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Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies

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asoia@hts.org.za kepada asya, septgumindari, andhakim, safi

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Ref. No.: 7547
Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
Journal: HTS Theologese Studies / Theological Studies

Dear Ilman Naf'a, Septi Gumindari, Andi Hakim, Safi Safi

Thank you for working with our Editorial Office to ensure that we have a complete record of your manuscript and all submission's compulsory forms at HTS Theologese Studies / Theological Studies.

All new manuscripts are presented to our Handling Editor for a preliminary Desk Review to assess whether the subject matter and general content are appropriate for this journal.

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asoia@hts.org.za kepada asya, septgumindari, andhakim, safi

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Ref. No.: 7547
Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
Journal: HTS Theologese Studies / Theological Studies

Dear Ilman Naf'a, Septi Gumindari, Andi Hakim, Safi Safi

Your blinded manuscript moved into the peer review process on 29-Mar-22 and is still undergoing assessment by our expert independent reviewers. Read our peer review process <https://asoia.co.za/policies/peer-review>.

We hope to receive an outcome of the finalisation of the review shortly, which will be communicated by the assigned Review Editor, as our records indicate that your manuscript has been in our review stage for 8 days.

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HTS External Review Decision 7547 - Revisions required Eksternal Kotak Masuk x

asoia@hts.org.za kepada asya, Septi, Andi, Safi

Min, 8 Mei 19:52

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Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
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Dear Assoc. Prof. Naf'a

We thank you for the submission of your manuscript. The peer-review process of your manuscript has now been completed and we have reached a decision regarding your submission.

At present, your manuscript requires revisions to address the concerns of the reviewers. Their comments are attached to this email.

Please submit an itemised, point-by-point response to the reviewers that details the

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aseia@hts.org.za kepada saya, septigumindari, andhakim, safi Jun, 20 Mei 14:19

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 Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies

Dear Assoc. Prof. Naifa

You are currently revising the above manuscript. To help us monitor manuscript status, I would be grateful if you could let me know as soon as possible approximately when you will be submitting the revisions to us. Can I please remind you that we must receive revised manuscripts within no later than one month of the date you were notified of the decision.

We invited you to submit a revised version of your manuscript on 08-May-22 with a revision date of 22-May-22. Thank you in advance for your help, and I look forward to hearing from you.

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HTS External Review Decision 7547 - Accepted for publication Eksternal Kotak Masuk X

aseia@hts.org.za kepada saya, Septi, Andi, Safi Sen, 23 Mei 14:51

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Ref. No.: 7547
 Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
 Journal: HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies
 ISSN: 0259-9422, E-ISSN: 2072-8050

Dear Assoc. Prof. Naifa

The journal has a double-blind peer review process and your manuscript was assessed by two expert independent reviewers. Read our peer review process https://aosis.co.za/policies/peer_review.

Thank you for your revised manuscript. We have reached a decision regarding your submission. I am pleased to inform you that your manuscript has now been accepted for publication.

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aseia@hts.org.za kepada saya, septigumindari, andhakim, safi Sel, 24 Mei 20:55

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

Dear Ilman Naifa, Septi Gumindari, Andi Hakim, Safi Safi

We are pleased to confirm your manuscript's acceptance for publication on 23-May-22.

We can also confirm that the Submission and Review Department released your manuscript to our Finalisation Department to commence the various editing processes to secure online publication within the next 90 days (if not sooner).

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 1. If you need to make contact with AOSIS Publishing during the finalisation

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asio@hts.org.za kepada saya

Sen, 13 Jun 15:18

Ref. No.: 7547
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Journal: HTS Theological Studies / Theological Studies

Dear Assoc. Prof. Naf'a,

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We are excited to share your manuscript in your Author Centre in galley format (PDF) to proofread and review. Kindly ensure to scrutinize the galley proofs well and include any necessary changes at this point, which include, among others:

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asio@hts.org.za kepada Lara

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Journal: HTS Theological Studies / Theological Studies

Dear Ms Lara Antonopoulos

I have completed proofreading the galley(s) for my manuscript. The galleys are now ready for final corrections to be made by the proofreader and layout department.

Kind regards,
Assoc. Prof. Iman Naf'a

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Jun, 1 Jul 16:01

Ref. No.: 7547
Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
Journal: HTS Theological Studies / Theological Studies

Dear Assoc. Prof. Naf'a,

The previous round of corrections has been implemented on your paper, with one query remaining for your attention.

In addition to responding to the last query, I kindly ask that you check the final galley proofs carefully, to ensure everything is in order before publication.

Please let me know by Monday, 4th July, if any corrections are needed, and/or if you approve the galley for publication.

Thank you in anticipation of your response.

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Manuscript title: To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism
Journal: HTS Theologies Studies / Theological Studies

Dear Assoc. Prof. Ilman Nafra,

Thank you for responding to the last query.

We are looking forward to publishing your work.

Kind regards,
Laira Antonopoulos
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Production Coordinator
Scholarly Journals Department
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HTS Online first publication 7547 - your article has been published Eksternal Kotak Masuk X

aaa@hts.org.za kepada saya ▾ Jun, 8 Jul 18:15

Dear Ilman Nafra, Septi Gumindari, Mohammad Andi Hakim, Safi Safi, Rokhmadi Rokhmadi,

Congratulations!

Your article Mitigating radicalism amongst Islamic college students in Indonesia through religious nationalism has just been published and is available at the following link:

<https://hts.org.za/index.php/hts/article/view/7547>

Your manuscript will now form part of this open access publication and your content will be licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution License. It is freely accessible to any user and will shortly be indexed in various international research repositories for further dissemination and reach in readership. There is no need for you to order print issues or copies.

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REPORTS OF REVIEWERS – ARTICLE #7547: TO MITIGATE AGAINST RADICALISM AMONG ISLAMIC COLLEGE STUDENTS IN INDONESIA THROUGH RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM (ORIGINAL RESEARCH: HTS HISTORICAL THOUGHT AND SOURCE INTERPRETATION)

Dear author(s)

The reports of the reviewers on your submitted article are as follows:

REVIEWER A

Summary of major findings and shortcomings

1. This article is interesting and the language is in good command. But there are some issues should be addressed, namely; author voices in literature review, author's justifications for indicators of defined radicalism, and ideological argument instead of new insights, not to confirm any existing ideology.

Major points or recommended revisions

1. You might indicate your position in addressing the given definitions of radicalism. Your position should be elaborated into indicators of radicalism that justified your questionnaires and interview, please refer to page 5-6, 13-4.
2. You might avoid ideological claim, you might therefore fix diction, pose reasonable argument and respond to the opposite views to your references that are used for formulating your framework, please refer to page 12.

Minor points or recommended revisions

1. The author may revise the tone of his/her claim that would be more acceptable, refer page: 4.
2. Please add a paragraph about reliability and validity of your data findings (see 7-8).

See also comments in Track Changes in attached file titled Reviewer A - 7547-84679-1-RV.docx.

REVIEWER B

Major points or recommended revisions

1. Abstract: Conclusion of the research is also needed in an abstract
2. Introduction: The author must provide description about social and religious background of Students who are indicated as tolerance and intolerance (lines 36-38).
3. Method: The author/s explain that s/he/they undertook the research by qualitative method. However, in the presentation of the data, it is very clear that s/he/they used

mixed method (cf. Table 1, lines 226 - 227; table 2. Therefore, they must explain this method.

4. Result and discussion: The author/s conducted also in-depth interview. S/he/they quote some, but it is not clear the contribution of in-depth interview for this study.
5. Conclusion: In a conclusion, there is no need to have reference.
6. Technical notes: The author/s must clearly write page/s of each reference to help reader to confirm the source.

See also comments in Track Changes in attached file titled Reviewer B - 7547-84562-1-RV.docx.

Please include with your revised submission an itemised, point-by-point response to the reviewers that details the changes made. Please use this file by replying in red to the above listed comments made by the reviewers.

SIMILARITY CHECK (iThenticate report)

As a member of the Committee on Publication Ethics, we encourage your participation in assessing your Similarity Check Report in your journals' personalised manuscript section.

Our assessment of the iThenticate report revealed the following: The manuscript does not contain similarity concerns at this time.

SUBMISSION OF REVISED MANUSCRIPT

In submitting your revised manuscript (a clean copy without Track Changes), please make sure that it includes the changes made as suggested by the reviewers.

Therefore, please make sure that you submit

1. an itemised, point-by-point response to the reviewers that details the changes made (please use this file by replying in red to the above listed comments made by the reviewers);
2. reply to comments of Reviewers A and B made in Track Changes (reply to comments in Track Changes); and
3. a revised manuscript (clean copy without Track Changes).

Kind regards



Ernest van Eck

Assistant-editor

REVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS

Take into account



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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

Disclose the nature of the conflict of interest to the Editor, and decline the review request if a conflict of interest is present.



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Keep to the timeframe set out by the Editor. Ensuring a timely, productive peer-review process aids in shaping the credibility and reputation of our journal.



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Personal or malicious criticism of the author is not appropriate or acceptable.



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Explain and support your judgements. Ensure that any statement, observation, derivation or argument made is accompanied by relevant details from the manuscript, and where appropriate a relevant citation. Judge the quality of the manuscript, its experimental and theoretical work, its interpretations and its exposition objectively.



CONTENT

Consider this manuscript without bias, judging it on its merits without regard to the inferred race, religion, nationality, sex or seniority of the authors.



Submit your feedback

Login to the journal platform, taking care to action steps 5-7

1

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Step 5: Select the bubble icon next to the word Review in Step 5 to complete the electronic review form. Complete the form, then click on Save and then Close. Partially completed forms cannot be saved.

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REPORT FILES (optional)

Step 6: If preferred, you can upload multiple files in this step; ensure that these files are applicable and valid to your review of the manuscript.

