2]: 120	Jews and Christians always have plans to attack Muslims

The method of understanding textual understanding of arguments by rejecting other approaches makes this group tend to be exclusive and fanatical. This literalist group is not friendly with groups outside its part and always thinks negatively with other groups. Being hard on disbelief is not physically attacking infidels, but an understanding to fight pagan values in the context of tolerance, namely injustice, and dictatorship in society.

The radical Islamic organization has shown its significant face to accompany the face of other Islam (Clifford Geertz, 1960). Traces of Islamic radicalism among Indonesian Muslims are not entirely new. At the beginning of the 20th century, in an increase in the spirit of nationalism against Dutch colonialism and increasingly severe economic deprivation among indigenous people, Islamic radicalism was raised by local Sarekat Islam (SI) groups in the "ideology" of Islamic revivalism; Mahdiism or Ratu Adil; and anti-colonialism (Azyumardi Azra, 2000: 44).

While in the context of Indonesia's post-independence, the Islamic movement was present in response to the poor pattern of state relations with society. Therefore, if traced to the roots of Islamic radicalism in Indonesia, it will be strong enough in the Masyumi and DDII movements. The link between the Masyumi and DDII movements with Islamic radicalism after the New Order lies in the turning of the Masjumi figures from the political arena to Islamic da'wah activities as a direct result of the New Order era "Islamic depolitization" policy.

The process of turning away the Masyumi figures began with the refusal of their desire to rehabilitate the Masjumi by the early government of the New Order in 1967. Thus since then, a new paradigm of former Masyumi leaders has developed to expand the scope of Islamic struggle to non-political arenas (Yudi Latif, 2011: 497). Natsir revealed: "We no longer hold da'wah in political ways but are involved in political activities by means of da'wah. Since then, the term "da'wah" has become popular in the Indonesian public space. Precisely February 26, 1967, these former Masyumi leaders held a meeting at the al-Munawarah mosque (Tanah Abang, Jakarta), which resulted in an agreement to form the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII).

Because of the influence of Natsir's lobby, DDII in its development managed to gain access to donor institutions from Middle Eastern countries, such as Rabithah Alam Al-Islami. With funding from this institution, DDII was able to finance da'wah activities, build and equip libraries in mosques, universities, and da'wah institutions. DDII also experimented with gathering pesantren leaders, Islamic activists and social figures to establish a pesantren model Ma'had 'Aly.

In addition, DDII also sent Indonesian students to study in the Middle East. Until 2004, DDII had sent as many as 500 students to the Middle East and Pakistan. It is these Middle Eastern education alumni who later became the main actors of the spread of Islamic revivalism in Indonesia. DDII also became the initiator and mediator of the establishment of the Islamic and Arabic Sciences Institute (LIPIA) which is a branch of the Islamic University of Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud in Riyadh. This institution has graduated thousands of alumni who are agents of the Salafi movement and important actors among the Tarbiyah.

Thus, the Islamic identity hardening that underlies the Islamic formalism movement¹² in Indonesia occurs as a result of the poor pattern of state-civil society relations. Therefore, if a trace of the pattern of relations between state-civil society is directed to the mechanism of government that runs during the New Order, then the pattern of bad relations between state-civil society cannot be separated from the part of this regime's tendency to place the state as a determinant force in order support its main policy for the "development" of this nation (M. Syafi'i Anwar, 1993: 129). This emphasis on development policy does have a foundation in the history of the Indonesian nation's journey. This is because of the two decades of this nation's journey, since independence, aspects of development have tended to be neglected due to uncontrolled political dynamics.

Since the existence of this policy, since the 1970s, all socio-political organizations have been strictly controlled through a number of regulations. Therefore, along with the policy, the period of "political flow" that had dominated Indonesian politics until the early 1970s came to an end. Syafii Anwar, (1993) stated that the culmination was through a policy on the single principle of Pancasila Indonesia entering the "era of ideological purification" which was the most recent stage of the development of the nation's society at that time. By itself the position of religion in this country is slowly no longer experiencing politicization.

The Essence of Pancasila Education

Since the adoption of Pancasila on August 18, 1945 as the basis of the state as well as national ideology, the position of Pancasila reflects a comprehensive accommodation on plurality that has characterized the Indonesian nation for centuries. This plurality background encourages the nation's founding fathers to formulate a basic philosophy of the state (philosophische grondslag), a view of life (weltanschauung) and a national ideology that serves as a common hold and value in unifying as well as achieving a common goal above the plurality of nationalities. Thus, the issue of the presence of Islam in the nation's public space actually does not need to be an endless debate, but what needs to be watched out from the contemporary phenomenon of the post-New Order Islamic movement is the radical and transnational ideological dimension because it will threaten the future of the existence of this nation's unity because of the Islamic movement this could potentially be a cause of national disunity.

