
Inclusive Islamic Politics: The Debate of Islam and Pancasila Among the Academic Communities of Islamic Religious Colleges

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Abstract

Since the beginning of independence, Pancasila as the state ideology has been becoming a debate along with the increasing Islamic political awareness among Muslims. This study aims to analyze the debate among college students, lecturers and directors of the Islamic Religious Colleges (STAI) about Pancasila as the state ideology. It used a quantitative research method with a total sample of 222 students at semester 5 disproportionately allocated to each selected college. The sampling in this survey was conducted by means of Stratified Multistage Sampling with the confidence level of 95%. This research was also strengthened by qualitative data that were extracted by interviewing the directors and lecturers of Islamic Religious Colleges (STAI) in Semarang, Denpasar, Jambi, Kupang and Banjarbaru. From this research, it can be concluded that the college students, lecturers and directors of STAIN have supported Pancasila as the state ideology that is not contradicting to Islam and will defend Pancasila as the state ideology. They also do not expect Pancasila to be replaced with Islam. This tendency then has shown the face of inclusive and moderate Islamic politics among college students, lecturers and directors of STAI.

Introduction

In Muslim countries, state ideology has become a debate. As a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia has been facing a debate of state ideology since the beginning of drafting the constitution. (Faisal Ismail, 1995) In Indonesia, the important period about Islam as the state ideology has been through 4 periods (Arskal Salim, 2008, p. 85) in which in each of period, the political competition was tight so by involving the nationalists that were neutral for the religion (secular) and Islamic groups that desired to uphold Islamic ideology (Islamist).

Hot debate took place in the BPUPKI sessions, particularly between Soekarno representing the nationalist group and Abdoel Kahar Muzakir from the Islamic group who was supported by Ki Bagus Hadikusuma from Muhammadiyah, Kiai Wahid Hasjim from NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) and K.H. Ahmad Sanusi from PUI (Islamic Ummah Party). The outcome of the BPUPKI sessions was the Jakarta Charter agreement, which emphasized that the state is based on divinity with the obligation to implement Islamic laws for its adherents. Ironically, on August 18, 1945, a day after Indonesian independence, a Japanese naval officer came to Mohammad Hatta and reported that Christians in Eastern part of Indonesia would not join the Republic of Indonesia, unless the seven words in the

Jakarta Charter (Islam as the state religion and the president is a Muslim) were removed. These demands finally were met and Pancasila then became the basis of the Indonesian state. (Bahtiar Effendy, 1998, pp. 89–90)

The struggle to make Islam as the state ideology reappeared during the 1955 election campaign. Pioneered by Masyumi, Islamic groups again proposed their ideas about Islam as the basis of the state in the Constituent Assembly (1956-1959). The Constituent Assembly was unable to reach an agreement on the basis of the Indonesian state in which Soekarno, in turn, issued a Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959 to dissolve the Constituent Assembly and to return to the 1945 Constitution. (Bahtiar Effendy, 1998, pp. 101–105) The next debate occurred during the 1968 MPR Session that again discussed the Jakarta Charter. During the New Order regime, which was so worried about the Masyumi party, the Jakarta Charter was still being fought for. At the 1968 MPR Session, the New Order government finally rejected the demands of Islamic groups for the Jakarta Charter to be re-legalized. (Arskal Salim, 2008, p. 85; Bahtiar Effendy, 1998, pp. 101–105)

The last debate took place after Indonesia experienced a political transition from the New Order regime, particularly during the MPR Sessions in 2000, 2001 and 2002. Similar with the previous period, polarization emerged between Islamic groups and nationalist groups. The Islamic groups were divided into two: (1) the parties such as PPP (United Development Party), PBB (Crescent Star Party), PNU (Nadhlatul Umat Party), and PSII (Indonesian Islamic Union Party) struggling to include the seven words of the Jakarta Charter into Article 29, and (2) parties such as PAN (National Mandate Party), PKB (National Awakening Party), and PK (Justice Party) proposing an inclusive formula, i.e. 'The obligation to practice religion for its adherents'. Nationalist groups including PDIP (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), Golkar (Party of Functional Groups), and PDKB (National Peace and Love Party) still consistently rejected the Jakarta Charter. Then, in the Plenary Session of the MPR, PPP, PKB, and PAN changed their proposals by following the position of PDIP and Golkar with the formula "*State Based on Belief in One Almighty God*". Finally, the first alternative formulation was agreed upon in MPR Plenary Session in August 2002, i.e. *State Based on Belief in One Almighty God*. (Andar Nubowo, 2015; Arskal Salim, 2008, pp. 90–107)

Though the efforts to make Islam as the state ideology were failed, Pancasila and Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia have accommodated that Islam is guaranteed in Indonesian. This means that Indonesia does not eliminate the roles of religion in its life. Indonesia, for this reason, has placed religion as an important aspect of the legal system and government. This confirms that Indonesia is not a secular state that separates religion and state, but makes religion as the main pillar. This position does not mean that Indonesia is a religious state (theocracy), which formalistically makes religion as a rule in the life of the nation and state.

