Glocal Radicalisme

by Nani Widiawati
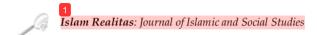

Glocal Radicalism: the Phenomenon of Local Islamic Radicalism in the Structure of Global Radicalism

Nani Widiawati[1*]

[1]*Islamic Institute of Cipasung, West Java, Indonesia, e-mail:1naniwidiawati1@gmail.com*
Coreespondence Author

Abstract

This article aims to reveal the dynamic factors of glocal radicalism, the tendency of superiority in the global structure, and the strategies to address the problem of glocal radicalism. Tracing the local and global context in analyzing the phenomenon of radicalism in Islam is important because both are the main variables so that this phenomenon can be comprehensively understood. This writing is qualitative research focuses on analyzing written sources about the facts of radicalism in global and local structures using analysis-interpretive methods and digital data analysis techniques. In this way, it is found that the dynamic factors of local radicalism are indirectly part of the structure of global radicalism, born of or as an implication of the systematic propaganda of that structure, namely structural violence in the dynamics and dialectics of global forces that influence social, political, and economical processes of Islamic countries. There is a tendency for superior that is reflected in the Islamophobia phenomenon and global political reflection. In this case, the moral-based multiculturalism educational approach and the virtual approach have a strategic role to address this problem

Keywords: *Islamic Radicalism; Global radicalism; De-radicalism.*

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan faktor dinamis radikalisme glokal, kecenderungan superioritas dalam struktur global, serta strategi untuk menyikapi problem radikalisme glokal. Penelusuran konteks lokal dan global dalam menganalisis fakta radikalisme dalam Islam menjadi penting sebab keduanya merupakan variabel utama sehingga fakta tersebut dapat dipahami secara komprehensif. Tulisan merupakan penelitian kualitatif yang memokuskan pada telaah sumber tertulis tentang fakta radikalisme dalam struktur global dan lokal dengan metode analisis-interpretatif dan teknik analisis data digital. Dengan cara demikian, ditemukan bahwa faktor dinamis radikalisme lokal secara tidak langsung menjadi bagian dari struktur radikalisme global, lahir dari atau sebagai implikasi dari propaganda sistematis dari struktur tersebut, yaitu kekerasan struktural dalam dinamika dan dialektika kekuatan-kekuatan global yang memengaruhi proses sosial, politik, dan ekonomi negara-negara Islam. Terdapat kecenderungan superiorisme yang tercermin dalam fenomena islamofobia dan refleksi politik global. Dalam hal ini, pendekatan pendidikan multikulturalisme berbasis moral serta pendekatan virtual memiliki peran strategis untuk menyikapi problem ini.

Kata Kunci: Radikalisme Islam; Radikalisme Global; Deradikalisme.

Background

The terms radical Islam, fundamentalist Islam, militant Islam, and extreme Islam have returned to the fore to refer to the revival and purification movements in the Islamic world. This movement is categorized as radical because the phenomenon of Islamic awakening and purification is presented with a character and face that is fierce, reactive, extreme, confrontational, and uncompromised. In fact, reducing the fact that radical movements in Islam are unrealistic. Radicalism using religion can be found in almost all religions. In Judaism, the figure of Shlomo Goren is found who claims that the murder of Yasser Arafat is part of a sacred religious duty. In Christianity, since the early nineties, Serbian rulers supported by the Orthodox Church have burned the

mosques in Sarajevo into a sea of blood.[1] Islamic radicalism in modern terminology is a term popularized by the West, referring to a movement within Islam which in realizing its idealism is pursued by radical and militant ways. The radicalism and militancy of these movements are often carried out by rebellion and terror.

This negative connotation, Azyumardi Azra pointed out, originated from the Shi'a militant movement that succeeded in shaking up the West which had been considered so strong.[2] After that, the term Islamic radicalism is often associated with the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt, the Mujahideen in Afghanistan, the Sanusiyah in Libya, and other hardline Islamic movements. The radical image of this movement cannot be separated from the extension of the hands of the Western mass media to blow up the international discourse on the face of Islam which is full of violence.

There are three assumptions on the causes of the emergence of radicalism. *First*, because of the political pressure of the rulers, which in the case of Indonesia was the result of authoritarianism, in which the State was always suspicious and eroded any movements identified as radical. *Second*, because of the factor of religious emotions as a form of religious solidarity for groups that are being oppressed by certain forces. *Third*, because of the cultural factor of secularism propagated by the West, so that groups have emerged who are trying to break away from the cultural web that binds and helps format the cultural character of the third world.[3]

Adjusting to the theme of this paper, the author focuses on the third factor. This is not only because the projection of the West has built

a global culture of the image of Islam as a common enemy, also because of the fact of the domination of Western culture over Eastern culture and more specifically the culture of Muslims. Western civilization has become the dominant expression of humanity universally. There has been marginalization in various aspects of Muslim life to oppress and make them an underdeveloped group. This is what I observe to make the West identified as a radical group in the global structure.

Presenting radicalism in the global structure is not without reason. No religion teaches acts of intolerance. All religions teach peace to achieve happiness. All religions have the same universal mission, which is to perfect man and his life. Religion seeks to lead humans to a complete life, free from all physical and mental suffering.[4] Sociologically, religion was born to show the way of peace, tranquility, compassion, and brotherhood. Religion was born to reduce and handle conflict. Normatively and historically, there is no teaching or evidence for the spread of Islam by the Prophet that justifies the use of force.[5] It would be futile to find the legality of radical action in Islam if the concepts of its teachings are fully understood. Unless, one of them, reveals the fact of radicalism as a local case in the context of global radicalism.

