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HTS Review 7547 - Invitation to review and participate as reviewer

1 message

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Reply-To: "Prof. Ernest Van Eck" <ernest.vaneck@up.ac.za>
To: Dr Saifuddin Dhuhr <saifuddindhuhri@gmail.com>

1 April 2022 at 10:08

Ref. No.: 7547
Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College
Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies
Review due: 26-Apr-22

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Thank you for considering this request, we would like to thank you in advance for any help you can provide.

Kind regards,
Prof. Van Eck
Department of New Testament and Related Literature, Faculty of Theology and Religion, University of Pretoria, Pretoria

Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College
Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
Abstract: Abstract

Radicalism has the potential to become more widespread in a younger generation of Muslims who are too textual, exclusive, extreme, and uncritical. Their ethos of struggle has created a momentum to contest radical ideologies of Islamic radicals. This study investigates the potential for the radicalisation of Islamic students in Indonesia and formulates an approach of integrating national and religious values to mitigate against the potential for radicalism. A qualitative research approach is used, and data was collected by distributing questionnaires to Indonesian Islamic student activists. Interviews were also conducted with experts to strengthen secondary sources of information. The results show that the potential for Islamic student to be exposed to radical activists is high. Through categorization, interpretation, and analysis, it was found that the concepts and spread of radicalism were more influenced by religious interpretations than social tolerance factors. In addition, the formulation of the religious nationalism approach is formulated based on religious terminology and religious narratives.

Contribution: This research contributes to assist colleges' efforts in building a detection system and mitigate against the risk of student radicalism through a religious nationalism approach.

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Saifuddin Dhuhri <saifuddindhuhri@gmail.com>

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To: Dr Saifuddin Dhuhri <saifuddindhuhri@gmail.com>

26 April 2022 at 05:00

Ref. No.: 7547

Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College

Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism

Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies

Review due: 26-Apr-22

Dear Dr Saifuddin Dhuhri

You were given access to the manuscript a few weeks ago, and your review was due on 26-Apr-22. We do not however appear to have received a review from you yet. As we would like to inform the authors of a decision as quickly as possible, we would appreciate it if you could send us your comments without delay.

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Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College
Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism

Abstract: ##article.abstract##

Radicalism has the potential to become more widespread in a younger generation of Muslims who are too textual, exclusive, extreme, and uncritical. Their ethos of struggle has created a momentum to contest radical ideologies of Islamic radicals. This study investigates the potential for the radicalisation of Islamic students in Indonesia and formulates an approach of integrating national and religious values to mitigate against the potential for radicalism. A qualitative research approach is used, and data was collected by distributing questionnaires to Indonesian Islamic student activists. Interviews were also conducted with

experts to strengthen secondary sources of information. The results show that the potential for Islamic student to be exposed to radical activists is high. Through categorization, interpretation, and analysis, it was found that the concepts and spread of radicalism were more influenced by religious interpretations than social tolerance factors. In addition, the formulation of the religious nationalism approach is formulated based on religious terminology and religious narratives.

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MANUSCRIPT TO REVIEW

1
2 **To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through**
3 **Religious Nationalism**

4
5 [information redacted to maintain the integrity of the review process]

6
7 **Abstract:**

8
9 Radicalism has the potential to become more widespread in a younger generation of Muslims
10 who are too textual, exclusive, extreme, and uncritical. Their ethos of struggle has created a
11 momentum to contest radical ideologies of Islamic radicals. This study investigates the
12 potential for the radicalisation of Islamic students in Indonesia and formulates an approach of
13 integrating national and religious values to mitigate against the potential for radicalism. A
14 qualitative research approach is used, and data was collected by distributing questionnaires to
15 Indonesian Islamic student activists. Interviews were also conducted with experts to
16 strengthen secondary sources of information. The results show that the potential for Islamic
17 student to be exposed to radical activists is high. Through categorization, interpretation, and
18 analysis, it was found that the concepts and spread of radicalism were more influenced by
19 religious interpretations than social tolerance factors. In addition, the formulation of the
20 religious nationalism approach is formulated based on religious terminology and religious
21 narratives.

Comment [A1]: Is it an established academic term, or is it your term?

22 **Contribution:** This research contributes to assist colleges' efforts in building a detection
23 system and mitigate against the risk of student radicalism through a religious nationalism
24 approach.

Comment [A2]: Sounds like mechanics

25
26 **Keywords:** Religious nationalism; Radicalism; Integration; Student; Islamic Colleges

27 Introduction

28

29 The potential for the spread of radicalism in Islamic higher education institutions
30 among students is quite high. The Community and Islamic Studies Center of Jakarta State
31 Islamic University's research provides a very relevant data. The research published in the
32 book of *Kebhinekaan di Menara Gading* (Nisa et al., 2021) presents a picture of two aspects,
33 namely attitudes and behavior concerning religious tolerance of Muslims to non-Muslims in
34 the university environment. The survey results, conducted in 34 provinces with 2866 student
35 respondents, show that the majority of Muslim students gave responses indicating an attitude
36 of high and very high religious tolerance. Around 69.83% of students indicated an attitude of
37 high religious tolerance and a very high religious tolerance towards non-Muslims. Meanwhile,
38 other 30,16% of students indicated an attitude of low religious tolerance and completely
39 intolerance.

