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The understanding and implementation of Religious Moderation and national insight by Islamic student movements

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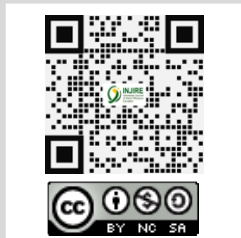
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Abstract

This research aims and has objectives of the research to analyze the understanding and implementation of the Islamic student university movement to the concept of Religious Moderation and national insight. This research was conducted at the office of the Muhammadiyah Student University Association (IMM) and Indonesian Muslim University Students Action Association (KAMMI) UGM which were the samples in this research. The research method used field research and literature. Field research by interviewing and filling out questionnaires while literature as a secondary source to strengthen primary data. It was found that the understanding of KAMMI UGM cadres was better than IMM UGM on these two issues. It can be concluded that a good understanding of Religious Moderation and national insight is not directly in line with its implementation. Another finding from this study is that a good understanding of Religious Moderation is not directly in line with the knowledge of the cadres of the Islamic student movement about national insight.

Keywords:

Islamic Student; National Insight; Religious Moderation.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pemahaman dan implementasi gerakan mahasiswa Islam terhadap konsep moderasi beragama dan wawasan kebangsaan. Penelitian ini dilakukan di kantor Ikatan Mahasiswa Universitas Muhammadiyah (IMM) dan Persatuan Aksi Universitas Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI) UGM yang menjadi sampel dalam penelitian ini. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah penelitian lapangan dan kepustakaan. Penelitian lapangan dengan cara wawancara dan pengisian kuesioner sedangkan literatur sebagai sumber sekunder untuk memperkuat data primer. Ditemukan bahwa pemahaman kader KAMMI Universitas Gajah Mada lebih baik dibandingkan IMM UGM terhadap dua permasalahan tersebut. Hasil penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa pemahaman yang baik tentang moderasi beragama dan wawasan kebangsaan tidak berbanding lurus dengan implementasinya. Temuan lain dari penelitian ini adalah pemahaman yang baik tentang moderasi beragama tidak berbanding lurus dengan pengetahuan kader gerakan mahasiswa Islam tentang wawasan kebangsaan.

Kata Kunci:

Mahasiswa Islam; Wawasan Kebangsaan; Moderasi Beragama.

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Introduction

In Indonesia, BNPT (the National Counterterrorism Agency) identified radicalism in seven state universities (Perguruan Tinggi Negeri, PTN). These seven PTN include the University of Indonesia (UI), Diponegoro University (Undip), Brawijaya University (UB), Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), and Airlangga University (Unair). In fact, almost all PTN in Indonesia, especially those in Java island, have been suspected of anti-Pancasila tendencies. The difference lies only in the degree of the strong or weak tendencies (Sutari, t.t.). Strong tendency refers to exposure to a high level of radicalism, for example, advocating that the followers of different religions must be combatted. In contrast, weak tendency indicates a non-radical stance, for example, unwillingness to salute the national flag.

Any groups exposed to these tendencies tend to engage in *takfiri* (declaring other Muslims as unbelievers), followed by vigilante justice, the spread of hatred, violence, and heresy accusations. Several factors contribute to these actions: a lack of national insight, a narrow-minded religious perspective, the exclusivity of religious education, and the influence of foreign religious politics, particularly from the Middle East. All of these factors certainly contradict the essence of Islam as a moderate religion (Nashir, 2017). It is undeniable that *takfiri* is suspected of becoming a phenomenon within certain Islamic student movements. This can be seen in two students from the University of Jambi who were exposed to Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and they believed that those who reject the caliphate are people who dislike Islam, so they do not deserve to be followers of the teachings brought by the Prophet Muhammad (Supian and Rahman, 2020).

The Islamic student movement is sometimes perceived as harboring beliefs that are contrary to moderate Islam. This is in line with a statement by Azyumardi Azra that the KAMMI movement has a radicalism tendency ("Cendekiawan Muslim," 2018). In addition, the presence of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) within student movements has transformed into Gema Pembebasan (GP), which has a significant impact on the spread of ultra-conservative Islamic ideologies that hold extreme views. The existence of the Islamic Student Association (HMI), the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), and the Muslim Student Association (IMM) is essential in realizing religious moderation.

Religious moderation and national insight are the solutions to the current issues faced by the Muslim community and the Indonesian nation, which are quite sensitive to religion and nationalism-related issues. Various ideologies that contradict both Pancasila and the spirit of Islam in Indonesia are increasingly popular among the public, including university students. Meanwhile, students in public universities (PTU) are expected to be critical when dealing with ideologies that do not follow the unity of the Republic of Indonesia. Rigid interpretations of the Quran are the primary cause why extremist groups find it hard to implement religious moderation (Fenton, 2014).

Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) was selected as the research subject because it is not included in the list of radical campuses released by BNPT. Therefore, it is necessary to prove whether it should not be included in the list or whether weak tendencies are not identified at this university. The reason for not selecting a university that is clearly exposed to radicalism is to preserve the educational institution's reputation. This research was done based on data provided by BNPT. Furthermore, it should be noted that student associations are always led by presidents affiliated with KAMMI; the presidents of student associations in nearly 300 national campuses are KAMMI-affiliated (Suseno et al., 2014).

This research brought up a trending topic, making it interesting and important. Islamic student movements in public universities are vulnerable to infiltration by extremist ideologies, as previously explained. All Islamic student movements are expected to promote moderate thinking and national insight.

This hope can be achieved through religious moderation, an alternative approach to reducing extremist ideologies and terrorism, emphasizing national insight and religious and educational perspectives. A previous study on this topic was conducted by Fenton entitled *Change*

and Continuity in Indonesian Islamist Ideology and Terrorist Strategies (2014), which focused on different regions (Solo, Poso, and Bima), while the current research focuses on the Islamic student movements at UGM.