In a neutral meaning, the term radicalism can be returned to its original meaning, namely radix which means root. As is well known, Islamic teachings are rooted in the Al-Qur'an and al-Hadith. Radicalism, thus, refers to an idealism that wants to restore all problems of human life as an individual and about social and state life according to its basic sources, namely al-Qur'an and al-Hadith.

Responding to these deviations and distortions of meaning, it is necessary to present

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[1] Abd A'la, *Melampaui Dialog Agama*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2002), p. 16

[2] Azyumardi Azra, *Pergolakan Politik Islam dari Fundametalisme, Modernisme Hingga Post-Modernisme* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1966), p. 107.

[3] Sun Choirol Umman, 'Akar Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia', *Humanika*, 12. 2 (2012), 118-119.

[4] A'la.

[5] Azra.

an alert and critical attitude, however, of course, it is necessary to introspect themselves because there are facts of radical movements in certain Muslim movements although the existence of these movements can be understood rationally, among others as a reaction or as a result of cultural and political movements offered by global civilization. In Hegel's framework, the fact of left-leaning radicalism is a thesis that necessitates the birth of right-leaning radicalism as an antithesis. In this context, radicalism is a response to radicalism in other forms.

This is what makes the theme of Islamic radicalism interesting to study to find a common thread that connects the phenomenon of Islamic radicalism in the local sphere into the context of the grip of the global radicalism structure. Thus, the theme studied is limited to the phenomenon of radicalism that has developed in the modern era. The author places Islamic radicalism on local radicalism because radicalism is not an essential thing in Islam, and in fact in all religions.

Based on literature search, there are several writings related to the theme of radicalism in Islam. Zuly Qodir wrote about acts of terrorism among youth as a serious problem facing Indonesia and other countries including the Middle East. He hopes that the religious movement originating from social organizations can reduce these acts of terrorism.[6] Syamsul Arifin stated that the spread of Islam is very strategic in overcoming the problem of radicalism so that Islamic religious education

must be empowered to reduce radicalism.[7] According to Inayatul Ulya, the issue and phenomenon of Islamic radicalism has become a transnational discourse that is cornering Islam. This challenge must be answered by Muslims by providing an alternative model of the Prophet's leadership as a solution.[8] According to Husniyatus Salamah Zainiyati, the curriculum in an educational institution can play a role in overcoming the problem of radicalism. In this case, the teacher is the most important instrument in implementing the curriculum.[9] These writings try to provide solutions to the problem of radicalism.

Subsequent articles discuss radicalism from a historical perspective. Abdullah Anzar analyzed the radicalism movement from a historical perspective by mentioning the khawarij as its root[10]. M. Sidi Ritaudin linked the radicalism movement to the traditional way of interpreting religion. He raised the case of the Muslim Brotherhood which was confronted by the secularisation of modern science[11]. Martin van Bruinessen wrote about the roots of Islam radicalism in Indonesia after the Suharto era[12].

There are also writings linking the phenomenon of radicalism with Islamophobic tendencies and with global politics. Eduardo Bayod revealed the case of Muslim refugees in the European Union in 2014-2016 who lived in difficult political and legal situations and socio-economic difficulties that made them vulnerable

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[6] Zuly Qodir, 'Kaum Muda, Intoleransi, Dan Radikalisme Agama', *Jurnal Studi Pemuda*, 5.1 (2018), 429 <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.37127>.

[7] Syamsul Arifin, 'Islamic Religious Education and Radicalism in Indonesia: Strategy of de-Radicalization through Strengthening the Living Values Education', *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 6.1 (2016), 93–126 <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v6i1.93-126>.

[8] Inayatul Ulya, 'Radikalisme Atas Nama Agama: Tafsir Historis Kepemimpinan Nabi Muhammad di Madinah', *Addin*, 10.1 (2016), 113 <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v10i1.113>.

[9] Husniyatus Salamah Zainiyati, 'Curriculum, Islamic Understanding and Radical Islamic Movements in

Indonesia', *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 10.2 (2016), 285–307 <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2016.10.2.285-308>.

[10] Anzar Abdullah, 'Gerakan Radikalisme dalam Islam: Perspektif Historis', *Addin*, 10.1 (2016), 1 <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v10i1.1127>.

[11] Lucia Maria Aversa Villela, 'Kekuasaan Negara dan Kekuasaan Pemerintahan Menurut Pandangan Politik Ikwanul Muslimin', *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*, 53.9 (2013), 1689–99.

[12] Martin van Bruinessen, 'Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia', *South East Asia Research*, 10.2 (2002), 117–54 <https://doi.org/10.5367/000000002101297035>.

to religious radicalization.[13] Muhsin Mahfudz stated that the radical movement they did was based on both political background and textual understanding, namely a form of escape from a group of Muslim communities who were defeated in economic and political competition, and also a partial understanding of the holy text.[14] Victoria Canning explored the everyday realities of young Muslim women in Britain, who are described as antithetical to the British way of life in media and political discourse.[15] Javaid Rehman shows the connection between radicalism in Islam and the tendency of Islamophobia in international law.[16] According to Akh Muzakki, the emergence of Islamic radicalism was primarily triggered by a combination of the political repression of the government of a country, the deprivation of important socio-economics, globalization, and financial assistance from Saud Arabian authorities.[17] Douglas Pratt argues that Islamophobia can be considered as a manifestation of religious extremism.[18] M. Lim saw how Islamic fundamentalist groups have used the Internet after 9/11 for allegations that the United States and Israel are against Islam.[19] John L. Esposito and Derya Iner related the fact of radicalism with Islamophobia, namely how radicalization and Islamophobia can attract people towards extreme poles in domestic and foreign policy.[20] Sajjad H. Rizvi examines the possibility of a link between the radicalism movement in Islam and the international politics of America and its allies.[21] M. Sidi Ritaudin seems to have linked radicalism to the global structure but the discussion is more conceptual.[22]

The theme of Islamic radicalism, which is defined as the fact of local radicalism in the structure of global radicalism, is discussed using qualitative research based on data that is contrasted with quantitative research. This study focuses on analyzing written sources on the facts of radicalism in global and local structures. In Muhadjir's definition, this focus is categorized into text study research.[23] The research method uses the analysis-interpretative method with digital data analysis techniques, namely analysis of digital data sources related to the theme of radicalism. The research step was carried out by reading, classifying data, analyzing, systematizing, then formulating data related to Islamic radicalism in the context of global radicalism as the main formulation of research.

