




## Research Article

# Islamic Radical Movement, Jihad, and Terrorism in Indonesia

Fahmi Irfani

Universitas Ibn Khaldun Bogor, Indonesia

E-mail: [fahmiirfani@fai.uika-bogor.ac.id](mailto:fahmiirfani@fai.uika-bogor.ac.id) 



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## Islamic Radical Movement, Jihad, and Terrorism in Indonesia

**Abstract.** This article discusses the recent development of Islamic world which related to radical movements Southeast Asia and the problem with the nation of jihad or religious terrorism. The radical movements in the history of Islamic development began in the early phase, it was marked by the presence of Khawarij group during the era of sahabat. This Khawarij group appeared due to the dissatisfaction of the political decision between Ali ad Muawiyah, thus caused the appearance of radical understanding by infidled (mengkafirkan) groups outside their group. The subsequent development of Islamic radicalism in the global world continuous to appear in different forms, and it also appears in every country including Indonesia. The incident of Black September, ISIS, Al-Qaeda, Jamaah Islamiyah, are the new forms of salafi jihad that uses terrorism to achieve their goal, and it caused the controversy in the Islamic world, is that considered as jihad or terrorism?

**Keywords:** Indonesia, Movements, Radicalism, Jihad, Terrorism

## INTRODUCTION

The fall of Egypt in the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1797 AD indicated that the Islamic world was experiencing a period of decline, as well as giving a realization to the leaders and scholars that Muslims were experiencing a critical period of civilization, intellectual and political. That incident showed a weak mentality of Moslem, *underfich mentality* of the besieged people, surrounded without any resistance to the French troops.<sup>1</sup> Those things awaken leaders and figures to reform the Islamic world, thus in terms of education, intellectual, economy and politics, renewal in all aspects so that Muslims are not far behind the progress of the European nation. The reform movement in the Islamic world was spearheaded by the Young Turkish movement, followed by the Jadidats Umtez Imyani movement in Central Asia, Jamaluddin Afgani, Rasid Ridha, Muhammad Abduh, and other reform figures. Along its way this renewal movement received the opposite response from groups who think that the withdrawal of Muslims is deu to the fact that Muslims have left the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet. This group is what later know as the revivalist group.

As a group that opposes reform in the Islamic world, the revivalists understand Islam textually, therefore this group opposes all reforms originating from outside of Islam, including adopting European-style modernization. Among the groups that categorized as revivalist groups, such as; the Salafi, Wahabi, and Salafi Jihadists. This revivalist group later became fragmented into several radical groups, groups that wanted change through anarchist movements. This radical group gives a negative image to the face of Islam.

The definition of radical itself is a movement for change that is very violent and extreme in demanding changes in political policy, while radicalism is a flow of radical ideology in politic. Generally, radicalism arises from a closed and textual understanding of religion. Radicals always feel that they are groups that best understand religious teachings, therefore, they often disbelieve other people or consider groups outside them to be heretical.<sup>2</sup>

Currently the radical movement has been fragmented into various organizations with a very literal, scriptural understanding of Islamic teachings. A very strong belief that Islam is the only solution to solve various crises in the global world, the tireless struggle to uphold Islamic law, resistance to groups with different understandings and beliefs and rejection and hatred of everything about western.<sup>3</sup> The above factors

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<sup>1</sup>The birth of the reform movement in the Islamic world began when the fall of Egypt under the hands of France, the leaders and leaders of the Ottoman Empire began to realize the backwardness of the Muslim community, even according to Azra, at that time the Islamic ummah was so underfich the mentality of the besieged people surrendered without any resistance. Delivered on Prof Azra's lecture in subject of Islamic World Contemporary, Monday 16<sup>th</sup> of November 2015.

<sup>2</sup>lik Arifin Mansoor, explained that the understanding of the takfiri group had occurred at the time of friends, after the tahkim events between the Ali and Muawiyah groups. This group became known as the khawari, the group that left Ali's ranks who disbelieved Ali and Muawiyah. Presented at the Islamic World Contemporary recovery on December 7 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Mubarak, M. Zaki. (2008). *Geneologi Islam Radikal Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES, pp. 133-135.

are factors that can only be seen from radical groups that only prioritize their own interests and that what caused the religious radicalism movement appeared.

## METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative approach with a literature study method. Researchers traced various sources/literature related to identity politics and then used them as an analytical tool to explain the effect of strengthening identity politics on Indonesia's national integration. Creswell explains that qualitative research design is a research process and methodological understanding that examines social phenomena in all human problems.<sup>4</sup> This research uses secondary data through literature studies from books, journals, and online media, as well as other reference materials relevant to this research.

## Radical Movements in the Islamic World

### *Khawarij* the first radical movement

In Islamic history, radical groups first appeared in the form of political movements and theological understandings that later known as the *Khawarij*. The association of politics and the radical movement of *Khawarij*'s understanding showed that politic is one of the factors that can lead to radicalism in Islam. The *Khawarij* group is one of the first three Islamic ideology groups which appeared during the political conflict (*imamah*) between *Muawiyah* and *Ali*'s followers which then led to the negotiation of peace (*Majlis Takhim*). They were arguing about who deserved to be the next *Khalifah* in replacement to *Khalifah Utsman bin Affan*.<sup>5</sup>

Those other two groups are *Murjiah* and *Syi'ah*. *Syi'ah* group ia a political group which is loyal to *Ali bin Abi Thalib*, they believe on the theology idea of "those who deserved to be *Khalifah* after the dead of Rasulullah is *Ali bin Abi Thalib* and his descendants". While *Murjiah* group is a group which believes to the moderat thinking. The moderation here means they did not choose either *Ali* or *Muawiyah* group, therefore they did not decide of who is "right" and "wrong", all the decisions were belong to Allah. The *Khawarij* group is a political and intelektual movement that opposes the existence of the *tahkim majlis* including all the results it decided. They consider that those who follow and even agree on the results of the *majlis tahkim* have deviated from the teachings of Islam (big sin), and are even punished as infidels (*Kafir*). In the early state of movement, the followers of the *Khawarij* were loyal followers of *Ali bin Abi thalib*. "They came out" (*khawarij*) from *Ali*'s line, because of the *tahkim* ceremony problem. Thus, it can be understood that the emergence of the *Khawarij* group with all its movements, attitudes, and views are the signs or indication of the emergence of intelektual radicalism in Islam that caused by political factors, fanaticism, and a literal understanding of Islamic teachings.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Creswell, John W., and J. David Creswell (2018), *Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods*, pp. 78.

<sup>5</sup> Saepudin, Didin (2012), *Sejarah Politik Umat Islam*. Jakarta: Intermedia Press, pp. 122-124.

<sup>6</sup> Zhalgas Askhatuly et.al (2024), *The Phenomenon of Jihad : Historical Transformation and Modern Interpretation*. *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* Vol 19 (1), Pp. 136-137.

## Jihad and Religious Terrorism

The spectrum of Jihad in Islamic teaching is actually very wide but in reality, some people tend to simplify the meaning of Jihad as a justification tool for their action that deviate from the meaning of Jihad itself. In Arabic language, the word jihad has the root word of *ja-ha-da* which means earnest, hardworking and struggling to do or achieve something.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, in the old Arab society, an oath, promise of *Akad* is something very important/sacred and those called as *jhda al-aiman* which mean “must be strictly enforced”.<sup>8</sup> During its developments, jihad was more related to politics than *da'wah*. *Ibn Taymiyyah*, for example, has the view that political power is an inevitable necessity for social life. The task of upholding kindness and preventing wickedness can only be fully fulfilled by political power. For Ibn Taymiyyah, jihad was so important that he came to the conclusion that the substances of religion are prayer and jihad.<sup>9</sup>

In modern times, when Moslem are faced with military, intellectually and cultural challenges of Western, the idea of *Jihad* that put forward by Moslem's intellectuals tend to be less legalistic. On the contrary, they provide many justifications and rationalizations for the concepts of jihad. Strictly speaking, there are two forms of modern discussion of jihad. The first is revolutionaries who seek to prove that jihad is a valid method for achieving Islamic ideals. The second is apologetic, which aim is to prove that Islam is not a religion of violence and war.