Files can include:

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3

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Step 7: Select your recommendation and click on **Submit Review to Editor**. This will finalise your review and send it to the journal's Editor. You will not be able to access the review after completing this step.

- Send the email confirming the completion of your review.

MANUSCRIPT TO REVIEW

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

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

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.

Keywords: Religious nationalism; Radicalism; Integration; Student; Islamic Colleges

Introduction

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

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

Regarding the study of the development of radicalism in Indonesia, the Research and Development Agency of East Java Province, in collaboration with the Research and Community Service Institute, UINSA Surabaya (2019), studied students' exposure to radicalism on campus and also teenagers who were involved in discussions and forums at religious institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, *ta'lim* (instruction) assemblies, and recitations. This study only provides solutions in terms of deradicalizing efforts through law enforcement and supporting moderate religious figures.

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

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

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

1. Literature Review

1.1. Religious Nationalism

Religious nationalism is a way of thinking and behaving. Its behaviours demonstrate high levels of loyalty, concern, and respect for the physical, social and cultural environments by placing the interests of the nation and state above the interests of themselves and their groups (Sukatman et al., 2019). This religious nationalism arose due to the rejection of ethnic,

religious, cultural, and even legal plurality (Neo & Scharffs, 2021). The religious nationalism concept emerged to realize the spirit of religious nationalism and a nationalist religious spirit for the sake of more substantial national unity and integrity (Sukatman et al., 2019). Thus, in the religious nationalism understanding, there is a compromise between nationalism, religion, and Pancasila as a national ideology (Burhanuddin, 2015)

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

1.2. Prevention of Radicalism

Radicalism is an attitude that leads a person to change and weaken pre-existing ideas or understandings (Hafid, 2020). This concept is in line with the opinion of Idris et al. (2019) who defines radicalism as a principle that expects a form of change, rejection, or even resistance to ideas, assumptions, institutions, or values. Radicalism is also considered a narrow-minded and overreactive movement which employ violent means to achieve its goals (Wahid, 2018). Radicalism is often associated with fundamentalism or people who represent or support extreme political orientations (Hysing et al., 2016). However, radicalism is not the same as terrorism in that terrorists are groups that use violence against civilian targets. Further, radicalism itself is generally considered to lead (though not always result in) participation in terrorism (Snook et al., 2021). Therefore, radicalism is considered something that disrupts or creates divisions in the social system because it aims to destroy the existing balance to achieve the movement's desired changes (Cao, 2017; Silver, 2018).

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

2.3 Students Activists

Students are an educated group at the forefront of making changes in society (Reger, 2018). In the campus environment, students can be divided into two groups, namely academic and activist. Academic students are often considered students who only focus on their university studies. Meanwhile, student activists become members of organizations that operates inside and outside campuses and are involved in the organization's work program (Broadhurst, 2014). A number of studies show there are significant differences between academic and student activists, which can be seen from general knowledge, ways of thinking, knowledge and socialization, sciences, leadership and leadership management that are not taught in the Higher Education curriculum (Silva, 2018). For instance, student activists can learn things related to changes based on science and society. In addition, student activists have better developed emotional intelligence compared to academic students because they have more responsibilities than students who are not actively organized (Kerpelman, 1969)

Student activists with high collective self-esteem tend to protect and defend their group from pressure from other parties (Arifianto, 2019). In addition, the tendency of students' exclusive thinking has given birth to textualist, militant and radical activists (Iswahyudi, 2020). One of the activists on campus is an Islamic movement activist who views himself as a *da'wah* (proselytizing) activist. *Da'wah* activists result from continuous interaction with their social world, thus influencing the formation of self-confidence with their religious identity (Irham & Lubis, 2021). In practice, there are ideological differences among activists of Islamic student organizations in preaching *kaffah* (a complete return to) Islamic teachings

even at the level of perceiving the Qur'anic-hadith texts and translations. These differences tend to trigger the emergence of narrow fanaticism towards the organization which is considered to have the most perfect ideological truth, religious system, form, style, and method of movement as an affirmation of the identity and existence of the organization. In this condition, it is not uncommon to find cadres or members rejecting other understandings and views outside of the group (Haryani et al., 2018).

2. Method and Design

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

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

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

The answers collected from the questionnaire distribution are unprocessed data about the potential for radicalism among PTKIN students. To supplement this data, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with the respondents. In addition, the information collected was broadened by gathering information from relevant literature studies. By involving

student activists as respondents, researchers sought to collect comprehensive information based on the activists' knowledge and practical experience on and off campus. Meanwhile, non-student activists at IAIN Syekh Nurjati were also involved as respondents to obtain information from students who only focused on routine activities on campus. By involving these two categories of respondents, the researcher sought to get different findings. However, the questionnaire results indicate the same tendency that PTKIN students have the potential to be exposed to radicalism.

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

3. Result and Discussion

Portrait of Potential Radicalism among Islamic Colleges Students

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

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)

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

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%

Source: Research Data

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Things indicating students are exposed to radicalism: Experiencing ideological changes that change how they view the world; Promote a rigid understanding of their beliefs; More often use ideological languages that discriminate against others; Extreme ideology has become a personal identity and uses more ideological language hateful rhetoric.” (Translated interview)

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

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

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

In addition, Menchik (2016) and Anwar (2016) argue that religious tolerance is indispensable in society. Religious etiquette is a religious attitude that balances individual religious practices (exclusivity) and respect for the religious practices of other people of different religions.

Islamic State and Islamic Law

In terms of this survey's findings, the data on the alignment of the Islamic state (see Table 2) can be linked to the survey results of the Uhamka Research Institute (2012). This

survey found the majority of Muslim respondents in Jakarta want to see the establishment of an Islamic state. In mid-2018, the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*-BNPT) and the National Intelligence Agency (*Badan Intelijen Nasional*-BIN) also conducted field studies at various state colleges in Indonesia. BIN found that as many as 24% of students agreed with a form of Islamic state in Indonesia. Furthermore, BNPT found that there were seven radical state colleges in Java. The seven state colleges are University of Indonesia (UI), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), Diponegoro University (Undip), Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS), Airlangga University (Unair), and Brawijaya University (UB).

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

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

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

Factors Supporting Radicalism among Students

Theological and sociological factors influence the potential for radicalism among students. Theological/ideological factors are internal factors of religious understanding and

are manifested as among other things: (1) demands for a religious state, (2) enforcing religious law as state law, (3) support for extreme religious movements to enforce religious teachings, (4) support for religion-based program policies, and (5) the preference for religion-based parties. Based on the survey results, this study shows that students prefer to obey religious law rather than state law (see Table 2).

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

The International Crisis Group (ICG, 2003) states that Islamic radicalism in Indonesia is not only triggered by religious theological factors, but also major sociological factors, namely political conflict, poor governance, globalization and the Arabic acculturation. These sociological factors are caused by a person's dissatisfaction with the surrounding environment. In Breuer & Elson, (2017) frustration-aggression theory, not getting what you want leads to frustration and leads to anger or aggression. Several recent studies also support that frustration plays a role in causing aggression. Gurr (1970) in Dalton, (2005) suggests that the main cause of protest movements and social violence is the development of dissatisfaction which is then politicized so that the actualization of violence against the targeted groups and actors emerges. King & Taylor (2011) explains that the feeling of being treated unfairly will motivate individuals or groups to act both on one another and on themselves with the aim that feelings of injustice turn into feelings of fairness. Factors that influence the notion of radicalism in Indonesia, both theological and sociological, also specifically affect Islamic students in Indonesia (Interview with Suady, September 2021). The description above shows that the factors supporting radicalism among students are not only influenced by theological factors or religious understanding, but also sociological factors that influence their activities.

Integrative Approach of Religious Nationalism

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

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

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

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

In addition to the above terms, the Indigenization of Islam can also be associated with a religious nationalism approach. Abdurrahman Wahid in Syabibi et al. (2021) initiated the idea of indigenizing Islam in the 1980s. This concept tries to accommodate culture with Islam. Indigenization is not an attempt to avoid the emergence of resistance from local

culture, nor is it a process of equating culture with the religious practices of Muslim communities in the Middle East. The essence of the indigenization of Islam is to keep accommodating both the local cultures, norms, and values while Islam as a religion is also received in peace.

The concept of indigenization of Islam, according to Abdurrahman Wahid in Naim (2017), departs from three factors. First, the indigenization of Islam is part of the history of Islam, both in its home country and in Indonesia, as did Sunan Kalijaga. Sunan Kalijaga as a preacher of Islam on the island of Java. He was known as an artist who is able to create artistic and cultural tools as a medium for the spread of Islam on the island of Java. The concept of da'wah is syncretic and adaptive. He combined Javanese-Hindu arts and culture as a medium for spreading Islam with Islamic teachings as the substance (Rubaidi, 2019; Fauzan & Rohmadi, 2021). Second, indigenization is crucial for Indonesian Muslims as it can accommodate local cultures, norms, and values altogether with Islam. Third, the indigenization of Islam is related to the relationship between *fiqhiyah* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *adat* (custom). In this case, Gus Dur adhered to the rules of *fiqhiyah* (Islamic jurisprudence) commonly used in Islamic boarding schools namely, *al-adah muhakkamah* (*Traditions become the law*) (Naim, 2017).

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

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.

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

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

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

Mainstreaming Religious Terminology and Religious Narratives in Islamic Colleges

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

Fleming (2013) explains the importance of building an inclusive university. It can be done in three phases: changing the institutional structure; promoting the value of openness, and; generating inclusive knowledge. An inclusive university can be started by cultivating religious terminology and religious narratives. The first stage eliminates the exclusivity of

higher education with its various movement models. The second phase takes place by building a campus environment that allows for more inclusive sharing. In the third phase, knowledge products are developed with inclusion on campus.