The use of digital data analysis techniques is based on the consideration that the terminology of Islamic radicalism referred cannot be separated from the extension of digital media. This fact shows how the media and digital space shape public opinion and image of the concept

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[13] Juan Carlos Antunez, 'Refugees and Terrorism: the Real Threat', *GESI (Grupo de Estudios En Seguridad Internacional)*, 2019.

[14] Muhsin Mahfudz, 'Deradikalisasi Ideologi Gerakan Islam', *Vox Populi*, 1.1 (2010), 30 <https://doi.org/10.24252/vp.v1i1.8099>.

[15] Victoria Canning, 'Islamophobia and Securitization: Religion, Ethnicity and the Female Voice', *Journal of Language and Discrimination*, 2.1 (2018), 118–23 <https://doi.org/10.1558/jld.36238>.

[16] Javaid Rehman, 'Islam, Terrorism and International Law', in *Research Handbook on International Law and Terrorism*, 2014, pp. 177–91 <https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857938817.00018>.

[17] Akh Muzakki, 'The Roots, Strategies, and Popular Perception of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia', *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 8.1 (2014), 1–22 <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2014.8.1.1-22>.

[18] Douglas Pratt, 'Islamophobia as Reactive Co-Radicalization', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 26.2 (2015), 205–18 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2014.1000025>.

[19] M. Lim, 'Islamic Radicalism and Anti Americanism in Indonesia: The Role of the Internet', *Policy Studies*, 2005, I.

[20] John L. Esposito and Derya Iner, *Islamophobia and Radicalization: Breeding Intolerance and Violence*, *Islamophobia and Radicalization: Breeding Intolerance and Violence*, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.1007/9783319952376>.

[21] Sajjad H. Rizvi, 'Islamic Political Radicalism', *American Journal of Islam and Society*, 25.2 (2008), 118–21 <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v25i2.1477>.

[22] M. Sidi Ritaudin, 'Radikalisme Negara dan Kekuasaan Perspektif Politik Global', *Kalam*, 8.2 (2014), 389 <https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v8i2.302>.

[23] Noeng Muhajdir, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin, 1998), p. 157-159.

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of radicalism and its references. The use of digital media is very effective in building opinions so that data on the phenomenon of radicalism that is structured globally is explored from cyber and virtual spaces, including sites that provide related information.

This paper aims to reveal the dynamics of global and local radicalism, identify the tendency of superiority in the current global radicalism, and strategies to address the problems of local radicalism. Writing about religious radicalism in a general sense, Islamic radicalism that reveals its roots and genealogy or a common thread that connects the phenonema of Islamic radical movements throughout history, the causes of Islamic radicalism, or the problem of definition and identification of radicalism embedded in Islam, has been done by other authors. Based on the literature search that I have done, the effort to link the phenomenon of Islamic radicalism to the global radicalism structure seems not to be done by other researchers.

The Dynamics Factors of Glocal Radicalism

The term "global and local radicalism", short for global-local, is used to refer to local radicalism which indirectly becomes part of the global radicalism structure, born of or as an implication of the systematic propaganda of that structure. Questioning religious radicalism by narrowing it down to the case of Islam can be traced from the concept of jihad which is a concept that has multiple interpretations and tends to be often misunderstood, especially by the West. Many scholars, both non-Muslims, and Muslims themselves, often identify jihad with holy war, which is understood in the context of Christian Europe with a war against infidels.[24] Even though this understanding is clarified by other Muslims and also by Westerners themselves, such as Peters, that holy war is a false and even misleading translation of jihad.[25]

However, in subsequent developments, in the discourse of Muslim thought, the meaning of jihad was more oriented to the political area, namely Islamic politics in relation to the upholding of Islamic law. Thus the concept of jihad moves to the practice area, namely in the formulation of programs and agenda for the supremacy of Islamic politics, which in reality often carry out acts of violence and terror.

This fact further cornered Islam. In fact, the meaning of terrorism in the context of the French revolution refers to a positive meaning when referring to their acts of terror, but since the 9th Thermidor, the word terrorist has become a pejorative term that is often associated with the criminal world. With this, the term terrorism is then used to refer to almost all forms of violence. The association of jihad with terrorism today is based on the fact that jihad in the sense of war involves elements of violence which can be categorized as terrorism.[26] With this, religious movements that are hard-leaning and radical are also included in this category of meaning, including the Muslim Brotherhood, Mujahidin, Hamas which are the catalysts for the phenomenal movement of the intifada, Jihad al-Islam, Hizbullah, Tahrir al-Islam, al-Takfir wal Hijrah, or Tanzhim al-Jihad.

