Conference Paper

Indonesian Islamic Tradition is a Wisdom that Liberates Society from the Shackles of Globalization

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Abstract.

This study aims to describe Islamic traditions in Indonesia as a source of law to free society from the shackles of globalization. This research is qualitative with a literature model. Research data in the form of Islamic traditional activities in the community. Data sources were obtained from several recent studies. Data collection was done using documentation technique. Meanwhile, data analysis was done using *content analysis.* The research findings show that Indonesian Islamic traditions have inherent values and teachings that can help communities strengthen their local strength and resist the negative influences of consumer culture and global hedonism. By integrating Islamic values with the local context, critical education can serve as a powerful tool to empower individuals and communities to resist the damaging effects of globalization. In conclusion, the Indonesian Islamic tradition holds valuable wisdom that can guide us in navigating the complexities of the modern world. By harnessing this wisdom and integrating it with critical education, we can strengthen local forces and resist external pressures, thus freeing ourselves from the shackles of globalization.

Keywords: globalization, Indonesian Islamic tradition, neoliberalism

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1. Introduction

Neoliberalism is a continuation of liberalism that had developed and experienced a crisis in the 1930s. The core of this understanding is the release of the privilege of capital from various territorial and national regulations. This phenomenon then gave birth to a new monster on a global scale, namely the power of international business.

Two main definitions of neoliberalism are commonly understood. First, neoliberalism refers to an ideology or agenda for organizing society based on the dominance of the economic dimension over other dimensions of human beings such as cultural, political, social, and so on. The second definition relates to the dominance of the financial sector in the political-economic system, which indicates the internal colonization of

homo economics itself. Thus, the definition of neoliberalism shows the influence of domination exercised by homo economicus and homo financials on other aspects of human multidimensionality and the political-economic system (Herry-Priyono, 2004).

Neoliberalism, which is the vilest form of capitalism, is the economic philosophy adopted by capitalist countries. In this system, humans are directed to become greedy creatures who are willing to destroy others to achieve maximum profits. The task of neoliberalism is to pave the way for exploitation between people without geographical boundaries. The world has now become a jungle where only the strongest survive (Sulaiman et al., 2019). Neoliberalism has an important role in promoting globalization. Neoliberal policies promote trade, finance, and investment liberalization, which has facilitated the growth of global trade and investment flows. This has led to the emergence of global supply chains, the growth of multinational corporations, and the increasing dominance of financial markets (Kumbara et al., 2020).

Its development, in the context of Indonesia, has various positive and negative effects. In the first aspect, we can see the impact of neoliberalism on increasing investment and trade with other countries, encouraging competition and innovation in business and industry, as well as accelerating infrastructure development and public sector investment through the private sector. On the other hand, neoliberalism also brings various problems (especially in the economic and social fields), such as the increasing gap between the rich and the poor, as neoliberalism leads to privatization and the elimination of subsidies for the poor; exploitation of the environment and natural resources, as businesses and industries, only pay attention to profits without regard to environmental impacts; and foreign domination in Indonesia's economic sector, as foreign companies are seen as more capable of competing and taking over markets than local companies.

In Indonesia, most of the population is Muslim and Islam has flourished for centuries in the country. In this paper, we argue that the Indonesian Islamic tradition has the potential to help Indonesians overcome the problems caused by globalization and neoliberalism for at least three reasons.

First, Indonesian Islamic tradition emphasizes the importance of social harmony and inclusiveness. It prioritizes building strong relationships within communities and respecting cultural and religious diversity. This focus on inclusivity can help counter the sense of alienation and division that Indonesians may feel in the face of globalization which often prioritizes individualism and competition.

Second, Indonesia's Islamic tradition prioritizes sustainable development and responsible environmental management. In a neoliberal economic system that often prioritizes

profit over sustainability, the Indonesian Islamic tradition emphasizes the importance of balancing economic development with environmental protection.

Third, Indonesian Islamic tradition promotes a strong sense of community and social responsibility. It prioritizes community welfare over individual profit and encourages individuals to give back to their communities.

Against this background, this research aims to take a deeper look at how Islamic traditions in Indonesia are used as wisdom to liberate society from the shackles of globalization and, especially, neoliberalism.

2. Literature Review

In this section, researchers will present some previous research related to Islamic tradition, education (especially pesantren), and globalization. In addition to showing the research gap, the studies that will be presented below also function as points of departure from this research.