The death of Hasan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, for example, argued the view that jihad is more meaningful as a spiritual struggle, that the struggle against lust in oneself or *al-jihad al-akbar* is more important than *al-jihad al-asghar* or the war against enemies of Islam. In the book *Risalat al-Jihad*, al-Banna said that the definition of jihad as explained above was deliberately spread by the enemies of Islam in order to weaken the armed struggle of the Muslims against colonialism.<sup>10</sup>

Sayyid Qutb, (executed in 1966), as the successor to al-Banna, he believes that jihad was a continuation of God's politics. *Jihad* is a revolutionary political struggle which designed to disarm the enemies of Islam, thereby it enable Moslems to implement the rules of *Syariah* which have been ignored or even oppressed by the West and the oppressive regimes in the Muslim world itself.<sup>11</sup> Undersnading the Al Bana and Sayyid Qutb about *Jihad*, it clearly showed that the contemporer idea about *Jihad* were getting complex.<sup>12</sup> Sayyid Qutb did not only move at the conceptual level, but also formulated a program and a practical framework for waging jihad.

<sup>7</sup> Mila Widiastuti, et.al (2022), *Shifting The Meaning Of Jihad In The Radical Islamic Movement (Stusy Of Suicide Bomb From Islamic Law Perspective)*. MILRev Metro Islamic Law Review. Vol.1 No. 1. Pp. 72-73

<sup>8</sup> Al-Asfahaniy, Al-Raghib. (2013). *Mu'jam Mufradat Alfadz Al-Quran*. Libanon: Dar Al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah, pp. 99.

<sup>9</sup> Azra, Azyumardi. 1994. “Jihad Dan Terorisme: Konsep Dan Perkembangan Historis.” *Islamika Journal* 4 (April-Juni), pp. 79.

<sup>10</sup> Rahmena, Ali. (1998). *Para Perintis Zaman Baru Islam*. Bandung: Mizan, pp. 126.

<sup>11</sup> Rahmena, Ali. (1998). *Para Perintis Zaman Baru Islam*. Bandung: Mizan, pp. 130.

<sup>12</sup> Kepel, Gilles. (2002). *Jihad , the Trail of Political Islam*. United States: Harvad University Press, pp. 258.

Organizations that follow the views of these two figures have even formed paramilitary groups which tasks were to carry out military activities to overthrow the enemies of Islam, the enemies were both from West and the Moslems themselves.

In this contemporary era, the term jihad has been misused by some groups. According to them, acts of terrorism in the form of suicide bombings, the killing of unbelievers for no good reason, and causing chaos are part of jihad.<sup>13</sup> It is actually a very sad reality, the first concept of *Jihad* as *Da'wah*, the expansion of the realm of Islamic power turned into a weapon as a medium of resistance to hegemony, especially to the Western.

### 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001

On September 11, 2001, the whole world view was focused on the most shocking event, two hijacked passenger planes crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York. Further news said that another plane hit the Pentagon building (the building which has been known as the defense center of the United States) and another crashed in rural Pennsylvania (which is actually headed for the White House). The sophistication of the world of communication technology helped citizens to witness the incident, we could all see how another plane crashed into the second tower of the WTC. Those events directly or indirectly affected the world. The world will never be the same again after that accident.