The problem resolution presented by this research will provide new and significant results. The research findings can either support or challenge the data from BNPT, thus strengthening or refuting this agency's arguments. The available data was considered adequate to address the research problem. Similar research can be found, but research involving Islamic student movements is not yet public, thus eliminating plagiarism concerns. Research on religious moderation and national insight using the perspective of external Islamic student organizations remains a relatively unexplored area, making this research exciting and important for further exploration.

This research is essential for developing science, especially about Islamic Religious Education (PAI) taught at public universities (PTU), which is undoubtedly related to religious moderation and national insight. This research will hopefully contribute to educating the public, particularly PTU students, about national insight from a religious and spiritual perspective. On average, Muslim students at PTU do not graduate from Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*); they usually lack Islam-related knowledge, yet they tend to learn such knowledge from specific forums that have extremist tendencies. For example, only 5.2% of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa University students were Pesantren graduates (Rohimah & Ngulwiyah, 2022). Active members of Islamic student movements may not necessarily have a thorough understanding of moderate Islam and national insight. In addition, this research expectedly provides valuable input to all PTU to be careful and thorough in designing Islamic Religious Education to prevent any students from being involved in extremist groups. All of these can be achieved if religious moderation is well implemented.

In the research context, a literature review is used to determine the extent to which other researchers have investigated similar themes. Some studies that have inspired the submission of this research proposal are as follows. Masdar Hilmy (2014) believed that UGM is one of the bases for the HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) movements in Indonesia, in addition to IPB, even when they have expanded their activities with the existence of GP, which primarily focuses on Islamic student movements. Although the paper entitled "*Akar-akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)*" (The Roots of Transnational Islamism: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) neither entirely aligns with the current research nor brings up GP HTI, it has similarities with the current research in terms of transnational ideologies that contradict national insight.

Several written sources were examined to obtain the most comprehensive results. Three main topics were explored in this literature review: Islamic student movements, the concept of religious moderation, and national insight. Nurdiansyah (2014) argued that, in terms of understanding and implementation, KAMMI consistently aims to revitalize the values contained in Pancasila. A study titled "*Studi tentang Peran Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI) dalam Merevitalisasi Nilai-Nilai Pancasila*" (A Study of the Role of the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (KAMMI) in Revitalizing Pancasila Values) which was conducted at the Indonesia University of Education (UPI) contradicts the argument proposed by Azyumardi Azra which has been mentioned in the introduction of this paper. However, evidence from two different research objects is needed to either support or challenge the argument proposed by Nurdiansyah. This aims to dig deeper into whether KAMMI's ideology is indeed as described or whether it only applies at UPI but not at other PTU. Nurdiansyah's research was used as a primary source.

The origin of KAMMI was linked to the existence of the Campus Dakwah Institute (LDK) centered at Salman Mosque at ITB in the 1970s. The system used was small-group learning (cell groups). This model was adopted by the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwanul Muslimin) in Egypt although KAMMI has no structural or hierarchical connection with KAMMI. The transformation of Ikhwanul Muslimin started around 1992 when some students formed study groups with an Islamic spirit, which were later recognized by the internal universities as Campus Dawah Institutes

(LDK). After the 2000s, LDK grew rapidly alongside the formation of KAMMI two years earlier (Khalikin, 2012). When studying in Egypt in 2012, the author researched the Muslim Brotherhood, one of which was through their official newspaper, *al-Hurriyah wa al-'Adalah*, and the Tarbiyah movement, which serves as KAMMI's ideology. However, it was found that there was no connection between the two. According to Ufen (2008), KAMMI is an Islamic student movement affiliated with the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). The Tarbiyah movement gained momentum after the New Order regime collapsed because, according to Krismono (2018), there was huge opportunity for the growth of transnational Islamic movements. The establishment of IMM was often likened to a lifeboat when rumors spread that HMI would be disbanded by the government in 1964. This, however, was not the case. The implementation of IMM related to religious moderation and national insight is the formal cadre system within the organization, including Darul Arqam Dasar (DAD), Darul Arqam Madya (DAM), and Darul Arqam Paripurna (DAP). The IMM cadre system has positive and negative aspects (Lestari, 2017).

The active role of a cadre in IMM is not permanent. As its name suggests, it can only be held when undergraduate students are still. Once they graduate, they become part of the parent organization, namely Muhammadiyah for males or 'Aisyiyah for females. This is evidenced by the fact that, when they still become active IMM cadres, they have already had active collaboration with other organizations within Muhammadiyah (Ningrum, 2022). Some also join other Muhammadiyah youth organizations such as Pemuda Muhammadiyah or Nasyiatul 'Aisyiyah (NA), and the Muhammadiyah young women's organization (Syamsiyatun, 2007). In fact, the structural and emotional attachment of IMM cadres is different from that of other Islamic student movements, such as HMI, which remains solid and continues into the Alumni Corps of HMI (KAHMI). When IMM cadres graduate and no longer hold the status of undergraduate students, it is as if their commitment fades regardless of the existence of the IMM Alumni Communication Forum (Fokal). For IMM cadres, the reputation of Muhammadiyah is far more important than the Islamic student movements they are previously engaged in.