First, Dacholfany (2015) discusses Islamic education which has received various crucial challenges in the era of globalization. According to him, Islamic education occupies an important position in the life of globalization, because globalization itself has a positive and negative influence on Islamic education. For this reason, Islamic education reform can seek to revive a better vision of Islamic education to build and improve the quality of humans and Muslim societies in the era of globalization. In this study, Dacholfany sees globalization as a relative "dynamize", so he does not see it as something that must be resisted.

Second, Masyhuri (2015) Pesantren as an Islamic educational institution has a strategic role in shaping the future of Islamic society in Indonesia. However, according to him, often pesantren are trapped in the dichotomy between traditional and modern so often pesantren graduates become alien to social reality and their needs. In this study, Masyhuri puts globalization as the context of the time when Islamic education in pesantren needs to change. Meanwhile, the Islamic tradition contained in pesantren teaching is seen as something that can be negotiated with modernity.

Third, Otta (2015) studied the dynamics of Islamic traditions in the Tondano Javanese Village which experienced changes in the era of globalization. These changes made the people in the village "split" into two camps. The first camp, filled with young people, made adjustments to some non-essential traditions with the times. Meanwhile, the other camp, which is filled with old people, chooses to uphold the form of tradition as it is.

Globalization in this study, as in previous studies, is placed as a context of the time that brings changes in all aspects, including Islamic traditions in Tondano Javanese Village.

Fourth, Syamsiyah & ZA (2022) aim to find out, describe, and analyze the role of pesantren in implementing the national insight of millennial generation students in traditional pesantren as a resolution to the turbulence of globalization. Similar to the research conducted by the author, Syamsiyah and ZA's research sees globalization as a problem, something that is unstable, so it brings various impacts (mostly negative) to society, especially *santri*. However, this research focuses on the variable of national insight which is a value that must be possessed by *santri*.

In contrast to the four previous studies, this research places globalization as something that shackles, which embraces the freedom of society in Indonesia, especially Islamic society. As a solution, this research offers the treasures of Indonesian Islamic tradition to escape from these shackles. Thus, this study examines Indonesian Islamic tradition and its relation to globalization from a perspective not seen by previous researchers.

3. Method

This research uses a qualitative approach, and the method used is content analysis. The qualitative approach was chosen because it is an exploratory research model that aims to understand phenomena in depth by exploring the experiences, meanings, and subjective perspectives of individuals or groups (Krippendorff, 2018). This research wants to explore how Indonesian Islamic traditions can be used as a source of wisdom to free people from the shackles of globalization. Such an explanation requires a thorough understanding of how traditions influence society. The data sources in this research are news texts and literary sources such as books, journals, and other published materials. These sources often contain rich and detailed descriptions of the phenomenon under study, which can provide insight into the complexity of the topic under investigation.

Meanwhile, the content analysis technique is used to analyze the content of messages, words, or other text data to reveal the meaning contained in the data source. The steps taken by researchers are: (1) collecting data in the form of news texts and relevant literature sources related to Indonesian Islamic tradition and globalization; (2) sorting data based on relevant topics; (3) analyzing the results by identifying themes related to Indonesian Islamic tradition and its role in freeing society from globalization; and (4) interpreting the results and drawing conclusions based on the analysis that has been done.

4. Result and Discussion

In globalization, transnational business trade practices are encouraged and supported by international regulations and agreements that are often referred to as 'new rules in the free market framework. These agreements include GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), WTO (World Trade Organization), GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services), TRIPs (Trade Related Intellectual Property Right), TRIMs (Trade Related Investment Measures), AoA (Agreement on Agriculture) and so on. At the same time, the ideology of consumerism is also pushed by the overwhelming power of the advertising business in the form of logos, brands, and labels, subconsciously instilling the principle of 'pleasure-prestige-luxury' in many individuals. Thus, globalization does not only occur on a macro scale, in the form of various global political economy policies imposed on public policy through the three 'magic dimensions': deregulation-privatization-liberalization. However, globalization also occurs on the micro-scale of individual human beings, which is injected into various individual choices that refer to various global cultures, identities, and lifestyles. Although the essence is coercion to choose the uniformity of culture, identity, and lifestyle. Such as the lifestyle of consuming American-style fast food, McDonald, KFC, Pizza Hut, A&W, MTV-style music, and Western-style fashion.