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

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

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

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

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

The planting of the seeds of radicalism in education is a form of denial by radicals and radical organizations of the fact that the Indonesian nation is plural especially, concerning religious ideas. At the same time, this denial indicates a shift in national understanding, which was previously cohesive and based on noble values such as religious-inclusive values to become radical-exclusive. The world of education is no longer a medium for disseminating knowledge to create a social life order that is more open and based on mutual respect but becomes a place where radicalism is introduced, grows, and develops. The notion of religious nationalism is no longer found amid the more complex challenges of national life.

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

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

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

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

5. Conclusion

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

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

This research provides a theoretical contribution in the form of an integrated approach to religious nationalism in preventing the potential for radicalism in society or among Islamic Higher Education students in Indonesia. This approach combines nationalism with religious values. In Juergemeyer's terminology (2019), it is 'religious nationalism'. This study has limitations particularly on the data collection so further research needs to be undertaken to confirm the results of this study to explore more factual actions of radicalism among Islamic colleges students.

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Disclaimer

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Ethical Considerations

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

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MANUSCRIPT TO REVIEW

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

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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.

Keywords: Religious nationalism; Radicalism; Integration; Student; Islamic Colleges

Introduction

The potential for the spread of radicalism in Islamic higher education institutions among students is quite high. The Community and Islamic Studies Center of Jakarta State Islamic University's research provides a very relevant data. The research published in the book of *Kebhinekaan di Menara Gading* (Nisa et al., 2021) presents a picture of two aspects, namely attitudes and behavior concerning religious tolerance of Muslims to non-Muslims in the university environment. The survey results, conducted in 34 provinces with 2866 student respondents, show that the majority of Muslim students gave responses indicating an attitude of high and very high religious tolerance. Around 69.83% of students indicated an attitude of high religious tolerance and a very high religious tolerance towards non-Muslims. Meanwhile, other 30.16% of students indicated an attitude of low religious tolerance and completely intolerance.

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

Regarding the study of the development of radicalism in Indonesia, the Research and Development Agency of East Java Province, in collaboration with the Research and Community Service Institute, UINSA Surabaya (2019), studied students' exposure to radicalism on campus and also teenagers who were involved in discussions and forums at religious institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, *ta'lim* (instruction) assemblies, and recitations. This study only provides solutions in terms of deradicalizing efforts through law enforcement and supporting moderate religious figures.

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

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

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

4. Literature Review

4.1. Religious Nationalism

Religious nationalism is a way of thinking and behaving. Its behaviours demonstrate high levels of loyalty, concern, and respect for the physical, social and cultural environments by placing the interests of the nation and state above the interests of themselves and their groups (Sukatman et al., [2019](#)). This religious nationalism arose due to the rejection of ethnic,

religious, cultural, and even legal plurality (Neo & Scharffs, 2021). The religious nationalism concept emerged to realize the spirit of religious nationalism and a nationalist religious spirit for the sake of more substantial national unity and integrity (Sukatman et al., 2019). Thus, in the religious nationalism understanding, there is a compromise between nationalism, religion, and Pancasila as a national ideology (Burhanuddin, 2015)

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

4.2. Prevention of Radicalism

Radicalism is an attitude that leads a person to change and weaken pre-existing ideas or understandings (Hafid, 2020). This concept is in line with the opinion of Idris et al. (2019) who defines radicalism as a principle that expects a form of change, rejection, or even resistance to ideas, assumptions, institutions, or values. Radicalism is also considered a narrow-minded and overreactive movement which employ violent means to achieve its goals (Wahid, 2018). Radicalism is often associated with fundamentalism or people who represent or support extreme political orientations (Hysing et al., 2016). However, radicalism is not the same as terrorism in that terrorists are groups that use violence against civilian targets. Further, radicalism itself is generally considered to lead (though not always result in) participation in terrorism (Snook et al., 2021). Therefore, radicalism is considered something that disrupts or creates divisions in the social system because it aims to destroy the existing balance to achieve the movement's desired changes (Cao, 2017; Silver, 2018).

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

2.3 Students Activists

Students are an educated group at the forefront of making changes in society (Reger, 2018). In the campus environment, students can be divided into two groups, namely academic and activist. Academic students are often considered students who only focus on their university studies. Meanwhile, student activists become members of organizations that operates inside and outside campuses and are involved in the organization's work program (Broadhurst, 2014). A number of studies show there are significant differences between academic and student activists, which can be seen from general knowledge, ways of thinking, knowledge and socialization, sciences, leadership and leadership management that are not taught in the Higher Education curriculum (Silva, 2018). For instance, student activists can learn things related to changes based on science and society. In addition, student activists have better developed emotional intelligence compared to academic students because they have more responsibilities than students who are not actively organized (Kerpelman, 1969)

Student activists with high collective self-esteem tend to protect and defend their group from pressure from other parties (Arifianto, 2019). In addition, the tendency of students' exclusive thinking has given birth to textualist, militant and radical activists (Iswahyudi, 2020). One of the activists on campus is an Islamic movement activist who views himself as a *da'wah* (proselytizing) activist. *Da'wah* activists result from continuous interaction with their social world, thus influencing the formation of self-confidence with their religious identity (Irham & Lubis, 2021). In practice, there are ideological differences among activists of Islamic student organizations in preaching *kaffah* (a complete return to) Islamic teachings

even at the level of perceiving the Qur'anic-hadith texts and translations. These differences tend to trigger the emergence of narrow fanaticism towards the organization which is considered to have the most perfect ideological truth, religious system, form, style, and method of movement as an affirmation of the identity and existence of the organization. In this condition, it is not uncommon to find cadres or members rejecting other understandings and views outside of the group (Haryani et al., 2018).

5. Method and Design

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

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

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

The answers collected from the questionnaire distribution are unprocessed data about the potential for radicalism among PTKIN students. To supplement this data, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with the respondents. In addition, the information collected was broadened by gathering information from relevant literature studies. By involving

student activists as respondents, researchers sought to collect comprehensive information based on the activists' knowledge and practical experience on and off campus. Meanwhile, non-student activists at IAIN Syekh Nurjati were also involved as respondents to obtain information from students who only focused on routine activities on campus. By involving these two categories of respondents, the researcher sought to get different findings. However, the questionnaire results indicate the same tendency that PTKIN students have the potential to be exposed to radicalism.

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

6. Result and Discussion

Portrait of Potential Radicalism among Islamic Colleges Students

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

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%)

Commented [A41]: This is quantitative presentation.

Source: Research Data (2021)

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

Table 2. Respondents' answers to the questionnaire

Commented [A42]: This is quantitative presentation....not qualitative

Questions	Option 1 (%)	Option 2 (%)
6. 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%
7. 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%
8. 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%
9. 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%
10. Respect for people of other religions is an obligation for every Muslim. Do you agree with this opinion?	Agree	Disagree
	95,6%	4,4%

Source: Research Data

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

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

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

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

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

“Things indicating students are exposed to radicalism: Experiencing ideological changes that change how they view the world; Promote a rigid understanding of their beliefs; More often use ideological languages that discriminate against others; Extreme ideology has become a personal identity and uses more ideological language hateful rhetoric.” (Translated [interview](#)).

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

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

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

In addition, Menchik (2016) and Anwar (2016) argue that religious tolerance is indispensable in society. Religious etiquette is a religious attitude that balances individual religious practices (exclusivity) and respect for the religious practices of other people of different religions.

Islamic State and Islamic Law

In terms of this survey's findings, the data on the alignment of the Islamic state (see Table 2) can be linked to the survey results of the Uhamka Research Institute (2012). This

survey found the majority of Muslim respondents in Jakarta want to see the establishment of an Islamic state. In mid-2018, the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*-BNPT) and the National Intelligence Agency (*Badan Intelijen Nasional*-BIN) also conducted field studies at various state colleges in Indonesia. BIN found that as many as 24% of students agreed with a form of Islamic state in Indonesia. Furthermore, BNPT found that there were seven radical state colleges in Java. The seven state colleges are University of Indonesia (UI), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), Diponegoro University (Undip), Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS), Airlangga University (Unair), and Brawijaya University (UB).

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

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

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

Factors Supporting Radicalism among Students

Theological and sociological factors influence the potential for radicalism among students. Theological/ideological factors are internal factors of religious understanding and

are manifested as among other things: (1) demands for a religious state, (2) enforcing religious law as state law, (3) support for extreme religious movements to enforce religious teachings, (4) support for religion-based program policies, and (5) the preference for religion-based parties. Based on the survey results, this study shows that students prefer to obey religious law rather than state law (see Table 2).

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

The International Crisis Group (ICG, 2003) states that Islamic radicalism in Indonesia is not only triggered by religious theological factors, but also major sociological factors, namely political conflict, poor governance, globalization and the Arabic [acculturation](#). These sociological factors are caused by a person's dissatisfaction with the surrounding environment. In Breuer & Elson, (2017) frustration-aggression theory, not getting what you want leads to frustration and leads to anger or aggression. Several recent studies also support that frustration plays a role in causing aggression. Gurr (1970) in Dalton, (2005) suggests that the main cause of protest movements and social violence is the development of dissatisfaction which is then politicized so that the actualization of violence against the targeted groups and actors emerges. King & Taylor (2011) explains that the feeling of being treated unfairly will motivate individuals or groups to act both on one another and on themselves with the aim that feelings of injustice turn into feelings of fairness. Factors that influence the notion of radicalism in Indonesia, both theological and sociological, also specifically affect Islamic students in Indonesia (Interview with Suady, September 2021). The description above shows that the factors supporting radicalism among students are not only influenced by theological factors or religious understanding, but also sociological factors that influence their activities.