An interesting fact is shown by HMI as documented by Wekke et al. in their article entitled "*Gerakan Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam dalam Pemikiran dan Dakwah di Indonesia*" (Islamic Student Association Movement in Thought and Dakwah in Indonesia). It is stated that HMI was a hero of Pancasila when there was a conflict with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in 1965. However, HMI also refuted the idea that Pancasila should be made the sole principle, leading to the emergence of HMI's Organization-Saving Council (MPO). Nevertheless, HMI's loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is beyond question. What the organization's founders had done, starting in 1947, serves as compelling evidence that HMI is loyal to the nation. Between this previous study and the current research, there is a similarity. Namely, both explore the involvement of Islamic student movements in Indonesia. However, there is a difference between the two studies; namely, the study by Wekke et al. focuses on historical analysis, while the current research focuses on contemporary issues. The term "contemporary issues" refers to the most recent developments of a case, often highlighting the issues of religious moderation and national insight. Understanding is defined as the process, method, or act of comprehending something. Implementation is defined as application or execution. In the context of this research, implementation refers to the application or execution of Islamic student movements in terms of religious moderation and national insight. After the important findings from the literature review have been described, the researcher's position in relation to some previous research can be known. This research further refines the findings of previous research to avoid duplication.

The research questions are as follows. First, how do the Islamic student movements at UGM understand the concepts of religious moderation and national insight? Second, how is the Islamic student movements at UGM implementing the concepts of religious moderation and national insight? Meanwhile, the following are the objectives of this research. First, to analyze the understanding of the Islamic student movements regarding the concepts of religious moderation and national insight. Second, to analyze the implementation of Islamic student movements

regarding the concepts of religious moderation and national insight. A theory proposed by Notoatmodjo (2007) was used in this research. This theory explains that the level of education affects a person's understanding. As activists, students naturally have a higher level of education.

Research requires a theoretical framework or concept as a foundation. According to Dawing (Dawing, 2017), religious moderation covers universal values that can be found in the teachings brought by the Prophet Muhammad, including balance, compassion, justice, and equality. This research analyzed the understanding and implementation of religious moderation by the Islamic student movements at UGM. The investigation started by first focusing on their understanding of this concept, followed by examining their activities to investigate the implementation of this concept.

Regarding religious moderation and national insight, the words of Allah Almighty in the 13th verse of Surah Al-Hujurat can be used as a theoretical or conceptual foundation. '*Ummatan wasathan*' is another term for religious moderation. '*Wasath*' means moderate, the same as 'moderation' which is derived from the word 'moderate.' Based on this, the author defined religious moderation as the process of moderating religious teachings, especially in Islam. This concept was used as the theoretical foundation for the current research. The abovementioned verse contains the word شُهَدَاءَ which means witnesses. The Constitution of Medina is the realization of *wasathan* (moderate) Islam in the history of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. According to the author, some of its characteristics are as follows: not separating religion from worldly matters and not promoting violence. Muhammad ar-Razi stated that religious moderation is closely related to سيرة الفلسفية or philosophical way. Westerners refer to it as the Philosophical Way of Life ("al-Razi (Rhazes),").

The saying of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH can also serve as a conceptual foundation for religious moderation. From Abu Hurairah: The Prophet PBUH said, "Verily, this religion is easy, and no one overburdens himself in his religion, but he will be unable to continue in that way. So, do not be extremists, but try to be near perfection and receive the good tidings that you will be rewarded. Gain strength by worshipping in the mornings, afternoons, and during the last hours of the nights" (Sahih al-Bukhari).

Moderation is actually a dominant issue in Islam because it is part of the natural disposition. In Islamic law, moderation is defined as actions that neither add nor subtract and do not go to extremes. Religious moderation is to direct towards the better and positive aspects; it promotes neither killing nor destruction (al-Qaradhwai, 2017), which certainly contradicts the concept of religious moderation which presents Islam as a friendly religion.

The research also investigated the national insight of the Islamic student movements at UGM. This encompasses their thoughts and tangible actions related to national insight. Sofyan and Sundawa (2016) argued that national insight is a perspective used by a person in perceiving his/her own nation and homeland in this world. Being a part of the world, Indonesia naturally has its own national insight. In the context of this research, the tangible actions of the Islamic student movements at UGM in relation to religious moderation and national insight were examined.

In the author's opinion, Pancasila is the appropriate form for Indonesia. National insight is not a new concept in Indonesia because it has been taught since primary school. Even Pancasila was already taught in 1962 under the name "Civic." The education standards of 2006 contain a course called Civic Education (Budimansyah, 2010). At the university level, Civic Education has been established as a university course, along with Religious Education, Pancasila Education, and Bahasa Indonesia based on Law No. 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education.

These references are written as the literature review for this article, while the explanations are part of the theory. According to the author, national insight is the citizens' perspective of their homeland, all of which is based on mutual agreement. These theories, especially those about the effect of education on the selected knowledge, complement and are relevant to the theme of this article. Operational definitions have been determined to prevent errors. Data were collected using

questionnaires with multiple-choice answers, covering various aspects such as the understanding of Pancasila, the frequency of congregational prayers, the study of "*washthiyah*", and the study of national insight. Congregational prayer is one of the manifestations of religious moderation.

Method

This research used an experimental method. The population in this study comprised all the Islamic student movements in public universities, while the sample was IMM and KAMMI at UGM. The data collection technique involved collecting literature sources relevant to these two student movements, interviewing representatives of each organization with sufficient knowledge about the research theme, and distributing questionnaires. The data were considered valid if all the questions were answered.

Data collection through interviews was necessary for this research. The informants were those who were competent and trustworthy in the relevant field (Endraswara, 2006). The sampling was done by interviewing one respondent and asking four respondents to fill out the questionnaires, intended to confront the opinions of each respondent. The office or secretariat of the organization was observed to ensure that the literature collection was not affiliated with extremist ideologies.

The questionnaire method can also be referred to as recorded interviews, regardless of some differences. In questionnaires, the sample is represented by a list of written questions (Surachmad, 1985). As stated by S. Nasution, a questionnaire is a research instrument that consists of written questions used to gather information from multiple sources (Nasution, 1987). Indicators were needed to detail the analysis. Some indicators to show that the Islamic student movement has a good understanding of moderate Islam and national insight using the perspective of religious education are scientific, constitutional, contextual, and *maraji*'.

