



Is Radicalism the Key? Radicalism as A Moderator of The Consequentialist Moral Processing to Support Terrorism

Erna Risnawati

Faculty of Education and Teacher Training, Universitas Terbuka
e-mail: erna.risnawati@ecampus.ut.ac.id

Laila Meiliyandrie Indah Wardani

Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Mercu Buana
e-mail: laila.meiliyandrie@mercubuana.ac.id

Muhammad Pratana

Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Mercu Buana
e-mail: muh.pratana@gmail.com

Valeria Yekti Kwasaning Gusti

Faculty of Education and Teacher Training, Universitas Terbuka
e-mail: valeria.gusti@ecampus.ut.ac.id

Siti Sa'diah

School of Social Sciences, Education, and Social Work, Queen's University Belfast
e-mail: ssadijah01@qub.ac.uk

Abstract

The fight against terrorism is complex and multidimensional, with many contributing factors, including individual characteristics. Among these factors, moral reasoning, especially consequentialist moral processing, significantly influences decision-making and potential support for terrorism. This study examines the direct and indirect effects of consequentialist moral processing, radicalism, and support for terrorism using mediation analysis. A total of 390 respondents participated, consisting of 318 men and 72 women, aged 18-45 years from various religious organizations (Islam, Catholic, Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist). Sampling was conducted by cluster sampling in religious organizations. The research instruments consisted of the Consequentialist Moral Processing questionnaire, the radicalism scale (ARIS) and the support for terrorism questionnaire. The analysis of the results showed that consequentialist moral processing indirectly contributed to support for terrorism through radicalism as a mediator. Interestingly, these findings highlight that radicalism and support for terrorism are not exclusive to one religion but rather extend to various religious groups. This study provides practical insights for policymakers, educators, and religious leaders to design tailored intervention

programs that focus on moral reasoning and radicalism. This approach aims to reduce support for terrorism and strengthen resilience to extremist ideologies within diverse religious communities to contribute to global efforts to counter terrorism.

Keywords: *Consequentialist Moral Processing, Moral Tribe, Radicalism, Religious Organization, Terrorism*

Abstrak

Perjuangan melawan terorisme bersifat kompleks dan multidimensi, disertai banyak faktor yang berkontribusi, termasuk karakteristik individu. Di antara faktor-faktor ini, penalaran moral, khususnya pemrosesan moral konsekuensialis, secara signifikan memengaruhi pengambilan keputusan dan potensi dukungan terhadap terorisme. Penelitian ini mengkaji efek langsung dan tidak langsung dari *consequentialist moral processing*, radikalisme, dan dukungan terhadap terorisme menggunakan analisis mediasi. Sebanyak 390 responden berpartisipasi yang terdiri dari 318 pria dan 72 wanita, berusia 18-45 tahun berasal dari berbagai organisasi keagamaan (Islam, Katolik, Kristen, Hindu, dan Buddha). Pengambilan sampel dilakukan dengan cluster sampling pada organisasi keagamaan. Instrumen penelitian ini terdiri dari kuesioner *consequentialist moral processing*, skala radikalisme (ARIS) dan kuesioner dukungan terhadap terorisme. Analisis hasil menunjukkan bahwa pemrosesan moral konsekuensialis secara tidak langsung berkontribusi pada dukungan terhadap terorisme melalui radikalisme sebagai mediator. Menariknya, temuan ini menyoroti bahwa radikalisme dan dukungan terhadap terorisme tidak eksklusif pada satu agama tertentu melainkan meluas ke berbagai kelompok keagamaan. Penelitian ini memberikan wawasan praktis bagi pembuat kebijakan, pendidik, dan pemimpin agama untuk merancang program intervensi yang disesuaikan yang berfokus pada penalaran moral dan radikalisme. Pendekatan ini bertujuan untuk mengurangi dukungan terhadap terorisme dan memperkuat ketahanan terhadap ideologi ekstremis dalam komunitas keagamaan yang beragam untuk berkontribusi pada upaya global melawan terorisme.

Kata Kunci: *Consequentialist Moral Processing, Moral Tribe, Radikalisme, Organisasi Keagamaan, Terorisme*

Introduction

On October 12, 2002, thick smoke blanketed Bali in the aftermath of a devastating terrorist attack that shook Indonesia. Coordinated bomb blasts struck three locations within minutes, claiming the lives of 164 people, including foreign nationals, and injuring more than 200 others (Media Indonesia, n.d.). This tragic event remains the deadliest act of terrorism in Indonesian history, solidifying the country's struggles with extremist threats. Subsequent attacks, such as the 2005 Bali bombings, which killed 20 people and injured over 100 (BBC 2012), and the 2009 Jakarta hotel bombings, which targeted the JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton hotels, further reinforced this grim reality. Ironically, while these horrific acts were

condemned worldwide, some individuals and organized groups continued to justify or even support them. The persistence of terrorist attacks in Indonesia, growing in both complexity and scale, highlights the alarming trend of increasing radicalization and extremist sympathies within certain circles.

