Transformative-Critical Education Paradigm: Investigating the Influence of Paulo Freire and Moeslim Abdurrahman in Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (1998-2008)

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Abstract-*This study investigated the influence of Paulo Freire's critical education and Moeslim Abdurrahman's Transformative Islam in Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (IPM). The problem statement was formulated: to what extent Freire and Moeslim influence the educational thought and practice of education in IPM? By using discourse analysis, this study revealed that the discourse and practice of critical-transformative education has evolved in IPM since the reform era in 1998-2008. The Discourse of critical education and Transformative Islam are intertwined into "Manifesto of Transformative Critical Movement" incorporated in the educational guideline of IPM members. This transformative-critical discourse has encouraged IPM becoming a populist student organization. Afterward, the discourse and practice of this organization's movements is accentuated by the criticism towards injustice and the struggle towards social transformation*

Keywords: *Paradigm, Critical education, Transformative Islam and IPM.*

Abstrak-*Studi ini meneliti tentang pengaruh gagasan pendidikan kritis Paulo Freire dan Islam transformatif Moeslim Abdurrahman di Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (IPM). Dengan pertanyaan masalah: sejauh mana Freire dan Moeslim mempengaruhi pemikiran dan praktik pendidikan dalam IPM? Dengan menggunakan analisis wacana, studi ini menunjukkan bahwa wacana dan praktik pendidikan kritis-transformatif telah berkembang dalam IPM sejak Reformasi 1998 hingga 2008-an. Wacana pendidikan kritis dan Islam Transformatif bertemu dan menjadi sebuah "Manifesto Gerakan Kritis Transformatif" disertai dengan pedoman pendidikan anggota IPM. Dengan ini, mengakibatkan IPM menjadi sebuah organisasi pelajar yang bercorak populis. Sejak itu, wacana dan praktik gerakan IPM cenderung kritis terhadap isu-isu*

ketidakadilan dan perjuangan untuk melakukan transformasi sosial.

Kata Kunci: *Paradigma, Pendidikan Kritis, Islam Transformatif dan IPM.*

A.   Introduction

In Indonesia, the 1998 Reformation is a turning point from the authoritarian to a democratic regime. Furthermore, the post-New Order era has brought the zeal of social movements and the discourse of the critical-social movement into the surface and eventually reached numbers of student organizations, including Muhammadiyah Student Association (*Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah/IPM*). At each momentum, particularly in ideological forums, IPM actors analyze what and how the role of their organization in the Democracy Era. From the discourses, IPM acknowledges a new model of critical movement. Critical discourses, ranging from theological, ideological to praxis movements, have been nurtured in the body of IPM. Its leading figures intensively attempted to introduce the discourse of "Transformative Islam" and critical education as a paradigm to fight against injustice, with Mansour Fakih from Insist Yogyakarta as their reference. IPM activists were also introduced to numerous critical ideas, such as the Frankfurt School of thought, Jurgen Habermas' critical social theory, Paulo Freire's critical education, and others. Such discourses develop into the paradigm of this organization in analyzing social problems. Essentially, the dynamics of the IPM movement have been accentuated by critical jargons. Each activity, including deliberation, cadre forum/member training, and other trainings, should enclose the term "critical". Subsequently, the extended discourse is constantly linked with participatory, critical consciousness, transformative, social transformation, and similar themes.

This paper explicates the paradigm shift endured by IPM in the post-reform period, by using "Sociology of Knowledge" developed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann as the approach. It is to determine the influence of the critical education discourse of Paulo Freire and the transformative Islam of Moeslim Abdurrahman in IPM.[1] The discourses are incarnated in the formulation of "Transformative-Critical Movement Manifesto" leading to the shifting of IPM orientation into the populist's orientation, movement and education. Nevertheless, the educational scheme flourished among and proposed by student organizations has

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[1]Hanneman Samuel, *Peter Berger: Sebuah Pengantar Ringkas* (Depok: Kepik, 2012), 16.

received less attention from researchers. Moreover, all this time, the social class of student is mainly and frequently just being an object,[2] instead of being a subject of education. The inquiries are focused on how educational thought arises from student organizations? How educational thought arises and evolves in IPM?[3] Nevertheless, each generation of an organization definitely undergoes particular dynamics and transformation in producing discourse, ideology, as well as the educational concept for its members. Eyerman and Jamison identify it as "knowledge interest" of a particular intellectual generation.[4] In every epoch, there is always "dominant discourse" or "regime of truth" that determines what is right and wrong. In this context of truth, it is only merely related to moral truths, but also epistemological truths.[5]

B. Theoretical Framework

The theory of educational is highly associated with its philosophical basis. Therefore, the theory of education is different with philosophical thoughts. Abd. Rachman Assegaf suggested that philosophical thoughts are the basis and source of the theory of education.[6] The basic assumption of the educational concept built on philosophy is proposed by George R. Knight. He declared that education is a deliberate process with a specific purpose that necessitates standing on a philosophical view that includes a series of beliefs about the nature of reality, the essence of truth, and the foundation of value establishment as the substance of philosophy. Hence, philosophy is the basic framework underlying educational practice.[7] By applying reverse logic, this paper will read the theory of education, not from philosophical standpoint but from educational discourse and practice in IPM.[8] Muarif suggests the idea of is stirred from the educational paradigm, while the educational

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[2]Roem Topatimasang, Toto Rahadjo, dan Mansour Fakih, *Pendidikan Populer: Membangun Kesadaran Kritis* (Yogyakarta: Insist Press, 2010) Ed.4, 32.

[3]Anggaran Dasar IPM pasal 3 dalam Pimpinan Pusat IPM, *Tanfidz Muktamar XIX* (Jakarta, 16-19 Nopember 2014), 56.

[4]Eyerman, R. and Jamison, A. *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*, (Pennsylvania: the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 38.

[5]B. Hari Juliawan, "Genealogi Michel Foucault" *Majalah Basis,* Nomor. 11-12, Tahun ke-64, 2015, 54.

[6]Abd. Rachman Assegaf, *Filsafat Pendidikan Islam: Paradigma Baru Pendidikan Hadhari Berbasis Integratif-Interkonektif* (Jakarta: PT Radjagrafindo Persada, 2011), 175.

[7]George R. Knight, *Filsafat Pendidikan Isu-Isu Kontemporer & Solusi Alternatif,* (Mahmud Arif, Trans.). (Yogyakarta: Idea Press, 2004), 39.

[8]*Ibid,* 40.

paradigm is built from philosophy.[9] Therefore, this section clarifies the concept of paradigm, critical education and Transformative Islam.

1. Paradigm

The term "paradigm" was initially introduced by Thomas Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (1962). It was extensively popularized by Robert Friedrichs through his book *Sociology of Sociology* (1970). The term is also used by Lodahl and Cordon (1972), Phillips (1973), and Effrat (1972). According to George Ritzer, "paradigm" is a foundation about the subject matter in a branch of science. Paradigm helps formulating what to learn, what questions to answer and what rules to follow in interpreting the answers.[10]

Despite the term "paradigm" is frequently used in the academic realm, it does not necessarily make the meaning of the concept is lucid or mutually agreement. Many terms are equated with this concept. In general, several terms including theoretical framework, conceptual framework, frame of thinking, theoretical orientation, perspective, or approach, are also used to refer the concept of "paradigm".