In a modern context, there are these radical religious movements that aspire to uphold the Islamic system within the framework of political power as well as a form of resistance against secularists who support the West. From here, local radicalism can be connected with global radicalism. Local radicalism is basically the result of structured radicalism launched by the West and the regimes that support it. In other words, modern radicalism is a response to the West. According to Azyumardi Azra, this

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[24] Azra.
[25] Rudolph Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam* (Princeton: Wiener, 2005), p. 20

[26] Azra.

radical group is faced with three forces, namely the West, secular Muslim ruling regimes that are suspected to be the tongue and extension of the West's hands and of course contrary to Islam, as well as the mainstream Muslims who reject extremism, and the radicalism of political movements and their scripturalist interpretations in understanding Islamic doctrines.[27] According to Esposito, Muslim radical movements that carry out terrorism in the name of jihad are the product of a superpower neo-colonialism and Zionism conspiracy which either directly or without the support of non-Islamic regimes.[28] To achieve this goal, they use the method of jihad.

The application of the jihad method seems very effective. Jihad is an issue that is easily carried and absorbed, especially by fanatical societies. They are easily bound by militancy to maintain a violent movement. Moreover, there has developed an obsession with thoughts about the ideals of martyrdom and heavenly gifts. Islam is then ideologized into a stunning jihad package that paralyzes the tradition of critical and contextual thinking. The ideology of jihad then developed into a closed ideology, its contents cannot be questioned, its truth cannot be doubted. Its content is dogmatic and a priori. The ideology of jihad cannot be modified based on historical experience or contextual interpretation. [29]

In the context of the definition of closed ideology according to Franz Magnis Suseno, jihad ideology claims an absolute moral status and demands absolute obedience so that it cannot be questioned based on the values and principles of other moral systems. As an ideology, jihad is a claim that does not only contain basic values and principles but also becomes a concrete operational movement. In this way, the ideology of jihad is unlikely to be tolerant of other worldviews and values. The

executors of jihad as a whole are not critical, democratic, contextual figures capable of applying a basic principle to concrete situations. The ideological packaging of jihad closes the space for dialogue, including within their internal scope, apart from demands for unreserved obedience.

Confronting local radicalism with global radicalism can be traced from a fragment of the history of Muslims who are increasingly backward and backward, which is depicted by history due to political disintegration, differences in people's understanding of Islam that further alienate people from the fraternity, which makes it easier for Mongols to co-opt Islam. Islam then slumped backward and backward. In a situation like this, the flow of globalization for the West plays a role in military, cultural, political, economic domination, and so on.

Without downplaying the contributive role of globalization in every aspect of human life, the negative impact that comes from it cannot be ignored. Cultural penetration as a result of globalization in turn becomes a threat to the culture and value identities held by countries in the third world. This fact has received a variety of responses, among others, faced by strengthening the national cultural values in a wise way, but not infrequently responded in ways that tend to be radical. This Western penetration in turn gave birth to global structural radicalism.

According to Ritaudin, the reality of radicalism in the context of global politics points to the double standard politics of the United States and its allies. These double standard global politics has in turn triggered the development of Islamic radicalism. The phenomenon of radicalism shown in the movements of certain Muslim groups was then developed into an issue of terrorism to discredit

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[27] Azyumardi Azra, *Konteks Berteologi di Indonesia Pengalaman Islam* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), p. 94-5
[28] Azra.

[29] Franz Magnis Suseno, *Filsafat Sebagai Ilmu Kritis* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1992), p. 233.

Islam as a whole. The image of Islam as a radical religion has strengthened after the WTC tragedy on September 11 2001 and after Al-Qaeda took open resistance against them. This mode makes every movement identified as radical being called fundamentalism, terrorism, or radicalism. The movement refers to the phenomena of movements in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Palestine, Somalia, and others. The WTC tragedy was then used as an excuse to corner the al-Qaeda network and carry out counter-terrorism operations to countries in the third world.[30]

In general, the radicalism movement that emerged as a response to Western penetration, which requires Islam to be enforced in a formal legal sense with the strengthening of the state or Islamic caliphate. The West is also too hegemonic and interferes with a lot of domestic problems in a country that defines itself as an Islamic state. Iraq, Libya, Ukraine, Bosnia, or Palestine, are countries that are victims of Western hegemony. The reality of Western injustice that America is equipped to represent has given rise to various resistance. The West tends to be hostile to Islam by labeling every act of violence as part of Islamic teachings, an attitude known as Islamophobia, or an anti-Islam attitude.

The reality of American global politics then triggered a strong reaction among Fundamentalist Muslims by showing an anti-US attitude, Jews and their allies, as shown by Sayyid Qutb and Abu A'la al-Maududi in Pakistan. This anti-US stance is usually followed by some Muslims by boycotting American and Jewish products. On the other hand, this reaction further emphasizes the image of Islam as a radical religion and the phenomenon of Islamophobia or anti-Islamic attitudes. In this way, which party is the cause and which side is the result becomes biased, whether Islamophobia triggers a radical movement or vice versa. According to Derya Iner, Islamophobia (racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia) and Islamic Radicalism (piracy, hostage-taking, the WTC tragedy, suicide bombings) are exclusive ideologies that survive and thrive by blaming, defaming, and insulting each other and such an exclusive ideology does not occur in a vacuum.[31] However, in the context of this discussion, that Islamophobia and America's double standard politics are the roots that grow radical movements which some researchers agree so that global politics can be seen as the root for the growth of radicalism in the third world.

William O. Beeman said that the factor of Western progress, including in terms of science, which was then used to exploit other nations, especially Muslims, which was objectively recognized by radicalist groups themselves, was one of the factors driving the birth of radicalism.[32] Huntington stated emphatically that the main enemy of the West after the Cold War was Islam.[33] Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf stated that American propaganda to show a negative image of Islam through the phenomenon of Islamic radicalism in America proves that the Islamophobia of the international community in America fosters the ideology of radicalism.[34] Islamophobia is increasing along with the rampant radicalism shown by radicalists. This of course is not profitable for Islam.

Serkan Tasgin and Taner Cam found Gunter's findings, one of the psychological motives of Arabs in the Middle East joining

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[30] Ritaudin.

