

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

THE DEGREE OF RADICALISM IN CAMPUS MOSQUES IN 10 STATE UNIVERSITIES IN INDONESIA



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Introduction

Despite many assuming that radicalism in universities is far from real, the potential is undeniably imminent. This was brought to attention by the Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education, Mohamad Nasir. The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) also released the names of seven state universities in Indonesia considered to be exposed to radical ideologies. The process of radicalisation is believed to have long festered within state universities but has only recently metastasized into a worrying situation just as the internet and social media become increasingly pervasive. To a certain degree, this will further inflame radical tendencies on campuses. *Tempo* magazine in its May 27th 2018 edition has even declared the situation in state universities an 'emergency'.

To find out what the actual situation is, a research to specifically determine the extent of radicalism in state universities is necessary in order to know how far these institutions have been radicalised and identify the degree of radicalism. This will help policymakers develop the appropriate policies, programs, activities and actions to tackle the situation. In view of this, proper research is needed to determine the degree of radicalism in state universities.

In response to this, INFID has launched a study to identify the degree of radicalism in campus mosques in ten state universities in six provinces across Indonesia. The study adopts a qualitative research method to gain insights into the degree of radicalism in campus mosques, and its impact on individuals exposed to radical beliefs.

The research was conducted following the issuance of Perppu Ormas or Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2/2017 on Societal Organizations. Data was collected from May 2018 to August 2019. Over the course of the research, university administrators have taken considerable measures to prevent radicalism, including the dissolution of student organisations affiliated with proscribed entities, replacement of mosque and student residence hall administrators, and keeping a close watch on campus mosques and student organizational activities. Given the situation, the study seeks to probe deeper into the radical tendencies of campuses, and broaden the scope to include the university's surrounding areas.

In many respects, this research differs from earlier studies on intolerance, extremism and radicalism that were conducted by Alvara Research Centre (2017), Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (2018), BNPT (2018), and Setara Institute (2019), among others. In addition to identifying signs of radicalism, this research also looks into the process of radicalisation, the actors involved, and narratives with radical content. Furthermore, it attempts to determine the degree of radicalism in the selected 10 state universities. The data and respondents are also different. Data are drawn from interviews with relevant individuals from each of the university, as well as observations of campus mosques in the 10 state universities and their immediate environments. Some universities are the same as the ones studied by Setara Institute, while others are not.

Research Aim and Scope

The study examines the phenomenon of radicalism in the campus mosques of state universities. Information is gathered on the dynamics of the process of radicalisation in campus mosques and the social environment that enables the rise of radicalism, the degree of campus radicalism, how far it has spread and how organized, and how the situation has fared after Perppu Ormas 2017 was introduced and the rectorate issued a regulation on monitoring and countering radicalism in state universities.

The 10 campus mosques surveyed are located in the following regions:

1. Sumatra Province (Riau): University of Riau (UNRI)
2. West Java Province: Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) and Padjajaran University (UNPAD), University of Indonesia (UI) and Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB)
3. Central Java Province: Sebelas Maret University (UNS)
4. Special Region of Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University (UGM)
5. East Java Province: Brawijaya University (UB) and Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS)
6. South Sulawesi Province: Hasanuddin University (UNHAS)

Research findings are expected to fill the existing information void, and enrich understanding on the phenomenon of radicalism in state universities. Hopefully they can also impact on policy recommendations for university administrators and the government of Indonesia.

Theoretical Framework

In this research, radicalism is defined as an idea, action and activity aimed at bringing fundamental change to the State that is taken as a threat and considered a causal factor capable of impairing or undermining the independent identity and functional integrity of the State and its people. In operational and concrete terms, radicalism can be detected through the following indicators: (1) ideas that are verbally expressed on a fundamental change to the State through unconstitutional means; (2) actions that exhibit resistance, cause aggravation or destruction, and attacks or aggression against the fundamentals of the State; and (3) activities that lead to and impact on a fundamental change to the State. These are the indicators used in this research.

Radicalisation refers to a process where an individual or group gradually accepts and fundamentally believes in a certain ideology or perspective to the point of experiencing a transformation in attitude, behaviour and intention where their worldviews are manifested through multiple ways, primarily by engendering fundamental change to their surroundings (the State and even the world). In its most extreme form, radicalisation ends in acts of violence

(even going as far as terrorism) to serve a specific political, ideological or religious purpose.