Amin Abdullah occasionally uses the term "paradigm", although he prefers to use the term "approach". Meanwhile, Kuntowijoyo[11] comprehends Kuhn's paradigm as a "mode of thought" or "mode of inquiry", which eventually generates "mode of knowing" at once. He reveals the concept of paradigm into a concept called the Qur'anic paradigm. Subsequently, he defines the Qur'anic paradigm as a construct of knowledge that allows people to understand reality based on the understanding of the Qur'an. Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra confirms the definition of paradigm as "a set of logically interrelated concepts that form a framework that serves to understand and explain the reality and/or the encountered problems."[12]

The definition promulgated by Ahimsa can be explained in detail as follows. *First*, "a set of logically interrelated concepts that form a framework...". The terms of "a set" indicates a number of

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[9]Muarif, *Liberalisasi Pendidikan: Menggadaikan Kecerdasan Kehidupan Bangsa,* (Yogyakarta: Pinus Book Publisher, 2008), 66.

[10]George Ritzer, *Sosiologi Ilmu Berparadigma Ganda (*Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2003).

[11]Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi* (Bandung: Mizan, 1991), 327.

[12]Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, "Paradigma Profetik Mungkinkah? Perlukah?", paper was presented in workshop (*Sarasehan*) organized by Post-graduate School UGM, in Yogyakarta, 10 February 2011, 29-30.

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elements in paradigm. These elements are concepts. Concept is a term or expression that is given a particular meaning. Thus, a paradigm is also a collection of meanings. The collection of these concepts constitutes a unity. Furthermore, since these concepts are logically interrelated, i.e. paradigmatically, syntagmatically, methonymically and metaphorically, it can be perceived that "a set of concepts" presupposed as the components in gamelan orchestras or components of clothing, which constitute a set of gamelan and a set of cloth. Evidently, the relationships in these empirical phenomena cannot be compared with the inter-elemental relationships in paradigm. The association between elements in paradigm is at the logical discourse, at the level of thinking, meanwhile the relation between the elements in the clothing and gamelan ensemble are at the functional level.

Second, the meanings and their inter-relationship are actually "in the mind", hence the collection of concepts that constitute the framework is also called "the frame of thinking "That serves to understand and explain the reality and/or the encountered problems". The function of this frame of thinking is to understand reality, to define reality, to determine the encountered reality, and ultimately to relate it to other definitions of reality, in order to establish relationships on the thought that constructs the "perspective" towards the encountered reality.

Ahimsa argues that the endeavors to develop and create a new paradigm by solely defining the concept of paradigm are insufficient. It requires the determination of the elements incorporated in the meaning of paradigm. The above definition has less information about the substance of the frame of thinking itself. "A set of concepts" is only an overview of the substance of the frame of thinking. In fact the concepts have diverse positions and functions in the frame of thinking and therefore also have different terms. Therefore, further explanation of the conceptual components that constitute the frame of thinking or paradigm is required.

Ahimsa revealed the discourse about paradigm of the Western scientists is approximately on the issues: (a) the conception of paradigm; (b) the presence of a paradigm in a particular discipline, and (c) the elements of paradigm. Nevertheless, there is no a single agreement about a fairly practical and strategic definition of paradigm gained from those wide-ranging discussions, moreover an agreement about the elements of paradigm. As a consequence, there are barriers in leveraging Kuhn's initial ideas. To overcome it, a conception (view) of paradigm that covers the definition and the basic elements of a paradigm

is constructed.

Ahimsa Putra has devised a conception of paradigm that comprises the definition and basic elements therein. This conception of paradigm was built after he purposefully examined various relevant books and articles produced by the Western scholars, covering the theoretical, philosophical and applicative paradigm (since Indonesian scholars do not discuss this issue). Following the formulas developed by Kuhn, Cuff, Payne and Ahimsa, the main questions should be inquired to the paradigm of Transformative Islam are concerned with the three basic and most fundamental elements in the Transformative Islam, namely: (1) basic assumptions; (2) values or ethos; (3) models.

First, assumption is views about a thing that is not questioned or has been accepted its truth. These views are the starting point or basis for the attempt to understand and answer a problem, because the views are considered true or believed as a truth. The basic assumption can be philosophical reflections and reflective reality. The assumption comes from a philosophical and reflective view in which this view is usually similar to 'ideology' and subjective as well.

Second, in this context, ethos is a set of values that underlies the behavior of a group of people. It is common if some paradigms in sciences have different set of values or ethos with those of other paradigms. The values of Islamic transformative paradigm are the spirit and ethos of the transformation of social and civilization.

Third, model is a parable, analogy, or allusion of the observed phenomenon. Model is frequently apparent like a basic assumption. Nevertheless, model is not a basic assumption.[13]

2.   Critical Education

Mansour Fakih, in the foreword to William F. O'neil, explicitly affirms three major groups of educational paradigms, namely conservatism, liberalism, and criticism.[14] Furthermore, in the book *Pendidikan Popular: Membangun Kesadaran Kritis* (2001)[15] written by Roem Topatimasang, Toto Rahadjo, and Mansour Fakih, the three educational concepts are re-affirmed, namely conservative education,

[13]Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra. Makalah. *Paradigma Profetik Mungkinkah? Perlukah?..., 16.
[14]William F. O'neil, *Ideologi-Ideologi Pendidikan* (terj.), (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002). Second edition, xxx.
[15]Roem Topatimasang, Toto Rahadjo, dan Mansour Fakih, *Pendidikan Populer: Membangun Kesadaran Kritis* (Yogyakarta: Insist, 2001).

liberal education, and critical education.

First, conservative education is rooted from a philosophical construction that is oriented to the philosophical school of perenialism and essentialism.[16] In the context of Islamic education, M. Amin Abdullah suggested that the perennialism—essentialism,[17] literally (*verbatim*) highlights the aspects of *al-ruju ila al-Qur'an wa Al-Sunnah*, and less identifies and considers the convolution and complexity of the cultural historicity and educational sphere. The essential values enclosed in the holy Qur'an and the Sunnah should be prevailed and applied perennially. Furthermore, if these values enter the areas outside the law, such as education, culture (art), and social, the parameters employed as validation standards are the norms in the *salaf* era.[18] In his terms, Paulo Freire mentions such transcendental values that affect the pattern of human consciousness as magic consciousness.[19]

Second, liberal education is sourced from the basic assumption that the issue of education in society is detached from the socio-political and economic issues. Yet, liberal education constantly adjusts to the economic and political situation outside the educational realm. Problem solving exists in education with the effort of 'cosmetic' and 'instrumentalist' reform, to mention the requirement to build new classes and facilities, to modernize school equipment with more sophisticated computers and laboratories, and various attempts to improve student-teacher ratios.[20] The concept of education in liberal tradition is embedded in the Western ideals of individualism. In this context, Mansour Fakih criticizes the ideology of liberal educational for its similarity with conservative education. It is due liberal educational completely perceives education is genuinely the actualization of the

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[16]Muarif, *Liberalisasi Pendidikan*, 67.

[17]M. Amin Abdullah, "Filosofi dan Paradigma Pendidikan Muhammadiyah", 30.

