

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

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Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

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INSERTION OF RADICALISM THEMES IN CIVICS COURSES IN HIGHER EDUCATION : A PUBLIC POLICY PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Terrorism as an extraordinary crime begins with radicalism as a plague that has now spread to the younger generation. Higher education has an important role and contribution as a preventive step to deal with it. The issuance of the Decree of the Director General of Higher Education (Kepdirjen Dikti) Number 84/E/KPT/2020 and several other state and government regulations are public policies in the field of education as a solution. The handling of radicalism as a public problem lacks integration and seriousness. As one of the compulsory curriculum courses (MKWK) in higher education, citizenship has not received proper treatment from policy actors. The research aims to analyze radicalism and MKWK Citizenship in higher education from a public policy perspective.

The research uses normative juridical methods, literature study and secondary data analysis, by examining various substances of government regulations and various relevant documents. The results show that there are several state and government regulations that can be viewed as public policies in the field of education that pay attention to radicalism as a public problem. The insertion of the theme of radicalism into Citizenship courses is very strategic as a preventive measure for radicalism and terrorism. This is in the context of increasing national insight, love for the country and anti-radicalism. As policy actors, state and government officials, officials of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), officials of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbudristek), university leaders, lecturers teaching Citizenship courses, education leaders and activists, and other education stakeholders, have a stake and interest in this issue. Seriousness, integration and synergistic work between policy institutions in handling the problem of radicalism are needed. Handling the problem of radicalism through education will contribute positively to the fulfillment of public expectations to be free from the threat of terrorism.

Keywords: public policy, radicalism, higher education, citizenship.

A. INTRODUCTION

Until now, in various parts of the world, humanity is still faced with the threat of terror that severely damages universal human values. Terrorists, regardless of their motives, are generally people who have been exposed to radicalism, who believe that the goals of their lives or groups must be achieved through violence. Terrorism has damaged the reputation of a country where terrorists come from, which is labeled by some citizens of the world community as a hotbed of terrorists. Various efforts have been made by each government to eradicate this crime that continues to pose a threat to social peace and harmony.

One of the problems plaguing the Indonesian nation and state today is the high

level of intolerance, and many elements of the nation, including the younger generation, have been exposed to radicalism and committed acts of terror. Director of Prevention of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), Akhmad Nurwakhid, said that there are 33 million people exposed to radicalism. Some of the characteristics are intolerance to differences and diversity and are anti-Pancasila, and will fight certain religious groups that have different views and are against the legitimate government by spreading hoaxes and slander (Ali Majid, 2022). Deputy VII of the National Intelligence Agency (BIN), Heri Purwanto, explained that based on the results of a BNPT survey, 85% of the millennial generation is vulnerable to radicalism (Kompas, 2021). This also affects

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

the state civil apparatus (ASN), which as reported by Kemenpan RB that in 2020 there were 11 ASNs exposed to radicalism, and increased to 27 in 2021 (Novianto, 2022). Even more dangerous, according to data from the Ministry of Defense, three percent of TNI members are exposed to radicalism and do not agree with the ideology of Pancasila (Kemhan.go.id, 2019). Thus, factually this is still a serious problem facing the nation and state. The crime of terrorism that originated from intolerant and radical attitudes and behaviors seems to have now become a label that whether we like it or not has been attached to the life of the Indonesian people.

Currently, what is very worrying is that this radicalism epidemic has infected some of Indonesia's young generation, especially students. Students, as educated people who determine the future of Indonesia, should certainly not be the target of invitations to become a radical who at a later stage becomes part of this organized terror crime group. The seeds of intolerance and radicalism are increasingly worrying in the life of the nation, when this has also targeted the younger generation, especially students. Director of State Defense of the Ministry of Defense, Sarwono, quoted BNPT data that in 2018 there were 39% of students in seven state universities exposed to radicalism (Wulandari, 2022).

Therefore, one of the focuses of hope for the realization of systematic and preventive steps to deal with intolerant, radical and terror attitudes and behaviors is in higher education. As an institution that organizes higher education, this institution has a strategic role for the internalization of tolerance and anti-radicalism values through the learning process. This is because one of the functions of higher education as stated in Article 4 of Law Number 12/2012 is to develop the ability and shape the character and civilization of a dignified nation in order to educate the nation's life. In addition, this strategic role is also related to one of the objectives of higher education stated in Article 5, namely developing the potential of students to become human beings who are

faithful and devoted to God Almighty and have noble character, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, skilled, competent, and cultured for the benefit of the nation.

In this regard, the government issued the Decree of the Director General of Higher Education (Kepdirjen Dikti) Number 84/KPT/E/2020 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of Compulsory Courses in the Higher Education Curriculum, one of which is the Citizenship course. There are public interests that initiate the issuance of these government regulations, as a tangible manifestation of public officials' response to the problem of radicalism. This is done in accordance with their authority as officials in the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology towards the problems faced by the public, so it can be called public policy. According to Post et al. public policy is a plan of action undertaken by government officials to achieve some broad purpose affecting a substantial segment of a nation's citizens (Post, 1999: 172).