The degree of radicalism in research is defined as the amount, level, extent or magnitude of the occurrence or presence of radicalism that can be identified from the process of radicalisation, and is indicative of how serious the situation is. This research looks at the extent and magnitude of radicalism, and the radical milieu. A higher degree of radicalism indicates showing more characteristics of radicalism than a lower degree of radicalism. It also means that a higher degree of radicalism reflects a more advanced stage of radicalisation than lesser degree radicalism.

The degree of radicalism can be classified into five stages. In the first stage, radicalism is indicated by the perception and belief that something is amiss in society, especially seen from the ideological perspective held by an individual or group. This perception and belief comes with a hypersensitivity towards a malaise or injustice in society. At this stage, the ideological perspective of the individual is too narrowly construed when looking at a wider issue, and therefore tends to force their opinions upon the rest of the world.

In the second stage, there is a desire to punish or get rid of others perceived to be the cause of the said malaise or injustice. Those labelled as bad are considered to be the reason behind the problem at hand, and therefore should be treated as an enemy to wage war against. Radicalism at this stage has materialized into action. At a higher degree – the third stage – radicalism is indicated by a dichotomous interpretation of the world. The worldview ideology is interpreted simply as ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘us’ and ‘them’, and ‘pure’ and ‘impure’ group. Due to this dichotomization of the world, individuals who have reached the third stage systematically reject any competing explanations or alternative views of society.

In the fourth stage, the intention and desire to transform the world according to the adopted ideology is brought to fruition through various means, such as by establishing an organisation and building networks to bring fundamental change to society, the State and even at a regional level. The doctrine is propagated to other regions through *dakwa* or proselytization, promotion of the *khilafah* or Islamic State, creation of media platforms to spread the message and influence as many people as possible, and denial of the rights of those perceived to be the enemy.

At the highest degree of radicalism – the fifth stage – attempts to create fundamental change intensify by resorting to violence in different forms, from the more subtle to the most extreme, such as plotting and launching attacks against the perceived adversary, willing to die in the course of action bent on destroying the enemy through suicidal missions, among others. Stronger emphasis is given to the non-human aspect of those considered as the enemy.

In studying the 10 selected state universities, the degree of radicalism is assessed not only based on the ideas, actions and activities, but also the extent of radicalism within the campus community, and a potential enabling environment for campus radicalisation.

For this research, apart from the ideas, actions and activities, the degree of radicalism is also categorized according to the extent of radicalism among people within the state universities, and the radical milieu. Based on this framework, the degree of radicalism is rated as follows.

Degree of Radicalism	Stage of Radicalisation	Extent of Radicalism	Radical Milieu
Low	Almost no indication or little indication of radicalism in the first stage	Very low extent/does not spread/no propagation activities/only limited to a small group of people and no further propagation	None/very narrow
Moderate	Little indication of radicalism in the first phase and subsequent stages	Has spread only to certain groups	Fairly large and strong radical milieu
	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in the first phase and following stages	Has spread only to certain groups	Narrow radical milieu
	Little indication of radicalism in the first phase and following stages	Has spread widely to many people/there are propagation activities in various groups	Fairly large radical milieu
Fairly high	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in all stages	Quite widespread / propagation efforts are quite widespread/various groups of people	Large and strong radical milieu
	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in all stages	Widespread in various groups within the campus community	Fairly large radical milieu
	Many strong indications of radicalism in all stages	Has spread to certain groups within the campus community	Narrow radical milieu
High	Many indications of radicalism in all stages	Propagation efforts are quite widespread in certain groups	Fairly large and strong radical milieu
	Many indications of radicalism in all stages	Has spread to almost everyone within the campus community	Narrow radical milieu
Very high	Indication of intensified radicalism in all stages	Has spread to the majority/nearly everyone within the campus community	Large and strong radical milieu

Research Method

The research applies a qualitative approach to gain understanding on the signs of radicalism and the degree of radicalism in the 10 state universities surveyed. It is not intended to generate results that can be extrapolated to other state universities. The research design uses Maxwell's interactive model (2005), which is research that is based on extensive, in-depth and diverse data in order to capture the specific life aspects experienced by the campus community. The triangulation method is used in this research where data are collected on the same phenomenon through multiple means, and numerous sources are used to study a specific situation, which in this case refers to radicalism in the campus mosques of the selected state universities.