Integrative Approach of Religious Nationalism

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

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

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

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

In addition to the above terms, the Indigenization of Islam can also be associated with a religious nationalism approach. Abdurrahman Wahid in Syabibi et al. (2021) initiated the idea of indigenizing Islam in the 1980s. This concept tries to accommodate culture with Islam. Indigenization is not an attempt to avoid the emergence of resistance from local

culture, nor is it a process of equating culture with the religious practices of Muslim communities in the Middle East. The essence of the indigenization of Islam is to keep accommodating both the local cultures, norms, and values while Islam as a religion is also received in peace.

The concept of indigenization of Islam, according to Abdurrahman Wahid in Naim (2017), departs from three factors. First, the indigenization of Islam is part of the history of Islam, both in its home country and in Indonesia, as did Sunan Kalijaga. Sunan Kalijaga as a preacher of Islam on the island of Java. He was known as an artist who is able to create artistic and cultural tools as a medium for the spread of Islam on the island of Java. The concept of da'wah is syncretic and adaptive. He combined Javanese-Hindu arts and culture as a medium for spreading Islam with Islamic teachings as the substance (Rubaidi, 2019; Fauzan & Rohmadi, 2021). Second, indigenization is crucial for Indonesian Muslims as it can accommodate local cultures, norms, and values altogether with Islam. Third, the indigenization of Islam is related to the relationship between *fiqhiyah* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *adat* (custom). In this case, Gus Dur adhered to the rules of *fiqhiyah* (Islamic jurisprudence) commonly used in Islamic boarding schools namely, *al-adah muhakkamah* (*Traditions become the law*) (Naim, 2017).

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

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.

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

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

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

Mainstreaming Religious Terminology and Religious Narratives in Islamic Colleges

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

Fleming (2013) explains the importance of building an inclusive university. It can be done in three phases: changing the institutional structure; promoting the value of openness, and generating inclusive knowledge. An inclusive university can be started by cultivating religious terminology and religious narratives. The first stage eliminates the exclusivity of

higher education with its various movement models. The second phase takes place by building a campus environment that allows for more inclusive sharing. In the third phase, knowledge products are developed with inclusion on campus.

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

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

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

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

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

The planting of the seeds of radicalism in education is a form of denial by radicals and radical organizations of the fact that the Indonesian nation is plural especially, concerning religious ideas. At the same time, this denial indicates a shift in national understanding, which was previously cohesive and based on noble values such as religious-inclusive values to become radical-exclusive. The world of education is no longer a medium for disseminating knowledge to create a social life order that is more open and based on mutual respect but becomes a place where radicalism is introduced, grows, and develops. The notion of religious nationalism is no longer found amid the more complex challenges of national life.

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

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

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

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

5. Conclusion

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

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

This research provides a theoretical contribution in the form of an integrated approach to religious nationalism in preventing the potential for radicalism in society or among Islamic Higher Education students in Indonesia. This approach combines nationalism with religious values. In Juergemeyer's terminology (2019), it is 'religious nationalism'. This study has limitations particularly on the data collection so further research needs to be undertaken to confirm the results of this study to explore more factual actions of radicalism among Islamic colleges students.

Acknowledgements**Competing interests**

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

Author contributions

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

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Data availability

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

Disclaimer

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

Ethical Considerations

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

MANUSCRIPT REVISION

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

No	Rows Number Before Revision	Rev.	Reviewer's Command	Revision	Rows Number After Revision
Thank you for the comments and reviews (A and B)					
1.	20	A	Reviewer A commented: "Conclusion of the research is also needed in an abstract."	<p>The author has shown the conclusion in the last sentences of abstract as follows:</p> <p>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.</p>	20
2.	29	B	Reviewer B asked: "Is it an established academic term, or is it your term?"	The author has deleted unfamiliar term according the instruction.	29
3.	37	A	Reviewer A commented: "Their social and religious background must be described" in Introduction."	<p>The author has added the paragraph in introduction as follows:</p> <p>There are many factors that influence intolerance behavior among students. One of them is the impact of the use of social media, where the reference for the younger generation's understanding of Islam 50.89% comes from social media which influences their views on jihad, tolerance, and the application of Islamic law (Rustan, 2020). Apart from</p>	41-50

				social media, radicalism also spreads through the existence of internal and external campus organizations that tend to be exclusive in influencing the development of intolerant attitudes because they are reluctant to associate with other organizations (Arifianto, 2019). In addition, radicalism is spread through the learning process in class, religious books that tend to be textual, as well as conservative lecturers' perspectives on religion (Maulana, 2017; Tambak, 2021).	
4.	72	B	Reviewer B asked: "To what extent can this be? Please unpack this (the word comprehensive)."	The author has deleted the word according the instruction.	83
5.	73-77	B	Reviewer B commented: "It seems too broad, would it be possible presented all in this article?"	The author has presented all purposes of research mentioned in the result	84-88
6.	81-82	B	Reviewer B commented: "This is very big claim, you might be wise if you certify the quantity by number of percentage, instead of bringing such a big claim."	The author has added the number of percentage as follow, Today some higher education institutions (7 from 122 universities) tend to be centers of radicalism, which is contrary to national values. The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) found that there are 7 state universities that tend to be exposed to radicalism in Java. The seven state universities are the University of Indonesia (UI), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), Diponegoro University (UNDIP), Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS), Airlangga University (Unair), and Brawijaya University (UB).	92-98
7.	85	A	Reviewer A asked to revise the grammatical error: "This study contributes to understanding" and wrote the correct one "understand"	The author has revised and followed reviewer's recommendation	102

8.	94, 95, 97, 102, 113, 118, 159, 488	A	Reviewer A asked to add pages for some references cited.	The author has added the pages for some references as follows: (Sukatman et al., 2019:41). (Neo & Scharffs, 2021:10). (Sukatman et al., 2019:141) (Burhanuddin, 2015:361) (Sriyanto et al., 2018:185). (Hafid, 2020:31). (Arifianto, 2019:4). (Azyumardi Azra in Anshor, 2020:155).	112, 113, 115-116, 117, 120, 149, 198, 567
9.	113	A	Reviewer A commented: "The author/s must present more argumentations about the impact of religious nationalism in overcoming religious intolerance"	The author has added the sentence as follows, There are several arguments about religious nationalism having an impact in overcoming religious radicalism: (1) Indonesian society is a pluralistic nation that has differences in ethnicity, culture, language and customs, including religion. One of the important elements that affect the life of the nation is religion, (2) The majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim, so many of the terms used in the language are terms adapted from Islamic religious traditions, although they are also used by other religious people. For this reason, the use of national terms with religious terms / narratives is more easily accepted by the community, and (3) There are 2 important elements that influence in the ideology of political life in Indonesia: nationalist and faith-based groups. These two groups often have conflicts of interest and cause conflicts in society, so the religious nationalism strategy is the solution to these problems.	134-144
10.	120-121 122-123 123-124 125-126 129-131	B	Reviewer B asked: "What is your voice in regards to the four definitions above, and how are those definition related to religious nationalism?."	The author concluded the four definitions as follow, From those definitions above, it can be concluded that religious-based radicalism is a principle, idea, attitude and movement that uses more religion-based violence in	159-162

				dealing with differences and achieving goals.	
11.	137	A	Reviewer A commented: "Does author mean religious moderation? If so, s/he, they must explain what the religious moderation is, especially in its context."	The author has added the sentences explaining the religious radicalism as follows. The significance of religious moderation is based on at least three reasons. First, the presence of religion to maintain human dignity with <i>rahmah</i> (compassion) as the main message. Second, religious thought is historical, while reality continues to move dynamically. Third, the Republic of Indonesia must be approached through a cultural strategy.	173-176
12.	156	A	Reviewer A commented: "This reference is too old"	The author has changed the references into the new one as follows, (Kesuma et al., 2019:155).	194-195
13.	137, 185, 198, 208, 212, 222, 228	A	Reviewer A commented: "It seems that the method used in undertaking this research is not a qualitative but a mixed- Method," His other commented on the method: "random sampling is a quantitative term, In-depth interview is a qualitative process, Survey is a quantitative term, and In undertaking this research, the researcher/s did not use only quantitative or qualitative... S/he/they used mixed method." Reviewer A commented: "This is quantitative presentation, not qualitative."	The author has revised and changed the method using a mixed-method, according the instruction. This study uses a qualitative research design. Mix method applied in this study is by combining two approaches in research analysis, namely qualitative and quantitative. Creswell (2010:5) revealed that the mix method is a combination of qualitative and quantitative research. Sugiyono (2011:18) defines that the combination is able to make the data obtained more comprehensive, has advantages in terms of validity, reliability and objectivity. The strategy used in this research is to interview in obtaining qualitative data, after previously conducting a survey to obtain quantitative data. This is what Creswell (2010:313) calls a sequential explanatory strategy. The researcher collects and analyzes quantitative data, then refines it with qualitative data	214-222

				findings.	
14.	182-195	B	Reviewer B suggested: "Please provide more explanation of the object of studies and why are they chose?."	The author add the explanation as follow, The seven Islamic universities in Indonesia were selected based on regional representation and the existence of institutions under the Ministry of Religion.	229-231
15.	232	B	Reviewer B commented: "It would be reasonable if you explain elsewhere on what basis of framework that you generate these indicators of radicalism?."	The author added the the religious basis (faith) of Muslim arguments used as follow, Based on religious texts (al-Baqarah: 256 which states that there is no compulsion in religion and An-Nisa: 86 which states that "If you are honored with something of respect, then repay that respect with something better than it. or repay the honor (with something similar). Verily, Allah takes all things into account), Respect for people of other religions is an obligation for every Muslim. Do you agree with this opinion?	276
16.	239	A	Reviewer A commented: "The initial name of the translator must be written here)."	The author has revised according the instruction for all of the interview results as follow, (<i>Translated interview by David Rawson</i>)	288, 302, 313
17.	263	A	Reviewer A commented: "If the author can identify respondents who tolerance and who intolerance, it is better to offer them some in-depth interview. So, the author/s shall analysis each position on religious radicalism," and "What is/are the contribution of the in-depth interview for this study?."	The author has added the explanation about the positions of respondents as follow, From those interviews above, it can be identified that there are two respondents who are tolerance and intolerance towards difference of understanding. Tolerance students have a national understanding based on the concept of unity in diversity (bhineka tunggal ika), and plurality of social realities. While intolerant students have the assumption that national understanding is contrary to religion, because human loyalty, according to them, is	315-320