40

41 Many studies show that Indonesian educators do not yet have a demonstrable attitude of
42 openness and respect for differences, minority groups, and marginalized groups (Raihani,
43 2018; Künkler & Stepan, 2013; Spiegel, 2012). In higher education, a study shows the spread
44 of extremism among Indonesian colleges (Suhendi et al., 2020; Ali et al., 2021). In addition,
45 religious education textbooks used in public colleges show an increased propensity for
46 exclusivism (Logli, 2022). The increase of radicalism comes from Muslim student activists
47 who have a religious understanding which is exclusive (Ahnaf, 2018; Sunesti, 2018) where
48 these students conduct various religious activities on the campus that encourage the
49 development of exclusive religious views. This trend is inseparable from the infiltration of
50 radicalism on the campus through campus mosques (Weda & Ihsan 2020) by enforcing the
51 students. Based on statistical data, 39% of students in seven state colleges have been exposed
52 to radicalism (Hakim et al., 2019).

53

54 Regarding the study of the development of radicalism in Indonesia, the Research and
55 Development Agency of East Java Province, in collaboration with the Research and
56 Community Service Institute, UINSA Surabaya (2019), studied students' exposure to
57 radicalism on campus and also teenagers who were involved in discussions and forums at
58 religious institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, *ta'lim* (instruction) assemblies, and

Comment [A3]: Since this term is not familiar in this study, you should formulate your conceptual framework, based on established theories.

59 recitations. This study only provides solutions in terms of deradicalizing efforts through law
60 enforcement and supporting moderate religious figures.

61
62 Other relevant research was conducted by Research and Development and Training
63 Agency of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia. This research describes the
64 potential for religious radicalism of students at the Religious Colleges and the supporting
65 factors but does not provide a solution to prevent it. Akhmad Bukhori's (2019) research,
66 however, does offer a solution to the problem of radicalism at PTKIN. The recommended
67 solution is de-radicalization efforts by inculcating Islamic values in students, strengthening
68 student organizations, and instilling an Islamic-national perspective. In the research to date a
69 paradigmatic model or approach to preventing radicalism among students at PTKIN in
70 Indonesia has not been found, something that is very much needed.

71
72 This article aims to provide a comprehensive perspective regarding the potential scale
73 of radicalism in educational institutions. In particular, this study seeks (1) to describe the
74 potential for radicalism among students, who show little tolerance of the existence of other
75 religions and groups; (2) to identify the causes/factors of the spread of radicalism in educa
76 tional institutions in Indonesia; and (4) to the need to prevent the spread of radicalism from
77 becoming more widespread by applying the religious nationalism model/approach.

Comment [A4]: To what extent can this be? Please unpack this.

78
79 This article describes that apart from being driven by globalization conditions, the
80 potential for radicalism in higher education institutions is also influenced by the decreasing
81 sense of nationalism among students. Today many higher education institutions tend to be
82 centers of radicalism, which is contrary to national values. The growth in radicalization
83 among students has the potential to undo any progress to develop feelings of nationalism.
84 Therefore, a study of the potential for student radicalism and the formulation of a model of
85 integration of religious nationalism understanding is proposed in order to solve the problem
86 of radicalism. This study contributes to understanding the potential for religious beliefs to
87 generate extremism and lead to violence as well as the tools to counter this process of
88 radicalization.

Comment [A5]: It seems too broad, would it be possible presented all in this article?

89
90 **1. Literature Review**

91 **1.1. Religious Nationalism**

92

93 Religious nationalism is a way of thinking and behaving. Its behaviours demonstrate
94 high levels of loyalty, concern, and respect for the physical, social and cultural environments
95 by placing the interests of the nation and state above the interests of themselves and their
96 groups (Sukatman et al., 2019). This religious nationalism arose due to the rejection of ethnic,
97 religious, cultural, and even legal plurality (Neo & Scharffs, 2021). The religious nationalism
98 concept emerged to realize the spirit of religious nationalism and a nationalist religious spirit
99 for the sake of more substantial national unity and integrity (Sukatman et al., 2019). Thus, in
100 the religious nationalism understanding, there is a compromise between nationalism, religion,
101 and Pancasila as a national ideology (Burhanuddin, 2015)

102

103 The development of religious nationalism movements and discourses is an essential
104 step in overcoming the potential for religious radicalism (Sriyanto et al., 2018). This
105 development aims to raise awareness of nationalism so that the community can build self-
106 immunity against understandings and movements that tend to attack national sovereignty
107 (Khamdan, 2016). One of the ways to develop religious nationalism is through education.
108 Religious nationalism concepts are two aspects of character values taught explicitly in the
109 learning process (Lestari & Hermanto, 2019). Learning about religious nationalism is carried
110 out in a higher education environment as one of the efforts to strengthen national resilience.
111 In addition, religious nationalism character education in higher education is integrated with
112 learning plans through standard elements of character learning, learning outcomes, study
113 programs, and the course syllabus (Sukatman et al., 2019). In addition, the implementation of
114 religious nationalism character education in higher education is also carried out by
115 incorporating the values of religious nationalism characters into the plan of learning devices
116 (Hadi, 2018).