Concern is a normal and understandable thing and a solution needs to be found. However, it should not be when those concerns arise, then a solution that is then developed in stemming the flow of the movement by repeating the mistakes that have been created by the New Order. Through the above explanation, it would be quite clear that the "Islamic depolitization" policy adopted by the New Order had inadvertently created "new power" for political leaning Islamic groups. The modus operandi of the da'wah movement developed by the old leaders of Masyumi managed to create their resistance in the face of the total hegemony of the New Order state. As a result, the space for freedom of the reform era is precisely where they metamorphose as a force that is difficult to stem.

Ulama's nationalism by accepting Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state is a middle stance taken to safeguard Indonesian unity, while maintaining religious sustainability. Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as the leading organizations in the defense of Indonesian nationalism are not interested in formalizing Islamic law

in national and state life as the implementation of Islamic law in public space, state administration, and state administration, including private family law such as marriage, inheritance and banking . NU itself before the independence period through the 11th Congress in 1936 in Banjarmasin confirmed that Indonesia had become an Islamic state because the majority of the people were Muslims and there was no prohibition on running it despite being led by the Dutch Protestant Kingdom (Jimmy Oentoro, 2010: 167). Religion and state relations by NU scholars are considered in an accommodative relationship by defending Indonesian nationalism without distinguishing religion, ethnicity and class.

The term nationality is a description of the characteristics of the unity of the same person from the origin of heredity, culture, language, and historical roots in a particular location. The similarity of characteristics to the human group so that it can be called a nation began to develop in the 18th century in Europe, and experienced an ideological transformation into the Islamic world. The spread of the national ideology developed with Napoleon Bonaparte's aggression in Egypt in July 1978 which propagated itself as a devout Muslim (Shmuel Moreh, 1993: 24).

The development of the ideology of nationality was actually carried out by the Prophet Muhammad in the process of building a new community of the city of Yathrib. Modern nationalism is marked by the drafting of the constitution of the Medina Charter (Misaq al-Madinah) to bind the entire community of Medina without distinguishing the existing religion, ethnicity, or social class. The composition of the Madinah community at that time consisted of the Auz and Khazraj tribes who partially embraced Islam, and the Quraizhah, Nadhir, and Qaynuqa tribes who embraced Jews (Mun'im A. Sirry, 2003: 48). The Medina Charter was applied to all tribes to defend the sovereignty of the city of Yathrib which later turned into the City of Medina.

The strategy carried out by the Prophet Muhammad in Medina had in common with the national life of Indonesia which did not apply the constitution based on certain religious laws for all tribes, but applied the constitution on the basis of mutual agreement with the spirit of the principles of equality. Togetherness to defend the community based on regional aspects shows the existence of state defense built by the people of Medina.

The ideology of nationality or nationalism contained in the identity of National Strategy clearly has a basis in the Qur'an with the inclusiveness to know each other's identities. Of course the nationality will find diversity in terms of religion, ethnicity, skin color, social status, and other differences with limited appreciation through devotion, that is humanizing humans by not harassing each other. The meeting point between nationality and Islam can be seen in the principle that must be upheld. Nation demands for community unity (al-ummah), protection of rights.

Table 2. Formulation of Integration between Pancasila and Religion (Douglas E. Remagee, 1994)

No	Pancasila	Islamic Religio
1	Belief in the one and only God	⁴ <i>And your Lord is the Almighty God</i> , Surat al-Baqarah [2]: 163 ⁵
2	Just and civilized humanity	<i>O ye who believe! Let you be those who always uphold (the truth) because of Allah, be a witness justly. And do not your hatred for any people, encourage you to act unjustly. Apply is fair, because fair is closer to piety</i> . QS al-Ma'idah [5]: 8
3	the unity of Indonesia	<i>The believers are truly brothers. Therefore reconcile (improve relations) between your two brothers</i> . QS al-Hujurat [49]: 10 ⁴
4	Popularism that is led by wisdom of wisdom in representative deliberation	<i>Consult with them on the matter. Then if you have made up your mind, then put your trust in Allah</i> . Surah Ali Imran [3]: 159
5	Social justice for all the people of Indonesia	<i>Verily, Allah commanded to be just and to do good, to give to relatives</i> . QS an-Nahl [16]: 90

Violence in the name of religion that is still rampant in Indonesia indicates that the attitude and behavior of some Indonesian people are no longer in accordance with the principles of Pancasila. People tend to choose violence or strong fighting in the face of differences. Such actions foster religious intolerance, burning places of worship, and religious frustration with the ideologization of Islam into a terrorist network. Many Indonesian Muslim societies do not consider that Pancasila is a principle of Islam. In the epistemology of Islamic law (ush¹⁴ fiqh), Pancasila is the same as al-kulliyat al-khams, which is the basic principle of the aim of the application of

Islamic law. The five principles of Islamic law are protection of religion (hifzh din), protection of the soul (hifzh al-nafs), protection of descendants (hifzh al-nasl), protection of reason (hifzh al-'aql), protection of property (hifzh al-mal).

Al-kulliyat al-khams in the Indonesian context has been reflected in the formulation of Pancasila. The basic principles of the state which are original Indonesian cultural products, have provided religious protection in the first precepts. Protection of life and human aspects in the second principle. Genetic protection as a form of citizenship rights in the third precept. The protection of reason and freedom of association are gathered in the fourth principle. Whereas property protection and access to economic resources are reflected in the fifth precept.