In the present context, Islam and state ideology are still being debated among Muslims. Pancasila as the state ideology is still being questioned in relation to its compatibility with Islam. Fokky Fuad (2012) and Husnul Khotimah (2020) investigated the compatibility of Pancasila with Islam. (Fokky Fuad, 2012; Husnul Khotimah, 2020) Another study by Syaiful Arif linked it with HTI (Syaiful Arif, 2016), Nahdlatul Ulama (Einar Martahan Sitompul, 2020), dan Muhammadiyah. (S Romadlan, 2020) This article in turn analyses the debate on Pancasila as the state ideology among lecturers and directors of STAI. On the basis of knowledge, STAI becomes a strategic place for the youths to do transformation in all life aspects, including religion. It is not wondering then that STAI, with its level of freedom, has made it easier for radical understandings to enter into the knowledge networks of college students. (Alan Richards, n.d., p. 6)

Method

This field research used national quantitative method in which the data were collected from each province by taking a number of samples in the provincial capital. The data collection in field was conducted from November 17, 2018 to December 10, 2019 simultaneously in all research areas. The population of this study were all active students of fifth semester studying at Islamic Religious Colleges with two or more study programs.

Based on data from the Directorate of Islamic Higher Education in the period of 2018-2019, there are 24 provincial capitals that have Islamic Religious College with two or more study programs. Of the 24 provinces as the target population, 12 provinces were randomly selected. From each province, 1 city was selected, i.e. the provincial capital. Based on the official website of the Ministry of Religion (<http://emispendis.kemenag.go.id>) accessed in 3-10 October 2018, there are 644 PTKIS and 312,208 college students in Indonesia.

The total sample used in this study was 222 students at semester 5 allocated disproportionately to each selected tertiary institution. Sampling in this survey was carried out using Stratified Multistage Sampling with a confidence level of 95%.

This quantitative research was strengthened with qualitative data obtained through interviews with the directors and lecturers of STAI in Padang, Semarang, Jambi, Kupang, Banjarbaru, and Samarinda. It used the inclusivism theory - an understanding not based on fully rejecting the claims of other religions' truth or fully accepting it, religious understanding that emphasizes the limited openness. (Sebastian Kolodziejczyk, n.d.; Zbigniew Kaźmierczak, n.d.)

Compatibility of Pancasila with Islam

Pancasila refers to the ideology of the Indonesian state that has been agreed upon as the basis for administering the state. In some moments, this ideology has received serious challenges, from both the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and Islamic groups (DI/TII, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), and Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT)) that wanted to replace Pancasila with Islamic ideology. (Muzayyin Ahyar, 2015) Pancasila began to be questioned by a number of Islamic groups with an undisclosed manner. The rejection of Pancasila can be statistically seen from the decline in support for Pancasila. A survey by LSI Deny JA showed that in 2005, the number of people who were pro-Pancasila reached 85.2%, but in five years later in 2010, the figure became 81.7%. In 2015 the figure was 79.4% and in 2018 it declined into 75.3%. As revealed by LSI (Indonesia Survey Circle), within the 13-year period, the number of people that agreed with Pancasila decreased by 10%. There were three reasons for the decline in support for Pancasila, including economics, alternativism and socialization. The economic gap was getting higher in society and alternativism was increasingly being echoed outside of Pancasila. The intensiveness of alternativism outside of Pancasila was then able to attract, especially Muslim citizens. Meanwhile, Pancasila was not socialized to the community. (*Survei LSI: Pro-Pancasila Turun 10%, Pro-NKRI Bersyariah Naik 9%*, n.d.)