After those accidents Osama bin Laden became famous. He and his Al-Qaeda network have been accused by the United States government of being the masterminds of these events. The United States government loudly said that Osama bin Laden was behind everything and then gave an ultimatum to the Afghan government that had been protecting Osama to hand him over and his followers who took refuge there. Finally, on Sunday evening, October 7, 2001, the United States began its offensive by dropping bombs on Afghanistan.<sup>14</sup>

This incident has generated many pros and cons, it tended to become Muslim and non-Muslim sentiments. Most Muslims considered this as Jihad, and then consider Osama bin Laden as a hero who was able to oppose the United States established superiority. On the other hand, sentiment towards Muslims has also increased. The Arab-American community was under threat from strangers. The suspicious views were addressed to them (the Muslim community). It turns out that the events of September 11 had a global impact on Islamic and non-Islamic relations. This incident became a frightening specter to the world, resulting negative stigma against Islam as a terrorist religion. The tragedy of 11 September 2001 was not a friendly face for Muslims.<sup>15</sup> Not only for citizens of Islamic countries, even for citizens who are Muslim, US put on a "fierce" face. There has been an extraordinary increase in discrimination cases experienced by Muslims in the US after the 9 September

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<sup>13</sup> Kepel, Gilles. (2002). *Jihad , the Trail of Political Islam*. United States: Harvad University Press, pp. 230.

<sup>14</sup> Kepel, Gilles.( 2002). *Jihad, the Trail of Political Islam*. United States: Harvad University Press, pp. 16-17.

<sup>15</sup> Thameem Ushama, (2018), *The Phenomenon of Irhab (Terrorism): Meaning, History and Causes*, Vol 23, No 1. Pp. 2-3.

tragedy. It was recorded that 14 thousand to 15 thousand cases were handled by CAIR (Council on American-Islamic Relations).

### **ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syira) Jihadis or Terrorism**

This organization is related to the current Salafiyah Jihadiyah movement which brings together various different elements to fight in Iraq and Syria. On the battlefield, they were divided under a number of fronts. The situations triggered them to name their movement as “*Ad-Daulah Al-Islamiyah*” (Islamic State). This name is also a magnet that attracted many troops from various regions on the battlefield to declare their loyalty under a large umbrella organization<sup>16</sup>. ISIS's activities have so far attracted the world's attention, this group has become a controversy when claiming all of its actions are based on religious jihad. In practice, this group justified various methods, including massacres against Muslim groups which disagreed with their group. The acts of terror displayed by ISIS are actions that justify any means to recruit its targets by force. The ISIS group has presented a bad image to the Islamic world, this reminded us of *Khawarij*'s actions as the first radical ideology and movement in Islamic history.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Development of Radical and Terrorist Groups in Indonesia**

Radicalism is something familiar in the world of terrorism, one of them is Radicalism which happened in Indonesia. Bomb incidents that have occurred in several hotels in Indonesia are proof that radicalism in the name of religion were still exists and continues to grow. There are still many fundamental religious groups struggling with all their might and by all means to fight for their vision and mission, without caring about the reality in society that the Indonesian nation is a nation consisting of various ethnicities, races and religions.<sup>18</sup> One of the things that triggered the radicalism movement in Indonesia is the religious and political influence from Middle East, since the relationship between the Middle East and Indonesia has been established, many influences from this country entered Indonesia and led to the emergence of various forms of networks, both scholarly networks, movement networks da'wah, as well as political movement networks.<sup>19</sup>

The end of the Old Order's rule and the emergence of Suharto at the height of the national leadership since 1966 has raised high hopes among Muslim politicians. Soeharto's actions at the beginning of his reign gave a good and friendly impression to Islamic groups which further strengthened his optimism that this new regime would provide a more important position for the progress of Islamic groups on the

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<sup>16</sup> Dandie Hambaliana et.al (2024). *Radicalism and Terrorists: Analyzing the Development of ISIS Thought. Studi Multidisipliner Jurnal Kajian Keislaman*. Vol. 11, No. 2. Pp 275-277.

<sup>17</sup> Dandie Hambaliana et.al (2024) *Radicalism and Terrorists: Analyzing the Development of ISIS Thought. Studi Multidisipliner Jurnal Kajian Keislaman*. Vol. 11, No. 2. Pp 278.

