



## AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF BASIC AND APPLIED SCIENCES

ISSN:1991-8178 EISSN: 2309-8414  
Journal home page: www.ajbasweb.com



### Early Detection Against Radicalism Potential Among College-Students Comparative Study between Islamic College (PTKI) and General College (PTU)

<sup>1</sup>Ismail M.H, <sup>2</sup>Zaky Ismail, <sup>3</sup>Ahmad Sofwani, <sup>4</sup>M. Fathoni Hakim

<sup>1</sup>Ismail M.H, Lecturer and Researcher, Department of Islamic Political Science, Ushuluddin Faculty, State Islamic University Sunan Ampel Surabaya East Java, Indonesia.

<sup>2</sup>Zaky Ismail, Lecturer and Researcher, Department of Political Science, State Islamic University Sunan Ampel Surabaya East Java, Indonesia.

<sup>3</sup>Ahmad Sofwani, Researcher in The Research and Community Service Institute, Malang Institute of Agriculture, East Java, Indonesia.

<sup>4</sup>M. Fathoni Hakim, Lecturer and Researcher, Department of International Relations, State Islamic University Sunan Ampel Surabaya East Java, Indonesia.

#### Address For Correspondence:

Ismail M.H, Ismail M.H, Lecturer and Researcher, Department of Islamic Political Science, Ushuluddin Faculty, State Islamic University Sunan Ampel Surabaya East Java, Indonesia.

#### ARTICLE INFO

##### Article history:

Received 18 June 2017

Accepted 28 July 2017

Available online 20 August 2017

##### Keywords:

Radicalism, College-Student, Comparison, Islamic College, General College

#### ABSTRACT

Research was aimed (1) to analyze the radicalism potential among college students in Surabaya. Radicalism is presumed as a heroic and revolutionary resistance. Prolonged frustration has trapped the youths into a circle of militancy and violence. This article attempts to answer two questions. First is "How is the radicalism potential among college-student?" Second was "How is the similarity and difference of radicalism potential among college-student in Islamic College (PTKI) and General College (PTU)?" This research would explore comments and opinions of informants in two universities by using five measures, such as: Islam-based typology of nation, Islam and democracy, "Nation of Islam" concept, *Syariat Islam* application, and woman leadership. This research has some results. First, radicalism potential among college-student is quite big recalling a fact that college-student is easily subjected to radical ideology. Of five measures used to weight the potential of radicalism or to conduct early detection on it, all of them have produced a strong signal of radicalism seeds. Second, referring to the field data, both Islamic College and General College are similarly and potentially subjected to radicalism. Two programs are provided by one Islamic College (UIN Sunan Ampel), and both are clearly systematic, respectively *Religion Competency Improvement Program* (Ma'had al Jamiah) and *Indonesia Islam Reasoning Program* (PPII). These programs are made to introduce Islam as a peaceful and moderate religion.

#### INTRODUCTION

More than seventeen years have passed since the beginning of twenty-first century, and many fundamental changes are fastly influencing transformation in political configuration and global economic.

But, globalization is a reactive consequence of modernity or westernization. In other place, Indonesia, the Moslems perceive it differently. Within social and political contexts, responses were polarized. One pole is represented by a radical political response.

Radicalism is then considered as a heroic and revolutionary resistance. Radicalists' rhetoric of revolution has successfully convinced people into a certainty of *jihad* as strategy of struggling. In a prolonged frustration, the youths are easily trapped into a circle of militancy and violence. Radical ideology has grown everywhere, including such as in the secret cells at school and college, inside luxurious books and magazines, and even with internet virtual connection.

#### Open Access Journal

Published BY AENSI Publication

© 2017 AENSI Publisher All rights reserved

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution International License (CC BY).

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



**To Cite This Article:** Ismail M.H, Zaky Ismail, Ahmad Sofwani, M. Fathoni Hakim., Early Detection Against Radicalism Potential Among College-Students Comparative Study between Islamic College (PTKI) and General College (PTU). *Aust. J. Basic & Appl. Sci.*, 11(11): 60-70, 2017

Islam radicalism in Indonesia has a long history. Radicalism has entered many schools and colleges because both are the center of intellectualism development and also the training crater for the youths. College or campus has been known as a place for producing human with critical, open and intellectual views, but still they are not fortified from the effect of radicalism ideology. Radicalism indeed infiltrates many campuses to convince college-student. As reviewed by Anas Saidi, the observer of LIPI, since reformation, conservative understanding or religion fundamentalism have been increasing in many general colleges.

Anas said that general universities were quite vulnerable. Next research, therefore, must investigate the vulnerability of Islamic colleges. Islamic campuses have various faculties and, thus, given a room for teaching many religious models. These models would then color political processes, either at local, national, or global levels. Therefore, it is important for mapping political posture and movement of college-student, either in campuses under the Ministry of Religion (PTKI), or in general campuses under the Ministry of Research and Technology – Higher Education (PTU).

Taking account the background above, this article tries to answer the following questions: (1) How is the radicalism potential among college-student? (2) How is the similarity and difference of radicalism potential among college-student in Islamic College (PTKI) and General College (PTU)?

Determining radicalism in this case involves a theoretical source called *Zada*. It introduces typologies about religion politic movement (especially Islam) and tries to determine whether a movement can be called as radical or not. *Zada* proposes some typologies: (1) Islam-based typology of nation; (2) Islam and democracy; (3) “Nation of Islam” concept; (4) *Syariat Islam* application; and (5) Woman Leadership.

### **Radicalism Potential among College-Student:**

Radicalism was still potent to posses community elements. One element, respectively the youths, is quite vulnerable to the effect of radicalism. As noted by experts, the most potential recruitment is easily persuaded by radicalism ideology. The age of students in high school and college is quite limp to the radical exposure. Most radicalism experts consider social-psychological factor as a trigger why students (youths) engage into radicalism phenomena, such as psychological crisis, social identification, status pursuance, or revenge to the enemy(Masdar Hilmy, 2016).