Data and information are extracted from respondents through in-depth interviews and observations. At least 143 people were interviewed, comprising 71 students, 21 university alumni, 13 university officials, 19 lecturers, 6 researchers from study centres, 7 mosque administrators, 2 student dormitory supervisors, an executive member of the provincial-level Terrorism Prevention Coordination Forum (FKPT), 2 *koramil* or subdistrict military unit officers, and one of the leaders of a subdistrict MUI (Indonesia *Ulama* Council). Field observation was conducted in 10 state universities across 7 provinces, covering 20 mosques and 20 prayer rooms to gather information on the activities carried out by students, faculty and staff pertaining to the propagation of radical and extremist ideas. A desk study was also conducted to analyse photos, posters, pamphlets, leaflets, periodic publications, books, as well as print and electronic news.

Research Findings

Radicalism, in terms of ideas, actions and activities with the intent to bring fundamental change to the State, is detected in the 10 state universities surveyed, particularly pronounced prior to the issuance of Perppu Ormas 2017. Following the enactment of Perppu Ormas 2017 and as universities stepped up monitoring and introduced various policies to handle the situation, signs of radicalism in the 10 state universities drastically abated.

As surveillance heightened and radicalized organizations, groups and activities in the 10 selected state universities were banned, campus mosque activities also grew significantly less. There was also a drastic decline in radical narratives, and in most universities there were none altogether after the rectorate kept a close eye on campus mosques as an aftereffect of Perppu Ormas 2017, and a government policy on countering campus radicalisation issued by the Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education. As a consequence, the locus of radicalisation shifted to surrounding areas outside of campus. This means that indoctrination activities have moved from on- to off-campus mosques. The absence of on-campus activities and organisations linked to radicalism however does not mean the cessation of radicalisation and a lesser degree of campus radicalism.

Before Perppu Ormas No. 2/2017 was enforced, radicalism in all 10 state universities was most noticeably observed from the presence of individuals who are members of or affiliated with Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) on campus. HTI is a pan-Islamist political organization that considers their ideology to be firmly grounded in Islam, for the purpose of establishing an Islamic Caliphate. This information was gleaned from interviews and the documentation of activities, which revealed an affiliation with HTI or its offshoot organizations. These offshoot organizations in the selected state universities have been in existence since post-reform years in the 2000s. They include Harmoni Amal dan Titian Ilmu (HATI) and Gema Pembebasan, which have even set up a secretariat on ITB campus premises. Radicalism is also indicated by the strong involvement of the *tarbiyah* group. In some campuses – ITB, UI and UNHAS – signs of radicalism are observed in the show of sympathy or support for ISIS, albeit from only one or two individuals. Several others who were asked on this issue either avoided the question or objected to the thought of sympathizing with ISIS. However, in terms of their affiliations they appear to have ties with individuals known to be ISIS supporters. According to respondents, the supporters and members of the NII (Islamic State of Indonesia) movement can also be found in Padjajaran University.

In the 10 state universities, at different degrees, individuals and groups are gradually accepting and adopting the ideology or perspective in a fundamental manner to the point where their attitudes, behaviours and intentions have changed, and their worldviews actualised in different ways, especially by making fundamental changes to their surroundings (the State and even the world). The process of radicalisation and extremisation in general occurs through interactions between university students, lecturers, associate lecturers and alumni, and through organizational and group relations outside of campus. In the selected state universities, this process has strengthened and permeated into different elements within the campus community. This is reflected in how campus mosques were once under the control of HTI and the *tarbiyah* group by occupying positions in the mosque management boards.