[18]The two schools of philosophy underlying this conservative education are in fact having the same orientation, the more conviction of the values of immortality as the ultimate goal. If perennialism understands the ultimate goal of education as recognition of transcendental values, essentialism is more convinced of the most fundamental human values, namely the dimension of morality derived from the religion teachings. The orientation of conservative education is to maintain established normative values (*status quo*). Education is insignificantly different from the process of value transfer that is used as a life guide. In essentialism, education is an attempt to preserve the culture, "Education as Cultural Conservation". *See*, Abd. Rachman Assegaf, *Filsafat Pendidikan Islam: Paradigma Pendidikan Hadhari Berbasis Integratif-Interkonektif* (Jakarta: PT Rajagrafindo Persada, 2011), 172.

[19]William F. O'neil, *Ideologi-Ideologi Pendidikan*, 64.

[20]Roem Topatimasang, Toto Rahadjo, dan Mansour Fakih, *Pendidikan Populer,* 25.

human potential, instead of as a political ideology struggle.[21]

Third, critical education departs from the basic assumption that education carries out a critical reflection against 'the dominant ideology' towards a social transformation. The main task of education is to create a space for critical attitudes to the system and the injustice structure, and to perform deconstruction and advocacy towards a more equitable social system.[22] It is impossible and unattainable for education for being neutral, objective or distant (detachment) to the society as suggested by positivism. The vision of education is to criticize the dominant system as an errand to the low-class and oppressed people to create a new and just social system. In a critical perspective, education must be able to create space to neutrally and critically identify and analyze for social transformation. In other words, the main duty of education is to re-humanize people who have been dehumanized by unjust systems and structures.

3.   Transformative Islam

In sociology, in addition to its legitimate function, religion also serves as critical control.[23] Moeslim Abdurrahman explicates Religion should be able to present in every circumstance, in demonstrating both the positive (*ma'ruf*) and the negative theology (*munkar*). In Islam, the critical religious mechanisms towards transformation are highly emphasized. In Islamic tradition, negative theology actually means having to question and determine the incorrect things, even if they are central things. The confession of faith through the declaration of the Islamic creed (*shahada*) is substantially commenced with a statement by denying all the gods but God in true monotheism.

Furthermore, Moeslim suggested Muslims have not reach the level of true faith before they a struggle within themselves with the surrounding social circumstance. In such a process, the capability to "liberate" the structure is compelled hence they can behave in accordance with the authentic religious morality, instead of behaving by just following the sociological role based on their status in the society.

Since people are shaped by the trap of personal historical experiential structure, they are inclined to uneasily detach their historical perception. Accordingly, the basics of their religious moral attitude are

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[21]Muarif, *Liberalisasi Pendidikan,* 74.

[22]Roem Topatimasang, Toto Rahadjo, dan Mansour Fakih, *Pendidikan Populer,* 28.

[23]Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif*, Ed. II, (Jakarta: Firdaus, 2005), 9.

less sensitive to perceive external things objectively. Even though the issues of social justice are actually the main joint of Islam, but people do not necessarily and immediately concern with the injustice except it relates to themselves, and acquaintances. Moeslim reaffirmed that religion can still foster critical mechanism within the dynamics of religion itself, either through *ijtihad* as an intellectual method of understanding religious teachings or through direct method if religion is intended to solve the actual problems of society. In other words, religion must provide and insist moral criteria in each circumstance by demonstrating which situations are favored and not by God.[24]

In fact, the reflection on what is good and what is the merit for good deeds (positive theology) is all God's business. Nevertheless, God guides people to fix things that are not good according to Him. Meanwhile, Moeslim described that God deliberately show the ways implicitly and certainly on how to fix the situation. Therefore, it becomes the collective responsibility to examine and find the best way. The God's path seems to always provide the possibility for people to interpret it.

In a broader context, in addition total submission, religion also commands the severe effort to realize a responsible order. Like the struggle of Sufi unrelenting in Absolute Being (*Al-Haqq*), it usually involves several stages of alienations (*khalwat*). Nevertheless, it is done naively since the Shari'a solely contains submission, and without the opportunity to inquire the true theist, it is implausible that anyone will attain the longing and fond for God. In the struggle of the Sufis, they are convinced that God's emotions will not be bothered by human freedom at all. Moeslim explicated that Sufi's perspective is expressed in order to discuss the function of critical on the sociological structure of religion. It is assumed that only with this perspective that the genuine message of religion relevant to social justice, equality, democracy, and egalitarian would be understood. This is the manifestation of the piety, which returns all the sources of truth and the dignity of humanity in the hands of God, not on human authority.[25]

If we want to completely solve people's problems, do not give them fish, but teach them to fish (p. 39). The action of teaching to fish instead of giving fish is ideally implemented in community development programs. Subsequently, there must be mentoring with *dhu'afa* (the poor) and *mustadz'afin* (the oppressed) as the main subjects. Briefly,

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[24]Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif,* 11-12.
[25]*Ibid*, 13.

transformative education becomes a vital reference in this process, they will implement the program itself, understand the strategies and opportunities that may elevate their pride and dignity as a noble human after the Creator.[26]

Moeslim also reaffirmed that Transformative Islam promotes the caring for the fate of others and stimulates solidarity actions. *Transformation* is the most humane way to change the history of human life. For this process involves "assistance" instead of guidance, or even coercion. Transformation is basically a cultural action based on liberalization, humanization, and prophetic transcendence. It is the transformation towards a more participatory, flexible, and emancipator society. An ideal that denotes high self-esteem and dignity of mankind, respect for others and tradition of diversity. To achieve such situations must be a complicated journey. It must be initiated by every people who have concerns and perceive the issues of social inequality as a challenge of common faith.

Participatory social transformation is set up from the organization, a dynamic of transformative movement from, by and for society. In addition, transformation is holistic or the dimensions of the whole being are considered, covering the transformation of values system, individual's behavior and collective life structure of society. Transformative movement obliges an atmosphere of togetherness among the members of society in discussing and perceiving reality, seeking the opportunities behind reality and determining how to transform reality into more meaningful situation in accordance to the basic principles of equality as the *Khalifah* of Allah (swt) to create wealth and prosperity.[27]

C. Research Methodology
1. Research Approaches

This article presents a research using the 'history of ideas' approach with textual study. In the theory of textual study, Asma Barlas introduces several terms, including: text, textual, inter-textual, and extra-textual. The text is "any discourse standardized in writing"; textual is "how a text is read (reading model)"; inter-textual is "the relationship between one text and another"; and extra-textual is "context reading".[28] This study is associated with three things: *first*, the intellectual and political, social,

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[26]*Ibid*, 39-40.
[27]*Ibid*, 41.
[28]Asma Barlas, *Cara Quran Membebaskan Perempuan* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2003), 83-84.

scientific, and theological phenomena; (2) the power of ideas that form the direction and aim of human life; (3) the origin of certain concepts from the beginning to the contemporary era.[29]

2. Research Type

It is a qualitative research. Miles and Huberman describe qualitative research as a study that uses data of tangible words and not a series of numbers. Therefore, the types of data collected and obtained in this study were qualitative data. Qualitative data is data presented in the form of words that contain meanings. By doing qualitative study, the chronological flow of events can be understood, the cause-effect based on the mindset of local community can be assessed, and comprehensive explanation can be gained.[30]

3. Data Sources

In this study, qualitative data were obtained through texts, both in the form of primary sources and secondary sources. The primary sources were the writings/texts officially produced and released by IPM including of books (*tanfidz* decisions, organizational guidelines and guidelines for cadre system), articles in magazines or bulletins, and papers presented in seminars, discussion, or official forums of IPM (Congress, Regional congress/*Konpiwil*, Training, Workshop and others). Secondary data were obtained from the writings of alumni or IPM activists and documentation of forums or activities relevant to the topic of this study.