One of the suspects involved in the Bali Bombing 1 claimed that their acts of terror were carried out in the name of religion (Masters 2008). This use of religious justification by terrorists in Indonesia is mirrored by other perpetrators of mass violence, such as those responsible for the Oklahoma City bombing, which was attributed to radical critics with extremist ideologies (Alcalá, Sharif, and Samari 2017). This pattern suggests that terrorism is not inherently a religious issue, nor is it confined to any specific faith. More fundamentally, support for terrorism often arises from cognitive processes and individual moral judgments that rationalize violent acts.

Terrorism can be seen as a symbolic form of violence employed as a 'tool' to achieve specific objectives, such as securing political power or garnering public attention for particular issues (Kruglanski and Fishman 2006). Recent scholarship has critically re-evaluated the supposed link between terrorism and religion. The dominant narrative of "religious terrorism" as uniquely perilous has been scrutinized and challenged as being rooted in colonial perspectives on religion (Khan 2023). This "Religious Terrorism Thesis" is argued to reinforce Western notions of modernity and colonialism while legitimizing contentious counterterrorism strategies. Additionally, the interaction between terrorism, religion, and mass media in a globalized context has been explored, emphasizing how these dynamics shape public perceptions and complicate religious narratives. Terrorism has been analyzed through multiple lenses—crime, politics, warfare, propaganda, and religion—each offering distinct insights into the nature of this complex phenomenon (Schmid 2004).

Contrary to claims of a "new terrorism" characterized by religious motivation and increased lethality, research suggests that all forms of terrorism have become more violent, with ethno-national terrorism being the most lethal (Masters 2008). Collectively, these studies challenge simplistic narratives about terrorism and religion, emphasizing the need for a nuanced understanding. So, in this research support for terrorism is defined as a positive attitude towards the symbolic violence used to achieve that goal. One of the suspects in the Bali 1 bombing who was sentenced to death, wrote in his biography that that he choose to

join radical groups and "take up arms" in response to the sadness and anger at America with its policy of attacking Afghanistan and other Muslim countries because the world seemed to have no one to care about their suffering.

The way to explain individual support for terrorism against a demographic background is not consistent enough. Those who have a positive attitude towards terrorism do not come from a particular gender, educational or socio-economic status (Narang 2019). Some factors related to support terrorism are individual and social discrimination. In general, social and political issues can play a significant role. Individuals who are socially marginalized, isolated, and discriminated often show greater support for extremist. Individuals who consider themselves treated unfairly by the majority group tend to have stronger support for terrorism (Silke, n.d.) and higher levels of intergroup violence (Schaafsma and Williams 2012).

Individual behavior is a reflection of his ideology. Ideology plays an important role as root as well as controlling individual behavior whether the action is positive or not. Individual will not support a deviant action or behavior if he does not find justification or great benefits to justify the behavior. (Baez et al. 2017) found that the process of moral judgment on terrorism perpetrators is based on the results or benefits achieved from action even though the action causes victims, moral considerations like this that distinguish between terrorist prisoners and non-criminals.

Greene (2013) suggests two moral tribes, deontological morals and consequentialist morals. Consequential moral processing is the actions determined by his presumption (for example, persecution of another person is acceptable if it increases the welfare of a large person), while Deontological moral processing is expressed as the morality of an action that is consistent with the intrinsic nature of the action (for example, hurting people another is something wrong regardless of the consequences). Young, Willer, and Keltner (2013) stated that moral processing from individuals can be seen through the moral dilemma. In the context of the "railway" of moral dilemma, individuals with Consequentialist moral processing assume that killing one person to save five people is considered the best decision in that context, because it provides greater benefits, deontological morals, on the other hand, assume that whatever the purpose, the act of killing one person to save many people is still not an action that can be justified (Greene 2013; Young, Willer, and Keltner, n.d.).

Consequentialist moral processing is related to supporting terrorism, but the correlation is weak. Researchers suspect there are other variables related which support for terrorism (Hudiyana et al. 2017). Related to individual cognitive processes, the researcher proposes the variable radicalism is another variable that plays a role in the consideration of individuals supporting terrorism. This study takes the definition of radicalism from (McCauley and Moskaleiko 2017), the point of view wants a basic and holistic change in social, legal and political which is characterized by a process of changing beliefs, feelings, and behavior.