117

118 **1.2. Prevention of Radicalism**

119

120 Radicalism is an attitude that leads a person to change and weaken pre-existing ideas or
121 understandings (Hafid, 2020). This concept is in line with the opinion of Idris et al. (2019)

Comment [A7]: I think this is a good concept used to formulate the framework for hypothesizing this concerns/issues

Comment [A8]: 1

122 who defines radicalism as a principle that expects a form of change, rejection, or even
123 resistance to ideas, assumptions, institutions, or values. Radicalism is also considered a
124 narrow-minded and overreactive movement which employ violent means to achieve its goals
125 (Wahid, 2018). Radicalism is often associated with fundamentalism or people who represent
126 or support extreme political orientations (Hysing et al., 2016). However, radicalism is not the
127 same as terrorism in that terrorists are groups that use violence against civilian targets.
128 Further, radicalism itself is generally considered to lead (though not always result in)
129 participation in terrorism (Snook et al., 2021). Therefore, radicalism is considered something
130 that disrupts or creates divisions in the social system because it aims to destroy the existing
131 balance to achieve the movement's desired changes (Cao, 2017; Silver, 2018).
132

Comment [A9]: 2 and 3

Comment [A10]: 4

133 Radicalism, previously found in the less well-educated community, has now extended
134 to educated groups or university students. Several university leaders have identified
135 radicalized students on campus (Basri & Dwiningrum, 2019). Therefore, it is necessary to
136 prevent potential radicalism by using a strategy of moderation (Davids, 2017; Emelin &
137 Tkhostov, 2019). Moderation is the point between two opposite things or two extremes
138 (Ushama, 2014). The concept of has become part of a strategic effort to prevent radicalism.
139 Understanding moderation will encourage a balanced, open, and tolerant religious attitude
140 (Islam, 2020). Meanwhile, various modes of moderation are used in student deradicalization
141 efforts, such as re-internalizing Pancasila and religion so as to prevent the spread of
142 radicalization on campus. In addition, deradicalization efforts can be carried out through
143 campus student organizations by promoting moderate religious understanding and
144 implementing Pancasila values as the basis of state philosophy (Kesuma et al., 2019).
145

Comment [A11]: What is your voice in
regards to the four definitions above, and
how are those definition related to
religious nationalism?

146 **2.3 Students Activists**

147
148 Students are an educated group at the forefront of making changes in society (Reger,
149 2018). In the campus environment, students can be divided into two groups, namely academic
150 and activist. Academic students are often considered students who only focus on their
151 university studies. Meanwhile, student activists become members of organizations that
152 operates inside and outside campuses and are involved in the organization's work program
153 (Broadhurst, 2014). A number of studies show there are significant differences between

Comment [A12]: Please check again,
why dont you quote from him? Or this is
the quote of him?

154 academic and student activists, which can be seen from general knowledge, ways of thinking,
155 knowledge and socialization, sciences, leadership and leadership management that are not
156 taught in the Higher Education curriculum (Silva, 2018). For instance, student activists can
157 learn things related to changes based on science and society. In addition, student activists
158 have better developed emotional intelligence compared to academic students because they
159 have more responsibilities than students who are not actively organized (Kerpelman, 1969)

160

161 Student activists with high collective self-esteem tend to protect and defend their group
162 from pressure from other parties (Arifianto, 2019). In addition, the tendency of students'
163 exclusive thinking has given birth to textualist, militant and radical activists (Iswahyudi,
164 2020). One of the activists on campus is an Islamic movement activist who views himself as
165 a *da'wah* (proselytizing) activist. *Da'wah* activists result from continuous interaction with
166 their social world, thus influencing the formation of self-confidence with their religious
167 identity (Irham & Lubis, 2021). In practice, there are ideological differences among activists
168 of Islamic student organizations in preaching *kaffah* (a complete return to) Islamic teachings
169 even at the level of perceiving the Qur'anic-hadith texts and translations. These differences
170 tend to trigger the emergence of narrow fanaticism towards the organization which is
171 considered to have the most perfect ideological truth, religious system, form, style, and
172 method of movement as an affirmation of the identity and existence of the organization. In
173 this condition, it is not uncommon to find cadres or members rejecting other understandings
174 and views outside of the group (Haryani et al., 2018).

175

176 2. Method and Design

177

178 This study uses a qualitative research design. Data were collected by distributing
179 questionnaires and conducting in-depth interviews. This research used a google form survey
180 questionnaire to collect data from student activists throughout Indonesia. The questionnaire
181 was distributed over the period 8–15 September 2021. There are 15 surveyed Islamic colleges
182 in Indonesia such as IAIN Syekh Nurjati, STAIN Bengkalis, IAIN Pontianak, IAIN
183 Pekalongan, IAIN Kediri, UIN STS Jambi, IAIN Metro Lampung, UIN Ar-raniry Aceh,
184 IAIN Palopo, UIN Saizu Purwokerto, UIN Bengkulu, UIN Raden Intan Lampung, UIN
185 Raden Fatah Palembang, UIN Mataram, and IAIN Kerinci.

Comment [A13]: Please provide more explanation of the object of studies and why are they chose?

186 The research sample used respondents from the research setting to provide information
187 about the situation and conditions in the campus environment. A simple random sampling
188 method was used to determine a representative sample. Respondents came from PTKIN
189 students who were distributed proportionally. Based on the data from this survey, the
190 potential for Indonesian Islamic students' radicalism especially from Islamic colleges, can be
191 identified.