The basic strategy of neoliberalism is the removal of all obstacles that hinder the free market, the protection of intellectual property rights, good governance, market deregulation, and the elimination of public service subsidies. In practice, neoliberalism gives private companies freedom from government interference. For example, the government does not intervene in matters of hunting, investment, and prices, and allows them to have the space to grow and develop to regulate themselves. The state then provides autonomous growth areas and gives special treatment on taxes, duties, and investments. Such as NAFTA, AFTA, SIJORI (Singapore-Johor-Riau), BIMP-EAGA (Brunai-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East Growth Triangle), Batam Authority, and so on. Another practice is the termination of social service subsidies because it is considered contrary to the neoliberal principle of government intervention, as well as against the principles of the market and free competition. Therefore, the government then privatized all state enterprises, because state enterprises were created to provide subsidies to the people, and that could hamper free competition (Faqih, 2000).

For neoliberals, the ideologies of 'shared prosperity' and 'communal ownership', as espoused by most traditional societies, are seen as obstacles to achieving the main neoliberal agenda. Therefore, they try hard to suppress them with various arguments

and promotions. As a result, they insist on handing over the management of natural resources to experts, rather than to local traditional indigenous groups who are deemed incapable of efficient and effective management. It is indigenous peoples who have experience and local wisdom and have known for generations the character of natural resources that develop around their environment.

So a country that has embraced neoliberalism and followed the current economic globalization is concisely seen if the state only develops the following patterns (Jhamtani, 2005): (1) Hypergrowth and exploitation of natural resources and the environment to promote economic growth, (2) Privatization of public services, (3) Homogenization of global culture and economy and promotion of consumerism, (4) Integration and conversion of the national economy from self-sufficiency to market-based, (5) Corporate deregulation and the movement of capital across national borders without barriers or barriers, (6) The concentration of corporations into just a handful of large companies, (7) The elimination of aid or subsidies for basic public health care programs, other social services, and environmental maintenance, because they are considered costs, (8) The displacement of democratic state power and local communities by global corporate bureaucracies.

Thus, corporations are bound by loose laws or even not bound by laws at all (deregulation), except for market laws. Corporations are given access to any market freely (liberalization) and are given the authority to regulate the lives of many people (privatization of public services). The role of the state, which is supposed to protect the interests of society in the face of competition with giant corporations, has been emasculated (Jhamtani, 2005).

When viewed in general, the great power of corporations is supported by four things: control over technology, information, capital, and global regulations. These four MNCs colonize human lives and minds through the paradigm of neoliberalism. (Jhamtani, 2005).

To colonize the territory of life, the first step is the colonization of the mind. This is done through the domination of information through the monopoly of mass media, in the form of advertisements and distorted news. The next step is the homogenization of culture, lifestyle, and even agricultural systems, and products. To gain legitimacy as global development actors, MNCs dominate multilateral institutions such as the WTO, IMF, and World Bank. And began to try to influence the UN, which has been known as an institution that promotes human rights, the environment, and a balanced system of multilateralism.

In this process of domination, control over technology plays an important role. A monopoly over technology, or a combination of new technologies with almost no security regulations, will strengthen the colonization of lives and minds. Among these technologies are; (a) Nanotechnology to control matter through manipulation, (b) Biotechnology to control life through manipulation of genes, (c) Information technology to control knowledge through bits (bytes), (d) Cognitive neuroscience to control the mind through manipulation of neurons, (e) Memetic engineering to control culture through manipulation of memes or ideas. Memes are the fundamental elements of culture analogous to genes in living organisms (Jhamtani, 2005).

The dominance of corporate technology has resulted in the powerlessness of the community in developing their creativity, due to the recognition of intellectual property rights (HAKI). People with intellectual creativity, such as farmers, craftsmen, and even academics, are unable to patent their findings and creativity because it is expensive. For corporations, obtaining intellectual property rights is very easy, but it will oppress the people. For example, Tukirin (62) and his friends, farmers from Nganjuk, East Java, were dragged to court on charges of stealing seeds from a hybrid corn seed producer, PT BISI, a subsidiary of Charoen Pokphand, Asia's largest agricultural input conglomerate. Similarly, Tukirin was accused of illegally certifying their patented corn seeds. Tukirin was accused of violating Article 61 (1) "b" in conjunction with Article 14 (1) of Law No.12 of 1992 on the Plant Cultivation System. In the end, Tukirin was sent to prison for two years (Saiful, 2005).