Such radical phenomena have been rampant among the youths, especially those related with religion-based social movement. Many of them involve the acts of terror, like suicide bombing and others. Ironically, these actors are coming from religion-based college or general college with the leading reputation and magnificent *track record*.

Some reviews have shown that some factors stood behind radicalism among Indonesian youths. These are: psychology; political condition and situation within Indonesia and international context (Ahmad Asrori, 2015) ; interpretation of religion texts; and figure personification. Higher education is a very determining attribute for feasible aspiration and future of the youths.

College is like a container for students to polish their talent, skill, knowledge, leadership, and intellect. College-student then looks for a certain direction to attain their future. Therefore, they need effect, direction, guidance, and other kinds of supports to facilitate them in achieving principles and identities.

College-student was quite easily affected by progressive and resistance ideas. They were quite willing to show off their existence through their thirst of rebellion. They call themself as “*agent of change*”, representing a generation with a responsibility to change the future. Some radical groups take benefit from this less established mentality of college-student to convince them with spirit and value of radicalism. College-student that represents the youth is an important concept in social science but it is also problematic. “Youth” is an “always-changing concept” reflecting social, political, and moral values of the age. It bursts a controversy about the involvement of youths with terrorism and radicalism. Experts, thus, have to examine the background of radicalism and terrorism, and also the relationship of both with the characteristic of youths.

Smuggling radicalism into college-student is very strategic because college-student has always widely connection and friendships, or has more than enough independency to proliferate radical ideas.

In the context of college, the Report made by the Division of Research and Development, Department of Religion, in 2012, has shown that four general colleges, respectively Universitas Indonesia Jakarta, Universitas Gajah Mada Yogyakarta, Universitas Airlangga Surabaya and Universitas Hasanuddin Makassar (Zuly Qodir, 2014), has indicated the increasing religion-based activities. Ironically, these campuses are also a potential place for exclusive and radical religion activities. Radicalism is not merely shown up at general colleges, but also Islamic colleges.

It was assumed that general colleges are more potential to be the nest of radicalism. Indeed, radicalism potential among college-students has been a signal of stronger religion activity in various campuses, especially campus mosques. In one hand, religion activity in many campuses, organized by the activists of *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus* or *Rohani Islam* (Rohis), was very positive and deserving for support. In other hand, religion activity tends to go toward religion exclusivity and radicalism.

As a consequence of this stronger radicalism, many college-students profess monolithic understanding of Islam and easily blames other with different perspective. Due to such exclusivity, their nationalism decays and dilutes. If we think about the future of the nation, youths must be our prospective leader in various levels but they have been infiltrated by radicalism, and it is a huge concern for us.

### **Radicalism of College-Students in UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and UNAIR Surabaya:**

This section begins by presenting the result of data collection with interview. Fourteen informants are involved. Seven of them are college-student of UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and other seven are college-student of Universitas Airlangga Surabaya. Data are then analyzed based on procedures previously explained. The following is the sequence of explanations given by Khamami Zada as shown in Chapter I.

### **Result and Analysis:**

Fourteen informants are subjected to interview. It involves seven college-students of UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and seven college-students of Universitas Airlangga Surabaya. Data are analyzed with previously made procedures. Khamami Zada has proposed the sequence of explanation as following.

### **Islam-based Typology of Nation:**

Debates and discourses about religion and nation are one of indicators of radicalism among college-students. Fundamentalism implies on radicalism, or at least produces certain views or understandings with radical potential. Their posture on "Nation of Islam" has delivered a consequence, precisely a method to achieve this aspiration.

In general, a religion is an important agency or an institution to regulate the mentality of human. Religion is presumed as an exit way from human problems. By this reflection, religion is considered as something integrated and perfect, which may become the issue, including the politic of the nation. Facing the debate about the form of nation, the constitution of nation, and others, then fundamentalists see religion as the only solution.

Some literatures explain the grouping of *ism*. According to Abdullah Saeed, some categories of this group are stated in *The Political Islamist*, but all of them have a similarity, precisely using Islamic politic with final goal of establishing *nation of Islam*. (Abdullah Saeed, 2006) Azumardy Azra calls such group as fundamentalist (*ushuliyun*). William E. Shepard strictly describes this group as Islam radicalist. (William E. Shepard 1988) Various names have been given, but the intention was similar.

By using tool of methodology previously mentioned, college-student who is selected as informant has different view about Islam as religion. As said by IR (using initial due to the request), a college-student of UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, and also the activist of college-student organization: "*In my opinion, Islam has syariat and many complex laws. One of them is the law of nation. Islam prohibited Moslem from selecting kaffir as a leader. Law of nation must be in compliance with God and Prophet*". Also said by IR is that:

"Nation of Islam is an expectation of all Moslems. For returning the political system into the right track, what complies with *syariat Islam* is then considered as correctly conforming to God's will. Islam and nation, therefore, are inseparable. Islam explains a lot about it". (Result of interview).

As stated by this informant, religion, or Islam in this case, cannot be separated from human. Religion contains with noble values, among other is the submission to God. Religion and politic are two fundamental aspects of human life. Problem in the relationship of both becomes a topic of muse among scientists, philosophers, and theologians throughout history. Basically, religion and politic play important role in the human life. Politic always affects religion, and religion affects politic.

Referring to the opinions of Islam politic experts, the relationship of religion and politic constitutes a major paradigm. College-student with radical tendency can be acknowledged with *integralistic paradigm*, where they believe that religion and nation are integrated. They also believe in the presence of the nation of Islam, and also the existence of provisions for such nation. They say that religion has regulated the issue of nation establishment, and also used *syariat* as a positive law. As said by SAN,

"*Nation of Islam is a nation with Islam as a governing system. All aspects of life will use Islam tenets, and it cover many aspects including economic, banking, and socio-culture. All of them use Syariat Islam*".