192
193 The questionnaire was developed into a question section, a direct statement section, and
194 an agree-disagree section. The development of the questionnaire was based on several themes
195 including, Nationalism, Islam, Religious Moderation, and Radicalism. The assessment of the
196 potential for radicalism is measured through the detailed responses given by the respondents.
197 The collected data then enables assembling a picture of the potential radicalism of Islamic
198 students.

199
200 The answers collected from the questionnaire distribution are unprocessed data about
201 the potential for radicalism among PTKIN students. To supplement this data, the researcher
202 conducted in-depth interviews with the respondents. In addition, the information collected
203 was broadened by gathering information from relevant literature studies. By involving
204 student activists as respondents, researchers sought to collect comprehensive information
205 based on the activists' knowledge and practical experience on and off campus. Meanwhile,
206 non-student activists at IAIN Syekh Nurjati were also involved as respondents to obtain
207 information from students who only focused on routine activities on campus. By involving
208 these two categories of respondents, the researcher sought to get different findings. However,
209 the questionnaire results indicate the same tendency that PTKIN students have the potential
210 to be exposed to radicalism.

211
212 To complete the study of the survey data findings, the researcher conducted additional
213 in-depth interviews with experts and scholars who are close to the discourse of radicalism.
214 Interviews were conducted to obtain information and meet research objectives using a
215 question and answer process with the informants. The informants had been involved in social
216 life for a relatively long time with the discourse of radicalism and terrorism.

Comment [A14]: It might be great if you also explain the reliability and validity of your findings, since your arguments and findings are very idealogical

217 **3. Result and Discussion**

218

219 **Portrait of Potential Radicalism among Islamic Colleges Students**

220

221 The data below were obtained through the distribution of questionnaires to student
222 activist respondents from among 15 PTKIN throughout Indonesia and non-student activists
223 at IAIN Syekh Nurjati Cirebon. The data collected is then analyzed to determine the potential
224 exposure to radicalism among PTKIN students, as presented in Table 1 below.

225

Comment [A15]: What is your
hypothesys

226

Table 1. Potential exposure to radicalism among PTKIN students

No.	Student Category	No. of students	Potential Exposure to Radicalism
1	Islamic College Students in Indonesia	396	274 (68.7%)

Source: Research Data (2021)

227

228

229 In addition, the following is displayed the respondents' answers to the questionnaire in Table
230 3.
231

232 **Table 2. Respondents' answers to the questionnaire**

Questions	Option 1 (%)	Option 2 (%)
1. As a Muslim, do you prefer the State to be an Islamic State or in another form?	Islamic State form	Other form
	68,8%	31,2%
2. As a citizen and a religious person, do you prefer to obey either state law or religious law?	Religious Law	State Law
	77,7%	22,3%
3. To live as a nation and state, you need rules or regulations that all people must obey? Do you prefer to obey the governments' or religious leaders' rules?	Government	Religious Leaders
	51%	49%
4. There is a statement by <i>Hubul wathon minal Iman</i> (love for the homeland is part of faith). Do you agree that defending the Republic of Indonesia is part of faith?	Agree	Disagree
	95,6%	4,4%
5. Respect for people of other religions is an obligation for every Muslim. Do you agree with this opinion?	Agree	Disagree
	95,6%	4,4%

Comment [A16]: It would be reasonable if you explain elsewhere on what basis of framework that you generate these indicators of radicalism?

233 *Source: Research Data*

234

235 Based on the findings in the table above, the researcher confirmed several respondents'
236 responses as being aware of the penetration of radicalism in Islamic colleges. Student Activist
237 1 stated:

238

239 *"Regarding radicalism, Islamic Higher Education as a center of excellence
240 must carry out repositioning in the external environment through internal
241 restructuring efforts that are planned, implemented, and evaluated properly
242 on an ongoing basis. The hope is that it will not be infiltrated by
243 transnational ideologies that tend to be destructive." (Translated interview)*

244

245 The extremism that shapes a student's identity can harm their religious life. Exclusivism
246 and puritanism are always fought for. On the other hand, national commitment should
247 concern higher education institutions. Diversity education is under attack from various
248 transnational ideologies and narrow religious beliefs. The first interview is supported by the
249 second interview with the Student Activist 2's stating the causes of nationalism degradation in
250 details below.

251

252 *"Factors causing the degradation of our nationalism are the influence of
253 intolerant and textualist groups, the weakness of national history
254 education, the influence of an Arabization in understanding, the distortion
255 of social media on religious values, and the emergence of radical religious
256 organizations. That means the degradation factor of nationalism does not
257 come entirely from internal students." (Translated interview)*

258

259 In the third interview with the Student Activist 3 below, the nature of radical ideology
260 and how it is used to attack others is a momentum for the potential development of student
261 radicalism. They will be more and more blinded by their narrow beliefs and feel only they are
262 right.