Several studies have been conducted on the position and role of this course in relation to intolerance, radicalism, and terrorism in relation to higher education. Research by Widiatmaka et al. concluded that this course can be utilized as multicultural education, to be able to build a tolerant attitude, and anticipate the development of radicalism that is very detrimental to Indonesia's diversity (Widiatmaka & Wibawani, 2022: 74). This course has a big role in internalizing the value of tolerance as a character and moral foundation that can protect students from intolerant actions and terrorism (Muhammad, 2021: 1278). The cultivation of state defense through this course to ward off radicalism includes instilling a spirit of nationalism and love for the country, as well as enriching open and tolerant religious insights (Waluyo, 2021: 19).

Therefore, it is interesting to study various aspects related to education that pay attention to efforts to counter radicalism and civics courses in higher education, in relation to the underlying laws and regulations.

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

Conceptually, this is a manifestation of public policy in the field of education. This study aims to analyze the substance of education policy regarding efforts to counter radicalism from a public policy perspective.

B. METHODS

This research uses normative juridical methods and literature review. The focus of the normative juridical method is on all state and government regulations that are directly or indirectly related to education directed against radicalism and Citizenship courses as compulsory courses in universities. The government regulation that is the focus of the researcher's study is Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020.

In addition, there are several state and government regulations that are directly related to education, higher education, national insight and love for the country, namely Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, Law Number 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturers, Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education, Government Regulation Number 4 of 2014 concerning the Implementation of Higher Education and Management of Higher Education, and Permendikbud Number 3 of 2020 concerning National Higher Education Standards. The literature review was conducted by collecting, classifying and reviewing all documents in various forms, in the form of books, journals, reports, papers, website news and other sources of information relevant to the research objectives.

C. DISCUSSION

Profile, Hierarchy and Policy Context

The discussion of the importance of understanding the dangers of radicalism for students through the inclusion of this theme in civics courses as a subject that must be included in the higher education curriculum is inseparable from state and government regulations. It is determined by public officials in accordance with their authority on the basis of their response to public problems in the form of a tendency to reduce national

insight among the younger generation, including students. Various state and government regulations contain public interest content, so they are public policies, whose substantive areas are about education, so they can also be referred to as education policies. Gerston defines public policy as the combination of basic decisions, commitments, and actions made by those who hold or influence government positions of authority (Gerston, 2010: 7). The form is all laws and regulations regarding or relating to the importance of national insight, love for the country, and anti-radicalism and citizenship courses.

Law Number 20/2003 was enacted on July 8, 2003, consists of 77 articles and declares two laws, namely Law Number 48/Prp/1960 on the Supervision of Foreign Education and Teaching, and Law Number 2/1989 on the National Education System, no longer valid. In this education policy framework, and by adopting Bromley's (1989: 32) opinion on policy hierarchy, Law No. 20/2003 is at the policy level, along with Law Number 12/2012 and several other related laws. At the organizational level, there are Government Regulation Number 4 of 2014 and Permendikbud Number 3 of 2020. The Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020 as a technical operational regulation is at the operational level.

The context and relevance of Law Number 20/2003 to education to improve national insight, love for the country, and anti-radicalism is that in Article 37 Paragraph (2) there is Citizenship Education which must be included in the higher education curriculum. Law Number. 12/2012, enacted on August 10, 2012, consists of 100 articles and is the first law to regulate higher education. The context and relevance of this law to the content of national insight, love for the country and anti-radicalism is that in Article 35 there are four courses that must be included in the higher education curriculum, including Citizenship courses. In the explanation, among other things, it is stated that this course is education to form students

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

into citizens who have a sense of nationality and love for the country.

Law Number 14/2005 was enacted on December 30, 2005, consists of 84 articles and is the first state regulation at the level of a law that regulates teachers and lecturers. Its context and relevance to the content of national insight, patriotism and anti-radicalism include the regulation of the position and main duties of lecturers as stipulated in Article 1 point 2. In addition, with regard to competence, which according to Article 1 point 10 is a set of knowledge, skills, and behaviors that must be owned, lived, and mastered by teachers or lecturers in carrying out professional duties.

Law Number 12/2012, enacted on August 10, 2012, consists of 100 articles, and is the first state regulation in the form of a law that regulates higher education. Its context and relevance to the meaning and content of national insight, love for the country and anti-radicalism relates to the regulation in Article 35 Paragraph (3) regarding the existence of Citizenship courses as courses that must be included in the higher education curriculum. In addition, it relates to the arrangements regarding learning in Article 1 Point 12, regarding the academic community in Article 1 Point 13, and regarding lecturers in Article 1 Point 14.