				only to God and should not be given to anyone and anything but to God.	
18.	272	A	Reviewer A commented: "Why does educational institution become a place of religious radicalism?."	The author has revised according the instruction and add the reason as follows, This pattern occurs when young people take the Qur'anic propositions and traditions literally without considering the cause of the verse's or hadith's revelation. The problem lies in the topic preference, in which <i>jihād</i> and <i>khilafah</i> are most in demand.	330-332
19.	280	A	Reviewer A suggested: "It is better to read the book which talks about 4 element of a religion which are: Credo, Code, Cult and Community."	The author has added 4 elements of a religion according the instruction. Leonard Swidler and Paul Mojzes (2000:7-8) define religion as the 4Cs, namely creed, code, cult, and community structure. These 4 things are fulfilled by social institutions, it can be called religion. Creed is related to belief in something that is absolute and is considered true in life, it can be in the form of belief in God or something else. Then, the Code is a guide to the behavior of religious people, because they believe in something that is in the creed. Next, Cult is a ritual activity related to the transcendent relationship between religious adherents and their God, through worship practices. In addition, Community Structure is related to the relationship between religious communities. This behavior then becomes a reflection of individual religiosity.	342-350
20.	322	A	Reviewer A commented: "The point of the student activist 3 did not say anything about student who tend to be religious radical."	The author has added the the result of interview from the the students activist 3 as follow, Ahmadiyah and Shia are religious beliefs that deviate from the true teachings of Islam. Because the Ahmadiyya followers have their own prophet and apostle, namely	389-394



				Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad from India. Even the Ahmadiyya holy book is also different from the Koran which is called Tadzkirah. Teachings like this must be kept away from the Indonesian people so that we are not affected by the bad effects	
21.	329	A	Reviewer A commented: "This quotation must be a frame of reference to explore the fact of radicalism in the educational circumstances."	The author has added according the instruction as follows, The research conducted by the Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta in 2018 suggests that the threat of radicalism-extremism among people aged 15-24 years old is particularly alarming.	405-408
22.	354	A	Reviewer A commented: "Why did sociological factors contribute to the religious radicalism?"	The author has revised according the instruction. Radicalism in a sociological perspective is related to the question of what is about a society that increases or decreases the likelihood of violence. On the other hand, the challenge faced is new radicalism which becomes a problem when violence must also arouse widespread subjective concern. So that sociology sees inferential relativity in understanding the phenomenon of radicalism, with various theories and axiomatic differences used in studying it. Even though Paul B Horton defines the phenomenon of radicalism is a natural thing that happens in society (criminal is a natural part of society)	437-443
23.	421	B	Reviewer B commented: "Is sycrretism a part of your research issues?"	The author did not add and revise anything because it is one of the strategies used by previous Indonesian Ulama (Sunan Kalijaga) in indigenizing Islam.	502
24.	458-461	B	Reviewer B commented: "Why you do not present it in percentage?"	The author has added the percentage as follow, The survey results indicate that	539

				most respondents (95,6 %) agreed with respecting other religions because it is an obligation found in Islamic teachings.	
25.	460	B	Reviewer B commented: "What is the function of this question here?."	The author has revised the sentences according to the instruction.	562-572
26.	500	A	Reviewer A commented: "It is better if the author did not only note these points. S/he/they must discuss them in relation to how to be an inclusive university."	The author has revised according to the instruction. Departing from these facts, the discussion about the inclusive university is in understanding religious texts and social praxis comprehensively. The moderate perspective in understanding religious texts should not only serve as an operational standard on paper but also permeates social praxis. Another challenge is how to establish this moderation into a life style for millennials who are currently swept away by the disruptive life patterns	588-593
27.	574	A	Reviewer A commented: "In a conclusion, it does not need a reference. You make conclusion on what you have discussed above related to your goal/purpose of your research."	The author has deleted the reference in the conclusion.	667

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Full Title of Manuscript		To Mitigate Against Radicalism Among Islamic College Students in Indonesia Through Religious Nationalism			
Number of Authors		6			
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4. NEW AUTHORSHIP AND AFFILIATION

CONTRIBUTION SUBMISSION

Please list ALL AUTHORS in the same order as they should appear on the published submission. For more than 6 authors use an extra sheet.

Authorship responsibilities, I attest that:

- 1) The manuscript is truthful original work without fabrication, fraud, or plagiarism.
- 2) I have made important scientific contribution to the study and am thoroughly familiar with the primary data.
- 3) I have read the complete manuscript and take responsibility for the content and completeness of the manuscript and understand that I share responsibility if the paper, or part of the paper, is found to be faulty or fraudulent.

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5. AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION

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Authors are required to provide an updated statement that specifies the nature of the contribution of every added author.

Old statement	I.N, S.P, A.H, and S. are the sole authors of this research article.
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AUTHOR'S QUERY SHEET

Author(s)	Ilman Nafi'a et al.
Article title	Mitigating radicalism amongst Islamic college students in Indonesia through religious nationalism
Article id	HTS7547

CODE	QUERY	RESPONSES
	Added a new author & Correction author name.	<p>Added a new author = Rokhmadi Rokhmadi Correction author name = Please change 'Andi Hakim' to 'Mohammad Andi Hakim'</p> <p>Authors: Ilman Nafi'a¹ Septi Gumiandari¹ Mohammad Andi Hakim¹ Safii Safii² Rokhmadi Rokhmadi³</p> <p>Affiliations: ¹Department of Islamic Education, Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syekh Nurjati, Cirebon, Indonesia ²Department of Islamic Theology, Faculty of Ushuluddin, UIN Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia ³Departement of Islamic Criminal Law, Faculty of Sharia and Law, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia</p> <p>Nafi'a, I., Gumiandari, S., Hakim, M.A., Safii, S., & Rokhmadi, R., 2022, 'Mitigating radicalism amongst Islamic college students in Indonesia through religious nationalism', HTS</p>

		Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies 78(4), a7547. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.7547
AQ1	Please check whether the head levels are okay as identified.	The head levels are correct.
AQ2	References ‘Rustan, 2020; Maulana, 2017; Tambak, 2021; Sunesti, 2018; Surabaya, 2019; Creswell, 2010; Sugiyono, 2011; Leonard Swidler and Paul Mojzes, 2000; Uhamka Research Institute, 2012; Gurr, 1970; Hidayah and Sunarso, 2018’ are cited in the text but not provided in the list. Please provide the reference details.	<p>Rustan, A. S., Amin, S.J., Haramain, M. & Nurhakiki, N., 2020, ‘The Phenomenon of The Celebrity preachers abd the Awakening of The Religious Spirit of Millennial Generation in Indonesia’, <i>International Journal of Advanced Science and Technology</i>. 29(4), 1590-1595.</p> <p>Maulana, M. A., 2017, ‘Pelaksanaan toleransi keberagaman dalam proses pendidikan agama di Geeta School Cirebon’, <i>OASIS: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Islam</i>, 1(2), 17-38.</p> <p>Tambak, S., 2021, ‘The Method of Counteracting Radicalism in Schools: Tracing the Role of Islamic Religious Education Teachers in Learning’, <i>MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman</i>, 45(1), 104-126.</p> <p>Sunesti, Y., Hasan, N. & Azca, M.N., 2018, ‘Young Salafi-niqabi and hijrah: agency and identity negotiation’, <i>Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies</i>, 8(2), pp.173-198.</p> <p>Hamdi, A.Z., Mukaffa, Z. & Masrifah, L.H., 2019, ‘Gerakan Radikalisme di Kampus-Kampus dan Pusat Kajian Keagamaan di Perkotaan di Jawa Timur’, Research Report, Research and Community Services Institute (LP2M), State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Ampel Surabaya.</p> <p>Creswell, J.W., 2010, <i>Research design: pendekatan kualitatif, kuantitatif, dan mixed</i>, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta.</p> <p>Sugiyono, 2011, <i>Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D</i>, Alfabeta, Bandung.</p>

		<p>Swidler, L.J. & Mojzes, P., 2000, <i>The study of religion in an age of global dialogue</i>, Temple University Press, Philadelphia.</p> <p>Uhamka Research Institute, 2012, 'Ancaman bagi Ideologi Negara melalui Radikalisme Agama', Survey Report, Research institutions, Uhamka University.</p> <p>Gurr, T.R., 1970, <i>Why Men Rebel</i>, University Press, Princeton.</p> <p>Hidayah, Y. & Sunarso, S., 2017, 'Penguasaan civic skills aktivis badan eksekutif mahasiswa (studi di Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta)', <i>Harmoni Sosial: Jurnal Pendidikan IPS</i>, 4(2), 153-164.</p>
AQ3	Please provide expansion of PTKIN	PTKIN = State Islamic Higher Education
AQ4	Please replace solidus with 'and', 'or' or 'and/or' throughout where relevant as per journal style.	Please change: 'the causes and factors' to 'the causes and/or factors'
AQ5	Kindly confirm whether it is OK to abbreviate 'National Counterterrorism Agency' as 'BNPT'.	Checked and confirmed. 'National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT)'
AQ6	Kindly verify the edited sentence, 'This study contributes to understand the potential for religious . . .'	Checked and confirmed. We agree the sentence, 'This study contributes to understanding the potential for religious beliefs to generate extremism and cause violence and the tools to counter this process of radicalization.'
AQ7	Please verify the edited sentence, 'The concept of moderation has become part of a strategic effort . . .'	Checked and confirmed. We agree the sentence, 'The concept of moderation has become part of a strategic effort to prevent radicalism. Understanding moderation will encourage a balanced, open and tolerant religious attitude'
AQ8	Please verify the edited sentence, 'In addition, Table 2 displays the respondents' answers . . .'	Checked and confirmed. We agree the sentence, 'In addition, Table 2 displays the respondents' answers to the questionnaire.'