263 *"Things indicating students are exposed to radicalism: Experiencing
264 ideological changes that change how they view the world; Promote a rigid
265 understanding of their beliefs; More often use ideological languages that
266 discriminate against others; Extreme ideology has become a personal*

Comment [A17]: Your indicators of radicalism as given in the question list should be justified by your voice of literature. You also use extremism, radicalism and religious nationalism, but you have not elaborated why are those concepts interrelated that justified these findings

267 *identity and uses more ideological language hateful rhetoric.” (Translated
268 interview)*

269

270 The growth of radicalism in educational institutions should sound the alarm for its
271 impact on increasingly eroding national values and character, working against unifying all
272 levels of society. National values such as love for the homeland, patriotism, tolerance, unity,
273 and integrity, obedience to the State (loyalty), and religious values such as brotherhood
274 (*ukhuwah*), *tawasuth* (moderate), *ta'adul* (being fair), *tasamuh* (tolerance) and *tawazun*
275 (harmony) are no longer practiced and have even (Nur et al., 2020; Alam, 2020). Educational
276 institutions, especially colleges, have become a breeding ground for new ideologies and
277 understandings that are entirely contrary to the realization of an open and enlightened
278 educational climate. It comes as a consequence of the weakening of higher education's
279 authority as an institution and its ability to produce generations with religious nationalism
280 insights.

281

282 According to Armstrong (2011), religion can be viewed as a guideline that regulates a
283 belief system and worship of God. Religion also regulates human interaction with the
284 environment. Therefore, religion is seen as a belief system and an institutional ritual of a
285 supernatural God. However, religion in practice is very private and isolated from all secular
286 activities.

287

288 Islamic colleges need to be able to effectively carry out the mainstreaming of religious
289 moderation. The idea aligns with the religious nationalism view, which is open to a wider
290 discourse. According to the Research, Development, Training, and Education Agency The
291 Ministry of Religious Affairs (2021), religious moderation needs to be discussed, recited,
292 translated and echoed within the framework of managing a multicultural Indonesian society.
293 In principle, the principle of religious moderation requires a fair and balanced attitude which
294 needs to be taught and cultivated on campus in order to develop the three main qualities
295 needed in students, namely wisdom, purity, and courage.

296

297 In addition, Menchik (2016) and Anwar (2016) argue that religious tolerance is
298 indispensable in society. Religious etiquette is a religious attitude that balances individual

Comment [A18]: How is the position of your hypothesis to what Nur et al. View of radical indicators

Comment [A19]: Is it your argument?

299 religious practices (exclusivity) and respect for the religious practices of other people of
300 different religions.

301

302 **Islamic State and Islamic Law**

303

304 In terms of this survey's findings, the data on the alignment of the Islamic state (see
305 Table 2) can be linked to the survey results of the Uhamka Research Institute (2012). This
306 survey found the majority of Muslim respondents in Jakarta want to see the establishment of
307 an Islamic state. In mid-2018, the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional*
308 *Penanggulangan Terorisme-BNPT*) and the National Intelligence Agency (*Badan Intelijen*
309 *Nasional-BIN*) also conducted field studies at various state colleges in Indonesia. BIN found
310 that as many as 24% of students agreed with a form of Islamic state in Indonesia.
311 Furthermore, BNPT found that there were seven radical state colleges in Java. The seven
312 state colleges are University of Indonesia (UI), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB),
313 Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), Diponegoro University (Undip), Sepuluh Nopember
314 Institute of Technology (ITS), Airlangga University (Unair), and Brawijaya University (UB).

315

316 Student radicalism can give rise to anti-nationalism, essentially a rejection of the State,
317 state law, government, and intolerance (see Table 2). A survey conducted by UIN Jakarta in
318 2017 with a sample size of 1522 student activists, 337 students, and 264 teachers spread
319 across 34 provinces found that 51.1% of Muslim respondents had an intolerant view of
320 Ahmadiyah (a sect within Islam) and Shia (another branch of Islam) who comprise minority
321 Muslim groups in Indonesia. Meanwhile, 34.3% of the same respondents have a biased
322 opinion of religions other than Islam. The BNPT investigation found that 58.5% of student
323 respondents held radical religious views. As expressed by Student Activist 3 below.

324

325 *Historically, religious radicalism has taken one of two forms. The first form is*
326 *radicalism in mind (fundamentalism). The second form is radicalism in action*
327 *[namely,] terrorism. The radicalism that metamorphoses into anarchic actions*
328 *usually legitimizes violence to achieve desires and interests. (Translated interview)*

329

330 Rahmatullah (2017) states the symptoms of radicalism can be characterized by several
331 things, namely being opposite, rejection of hermeneutics, and rejection of pluralism and
332 relativism. Taking an opposite position is resistance to everything that is considered to
333 endanger the existence of their religion. Furthermore, the rejection of hermeneutics is
334 refusing to be critical of the text and its interpretation. Third, the rejection of pluralism and
335 relativism. This kind of rejection will generate a narrow fanaticism considering only their
336 group is right.

337

338 **Factors Supporting Radicalism among Students**

339

340 Theological and sociological factors influence the potential for radicalism among
341 students. Theological/ideological factors are internal factors of religious understanding and
342 are manifested as among other things: (1) demands for a religious state, (2) enforcing
343 religious law as state law, (3) support for extreme religious movements to enforce religious
344 teachings, (4) support for religion-based program policies, and (5) the preference for religion-
345 based parties. Based on the survey results, this study shows that students prefer to obey
346 religious law rather than state law (see Table 2).