PP Number 4/2014, which was enacted on January 30, 2014, consists of 37 articles as an elaboration and mandate of several articles in Law Number 12/2012. This government regulation also states that Government Regulation Number 17/2010 on the Management and Implementation of Education is no longer valid. The context and relevance of this government regulation with the urgency of the theme of radicalism to strengthen national insight and love for the country, among others, is related to the regulation of learning. In accordance with the provisions of Article 1 Number 14, learning is the process of student interaction with lecturers and learning resources in a learning environment.

Permendikbud Number 3 of 2020, which was enacted on January 24, 2020, consists of

70 articles and declares Permenristekdikti Number 44 of 2014 invalid. Some of the underlying education policies include Law Number 12 of 2012 and Government Regulation Number 4 of 2014. The context and relevance to the success of the theme of radicalism to strengthen national insight and love for the country, among others, is related to the characteristics of the learning process as part of the learning process standards as stipulated in Article 10. The characteristics of this learning process consist of interactive, holistic, integrative, scientific, contextual, thematic, effective, collaborative, and student-centered. Recently, the Permendikbud has been revoked and declared invalid by Permendikbudristek Number 53 of 2023 concerning Quality Assurance of Higher Education.

Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020, which was stipulated on October 19, 2020, consists of nine dictums, whose juridical references include Law Number 12 of 2012, Government Regulation Number 4 of 2014, and Permendikbud Number 3 of 2020. The context and relevance to the importance of inserting the theme of radicalism in Citizenship courses is that Citizenship is one of the four MKWK as listed in the second dictum of the decision. In addition, the theme of radicalism is one of the topics that can be explored and inserted in an actual and contextual manner in order to develop the substance of the study, as stated in the Appendix to Kepdirjen Dikti Number II.

The clarity of juridical references in every issuance of state or government regulations, in the perspective of public policy, is related to the legality and legitimacy of this course as a political and administrative product. In this context, Anderson argues that in its positive forms, public policy is based on law (1978: 4). In line with that, Dye states that one of the implications of the institutional approach or model in the study of public policy is legitimacy (1987). Policy without law has no power to implement. The legitimation of law is critical in modern democracy. It is called public accountability, which means formal

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

agreements written for the public shall be accounted to the public (Nugroho, 2012: 63). With the existence of a strong juridical basis in the form of legislation that is closely related to national insight and love for the country as a very fundamental aspect in dealing with the threat of radicalism, it is even clearer that this is a guide for policy actors, especially lecturers who teach this course.

As a policy product in the nature of a decision from a government administrative official, this Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020 in the dictum of its decision does not mention its relationship with previous decisions/regulations regarding general courses that have been in effect. This is because in the previous period the Kepdirjen Dikti Number 43 / DIKTI / Kep / 2006 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of Personality Development Subject Groups in Higher Education was in effect. Article 3 states that Citizenship Education is one of the courses included in personality development courses. From a public policy perspective, the Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020 should provide assertiveness about the validity of the same regulations that have been in effect in the past. This assertion is very important in the policy implementation stage, because it relates to its status as an operational policy product that is still valid, or has been changed or even replaced. This is in line with Edwards III's opinion that in policy implementation, there are four factors or variables that must be considered in policy implementation, including communication factors which require clear information (1982: 10).

Substance of Education Policy

As stated in Article 3 of Law Number 20/2003 that the function of national education, among others, is to shape the character and civilization of the nation, with the aim, among others, that students become democratic and responsible citizens, this is relevant to the nation's current problems, in the form of the threat of radicalism. This is

also in accordance with the more specific formulation in Article 4 of Law Number 12/2012 that higher education, among others, functions to develop the ability and shape the character and civilization of a dignified nation. The objectives as stated in Article 5, among others, are to develop the potential of students to become human beings who are faithful and devoted to God Almighty and have noble character for the benefit of the nation. In this regard, the four MKWK courses, including the Citizenship course, play an important role in achieving the functions and objectives of education.

This is because the radical attitudes and behaviors shown so far by a handful of young people who have become terrorists are clearly contrary to the functions and objectives of national education. Adnan and Anita Amaliyah argued that the meaning of radicalization is derived from the Latin word *radix*, which means "root". Radicalization occurs when a person's thinking and behavior becomes very different from the way most members of society and their community view certain issues, usually socio-political ones. People who become radicalized can come from any ethnic, national, political or religious groups and any level of society. Radical individuals may have hateful anti-social ideas that may be considered adherents of extremism (2021: 28). Based on this, it is clear that this is related to several topics from the Citizenship course and the role of lecturers as policy actors.