<sup>18</sup> S, Adjie. (2002). *Terorisme*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, pp. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Roni Tabroni, Idham (2023). *From Radical labels to moderate Islam : the transformation of the Salafism movement in Indonesia, Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*. Vol 13 No 2, Pp. 287-297

national stage. This good impression includes freeing Muslim politicians who have been jailed.<sup>20</sup>

Demands from Islamic groups are increasingly being delivered. The pressure continued to be launched to very fundamental-ideological aspirations, one of them was the advancement of demands for the re-enactment of the Jakarta Charter. When the demand was approved then the consequences of Islamic law increasingly occupy a special and strong position in the principle of statehood. Several Muslim groups in People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS) session which happened in 1968 were mainly driven by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) politicians and the Indonesian Muslim Party, continued to roll out these efforts that was not approved by the new government.<sup>21</sup>

As a logical consequence of the absence of common ground between government policies that affirm the share between state authority and religion, as well as the hope of some people to "Islamize" the country is the emergence of some controversy between the two parties. The struggle between the state and Islamic groups that considered radical has continuously colored the political scenes in Indonesia from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s. In an official statement stated by the government, there were at least five major terror movements carried out by Islamic groups that emerged from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s. The five movements that are considered to have committed these terrors are as follows:

*First*, terror committed by the group of Haji Ismail Pranoto who called himself *Komando Jihad*. Ismail Pranoto movement was accused of carrying out several acts of blasting places of worship took place around 1976. *Second*, the activities carried out by the Hassan Tiro group called themselves the Indonesian Muslim Liberation Front, which started in 1977. *Third*, the group movement led by Abdul Qadir Djaelani which declared himself to be adherents of the "Pola Perjuangan Revolusioner", in 1978. *Fourth*, the terror did by the Warman Group which also called himself as *Komando Jihad*, which happened in 1978, 1979 and 1980. *Fifth*, acts of terror did by the Imran group, which called themselves as the "*Dewan revolusioner Islam Indonesia*" which happened from 1980-1981.<sup>22</sup>

Those proven that political reform in Indonesia has actually contributed to the birth of Islamic groups that are quite fundamentalist and some are even radical. The emergence of Islamic groups or movements with this character is due to the situation of freedom and flexibility provided by reform both in aspirations and expressions. In fact, tertiary institutions and pesantren as educational institutions have also become targets of terrorism in developing their ideology.

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<sup>20</sup> Zada, Khamami. (2002). *Islam Radikal, Pergulatan Ormas-Ormas Islam Garis Keras Di Indonesia*. Jakarta. Teraju, pp 57-59.

<sup>21</sup> Sunusi, Zulkarnain M. (2011). *Antara Jihad Dan Terorisme*. Makassar: Pustaka As-Sunnah, pp.125-126.

<sup>22</sup> Mubarak, M Zaki. (2008). *Geneologi Islam Radikal Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES, pp.60-61.

### **The Formation of jamaah Islamiyah**

During period 1985-1991, hundreds of Darul Islam (DI) cadres were involved in training at several military academies in Afghanistan. These Darul Islam cadres were not the only those who went to Afghanistan as mujahidin. Abdullah Azzam, assisted by a young Saudi Arabian named Usama bin Laden, had previously established the Al Khidmat Maktab, an institution formed to facilitate foreign mujahidin from various countries to come to Afghanistan and participate in military training programs and jihad programs with the Afghan mujahidin. With the development of salafi jihadism in Afghanistan, these DI cadres who became mujahidin not only studied military science, but also religious knowledge with the salafi jihadism doctrines.<sup>23</sup> Military training camps such as Muaskar Saada led by Abdullah Azzam and Harby Pohantum Al Ittihad Al Islamy led by Shaykh Abdur Rasul Sayyaf were not only built as a place to gain military knowledge, but also to be a place for foreign mujahideen to be taught the Salafi doctrines of jihadism. The introduction and cultivation of the Salafi doctrine of jihadism is a motivational factor for DI cadres to study in Afghanistan. Salafi jihadism provides a new religious understanding that corrects their old understanding derived from DI, such as monotheism RMU (Rububiyah, Mulkiyah, and Uluhiyah).<sup>24</sup>

The DI cadres then left the RMU tauhid and adopted the salafi version of the tawhid doctrine of jihadism. In its development, this jihadism salafi will also become the main ideology for DI cadres who are Afghan alumni when they form a new group of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI)<sup>25</sup>.