AQ9	Please provide at least 3 identifiers for all direct quotes used throughout this article (e.g., participant number/age/gender/ occupation etc.). Thank you.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Student activist 1 from State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, 23 years old. - Student activist 2 from State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Metro Lampung, 21 years old. - Student activist 3 from State Islamic University (UIN) Mataram, 24 years old.
AQ10	The sentence ‘National values such as love for the homeland, patriotism, tolerance, unity and integrity . . .’ does not seem to be complete. Please check and provide the missing text if any.	<p>The sentence below:</p> <p>‘National values such as love for the homeland, patriotism, tolerance, unity and integrity, obedience to the state (loyalty) and religious values such as ukhuwah [brotherhood], tawasuth [moderation], ta’adul [being fair], tasamuh [tolerance] and tawazun [harmony] are no longer practised and have even.’</p> <p>Please change the sentence with the following:</p> <p>‘National values such as love of the motherland, patriotism, tolerance, unity and integrity, obedience to state (loyalty) and religious values such as <i>ukhuwah</i> (fraternity), <i>tawasuth</i> (moderation), <i>ta’adul</i> (being fair), <i>tasamuh</i> (tolerance), and <i>tawazun</i> (harmony) are no longer practiced and have even begun to disappear.’</p>
AQ11	Kindly verify the edited sentence, ‘In principle, the theory of religious moderation requires a fair and balanced . . .’	Checked and confirmed. We agree the sentence, ‘In principle, the theory of religious moderation requires justice and balanced attitude that needs to be taught and cultivated on campus in order to develop the three main qualities needed in students, namely wisdom, purity and courage’
AQ12	Please confirm whether institute names are abbreviated correctly in the sentence, ‘The seven state colleges are University of Indonesia (UI), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), . . .’	Checked and confirmed. We agree the sentence, ‘The seven state colleges are University of Indonesia (UI), Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB), Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), Diponegoro University (UNDIP), Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS), Airlangga University (UNAIR) and Brawijaya University (UB).’
AQ13	Kindly verify the edited sentence, ‘The third form is the rejection of pluralism . . .’	Checked and confirmed. We agree the sentence, ‘The third symptom is the rejection of pluralism and relativism.’
AQ14	Horton is cited but not in the list of references. Kindly insert the full citation for this in-text citation underneath the refer- ence list. As it stands, readers will not be able to	Horton, P.B., Leslie, G.R. & Larson, R.F., 1991, <i>The Sociology of Social Problem</i> , Prentice Hall- Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

	access this reference to build on their own future research.	
AQ15	Please provide interview date, if necessary.	28 September 2021
AQ16	Please provide page range for this extract.	<p>Page = 387</p> <p>This idea is aligned with the thought expressed by Juergensmeyer (2019: 387):</p> <p><i>“The marriage interesting turn in modern history, fraught with dangers, for even if it is possible, the radical accommodation of religion to nationalism may not necessarily be a good thing. A merger of the absolutism of nationalism with the absolutism of religion might create a rule so vaunted and potent that it might destroy itself and its neighbors.”</i></p>
AQ17	Please provide source and page range for this extract.	<p>Page = 20</p> <p>Juergensmeyer (2019: 20) stated that:</p> <p><i>“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.”</i></p>
AQ18	The meaning of the sentence ‘The potential for radicalism in Indonesian educational institutions has become about . . .’ is not clear. Please check and amend as necessary.	<p>The sentence below:</p> <p>‘The potential for radicalism in Indonesian educational institutions has come about because of the era of openness that allows previously restricted groups to express their views.’</p> <p>Please change the sentence with the following:</p> <p>‘The spread of radicalism in Indonesian educational institutions is growing due to the era of openness that allows previously restricted groups to express their views.’</p>
AQ19	Please check the term ‘Social bounding religious moderation’ for correctness.	<p>The sentence below:</p> <p>‘According to Muchtadlirin in Bamualim (2015), the injection strategy of religious moderation can be performed by social bonding religious moderation, social bridging religious moderation and social linking religious moderation.’</p> <p>Please change the sentence with the following:</p>

		‘According to Muchtadlirin in Bamualim (2015), Strategies to insert religious moderation in to the higher educations can be carried out through social bounding, social bridging, and social linking strategic issues on religious moderation.’
AQ20	Please verify the edited sentence, ‘These data deserve the attention of relevant stakeholders to . . .’	Checked and confirmed. We agree the sentence ‘These data deserve the attention of relevant stakeholders to develop targeted and effective mitigation and deradicalisation programmes.’
AQ21	Reference ‘Kerpelman, 1969’ is present in the list but not cited in the text. Please provide in-text citation for the reference.	It should have been deleted from the text and the list of references.
AQ22	Please provide editor(s) name, for Ahnaf 2018.	Editor(s) name = Kristian Steiner & Andreas Önnersfors. Ahnaf, M.I., 2018, ‘Hizb al-Tahrir: Its ideology and theory for collective radicalization’, in Steiner, K. & Önnersfors, A. (Eds.), <i>Expressions of radicalization</i> , pp. 295–320, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
AQ23	Please provide publisher city name for Anwar, 2016; Armstrong, 2011; Fromm, 2013; Künkler & Stepan, 2013; Madjid, 2013; Menchik, 2016; Silva, 2018; Stenmark, 2017; Wach, 2019.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anwar, S., 2016 Publisher City Name = Amsterdam 2. Armstrong, K., 2011 Publisher City Name = New York. 3. Fromm, E., 2013 Publisher City Name = New York. 4. Künkler, M., & Stepan, A., 2013. Publisher City Name = New York. 5. Madjid, N., 2013, Publisher City Name = Bandung 6. Menchik, J., 2016. Publisher City Name = Cambridge 7. Silva, J.M., 2018. Publisher City Name = New York. 8. Stenmark, M., 2017. Publisher City Name = New York. 9. Wach, J. 2019, Publisher City Name = New York

AQ24	Please provide editor(s) name, publisher name and publisher city name for Breuer & Elson, 2017; Logli, 2022.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Breuer & Elson, 2017; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Editor name = Peter Sturney Publisher name = Wiley Blackwell Publisher city name = New Jersey Logli, 2022. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Editors name = Matemba, Y. H. & Collet, B. A Publisher name = Bloomsbury Publisher city name = Manhattan
AQ25	Please provide the access/viewed/cited date for the URLs appearing in Dalton, 2005.	Accessed: 15 April 2022
AQ26	Please provide complete details for Grzymala-Busse & Science, 2021, Nandan Iskandar, 2019	<p>Grzymala-busse, A., & Science, P., 2021. <i>Religious Nationalism : Origins and Controversies. March 2019</i>. Oxford Research Encyclopedia, pp. 1–21.</p> <p>Nandan Iskandar, A. G., 2019, <i>Penguatan Peran Intelijen dalam Pengawasan Aliran Kepercayaan dan Aliran Kagamaan dalam Masyarakat (PAKEM) demi Ketertiban dan Ketentraman Umum</i>, Miswar, Jakarta.</p>
AQ27	Please provide page range for Hakim et al., 2019.	Page range = 122-139.
AQ28	Please provide proceedings date, publisher name and publisher city name for Idris et al., 2019; Iswahyudi, 2020.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Idris et al., 2019; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proceedings date = 29-30 October 2019 Publisher name = IEEE Publisher city name = New York Iswahyudi, I. 2020. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proceedings date = September 18, 2020 Publisher name = SSRN Publisher city name = New York
AQ29	Please provide editor(s) name, and publisher city name for Logli 2022, Silva, 2018.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Logli, C., 2022 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Editors name = Matemba, Y. H. & Collet, B. A Publisher name = Bloomsbury

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AQ30	Please provide volume number for Snook et al. 2021.	<p>No volume or issue number, Published online: 26 Jul 2021</p> <p>Page: 1 – 18</p>
AQ31	Please check the source kept for Tables 1 and 2.	<p>Table 1, Source = Students' Service Center of IAIN Syekh Nurjati Cirebon</p> <p>Table 2, Source = Students' Service Center of IAIN Syekh Nurjati Cirebon</p>

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MANUSCRIPT TO REVIEW

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

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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.

Keywords: Religious nationalism; Radicalism; Integration; Student; Islamic Colleges

Introduction

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

~~There are many factors that influence intolerance behavior among students. One of them is the impact of the use of social media, where the reference for the younger generation's understanding of Islam 50.89% comes from social media which influences their views on jihad, tolerance, and the application of Islamic law (Rustan, 2020). Apart from social media, radicalism also spreads through the existence of internal and external campus organizations that tend to be exclusive in influencing the development of intolerant attitudes because they are reluctant to associate with other organizations (Arifianto, 2019). In addition, radicalism is spread through the learning process in class, religious books that tend to be textual, as well as conservative lecturers' perspectives on religion (Maulana, 2017; Tambak, 2021).~~

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

students. Based on statistical data, 39% of students in seven state colleges have been exposed to radicalism (Hakim et al., 2019).

Regarding the study of the development of radicalism in Indonesia, the Research and Development Agency of East Java Province, in collaboration with the Research and Community Service Institute, UINSA Surabaya (2019), studied students' exposure to radicalism on campus and also teenagers who were involved in discussions and forums at religious institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, *ta'lim* (instruction) assemblies, and recitations. This study only provides solutions in terms of deradicalizing efforts through law enforcement and supporting moderate religious figures.