With regard to the factors that cause radicalism, Muchlis mentions that first, radicalism raises are caused by the issue of religious understanding. It undertands the verses of the Koran that teach about terrorism from the word *jihad*. Second, radicalism-terrorism is also associated with understanding a country's political, economic, and legal injustices. Third, radicalism-terrorism also occurs as a response to poor law enforcement. Law enforcement that does not run correctly will cause anger in various elements of society. Fourth, the education pattern emphasizes the aspects of teaching violence from religion.

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

Education emphasizes the indoctrination aspect where students do not get the opportunity to ask questions or discuss a problem (2021:153-164). Research by Cardinale et al. concluded that five main problems cause intolerance and radicalism among students: personal factors, education, religious education, economic-social-political and cultural factors, and shallow religious understanding (2021: 41-43). It is clear that this course, which aims to strengthen national insight and love for the country, correlates with several things that cause radicalism.

From the perspective of policy objectives as well as educational objectives in the Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020 as stated in the third dictum is the affirmation that there are four compulsory courses in the higher education curriculum, which are abbreviated in the acronym MKWK, one of which is the Citizenship course. Another thing in relation to the meaning and theme of radicalism that needs to be widely echoed is the affirmation stated in the third dictum that the function of MKWK is to shape the character and civilization of students with dignity. This is very important and relevant to the spirit of anti-radicalism in order to strengthen national insight and love for the country. In this regard, Indonesian people with character and civilization will certainly not commit very disturbing acts such as radicalism as a forerunner of terrorism. The learning that takes place through the Citizenship course will actually be an effective deterrent and prevention for someone in the future to commit criminal acts of terrorism.

However, in the Appendix to the Kepdirjen Dikti Number II, the determination of the study of radicalism as a development of the substance of MKWK studies seems only secondary, only optional or facultative. The discussion of radicalism is only one of the options for developing the substance of study, in addition to local wisdom, drugs, moral decadence, defending the country, loving the country, being sensitive to environmental sustainability,

disaster response, corruption, and tax awareness. Supposedly, in line with the spirit to eradicate radicalism in its various forms, the theme of radicalism is one of the main topics of this Citizenship course so that it is mandatory and imperative.

As stated in the Appendix to the Kepdirjen Dikti Number II Letter C that this Citizenship course is organized in order to form students into citizens who have a sense of nationality and love for the country. This is done by providing an understanding of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the Republic of Indonesia and Unity in Diversity and its implementation. This sense of nationality and love for the country, among others, will be realized when students show an open, tolerant, inclusive attitude, respect for differences, and anti-radicalism. Of the nine substances of civics courses as listed in the Appendix to the Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020 Number II letter c, there are at least five substances related to anti-radicalism education. They are national identity, democracy, obligations and rights of the state and citizens, law enforcement and national resilience.

The discussion of national identity in MKWK Citizenship will be related to the horizontal and vertical sociological fact that the social structure of Indonesian society is very diverse. This has the consequence that it is very important to make students more aware as educated people to always live in the midst of very sharp differences, including in religious life. Hafidzi's research concluded that A pragmatic approach is important in order to find new solutions and to find the root of the problem. In the name of religion, steps to prevent radicalization are then taken. To prevent actions in Indonesia that affect humanity as a whole, a religious and multicultural approach is needed. If this is understood already, it is possible to discover problems with root understanding by deradicalization (2020: 67). In this regard, the emergence of citizens who have tolerant attitudes and behaviors, including in social interactions in religious practice, is very

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

important in building a peaceful and harmonious Indonesia. Conversely, intolerant attitudes and behaviors are very dangerous to the existence and sustainability of Indonesia as a pluralistic country. M. Nussbaum said that religious intolerance is a condition in society if a group specifically refuses or is reluctant to tolerate or lack tolerance for the practices of other religions, adherents of certain beliefs, or beliefs based on certain religions (Jamilah, 2021: 480).

In relation to the discussion of democracy in Citizenship courses, among others, it can be related to the values or characteristics of democracy as stated by experts. Henry B. Mayo mentions several values that underlie democracy, including limiting the use of violence to a minimum and recognizing and considering the existence of diversity (Budiardjo, 2008: 118). It is clear that people who have radical ideas and actions are very much against the spirit of democracy, and this is an appropriate area of discussion when lecturers explain about the dangers of radicalism.

The subject of citizens' rights and obligations has relevance to the meaning and urgency of the theme of radicalism. This is because citizens who can fulfill their obligations, including obeying and submitting to all state laws and regulations, will certainly not think and act radically, let alone terrorize. Various steps have been taken as preventive efforts by the government and the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), so that as citizens there is an inherent obligation to follow this. In relation to law enforcement, it is also clear that radical behavior that harms society by causing unrest is something that must be avoided by every citizen. Students as future leaders of the nation must certainly be given a comprehensive understanding of the dangers of radical attitudes and behavior, which can lead to acts of terror as behavior that violates the law. In this regard, it is very important for lecturers to explain the need for consistent law enforcement, without any discrimination.