[31] Derya Iner, 'Introduction: Relationships between Islamophobia and Radicalization', *Islamophobia and Radicalization: Breeding Intolerance and Violence*, 2018, pp. 1–11 <http://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-95237-6_1>.

[32] William O. Beeman, "fighting the Good Fight: Fundamentalism and Religious Revival"

https://www.academia.edu/6886373/Fighting_the_Good_Fight_Fundamentalism_and_Religious_Revival

[33] Samuel P. Huntington *The Clash of Civilization and Remarking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996) p. 47

[34] Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, *Islam Amerika, Refleksi Seorang Imam di Amerika tentang Keislaman dan Keamerikaan* (Bandung: Mizan, 2013), p. 232.

terrorist organizations is in response to Western contempt for the Arab world, for example, the Palestinian territories were handed over to Israel, the first Iraqi invasion, killing more than 100,000 Arabs, or the mistreatment of Arab inmates at Abu Ghraib prison during the second Iraqi occupation. Besides, still according to Serkan Tasgin and Taner Cam, modernity requires a modern ethos from its people, while Eastern societies are constrained by modernity access and also because of Western domination, giving rise to frustration among Middle Eastern people. In this case, the new order built by modernity does not make room for third world countries. Gunter stated that strong countries were at war on terrorism, but terrorism at the beginning of its emergence from the Middle East was actually the beginning of the emergence of Western countries, especially the US.[35]

Ross mentions this fact as part of the five factors in the growth of terrorism, namely the development of facilitating, formed or narcissism-aggression, association, learning opportunities, and calculation of profit and loss.[36] Sadık Kirazli classified the root causes of terrorism in the Middle East into eight things, namely (1) the legacy of colonial rule or the independence movement, (2) the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, (3) a corrupt government or regime, (4) economic failure of development and social deprivation. economy, (5) radicalism or theological justification, (6) state terrorism, (7) foreign policy, and (8) ethnic sectarian and conflict. Of the eight factors, it gives accentuation for the Palestinian / Arab-Israeli conflict and the rise of radical Islam.[37] The last two studies show the complexity of the phenomenon of radicalism, but still, see global politics as part of the root of the radicalism tree in the third world.

According to Azyumardi Azra, the structural violence contained in the dynamics and dialectics of these global forces is manifest in the social, political, and economic processes of Islamic countries. Examples for this case include political repression, deprivation of human rights, elimination of the right to dissent, which constantly creates instability in Islamic countries. A more concrete example is the case of Palestine. The creation of a Zionist state of Israel in the Palestinian and Arab territories that systematically seeks to eliminate the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people is supported by Western superpowers. The facts which are known to have given birth to these radical local movements can only be understood within the framework of the global structure.[38] Local radical movements will thrive if their global structure is a representation of radicalism.

Ethical forms of Western radicalism can be seen from the depiction of Nurcholish Madjid. According to him, the cruelest and heinous degeneration of human dignity was actually carried out in the modern era by modern (Western) nations.[39] These include the exploitation of nature, the hunting and killing of Aboriginal people for the enjoyment and souvenirs of Europeans, the looting of local treasures for their anthropological museums, the perpetration of ethnic cleansing and genocide by modern Germans and Serbs, the establishment of the state on the basis of religious myths, in particular by the who seized land and trampled on the legitimate rights of other nations, etc.

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[35] Serkan Tasgin and Taner Cam, 'Reasons for Terrorism in the Middle East', in *Eradicating Terrorism from the Middle East*, 2016, pp. 71–89 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-31018-3_4>. 71

[36] Jeffrey Ian Ross, *Political Terrorism: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 87

[37] Sadık Kirazlı, 'Root Causes of Conflict and Terrorism in the Middle East', in *Eradicating Terrorism from the Middle East*, 2016, pp. 121–44 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-31018-3_7>. 123

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Nurcholish Madjid, 'Islam dan Politik Suatu Tinjauan Atas Prinsip-Prinsip Hukum dan Keadilan', *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Paramadina*, 1. 2 (1998), 56

According to Mujiburrahman, this resistance to the West became a kind of "reverse orientalism". If the orientalists present Islam as a single discourse that is inferior and backward, then the radical group present the West as imperialist, hypocritical, and immoral. As a result, both are oversimplifying and generalizing.[40] It can be said that Islamic radicalism is basically resistance to Western hegemony. In this context, Hegel's dialectical theory applies as mentioned above, that the Western left radicalism is the thesis for the birth of Islamic right radicalism as its antithesis.

The Tendency of Superiority in the Global Radicalism

Everyone, apart from the radical of course, will not approve of radical actions in the name of religion. This is because religion is in harmony with human values which oppose all forms of violence. However, people forget the context of its relationship with the grip of global radicalism. That the glocal radicalism will disappear if global radicalism as a trigger for local radicalism is also lost. There is a kind of superiority of a country or a group of countries in the global constellation of life. If it weren't for superior, according to Komaruddin Hidayat, it would be hard to imagine that in this dialogical political and religious climate there would have to be a conflict. [41]

According to Abd A'la, one of the basic factors for the emergence of arrogance and superiority is the narcissistic attitude of some rulers, nations, or national groups in this world. In this narcissism, an affirmation of superiority is formed as a nation that claims to be the most cultured, the most powerful, the strongest, and the most peace-loving. The narcissistic image of a nation will rise to its highest point along with

the deterioration of the image of another nation. They will claim to be defenders of dignity, morality, morality, and human rights. At the same time, they perceive their opponents as a bad group, such as cunning, brutal, savage, and inhuman.[42]

Feeling as the best nation can trigger arbitrary actions against a nation that is considered bad in the name of goodness. As a superior nation, it is their nation who is always right, while other nations are in an inferior state and always wrong. Quoting Fromm's opinion, Abd A'la stated that no matter how high their rationality and civilization were, they could lose their minds. With this, narcissism is one of the main sources of human aggressiveness. A narcissistic national group will react with anger and behave very aggressively when someone is considered to be harassing their symbol of narcissism.[43] If these radical groups and narcissistic nations have different religious backgrounds, the conflict will become sharper because both of them do not hesitate to use religious language and symbols as tools to justify their radical actions as well as a means to gain support from those of their faith around the world. For their opponents, this can be used as an excuse to corner a religious adherent.