These four indicators were then used as part of the data analysis technique to assess the understanding and implementation of the Islamic student movement at UGM. An Islamic student movement can be considered moderate in terms of Islam and national insight if the average score is >75%, rather moderate if between 50% - 75%, slightly moderate if 25% - 50%, and extremist if <25%. Some of the indicators that the Islamic student movement upholds moderate Islam and national insight in terms of religious life are being disciplined in worship according to their beliefs, showing tolerance towards other people, either those of the same or those of different religions, having an inclusive mindset by accepting non-Muslim leaders in areas where the majority do not uphold Islam, having willingness to do altruistic activities, having a nation-defense program as a manifestation of nationalism, and demonstrating a love for peace through tangible actions. These six indicators can be used as part of the data analysis to assess the understanding and implementation of moderate thinking by the Islamic student movement at UGM. The interval used was the same as that used in the Religious Education.

The method for drawing conclusions was like the interview method. The respondents from each Islamic student movement at UGM were given a list of questions to answer. However, this session used closed-ended questions, while the interview questions focused on opinions and explanations on implementation. The questionnaire answers could strengthen the interviews or the opposite. This might be possible when the respondents did not express their true opinions but provided formal answers for the organization's reputation.

Next is the literature study, which includes data collection, analysis, and display. Primary data are obtained directly in the field (Harimurti, 2011). A literature study is useful to complement, support, and complete research data. The current research used qualitative and quantitative approaches, with a stronger emphasis on the quantitative approach. This was deductive research, i.e., starting from specific to general issues.

Findings

Profile of Islamic Student Movements

The argument in this paper was developed from the profile of the Islamic student movements, especially those selected as the sample in this study, namely IMM and KAMMI. IMM at UGM was reactivated after a long dormancy initiated by Afnan Hadikusumo, a student at the Faculty of Literature at UGM, in 1987. The presence of IMM at UGM was increasingly noticeable in 1998 (before the reform era) when it was led by a student from the Faculty of Engineering named Arif Nur Kholis. This information was obtained through an interview with Arif Nur Kholis, the President of the PK IMM UGM, in 1998.

IMM UGM has several regular programs. *First*, Thursday morning Quranic interpretation study. This activity has been regularly held since 2003. The role of IMM UGM is primarily technical, such as arranging seats and moderating the discussions. *Second*, bi-weekly study sessions. These study sessions are held every Friday at Al-Muttaqin Mosque, Tawang Sari, starting after Maghrib prayer until the call time to Isha prayer. In each of these sessions, IMM UGM invites different speakers who bring up different topics. The topics usually relate to education, book reviews, contemporary Islamic issues, and Muhammadiyah-related matters. These study sessions are open to the public. *Third*, Darul Arqam Dasar (DAD). This is an initial training program that IMM UGM has for its internal members. This three-day program is usually held in a place far from the campus. The training covers various topics such as Islamic studies, Muhammadiyah-related matters, IMM-related matters, and social analysis. The participants are usually new IMM UGM members, typically freshmen. *Fourth*, social services during Idul Adha. As the name suggests, this program is regularly held during the Eid al-Adha holiday. It is usually conducted in remote areas. In addition to animal sacrifice, there are other activities, such as distributing groceries, teaching at Quranic Education Centers (TPA), conducting religious studies, and taking the Eid prayer. These activities are usually conducted simultaneously.

When recruiting members, IMM UGM tends to use normative methods. Word-of-mouth recruitment remains their main approach. Their active members will usually invite their friends, for example, their high schoolmates or their seniors, to join IMM. However, most of the members are alumni of Muhammadiyah educational institutions or students from families associated with the Muhammadiyah organization.

Another recruitment approach is to set up a booth in the courtyard of the UGM Auditorium, i.e., Grha Sabha Pramana, during new student registration. IMM UGM offers services such as a place to rest, mineral water, snacks, books, and brochures for new member registration during this event. This approach has been used since 2005. In addition, this organization also recruits new members through incidental events such as public dialogues or religious study sessions. Through these activities, new students will learn about IMM UGM's existence; some become interested and decide to join the organization. However, this approach is less effective because most participants of such incidental events are already IMM UGM members. Only a few new students who participate in these events are willing to join IMM UGM.

Eventually, the latest model for new member recruitment will be utilizing the social media of IMM UGM. They have various social media, including websites, Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram. They upload various appealing posts to interest potential members. The requirements for becoming a president of IMM UGM are as outlined in the Articles of Association (ART), i.e., having completed DAD, being loyal to the organization's goals, adhering to the policies of Muhammadiyah, being able to recite the Quran correctly, being competent in performing duties, being able to be a role model, not being part of any political party leadership, and having willingness to live at the secretariat (Suratman, 2009).

IMM UGM has several sources of funding. *First*, membership dues. The members are obliged to pay member contributions, either periodically or when there is a meeting, the amount of which is decided by the members themselves. *Second*, alumni contribution. Although this is not substantial in quantity or quality, IMM UGM alumni also donate to the organization they were

once part of. *Third*, contributions from Muhammadiyah-affiliated lecturers. Although there are not too many Muhammadiyah-affiliated lecturers at UGM, they also pay contributions to IMM UGM. *Fourth*, donations from Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah (AUM). It has been known that Muhammadiyah, including IMM, is an organization actively involved in establishing charitable enterprises, including universities, schools, hospitals, or Islamic banks; they also select the leadership of these AUM institutions. Once these AUMs are well-established and successful, Muhammadiyah will request donations from the leaders that they have previously selected.