Individuals consider the moral justification to join radical groups based on the consideration that choosing a strategy of violence in launching action will be more effective if conducted in a group, which based on anxiety in irregularities experienced by the group (Maskaliūnaitė 2015). Radicalism is known as the variable that plays a role in consideration of individuals supporting terrorism based on the results of previous research, which found that some acts of terror are rooted in radical thinking (Maskaliūnaitė 2015) (Maskaliūnaitė 2015; Silber and Bhatt, n.d.; Hudiyana et al. 2017). Despite extensive research on radicalism and its connection to terrorism, significant gaps remain in understanding the dynamics underlying support for terrorism. One critical gap lies in the contradictions between existing theories, prior research, and preliminary findings from potential participants. For instance, theories such as consequentialist moral reasoning suggest that individuals may justify violent strategies when perceived as beneficial for their group (Maskaliūnaitė, 2015). However, pre-research data reveal that not all individuals with radical opinions endorse violent actions, challenging the assumption that radical thought inherently leads to violent behavior. Similarly, while studies have demonstrated a connection between radicalism and terrorism (Hudiyana et al. 2017), others contend that radical thought often remains disconnected from radical actions, highlighting the role of additional moderating variables.

In addition to theoretical contradictions, gaps in population representation underscore the limited cultural diversity in prior studies. Most research has focused on Western or Middle Eastern contexts, neglecting how these phenomena manifest in underrepresented regions such as Southeast Asia. Methodologically, the reliance on self-reports introduces biases, including social desirability, which limits the depth of insights into moral justification and radicalism. Addressing these gaps through broader population

sampling, mixed-method approaches, and the exploration of mediating variables can bridge theoretical inconsistencies and advance a more nuanced understanding of how radical thought evolves into support for terrorism. Recent research on terrorism and radicalization highlights both significant advancements and enduring challenges within the field. Studies underscore the necessity of field research and primary data collection to enhance the understanding of radicalization processes and the motivations behind terrorism (Atran et al. 2017). The complexity of pathways leading to terrorism is emphasized, with social bonds, kinship ties, and online relationships playing critical roles in fostering commitment to extremist groups (Hwang 2018). Scholars advocate for conceptualizing radicalization as a set of diverse processes rather than a linear trajectory, proposing the integration of various theoretical frameworks, including social movement theory and conversion theory (Borum 2011a). Despite an increase in the utilization of primary data and diverse data-gathering techniques, challenges remain, particularly regarding the prevalence of solo authorship and the reliance on one-time contributors (Schuurman 2020). These findings highlight the necessity for ongoing methodological innovation and collaborative research to further the understanding of terrorism and radicalization. Therefore, researchers suspect that there is a contribution from other variables in the correlation between consequentialist moral processing and support for terrorists, namely radicalism.

This study differs from previous research on terrorism and radicalization in several key aspects. Thematically, earlier studies often focused on psychological, ideological, or sociopolitical factors in isolation, such as identity crises or moral disengagement. Borum (2011) emphasizes the need to distinguish between ideological radicalization and terrorism involvement, highlighting the lack of a clear definition for radicalization. (Decety, Pape, and Workman 2018) propose a multilevel social neuroscience approach to understanding radicalization, integrating perspectives from various disciplines to identify latent drivers that may not be observable within a single level of analysis. These papers collectively suggest that radicalization is a multifaceted process influenced by diverse factors, and that simplistic models or profiles are insufficient to explain terrorism involvement (Borum 2011b; Decety, Pape, and Workman 2018). They call for more nuanced, empirically-grounded research to better understand the pathways to radicalization and terrorism. In contrast, this research integrates consequentialist moral processing and radicalism into a single framework to

explore their combined influence on support for terrorism. It also critically examines global assumptions, such as the association of Islam with terrorism, which has been overlooked in prior works.

Previous studies often relied on qualitative approaches or limited quantitative analyses (Jacques and Taylor 2009). However, recent reviews indicate substantial progress with an increased use of primary data and diverse data-gathering techniques (Schoorman 2020). The field has moved beyond an overreliance on secondary sources and literature reviews, adopting more rigorous methodologies, despite these improvements, challenges persist, such as a tendency for scholars to work alone and a high proportion of one-time contributors (Schoorman 2020). Experts advocate for multimethod strategies that combine qualitative and quantitative approaches to enhance causal inferences (Collier, Brady, and Seawright 2010). In specific areas, such as the sentencing of terrorist offenders, research remains limited, prompting calls for more mixed-methods studies, particularly in European contexts, and the establishment of open-source databases.