4. Analysis Technique

Using the research method classification developed by James H Mc. Millah and Sally Schumacher,[31] this study employed non-interactive inquiry method, which is research that refers to the analysis of facts and concepts through document analysis. In this study, it was carried out on organizational decisions, *tanfidz*, training modules, books, papers, articles, power point slides (ppt), videos, and others lain-lain.[32]

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[29]Waryani Fajar Riyanto, *Integrasi-Interkoneksi Keilmuan Birografi Intelektual M. Amin Abdullah (1953-...) Person, Knowledge, and Institution*, (Yogyakarta: Suka-Press, 2013), 38.

[30]Mathew B. Miles dan A. Michael Huberman, *Analisis Data Qualitatif* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1992).

[31]James H Mc. Millah dan Sally Schumacher, *Research in Education: A Conceptual Introduction* (New York: Longman, 1987), 59.

[32]The non-interactive inquiry method is similar to the analytical-descriptive method of Winarno Surakhmad. The difference is that analytical-

In this study, textual analysis was done on the selected materials, while inter-textual analysis was performed to relate one text with another text in order to determine the possible relation, interrelation and interaction. In addition, contextual analysis was also carried out to put the texts in the context of history, social and politics. Subsequently, the collected data was uncovered and analyzed by using the models of textual studies, namely the genesis of thought, the evolution of thought, the development and transformation of thought, and the variant of thought, both in explanatory analysis and synthesis analysis.

D. Discussion

The dynamic and transformation of the ideology and movement of *Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah* (IPM) is always initiated from political change, which is accompanied by the educational paradigm shift of its members. In Foucault's perspective, there are relation of discourse (intellectual regime) and socio-politics that dominate the ideology in the body of IPM. This ideology is the spirit for the educational concept and practices in IPM, which is well-known as "Taruna Melati". In the perspective of Berger and Luckmann, knowledge is a social construction of reality. Due to the political tension, IPM was forced to construct its paradigm on the pretext of adjusting to the era. Consequently, the dynamics of IPM's movement paradigm are linked to the historical setting of the establishment and development of IPM. It is in line with Kuntowijoyo who stated an ideology is definitely affected by previous ideology and its historical context.[33] The establishment of IPM is the continuity of Muhammadiyah's history as the propagation (*da'wah*) movement of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* among students.

Beside the Muhammadiyah internal dynamics and the national atmosphere, paradigm dynamics of IPM is significantly affected by the discourses brought by its activist. According to Berger and Luckmann, the externalization of discourse that is continuously examined, discussed, interpreted and contextualized will undergoes objectivity and finally internalization within the body of IPM.[34] Moreover, IPM is a

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descriptive methods less consider written data sources and focus more on the data in the form of real events in social life, whereas non-interactive inquiry focuses the data sources on factual inquiry and concepts through document analysis. *See*, Winarno Surakhmad, *Pengantar Penelitian Ilmiah: Dasar, Metode, dan Teknik* (Bandung: Tarsito, 1985), 139.

[33]Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah,* Edisi Kedua (Yogyakarta, PT Tiara Wacana, 2003), 191-192.

[34]Moh. Mudzakkir, "Unfinished Project Bagi Gerakan IPM", *in* Azaki Khoirudin,

student-based social movement vulnerable to discuss various thoughts as an attempt to develop its movement, which is identified by Kuhn as "paradigm".

1. IPM and Social Political Dynamics

Genealogically, the establishment of IPM is a form of counter-hegemony against the communist ideology and movement (PKI). The rise of collective movement, particularly among Muslims, also triggered the historical experience of IPM. In such historical phase, the cadre activity had been carried out despite of the absence of Training Guide. Nevertheless, IPM promoted ideological activities and trainings, due to the situation of 1961 or the in Old Order era where there was an ideological dispute and polarization among Nationalism, Religion, and Communism (*NASAKOM*).

In the next stage, IPM entered the repressive-hegemonic regime of the First Phase New Order era (1976-1992). It became a supporter of national development initiated by the government led by President Soeharto. The nation had moved on from the ideological dispute that was presumed to finish with the establishment of "Pancasila as the only and basic principle". At that time, the concerned themes were around the development issues relevant to the range of IPM that was increasingly active in the students and educational sphere. IPM activity was addressed to advocate leadership, Islamic *da'wah* and morality building. It reached its peak in the 1980s when IPM established the paradigm of "*Tri Tertib*" meaning the discipline three constituted of "discipline in worship, discipline in learning, and discipline in organization" as the jargon of the movement. As a supporter of national development, IPM formulated programs that were also directed to the scientific tradition and creativity of the students as the successor of the Muhammadiyah struggle. In such situations, the SPI Merah (1985) was devised as cadre/training guide for IPM members in the New Order era. This guideline contains "the theories of development". Basically, the paradigm of IPM in this phase is developmentalism.[35]

In the subsequent phase, IPM entered the more accommodative second phase of New Order era. In this phase, IPM preferred inclusive-pragmatic movements (1992-1998). It also encountered an issue in which the Department of Home Affairs banned the terms "student" in the students' organization. It eventually forced IPM to replace the

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Nuun: Tafsir Gerakan Al-Qalam (Jakarta: Al-Wasat Publishing, 2014).
    [35]PP IPM, *Sistem Pengkaderan IPM,* 12.

term "student" into "youth" and change its name of organization into *Ikatan Remaja Muhammadiyah* (IRM). Indirectly, it also broadened the range of this organization, from students to the world of adolescence. Nevertheless, the change puzzled IPM to determine the objects of *da'wah*, namely between students with educational/scientific background and youth who identical with complex societies. In fact, the doctrine of IPM/IRM was consistently preoccupied on the individual character building with "*Tri Tertib*", even though it was more flexible with the emphasis of scientific tradition, student creativity and morality building. In such atmosphere, *SPI Biru* was devised precisely in 1994 to replace *SPI Merah* (Red Training Guide).