The following is the organizational structure of PK IMM Ibnu Khaldun, Ibnu al-Baitar, and al-Khawarizmi (IMM, 2023).

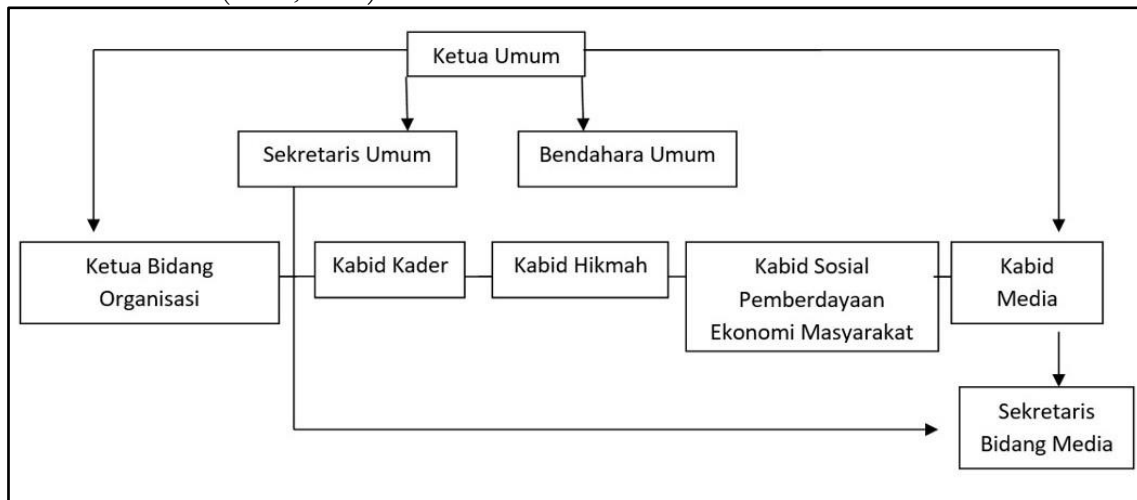


Figure 1. Organizational Structure of PK IMM Ibnu Khaldun. Source: www.immugm.org (2018)

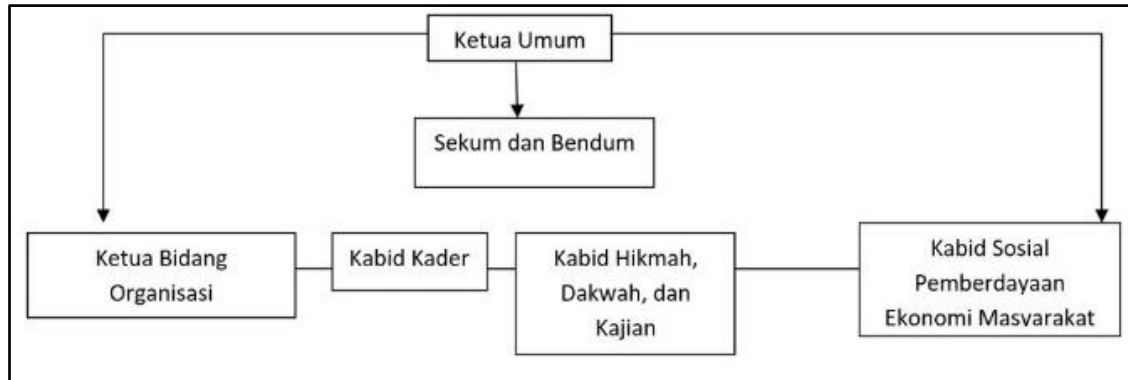


Figure 2. Organizational Structure of PK IMM Ibnu al-Baitar. Source: www.immugm.org (2018)

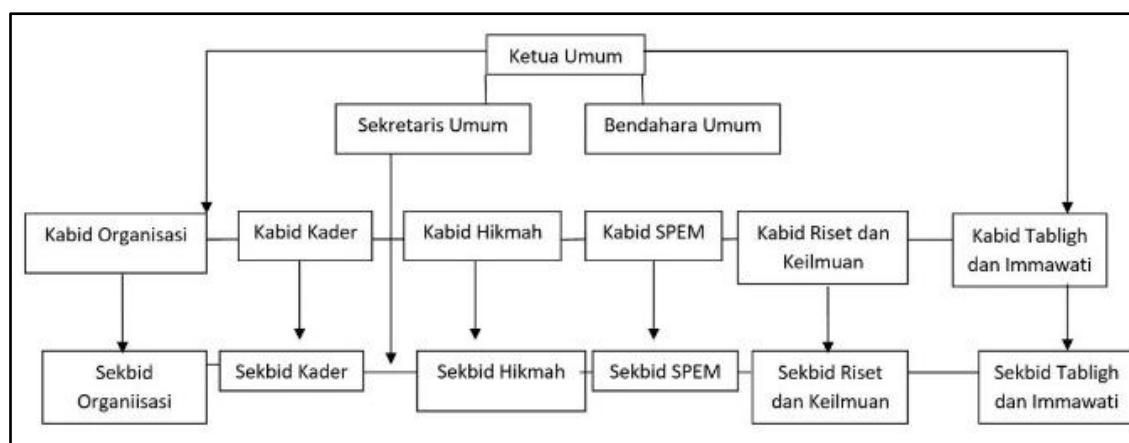


Figure 3. Organizational Structure of PK IMM al-Khawariẓmi. Source: www.immugm.org (2018)

The establishment of KAMMI started when there was an agreement among all the Campus Da'wah Institutes (LDK) throughout Indonesia in the lead-up to the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998. This event occurred at AR Fakhruddin Mosque at the University of Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM) (Sidiq, 2003). After that, several students from various higher education institutions throughout Indonesia, especially those engaged in LDK, established KAMMI on their campuses, including UGM. However, the history of the establishment of KAMMI UGM is scarce, and the informants were unwilling to provide comprehensive data for this research, as seen in an interview with Annisa, a member of KAMMI UGM, in 2018.