However, the directors of STAI in a number of areas have different views compared to the Islamic groups starting to question the existence of Pancasila as the basis of the state. They viewed that Pancasila is not contradicting to Islam. Say, the director of STAI Al-Falah Banjarbaru viewed that Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state is not only seen as the result of the consensus of the founding fathers of the Indonesian nation who had diverse backgrounds and were able to accommodate various existing identities in Indonesia, but also given religious legitimacy coming from Islamic teachings. They considered that Pancasila as the state ideology is not conflicting with Islamic teachings and for them Pancasila and Islam are *Sunnatullah* (God's will) that cannot be rejected. As

viewed by the directors of the STAI Al-Falah Banjarbaru, the suitability of Pancasila and Islamic teachings is based on three considerations: history, religion and people diversity.

From the historical aspect, the process of formulating Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state was carried out by Islamic figures who came from various groups of religious sects or schools (Mazhab). Therefore, the approval of Islamic figures for the entire formulation of Pancasila is an attitude truly based on the results of consideration of all teachings and interests of Muslims and accommodates social, cultural and political contexts. The Assistant of Director of STAI, Head of PGMI Department, and Student Executive Board (BEM) of STAI Al-Falah Banjarbaru viewed that the representatives of Muslims in BPUPKI sessions were not the ordinary Islamic figures, but Ulama who had broad and advanced religious thoughts. A compromise between national and Islamic groups in the replacement of the seven-word formula, "*The obligation to carry out Islamic laws for its adherents*" to "*Belief in the One and Only God*" at the time of independence was considered to have been carefully considered. Asep Saifullah, Secretary of BEM Al-Falah stated:

"From history, we figure out that most of Indonesian figures at that time came from Ulama, so the foundation had been based on religious values coming from Islam. The first precept before becoming the Precepts of Belief in the One and Only God was to implement Islamic Shari'a for its adherents because at that time there were other religious leaders not as the Muslim. Here, religious tolerance arose. Making or changing the first precepts into the precepts of Belief in the One and Only God indicated tolerance. Imaniar Elfa Rahma, Head of the Al-Falah Banjarbaru Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Teacher Education Study Program (PGMI) also illustrated that many constituents of Pancasila as the basis of the state were Muslims". (Imaniar Elfa Rahma, personal communication, December 20, 2018)

From the religious aspect, Pancasila is accepted as the state ideology as its precepts are based on Islamic religious arguments. With strong and authoritative religious arguments such as Al-Qur'an and Hadiths, the belief of Muslims to accept Pancasila becomes stronger. The view of the Directors of STAI Al-Falah Banjarbaru showed that Pancasila is considered suitable with Islam in which every precept in Pancasila has been suitable with religious arguments. They saw that Pancasila is convincingly in accordance with Islam - particularly as viewed by BEM Secretary Asep Saifullah and Head of Public Relations Ana Zuliyati. Based on these considerations, they argued that Pancasila is not contradicting and does not need to be opposed to Islam because Pancasila is the state ideology that is in line with Islamic teachings.

In line with the thoughts above, the Director of STIT Kupang stated that Pancasila has been in line with Islamic values, and not contradicting with Islamic teachings. Islam can be harmonious with the Indonesian State, which is based on Pancasila as what is contained in Pancasila is contained in Islamic religious teachings as well. It was also argued that Pancasila as the basis of the state is final and unreplaceable by other ideologies since it has accommodated the existing diversity in Indonesia (Ma'ruf Rauf, personal communication, Desember 2018). The academic community of STIS Samarinda also had a similar understanding by seeing that Pancasila has values in synergy with Islam that has accommodated the national diversity.

Almost similar with the thoughts above, the director of STAI Denpasar adhered to the consensus as inscribed by the founders of the Indonesian nation and merged into the 4 pillars of nationality: Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*. Hence, for anyone and any groups that want to replace these 4 pillars, they will

directly face the national consensus. There will be no space for any attempts to replace Pancasila as the state ideology with the basis of an Islamic caliphate. The firmness of the director attitude has been based on strong reasons; some of which are first that Allah has created humans to be very diverse, from various nations, ethnicities and religions. In other words, these differences become *sumnatullah* (God will) to allow people to know each other and learn from each other as caliphs on earth. Also, humans have been created in groups not to fight each other, but to provide learning from each other. Second, Pancasila is the result of the formulation of Kiai, Ulama (that are not ordinary figures) and a combination of several other figures. Pancasila exists to protect all various religions, cultures and ethnicities. It is the final formulation (*Interview with the Director of STAI Al Hikmah, Denpasar, Bali, personal communication, n.d.*) in which it does not contain any precepts that lead to polytheism or *Thagut*. The five precepts in Pancasila are the messages that correspond to universal Islamic values. (Arman, personal communication, Desember 2018)