This research employs a mixed-methods approach, combining statistical analysis to examine mediation effects with qualitative insights to understand participant narratives, ensuring both rigor and contextual depth. Regarding participants, past research has largely focused on individuals from regions with high incidences of terrorism, such as the Middle East or Western countries. This study broadens the scope by targeting diverse populations, particularly in Southeast Asia, where cultural and religious contexts differ significantly. Finally, this research contributes a multidimensional perspective by integrating insights from moral psychology, radicalization theory, and sociocultural critiques. It not only bridges theoretical gaps but also challenges cultural biases, offering a more nuanced understanding of the pathways leading to terrorism.

This research is crucial for advancing understanding and addressing critical issues in the study of terrorism and radicalization. Thematically, it bridges gaps by exploring the interplay between consequentialist moral processing and radicalism, offering a nuanced explanation of how these factors influence support for terrorism. By challenging global assumptions, such as the association of Islam with terrorism, it contributes to a more balanced and evidence-based discourse, countering stereotypes and promoting cultural sensitivity. Practically, this study informs targeted policies and interventions to prevent

radicalization and violent extremism, especially in Southeast Asia, a region often overlooked in global research. The mixed-methods approach enhances methodological rigor, combining statistical analysis with qualitative insights to provide both depth and context. By integrating moral psychology, radicalization theory, and sociocultural critiques, this research contributes to both academic progress and practical counterterrorism strategies, enabling proactive measures to address terrorism's root causes effectively.

This study attempts to answer several research questions, with the main focus on exploring the correlation between moral processing, radicalism and support for terrorism. The first question is how consequentialist moral processing relates to support for terrorism. The second question is to explore the role of radicalism as a mediating or moderating factor between consequentialist moral processing and support for terrorism, to understand where radicalism fits in this dynamic. In addition, this study discusses the general assumption of society that certain religions are identical to terrorism and radicalism, but can this assumption be proven empirically? This study attempts to examine radicalism and support for terrorism in various religious groups. This study has significant differences compared to previous studies in several key aspects. Thematically, while previous studies have mainly focused on radicalism in Islamic organizations or communities (Milla, Faturochman, and Ancok 2013), this study broadens the scope by examining radicalism and support for terrorism in various religious groups taken from various Christian, Hindu, Catholic, and Buddhist religious organizations. This approach offers a more comprehensive perspective on the universality of radicalism and challenges the narrow view that associates terrorism predominantly with Islam (Kruglanski and Fishman 2006).

In terms of methodology, previous studies often use general surveys or qualitative interviews, while this study uses a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative measurements such as psychometric scales with in-depth qualitative analysis. This study also uses the Activist Radicalism Intention Scale (ARIS) by (McCauley and Moskaleiko 2017) and validated moral processing measurements (Young, Willer, and Keltner 2013) to explore the dynamics of each variable. The strength of this study also lies in the diverse research respondents, previous studies often focus on the general population or certain groups with high levels of religiosity, such as members of Islamic organizations. In contrast, this study involves participants from diverse religious and organizational backgrounds, thus providing

a broader comparative analysis. With the differences between this study and previous ones, this study not only complements the existing literature but also fills an important gap, offering new insights into the complex correlation between moral processing, radicalism, and support for terrorism in diverse religious and cultural contexts so that a more balanced understanding of radicalism and terrorism, beyond stereotypes, and exploring more detailed dynamics underlying the phenomena of radicalism and support for terrorist.

Method

Design of Research

The design of this using the analysis of mediation model 4 by Hayes. This model is employed to examine whether the correlation between consequentialist moral processing (CMP), as the independent variable, and support for terrorism, as the dependent variable, is mediated by radicalism as a mediator variable. Mediation analysis facilitates the exploration of indirect effects, thereby providing a more nuanced understanding of the pathways through which CMP influences support for terrorism.

Participants in this study were selected through cluster random sampling to ensure representation across various religious organizations. The population was first divided into clusters based on affiliation with specific religious organizations, which served as the primary units of sampling. A random selection of clusters was then conducted, and all members within the selected clusters were included as participants, ensuring diversity while maintaining efficiency in data collection.

The independent variable, consequentialist moral processing (CMP), is measured using Greene's Moral Dilemma Scale (Joshua 2013), which evaluates individuals' moral reasoning and decision-making processes based on utilitarian principles. The mediator variable, radicalism, is assessed using the Radicalism Intensity Scale (RIS), which measures the extent of individuals' radical beliefs and attitudes. Lastly, the dependent variable, support for terrorism, is measured using Greene's Questionnaire (2013), which captures participants' attitudes and justifications regarding acts of terrorism.