KAMMI UGM holds several programs. First, *Daurah Marhalah 1*. This is the initial training for KAMMI members. *Daurah* means floor, house, or event. *Marhalah* means level. This program mainly concerns national issues, given that KAMMI is oriented toward practical politics, including campus politics. Second, *Madrasah KAMMI*. Third, regular discussions and studies on various themes. Fourth, frequent protests and demonstrations in response to current issues. Fifth, KAMMI teaches a program inspired by "Indonesia Mengajar," mainly focusing on training in underprivileged areas.

The recruitment process for KAMMI members starts with prospective members participating in the selection process to attend *Daurah Marhalah (DM) 1*, as explained by Annisa Nur, the Corps of Cader Guides for KAMMI Commissariat UGM in 2018/2019, during an interview conducted on October 10, 2018. If prospective members pass this stage, they can proceed to DM 1. KAMMI follows a tiered cader system, like IMM. After DM 1, there are DM 2 (at the regional/provincial level) and DM 3 (at the national level). KAMMI has broad networking, especially concerning recruitment, due to emotional and ideological bonds to Islamic Spiritual Organizations (Rohis) in every high school (Khalikin, 2012).

Like IMM UGM, the book collection of KAMMI UGM primarily consists of references related to social, religious, political, or legal themes. An interesting fact was identified after the observation, i.e., some of the literature in KAMMI UGM contains the spirit of the Tarbiyah and Ikhwanul Muslimin movements. There are also books about the lives and thoughts of prominent figures such as Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Quthub, and Yusuf al-Qaradhawi. This strengthens the perception that KAMMI has drawn inspiration from the Ikhwanul Muslimin movement in Egypt (Chamadi & Sumantri, 2019).

The funding of KAMMI UGM comes from independent sources. According to Annisa Nur, they make efforts to raise funds independently. While this statement may be true, it seems perplexing. KAMMI UGM is the most prominent Islamic student movement in UGM, a university that comprises 18 faculties. It is doubtful that all their activities are independently funded independently. Regardless of how diligent the KAMMI members are in fundraising, it sounds impossible to financially sustain KAMMI UGM independently financially, especially considering their affiliation with the Bunderan Party, which serves as the campus political wing (Hamdi, 2021).

Moreover, candidates are running in Student Elections (Pemira) at these 18 faculties. All these activities certainly require substantial funding.

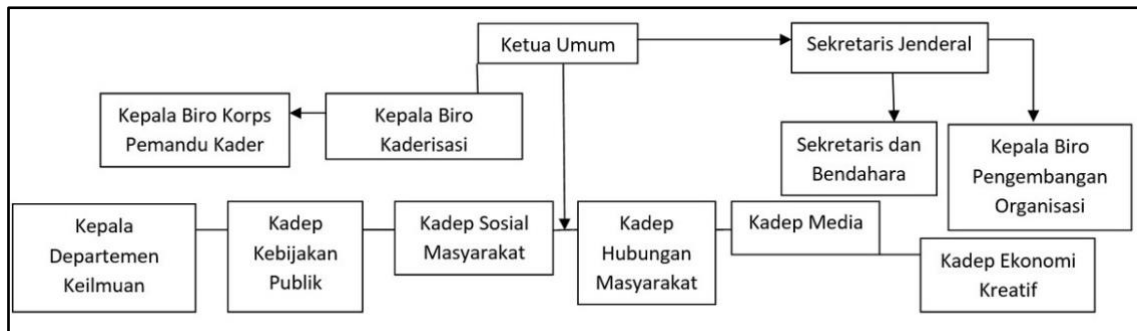


Figure 4. Organizational Structure of KAMMI Commissariat UGM. Source: <https://kammikomsatugm.wordpress.com/tentang-kammi-ugm/> (2023)

Discussion

The data and facts for IMM UGM were identified to be similar to those for KAMMI UGM. Of 10 respondents, 80% admitted that they rarely or never received learning materials on religious moderation in Islamic Religious Education (PAI) courses. Surprisingly, other non-PAI lecturers have discussed tolerance in Islam with varying frequencies. Furthermore, 20% of the respondents mentioned that PAI lecturers have covered the topic of *Wasathiyah* Islam, while other lecturers have yet to discuss tolerance in Islam at all. This means that these lecturers had a clear understanding of their roles. This deserves recognition.

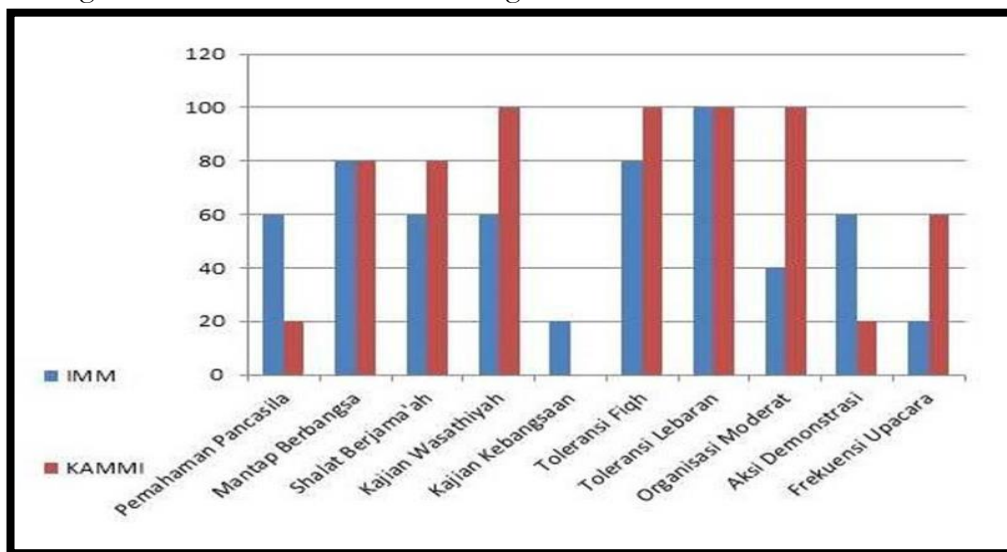


Figure 5. Comparison Diagram on the Implementation of Religious Moderation and National Insight. Source: Shubhi Mahmashony Harimurti (2018)