The next phase was denoted by the Reform era in 1998 that is marked by the collapse of Soeharto's New Order regime. In this phase, IPM/IRM embraced a new paradigm, populism (1998-2008). In addition, the perplexing issue about the orientation of student versus youth reappeared in this phase. On the one side, it started to establish its identity of "youth" organization with wider themes of *da'wah*. On the other side, the name IRM was perceived as a product of the New Order and since the regime collapsed, the name should be returned to its origin. However, the debate led to voting that was won by the IRM group. In terms of discourse, several trends such as civil society, critical education, new social movements, and "Transformative Islam" developed extensively. The orientation of IPM was directed to the society, public and social fields, hence the Transformative-Critical Movement Manifesto was established and embodied in "SPI Hijau" that became the mindset of IPM populist movement.[36] The significant consequence of the change from IPM to IRM was its impact on the organization's paradigm shift, from elite students to "populist" youth.[37]

According to Saud El-Hujjad, in 1987, IRM (IPM at that time) brought forward the issue of "religious socialism" as a form to seek for movement strategy model in fighting against the exacerbated social gaps due to the unjust policy of the New Order government. However, such a model lacks its social relevance at the base level. Ultimately, the paradigm was returned to the elite paradigm (developmentalism) which underlines the internalization of Islamic ideology and militancy

[36]In the post-reform, the 10th IPM Congress of 1996 began to expand on populist issues. Therefore, the ANSOS (Social Analysis) methodology started to enter the body of IPM through cadre training activities (*Taruna Melati*). At that moment, the consciousness, empowerment, and advocacy became the mainstream of the IRM movement, *Ibid.*

[37]*Ibid.*

of movement.[38]

The 11th Muhammadiyah Congress is a historic event for the activists of IPM. The four-day congress was held in Makassar on 21-24 May, 1998 in which the opening of the Congress coincided with the resignation of President Soeharto. The 1998 Reform brought an identity conflict for IRM, particularly among the figures in Muhammadiyah and IPM regarding with the name of IRM. *Firstly*, IRM was perceived as a product of the New Order and since it collapsed, it should be returned to the origin name or IPM. *Secondly*, the basis of the members, they are youth and yet they are students. Therefore, it would be better to return it to the initial identity of the student. *Thirdly*, most schools under *Persyarikatan* were reluctant to accept IRM since it was perceived as youth organization instead of student association.[39]

The Muhammadiyah Youth also recommended IRM to return to its former name, IPM. It was reinforced by Tanwir Muhammadiyah, Reformation was presumed as the proper moment. In addition, several Muhammadiyah's leaders perceived IRM had less concerned on students, especially Muhammadiyah's, due to it broader focus of movement. On that basis, IRM Central Executive was resolute to return IRM to IPM. Finally, the review of the movement paradigm was conducted in 1998-2000. Nevertheless, the results showed most of the participants of the congress preferred IRM. The majority of IRM activists had not prepared for the change and finally it was settled on by acclamation at the 12th Muhammadiyah Congress of 2000, in Jakarta. Ironically, this decision was determined through voting, leaving some disappointments among IPM activists. Those who refused the change from IRM to IPM were mainly the cadre of IRM who had less historical understanding. However, since it was the result of agreement and deliberation, apart from the dissatisfaction of some members, the decision was enacted and must be implemented as an organization mandate.[40] Eventually, the IRM to IPM Transition Formulation Team was finally formed. The majority were declined since all of them were the product of IRM cadre.[41]

At the time, the solution was to join all members for agreeing that the character of IRM as student movement /organization is more

[38]Saud El-Hujjaj, "Membincang IRM dan Wacana Gerakan Sosial Baru", *Suara Muhammadiyah*-19-2002.

[39]*Ibid.*

[40]*Ibid.*

[41]Anjar Nugrogo, "Membongkar Paradigma IPM di Era Reformasi", *in* https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=HRzpATaV8s4 , accessed on 25 October 2016.

significance than the name of organization. The most fundamental is the formulation of the IRM whose paradigm grounding of movement is the students. Subsequently, the Basics of IRM Movement were devised to serve as the paradigm of IRM as student identity movement. Before the Congress and Regional congress (*Konpiwil)*, there was a preliminary meeting to form a new paradigm. When the debate over the substances was completed, it was continued to the discussion of organization's mindset, not the youth, but the students. Therefore, the 12th IRM Congress that was held at the same time with Muhammadiyah, Aisyiah, and Nasyiatul Aisyiah on 8-11 July 2000 in Jakarta successfully prepared the basic concept of IPM movement. Even though the name was IRM, the concept was designed and prepared to be a "student movement". Among them were: Basics of IRM Movement (IRM Movement Paradigm), IRM Characteristics, IRM Cadre Personality, and Structure Change of IRM Sectors.[42]

At that time, IRM acknowledged the keywords attached to the student identity by referring to Dawam Rahadjo. It was determined that the term inherent in the term "student" is the identity of "critical". The scholars are critical, in terms they should have concerns to social problems: economic, political, and cultural. Students should have contribution and role in social transformation. Since IRM is a movement, not just a bureaucratic administrative organization, it must contribute and involve in social transformation. It was supported by Kuntowijo's thought that the student movement should be independent, and become a counterweight force against the power of the state to realize a Civil Society. From here, two keywords underlying the spirit of IRM movement are "critical" and "social transformation", even in many occasions, IRM/IPM declares "criticism" as the organization's ideology.[43]

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[42]*Ibid.*
[43]*Ibid.*

Table. Relation of Socio-politics and IPM

	NEW ORDER ERA		REFORM ERA
Period	Phase I (1966-1988)	Phase II (1988-1998)	(1998-2008)
Political dynamics	Pancasila as the only and basic principle (1986)	The change from IPM to IRM (1992)	The fail to re-name IRM into IPM (1998)
Period	Developmentalism	Inclusive-pragmatism	Populist
Paradigm	*Tri Tertib* (Discipline in worship, in learning, and in organization)		TCM (Transformative-Critical Movement) Manifesto
Social episteme	Local Citizenship		Think Globally, Act Locally
Theology	Ali Imran (104)	Ali Imran (110)	Al-Ma'un
Islamic discourses	Authentic Islam	Modernist Islam	Transformative Islam
SPI	SPI Merah	SPI Biru	SPI Hijau

2. Transformative-Critical Paradigm

The discourse of "critical consciousness" officially emerged for the first time in the 13th IRM Congress of 2002 in Yogyakarta.[44] Munawwar Khalil claimed that many parties were initially pessimists

[44]Muhammadiyah congress was held on the UMY integrated campus. It was attended by approximately 500 participants from all regions in Indonesia. It took place from the 10-13 October, 2002. The opening ceremony was held on 10 October 2017 by the General Chairman of IRM Central Executive of 2000-2002, Raja Juli Antoni and the Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Executive, A. Syafii Maarif. In his opening speech, Raja Juli Antoni stated IRM as prospective subject of change. The on-going cadre was directed to inculcate the members as dynamic and responsive individuals. Meanwhile, Syafii Maarif confirmed that IRM had better qualities than some time ago. It was examined from the numbers of young intellectuals in committee. IRM cadres should have capacity as cadre of nations, Muslims, and *Persyarikatan*. *See*, *Dari arena Muktamar IRM XIII* Suara Muhammadiyah edisi 21, 2002.

with the theme of "critical". The term was presumed "very exclusive" to develop in Indonesia due to the trauma of the New Order regime. One of the triggers of building critical consciousness was to situate students/youths as the "subject of change". IRM aspired to put students and youth into a bargaining position in the midst of change and heterogeneity issues in the society.[45]

Ridho Al-Hamdi declared that in the post-New Order of 1998, the discourse of the critical-social movement had affected numbers of youth movements including the IPM/IRM. At each occasion, particularly in ideological forums, IPM activists began to analyze what and how the role of IPM in the public sphere in the Democracy era. It became the foundation for IPM in determining new forms with critical ideas. A number of renowned scholars in this field became the object of such aims, including Mansour Fakih from Insist group Yogyakarta.[46] Ridho explicitly verified:

> "The activists in IPM were introduced to numbers of critical thoughts, such as the Frankfurt's school of thought of Germany, Paulo Freire's critical education, Errich Fromm, and others. It was expected that such discourse would be a paradigm of IPM movement in scrutinizing social problems. Basically, critical thought is a concept that attempts to criticize the inequalities in modern society, where there is a dehumanization process committed by the capitalist against the labors. The class inequality is criticized by Karl Marx to expel man from the oppression of capitalism."[47]

Saud El-Hujjad explicates at least there are three properties of critical consciousness. *First* is the conscious and perception of unjust phenomena or relationship among society. *Second* is the understanding of structural relationships on why such violence or inequality occurs and having an agenda for transformation. And *third* is the initiative of individual and collective action for social transformation. At this point, the mainstream of IRM movements is constructed, namely criticism and social transformation.[48]

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[45]Munawar, "Membangun Kesadaran Kritis Remaja", 2.
[46]Ridho Al-Hamdi, "Menuju Gerakan Pelajar Kreatif: Deklarasi Gerakan Komunitas IPM Berbasis Hobi", *Manifesto Gerakan Perlawanan Pelajar* (Yogyakarta: PPIPM, 2011), 200.
[47]*Ibid.,* 199.
[48]Saud El-Hujjaj, "Membincang IRM...", 2.

Conceptually, the Transformative-Critical Movement (TCM) Manifesto departs from the hypothesis that IRM should have a role in addressing social problems. All this time, there is an assumption that IPM is merely involved in internal issues as indicated by its slogan of the disciplines of "Discipline in Worship, in Learning and in Organization." Generally, the paradigm of TCM is constructed from three stages of: critical paradigm, critical consciousness, and critical movement. A movement is set up based on a critical paradigm that generates critical consciousness, and this presence of critical consciousness will lead to critical movement manifested in transformative actions called critical praxis. The properties of critical praxis are: Consciousness, Empowerment and Advocacy. The idea implies the aspiration to drive IRM as a social movement striving for the interest of students as an oppressed social class.

Since the formulation, the dynamics of IPM movement have been accentuated by "critical" discourse. The entire activity including deliberations, cadre forums, and trainings must entail the term "critical". Ridho Al-Hamdi confirmed that in the plenary training of Taruna Melati Utama in 2006 held in Bandung, all participants were invited to examine every issue based on critical paradigm, even to analyze the extent of the IPM structure in reflecting the critical values, the suitability of organizational funding in reflecting the critical values, and so on. The developed discourse is undividable from the terms of participatory, critical consciousness, transformative, social transformation, and so on.

The discourse of new social movements also emerged in IPM (IRM at the time) of 2002-2004. According to Moh. Mudzakkir, the discussion about the significance for IRM to determine the theory of new social movement model had emerged in the IRM cadre forums both at the central to regional level. At that time, the discourse of Moeslim Abdurrahman's transformative Islam, Paulo Freire's critical education, globalization and neoliberalism, new social movements and social analysis as tools of analysis became the main menu of IRM cadres.[49] Specifically, the transformative-critical idea of Freirean's critical education synthesis was propounded by Mansour Fakih and Transformative Islam by Moeslim Abdurrahman.[50] Moeslim describes transformative Islam as follows:

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[49]Moh. Mudzakkir, "Gerakan Sosial Baru (Pelajar)", *Manifestasi Gerakan Perlawanan Pelajar* (Yogyakarta: PPIPM, 2011), 150.

[50]PP IPM, *Materi Konpiwil Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah* (Padang: PPIPM, 2013), 6.

"Transformative Islam is basically a theological utopia, namely how to make the meaning of religion can be contested by those who are marginalized, not in competition among authorities on who should and should not interpret the sacred meaning, but how Islam can be the spirit of advocacy for those who suffer at the same time when those who oppress with their authority also using the same religious justification."[51]

On October 9, 2003, a group of young activists established the Muhammadiyah Intellectual Youth Network (*Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah/JIMM*) as an effort to revitalize the theology of *al-Maun*. JIMM has three paradigm pillars, namely: hermeneutics,[52] critical social theory[53] and new social movement. This paradigm was idealized to change the level of intellectual consciousness and revolutionary ideas in order to navigate the big wave of globalization.[54] Subsequently, such social discourse and context was dialectic with the reality in the IRM body, and transformed into a paradigm incorporated in the Transformative-Critical Movement manifesto as the populist movement of IRM.

The TCM Manifesto faced obstructions in its journey, including the presumption of the ideas fly "above the sky". IPM activists and ideologues seemed to less capable as "creative interpreters". The idea was refused by some elements since it was perceived as secular and distant from the reality. Therefore, it should be modified in a more real-implementation level. Thomas Kuhn identified such situation with a term "anomaly", in this case TCM was incapable in answering the encountered problems. A scientific revolution or paradigm shift is required for reading it contextually. This is where dialectical theory proposed by the German thinker, G.W.F. Hegel, becomes evidence.

[51]Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Pengantar," *Suara Tuhan Suara Pemerdekaan* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2009), 11.

[52]As an analytical tool, Hermeneutics is expected to reproduce the meaning of divine revelation manifested in the Qur'an, "... so that the meanings of the new age can be controlled by Qur'anic reflections"; Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Munculnya Kesadaran Kritis Ber-Muhammadiyah: Sebuah Pengantar", x.

[53]As an analytical tool, critical social theory is used to diagnose the existence of oppressive power hegemony disseminated to various sectors, and to build counter-hegemony power that emphasizes the oppression of the oppressed and the significance of building the liberation theology perspective. Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Munculnya Kesadaran Kritis Ber-Muhammadiyah", xi.

[54]Biyanto, "Tafsir Sosial Ideologi Keagamaan Kaum Muda Muhammadiyah: Telaah terhadap Fenomena Jaringan Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah (JIMM)", 6.

There is a thesis (a science) that is countered by anti-thesis (a criticism) to produce synthesis (new science). It required a new idea, thus IRM can set foot on historical activism and protect the interests of the students. [55]

The concept of TCM is to position IPM as one of the social movements that advocate student social class that is considered as an oppressed class. It implies the IPM elites' desire to bring their movements as counter-action. It is also reflected in a book entitled "*Manifestasi Gerakan Perlawanan Pelajar"* in the 50th anniversary of the IPM. This idea of TCM was inflated at all IPM activities, such as *musywil*, *musyda*, *musycab*, *musyran*, and *Taruna Melati* as well as other informal trainings. However, amid all of those occasions, the idea was criticized by various elements.[56]

In the reflection process, Ridho Al-Hamdi suggested a sort of absence of activists in the presence of the idea of TCM. It might occur due to the IPM activists who less comprehend the formulation of TCM, or its heavy and complicated language. Once the SPI Hijau has not been read completely, there is suddenly criticism against TCM for its less Islamic values and irrelevant to the IRM movement, particularly at regional level. Moreover, almost the majority of IPM leaders neither understood nor capable to interpret the idea of TCM. Consequently, the idea was idyllic and exacerbated by the absence of creative interpreter to bring it to the base level.[57]

Facing complicated situation, the TCM was stuck on a dead end. The aspirations built by the IPM forerunners ended as utopia. Like a building, the foundation has been completed but the project is delayed due to the change of architect. As a solution, the formulation of TCM should be described explicitly thus it could be understood and realized by the youth (read: student). It was done in the momentum of the rename of IRM to IPM in Congress of 2008, in Surakarta, with the theme "new student movement".