Similarly, the discussion of national resilience is closely related to radicalism, which requires the tenacity and resilience of the nation in facing every threat, challenge, obstacle and disturbance in the nation's struggle to achieve national goals. National development in various fields as a struggle to realize the ideals of the independence proclamation will be severely disrupted by intolerant attitudes and actions shown by some citizens, including students.

Insertion of Radicalism Theme in Citizenship Course

In relation to terrorism as an extraordinary crime, prevention and eradication efforts must be carried out with full seriousness involving various components of the nation. Terrorist behavior that is very disturbing to the community, among others, in the form of bomb explosions in places of worship and public places in the last twenty-two years in various places, originated from a radical understanding that the perpetrators had believed. Higher education as an institution that maintains, defends and develops the values of truth is required to be proactive in dealing with problems that disrupt social harmony and peace of community life, as well as damage Indonesia's reputation in international relations. It is no secret that abroad, Indonesia is known as a country with many terrorists, so this must receive full attention from universities. This is in accordance with the mandate of Article 3 of Law Number 12/2012, that higher education, among others, is based on scientific truth, honesty, virtue and responsibility. In this regard, the theme of radicalism in the Citizenship course finds the right place to be realized, developed and maintained.

The purpose of the Citizenship course, which is closely related to a sense of nationality and love for the country, is clearly very strong correlation with the theme of radicalism. The term radicalism is meant as an attitude which is an implication of extreme attitudes in religious or political schools or streams in certain paradigms of

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

thought that do not recognize and tend to be intolerant of other religions or other political parties or do not appreciate different views and opinions and paradigms of thinking (Rohman & Huriyah, 2022: 648). Lecturers have a great opportunity to explore various aspects related to radicalism as something that is very detrimental to the life of society and the state. Basically, as a preventive measure, what lecturers do in learning Citizenship is deradicalization in a broad sense. Research by Fahmi et al. concluded that deradicalization efforts through Citizenship courses are a relevant strategy, because they provide an understanding to prevent radicalism (2021: 40).

Moral and ethical values that are indispensable in social interaction, including to fortify humans from the possibility of violating social norms, are substantial and strategic in the theme of radicalism inserted in Citizenship courses. Deradicalization, which has been an important part of the government's policy to tackle radicalism, should not only be aimed at former perpetrators of terrorist acts or those who have been exposed to radicalism. This strategic step should also be aimed at citizens in general, including campus intellectuals. In this regard, students as members of the academic community in higher education must be an important part of the target of anti-radicalism and counter-radicalism education. According to Arifin, in order to enrich the security approach and to prevent the breeding, development and dissemination of radical Islam, a softer approach of deradicalization should be introduced. By this approach, not only those who have been involved in radical-terrorist actions are targeted, but also the general public (2016: 104).

Therefore, there is no other policy option to save this country from the threat and disturbance of terrorism that originated from radicalism today and for the future, except to insert the theme of radicalism in this Citizenship course. With regard to this threat to the nation and state, Rahmatullah mentioned that facing such a phenomenon,

the public figures and the public in Indonesia consider the continued increase in intolerance and radicalism in the inter-religious environment even with the state can clearly threaten the unity of the nation and the existence of the nation state of Indonesia (2017:158). With their ability to reason, students can certainly distinguish radical acts as disgraceful and morally defective from tolerant behavior, anti-radicalism and even counter-radicalism.

Socio-political phenomena related to intolerance, radicalism and terrorism cannot be separated from Indonesia's experience in democracy in the past. What was fought by various components of the nation, including the campus community and the younger generation in general, in fighting the New Order regime in 1998 was inseparable from their cohesiveness in fighting a pseudo-democratic order of life, closure and very strong state intervention in freedom of expression and grouping. As a result, among other things, the openness in political life was very large, which among other things gave birth to freedom of organization and expression, including those with religious backgrounds. Research by Setiabudi et al. concluded that the transformation of Indonesian society after the reformation so that it is more democratic and open has fostered an attitude of pluralism, but in the religious field it is limited by the existence of radicalism and religious intolerance which are viewed with suspicion by religious fundamentalist groups and extremists for their interests (2022: 63).

In relation to current educational needs, the theme of radicalism inserted in Citizenship courses should be a priority. As educated people who have been equipped with knowledge and understanding of intolerance and radicalism that will lead to acts of terror, as an extraordinary crime, students can appear at the forefront of social change that opens a new chapter against this crime against humanity. Saarinen et al. mention that social intolerance refers to intolerance toward others different attitudes, lifestyles, cultures, or values (2022: 1)

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

Intolerance is an attitude of not respecting human differences both racially and politically, besides that this attitude is also an attitude of not respecting each other, hating, not respecting each other and not wanting to give in to Indonesian formation in power (Akbar, 2022: 272).