347

348 Religious understanding is carried out by inculcating the moral basis of religion from
349 the holy scriptures, including religious traditions that developed in religious groups. These
350 teachings are interpreted so that they can be used to control and even legitimize acts of
351 violence. Violent behaviour carried out by Muslims always involves aspects of religion and
352 ideology, at least as a moral basis, the legitimacy of their actions, encouragement,
353 provocative material, and threats. Some religious figures argue that radical actions by certain
354 Muslim groups on the pretext of religion cannot be justified because Islam principally teaches
355 peace and tolerance. In this case, the Ahnaf's research findings (2018) explain that radical
356 Islamic groups use religious foundations to legitimize radicalism by only selecting the verses
357 of the Koran with confrontational nuances while ignoring the verses that have peaceful
358 nuances.

359

360 The International Crisis Group (ICG, 2003) states that Islamic radicalism in Indonesia
361 is not only triggered by religious theological factors, but also major sociological factors,

362 namely political conflict, poor governance, globalization and the Arabic acculturation. These
363 sociological factors are caused by a person's dissatisfaction with the surrounding environment.
364 In Breuer & Elson, (2017) frustration-aggression theory, not getting what you want leads to
365 frustration and leads to anger or aggression. Several recent studies also support that
366 frustration plays a role in causing aggression. Gurr (1970) in Dalton, (2005) suggests that the
367 main cause of protest movements and social violence is the development of dissatisfaction
368 which is then politicized so that the actualization of violence against the targeted groups and
369 actors emerges. King & Taylor (2011) explains that the feeling of being treated unfairly will
370 motivate individuals or groups to act both on one another and on themselves with the aim that
371 feelings of injustice turn into feelings of fairness. Factors that influence the notion of
372 radicalism in Indonesia, both theological and sociological, also specifically affect Islamic
373 students in Indonesia (Interview with Suady, September 2021). The description above shows
374 that the factors supporting radicalism among students are not only influenced by theological
375 factors or religious understanding, but also sociological factors that influence their activities.

376

377 **Integrative Approach of Religious Nationalism**

378

379 According to Stenmark (2017), religion needs to be understood in its essence to affirm
380 religious beliefs logically and scientifically. As a way of life, religion can answer every
381 problem in life. The practice of religion can make its adherents more tolerant. According to
382 Madjid (2013: 65-67), the religious spirit must be based on the vision of bringing goodness to
383 all (*Islam rahmatan lil 'ālamīn*), not communal exclusivity. Religion must be understood in
384 its entirety and practiced aligned with the values of justice and humanity in the form
385 moderation (*kalimatun sawā'*), pluralism, and inclusivism.

386

387 The study of religious nationalism in Indonesia is furnished with several different terms,
388 such as Nurcholis Madjid's "Islam and Nationalism" and Abdurrahman Wahid's
389 "Indigenization of Islam". The idea of "Islam and Nationalism", formulated by Nurcholish
390 Madjid, responded to the historical context of Indonesia in 1970s. Theologically, religious
391 nationalism emerged due to the rise of religious fundamentalism and exclusivity. According
392 to Madjid (2013), as the dominant religion, Indonesian Muslims needed to be aware of the
393 importance of pluralism and inclusiveness.

Comment [A20]: Your questionnaire findings and interviewing results should be integrated, so are overarched by the arguments of your article

394 Madjid's criticism of fundamentalism is directed at those Muslims who seek the
395 establishment of Islamic law in Indonesia. Madjid's inclusive thinking can be studied from
396 the moderate and substantive spirit of Islam and the multicultural Indonesian spirit to
397 counter-balance and correct calibrate formal-exclusive religious interpretations, which had
398 the potential to become the embryo of horizontal conflict at that time. The idea is aligned as
399 expressed by Juergenmeyer (2019),
400

401 *"The marriage between religious faith and the nation-state is an interesting*
402 *turn in modern history, fraught with dangers, for even if it is possible, the*
403 *radical accommodation of religion to nationalism may not necessarily be a*
404 *good thing. A merger of the absolutism of nationalism with the absolutism*
405 *of religion might create a rule so vaunted and potent that it might destroy*
406 *itself and its neighbors."*

407
408 In addition to the above terms, the Indigenization of Islam can also be associated with a
409 religious nationalism approach. Abdurrahman Wahid in Syabibi et al. (2021) initiated the
410 idea of indigenizing Islam in the 1980s. This concept tries to accommodate culture with Islam.
411 Indigenization is not an attempt to avoid the emergence of resistance from local culture, nor
412 is it a process of equating culture with the religious practices of Muslim communities in the
413 Middle East. The essence of the indigenization of Islam is to keep accommodating both the
414 local cultures, norms, and values while Islam as a religion is also received in peace.
415

416 The concept of indigenization of Islam, according to Abdurrahman Wahid in Naim
417 (2017), departs from three factors. First, the indigenization of Islam is part of the history of
418 Islam, both in its home country and in Indonesia, as did Sunan Kalijaga. Sunan Kalijaga as a
419 preacher of Islam on the island of Java. He was Known as an artist who is able to create
420 artistic and cultural tools as a medium for the spread of Islam on the island of Java. The
421 concept of da'wah is syncretic and adaptive. He combined Javanese-Hindu arts and culture as
422 a medium for spreading Islam with Islamic teachings as the substance (Rubaidi, 2019; Fauzan
423 & Rohmadi, 2021). Second, indigenization is crucial for Indonesian Muslims as it can
424 accommodate local cultures, norms, and values altogether with Islam. Third, the

Comment [A21]: Is syncretism a part of your research issues?