It seemed Munawwar Khalil's concerns that "critical consciousness" would only be a myth without the ability to notice the realities of grassroots after the 13th Congress of 2002 in Yogyakarta, occurred. Hence, the TCM appeared in a certain knowledge episteme. *First*, the New Order's atmosphere incarcerated and imprisoned people in terms of freedom of speech and expression. Likewise, in the educational realm, students were only situated as passive subject

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[55] Ridho Al-Hamdi, "Menuju Gerakan Pelajar Kreatif...", 205.
[56] *Ibid*, 203.
[57] *Ibid*, 208.

to the opinion of teachers. In line with the reform era, the openness taps were opened widely. People are free to argue, organize and act. In this circumstance, "critical consciousness" was IPM's response on the rise of civil society that fosters democratic values, openness and equality. Moreover, passive students must be an active group to shield their rights as human beings (education, politics, economy, culture) through advocacy. Therefore, IP established "criticism" as a keyword. *Second*, the critical consciousness as the jargon of IPM is an open paradigm. It is possible to review, criticize and replace it with another paradigm if it is perceived irrelevant to the spirit of the volatile era. "Critical consciousness" is not a deity of idealism without a revelation in the reality, since IRM/IPM will not be affiliated to the *status quo* that decelerates discontinuity required by human beings for improving, complementing and adorning human dignity.[58]

Similar to Omid Safi who repudiated to use the term "Critical Muslim", critics are often identified with those who regularly criticize or being anxious about an issue but yet sit comfortably and being apathy. Thus, the terms "Progressive Muslim" is opted because there are no other terms are not problematic. The term "progressive" is attributed by Omid Safi to the term "Muslim", instead of "Islam". It is considered more appropriate, since it is not Islam but the adherents (Muslims) who are perceived not progressive. "Progressive Muslims" promote the direct involvement of Muslims in the reality (action-praxis),[59] instead of Islam in the realm of ideas. The "critical" paradigm used by IRM as a reading tool seems to need a review to figure out its relevance. However, being critical is identical to being "scapegoat" seeker, instead of active problem solver. Likewise, in the Qur'an, Muslims are commanded to perform *nahi munkar*, and also *amar ma'ruf* at once. Thus, IPM cadre must be critical and also progressive at the same time to confront and survive in the midst of globalization.[60]

3. SPI Hijau: Guidance for Transformative-Critical Education

SPI Hijau is the culmination point of the paradigm shift of IRM movement from the "stage movement" to "social movement", or from the "elite movement" to "populist movement" as framed by the

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[58]Munawwar Khalil, "Praksisme Kritis IPM", dalam *Manifestasi Gerakan Perlawanan Pelajar* (Yogyakarta: PPIPM, 2011), 150.

[59]Omid Safi, *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, dan Pluralism.* (England: Oneworld Oxford, 2003).

[60]*Ibid.*

Transformative-Critical Movement Manifesto (TCM Manifesto).[61] It was devised in the early Reformation of 1998 as a response for the fail to return IRM to its former name, IPM. At that time, IRM was perceived as a product of the New Order, therefore the rename was required. In general, SPI Hijau is affected by the post-reform national development of 1998, indicated by its more democratic, open and participative situation. It was built on the paradigm enclosed in the "TCM Manifesto". The vision of the IRM movement is to criticize the dominant system as a support to the oppressed youths and students to create a new and just social system. In TCM, IRM should be able to provide space to identify and analyze, independently and critically, towards social transformation.

The presence of SPI Hijau is a criticism to the former guideline or SPI Biru. In 1998, the former guide was criticism by minority groups in IPM (IRM at the time) at elite structural level. It was assumed to insufficiently accommodate the youth. In the context of system, it might be an ideal guide. Yet further observation found that in the aspect of cadre component, it was too "large", less focus and less systematic. As a result, there was a variety of IPM formal trainings (that are less attention to SPI), and many chairmen at regional level performed recreation (innovation) of cadre model.[62]

At the national cadre forum, *Taruna Melati Utama*, held in Tawangmangu, Solo, the evaluation on SPI Biru found several empirical and theoretical corrections. They were the inconsistent gaps among objectives, materials, and targets, as well as less apprentice methods of applying adult learning using participatory training, and the absence of material descriptive outline.[63] In this forum, "the structure of the IRM movement" as the mode of thought that covers initiated from Philosophy, Purpose, Philosophy of IPM Cadre, and IPM Cadre System, was discussed.[64]

SPI Hijau, in general, is very different from previous SPI. Subhan Purnoaji mentioned it as a revolutionary change. It seems there were discontinuities between them, even the later was identified as "SPI Kafir" due to its differences from general trend of the Muhammadiyah cadre system. In fact, in terms of mode of thought, targets, material

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[61]*Ibid.*

[62]Saud, El Hujjaj, "SP IRM: Memilih Mitos atau Realitas?", 6.

[63]M. Izzul Muslimin "Kekuatan IPM Ada Pada Dialektika Pemikiran", Accessed from: http://www.ipm.or.id, on 22 August 2016.

[64]Saud, El Hujjaj, "SP IRM: Memilih Mitos atau Realitas?", 5.

methods and post-cadre, SPI Hijau was significantly different or even disconnected from previous SPI. For instance, the Social Analysis (ANSOS) was included in TM III material.[65] Since then, IPM recognizes the "new social movement", and "advocacy movement" in the body of IPM.[66]

At the outset, those materials were not familiar in the environment of Muhammadiyah/IPM, even though they were common among activists in advocacy NGOs. The change was ample, even the term "instructor" for the tutor of *Taruna Melati* was changed into "facilitator" since it was perceived more democratic.

SPI Hijau has adopted many contemporary thoughts developed by Paulo Freire, a prominent Brazilian-Latin American pedagogue. Methodologically, SPI Hijau has intimate relationship with the education/training ideas and practice instigated by INSIST the study and education institution led by Mansour Fakih in Yogyakarta. Therefore, it is unsurprisingly the substance of SPI Hijau are akin to INSIST's *Pendidikan Popular*.[67] It is through this book that critical education which is the flow of education for empowerment and liberation develops in IRM. Based on critical perspective, education is a critical reflection of the 'dominant ideology' towards social transformation. Hence, IRM recognized its ideological keywords, namely "criticism" and "justice".

Saud El-Hujjad claimed that in addition to Mansour Fakih who contributed to the praxis of IPM movement as a model of the critical movement, Moeslim Abdurrahman is also an important figure in the elaboration of IPM's transformative-critical movement. In fact, Moeslim Abdurrahman is the main thinker of critical movement through TMU Tawangmangu, while Mansour Fakih provided assistance in the methodology (he even joined the training for two days for this aim). Furthermore, Romo Wahono, who was affiliated to LSM Pandjilaras, also participated in this training by giving lecture about new left movement. Meanwhile, the "Transformative Islam" paradigm was theoretically intensified by Moeslim through Kyai Dahlan's theological praxis of al-Ma'un.[68]

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[65]Subhan Purno Aji, "Falsafah dan Genealogi Perkaderan IPM".