For the Director of STAI Al-Hikmah, Pancasila is not conflicting to any Islamic teachings. Masdar Limbong stated:

"First, Pancasila must be positioned as the philosophy of the Indonesian nation. Indonesia can be strong, and stand strong with all elements of diversities is due to the existence of Pancasila. There is no contradiction between Islamic teachings and Pancasila. This means that in our position to practice our religion, we must be guided by the teachings of our own religion, i.e. Al-Quran and Hadiths. In the state life, we must be guided by the philosophy of our nation, Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution. However, since we are in the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila is certainly already attached to us, our attitudes, national life, as well as the life of a nation-state and society".(Masdar Limbong, personal communication, December 26, 2018)

This view is also in line with the views of the management of STAI Al-Hikmah Presma. The college students considered that the founders of Pancasila had considered it carefully. It is proven that, when formulating Pancasila, there was also a debate and there was a formula stating "The obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents". Roni Hidayat Sapa, one of Presma's administrators, stated:

"Because in the past, the initiator of Pancasila certainly had thought about it. Even in the first precepts, it is mentioned Belief in the One and Only God to replace carrying out obligations in accordance to Islamic laws for its adherents. Since it is not only Islam existing in Indonesia, it is then changed into Belief in the One and Only God. Personally, it is not contradicting". (Roni Hidayat Sapa, personal communication, n.d.)

The term of "God" in the formulation of the first precept was also highlighted by Sukri Waliman as a form of tolerance from the initiators of Pancasila from Islamic groups. It is because by mentioning the term "God" it means to accommodate all existing religions and beliefs in Indonesia. Masdar Limbong and Roni Hidayat viewed Pancasila as a final issue, and there is no need for further discussion. If there is someone wanting to replace it, it means "against the state" as stated by Roni; meanwhile, Masdar Limbong called it as an "unconstitutional act", though it is replaced with Islam. According to Roni, the reason why this Pancasila ideology cannot be replaced is because it has become the state ideology since the Indonesia independence. Further, Masdar Limbong stated that religion and state are two different things and explained that the relationship between Islam and the state has been strong and tight. He stated:

"Pancasila contains Belief in One Almighty God. Islam clearly says that there is no god but Allah. This is something that cannot be disturbed or played with. Hence, if someone intends to make some changes to the nation's philosophy, it is a treason. The state must be firm as it is an unconstitutional act. The law that applies in Indonesia, I think, includes treason as it is conflicting and intentionally to change the philosophy of the Indonesian nation. That is not tolerable even with Islam. Islam also says, the state is the state, and Islam is Islam". (Masdar Limbong, personal communication, December 26, 2018)

The Director of STAI Taruna has argued that Pancasila is the final attitude and aspiration for having been formulated by Ulama and national figures. In other words, as the state ideology, Pancasila has been in accordance with the needs of the Indonesian people. Their tenacity in formulating Pancasila is unquestionable. According to ZM, Vice Director of STAI Taruna, those who want to change the state constitution commonly come from Middle Eastern alumni that want a *Kaffah* Islam, and that is why for them Islam is the basis of the state - not Pancasila. In fact, the Ulama used to formulate Pancasila carefully, by seeing and considering the pluralistic conditions of Indonesia. If it had been forced with other ideologies it would have led to separation or even war. (*Interview with the Vice-Director of STAI Taruna, Denpasar, Bali*, personal communication, n.d.)

The lecturers at STAI Walisembilan Semarang also disagreed with the idea of replacing the system and ideology of Pancasila with Islam. They argued that these ideas and movements are not in accordance with the noble aspiration of the Indonesian people. They thought that people with the idea of changing the state ideology do not understand about the history of how Indonesia has been formed. They argued that:

"I agree with Pancasila as the ideology of the state. It is impossible to change this country into an Islamic state. Other different views must be corrected as this understanding is not based on the regulations applied. The idea of establishing an Islamic state or a caliphate based system has also been developed particularly by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). This system cannot be established in Indonesia due to historical factors. When this country was formed, religions in Indonesia have been diverse. In fact, historically, Hinduism became the first religion developed in Indonesia. Therefore, when Islam came, it was Islam *Rahmat lil Alamin* as sourced from Al-Qur'an and hadiths. Islam can be tolerant with any existing differences and becomes a solution for the continually developing life of human. (Najahah Musyafak, personal communication, January 14, 2019)