The radicalisation process in the 10 selected campuses has been underway for a considerable time; some since the 1980s, and others later in the 1990s. The salafi jihadists were the masterminds behind the process of radicalisation in the 80s and 90s. This era was marked by the *tarbiyah* movement's ideologisation of LDK (Campus *Dakwa* Institution) that plays a dominant role in campus-wide student organisations since the post-reform years. It was an ongoing process that at one point in time even became a pattern and routine procedure on campuses. Over this long period of time, students become habituated to the movement, thereby allowing persuasive tactics to carry on openly, in addition to campaigns, rallies and publications with radical and extremist tendencies that take place within a lengthy timespan and done repeatedly.

The people involved in spreading extremist beliefs were initially students who were already exposed to extremism outside of campus. This ideology has recently crept into the minds of university faculty and staff, and influencing campus policies. Although not formally recognised,

such influence has indeed shaped university policies. Extremist beliefs have also infiltrated on-campus mosque-affiliated social organisations. The spread of extremist ideologies in the selected state universities is also supported by off-campus organisations and their networks.

The connection between radicalised activists on campus with external groups outside of campus points to the presence of a radical milieu, which refers to a social and physical setting that supports the existence of radical groups and their ability to build vast networks. These off-campus settings and networks support on-campus radicalisation activities. Radical groups on campus are not isolated units, but form part of a much larger network. As such, knowledge of the radical milieu becomes important in understanding the degree of campus radicalism. The strongest network in campus mosques belongs to the Ikhwanul Muslim (IW) or Muslim Brotherhood movement, which has built a strong presence in the political and religious life of the campus community. The HTI network was once an influential player, but has now fallen out of favour.

Narratives in circulation contain the following: (1) negative attitude towards non-Muslims; (2) doctrine on the caliphate system; (3) negative stance towards the Pancasila state philosophy and the NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) concept; (4) negative attitude towards non-Muslim and women leaders; (5) doctrine on loyalty to the group; (6) doctrine on jihadism; and (9) glorification of the caliphate. They are disseminated in various forms, including sermons, posters, leaflets, brochures, banners, flyers, bulletins, magazines and on websites. In addition, the university campuses would fairly often organize marches and processions promoting narratives with intolerant, radical and extremist contents.

The process of radicalisation in every state university surveyed occurs through mentoring sessions. Recruitment takes place during the orientation of new students, which includes an introduction to all campus organisations at the faculty level, where they can pick and choose campus activities that they are most interested in. The process is not only about bringing in new members trained to become proselytisers, but also recruiting core members groomed for leadership in politics, education, government and business. A massive and structured system is in place to recruit and manage members through a micro-management approach that can be considered militant.

Women also play a role in the process of radicalisation. Female students help recruit and train potential members from among fellow female peers. Female lecturers who are NII and HTI members will also approach and recruit female students. This is an effective strategy as it would be much easier to build communication among fellow women. Female members of NII and HTI are also as militant as their male counterparts. In terms of numbers, more NII and HTI members are female than male students. Women are assuming an increasingly important role in the *tarbiyah* movement, where they also actively spread radical ideologies. In student-led *dakwa* organisations, women participate in the recruitment process, and in propagating the ideology, who are known as *murobbiah* (mentor).

The degree of radicalism in the selected state universities in general is the first stage where it is perceived and believed that not all is faring well in society as seen from the adopted ideological perspective. It also comes with a hypersensitivity to malaise and injustice in society. In several of the state universities, the degree of radicalism has reached stage 2 where there is a desire to punish or remove those perceived to be the cause of the malaise or injustice. Those labelled as bad are considered to be the reason behind the problem at hand, and therefore should be treated as an enemy to wage war against. Radicalism at this stage has materialized into action. A few other universities have progressed to the third stage where interpretations of the world are seen from a dichotomous lens of 'good' and 'bad', 'us' and 'them', and 'pure' and 'impure' group. They would systematically reject any competing explanations or alternative views of society. Several universities have entered stage 4 where there is the intention and desire to transform the world according to the adopted ideology and actualised through various means. Meanwhile, only a small number of people in the universities surveyed have reached the fifth stage where they would intensify attempts to bring fundamental change by resorting to violence.

Based on available data and taking into account the pre- and post-Perppu Ormas 2017 situation, and also factoring in emerging possibilities and anticipating the future, the following is an assessment of the degree of radicalism in the 10 state universities surveyed.