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

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

This article describes that apart from being driven by globalization conditions, the potential for radicalism in higher education institutions is also influenced by the decreasing sense of nationalism among students. Today some higher education institutions (7 from 122 universities) tend to be centers of radicalism, which is contrary to national values. The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) found that there are 7 state universities that tend to be exposed to radicalism in Java. The seven state universities are the University of Indonesia (UI), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), Diponegoro University (UNDIP), Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS),

Airlangga University (Unair), and Brawijaya University (UB). The growth in radicalization among students has the potential to undo any progress to develop feelings of nationalism. Therefore, a study of the potential for student radicalism and the formulation of a model of integration of religious nationalism understanding is proposed in order to solve the problem of radicalism. This study contributes to understand the potential for religious beliefs to generate extremism and lead to violence as well as the tools to counter this process of radicalization.

7. Literature Review

7.1. Religious Nationalism

Religious nationalism is a way of thinking and behaving. Its behaviours demonstrate high levels of loyalty, concern, and respect for the physical, social and cultural environments by placing the interests of the nation and state above the interests of themselves and their groups (~~Sukatman et al., 2019~~) ([Sukatman et al., 2019:41](#)). This religious nationalism arose due to the rejection of ethnic, religious, cultural, and even legal plurality (~~Neo & Scharffs, 2021~~) ([Neo & Scharffs, 2021:10](#)). The religious nationalism concept emerged to realize the spirit of religious nationalism and a nationalist religious spirit for the sake of more substantial national unity and integrity (~~Sukatman et al., 2019~~) ([Sukatman et al., 2019:141](#)). Thus, in the religious nationalism understanding, there is a compromise between nationalism, religion, and Pancasila as a national ideology (~~Burhanuddin, 2015~~) ([Burhanuddin, 2015:361](#)).

The development of religious nationalism movements and discourses is an essential step in overcoming the potential for religious radicalism (~~Sriyanto et al., 2018~~) ([Sriyanto et al., 2018:185](#)). This development aims to raise awareness of nationalism so that the community can build self-immunity against understandings and movements that tend to attack national sovereignty (Khamdan, 2016). One of the ways to develop religious nationalism is through education. Religious nationalism concepts are two aspects of character values taught explicitly in the learning process (Lestari & Hermanto, 2019). Learning about religious nationalism is carried out in a higher education environment as one of the efforts to strengthen national resilience. In addition, religious nationalism character education in higher education is integrated with learning plans through standard elements of character learning, learning outcomes, study programs, and the course syllabus (Sukatman et al., 2019). In addition, the implementation of religious nationalism character education in higher education

is also carried out by incorporating the values of religious nationalism characters into the plan of learning devices (Hadi, 2018).

7.2. Prevention of Radicalism

Radicalism is an attitude that leads a person to change and weaken pre-existing ideas or understandings (Hafid, 2020) (Hafid, 2020:31). This concept is in line with the opinion of Idris et al. (2019) who defines radicalism as a principle that expects a form of change, rejection, or even resistance to ideas, assumptions, institutions, or values. Radicalism is also considered a narrow-minded and overreactive movement which employ violent means to achieve its goals (Wahid, 2018). Radicalism is often associated with fundamentalism or people who represent or support extreme political orientations (Hysing et al., 2016). However, radicalism is not the same as terrorism in that terrorists are groups that use violence against civilian targets. Further, radicalism itself is generally considered to lead (though not always result in) participation in terrorism (Snook et al., 2021). Therefore, radicalism is considered something that disrupts or creates divisions in the social system because it aims to destroy the existing balance to achieve the movement's desired changes (Cao, 2017; Silver, 2018). From those definitions above, it can be concluded that religious-based radicalism is a principle, idea, attitude and movement that uses more religion-based violence in dealing with differences and achieving goals.

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

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prevent potential radicalism by using a strategy of moderation (Davids, 2017; Emelin & Tkhostov, 2019). Moderation is the point between two opposite things or two extremes (Ushama, 2014). The concept of has become part of a strategic effort to prevent radicalism. Understanding moderation will encourage a balanced, open, and tolerant religious attitude (Islam, 2020). Meanwhile, various modes of moderation are used in student deradicalization efforts, such as re-internalizing Pancasila and religion so as to prevent the spread of radicalization on campus. The significance of religious moderation is based on at least three reasons. First, the presence of religion to maintain human dignity with *rahmah* (compassion) as the main message. Second, religious thought is historical, while reality continues to move dynamically. Third, the Republic of Indonesia must be approached through a cultural strategy. In addition, deradicalization efforts can be carried out through campus student organizations by promoting moderate religious understanding and implementing Pancasila values as the basis of state philosophy (Kesuma et al., 2019).

2.3 Students Activists

Students are an educated group at the forefront of making changes in society (Reger, 2018). In the campus environment, students can be divided into two groups, namely academic and activist. Academic students are often considered students who only focus on their university studies. Meanwhile, student activists become members of organizations that operates inside and outside campuses and are involved in the organization's work program (Broadhurst, 2014). A number of studies show there are significant differences between academic and student activists, which can be seen from general knowledge, ways of thinking, knowledge and socialization, sciences, leadership and leadership management that are not taught in the Higher Education curriculum (Silva, 2018). For instance, student activists can learn things related to changes based on science and society. In addition, student activists have better developed emotional intelligence compared to academic students because they have more responsibilities than students who are not actively organized (~~Kerpelman, 1969~~) (Kesuma et al., 2019:155)

Student activists with high collective self-esteem tend to protect and defend their group from pressure from other parties (~~Arifianto, 2019~~) (Arifianto, 2019:4). In addition, the tendency of students' exclusive thinking has given birth to textualist, militant and radical activists (Iswahyudi, 2020). One of the activists on campus is an Islamic movement activist who views himself as a *da'wah* (proselytizing) activist. *Da'wah* activists result from continuous interaction with their social world, thus influencing the formation of self-

confidence with their religious identity (Irham & Lubis, 2021). In practice, there are ideological differences among activists of Islamic student organizations in preaching *kaffah* (a complete return to) Islamic teachings even at the level of perceiving the Qur'anic-hadith texts and translations. These differences tend to trigger the emergence of narrow fanaticism towards the organization which is considered to have the most perfect ideological truth, religious system, form, style, and method of movement as an affirmation of the identity and existence of the organization. In this condition, it is not uncommon to find cadres or members rejecting other understandings and views outside of the group (Haryani et al., 2018).

8. Method and Design

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

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

~~This study uses a qualitative research design. Mix method applied in this study is by combining two approaches in research analysis, namely qualitative and quantitative. Creswell (2010:5) revealed that the mix method is a combination of qualitative and quantitative research. Sugiyono (2011:18) defines that the combination is able to make the data obtained more comprehensive, has advantages in terms of validity, reliability and objectivity.~~

~~The strategy used in this research is to interview in obtaining qualitative data, after previously conducting a survey to obtain quantitative data. This is what Creswell (2010:313) calls a sequential explanatory strategy. The researcher collects and analyzes quantitative data,~~

then refines it with qualitative data findings. Data were collected by distributing questionnaires and conducting in-depth interviews. This research used a google form survey questionnaire to collect data from student activists throughout Indonesia. The questionnaire was distributed over the period 8–15 September 2021. There are 15 surveyed Islamic colleges in Indonesia such as IAIN Syekh Nurjati, STAIN Bengkalis, IAIN Pontianak, IAIN Pekalongan, IAIN Kediri, UIN STS Jambi, IAIN Metro Lampung, UIN Ar-raniry Aceh, IAIN Palopo, UIN Saizu Purwokerto, UIN Bengkulu, UIN Raden Intan Lampung, UIN Raden, Fatah Palembang, UIN Mataram, and IAIN Kerinci. The seven Islamic universities in Indonesia were selected based on regional representation of Indonesia and the existence of institutions under the Ministry of Religion.

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

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

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

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

9. Result and Discussion

Portrait of Potential Radicalism among Islamic Colleges Students

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

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)

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

Table 2. Respondents' answers to the questionnaire

Questions	Option 1 (%)	Option 2 (%)
11. 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%
12. 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%
13. To live as a nation and state, you need rules	Government	Religious Leaders

or regulations that all people must obey? Do you prefer to obey the governments' or religious leaders' rules?	51%	49%
14. 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 95,6%	Disagree 4,4%
15. Respect for people of other religions is an obligation for every Muslim. Do you agree with this opinion?	Agree	Disagree
5. <u>Based on religious texts (al-Baqarah: 256 which states that "there is no compulsion in religion" and An-Nisa: 86 which states that "If you are honored with something of respect, then repay that respect with something better than it. or repay the honor with something similar. Verily, Allah takes all things into account)."</u> respect for people of other religions is an obligation for every Muslim. Do you agree with this opinion?	95,6%	4,4%

Source: Research Data

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

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

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

“Factors causing the degradation of our nationalism are the influence of intolerant and textualist groups, the weakness of national history education, the influence of an Arabization in understanding, the distortion of social media on religious values, and the emergence of radical religious organizations. That means the degradation factor of nationalism does not come entirely from internal students.” (Translated interview) (Translated interview by DR.)

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

“Things indicating students are exposed to radicalism: Experiencing ideological changes that change how they view the world; Promote a rigid understanding of their beliefs; More often use ideological languages that discriminate against others; Extreme ideology has become a personal identity and uses more ideological language hateful rhetoric.” (Translated interview) (Translated interview by DR.)