### **Tanzil Group of Al Qaeda in South East Asia**

During its development, Jamaah Islamiyah was also divided and formed the small groups Tanzil Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia, known for its acts of terror at the church and the Bali Bombing. The elders of Jamaah Islamiyah officials themselves claimed they were not responsible for the terrorist acts of the church and the Bali bombings, although they did not deny that the perpetrators of these actions were members of the Jamaah Islamiyah group. Imam Samudra appeared as the first suspect among several suspects who have been arrested since the bombing on Christmas Eve 2000 and also the bombing at *Senen Plaza Atrium* Jakarta in 2001. After being arrested for those incidents, he also claimed that he was responsible for the bombing of Santa Anna church and HKBP in Jakarta. Imam Samudera did not acknowledge the bombings other than those already mentioned, but he did mention other possible groups.<sup>26</sup>

After the bombing incidents, Imam Samudra whose real name is Abdul Aziz went to Malaysia. In 2002 he returned back to Indonesia, where he was involved in

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<sup>23</sup> Kepel, Gilles. (2002). *Jihad ,the Trail of Political Islam*. United States: Harvad University Press, pp. 222.

<sup>24</sup> Mubarak, M Zaki. (2008). *Geneologi Islam Radikal Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES.

<sup>25</sup> Wasisto Raharjo Jati. (2013), *Radicalism in The Perspective of Islamic-Populism Trajectory of Political Islam in Indonesia*. Journal of Indonesian Islam, Vol. 07, No. 02. pp. 276-277

<sup>26</sup> Mubarak, M Zaki. (2008). *Geneologi Islam Radikal Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES, 87-89.

Bali bombing. In Bali bomb incident, Amrozi who was the main suspect of that incident stated Imam Samudra was actually the intellectual actor of Bali bombing. The arrest of the bombing from both *Tanzil Al Qaeda* and *Jamaah Islamiyah* gave a deadly effect to the organizations's network. Approximately 170 people became prisoners in some of criminal terrorism cases, some even received death sentences.<sup>27</sup>

The massive arrests of terrorist suspects did not kill the radical movement which later became the forerunner of terrorism. Former members or breakaway groups of *Jamaah Islamiyah* were still doing terror in various regions. The terrorist group in Aceh *Tanzim of Qhoidatul Jihad*, the Poso terrorist group, and the Abu Tolud Network were still active after *Jamaah Islamiyah* was "conquered". Even so, many of these groups were not been by *Jamaah Islamiyah* because there had been internal issues amon groups.<sup>28</sup>

### Factors caused Terrorism in Indonesia

According to most of the activists who are members of the *Tanzim al-Qaidah* group in Aceh, factors that caused radicalism and terrorosms in Indonesia were not solely for an individual factors. If those incidets were motivated only by an individia interest then they would not hurt either himself or others.

Some factors caused terrorism actions are as follows:

a. Economic Factor

We can assume that the economic factor were the main motive for terrorists in doing their mission. The situation was increasingly uncertain and everyday life makes people restless to do anything. In this way the government must work hard to formulate the rehabilitation of their citizens. Poverty makes people stifled to do things that are not supposed to be done such as; killing, threatening people, suicide, and so on.

b. Social Factor

People with the same idea gatherd to form a group named *Tanzim Al-Qaeda* in Aceh. In our life, there are social institution that form people to have the same visions of life. And that kind of social life determined an individual's personality in doing their activites. Social systems formed by radical groups made people with the same goal easier to communicate and join that radical groups.

c. Ideology Factor

This reason makes a person sure of what he/she s doing. The actions they do are based on what has been agreed from the start. Each group has its own mission and vision that is inseparable from its ideology. In this case, terrorism exists in Indonesia with beliefs based on their Jihad.<sup>29</sup>

Despite of the three factors mentioned above, Crenshaw believes that atleast there are three theoretical categories that describe the reasons why there are acts of terrorism, those are: Structural, Psychology and Rasional choice. Generally, structural

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<sup>27</sup> Sunusi, Zulkarnain M. (2011). *Antara Jihad Dan Terorisme*. Makassar: Pustaka As-Sunnah, pp. 110.