According to this paradigm, the leader of nation is the holder of religion and political powers. The government is organized based on *divine sovereignty* because the believer of this paradigm assumes that sovereignty remains always on the hand of God because it comes from God. The issue would be "who is the leader of nation" (or the principal of the State) because the believer perceives that the leader of nation is surely Moslem (with Islam as religion).

In relation with integralistic paradigm, *Ahmad Vaezi* has mentioned that a certain law system would need certain government to adopt it, and also a band of government officers to implement and enforce the sanctions. Islam law as a system would need a nation to enforce its existence, and therefore, Islam government is needed.

It is perceived that Islam must also be integrated with a nation if the nation looks for a better government. If Islam is used as a governing base that would then regulate the nation, it is a certain then that Islam is a source of

national value. Islam was then regulating all aspects of human life. This belief has become a postulation and also conviction among the youths. IR admits this trend by saying that,

*“In my opinion, Islam has syariat and many complex laws. One of them is the law of nation. Islam prohibited Moslem from selecting kaffir as a leader. Law of nation must be in compliance with God and Prophet”.*

According to DEL, a college-student from Universitas Airlangga, when being asked about Islamic concept of a nation, it is said,

*“Islam only knows a fact that a nation must be regulated by Syariat Islam. So called Negara Khilafah is a part of enthusiasm to prove the existence of Islamic concept of a nation.”*

In this case, ideally, Islam must regulate a nation (by politic) or be used as the base of the nation. It is presumed that by Islam, a certain nation can be made settle in order. It benefits the nation after all. Indeed, Islam shall be used as the base of nation to facilitate the governing of nation. As said by LM (initial of informant), *“For me, Nation of Islam is one professing Islam teachings because Islam is a reliable system to regulate the life of nation”*. When Islam has been used already as the base or regulation of the nation, it was then Islam becoming a source of value. By this status, Islam was regulating all aspects of human life, including the life of the nation.

All informants who notify about integration of Islam and nation giving an emphasis on the principle of integralistic. None of the informants show a soft standing, even just saying that Islam is a religion of substance. It seemed that second paradigm is agreed, which is called *symbiotic paradigm*. This paradigm underscores a reciprocal relationship (interdependency) between religion and nation. Nation is needed by religion to develop its existence, while nation needs religion for guidances of ethic, morality and spirituality.

Islamization process was initiated by the youths of college-student. Their participation into a college organization has accidentally internalized the values enforcing Syariat Islam and Khilafah promoted by Hizbut Tahrir and Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI).

Moreover, radicalism emerges because this college-student does Islamization in a closed-way and refrains themselves from accepting other Islam perspective, especially that with different faith. Such odd understanding may have a risk of producing national disintegration because they consider Pancasila ideology as less compliance with their view. Therefore, Anas Saidi said that Islamization among college-student youths must be made openly, at least to anticipate different views and to develop a resolution for violence.

### **Islam and Democracy:**

In the Islamic political discourse, a democracy is always on debate. The colonialism has possibly triggered this exhaustive debate. Questions arise among Moslems, such as: Whether Islam is conforming to democracy, or aligning with democracy? or Whether democracy contravenes Islam? All these questions receive different reaction from Moslem scholars possibly due to their different theological arguments and paradigms. Some models are then proposed.

Accomodative model strictly determines that no separation shall be made for Islam and democracy. Democracy concept is very inherent or integral part of Islam, and even, Islam is theologically and sociologically supportive to the democratic process in political, economical, and cultural ways. Second model, which is symbiotic or critical-reciprocal, has mentioned that Islam and democracy has a dialogical relationship. It means that “both have an understanding to each other”. Third model is antagonistic which explicitly asserting that Islam and democracy are contradictive. The antagonist followers presume that democracy is a system of infidel (*kuffur*) and anomaly (*bid'ah*) which attempt to destroy Islam.

From these three models, it is suggested that the seeds of radicalism are dominantly shown up from third model. Monolithical and closed political views always reject any systems from the West, and it produces what so called “nihilism”. Any ideas conflicting with Islam values must be faced in hostility. Antagonistic model considers Islam as the only right path, and the wrong path should be removed away even by *jihad*. As noted by DEL (initial),

*“Jihad is to sacrifice things in whatsoever means to maintain Islam values. It means sincerely expending anythings on the behalf of Syariat Islam. Even if this jihad fails, the doer is still the best follower of Islam.”*

However, the global political context in recent days has shown a fact that democracy is a system inspiring almost all political entities. Almost no regime in the world is refusing democracy, either implicitly or explicitly, in its political system, including Indonesia. Literally, democracy is government from people, by people, and for people. The governing system is also from people, by people, and for people. Democracy is a form of government where citizens' right to directly make a political decision would be actualized through governmental procedures, among other is general election, or popularly known as direct democracy.

Indonesian democracy is shown by the presence of many political parties. It reflects a condition that citizens' right has been acknowledged, and they are given a freedom to show up their aspiration. Several idioms of democracy are then emerging, such as *egalite*, *equality*, *liberty*, *human right* and others. It is within the

context of democracy that Islam politic was struggling for its existence in Indonesia. The debate concerns with whether democrac is compatible with Islam, or whether democracy has a place in the normative view of Islam. In this debate, democracy is an easy target of critics from radicalist and fundamentalist groups. They perceive that democracy is a Western system that may be unacceptable. Anything coming from the West would be considered as forbidden and inappropriate. The discussion about national system always directs toward a normative understanding that Islam emphasizes on enforcing *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* for individuals, community members, and national leaders. Such doctrine represents Islam principle that can be enforced in any places and any times to produce secured and prosperous people.(Zainuddin, 2011).