The condition of the nation today requires universities to pay more attention to national problems that are very troubling to the community and damage the reputation of Indonesia as a peaceful country, in the international arena. Ethical and moral messages can be conveyed in this course, through learning techniques that attract student interest, thus contributing greatly to the future of Indonesia free from intolerant and radical attitudes and behaviors. As a reinforcement to this, among university leaders, including private universities, there needs to be a strong understanding that through this theme of radicalism, which is inserted in the Citizenship course, is the right solution, as a form of contribution to the benefit of the nation and state.

An important aspect of building a modern legal state is consistency in law enforcement, which requires the involvement of various components of the nation, including universities. Sociologically, referring to the opinion of Talcott Parsons, this law enforcement function is a form of integration function (Narwoko & Suyanto, 2004). This function, like other functions, relates to a special sector of society, which is carried out by the legal subsystem by maintaining procedures and cohesion between components that differ in opinion, views and moral frameworks for the formation of social solidarity (Suzanne, 1995: 126).

The deepest root of the nation's problems is weak moral literacy (Latif, 2018: 12). In this context, efforts to foster moral literacy include anti-radicalism and even counter-radicalism education inserted in Citizenship courses. Students as learners with various physical and psychological advantages will have an excellent opportunity to provide their service to the nation and state. With an

integral and comprehensive approach, students will be able to map the problems of intolerance, radicalism and terrorism so that they can contribute more concretely to the struggle against crimes that greatly damage human values.

Students are one of the targets targeted by the adherents of radicalism, because they act as strategic elements of the younger generation who are selected citizens of the nation. Therefore, there must be a systematic and serious effort to prevent this because it is related to the future of the nation. Therefore, with the advantages they have, both intellectually, socially, and economically, they must be utilized to participate in thinking and doing the best for the nation and state. In this regard, Article 5 of Law Number 40/2009 on Youth, states that youth have several characteristics, namely the spirit of struggle, volunteerism, responsibility, and chivalry, and have critical, idealistic, innovative, progressive, dynamic, reformist, and futuristic traits.

In a sociological context, the existence and important role of education can be placed within the framework of social system functions as proposed by Talcott Parsons as a latent pattern maintenance function, as a function to maintain and/or uphold the patterns and structures of society (Narwoko & Suyanto, 2004). According to him, as cited by Keller (Suzanne, 1995: 126), this function relates to special institutional sectors in society, among others in the form of cultural subsystems, which are related to the maintenance of cultural values and norms that apply in society for the purpose of preserving the structure of society, so that they can participate in social life, for example the role of educational institutions. As a social institution, education according to Harris Jr. represents a behavioral pattern through which knowledge, skills, and concepts are transmitted to individuals through teaching mechanisms (human or otherwise). As a social institution, education aids in systematically transmitting a cultural heritage from one generation to another and imparting social and moral values (1976: 44).

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

It is through universities as educational institutions that the attack of radicalism can be countered by multiplying all the resources it has.

The insertion of the theme of radicalism in the Citizenship course should certainly not be done carelessly. It is no longer the time for lecturers who teach this course to think and act casually in preparing learning materials. He must realize that what he is facing are students who are very technologically literate, critical and rational. Therefore, innovation and creativity are needed for the successful implementation of this policy. Lecturers as policy actors are required to always appear as human learners by presenting learning methods and approaches that are compatible with the characteristics of today's millennial generation students.

Relationship between Actors, Institutions and the Policy Environment

The discussion of the meaning and urgency of educational policies that instill the values of tolerance, national insight, love for the country and anti-radicalism will not be separated from the position and important role of higher education and universities in the national education system. On the other hand, because the problems of intolerance, radicalism and terrorism are an inseparable part of the nation's problems or public interests, the regulation of the theme of radicalism in this government regulation is basically a concrete form of public policy whose substantive area is about education. This aspect of education with its various problems is indeed a fact in various countries as something that is felt by its citizens as a problem that they cannot solve on their own. In this regard, Parsons mentions that education is one of the key areas of public policy (1997: 31). Another public policy expert, Dunn, argues that education is one of the issue areas of public policy (1981: 47).

In this regard, higher education as stated in Article 1 point 6 of Law Number 12 of 2012 is an educational unit that organizes higher education, plays an important role. Because education that focuses on the importance of

tolerant and anti-radicalism attitudes and behaviors is actually character education, this is relevant to one of the functions of higher education as stated in Article 4, namely to develop the ability and shape the character and civilization of a dignified nation in order to educate the nation's life. In the perspective of public policy, this university can be referred to as a policy institution, because it refers to Howlett and M. Ramesh, that institutions as the structures and organizations of the state, society, and the international system (1995: 51).