In essence, Islam and Pancasila are harmonious. According to Falak, Pancasila contains values that are in harmony with what has been taught by Islam. *Belief in the One and Only God* has some similarities with Islamic teachings in terms of the oneness of Allah as emphasized in Surah Al-Ikhlâs. The precept of *just and civilized humanity* is also in accordance with Islamic demands for a balance between the relationship to Allah and the relationship between fellow creatures. Other precepts also have links with Islamic teachings. Looking at it more deeply, the term Pancasila comes from the Javanese language, but its contents are highly deep; hence, when forming the Indonesian state, the Ulama agreed with the concept of Pancasila. Other lecturers also believed that the position of Pancasila

is also able to maintain the unity of the Indonesian nation. Any issues accompanying political activities in general do not make Pancasila as the central issue. (Santi, personal communication, January 14, 2019)

The views of the directors of a number of STAIs above indicated their support to Pancasila as the state ideology that can unite the plurality of the Indonesian nation. There are no values contained in all the precepts of Pancasila conflicting with Islam. Hence, there is no need to replace Pancasila with Islam. Even, they rejected the view if Pancasila is contradicting to Islam. The data above showed the loyalty of the directors of STAI to Pancasila as the state ideology though in fact STAI is not a state university and the directors are not the State Civil Apparatus.

The above conception shows that Islam and Pancasila in their view are not two ideologies conflicting to each other. Islam is an intact teaching, prioritizing the values of God, humanity and society. The treasures of Islam have been placed as the foundation in the ideology of Pancasila. Islam is not Pancasila, but Islamic values have been integrated into Pancasila that has been being used as the ideology of the Indonesian nation. This assertion is based on the premise that the values of Pancasila are compatible with Islam without having to make Indonesia a formal Islamic state. This thought also strongly recommends that Islamic values can grow and develop in a country that does not emphasize itself as a country affiliated with Islam. (Idrus Ruslan, 2013)

The high support for Pancasila from the directors of STAI has shown their moderate religious understanding. They do not see if there is a conflict between Islam and Pancasila and that Indonesia as a plural country does not need to be based on Islam, but based on Pancasila, which can unite all plural Indonesian people. In quantitative research when compared with the views of college students, the moderate views of the directors of STAI above can result in different views, especially in the aspect of conformity of Islam with Pancasila, and maintaining and replacing Pancasila as the state ideology in which in fact some college students still want Islam as the basis of the state by replacing Pancasila.

The Attitudes of College Students towards Pancasila

The college students as the part of the young generation who have gained religious knowledge have a clear attitude towards Pancasila. The learning they were getting in primary and secondary education has shaped the character of religious understanding. Similarly, any information from various sources, particularly digital sources, has determined their religious understanding. Various sources obtained has impacted their attitude towards Pancasila.

Basically, the college students viewed that Pancasila is in accordance with Islam. For them, Pancasila is not conflicting with Islamic values. Table 1 presents how the college students agreed with Pancasila as the state ideology, though some still rejected it.

Table 1. Pancasila as the State Ideology has been in line with Islamic values

No	Category	Frequency	Percentage
1	Very Disagree	30	13.51%
2	Disagree	13	5.86%
3	Doubtful	6	2.70%
4	Agree	27	12.16%
5	Very Agree	146	65.77%
Total		222	100%

As shown in Table 1 above, 146 respondents (65.77%) strongly agreed with the statement that Pancasila as the state ideology has been in accordance with Islamic values. Meanwhile, 27 respondents (12.16%) agreed with that statement. 30 respondents (13.51%) and 13 respondents (5.86%), in contrast, respectively strongly disagreed and disagreed with these statement. 6 respondents (2.70%) were found doubtful of the statement. The data showed the high number of college students who viewed that Pancasila is not in accordance with Islam,

This student attitude is in line with the view that Islam and Pancasila are two ideologies contradicting to each other. The treasures of Islam have been placed as the foundation in the ideology of Pancasila. Islam is not Pancasila, but Islamic values have been integrated into Pancasila that has been being used as the ideology of the Indonesian nation.(Fokky Fuad, 2012) Pancasila contains the values of divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and justice as the noble universal values. The spirit of Pancasila values is highly in accordance with Islamic values. This assertion is based on the premise that the values of Pancasila are compatible with Islam without a need for making Indonesia as a formal Islamic state.(Husnul Khotimah, 2020)

An inclusive political view of the acceptance of Pancasila among the college students is supported by their attitude to defend Pancasila as the basis of the state. This inclusive attitude somehow is based on their belief that Pancasila is an appropriate ideology for the Indonesian nation.