With the dominance of technology, corporations colonize human living space (livelihood). Corporations are portrayed as a vehicle for economic development and technology transfer and make the world closer. They are envisioned as creating a 'global village'. However, in reality, the top 200 MNCs in the world are creating a 'global economic apartheid', i.e. huge inequality of wealth and access to resources. Global Economic Apartheid is essentially the colonization of livelihoods. Livelihood is not a concept of physical territory, but a set of necessities of life including food, energy, clean water, education, health care, and information. It also includes the freedom to hold certain beliefs, lifestyles, and thoughts (Jhamtani, 2005). Overall, the right to life means economic, social, and cultural rights as recognized by the UN in the international convention on economic, social, and cultural rights and the right to development. Based on the content of these conventions, the security of livelihood is a human right. The Global Apartheid Economy deprives us of this security of livelihood. The colonization of livelihoods is carried out by labeling 'industry' on many things that concern life. For example, health services turn into the health industry; food provision becomes the

agriculture or agribusiness industry; education becomes the education industry; life sciences become the life science industry.

The ideology of corporations is profit through the domination of markets and resources, not the fulfillment of jobs or equitable distribution of benefits, or fair competition. Through the manipulation of information, they portray themselves as agents that promote the welfare of society. Without realizing it, corporations take over people's minds through advertising imagery and unbalanced media news. In other words, the human mind is colonized by corporate interests to gain as much as possible. For example, soft drinks are advertised as containing high nutritional value and having implications for a modern lifestyle, when in fact they contain chemicals that are harmful if consumed continuously and have no lifestyle implications at all, except just feelings.

It is reported in scientific journals that many children in Zambia have 'Fanta Baby' disease because they are given these soft drinks every day instead of nutritious food. The same is true in Reo de Janeiro, Mexico, and other cities. The same is true of the image created by whitening cream advertisements: a confident woman who is successful in her relationships with men and kind, all because of whitening cream. Even educated women are influenced by these ads. It may seem as if these ads are racist, as only dark-skinned people are targeted. But it is not. The whitening cream company also produces darkening creams and sells them in light-skinned countries with the same but opposite message "skin of color is beautiful". This means that consumers are encouraged to think that 'being yourself' is not good, and 'being someone else' is better.

The idea that producers have the right to shape images and consumers have the right to choose assumes that the market is never wrong. That all people have a reason, education, and the freedom to choose. Of course, this basic assumption is not entirely true. Poor mothers in Africa as consumers cannot read what is in soft drinks. Even if they can read, they don't understand the health hazards of consuming these drinks. Therefore, the image they see, they assume to be true. But as a result, their children's right to health is not fulfilled.

There is a certain paradigm formed in the minds of the consumer society, perhaps this is the forerunner of memetic engineering. That paradigm is the homogenization of thinking to make it easier for companies to produce uniform products for a globally uniform market. The most obvious example is how Indonesian children's appetites are shaped through the image that McDonald's, KFC, Pizza Hut, A&W, and similar fast food are 'trendy, delicious, modern, cheap, clean and healthy'.

The colonization of the mind is directed at homogenizing ways of thinking and is carried out through a uniform, unilateral, and one-way education system, political and economic systems, and media. Even in the so-called 'democratic' state system, people's thoughts and opinions are, without realizing it, controlled through the propaganda of the mass media (which is also controlled by corporations), and the education system and government. This can be seen in the way democracy is portrayed. India, the US, and Indonesia are said to be the world's largest democracies. The reason is because of 'free elections'. Whereas the livelihoods and ways of thinking of the three countries are different and still colonized. The minimum basic needs of the people of India and Indonesia have not been met. Whereas the American people themselves are largely unable to participate meaningfully in the decision-making process within their own country. If educated people like the US still do not realize that their country is not a true democracy, how about most people in the Third World?

4.1. The Forces of Islamic Tradition In Indonesia

Since globalization was launched, neoliberalism has succeeded in becoming the cornerstone of social formation. Many victims have fallen, especially indigenous peoples, rural small farmers, the urban poor, and other marginalized groups. However, since then there have also been many resistance movements in various forms. The first resistance came from cultural movements, such as the religious movement known as the 'liberation theology' movement in Latin America. In India, there was also a cultural resistance movement that gave rise to the Hindu Revivalist group (Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh). Some of these cultural movements are local and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that often assist such cultural resistance to expand the movement.