The most recent case that occurred today is that of of the president of France, who insisted on publishing a caricature of the Prophet Muhammad, a very noble figure in the view of Muslims, who was considered by Muslims to be part of the attitude of insulting the Prophet. In response, the VOA-Islam website wrote of the imperative of boycotting French products and photographing a series of protests, demonstrations, burning Macron's photos, and sealing the French products.[44] Voa-Islam shows

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[40] Mujiburrahman, *Mengindonesiakan Islam Representasi dan Ideologi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), p. 37

[41] Komaruddin Hidayat, *Tragedi Raja Midas Moralitas Agama dan Krisis Modernisme* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998), p. 184.

[42] A'la.

[43] A'la.

[44] World News voa-islam.com, "Puluhan Ribu Umat Muslim turun ke Jalan Mengecam Islamofobia Prancis". https://www.voa-islam.com/read/world-news/2020/10/31/74271/ {Accessed 5 November 2020}

support for movements that are claimed to be radical, for example, the support provided by the former Prime Minister of Malaysia Mahathir Mohamad stated that Muslims have the right to kill millions of French people.[45] Likewise with the panjimas.com site. On 18 October 2020, this website informed that Tunisian parliamentarian supported the beheading of the people who insulted the Prophet.[46]

On the website salam-online.com on October 28, 2020, it was reported that a mosque in France received death threatening letters and messages of insult to Turks, Arabs, and the community who came to the mosque regularly, as a form of revenge for the death of Samuel Paty, a teacher at Bois-d'Alene College, Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, who was beheaded on October 16 by Abdullah Anzorov for displaying caricatures insulting the Prophet Muhammad as an example of freedom of expression. The threat letter was also addressed to Muslim women who wear headscarves.[47]

It is reported that China gets rid of the domes of mosques across the country a part of Beijing's efforts to erase Islamic symbols and influence, according to a report by The Telegraph.[48] It is also reported that China's plan to rewrite the Koran and the Bible to reflect socialist values. It is written in this site, that an adviser to the president of Algeria says French uses the bones of a killed Algerian to produce soap and sugar.[49] On Saturday, October 31, 2020, it was reported based on a report by the Maan news agency, that illegal Israeli Jewish settlers cut off a power pole in the village of Al-Sawiya in the occupied northern West Bank.[50] One of the themes raised by VOA-Islam on October 30 2020 was tens of thousands of Muslims who expressed criticism of French Islamophobia. On November 1, 2020, the panjimas.com site reported the case of a man in Bangladesh who was hanged and then burned after this man had previously stepped on the Koran on purpose.[51] The Era.muslim website reports that France has closed 43 mosques in the past three years.[52] On this site is written an Uyghur activist showed Chinese TV is airing a picture of the Prophet Muhammad[53]

The An-Najah.net wrote about the injustice in labeling terrorists.[54] Muslims who

[45] World News voa-islam.com, "Eks PM Malaysia Mahathir Mohamad: 'Muslim Berhak Bunuh Jutaan Orang Prancis", https://www.voa-islam.com/read/world-news/2020/10/30/74240/ {Accessed 5 November 2020}

[46] Zaky Fuadz, "Anggota Parlemen Tunisia Mendukung Pemenggalan Kepala Penghina Nabi", https://www.panjimas.com/?s=Anggota+Parlemen+Tunisia+Mendukung+Pemenggalan+Kepala+Penghina+Nabi {Accessed 5 November 2020}

[47] Headlines Salam-online.com, "Sebuah Masjid di Prancis Terima Surat Ancaman" https://www.salam-online.com/2020/10/sebuah-masjid-di-prancis-terima-surat-ancaman.html {Accessed 5 November 2020}

[48] World News voa-islam.com. "Laporan: Cina Singkirkan Kubah-kubah dan Menara Masjid di Seluruh Negeri". https://www.voa-islam.com/read/world-news/2020/11/02/74301/ [Accessed 5 November 2020}

[49] World News voa-islam.com, "Penasehat Presiden Aljazair Sebut Prancis Buat Sabun dari Tulang Belulang Syuhada Aljazair". https://www.voa-islam.com/read/world-news/2020/11/01/74294/ {Accessed 5 November 2020}

[50] World News voa-islam.com, "Pemukim Ilegal Yahudi Israel Gunakan Gergaji Listrik untuk Putus Suplai Listrik ke Warga Palestina", https://www.voa-islam.com/read/world-news/2020/10/31/74276/ {Accessed 5 November 2020}

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[52] Home eramuslim.come, "Dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir Prancis Tutup 43 Masjid", https://www.eramuslim.com/berita/dunia-islam/dalam-3-tahun-terakhir-prancis-tutup-43-masjid.htm#.X-SmF9gzZPY {Accessed 5 November 2020}

[53] Home eramuslim.come, Aktivis Uyghur Perlihatkan TV Cina Tayangkan Gambar Nabi Muhammad", https://www.eramuslim.com/berita/dunia-islam/aktivis-uyghur-juga-perlihatkan-tv-cina-tayangkan-gambar-nabi-muhammad.htm {Accessed 5 November 2020}

[54] Editorial Team, "Ketidakadilan Dalam Memberikan Cap Teroris", https://www.an-najah.net/ketidakadilan-dalam-memberikan-cap-teroris/ {Accessed 5 November 2020}

defend religion and are committed to practicing their religion, defending their dignity, and defending their territory, are labeled as terrorists, radicals, extremists, and barbarians. However, when America massacred Muslims in Afghanistan and Iraq, none of the media considered it a terrorist. Likewise with Myanmar which has massacred, burned, and mutilated Rohingya Muslims. When Russian aggressors become terrorists in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Syria, or when Jews attack Muslims in Palestine, nobody calls them terrorists.