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

From those interviews above, it can be identified that there are two respondents who are tolerance and intolerance towards difference of understanding. Tolerance students have a national understanding based on the concept of unity in diversity (*bhineka tunggal ika*), and plurality of social realities. While intolerant students have the assumption that national

understanding is contrary to religion, because human loyalty, according to them, is only to God and should not be given to anyone and anything but to God

The growth of radicalism in educational institutions should sound the alarm for its impact on increasingly eroding national values and character, working against unifying all levels of society. National values such as love for the homeland, patriotism, tolerance, unity, and integrity, obedience to the State (loyalty), and religious values such as brotherhood (*ukhuwah*), *tawasuth* (moderate), *ta'adul* (being fair), *tasamuh* (tolerance) and *tawazun* (harmony) are no longer practiced and have even (Nur et al., 2020; Alam, 2020). Educational institutions, especially colleges, have become a breeding ground for new ideologies and understandings that are entirely contrary to the realization of an open and enlightened educational climate. This pattern occurs when young people take the Qur'anic propositions and traditions literally without considering the cause of the verse's or hadith's revelation. The problem lies in the topic preference, in which *jihad* and *khilafah* are most in demand. It comes as a consequence of the weakening of higher education's authority as an institution and its ability to produce generations with religious nationalism insights.

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

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

Leonard Swidler and Paul Mojzes (2000:7-8) define religion as the 4Cs, namely creed, code, cult, and community structure. These 4 things are fulfilled by social institutions, it can be called religion. Creed is related to belief in something that is absolute and is considered true in life, it can be in the form of belief in God or something else. Then, the Code is a guide

to the behavior of religious people, because they believe in something that is in the creed. Next, Cult is a ritual activity related to the transcendent relationship between religious adherents and their God, through worship practices. In addition, Community Structure is related to the relationship between religious communities. This behavior then becomes a reflection of individual religiosity

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In addition, Menchik (2016) and Anwar (2016) argue that religious tolerance is indispensable in society. Religious etiquette is a religious attitude that balances individual religious practices (exclusivity) and respect for the religious practices of other people of different religions.

Islamic State and Islamic Law

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

Student radicalism can give rise to anti-nationalism, essentially a rejection of the State, state law, government, and intolerance (see Table 2). A survey conducted by UIN Jakarta in

2017 with a sample size of 1522 student activists, 337 students, and 264 teachers spread across 34 provinces found that 51.1% of Muslim respondents had an intolerant view of Ahmadiyah (a sect within Islam) and Shia (another branch of Islam) who comprise minority Muslim groups in Indonesia. Meanwhile, 34.3% of the same respondents have a biased opinion of religions other than Islam. The BNPT investigation found that 58.5% of student respondents held radical religious views. As expressed by Student Activist 3 below.

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

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

Ahmadiyah and Shia are religious beliefs that deviate from the true teachings of Islam. Because the Ahmadiyya followers have their own prophet and apostle, namely Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad from India. Even the Ahmadiyya holy book is also different from the Koran which is called Tadzkirah. Teachings like this must be kept away from the Indonesian people so that we are not affected by the bad effects (Translated interview by DR.)

Historically, religious radicalism has taken one of two forms. The first form is radicalism in mind (fundamentalism). The second form is radicalism in action [namely,] terrorism. The radicalism that metamorphoses into anarchic actions usually legitimizes violence to achieve desires and interests. Rahmatullah (2017) states the symptoms of radicalism can be characterized by several things, namely being opposite, rejection of hermeneutics, and rejection of pluralism and relativism. Taking an opposite position is resistance to everything that is considered to endanger the existence of their religion. Furthermore, the rejection of hermeneutics is refusing to be critical of the text and its interpretation. Third, the rejection of pluralism and relativism. This kind of rejection will

generate a narrow fanaticism considering only their group is right. The research conducted by the Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta in 2018 suggests that the threat of radicalism-extremism among people aged 15-24 years old is particularly alarming.

Factors Supporting Radicalism among Students

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

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

~~The International Crisis Group (ICG, 2003) states that Islamic radicalism in Indonesia is not only triggered by religious-theological factors, but also major sociological factors, namely political conflict, poor governance, globalization and the Arabic acculturation. These sociological factors are caused by a person's dissatisfaction with the surrounding environment. In Breuer & Elson, (2017) frustration-aggression theory, not getting what you want leads to frustration and leads to anger or aggression. Several recent studies also support that frustration plays a role in causing aggression. Gurr (1970) in Dalton, (2005) suggests that the main cause of protest movements and social violence is the development of dissatisfaction which is then politicized so that the actualization of violence against the~~

targeted groups and actors emerges. King & Taylor (2011) explains that the feeling of being treated unfairly will motivate individuals or groups to act both on one another and on themselves with the aim that feelings of injustice turn into feelings of fairness. Factors that influence the notion of radicalism in Indonesia, both theological and sociological, also specifically affect Islamic students in Indonesia (Interview with Suady, September 2021). The description above shows that the factors supporting radicalism among students are not only influenced by theological factors or religious understanding, but also sociological factors that influence their activities.

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Radicalism in a sociological perspective is related to the question of what is about a society that increases or decreases the likelihood of violence. On the other hand, the challenge faced is new radicalism which becomes a problem when violence must also arouse widespread subjective concern. So that sociology sees inferential relativity in understanding the phenomenon of radicalism, with various theories and axiomatic differences used in studying it. Even though Paul B Horton defines the phenomenon of radicalism is a natural thing that happens in society (criminal is a natural part of society).

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Integrative Approach of Religious Nationalism

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

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

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

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

In addition to the above terms, the Indigenization of Islam can also be associated with a religious nationalism approach. Abdurrahman Wahid in Syabibi et al. (2021) initiated the idea of indigenizing Islam in the 1980s. This concept tries to accommodate culture with Islam. Indigenization is not an attempt to avoid the emergence of resistance from local

culture, nor is it a process of equating culture with the religious practices of Muslim communities in the Middle East. The essence of the indigenization of Islam is to keep accommodating both the local cultures, norms, and values while Islam as a religion is also received in peace.

The concept of indigenization of Islam, according to Abdurrahman Wahid in Naim (2017), departs from three factors. First, the indigenization of Islam is part of the history of Islam, both in its home country and in Indonesia, as did Sunan Kalijaga. Sunan Kalijaga as a preacher of Islam on the island of Java. He was known as an artist who is able to create artistic and cultural tools as a medium for the spread of Islam on the island of Java. The concept of da'wah is syncretic and adaptive. He combined Javanese-Hindu arts and culture as a medium for spreading Islam with Islamic teachings as the substance (Rubaidi, 2019; Fauzan & Rohmadi, 2021). Second, indigenization is crucial for Indonesian Muslims as it can accommodate local cultures, norms, and values altogether with Islam. Third, the indigenization of Islam is related to the relationship between *fiqhiyah* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *adat* (custom). In this case, Gus Dur adhered to the rules of *fiqhiyah* (Islamic jurisprudence) commonly used in Islamic boarding schools namely, *al-adah muhakkamah* (*Traditions become the law*)(Naim, 2017).

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

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.

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

The survey gauged the issue of religious tolerance by asking respondents whether they agreed with the statement that respecting people of other religions is an obligation for every Muslim (see Table 2). The survey results indicate that most ~~respondents-respondents~~ (95.6%) agreed with respecting other religions because it is an obligation found in Islamic teachings. It shows that using national values with religious doctrine can prevent the potential for religious radicalism among students.

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

Mainstreaming Religious Terminology and Religious Narratives in Islamic Colleges

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

Fleming (2013) explains the importance of building an inclusive university. It can be done in three phases: changing the institutional structure; promoting the value of openness, and; generating inclusive knowledge. An inclusive university can be started by cultivating religious terminology and religious narratives. The first stage eliminates the exclusivity of

higher education with its various movement models. The second phase takes place by building a campus environment that allows for more inclusive sharing. In the third phase, knowledge products are developed with inclusion on campus.

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

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A spiritual yearning has been present in humans throughout the history of their existence on earth; and religion is based on very human needs, at least in terms of human emotions themselves (Azyumardi Azra in Anshor, 2020) (Azyumardi Azra in Anshor, 2020:155). Religion then becomes an article of belief and used as the basis for a worldview because religion in its exalted position is considered as God's blueprint, which is formulated to be further used as a reference to solve all life's problems (Quraish Shihab in Islam, 2020).

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

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

At the level of religious values, religion has five dimensions, including ideology (belief system), the religious practice (practice), experience (feeling), knowledge, and the dimension of religious consequences (effect) (Zarzycka & Rydz, 2014). Departing from these facts, the discussion about the inclusive university is in understanding religious texts and social praxis comprehensively. The moderate perspective in understanding religious texts should not only serve as an operational standard on paper but also permeates social praxis. Another challenge is how to establish this moderation into a life style for millennials who are currently swept away by the disruptive life patterns

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

The planting of the seeds of radicalism in education is a form of denial by radicals and radical organizations of the fact that the Indonesian nation is plural especially, concerning religious ideas. At the same time, this denial indicates a shift in national understanding, which was previously cohesive and based on noble values such as religious-inclusive values to become radical-exclusive. The world of education is no longer a medium for disseminating knowledge to create a social life order that is more open and based on mutual respect but becomes a place where radicalism is introduced, grows, and develops. The notion of religious nationalism is no longer found amid the more complex challenges of national life.

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

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

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

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

5. Conclusion

Religious teachings can ideally guide and direct each of its followers in the right direction. Every religion provides teachings about goodness as a guide for living and

interacting with others. Therefore, it is inappropriate if religious teachings are used to direct their followers to radicalism which will harm themselves and others. In this context, religious teachings significantly influence the understanding and actions of radicalism.

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

This research provides a theoretical contribution in the form of an integrated approach to religious nationalism in preventing the potential for radicalism in society or among Islamic Higher Education students in Indonesia. This approach combines nationalism with religious values. In Juergenmeyer's terminology (2019), it is 'religious nationalism'. This study has limitations particularly on the data collection so further research needs to be undertaken to confirm the results of this study to explore more factual actions of radicalism among Islamic colleges students.

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