Resistance movements also occur in Indonesia that are local and have a cultural socio-religious background. As experienced various Islamic boarding schools in Java, and several cases of farmers in the countryside who with their creativity and local wisdom did a minimum of rejection and even resistance. Each community experiences the same problems related to the current wave of corporate hegemony. However, each community has its character, tradition, creativity, and wisdom in dealing with corporate hegemony. Although it is not uncommon for them to misunderstand corporate hegemony they become its agents.

The results of research by Fatchan & Basrowi (2004) on the defection of pesantren *kiai* in Malang and Blitar to the system developed by the government in agricultural cultivation, which turned out to be neoliberalist with green revolution politics, showed

that they managed to creatively create their systems and mechanisms. With the local leadership of a *kiai* and his social kinship system, he was able to build a strategic community to carry out community education processes, without having to be influenced by appeals, suggestions, even provocations and intimidation from the government through village and sub-district officials and agricultural extension workers. They do not want to encounter the market system that tends to oppress farmers. They reject technological systems that in the long run they realize will be detrimental to themselves. Similarly, they reject the cropping system taught by agricultural extension workers, because the extension workers only base themselves on agricultural theory, not understanding the nature of the soil and the character of the seasons in their village area.

The forms of resistance of *kiai* and the community are: (a) rejecting the rental pattern, but pawning rice fields, (b) rejecting monoculture cropping patterns, (c) rejecting bank credit, (d) rejecting training from the government (agricultural extension workers), but implementing sorogan and bandongan system training, and (e) refusing to use pesticides, but concocting their pest poisons (Fatchan & Basrowi, 2004).

The power of the *kiai* as a local leader, strategizing to defend the people from the oppressive efforts of capital owners (daokeh) with ijon systems, land leases, bank loans, and other oppression is quite effective. Kyai prohibits these oppressive systems while providing community education and provides solutions so that rice fields do not fall into the hands of others, and farmers are not entangled in interest-bearing debt. Kyai provided an alternative with a rice field pawn system. This system makes the rice fields not fall into the hands of capital owners because the rice fields are pawned to the boarding school, the proceeds of which are used to build the needs of the community, especially the construction of mosques, musala, and madrasah. Through the means of *jam'iyah tahlil* and routine recitation, *kiai* builds community awareness to create their system, rejecting the capitalist system that will ensnare them themselves (Fatchan & Basrowi, 2004).

The agricultural cultivation pattern developed by the New Order with its green revolution was monoculture. The intensification system of rice cultivation in paddy fields through the Bimas-Inmas, Insus-Supra Insus, and KUT programs was a compulsory program imposed on all farmers. This program is devoted to complying with the will of the authorities in the industrialization of national food, which ultimately kills farmers' creativity because farmers have no other alternatives in their agricultural business. Kyai, who is well aware of the government's political economy, took action to secretly educate farmers to adopt a multicultural cropping pattern, or multiple cropping, which means planting a variety of crops in one rice field. The purpose of planting with this

pattern is to fulfill the daily needs of the farmers themselves. Because with so many plants, the need for main and additional food is sufficiently met. Such as vegetables, cassava, corn, cancel, beans, and other productive plants besides rice as the main crop. Indeed, carrying out this pattern requires special expertise and skills. Therefore, *kiai*, through farmers who have succeeded in creatively developing multicultural agriculture patterns, conduct training both to *santri* and to other farmers. Training is carried out with an apprenticeship and work system adapted from the sorogan and bandongan systems (Fatchan & Basrowi, 2004).

The agricultural intensification program developed by the New Order with the Bimas-Inmas, Insus-Supra Insur, and KUT projects was accompanied by a program of providing agricultural credit facilities that were used as capital for agricultural businesses. These included credit for agricultural production facilities in the form of fertilizers, seeds, and pest medicines, as well as cash for living expenses. These programs were initially known as KUK (Kredit Usaha Tani), KCK (Kredit Candak Kulak), KIK (Kredit Intensifikasi Khusus), Kepedes (Kredit Umum Pedesaan) until at the beginning of the reformation KUT (Kredit Usaha Tani) appeared. All of these credit programs were disbursed and managed through banks appointed by the government, such as BRI. BPD, and BCA. The *kiai* responded to this program by rejecting the entire credit program. This is because the credit system with interest, even though the interest is relatively small, is considered usury and is considered haram at least *makruh*, so the *kiai* has an alternative by providing loans through *jam'iyah yasin* and *tahlil* without the slightest interest. The main problem is not the haram or *makruh* of the interest, but the ability of farmers to manage the credit loan funds obtained tends to be consumptive so that in the end it can ensnare them and eventually their rice fields will be taken over by the bank if they are unable to pay the credit. This is what the *kiai* is concerned about because if farmers do not have rice fields, new and more complicated problems will arise in the social system of the village community (Fatchan & Basrowi, 2004).