On the kiblat.net site, Muhammad Yusran Hadi stated that by insulting the Prophet Muhammad, Macron was a real radical and terrorist. It is part of a reflection of Islamophobic attitudes. That the reasons for freedom of expression should not tarnish honor, chastity, and religious symbols.[55] Based on these writings it is known that the facts that the West defined as a radical movement did exist. However, it is also known that these radical facts were born in response to radical facts in the global structure.

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that as long as there is a nation in the world that still maintains superiority, radical movements will still exist. With this, narcissism and radicalism are actually limited by a very thin barrier. Both can reflect the same actions, including destructive and de humanistic. Action that is destructive without rational reasons is basically a reflection of radical action. Combating terrorists or radicals in a brutal way is also radicalism. In addition, both narcissism and radicalism cannot solve human problems.

The Strategies for Addressing the Problem of Glocal Radicalism

One way to get rid of radicalism, said Abd A'la, is to get rid of group narcissism at the same time. The effort to eliminate the two forms of radicalism is to start by changing the world order

that more reflects justice and equality.[56] This issue is not a new discourse. However, a discourse will find its meaning if and only if it is realized into an order which is a reflection of these ideals in the life between nations. Radicalism is of course detrimental to social stability and order. Radicalism also reaps a bad image, especially for adherents of a religion and generally for the face of humanity.

In this case, a strategy to address the phenomenon of local radicalism in a global context is carried out in both contexts, namely the global context and the local context. In a global context, efforts to eliminate group narcissism are returned to the root of the problem. If radicalism is nothing more than a response to the cultural values offered by the West which reduce the spiritual values which are the spirit of Muslim culture, cultural strategies seem to be necessary for Muslims to do. Reflections on radical movements in Indonesia are often a response to American cultural hegemony.

Efforts to spread a Western culture that cannot be separated from the role of using mass media can also be carried out by the East to spread their cultural systems. Likewise with propaganda to build international community opinion about the concept of radicalism and its references. Radicalism in the name of religion is increasingly exposed to the media in the form of terror, bombings, several acts of violence, and various other crimes encased in religion. This of course has a bad impact on religion because religion should play a role in the function of peace. For that, we need an approach to show that Islam is not the same as what is perceived based on the image constructed by the Western media.

In this way, the ability to master the media is needed because the supremacy of culture in the information age depends on the ability to

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[55] Muhammad Yusran Hadi, "Ketika Macron menghina Islam: Radikal Dan Tidak Bermoral", https://www.kiblat.net/2020/11/04/ketika-macron-

menghina-islam-radikal-dan-tidak-bermoral/ {Accessed 5 November 2020}

[56] A'la.

access and use information technology. The spread of the value of de-radicalization becomes important especially when it is related to the findings of Zuly Qodir who saw several facts in the field regarding the involvement of young people in acts of intolerance.[57] They are the targets of de-radicalization. This finding becomes even more significant when he shows the results of the CSIS survey in 2017 that young people are very high connoisseurs of social media, namely 87% of the 5,000 new students use social media on a daily basis. By citing a report from The Wahid Foundation, it was informed that 77% of young people are very intensive with social media such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and LinkedIn. They learn the religion from social media, not from teachers who preach directly. The youths reportedly access 87% of social media that upload hate news with an access time of 3-4 hours every day.

Zainiyati mentioned the findings of the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) regarding the three main channels for spreading the idea of radicalism in Indonesia, namely social movements, Islamic educational institutions, and publication of radical thoughts through electronic media, print, and social media.[58] Examples of products for distribution through print media include the publication of a jihad magazine (Jihadmagz) in Banten, a Khilafah magazine in Bogor, or An-Najah in Solo.[59]

Thus, the use of social media to counter the spread of this idea becomes important and this is where the task of religious elites to provide inclusive religious understanding as a contrast to the use of social media for the spread of issues of radicalism to build an inclusive understanding of Islamic teachings that have the potential to be misinterpreted. In this way, it is hoped that the youth can become agents of world peace who are able to return the image of religion back to its natural understanding.

In the local context, de-radicalization with a multiculturalism educational approach with a focus on strengthening local wisdom seems very relevant to cutting the historical roots of radicalism. This focus is expected to prove the fluid character of Islam rather than imitating Islam from outside so that it is more oriented towards cultural accidents and not on its substance. In this way, religion not only grows as formal teaching but also develops as a socio-cultural phenomenon. In addition, the deradicalization of textual understanding also needs to be developed by campaigning for alternative interpretations, including moderate interpretation, as a subtle rejection of the hegemony of scriptural Muslims.[60] This approach is certainly an effort that must be considered by managers of educational institutions to make the de-radicalization agenda an inseparable part of their education, both structurally by adapting the curriculum and culturally by developing a multicultural culture.