People who explode bombs in places of worship, police stations and public spaces are examples of people who do not have noble character, because they reflect a cowardly, deceitful, selfish, self-serving human figure, and do not care about the interests of others. Therefore, education that emphasizes the importance of tolerance and anti-radicalism has a strong relevance to one of the goals of education, as stated in Article 5 letter a of Law Number 12 of 2012, which is to develop the potential of students to become human beings who are faithful and devoted to God Almighty and have noble character, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, skilled, competent, and cultured for the benefit of the nation. In addition, as the main position of higher education is that it must not stop talking about truth, ethics and morality, the discussion of education regarding radicalism clearly has a strong relationship with the functions and roles of higher education as stated in Article 58 Paragraph (1) letter d, namely as a center for the study of virtue and moral strength to seek and find the truth. It is in this place that various kinds of debates of ideas and arguments from lecturers and students find their place to find the best way to deal with intolerance, radicalism and terrorism as national problems.

Education on the importance of tolerance and anti-radicalism is a preventive effort that can support the creation of a culture of anti-radicalism and even counter-radicalism. Research by Handajani et al. concluded that there are some factors that cause the decrease

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

in intolerance tendency. First, stakeholders formulate school vision which endorses religious tolerance in public schools. Second, the school policies that support pluralism and tolerance to other differences in the school environment. Third, government and school leaders conduct training to provide teachers with knowledge to counter radical teachings. Teachers integrate local wisdoms in their teaching materials. Fourth, the school policies that promote tolerance. Fifth, the student activities, particularly Islamic religious activities, which accommodate pluralism and endorse tolerance towards different religions, ethnics and cultures (Handajani, 2019:258).

According to Kamaluddin et al, intolerant attitudes from any group of religious adherents can be a trigger for conflict that can endanger the integrity of the state. For decades, Indonesia has lived in a peaceful atmosphere, because the attitudes and actions of religious intolerance are almost invisible. Even if there is, it is only limited to the dynamics that can be resolved by deliberation and consensus. Religion is not only understood as a source of inspiration and motivation for life, but also as a source of energy in building togetherness and instilling love between people (2021: 2). It is time for a moral declaration of war against the crime of terrorism to be announced by the campus community in unison so that it echoes throughout the country.

There is a challenge for lecturers teaching citizenship courses to be creative and innovative in packaging the learning process, so that it is in line with the interests and needs of students. In student centered learning, there are various learning techniques that can be packaged by lecturers so that it is interesting and contextual. This student-centered learning with attention to the environment in harmony and balance is one of the principles of higher education, as stipulated in Article 6 letter f of Law Number 12 of 2012. Lecturers must immediately adapt to the paradigm of higher education transformation which is the demand of the

times. Duderstadt mentions that some of these significant transformations are from teaching to learning organizations, from passive students to active learners, and from solitarity learning to interactive, collaborarive learning (2003: 304).

Anti-radicalism culture is not something that is formed suddenly, but through a long process that requires seriousness from all circles, especially university leaders as authorities. This culture of anti-radicalism and anti-terrorism will basically start from the very high expectations of the community so that the acts of terror that continue to emerge can be overcome immediately. Citizens are very disappointed with the anxiety of terror disturbances in various regions, even places of worship and public spaces. This hope and desire to eradicate radical and terrorist acts is also voiced by the campus community, so that accumulatively it is the hope of the public in general. In fact, some people may even think that these attitudes and acts of terror have to some extent seeped into various layers of society, as a form of pessimism towards the nation's problems.

This is what in the perspective of public policy can be referred to as the policy environment. Dunn, a public policy expert, defines this policy environment as the specific context in which events surrounding a policy issue occur, influences and is in turn influenced by policy stakeholders and public policies (1981:47). Another expert, Anderson, states that demands for policy actions are generated in the environment and transmitted to the political system, at the same time, the environment places limits and constraints on what can be done by policy makers (1978:2). From the policy environment that continuously voices public expectations, the intellectual community on campus, especially lecturers as scientists, must feel called to stand at the forefront in the struggle against intolerant and radical behavior as the forerunner of terror crimes.

Lecturers, according to Article 1 point 2 of Law Number 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturers are professional

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

educators and scientists with the main task of transforming, developing, and disseminating science, technology, and art through education, research, and community service. Likewise, the same thing is stated in Article 1 number 14 of Law Number 12 of 2012. On campus as a scientific community and in higher education as a scientific institution, lecturers and students constitute the academic community. This academic community, according to Article 1 number 13, is an academic community consisting of lecturers and students. As an educator, he is challenged to make this course with various relevant topics, as a barrier to the development of radicalism that has clearly penetrated into students.

In the context of educational policies that give important meaning to tolerance and anti-radicalism, lecturers are one of the policy actors and also as policy implementers. This policy actor according to Gerston who present, interpret, and respond to those issues (2010: 8). This issue will be the initial embryo for the emergence of public problems and if the problem receives adequate attention, it will enter the policy agenda. An issue does not automatically enter the policy agenda, because policy issues cover a wide range of dimensions (Winarno, 2012: 82). Howlett and M. Ramesh say that policies are made by policy subsystems consisting of actors dealing with a public problem. The term "actor" includes both state and societal actors, some of whom are intimately involved in the policy process, while others are only marginally so (1995: 11). Various policies that directly or indirectly aim to counter radicalism are the product of policy actors and institutions.