Related to the view of democracy above, IR expresses that:

*"I said that our democracy is not compatible to Islam. Indeed, Islam teaches us about the principle of deliberation. But, our democracy is Western-based, which sometimes allows things forbidden by Islam, including selling alcohol beverages. Somehow, Indonesia keeps selling such beverages to respect the interest of others, and even makes them into legal products".*

Similar statement is suggested by Anifah, the student of Universitas Airlangga Surabaya, who says that

*"Democracy gives power to the hand of citizens, while Islam asserts that absolute power is only on the hand of God, and no entities can seize power before Him. Therefore, democracy is not compliance with God's way. Democracy provides citizens with a freedom to choose and a freedom to determine the destiny. Islam underlines a fact that everything only obeys God's will, and no absolute freedom remains."*

Both informants above declare that democracy and Islam are not coalescent (*not integrated*). If understood from its empirical base, according to Aswab Mahasin, religion and democracy are truly different. Religion comes from divine revelation, while democracy is a collection of human reasonings. Indeed, religion has its own dialect.

The participation of community in the democracy, with community as the main pillar of democracy, has been put under spotlight. Democracy system is not suggested for Indonesia because it would involve the participation of citizens in the policy-making of government. Mostly citizens do not understand the governing issues, and are easily subjected to the manipulation of political interests, which only disturbs the stability of government.

Moreover, it is assumed that democracy also justifies radicalism. By the presence of democracy, it is legal for any different groups to have different standing on Pancasila, or to generate idea of different national base, or even to stay at will in Indonesia. Indeed, democracy gives such freedom. Democracy also provides assurance for everyone, including the followers of anti-democracy, to voice their existence. They benefit from democracy in professing their conviction without strict restraint or control from the nation. As consequence, democracy becomes a shield protecting radicalist groups.

Masdar Hilmy quotes Roger W. Stump who said that on the behalf of democracy and human right, citizens in several countries have considered their religion as the only right path, thus also bringing along with it absolutism, radicalism, and totalitarian. It must be seriously attended, especially in a quite dilemmatic situation where certain nation does not have a capacity to prohibit or freeze any extreme idealisms of their citizens. Anti-democracy movement, including Anti-Pancasila, has wandered around public space. The interviewed informants have shown that idea of "*khilafah*" has captured the reasoning of college-student and then convinced them to support *khilafah* idea. However, the idea perforce subjects Pancasila and democracy to nihilism.

### **"Nation of Islam" Concept:**

In the realm of Islam science, a concept of nation always has a special place. Since the beginning of political science, nation is a very important or central topic for review. Different views on Nation of Islam deliver various opinions. Azumardi Azra states, however, that the existing models of "Nation of Islam" are still not used as the prototype of Islam nation. The absence of clear and concrete reference models may be confusing, and therefore, there is lacking of consensus on "Nation of Islam".

Azumardi declares some factors causing this confusion (Azyumardi Azra, 2000). First, the ideal state of Madinah, under the leadership of Prophet and his four *khalifah*, is not offering a detail about whether this state can be applied to modern or contemporary age. Second, next *khalifah*, including Umayyah and Abbasiyah, only provides a systemic frame for political agencies, taxes, and others but not for the governing of the state. Third, Nation of Islam is a failure, and it should be removed from any idealism (including Islam law or Islam political theory) because it only represents a community that is theoretically idealized with utopian. Fourth, the relationship between religion and nation has been subjected for centuries to various interpretations. According to Azumardi, there is a diversity of thoughts and opinions among Islam political scholars about relationship between religion (*din*) andnation (*daulah*) in the modern age. The effect of Western on Moslems is magnificently great.

Nurcholis Madjid (Cak Nur) has stated that the term or phrase "Nation of Islam" is not historically known.(Suryanegara A.M, 1995). He declares that three days after the burial of Prophet Mohammed, his replacement is not yet prepared. Succession pattern remains unclear, and therefore, the governing of nation is

not the integral part of Islam. For Cak Nur, the values of nation and government are only instrumental to Islam, and not the end-goal. Abdurrahman Wahid stood behind Nurcholish Madjid by saying that in Islam, the nation is only a law (*Al-hukum*), and thus, never has a distinctive form of a nation.

More critical statement is given by M. Dawam Rahardjo. For Dawam, "Nation of Islam" concept is an ideal construct but containing the nature of totalitarian and elitist. Dawam rejects Nation of Islam theory and *khilafah* system suggested by Abul A'la al-Maududi. Quite extreme position is lifted by Ali Abdul Raziq (w.1966 M/1387 H). His book, titled "*Al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm*" (Islam and Bases of Nation), has stated that Islam is separated from nation. Rasulullah never gives legitimacy to Nation of Islam, and therefore, Nation of Islam is never emerging in the history.

In contrast with Ali Abdul Raziq, the other leading Moslem scholar, Abdul A'la Al-Maududi (1903-1974 M), asserted that the movement to generate Islam Law or to establish Nation of Islam is a part of renaissance and rehabilitation of Islam. As said by Maududi, it must be not only a matter of speech, but also need a political strength to achieve it. Therefore, Moslems feel required to enforce Nation of Islam, a nation where Islam ideology is applied in comprehensive manner.

The opinion above is considered as the signal of the emergence of radicalism. On the decade 1980s, some international radicalist organizations take inspiration from Al-Maududi, and they grow well in Indonesia. Hizbut Tahrir was founded at Al Quds Yerusalem in 1953, entering Indonesia around 1982-1983, and spreading its *khilafah* idea into many colleges through networks of *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus*. Until today, such strategy was still used. In the case of UIN Sunan Ampel, the radicalist group expands its network through closed and personal relationship. Some informants are identified as the activists of this group, and hardly contacted in the beginning. In many occasions, information is obtained from bulletin "Al Islam" that promotes propaganda of Anti-Western, anti-democracy, and orientation toward *khilafah*. In the context of *khilafah*, some ideas related with Nation of Islam would meet to each other. As stated by SAN, a college-student in Universitas Airlangga,

*"Islam regulates the living of citizens in a certain nation. The nation, in Islam, must be led by a khalifah within khilafah system. The goal of all community lines is focusing upon submission before syariat of Allah"*.