This effort is important because based on the research results of Husniyatus Salamah Zainiyati, it is stated that educational institutions can actually be used as a medium for spreading the ideas of radicalism. He noted three important points from the phenomenon of the relationship between radicalism and the essential elements of education. First, radicalism is promoted and taught through institutional systems and curriculum designs that are directed at building radicalism in the character of students. Second, radicalism will develop because the point of view of the educators puts forward a radical mindset. Third, the development of education based on a multicultural model and promoting national character is in fact confronted with the facts of radical groups in schools.[61]

In this case, Muslims need to revitalize and place the divinity and universality of their faith

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[57] Qodir.
[58] Zainiyati.
[59] Muzakki.

[60] Mahfudz.
[61] Zainiyati.

in the social, cultural, economic, political context, and in this case the context of education, thereby making Islam a public religion. As a public religion, Islam shows that in the relationship between God and humans and in the relationship between humans and revelation, it has codified humans to understand human and cultural diversity.[62]

As stated earlier, educational institutions are the most likely institutions to counteract radicalism. Educational institutions are one type of social institution that needs to be strengthened and empowered in the context of eradicating radicalism. It needs to be reiterated here that education is an institution that has a strategic position in shaping and developing attitudes based on certain views and values. These views and values can be used to counter the logic of radicalism so that the existence of this institution is closely connected in efforts to stem the radicalization agenda (de-radicalization).[63]

The value built in the agenda of religious de-radicalization is the use of an approach by prioritizing the character of Islam that is *Rahmat li al 'Alamin* as a relevant approach in responding to issues and dynamics of contemporary Islam and on a global scale. With this, de-radicalism also provides alternative solutions for various images of Islam which are often labeled as the religion of global violence and terrorism.[64]

As a response to global radicalism, local radicalism movements are always motivated in the context of their relationship with the facts of radicalism that occur in global structures. For example, the tensions between Islam and the West have re-strengthened after the publication of the Prophet Muhammad SAW cartoon, the Salman Rushdie case, the Iranian revolution, the American invasion of Iraq, the Gulf War, and other issues of extremism labeled as Islam. As a

result, Islam and its people are often the objects of Western bullying through icons and symbols that portray Islam as an intolerant character by always presenting figures who are considered radical and representing scenes of violence including suicide. Such representations are of course unrealistic, both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, there is no relevance of this accusation with the substance of Islamic teachings that have been generally recognized as a religion that carries human values. In practice, history shows how Islam has put forward these human values so that if the situation necessitates war, Islam does not appear as an aggressor.

Thus, de-radicalism must be able to present the natural face of Islam as a religion that sided with humanity. If not, then the de-radicalism movement will be a contradiction to the mission it contains because it will become radicalism in a new form. Therefore, a morally based multiculturalism educational approach is important because it is an effort of how Muslims can act firmly without losing their humanist character. In this way, the jargon of Islam as a religion which is a blessing for all of nature does not stop at the normative-theoretical level but is actually in reality and can be enjoyed by mankind universally.

Returning to what has been displayed in Islamic history at the time of the Prophet, it is important to make the Prophet's approach a solution to counteract the pace of radicalism that is embedded in the body of Islam. This is because the message conveyed by the Prophet was very clear so that imitating the pattern and approach of religious de-radicalism by the Prophet is the best example and the most realistic and rational movement. By carrying out a contextual historical analogy of plural Medina's social reality with a thick ethnic background, it will be very relevant if the same approach is

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[62] Abdullah.

[63] 15 fin.

[64] Choirul Mahfud, Niken Prasetyawati, Wahyuddin, Zainul Muhibbin, Dyah Satya Yoga Agustin, Heni

Sukmawati, 'Religious Radicalism, Global Terrorism and Islamic Challenges in Contemporary Indonesia', *Jurnal Sosial Humaniora* (JSH) 11. 1, [2018], 14.

carried out in the Indonesian context. The Prophet's model of de-radicalism was carried out with ethics-based multiculturalism education.

This de-radicalization approach with a multiculturalism approach can be seen when the Prophet built a social system that proved the Prophet's ability to accommodate the interests of a heterogeneous and multicultural society with a variety of different backgrounds, different ethnicities, and different religions. The multiculturalism approach is the main asset to avoid conflicts and wars of interests that have become the embryos for the emergence of radical movements. So that when the plurality of society is respected, harmony will automatically build up in society because primordial and sectoral issues can suppress the birth of radicalism.[65]

The post-prophetic situation of Mecca and Medina shows the success of the Prophet in developing a model of de-radicalism approach. Thus, realizing de-radicalism in the context of Indonesia's plural society is not a difficult thing to do. Education, however, remains the first most relevant institution to counter radicalism.

Conclusion

The dynamic factors of glocal radicalism refers to the phenomenon of local radicalism which indirectly becomes part of the global radicalism structure, born of or as an implication of the systematic propaganda of that structure. Glocal radicalism is basically the result of structured radicalism launched by the West and the regimes that support it. The phenomenon of violence in the dynamics and dialectics of these global forces is manifest in the social, political, and economical processes in the Islamic countries. Examples for this case include political repression, deprivation of human rights, elimination of the right to dissent, which constantly creates instability in Islamic countries.

The tendency of superiority in the flow of global radicalism marked by the narcissistic attitude of some rulers, nations, or national groups in this world as a nation that claims to be the most cultured, the most powerful, the strongest, and the most peace-loving. This attitude, in turn, makes them feel to be the best nation can trigger arbitrary actions against a nation that is considered bad in the name of goodness and then can reflect the same actions, including destructive and de humanistic.

The strategy for addressing the phenomenon of glocal radicalism is carried out in both contexts, the global context, and the local context. In a global context, is to get rid of group narcissism by changing the world order that more reflects justice and equality. In the local context, de-radicalization with a multiculturalism educational approach with a focus on strengthening local wisdom seems very relevant to cutting the historical roots of radicalism, an approach the prophet also took in the context of plural Medina's social reality with a thick ethnic and religiosity background.

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