Together with other parties, in universities and outside universities, he is part of what Dunn calls policy stakeholders. In addition to lecturers, these policy stakeholders include students, higher education leaders, education personnel, education observers, officials of the ministry of education and culture, BNPT leaders and officials, members of Parliament, the President and other parties with an interest

in civic education. In the perspective of public policy studies, all state and government regulations on civic education that pay attention to efforts to deal with radicalism are public policies in this field of education, along with policy stakeholders and policy environment are three elements that constitute a single unit and are reciprocally related, which Dunn calls The Policy System. This public policy expert defines the policy system as the overall institutional pattern within which policies are made, involving interrelationships among three elements: public policies, policy stakeholders, and policy environments (1981: 46).

This mutual relationship can be seen from the fact that all state and government regulations regarding the spirit of education that requires the disappearance of intolerant and radical attitudes and actions are products of political and administrative decisions of public officials who are part of policy stakeholders. In other words, all of these educational policies are issued because of the political will and administrative authority of these public officials, in the context of the political system in the political superstructure. Similarly, there are roles and interests of other actors who are also part of the policy stakeholders, which in the context of the political system are in the political infrastructure. They include education activists, education observers, anti-radicalism and terrorism activists, anti-radicalism and terrorism non-governmental organization activists and other parties.

Likewise, the Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020 is implemented in universities, of course there will be reactions in the form of support and input for improvement, regarding the substance of the policy and regarding the dynamics of its implementation. Based on this, there can be efforts to improve the two regulations, both from the formalistic aspects and the substance. It is at this stage that policy stakeholders who are in the political superstructure order exercise their authority so that there is a new policy stipulation

konferensi nasional ILMU ADMINISTRASI 7.0

"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

regarding education that aims to instill national insight and love for the country against radicalism. These are all examples of the fact that there is a reciprocal relationship between policy stakeholders and public policy.

The success of education against radicalism will depend on various factors, including university leaders. His concern, seriousness and commitment to the substance of the Kepdirjen Dikti Number 84/E/KPT/2020 will greatly determine the effectiveness of the implementation of educational policies that will determine the future of this nation. For example, his commitment to the provisions of Number IV letter a of the Attachment to the Kepdirjen Dikti that lecturers of citizenship courses must receive special training in citizenship education, in addition to having the lowest academic qualifications in the fields of Pancasila and citizenship education, national resilience, social science, cultural science, philosophy and law. In this case, there will be a question regarding the amount of commitment in the form of financial support provided by universities to include their lecturers in attending the special briefing. According to Edwards III, funds are an important aspect of resources as one of the four critical factors in implementing policies (1982: 10). The same thing was also stated by Jones that one of the main activities in implementing policies or programs is application, one of which is resources (1984: 166).

Therefore, it is very clear that the seriousness of university leaders, especially private universities, in organizing this MKWK, including Citizenship courses, is very important. There should be no discriminatory treatment, underestimating and considering MKWK as a secondary and complementary course. The commitment of university leaders will determine the success of anti-radicalism education. The sincerity, concern and commitment shown by university leaders will make this scientific institution a crater for forging students as part of the younger generation. The hope is

that they will not only become citizens of the nation who are only anti-intolerance, anti-radicalism and anti-terrorism, but also have attitudes and behaviors that are far more fundamental.

In other words, the integrity of the academic community of a university will be part of a miniature of the future face of Indonesia as a country free from the plague of intolerance, radicalism and terrorism. The bitter experience of various acts of terror that claimed lives must be an important note, so that today and in the future it will not be repeated. History will record great changes in this country when students as policy actors contribute to the prevention and eradication of crimes that severely damage human dignity.

D. CONCLUSION

Radical attitudes and behaviors as the forerunner of acts of terror are currently in an alarming condition. The theme of radicalism as a topic that can be inserted in MKWK Citizenship is one of the preventive efforts in the face of increasingly rampant behavior that is very detrimental to the life of the nation and state. State and government policies regarding national insight, love of country, tolerance and the theme of radicalism in MKWK Citizenship must be supported by all circles, especially university leaders. Seriousness, commitment, innovation and creativity are challenges for lecturers in inserting the theme of radicalism into Citizenship courses, for the effective implementation of this educational policy goal.

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"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
Melalui Penguatan Nilai Publik Yang Berdampak
Dalam Menapaki Indonesia Berdaulat, Maju, dan Mandiri"

7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

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"Memperkokoh Pembangunan Bangsa
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7 September 2023 | Politeknik STIA LAN Bandung

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