Similar statement is proposed by IL, a student from Faculty of Ushuluddin, UIN Sunan Ampel, who is also the activist of HTI. When being asked about Islamic concept of nation, it is explained that,

*"Within Islam, a nation must be regulated by Syariat Islam. Therefore, Negara Khilafah is a part of enthusiasm to prove that Islamic concept of a nation truly exists."*

Any nation-state models were hardly replacing Syariat Islam. As we understood, nation-state concept was popular in 20th century. The dynamic of century causes Moslem scholars to look for the best synthesis to reformulate "Nation of Islam" concept, the relationship between religion and nation, and the position of religion in the nation. Theoretically, several efforts have been taken to formulate a formal concept about Nation of Islam. At least, there would be minimum agreement that Nation of Islam exists when a nation applies Islam Law. In other words, the application of Islam Law is a formal precondition for the settlement of Nation of Islam.

What has been reported by informants is not different a lot with what was said by Rasyid Ridha, a leading Moslem scholar who formulates the modern concept of "Nation of Islam". He said that the premise of "Nation of Islam" concept is that *syari'ah* is the most ultimate source of law. In his view, *syari'ah* would need a power to achieve the goal, and it is impossible to apply Islam Law without the existence of "Nation of Islam".

However, "Nation of Islam" concept does not synchronize with the concept of Indonesia Republic. The law that is applied to Indonesia does not take into account Islam Law or Syariat Islam as the important base. Indonesia comprises of various tribes, customs, cultures, and religions with their own guidance in determining which laws to prevail although the values of Pancasila as the ideology of the nation is still used for the intactness of the Unitary State of Indonesia Republic (NKRI).

Some informants are college-students who ever affiliate with HTI. It remains clear that HTI has an aspiration to establish "Nation of Islam". They insist on creating "Nation of Islam" and its *khilafah* system with three strategic steps. These steps are: utilizing any political chances, mobilizing the structure, and preparing the movement. As said by IL,

*"Negara Khilafah is only submissive to one rule, which is Syariat Islam. As a result, the constitution of such nation would be Syariat Islam because it is also representing the spirit of jihad"*.

Quite similar position is expressed by AZR, a student from Unair who affiliates with HTI,

*"Syariat Islam was understood by asking question, "Do you want to go to heaven?" The answer must be yes. But, the partial application of Syariat Islam is not enough, and thus, its treatment should be in kaffah (as a whole) because the nation would assure the enforcement of Syariat Islam. In the other hand, one of prophetic mission is precisely to enforce Syariat Islam within a nation to ensure that Islam would be applied in correct and perfect ways. A nation or a power is perceived as imperfect if without Islam because it is considered as beyond khilafah fortress"*.

By applying Islam Law, a governing system would be Islamic system that keeps Islam as a national ideology. Although "Nation of Islam" is presumed as a good aspiration, the contemporary context has forced radicalists to utilize non-violent method. The reason is that violence in whatsoever ways is forbidden in Islam.

“Nation of Islam” must reflect the interest of citizens, not prevails by perforce. However, such view has been overwhelmed by greater intention toward violence. For instance, IR has said that

*“Jihad with violent act is not Islam. But, in the history of Islam, Moslems engage into wars. Prophet Mohammed himself involve into several wars such as Khandaq War, Uhud War, and others. These wars are not violence. But now, our jihad is aimed to make Islam becoming a national base (constitution) because our condition today is absolutely different from the age of Prophet Mohammed and his friends”.*

### **Syariat Islam Application:**

Taufik Adnan Amal and Samsu Rizal Panggabean have reported that *Syariat Islam* application in Indonesia was a long phase. There are two models of organization that enforce *Syariat Islam* in Indonesia. First group is the branch of international organization, while the second is Islamic small organization at national scale. Taufik and Rizal submit HTI and Ikhwan Al Muslimin into the first group, while Forum Komunikasi Ahlu Sunnah wal Jama'ah (FKAWJ) and its *Laskar Jihad*, also FPI and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) are assigned into second group. According to Zuly Qodir, some groups have been identified as *non-mainstream* Islamic movement.

College-student who affiliates with non-mainstream groups is greatly vulnerable to radicalism. There are three categories of non-mainstream groups, respectively *jihadist*, *reformist* and *rejectionist*. Jihadist is a political action with violence but disguised within a name of *jihad*. Reformist is a political action involving a pressure against government, but refraining from using violence considered as disturbing national stability and demanding sectarian rights. Rejectionist is a political action involving refutation against western democracy system and giving pressures to certain policies.

The application of *Syariat Islam* is basically inherent part of “Nation of Islam” model. When being asked about *Syariat Islam* application in constitutional way, it is said that

*“Syariat Islam application is a must because we live on the earth of God. We must obey the rule of God. What we do must comply with God’s regulation”.*

Quite similar answer to the same question is given by SAN. It is inferred that,

*“Syariat Islam should be applied. Moslems are majority of Indonesian, or even the most. Better nation system is only obtained when God’s law is used as the guidance of the nation. In economical, political, social and cultural sectors, God provides assurance for His creatures to maintain and implement His law”.*

Some informants suddenly add that this process is not easy. As mentioned by FIQ, the student at Faculty of Ushuluddin, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, when being asked with question of *Syariat Islam* application to Indonesia, it is said that:

*“It is not easy to apply Syariat Islam in comprehensive manner to Indonesia. “Dakwah” was a proper method to apply Syariat Islam as done by Prophet Mohammed during his age in Madinah. This method helps to achieve goal to create a Nation with rahmatan lil alamin”.*

As said by AY, girl student of FISIP Unair, when being asked also about *Syariat Islam* application to Indonesia, it is said,

*“Whether Syariat Islam is proper or not to become a constitution would be the issue of the ruler. I prefer to see the substance. If Islam Law can produce goodness, it should be better to apply. But, once again, it is not easy”.*

The investigation of legal issues on the relationship of citizens can be explored by several discourses and academic session. Base postulation said that human creates law to regulate themselves, and to produce orderlines, harmony, and comfort in the community. According to Soerjono Soekanto, law has minimally three important roles. *First*, law is useful as a social control structure. *Second*, law is a structure to facilitate social interaction process. *Third*, it is a structure to create certain condition. (Riduan Syarani, 2004) Because most population of Indonesian community are people with religion, it is true that religion norms professed by Indonesian would not be abandoned. The relationship between religion and law cannot be broken.