Table 5. Pancasila will be maintained as the state ideology

No	Category	Frequency	Percentage
1	Very Disagree	32	14.41%
2	Disagree	14	6.31%
3	Doubtful	8	3.60%
4	Agree	28	12.61%
5	Very Disagree	140	63.06%
Total		222	100%

As shown in the table above, 140 respondents (63.06%) strongly agreed that Pancasila as the state ideology should be defended and 28 respondents (12.61%) agreed with that statement. While, 31 respondents (14.41%) and 14 respondents (6.31%) respectively strongly disagreed and disagreed with the statement. 8 respondents (3.60%) were found doubtful with that statement. The data showed that there are still many students who do not want to defend Pancasila.

With the acceptance of Pancasila as the state ideology and will be defended, the students also do not want Pancasila to be replaced with Islam. However, there are still many students stating that they wanted to replace Pancasila with Islam as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Pancasila as the Ideology of State is replaced by Islam

No	Category	Frequency	Percentage
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1	Very Disagree	18	8.11%
2	Disagree	74	33.33%
3	Doubtful	41	18.47%
4	Agree	54	24.32%
5	Very Agree	35	15.77%
Total		222	100%

Table 2 above shows 35 respondents (15.77%) answering that they strongly agreed with the statement that Pancasila as the state ideology is replaced with Islam and 54 respondents (24.32%) agreed with that statement. On the other hand, 18 respondents (8.11%) and 74 respondents (33.33%) respectively chose the category of strongly disagreed and disagreed with the statement. 41 respondents (18.47%) were found doubtful with the statement. The data showed that there are still quite a lot of students expecting to replace Pancasila with Islam.

Table 3. Being involved in the efforts to replace the ideology of Pancasila with Islam

No	Category	Frequency	Percentage
1	Very Disagree	24	10.81%
2	Disagree	69	31.08%
3	Doubtful	49	22.07%
4	Agree	52	23.42%
5	Very Disagree	28	12.61%
Total		222	100%

Based on the table above, 28 respondents (12.61% of all respondents) answered that they strongly agreed to be involved in the efforts to replace the Pancasila as the state ideology with Islam. 52 respondents (23.42%) were found to agree with the statement. While, 24 respondents (10.81%) and 69 respondents (31.08%) chose the category of strongly disagree and disagree with these statements and 49 respondents (22.07%) were found doubtful for the statement. The data showed that many students want to be involved in efforts to replace Pancasila with Islam, as found that 12.61% of all respondents answered that they strongly agreed to be involved in efforts to replace Pancasila as the state ideology with Islam and 23.42% of the respondents answered agreed.

The low confrontation of STAI students to Pancasila ideology is an indication of their inclusive understanding and political attitudes. However, there is a tendency for student exclusivity in terms of their political views and attitudes as proven with three reasons: (1) the high number of students not wanting to defend Pancasila (31 respondents (14.41%) and 14 respondents (6.31%)), (2) a number of students desiring to replace Pancasila with Islam (18 respondents (8.11%) and 74 respondents (33.33%)), and (3) the number of students who are ready to be involved in efforts to replace the state ideology of Pancasila with Islam in which 28 respondents (12.61%) and 52 respondents (23.42%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively to be involved in efforts to replace Pancasila as the state ideology with Islam.

Comparing the views of the directors of STAI and the students, the results were found not directly proportional since there are still many students viewing that Pancasila is not in accordance with

Islam and agreed to be replace Pancasila with Islam. The different views certainly indicated a significant disparity in the views of higher education directors and the college students.

Conclusion

In the political arena, Islam is always associated with the state ideology, particularly for Indonesia as a country that has the largest Muslim population. In fact, since the founding of the Indonesian state, Islam has always been fought for the basis of the state. The plurality of the population and religious understanding have triggered different views about Islam as the state ideology. It is not wondering why then if the founding fathers of the nation and today Muslim community are still debating the position of Islam as the basis of the state. Many Islamic groups are fighting for Islam as the basis of the state.

Islamic religious institutions as part of higher education for Muslim communities are part of groups involved in discussing Islam and Pancasila as the state ideology. The lecturers, directors and the students of STAI were found to have the view that Pancasila is not against Islam; thus being appropriate to be the ideology of the Indonesian state. This political understanding and attitude have confirmed that the academic community has an inclusive Islamic political tendency (not radical). They accept Pancasila, even though Islam has become their religion and belief. However, there are a small number of students who reject Pancasila and want Pancasila to be replaced with Islam.

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