Sixty percent of the respondents showed a good understanding of religious moderation. These respondents were activists in IMM who had been active for 1 to 2 years. The fourth response came from a respondent who had been an IMM member for more than two years. This is quite disappointing because this respondent had a longer study duration, yet the understanding of this matter still needs to be improved. On the other hand, the fifth respondent had been part of IMM for less than a year, so the lack of understanding was considered more acceptable because she had only recently become a university student or member of IMM UGM.

The fact that 40% of the IMM UGM respondents had a limited understanding of religious moderation should not be entirely attributed to them. They have yet to receive this learning material during their PAI courses. However, this does not necessarily mean students should give up and do nothing. The existence of IMM as an Islamic student movement should provide a platform for those seeking knowledge that cannot be acquired in the classroom.

Interestingly, 40% of the IMM UGM respondents stated that religious moderation was either never discussed or rarely mentioned in their PAI courses. Instead, they received discussions on religious tolerance from non-PAI lecturers. There may be no inherent issue with this, but it would be more appropriate for lecturers to stick to their areas of expertise (Hsb, 2022). This is especially relevant in Public Universities (PTU), where aligning with a person's expertise is crucial.

Forty percent of the KAMMI UGM respondents understood religious moderation very well. Although 60% understood well, the third respondent gave contradictory responses. He initially stated that religious moderation was associated with moderate Islam, but later, he contradicted his argument by saying that *Wasathiyah* Islam is not an extreme or intolerant movement. His final point was rather alarming, as the respondent stated that *tasamuh* (tolerance) is not part of religious moderation. They had been members of this organization for more than two years. Meanwhile, 20% of them gave quite good responses. The last respondent seemed to have been exposed to extremist views. He believed that religious moderation might limit freedom and harbored elements of hatred towards differing beliefs. This respondent had only been an active member of KAMMI for one year, indicating that his exposure to materials on religious moderation might still be limited. In contrast, those who had been members for over 2 years showed a wiser understanding of moderate Islam.

The fact that 40% of KAMMI UGM members showed a good understanding of religious moderation is not surprising. This is because 20% of them reported always receiving this material from their PAI lecturers. Although some of them also mentioned that there were no materials on religious moderation during their PAI courses, they still showed a good understanding of *Wasathiyah* Islam. One of these respondents held the position of the President of KAMMI UGM, emphasizing the importance of being well-informed in this role.

The data and facts for IMM UGM were identified to be similar to those for KAMMI UGM. Of 10 respondents, 80% admitted that they rarely or never received learning materials on religious moderation in Islamic Religious Education (PAI) courses. Surprisingly, other non-PAI lecturers have discussed tolerance in Islam with varying frequencies. A total of 60% of them stated “yes” and “oftentimes,” while the remaining stated “sometimes.” Furthermore, 20% of the respondents mentioned that PAI lecturers had covered the topic of *Wasathiyah* Islam, while other lecturers never discussed tolerance in Islam at all. This means that these lecturers had a clear understanding of their roles. This deserves recognition.

The understanding of religious moderation among KAMMI UGM members was better than that among IMM UGM members. However, it is important to note that KAMMI UGM members still struggled with tolerance and showed dislike towards differences. The presence of extremist understandings within KAMMI UGM can be overshadowed by most members who had a good understanding of *Wasathiyah* Islam. There was indeed a tendency for KAMMI UGM members to be inclusive; this was identified after making various observations through personal experiences, such as housing, business, student government activities, and even marriages that mostly revolve within the KAMMI UGM community.

The content of religious moderation in the PAI curriculum cannot be directly linked to students' involvement in IMM or KAMMI. This is primarily an issue related to the curriculum and the effectiveness of the lecturers. Students, on the other hand, are usually allowed to choose specific lecturers or request them to cover materials. Meanwhile, in this era of openness, it should be reasonable for students to seek in-depth explanations about specific issues, including religious moderation.

All the IMM UGM respondents better understood national insight than religious moderation. This means that a good understanding of *Wasathiyah* Islam is not directly proportional to national insight-related knowledge. National insight is generally easier to comprehend as it has been taught since high school.

Sixty percent of the IMM UGM respondents claimed that the Pancasila and Civic Education (PPKn) materials taught on the campus were already the same as their existing understanding, including national insight. The remaining respondents stated the opposite, although they understood national wisdom well. This might suggest that PPKn lecturers delve less deeply into national insight materials, causing students to seek additional knowledge outside the campus.

Twenty percent of the KAMMI UGM respondents had an excellent understanding of national insight, while 80% had a good experience. The respondents who had been active members of this organization for more than two years showed an excellent understanding. Like IMM, the gap between the knowledge of religious moderation and national insight was also identified in KAMMI.

A unique situation was observed in KAMMI UGM. The KAMMI members, considered less moderate regarding religious beliefs, showed a high national insight. Typically, being moderate in religious beliefs aligns with an excellent understanding of love for the homeland because individuals with moderate religious views generally understand national wisdom.