This condition remains under full acknowledgement of college-student who affiliates with Islam groups, such as HTI and KAMMI. They realize that being as majority, Moslem can develop a standing to choose for *Syariat Islam* application. Moslem’s struggle in the Indonesian history almost gains a successful mark on Piagam Jakarta, but it is then removed due to the contradiction from nationalist group and non-Moslem group in eastern part of Indonesia. It is confirmed by IR

*“My expectation is that Indonesia would use Syariat Islam as a constitution. At least, it ensures that all citizens can stay away from infidelity. If we want to learn deeper, the history of Indonesia was originated from Islam-based constitution. Over times, this constitution changes, from earlier based on God (Allah)(the requirement to apply Syariat Islam for the followers), into such verse called as “the Divinity of One Supreme God” (First Principle of Pancasila).”*

As previously explained, historically, *Syariat Islam* in Indonesia has a very long history. Since Indonesia gets its independency, the issue of *Syariat Islam* application to Indonesia was already obvious. Some groups, including Moslem, nationalist, Christianity, and socialist, were subjected to the debate. Moslem expects Islam to

be the principle of nation by giving some reasons, such as: the great quantity of Moslem, the demand for Moslem to implement Islam in *kaffah* (as a whole), and others.

### **Woman Leadership:**

Talking about the role of man and woman in politic is speaking about gender equality. The definition of gender is related to a behavior and an expectation that is socially learned to distinguish masculinity from femininity (Jackson, et.al, 1999). In general, the difference of gender is made based on assumption that woman is weaker than man. Man and woman are subjected to dichotomy of public and domestic roles, where man plays role in public space, while woman has significant role in domestic issue.

Dichotomy of public space and domestic space is triggered by an assumption that these two different spaces are existed. Public space contains with activities out of the house to cover communal and governing issues. These activities include meeting the subsistence, pursuing the knowledge at educational agency, being leader, or engaging into the issue of service delivery at communal or governing institutions. Domestic space is related with home-based activities or those given for the family, such as cooking, washing the cloths, cleaning the houses, serving the demand of family members, and others (Mary Astuti, 2000). In other words, home and family are the demarcation line to differentiate public space from domestic space. Therefore, the activity inside home and family was called as domestic space, while that outside home was denoted as public space.

In the context of Islam political thoughts, there are quite intensive discourses. Different interpretations are given to authoritative sources like Al Qur'an and Sunnah. There are groups allowing woman to be a leader, but some others are rejecting. The proponent of woman leadership emphasizes on Islam universality, by reasoning that there is no strict provision for woman leadership. Textualist opponent is grounding its standing on Al Qur'an, Epistle An-Nisa Verse 34. Scripturalist groups understand texts very literally, and believe that Holy Book is God revelation without error. Their understanding was very urgent in the nature. By such belief or understanding, there was a fundamental idea that a certain religion is strongly literal, round, without compromise, soft, possibility of re-interpretation, and involving reduction.

Other groups show the attitude of opposition which involves threats that danger the existence of God. In this context of interpretation, the groups reject critical attitude on texts (*nash*). Therefore, if investigating the concept of Islam leadership, there is no place for woman to become a leader in public space. These groups do defending normative action with the postulation of interpretation.

IR, when being confirmed about this issue, strictly admits that,

*"It is clear in Islam that man is a leader and woman is to be led. Al Qur'an has said "arrijalu qawwamuna alannisa", and this statement is straightforward. It also concerns with leading the nation. Woman is not recommended to be a leader because, as suggested by Prophet Mohammed, they are weaker than man in terms of psychology and religiosity. It is good suggestion although some scholars indicate different perspectives"*.

Same idea is revealed by NHP,

*"National leader must meet requirements, including professing Islam, understanding God's orders and teachings, comprehending God's Law, showing sense of justice, doing Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Mungkar, and being capable to satisfy God's mandates. Only man can meet all these preconditions, and as confirmed by Islam, the essence of man is to be a leader because woman is weaker than man in religion and reasoning"*.

As shown by ANS, when being asked about woman leadership and the preconditions of leadership, it is said that,

*"Islam perceives man as a leader. The first creation of human is a man. All prophets are man. Therefore, gender that should lead the nation is man. Woman is considered as less appropriate to become the leader of a great country because they have their own obligation in the family to serve husband and to care children. It would be impossible to share these obligations with the duty of leading all citizens of the nation."*

Almost all informants assert that man should be a leader. President as the holder of ultimate power of the nation, thus, must be a man. Other informants are more diplomatic. As indicated by many discourses, the role of man in public space has caused man to have heavier and harder works than woman. Therefore, woman is always subjected to underestimation in the matter of politic and leadership, especially in leading a nation.

All five measuring devices, as previously explained, or those used to estimate and to conduct early detection of radicalism potentials, have shown quite strong signal that radicalism seeds are growing among college-student in the leading campuses, respectively UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and Universitas Airlangga Surabaya. On these campuses, there is always a agenda of cadre-making with ideology. Some ideologies are involved, such as left-review, moderate, and radical-right. The rampant of radical ideology is a strong signal that radicalism has achieved a critical point. The problem becomes worse when there is an action to resist and to overthrow national ideology, and/or to destroy the elements of the Unitary State of Indonesia Republic (NKRI). All stakeholders' attention should be given to this matter.

The penetration of radical ideologies to campus environment would be handled by the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education. Great concern was quite apparent where all stakeholders feel worrying about it. College-student with labile mentality would be who becomes easily



subjected to offering, concession, persuasion, and agitation. Radicalism agents find so much easiness to develop cadres and recruits. Operation mode of radicalism is very organized. Without reducing the meaning of this research, the author in this context only concerns with early detection of radicalism symptoms and these symptoms are identified with some measuring gauges.