Kiai and the community also have their creativity in dealing with crop pest attacks and pesticide products such as crop pest poisons by corporate projects through the hands of the government with its programs. They concoct their poisons using available ingredients, laundry soap, kerosene, and natural tuba. With their creativity, they avoid the high cost of purchasing pesticides and also avoid the negative health effects of the production of factory poisons (Fatchan & Basrowi, 2004).

The same thing in a different region also happened in Madura. The community together with *kiai* rejected government programs that had been piggybacked by national and multinational corporations. For decades almost all Madurese development

programs have been unsuccessful because community resistance to the government is very strong. This is because the position of *kiai* in Madura is quite dominant in society, even though politically the *kiai* differ in their political choices from the government. So, what happens is that all government programs that are not supported by *kiai* are also not supported by the community. Such as the compulsory education program (Wajar) for primary and secondary education, family planning (KB), posyandu, and other programs are almost not running well (Kuntowijoyo, 2003).

In the case of the construction of the Suramadu bridge, the government collaborated with *kiai* in land acquisition and access to the bridge. Access to the bridge has mostly been resolved, but there are still some lands that are difficult to acquire due to myths and beliefs. Myths and beliefs become tools to fight corporate domination, especially in land tenure in Madura. Selling land for Madurese is a taboo. This is because land is an ancestral heritage, where the spirits of their ancestors reside. Therefore, if they sell land, it means selling the spirits of their ancestors. This is a taboo for them. A new problem has arisen in the acquisition of land that will be organized into industrial sites around the Suramadu bridge. The community rejects the sale of their lands, because of these beliefs and myths (Afandi et al., 2005).

Resistance also occurred in Wonosari, Gunung Kidul. The community rejected the domination of the authorities in various ways. These ranged from covert methods to overt patterns of resistance. The domination of capital owners (middlemen, land brokers) who hide under the armpits of bureaucrats in the village and sub-district apparatus is dealt with by various strategies. The tactics of boycotting and cheating, dealing with aid and organizing resistance are strategic steps to counter the oppressive behavior of the authorities (Budisusila & Gito, 2000).

Resistance or defection did not only occur in some of the places mentioned above, but many occurred in several regions in Indonesia and other countries. Resistance occurs because people feel that there is an unfair and oppressive process. Resistance can indeed happen anywhere, anytime, and by anyone. Only the resistance can create collective consciousness so that the process of social transformation occurs. Resistance will be defeated and easily swallowed and crushed by the waves of neoliberalism and capitalism when the resistance is spontaneous, sporadic, not systemized, and does not emerge from the education process. Therefore, a consistent, systemized resistance is needed, and it is built from a liberating educational process so that a just and humanist social system will be built.

4.2. Critical Education as an Alternative to Strengthen the Power of Islamic Tradition Against Neoliberalism

To resist and fighting the forces of neoliberalism is not easy. This is because neoliberal forces can enter the niches of human hearts, feelings, and minds, while they control the political, economic, and technological systems. Neoliberalism with its concept of consumerism is more attractive than the concept of opposing groups. Therefore, what effective patterns are built to prevent and resist these neoliberal forces?

Education is indeed the first and main alternative to build people's awareness of their own colonization by others. The only problem is that education has never been free from political interests. Education cannot be free from efforts to perpetuate and legitimize the power of the socioeconomic system . So, education tends to be a means of producing unjust social systems and structures. Therefore, an education system is needed that frees people from the domination of power and injustice. Education produces a critical consciousness system, such as fostering class consciousness, gender consciousness, and other consciousness. So education is expected to move to fight dehumanization, class exploitation, gender domination, and other cultural domination and hegemony. Education is a means to produce self-awareness and restore humanity. In this case, education plays a role in raising critical consciousness as a prerequisite for liberation efforts. According to Freire (1986), there are three classes of consciousness: magical consciousness, naive consciousness, and critical consciousness.