No.	State University	Degree of Radicalism	Characteristics of Radicalisation
1	University of Riau	High	Many indications of radicalism in all stages. Propagation quite widespread in certain groups. Large and strong radical milieu.
2	University of Indonesia	Moderate	Little indication of radicalism in the first phase and subsequent stages, where it has spread widely to various groups, with a sizeable radical milieu.
3	Bogor Institute of Agriculture	Fairly High to High	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in all stages, widely spread to various groups, with a sizeable radical milieu.
4	Bandung Institute of Technology	Fairly High to High	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in all stages, widely spread to various groups, with a sizeable radical milieu.
5	Padjajaran University	Fairly High to High	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in all stages, widely spread to various groups, with a sizeable radical milieu.
6	Sebelas Maret University	High	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in all stages, widely spread to various groups, with a sizeable and strong radical milieu.

No.	State University	Degree of Radicalism	Characteristics of Radicalisation
7	Gadjah Mada University	Moderate	Little indication of radicalism in the first phase and following stages, where it has widely spread to various groups, with a large radical milieu.
8	Brawijaya University	Moderate to Fairly High	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in all stages, widely spread to various groups, with a sizeable radical milieu.
9	Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology	Moderate to Fairly High	Fair amount of indication of radicalism in all stages, widely spread to various groups, with a sizeable radical milieu.
10	Hasanuddin University	Moderate to Fairly High	Little indication of radicalism in all stages, widely spread to various groups, with a sizeable radical milieu.

Recommendations

1. The President to issue a Presidential Instruction on policies and measures for preventing radicalism in the name of religion, and for maintaining a positive and constructive academic climate in state universities. The Presidential Instruction shall contain the following:
 - a. An instruction to universities to establish a code of conduct that apply to all students, faculty and staff of state universities, and to firmly prohibit sexual harassment, illicit drug use, and the use of facilities and infrastructure for activities that promote religious radicalism.
 - b. An instruction to state universities to broaden the scope of a comprehensive assessment to include a sample of 30-50 state universities with a large panel data to gain a deeper analysis of findings generated from INFID's research.
 - c. An instruction that requires all state universities to maintain accountability as a public institution.
2. The Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (MoRTHE) and state universities need to facilitate the creation of an enabling environment to incentivize and encourage activities that do good for others, which students and lecturers can undertake in different forms. Universities should support students as individuals with youthful idealism through capacity building programs, such as training on critical and creative thinking, and building their character strengths and other key traits.

3. The MoRTHE to instruct all state universities in Indonesia to provide “education aimed at building character strengths and virtues” in a view to foster integrity and a sense of nationalism. This is needed to equip new students with the ability to filter information and make sensible decisions amidst the deluge of information to make sure that students as today’s younger generation can intellectually self-select information.
4. Universities need to create and manage a campus environment conducive for students to constructively develop their talents without slipping into extremism and monolithic thinking.
5. Universities need to design and implement activities for detecting radical groups. This can be done through the UKM (Student Activity Unit) and BEM (Student Executive Body).
6. 6. The Rector need to pay more attention to UKM (Student Activity Unit) programs given the powerful influence that seniors have over their juniors, and therefore the importance of preventing negative influence and engaging with UKM in deradicalisation activities.
7. The MoRTHE, Ministry of Religious Affairs and other relevant government ministries should actively develop programs on nation building, the preservation of national unity in diversity and solidarity between the people of Indonesia by offering youth scholarships and fellowships through research, writing, internship and other non-academic programs, especially on three key themes: renewable energy, environmental and waste management, and tolerance. The main idea is to encourage youth to also think about global issues. Their interests, aspirations and boundless energy can therefore be appropriately channelled through scholarships offers on global issues, which include therein constructive dialogues.
8. Relevant government ministries must be more open and more willing to work together in tackling campus radicalisation. The government, especially the MoRTHE, needs to launch a formal audit of radicalisation in state universities. On one hand, this research presents evidence and indications of radicalism from different perspectives, yet on the other hand a comprehensive assessment needs to be done by the MoRTHE with baseline data from this research.
9. Universities need to produce a guide for new students stressing on the importance of critical thinking, analytic-synthetic thinking, intellectual integrity, logical thinking, and ethical thinking.



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