Again, after interpreting the data, KAMMI UGM members showed a better understanding of national insight than IMM UGM members. These two organizations had different ideologies, leading to varying levels of national insight-related knowledge. The symbols of these Islamic student movements reveal their ideological tendencies. IMM is symbolized by a pen with three shields, representing their movements' trilogy: religiosity, intellectualism, and humanitarianism. Meanwhile, the symbol of KAMMI is a globe with an Indonesian map above a raised right hand. This indicates that KAMMI is more oriented towards nationalism, consistent with their motto, "Muslim Nationalists," although the symbol may also suggest political ambitions of taking control of Indonesia. These symbols are not meaningless, but reflect underlying ideologies (Harimurti, 2018).

KAMMI UGM members better understood national insight than IMM UGM members. However, 80% disagreed with the explanations given by their PPKn lecturers who taught this material. Only the remaining 20% claimed that the materials were in line with the knowledge they already had. This indicates that the PPKn lecturers had not clearly explained national insight. Moreover, when analyzing the data from both KAMMI and IMM UGM simultaneously, it can be concluded that the national insight-related materials at UGM could have been more effectively delivered by the PPKn lecturers.

In addition, another reason for concluding that the PPKn lecturers at UGM should have focused on discussing national insight is the result of observing IMM UGM. The study found that 60% of the respondents admitted that non-PPKn lecturers had addressed the form and system of the Republic of Indonesia. This would not have been the case if the lecturers with relevant expertise had taught national insight properly. This means that the students might have asked about this topic from non-PPKn lecturers, or these lecturers wanted to give additional information because the students had not received this material in their PPKn courses correctly. Ironically, however, 20% of the respondents claimed that the non-PPKn lecturers had mentioned that a caliphate system is the best solution for Indonesia. In comparison, 40% of them stated that these non-PPKn lecturers had never discussed the form and design of the Republic of Indonesia.

Like what was identified at IMM UGM, KAMMI UGM members who understood religious moderation did not necessarily implement it well in their daily lives. For example, one of the indicators of implementing moderate Islam is to show discipline when it comes to worship (taking prayers). Flag ceremonies serve as an indicator of national insight. Some examples of *Wasathiyah* studies include interpretation studies, *aqidah* (faith), *akhlak* (ethics), and the history of

Islam. A good understanding should progress to a process of learning and analysis, which then leads to positive implementation.

The theme of national insight has yet to be covered by KAMMI UGM. This becomes a concern, especially as some respondents mentioned that they frequently discussed *Manhaj Tarbiyah*, i.e., a learning method adopted by KAMMI from the Ikhwanul Muslimin movement in Egypt. According to Dadang Kahmad (2017), fanaticism can trigger radical actions, so KAMMI UGM needs to be cautious.

Sixty percent of the ten KAMMI UGM respondents mentioned that the activities related to religious moderation and national insight focus more on tangible actions that benefit society. For example, teaching activities, community services, and other activities that involve culture. The other activities include discussions and extra-parliamentary activities, which suggest that KAMMI is primarily oriented towards practical politics. It is quite sad that, at the student level, they already have political ambitions. However, it should be appreciated that the activities conducted by KAMMI UGM bring more benefits than those by IMM UGM, which are still mere discourse.

Various opinions about religious moderation are interrelated. A theory proposed by Arif (2020) can serve as a foundation for analyzing the research findings. According to this theory, religious moderation is the building elements of Islamic teachings that are global, balanced, tolerant, fair, moderate, egalitarian, dialogical, and open. This is in line with the research findings.

The abovementioned descriptions could answer several points mentioned in the Introduction. First, Azyumardi Azra's opinions do not apply to KAMMI UGM because they tend to be more moderate and have national insight. Besides, KAMMI has a vision to have a good understanding of the complex reality of the Indonesian nation and a mission to work for the benefit and progress of the Indonesian people, nation, and homeland ("Tentang Kammi» Pengurus Pusat KAMMI,"). If there are indications of radicalism, they may exist in other branches. Second, BNPT (National Counterterrorism Agency) does not include UGM in the list of campuses exposed to radicalism, and this has been proven to be accurate because there is no adequate evidence to show that both IMM UGM and KAMMI UGM have extremist tendencies. They have a positive perspective on the nation and do not exhibit extreme religious behavior.

Conclusion

The Islamic student movements at UGM, particularly IMM, and KAMMI, already understand religious moderation and national insight at the organizational level. However, in terms of the individual understanding of the members, KAMMI UGM has a slightly better performance than IMM UGM. KAMMI UGM should not become overly proud because there is a serious note in this regard, i.e., there are still activists who perceive religious moderation as a tool to attack opposing groups, show a lack of tolerance, and tend to spread hatred towards others with different views.

IMM and KAMMI UGM show a good understanding of religious moderation, but it does not necessarily correlate with their knowledge of national insight. Logically, these two concepts should be closely related because the concept of religious moderation often includes some elements of national sense. Besides, based on the observation, having a good understanding does not necessarily mean effectively implementing these two issues.

Implementing religious moderation and national insight in KAMMI UGM is slightly better than IMM UGM, with a comparison of 66% to 58%. Based on the indicators used in this study, both student organizations are categorized as relatively moderate. Some examples of their implementation include taking congregational prayers in mosques, organizing *Wasathiyah* studies, attending flag ceremonies, or participating in non-anarchist demonstrations. While KAMMI UGM consistently outperforms IMM UGM, there are still areas for improvement in the 20-year-old organization. It is recommended logical consequence that all Islamic student movements, especially IMM and KAMMI, strive to become more moderate and nationalist in terms of both understanding and implementation.

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