It is necessary to build a critical vision of education towards the dominant system as a favor to the weak and oppressed. So that education can create a new and more just social system. From a critical perspective, education must create space to identify and analyze freely and critically for social transformation. In other words, education is re-humanizing humans who are dehumanized because of unjust systems and structures. Therefore, the patterns of education that can be applied in this case are the patterns of andragogy education (education for adults) that are adapted to the social conditions and environment of the community.

Currently, the influence of positivism-based education is very dominant in almost all educational institutions and society. So that the patterns developed in the practice of educating (learning process) tend to contradict the spirit of liberation and social transformation. Positivistic thoughts such as objectivity, empirical, impartial to learners, distance from the object of learning, rational, and value-free make the educational process very dominant and kill the seeds of emancipatory. The implementation of positivistic education is a process of fabrication and mechanization of education to

produce educational outputs that must be by the job market. The learning process is also intolerant of all forms of non-positivistic ways of knowing which are referred to as unscientific. Education becomes ahistorical, elaborating a model of society by isolating many variables in the model. Learners are obliged to submit to existing structures and find ways to integrate roles, norms, and values to perpetuate the system. The underlying assumption of such education is that there is no problem in the existing system, the problem lies in the mental attitude, knowledge, and skills of the learners only, including creativity, motivation, and expertise of the learners. Therefore, in the perspective of positivism, education is more intended as a process to educate and make people skillful and expert. While commitment, belief, and trust in a more just system and motivation to fight against existing social structures are not done but are more busy focusing on how to make the existing system work (Topatimasang, 2003).

Therefore, a critical paradigm is needed in the education process. That is a paradigm that humanizes humans. Education favors students to be able to rise to build social awareness so that they can rise to carry out social transformation. Such education must be built on environmental relations and the creation of a democratic education infrastructure system. In an authoritarian and undemocratic infrastructure system, it is difficult for educators to play a critical role. Thus, the most important strategic step is to create an autonomous and participatory learning process in curriculum development, and the creation of space for the learning process for students to become themselves. Thus, every education is autonomous and unique to be themselves. If the democratization of education occurs, it will give birth to an autonomous and democratic society as well. Finally, a democratic society will contribute to the birth of a democratic nation.

It takes the role of educators (*kiai*, teachers, community leaders) as local leaders who can become educators with critical and emancipatory spirits. So that critical, autonomous, and democratic communities will emerge. Communities are liberated from the shackles of the colonizing system because they have self-awareness and can fight the colonizing system. So that eventually there will be a process of social transformation because of the liberating critical education process.

5. Conclusions

In the era of globalization, transnational businesses are becoming increasingly dominant and supported by international regulations that are often referred to as "new rules" within the framework of the free market. Neoliberalism has become the foundation for the formation of modern society since globalization was launched. Many groups have

been victimized by neoliberal policies, especially indigenous peoples, small farmers in rural areas, the urban poor, and other marginalized groups. However, resisting and fighting the forces of neoliberalism is not an easy task. This is because the forces of neoliberalism can enter people's hearts, feelings, and minds, and they also control the political, economic, and technological systems. The concept of consumerism promoted by neoliberalism tends to be more attractive to the public than the concept of counter-groups.

To resist and prevent the power of neoliberalism, effective efforts need to be made. First, awareness and understanding of neoliberalism and its impact on society are needed. Critical education at all levels of society is essential so that people can see the impact of neoliberalism. With critical education, people will be better able to form clear opinions and views on neoliberalism policies.

Second, strengthening local power is important to balance global power. Weak local power must be strengthened to face global power. This can be done by building critical education that is integrated with Islamic values and the local context. Education provided by *pesantren*, *kiai*, *ajengan*, and local leaders has considerable power to balance global forces.

Third, the need to involve community groups in decision-making. Community participation in decision-making is important in preventing authoritarian power and producing more democratic policies. Community participation must be carried out from the planning stage to program implementation.

Fourth, the existence of supervision from the community and independent institutions is very important in overseeing the policies made. This supervision aims to avoid acts of corruption that harm the community.

To prevent and fight the forces of neoliberalism, effective and sustainable efforts need to be made. These efforts include critical education, strengthening local power, community participation, and policy monitoring. With these efforts, people will be better able to face and fight neoliberal policies that harm them.

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