<sup>28</sup> Mulkhan, Biliveer Singh and Abdul Munir. (2012) . *Jejaring Radikalisme Islam Di Indonesia, Jejak Sang Pengantin Bom Bunuh Diri*. Yogyakarta: Jogjakarta Bangkit Publiser, pp. 95.

<sup>29</sup> S, Adjie. (2002). *Terorisme*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 30-34

theories try to find an explanation of what caused terror acts through environmental, politics, social and economic context. Psychological theories specifically try to answer the question why individuals are attracted to join terrorist organizations and other terrorist behavior which is an accumulation of individual behavior. Finally, rational choice theories attempt to explain participation in terrorist organizations and the choice to pursue the path of terrorism by explaining cost-benefit calculations. Meanwhile, according to Muhammad Afifi in his book *Religion and Social Conflict: Study of Indonesian Experience* stated that there are five factors caused the Radical Islamic movement in Indonesia, those are.<sup>30</sup>

*First*, ideology of Islam is an understanding that makes Islam not only as a theological system and worship but also as a complete civilization. Islam not only regulates the relationship between humans and God, but covers all aspects of life, without the slightest exclusion. Islam is a true religion, universal, self-sufficiency, and does not need something that comes from outside. Islam is used as a benchmark and foundation for all Muslims. In this position it is necessary to do a total redefinition of all Islamic values, followed by identification. Through this redefinition and identification, Islam is shown in a very clear way which is different from other religions. It should be clearly differentiated which ones are Islamic and which are not. The world itself has been divided into two, they are: Allah and *taghut*, Islam or non-Islam, *Dar al-Islam* atau *dar al-Harb*, *Hizb Allah* atau *Hizb asy-Syaithan*. They have no compromise, accepting Islam and become Muslims or reject it and become infidel (*kafir*). This is what causes the emergence of oppositional attitude to everything that comes from outside Islam along with the hostility.<sup>31</sup> Those are where the seeds of radicalism appear.

The radical groups have always been overshadowed in Indonesia since the era of *Orde Lama*, *Orde Baru* until *The Reformation Era*. Even though during the *Orde Baru* those groups got enough pressures but still they were not faded away. Therefore, after the collapsed of *Orde Baru*, the aspirations to implement Islamic rules in Indonesia were getting higher. However, sometimes those aspiration could not be accommodated therefore the supporters tend to do the acts of violence, such as sweeping and destructions to public facilities that lead to unconstitutional and even terrorism.<sup>32</sup>

*Second*, capitalism and secularism. The wave of secularism that separates religion and state gave an impact to the separation of social life, science and technology from religious values. The moral values were separated from religious and knowledge. In this way, social life was separated from religious ties and was grounded in modern science. The implication is that science and technology are developing very rapidly, but without direction. Slowly, all life is separated from religion, and religion

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<sup>30</sup> Afifi, Muhammad. (2013). *Agama Dan Konflik Sosial : Studi Pengalaman Islam Di Indonesia*. Bandung: Marja Press.

<sup>31</sup> Mila Widiastuti, et.al (2022). *Shifting The Meaning Of Jihad In The Radical Islamic Movement (Stusy Of Suicide Bomb From Islamic Law Perspective)*. *MILRev Metro Islamic Law Review*. Vol.1 No. 1, Pp. 76-77

<sup>32</sup> Mulkhan, Biliveer Singh and Abdul Munir. (2012). *Jejaring Radikalisme Islam Di Indonesia, Jejak Sang Pengantin Bom Bunuh Diri*. Yogyakarta: Jogjakarta Bangkit Publisher, pp. 86.

is imprisoned in private life. The revival of the West which was marked by secularism made capitalism as a buffer. Next, the spirit of capitalism which prioritizes economic ownership and control results in a new form of colonialism, economic colonialism. This new colonialism penetrated the Islamic world, including Indonesia, which was a developing country with abundant natural resources. Economic colonialism in Indonesia was so obvious that it gave birth to resistance in the form of violence. This is where the roots of Islamic radicalism were born.