425 indigenization of Islam is related to the relationship between *fiqhiyah* (Islamic jurisprudence)
426 and *adat* (custom). In this case, Gus Dur adhered to the rules of *fiqhiyah* (Islamic
427 jurisprudence) commonly used in Islamic boarding schools namely, *al-adah muhakkamah*
428 (*Traditions become the law*)(Naim, 2017).

429
430 In the Indonesian context, Nurcholish Madjid in Rozak et al. (2015) argues that if
431 religious formalism is pulled into the realm of practical politics, it can create tensions that
432 threaten state stability, unity, and national unity. On the other hand, religion plays a
433 significant role in civilization and effecting changes in a nation, such as implementing the
434 *Syariah* Economy. Rieffer (2003) states that religious nationalism led to sustainable change
435 in the 21th century with various achievements and goals. The stronger religious nationalism
436 influences on the national movement, the greater the likelihood that discrimination and
437 human rights violations will occur.

438
439 Juergenmeyer (2019) states that “*Religious visions of moral order will continue to appear as attractive solutions, and religious activists will continue to attempt to impose these solutions in violent ways, seeing themselves as soldiers in a cosmic drama of political redemption.*” Religious nationalism, according to Grzymala-busse & Science, (2021) becomes a powerful force to shape religious behaviour and institutional empowerment efforts in formulating various kinds of policies to prevent various forms of threats of internal and external violence.

440
441 Concerning an integrative approach, this study proposes an approach that combines
442 national values with religious values, both in terms of terminology and narrative. Muslim
443 students in Indonesia readily accept religious terminology in explaining national values than
444 the existing general terminology of nationalism. The survey results indicate respond
445 positively to nationalism correlated with religious phrases such as *hubul wathon minal* (love
446 for the homeland is part of faith) that is love for the Unitary State of the Republic of
447 Indonesia is part of faith (see Table 2). In contrast, students still seem to reject the general
448 terms and narratives of national values. It is different when the term nationalism is associated
449 and narrated with terms based on religious traditions and narratives.

Comment [A22]: You might reconsider your main theory so it overarch your research questions, e.g., the location of religious values and nationalism.

456 The survey gauged the issue of religious tolerance by asking respondents whether they
457 agreed with the statement that respecting people of other religions is an obligation for every
458 Muslim (see Table 2). The survey results indicate that most respondents agreed with
459 respecting other religions because it is an obligation found in Islamic teachings. It shows that
460 using national values with religious doctrine can prevent the potential for religious radicalism
461 among students.

Comment [A23]: Why you do not present it in percentage

462
463 The integrative model of national and religious values to prevent potential radicalism
464 among students in Indonesia is formulated with two integrative approaches. First, integration
465 with the terminology used in national and religious languages, such as love for the homeland
466 using religious terms. Second, integration through narratives that substantially contain
467 national and religious values. The second approach explains tolerance as a national language
468 with a religious teaching, namely respect for other religious people is an obligation of Islamic
469 teachings.

470

471 Mainstreaming Religious Terminology and Religious Narratives in Islamic Colleges

472

473 Do you mean 'Using these findings means taking the concepts in a religious belief
474 system and combining them with national values. For students, they bring with them a belief
475 in a revealed God. The student also draws on the nation's culture, which contains spiritual
476 values of life and ancestral heritage (Nandan Iskandar, 2019)

Comment [A24]: ?

477
478 Fleming (2013) explains the importance of building an inclusive university. It can be
479 done in three phases: changing the institutional structure; promoting the value of openness,
480 and; generating inclusive knowledge. An inclusive university can be started by cultivating
481 religious terminology and religious narratives. The first stage eliminates the exclusivity of
482 higher education with its various movement models. The second phase takes place by
483 building a campus environment that allows for more inclusive sharing. In the third phase,
484 knowledge products are developed with inclusion on campus.

485
486 Students need to understand the essence of religion and religious experience through
487 religious narratives and religious terminology namely, an approach that can show that behind

488 various expressions of thought, behaviour, and social interaction, religion has an inner nuance
489 that goes beyond the psychological dimension. Religion needs to present a spiritual reflection
490 of the encounter with something beyond the world's transience, which is sacred and sublime.
491 In addition, the theological approach places religion as something privileged by God to man.
492 However, it must also be understood that the actual reality of religion can be seen in applying
493 religious values in life which certainly does not contradict national values (Fidiyani, 2017).

494

495 A spiritual yearning has been present in humans throughout the history of their
496 existence on earth; and religion is based on very human needs, at least in terms of human
497 emotions themselves (Azyumardi Azra in Anshor, 2020). Religion then becomes an article of
498 belief and used as the basis for a worldview because religion in its exalted position is
499 considered as God's blueprint, which is formulated to be further used as a reference to solve
500 all life's problems (Quraish Shihab in Islam, 2020).

501

502 Fromm (2013) explains that religion is a universal value system has an intrinsic appeal
503 and 'is of compelling interest to mankind. As Joachim Wach (2019) said, he sees religion as
504 having three forms in expressing its universal values namely, a system of belief, a system of
505 worship, and a system of social interaction.