### ***The Comparison of Radicalism Potential Among Students in UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and Unair:***

A comparison study requires the author to compare in simple way any similarities and differences among college-students who have radicalism potential or who join with external organization that entering the campus with radicalism seeds.

Base postulation that underlining this comparison is the assumption or hypothesis in previous research, which considering a fact that radicalism potential in the general college is bigger than that in Islamic college. Anas Saidi, Zuly Qodir, Research and Development Team for the Ministry of Religion, and also Saifuddin have supported this finding in their report (Zuly Qodir, 2011).

Referring to data on the field, radicalism potential of general campus and religion campus is quite similar. During transformation from IAIN to UIN, the challenge of UIN Sunan Ampel was also bigger.

Within the context of Pendidikan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam (PTKI) in Indonesia, the transformation of IAIN Sunan Ampel into UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya is a definitely certainty. Some efforts are taken to deal with the challenge in Islam higher education or the effect of globalization. During globalization era, some understandings and streams are wandering around, including religion understanding with radicalism seeds. Ironically, by reason of democracy and human right, this radicalism is hardly restrained.

Another issue faced by UIN Sunan Ampel is that organizational transformation from IAIN to UIN has given a bigger room for various inputs of students. The alumni of general schools, including senior high school and vocational high school to go toward UIN, is widely open when new faculties are launched to offer general study program. The difficulty to control the diversity of background on religion and ideology, and the variance of organizations attended by college-student, are indeed a crucial obstacle. In the campus itself, small review groups are quite hard to control, except in official programs of the university.

In Universitas Airlangga (UNAIR), there is a similar phenomenon as also found in general campuses in Indonesia. It is a phenomenon of mindset conversion, or the development of religion movement in the campus. This movement goes up with the assistance of Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK). Even, some activists come from outside the campus. As previously explained, UNAIR never gave official permit for such organization (including HTI). But, it must be noted that LDK is not only dominated by HTI, but also students from Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI), which, as observed by the author, has a great stake to contribute radicalism seeds.

In UIN Sunan Ampel, standardization programs are found. This is an integrative effort to make into standard the competency of college-student in their religion understanding. Two programs are aimed for such standardization. First is *Religion Competency Improvement Program* (usually called as Ma'had), and this program is exclusively given to the first-year student. This program has offered the reviews on Al-Qur'an and Hadist. Some verses or hadists related on fiqh, ibadah and akhlaq are subjected to deep review. Different interpretation is allowed and it is expected that by this allowance, college-student will not understand some issues with "horse glasses". Any truth claims that triggering nihilism must be wiped off, and it is done by providing various perspectives that are important to minimize scripturalism posture. By these reviews, some books are considered, such as the standard book written by the team of Ma'had Al Jami'ah Center in UIN Sunan Ampel.

Second standardization program is *Indonesia Islam Reasoning Program* (PPII). It is designed as the consequence of organizational transformation from IAIN to UIN. Indeed, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya attempts to maintain competency standard of the students at general faculties and those at religion faculties. This program was done without forcing itself to lose its identity as the provider of Islam education. However, persistent reduction must be taken for radicalism. Globalization has attached many global elements and also various interests into a common umbrella. However, organizational transformation from UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya was designed to maintain the identity of organization because this identity was considered as a medium to conserve values and cultures that shape Islam and community of Indonesian Moslems. This is where PPII remains important to campaign the peaceful tolerant Islam in Indonesia.

Organizational transformation has significant value to integrate general science and Islam, and also to remove the dichotomy between both in the academic world. College-student, from any backgrounds, either pesantren, madrasah or general schools, would be the ambassador of moderate Islam. It is ijthad done by campus to achieve the goal. It is a *smart movement* to retain radicalization.

Two programs above are needed to develop a more pleasant theological reasoning in the campus, especially at general faculties with few religion materials. Other reason why these programs are important is that radicalism is often driven by groups less controlled by governmental policy. Such immunity may trigger radicalism, or at least cause a different perception about certain policy between groups. College-student's

curiosity is quite exaggerating without a balance from parental attention. Radicalism overflows their simple reasoning because at this age, they try “to resist” all orders to satisfy their needs. Unstable emotional quotient, less attention from the family, and less Islamic environment, only facilitate this interference.

Different finding is observed by the author in Unair. This campus has “given a room” for religion lecture, but academic society in this campus is also responsive on preventing radicalism. For instance, Unair has allowed campus mosque to spread out moderate idealism and been accommodative to the interest of introducing Islam in the campus or community amidst the change in political, economical, cultural and social aspects. This is a beneficial action although UNAIR campus mosque has been used by many activist of HTI and KAMMI.

For meeting the needs for Islam Education teachers, UNAIR recruits religion teachers who still strongly profess moderate Islam. Among them includes activists of moderate Islam organization, like NU and Muhammadiyah.

Based on this imagination, if the campus does not filter radical ideology or religion material, thus, new seedlings of radicalist may born, and campus would become the nest of radicalism. Therefore, *pesantren mahasiswa* (Ma’had al-Jami’ah) is one alternative for retaining radicalism. Teachers and campus society should be the role-model for fertilizing tolerant and moderate theology.

However, restructuring the college organization is not given priority, or if any, this arrangement lacks of future orientation. College organization should be free from radical understanding, and moderate ideology must be internalized because moderate group is one of stakeholders in campus community. UIN Sunan Ampel does not yet have a synergy between campus leadership and college-student organization.

The initiation to retain radicalism cannot be partial. It should involve all academic societies to put radicalism as collective enemy. It is expected that by such way, radicalism can be removed from any campus. Moreover, the author asserts that mitigation of radicalism cannot be done in repressive way because it only leads to a new problem. The approach must be structural, either in economical, cultural, and political sectors. De-radicalization can be done in two ways, precisely through humanist approach and structural recovery approach, which encompass socio-economical inclusion program among Moslems. De-radicalization involves all community elements, especially moderate religion organization.