*Third, When Muslim countries gained their independence, new powers emerged in the middle, and they are: East Communism and West Capitalism. Independent Moslem countries with the abundance natural resources gave their certain threat to the West hegemony. To divide this Muslim power, the West (America and Britain), through the Balfour agreement, established a puppet state, namely Israel. The presence of this Jewish country was strongly opposed by Arab countries because conflicts were always arisen in the Middle East, especially Israel and Palestine. Western invention was actually masterminded the conflicts in Middle East. Besides that, every peace agreement always benefits Israel and harms Palestine.*

The situation in which West countries sided Israel has sparked hatred towards the West, because Islam is a universal religion that crosses geographic boundaries the hatred has also spread throughout the world, especially countries with Muslim populations including Indonesia. Indonesian Islamic groups which disappointed and frustrated decided to take violence acts and that what caused terrorism, suicide bombing such as; Bali and JW Marriot bombing, they even sent war volunteers from Indonesia to Afganistan, Palestine and other counties and they do that by the name of *Jihad*. Therefore, radicalism appered because of the conflicts between Middle East and West countries intervention.

*Fourth, Normative understanding towards Islamic values. There is a goup called Salafiah in Islam, this group has certain criteias, sucha as; normative tekstual of Islamic values which oriented to the past, and disagreement on religious ratio. This type of understanding caused the exclusive and superior feeling towards other values. In a modern term, this group appear in form of Wahabiah. The interpretation of this group was also improved in Indonesia. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir for example, he said that America is an infidel country which hostiles Islam, and therefore Moslems have to fight America. On the other hand, some of this group also considerd other Moslems who have a different view with them as an infidel. The hostility and damages were happened to a non Moslems but to Moslems themselves.*

*Fifth, reformation that happened in Indonesia became the trigger to the appearance of Islamic Syariat in social life. The efforts to bring back this syariat can be seen clearly in the form of social practices which contradicted to Islam values, such as; the closing of prostitution and gambling places and also the closing of shops which sell liquors. When the demands did not responded by the government then came disappointment from this Islamic groups which then caused anarchism in the name of religion.*

That issues also happened in the economic and security field, therer were unfinished corruption issues, some juries and law officers were even involved in it. This situation caused citizen's disappointment and disbelieve towards law officers,

and therefore they took judgement to their own hand. On the other hand, Indonesia's significant economic growth has only been enjoyed by a handful of people, therefore there is a wide socio-economic inequality between the rich and the poor. The socio-economic inequality that occurs because of the government's imbalance support creates jealousy and feelings of anger that can easily be ignited into acts of violence. This is the root of radicalism that came from socio-economic gaps and legal uncertainty in Indonesia.<sup>33</sup>

The above factors are not a fixed price, but need to get a special attention from the government, religious figures and moderate Islamic figures as well to build a good and intensive communication related to religion, government ideology in both religious understanding, ideology of nationality and socio-economic so that Indonesia can be avoided from anarchism, radicalism as well as terrorism.<sup>34</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Radicalism understanding which appears in the Islamic world has a long historical roots, the appearance of *Khawarij* made the radical terrorism movement as a seed of other terrorism acts. The lack of the spectrum of understanding Jihad which is articulated as war has given birth to terrorist groups in the Islamic world. The emergence of the September 11 tragedy made Islam a frightening specter for the world at that time so that Islam was often stereotyped as a terrorist religion, thus giving birth to Islamophobia in Europe and America. The prolonged conflict in the Middle East contributed to the birth of new terrorist groups and became a transnational Islamic movement that spread into Indonesian territory. Terrorists who joined *Jamaah Islamiyah*, *Al Qaeda* and *ISIS* were at Afganistan, Middle East and also Philippines. The Bali bombing incident, the Marriot Hotel, the attack on Jalan Gajah Mada, were a form of their terror in the name of Jihad. Some factors that gave birth to radical ideas and terrorism movements in the global world, including Indonesia are; ideological, socio-political and economic factors.

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