Pancasila is the foundation of norms for the laws that apply in Indonesia. This has implications for the application and application of Islamic law should not be contrary to the values of Pancasila, namely the value of divinity, humanity, declaration, consultation and justice. Islamic law is placed as a source of national law formation that interacts with other religions. Pancasila as a national school is placed to strengthen Islam in the archipelago in order to develop Indonesian civilization and a peaceful world civilization.

Results of research and discussion

Deradicalization is an effort to stem the rate of radicalism. This radicalism needs to be stopped, because the movements and thoughts of individuals and groups that are oriented towards radical activities, such as those that lead to violence, war and terror, are very dangerous for humanity. The UN counter-terrorism division argues that, "Deradicalization, therefore, is the process of abandoning an extremist worldview and concluding that it is not acceptable to use violence to effect social change." (United Nations Counter Terrorism Implementation Task Force, 2008: 5). Nevertheless, this notion is distinguished by the term counter-radicalization, because of its nature to expand the field of cultivation, including preventing the emergence of radicalization among young people who are vulnerable to being netted as members of radical movements.

Planting an understanding of Pancasila Education for the younger generation must be increasingly active. As a provision for understanding nationalism and citizenship to fight for independence that has been championed by the heroes and scholars of the archipelago. The young generation, including students as agents of change, determine the future direction of the nation to become the main target of Pancasila material development. Do not let students who have great potential for the future of the nation will be undermined by thoughts that are contrary to Pancasila, indirectly radical thinking and transnational Islam that is troubling Indonesia. The campus is a 'battleground' of various ideologies of educational activists. On campus, the seeds of radicalism and national understanding of Islam grow. How can Pancasila ideology development erode radical understanding that has already taken root in the campus environment? The growth of seeds of radicalism on campus is an indicator that Pancasila has been unable to be grounded in education. Because not a few students today have been affected by these ideas because they lack understanding of the values contained in the precepts in Pancasila.

In fact, we can see how the campus has given birth to various organizations with various views and the spirit of movement that could later become a threat to the Indonesian people. As the findings of the BIN State Intelligence Agency that 39 percent of students in Indonesia are exposed to radicalism, it needs to be taken seriously. so, the rise of radicalism or transnational elements in the world of education shows the weakness of the way Pancasila is delivered, developed in the world of education. Perhaps because all this time the delivery method is not attractive to young people.

As presented by Yudi Latif, Head of the Presidential Work Unit in Pancasila Ideology Development (UKP- PIP). Every ideology, including Pancasila as an ideology of the Indonesian Nation, has at least three elements: First, the elements that relate to beliefs or beliefs, that each ideology contains a set of belief norms which later become the normative foundation of a country. Second, every ideology that wants to be effective must have a logos dimension or knowledge. Ideology must be translated into a set of theories of knowledge, which will give us a way of thinking or a concept. Third, ideology must have a dimension of action, deed, life stance. So how do people behave, respect differences, it is concrete behaviors.

Because of this, Pancasila Education must be further enhanced for the young generation of the nation, so that they are more mature in taking the right attitude for themselves in the future. According to Ngahim Purwanto (1995: 15), as explained in the Theoretical and Practical Education Science book, maturation which is part of the target of the educational process is characterized by several characteristics, namely having physical and spiritual strength (physical and spiritual), having independence, being stable, strong, and not dependent on others. Based on these general criteria, it can be said that the profile or product of education is a whole, comprehensive, and perfect human profile or profile, both from the physical and spiritual aspects, both from the aspect of intellectual skills and moral and motoric skills, from how to talk to the way carrying out tasks or activities. Education really teaches and guides humans to better understand reality and be able to deal with life and life problems. Errors in the practice of education will have fatal consequences for the survival of the nation's life.

The de-radicalization program against Islamists is far more severe, because they carry out all forms of radicalism, assuming that it is a religious obligation. Now, how to make it possible to eliminate all forms and doctrines of radicalism, without leaving their faith? (Angel Rabasa et al., 2010: 4-5). If Rahman and Azyumardi

Azra were of the view that.

Conclusions and recommendations

Indonesia is a country that bases its interaction pattern on the society to be open, friendly, and friendly to the cultural environment. Therefore Islam as a religion that synergizes with culture, puts forward the attitude of middle or moderation (tawasut). The style of Islam in Indonesia as darussalam gives birth to the establishment of Pancasila and the Unitary Republic of Indonesia as the essence of the teachings of Islam ahlussunnah wal jama'ah.

The Pancasila formulation is an integration between nationalism and religion which embodies peace in the state. Diversity character gets a good position of appreciation in order to synergize the teachings of Islam with the customs or local wisdom of the Nusantara community. So as to be able to inspire the characteristics of a peaceful Indonesian nation, foster diversity, and be able to cooperate in diversity. The development of radicalism which is spread in various places in Indonesia as a sign of a lack of understanding of Pancasila in the community, especially the younger generation. With this Pancasila Education is the right strategy to stem the radicalism and transnational Islam movement in Indonesia.

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