506

507 At the level of religious values, religion has five dimensions, including ideology (belief
508 system), the religious practice (practice), experience (feeling), knowledge, and the dimension
509 of religious consequences (effect) (Zarzycka & Rydz, 2014).

510

511 The potential for radicalism in Indonesian educational institutions has become about
512 due to the era of openness that allows previously restricted groups to express their views. The
513 Reformation Era provided an environment for the growth and development of various forms
514 of radical religious expression, which denied the existence of other groups and even tended to
515 be radical. Radicalism in the world of education was seeded, changing from the New Order
516 controlled conditions, to a wide latitude for exercising freedom.

517

518 The planting of the seeds of radicalism in education is a form of denial by radicals and
519 radical organizations of the fact that the Indonesian nation is plural especially, concerning

520 religious ideas. At the same time, this denial indicates a shift in national understanding,
521 which was previously cohesive and based on noble values such as religious-inclusive values
522 to become radical-exclusive. The world of education is no longer a medium for disseminating
523 knowledge to create a social life order that is more open and based on mutual respect but
524 becomes a place where radicalism is introduced, grows, and develops. The notion of religious
525 nationalism is no longer found amid the more complex challenges of national life.

526

527 Given the rise of radicalism, building a campus early detection & handling system is of
528 great importance. It can be achieved in several ways including: raising awareness of the
529 academic community on the risk of violent extremism and skills in detecting early warning
530 signs; improving digital and media literacy skills; supporting student social initiatives to train
531 social cohesion and empathy, and; developing policies for campus preparedness systems.

532

533 A study done by Research, Development, Training, and Education Agency
534 The Ministry of Religious Affair (2021), undertaken at three State Religious Colleges in
535 Indonesia (UIN Jakarta, UIN Bandung, and UIN Yogyakarta), showed unstable external and
536 internal empathy values in almost all circles for students, lecturers, and education staff. It
537 indicates a severe problem for applying religious moderation proclaimed in the 2020–2024
538 Presidential Decree No. 18 of 2020 concerning the National Five-Year Plan (*Rencana*
539 *Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional–RPJMN*). According to Muchtadlirin in
540 Bamualim (2015), the injection strategy of religious moderation can be done by: Social
541 Bounding Religious Moderation; Social Bridging Religious Moderation, and; Social Linking
542 Religious Moderation.

543

544 It is conducted as a preventive effort to stop the radicalization of students' thoughts and
545 actions. The phase where a person is being exposed is pre-radicalization which includes
546 political, historical, psycho-social, instrumental, and theological narratives. There is self-
547 identification which focuses on internal and external factors looking for identity, leaving old
548 teachings and looking for new values. Furthermore, there is indoctrination through
549 understanding spiritual sanctions and strengthening beliefs about the unconditional adoption
550 of jihadist ideology. The climax is the act of terrorism through the obligation of jihad,
551 training, strengthening of faith, and planning of action (Milla et al., 2019).

552 This study explains the emergence of radicalism in educational institutions driven in an
553 era of openness in responding to differences. Inclusivism is taboo because it is considered an
554 understanding that accepts anything without distinction. The strengthening of truth claims in
555 social groups, such as among students, is a sign of the weak control of colleges on student
556 attitudes and activities. Within educational institutions there is the potential for radicalism
557 which seed terrorism. This also occurs in non-educational institutions such as mosques
558 (Hidayah and Sunarso, 2018). If radicalism in educational institutions strengthens due to the
559 availability of space for expression that was previously shackled, in mosques it occurs due to
560 an intolerant attitude towards the existence of different religious groups and understandings.
561 This dissemination of radical ideas can occur through the curriculum and lectures, thus
562 requiring early prevention efforts.

563

564 5. Conclusion

565

566 Religious teachings can ideally guide and direct each of its followers in the right
567 direction. Every religion provides teachings about goodness as a guide for living and
568 interacting with others. Therefore, it is inappropriate if religious teachings are used to direct
569 their followers to radicalism which will harm themselves and others. In this context, religious
570 teachings significantly influence the understanding and actions of radicalism.

571

572 This study examines the potential for radicalism among Islamic student activists
573 drawing on data from a formulated questionnaire. This research data shows that the potential
574 for exposure to radicalism for Indonesian Islamic student activists is relatively high. In
575 addition, by implementing two integration strategies of religious nationalism, namely
576 religious terminology and religious narratives, researchers provide policy recommendations
577 in building religious intellectuality. This data deserves the attention of relevant stakeholders
578 to develop targeted and effective mitigation and deradicalization programs.

579

580 This research provides a theoretical contribution in the form of an integrated approach
581 to religious nationalism in preventing the potential for radicalism in society or among Islamic
582 Higher Education students in Indonesia. This approach combines nationalism with religious

583 values. In Juergenmeyer's terminology (2019), it is 'religious nationalism'. This study has
584 limitations particularly on the data collection so further research needs to be undertaken to
585 confirm the results of this study to explore more factual actions of radicalism among Islamic
586 colleges students.

587

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589

590 **Competing interests**

591 [information redacted to maintain the integrity of the review process]

592

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595

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598

599 **Data availability**

600 [information redacted to maintain the integrity of the review process]

601

602 **Disclaimer**

603 [information redacted to maintain the integrity of the review process]

604

605 **Ethical Considerations**

606 [no ethical clearance was needed and/or required for this study]

607

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