[66]According to Anjar Nugroho, Saud El-Hujjaj is a figure who puts forward teh discourse of social sciences, including ANSOS in IPM cadre system. At the time, Saud was the Chairman of KPSDM (*Kaderisasi Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia*) of 2000-2002. Anjar Nugroho, "Paradigma Gerakan IPM di Era Reformasi".

[67]Subhan Purno Aji, "Falsafah dan Genealogi Perkaderan IPM".

[68]On an occasion, IRM Central Executive held a meeting about TM U material in Tawangmangu. Most of the attendances disagreed with the inclusion of Social analysis

In SPI Hijau, this process of leveling is narrowed. It is divided into two categories: formal and non-formal training. The formal training consists of the primary, secondary and complementary. The primary training is recruitment and selection process of cadre members through Taruna Melati I to Taruna Melati Utama. Secondary training is a process which is obligatory for cadre in the framework of program continuity and implemented through Facilitator Training and Assistance I and II. Meanwhile, the complementary is the enrichment of knowledge in order to meet the targets in each level. This complementary is flexible, either in the form of a course or school. Furthermore, SPI Hijau became a reference for IRM cadre since SPI *Semiloknas* in Makassar and was enacted in 2002.

Nevertheless, it is unique that prior to the SPI Hijau, the philosophy of IRM cadre within the cadre system has never been discussed previously. However, since the release of SPI Hijau, in the introduction entitled "*Perkaderan IRM: Mitos atau Realitas*?", the discussion of the philosophy of IRM cadre covers three philosophical frameworks, namely: ontological, epistemological, and axiological.

Ontologically, IRM cadre is *tarbiyah* (education). Subsequently, *tarbiyah* insists a transformation of cadre value consciousness in a balanced state between three basic human requirements, namely: reasoning (*aqliyah*), spirituality or faith (*ruhiyah*), and physical health (*jasadiyah*). Epistemologically, cadre is to raise consciousness of the cadre values: Islam, science, cadre, humanity and culture. Axiologically, cadre is a "transformation" of cadres, in terms of personality, frame of thought, and action. They are intended to uphold the value of Islam as the aim of IPM and Muhammadiyah, Basic Values of Muhammadiyah Struggle (NDP) or ideological orientation of the IPM movement. The extraction of the substance of the IRM movement paradigm that is subsequently interpreted into the ideological orientation of the IRM movement will yield two keywords, "criticism" and "social justice".

The SPI Hijau was completely formulated based on Freirean's critical education paradigm. Therefore, it is incomplete to read SPI Hijau without reading Paulo Freire or Masour Fakih, *et al*. in *Pendidikan Populer*. For the Freirean's school of thought, the essence of education or training is to raise critical consciousness. Education is an arena of

and other materials that I had compiled. Since most of them disapproved, I finally asked them to re-devised the materials and I excused not participate in the implementation of TMU. As a result, they did not want to take risks and eventually decide to approve and implement the material that I devised previously. Interview with Saud El-Hujjad on October 27, 2016.

political struggle. Critical attitude toward unfair and unjust reality and the sensitivity to this concerns as reflected in the SPI Hijau indicated its association with progressivism. Progressivism suggests that curriculum should be built on the learner's personal and social experiences. Therefore, learners have the skills, tools and social experience by having interaction with the environment, as well as practice the ability to solve personal and social problems.[69]

In other words, the philosophy of IRM cadre is to 're-humanize' people who previously endure dehumanization sue to unfair systems and structures. In line with progressivism that positions learners as active and creative group. Progressive education emphasizes "learning by doing" through experience, active learning, group learning and problem solving.[70] In contrast to progressivism that promotes problem solving, the SPI Hijau set up Social Analysis (ANSOS) as a method and technique of "facing problems". It became one of the strategic activities to respond dominant systems and discourses. In SPI Hijau, participants are required to contemplate their vision and mission, as well as critical consciousness that put learners as subjects and supervisor of the processes and methods for social transformation.[71]

In the SPI Hijau, education is how to develop the paradigm of critical thinking (criticism). It advocates opposition to the injustice and the status quo. It teaches popular education. In SPI Hijau, education is rooted from the Qur'an (*al-Ma'un* theology) in the functional-pragmatic context, so as to solve social problems. Critical education enclosed in SPI Hijau gathers with the paradigm of Moeslim Abdurrahman's transformative Islamic with Kyai Dahlan's *al-Ma'un* theology as the theological foundation. Education in SPI Hijau also prioritizes the participants' activities, hence the educators serve as facilitators who also learn at the same time. The SPI Hijau provides the instruction to teach participants on "how to think and act critically". Therefore, in SPI Hijau, philosophy is a tool for problem solving. SPI Hijau promotes child-centered, contextual, democratic, participatory and humanist education that is free from text book or textual teaching methods.[72]

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[69]Muhaimin, *Wacana Pengembangan,* 43.

[70]*Ibid,.* 82-86.

[71]Mansour Fakih dkk, *Pendidikan Populer…,* 15; Mansour Fakih, "Pendidikan Yang Membebaskan…", 5.

[72]George R. Knight, *Issues and Alternatives in Educational Philosophy,* Ed. XII, (Michigan: Andrews University Press, 1982), 82-83.

E. Conclusions

In the post-reform era, the educational thought, movement, and practices in IPM have endured a fundamental (radical) paradigm shift. In the New Order era, there were two educational guidelines, namely the SPI Merah (1985) and the SPI Biru (1994). The SPI Merah emerged after the ideological dispute between Nationalism, Religion, and Communism (NASAKOM). At that time, the New Order regime issued a policy of "Pancasila as the only and basic principle" that was accepted as the organizational ideology in 1986. Meanwhile, the SPI Biru was established after IPM was changed into IRM in 1992. This change was carried out due to the pressure of New Order regime. At the same time, IPM was insisted to reconstruct the concept of the movement from "student" (exclusive) to "youth" (inclusive). Since then, IPM has entered an inclusive and pragmatic movement phase. The beginning of the 1998 reform era is marked by the open and liberal democracy, SPI Hijau was devised based on transformative-critical education as a paradigm. The transformative-critical education of IPM was formulated at the discourse of Moeslim Abdurrahman's "Transformative Islam" and Paulo Freire's critical education flourished and influenced the activists of the IPM movement.

Since 2002, IPM has incorporated Social Analysis (ANSOS) material in IPM's trainings as a tool for social problem analysis. Therefore, the paradigm and movement of IPM inclined to populist ideology in this phase. Based on George R. Knight's educational philosophy, transformative-critical education in the SPI Hijau is associated with progressivism rooted in the philosophy of pragmatism. SPI Hijau educates people to learn the significance of Paulo Freire's critical consciousness to see the problem of social injustice with the spirit of Moeslim Abdurrahman's Transformative Islam inspired by KH. Ahmad Dahlan's *al-Ma'un* theology. For progressivism, the comprehension of raw knowledge as perennialism and essentialism is not required since it is unresponsive to actual problems for both individuals and communities. The transformative-critical education of IPM teaches life skills to cope with actual problems in society.

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