### Conclusion:

Based on the overview and description above, some conclusions are made:

1. Radicalism potential among college-students is quite big enough because the submission of college-student to radical ideology is still high. Five measures are used to produce early detection against radicalism potential, and all of them show a strong signal that radicalism seeds truly exist in college-student of two leading campuses, precisely UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and Universitas Airlangga Surabaya. In these two campuses, there are many agendas of cadre-making based on ideology.

2. If referred to the field data, both Islamic College and General College are similar in their potentially subjection to radicalism. The difference is that Islamic college (represented by UIN Sunan Ampel) has more systematic programs to introduce Islam as peaceful and moderate religion. These programs are *Religion Competency Improvement Program* (Ma’had al Jamiah) and *Indonesia Islam Reasoning Program*(PPII).

### REFERENCES

- Abdullah Saeed, 2006. *Islamic Thought: An Introduction* London and New York : Routledge.
- Amal, Taufik Adnan dan Samsu Rizal Panggabean, 2004. *Politik Syariat Islam dari Indonesia hingga Nigeria*. Jakarta: Pustaka Alvabet.
- Amstrong, Karen, 2001. *Berperang Demi Tuhan*, Terj. Satrio Wahono dkk. Jakarta-Bandung Kerjasama Serambi dan Mizan.
- Arif, Abd. Salam, 2004. “Politik Islam antara Aqidah dan Kekuasaan Negara” dalam A. Maftuh Abegebriel dan A. Yani Abeveiro, *Negara Tuhan the Thematic Encyclopaedia*, Yogyakarta: SR-INS Publishing.
- Asfar Muhammad (Ed.), 2003. *Islam Radikal, Pesantren Terorisme dan Bom Bali*, Surabaya, PuSDeHAM dan JP Press.
- Asrori, Ahmad, 2015. “Radikalisme di Indonesia antara Historisitas dan Antropisitas, dalam *Jurnal Maarif Arus pemikiran Islam dan Sosial*, 9: 2.
- Astuti, Mary, 2000. “Pendidikan Berperspektif Gender” dalam Sindhunata (ed.) *Membuka Masa Depan Anak-Anak Kita, Mencari Kurikulum Pendidikan Abad XXI* Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Azca, Muhammad Najib ‘Yang Muda, 2013. Yang Radikal: Refleksi Sosiologis terhadap Fenomena kaum Muda Muslim di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru dalam *Jurnal Ma’arif Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial*, 8: 1.
- Azra, Azumardi, 1996. *Pergolakan Politik Islam, dari Fundamentalisme, Modernisme, Hingga Post-Modernisme*, cet. I Jakarta: Paramadina.
- Azra, 2000. *Azyumardi Islam Substantif*, Bandung: Mizan.

- Binder, 1988. Leonard. *Islamic Liberalism, A Critique of Development Ideologies*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Creswell, John. W. 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design, Choosing Among Five Approaches*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publication.
- Havez, Kai, 2010. *Radicalism and Political Reform in the Islamic and Western World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hilmy, Masdar, 2016. *Jalan Demokrasi Kita*, Etika Politik, Rasionalitas dan Kesalehan Publik. Malang: Intrans Publishing.
- JA, Denny, 2000. "Islam, Negara Sekular dan Demokrasi" dalam Saripudin HA peny. *Negara Sekuler Sebuah Polemik*, Jakarta: Putra Berdikari Bangsa.
- Jackson, 1999. Robert dan George Sorensen *pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Karyono, Ribut. 2003. *Fundamentalisme dalam Kristen-Islam*. Yogyakarta: Kalika.
- Mubarak, Zaki, 2008. *Genealogi Islam Radikal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Nuruddin, 2013. "Basis Nilai-Nilai Perdamaian Sebuah Antitesis Radikalisme Agama di Kalangan Mahasiswa, dalam Harmoni, *Jurnal Multikultural dan Multireligius*, 12: 3.
- Omit Safi (Ed.), 2003. *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender and Pluralism* Oxford, Oneworld Publications.
- Qodir, Zuly, 2014. *Radikalisme Agama di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Rokhmat, Abu, 2012. "Radikalisme Islam dan upaya Deradikalisasi", *Jurnal sosial Penelitian Keagamaan*, 20(1).
- Sabirin, 2004. Rahimi. *Islam dan Radikalisme*. Yogyakarta: Ar Rasyid.
- Saifuddin, 2011. "Radikalisme Islam di Kalangan Mahasiswa Sebuah Metamorfosa Baru, *Jurnal Analisis* XI: 1.
- Shepard, William E. 1988. *Islam and Ideology: Towards a Typology*. Dalam *An Anthology of Contemporary Middle Eastern History*. Ed. Syafiq Mughni. Montreal: Canadian International Development Agency.
- Sjadzali, Munawir, 1990. *Islam dan Tata Negara, Ajaran Sejarah dan Pemikiran* Jakarta: UI Press.
- Suharto, Toto dan Ja'far Assagaf, 2014. "Membendung Arus paham Keagamaan Radikal di Kalangan Mahasiswa PTKIN", *Jurnal At Tahrir*, 14: 01.
- Suryanegara, Ahmad Mansur, 1995. *Menemukan Sejarah*, Bandung: Mizan.
- Syarani, Riduan, 2004. *Rangkuman Instisari Ilmu Hukum*, Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Taimiyah, Ibnu, 1979. *Al Siyasa Al Syar'iyah fi Ishlahi Al Ra'yi wa Al Ra'iyah*, Mesir: Dar al Kitab Al Arabiy.
- Tariq Ramadan, 2004. *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zada, Khamami, 2004. *Islam Radikal*, dalam *Jejak-jejak Islam Politik*. Ed. Marzuki Wahid. Jakarta: Ditperta.
- Zakariyya, Fouad, 2005. *Myth and Reality in the Contemporary Islamic Movement*. London: Pluto Press.