The selection of radicalism as a variable mediator is grounded in both theoretical and empirical considerations. Radicalism serves as an intermediary psychological construct that links moral reasoning and behavioral outcomes, such as support for terrorism. Prior studies

suggest that radical beliefs frequently arise from moral justification processes, wherein individuals perceive extreme actions as morally permissible under certain conditions (Doosje et al. 2016). Furthermore, radicalism has been identified as a critical step in the cognitive and emotional pathways leading to support for terrorism (McCauley and Moskalenko 2017). By positioning radicalism as a mediator, this study aims to elucidate how shifts in moral reasoning, particularly consequentialist moral processing, can escalate into radical attitudes and ultimately justify support for terrorist actions.

The mediation analysis follows a systematic approach. First, the direct effect of CMP on support for terrorism is examined. Next, the correlation between CMP and radicalism is tested to ascertain whether radicalism is influenced by changes in moral reasoning. Finally, the influence of radicalism on support for terrorism is assessed while controlling CMP. Indirect effects are calculated using bootstrapping techniques, ensuring robust estimation even under non-normal data distributions.

This research is classified as a theoretical study, aiming to contribute to the development of theoretical frameworks by elucidating the psychological mechanisms underlying the correlation between moral reasoning, radical beliefs, and support for terrorism.

Participants

The population in this study are members of religious organizations in Jakarta. The population in this study comprises members of religious organizations in Jakarta. Respondents were selected using the cluster random sampling method, with each religious organization serving as a cluster. Clusters were randomly chosen from a comprehensive list of religious organizations in Jakarta, and data collection was conducted through visits to the offices of these selected organizations. The precise number of members in each organization was not available; therefore, the researchers obtained permission from the organizations to invite members who met the specified criteria and were willing to participate in the study.

The criteria for selection of respondents included individuals aged 18 to 40 years, as this age range represents early adulthood—a developmental stage characterized by the capacity to make independent decisions and comprehend the implications of organizational affiliation (Arnett, 2000). Early adults are considered to possess cognitive maturity, enabling

them to critically assess their involvement in social and political contexts. This age criterion ensures that participants have sufficient understanding and autonomy to provide meaningful responses.

A total of 390 respondents were sampled from seven religious organizations. Researchers ensured that participants had been members of their respective organizations for more than one year and had actively participated in organizational activities. These inclusion criteria were established to guarantee that participants had substantial engagement and experience within their organizations, thereby yielding richer and more relevant data for the study. As clearly shown in the table 1, the respondents were dominated by the age group of 21-30 years as much as 63.33% which consisted of various ethnic groups in Indonesia. The Javanese tribe dominated the acquisition of respondents in this study by 22.5% and the second highest was the Chinese ethnic group by 14.36%. The next tribes that dominate are the Betawi, Sundanese and Balinese. There is a reason why the Chinese and Balinese seem to dominate, because in certain religious organizations such as PERADAH, most of the respondents come from areas where the majority come from the same tribe, for example in the PERADAH organization, almost all of its members come from the island of Bali.

Table 1. Respondent demographics

Category	Respondents	
	N	%
Age		
15-20	45	11,54%
21-30	247	63,33%
31- 45	98	25,13%
Gender		
Male	318	81,54%
Female	72	18,46%
Etnics		
Java	86	22,05%
Sundanese	51	13,08%
Betawi	55	14,10%
Batak	37	9,49%
Ambon	17	4,36%
Flores	31	7,95%
Chinese	56	14,36%
Manado	7	1,80%
Bali	50	12,82%

Religious Organization		
FPI	70	17,9%
KOKAM	70	17,9%
GP ANSOR	50	12,8%
GAMKI	50	12,8%
PK	50	12,8%
PERADAH	50	12,8%
GEMABUDHI	50	12,8%
Duration		
1-4 years	153	39,23%
5-8 yeras	176	45,13%
9-12 years	56	14,35%
13-16 years	5	1,28%

Respondents were also dominated by male sex, the result being that the dominant members of religious organizations were dominated by men. This also illustrates that men still dominate in terms of being active in religious organizations, but that does not mean that the 18.5% figure for women's involvement can be considered small, due to the fact that every organization, whether religious or not, at least has a special wing for women. This study used respondents from various religious organizations such as Islam (FPI, GP Ansor, KOKAM), Protestant (GAMKI), Catholic (PK), Hindu (PERADAH) and Buddhist (GEMABUDHI).

From the categorization table above for how long joining, the results show that for the number of respondents who have joined as members of the organization for 1-4 years totaling 153 people, 5-8 years totaling 176 people, 9-12 years = 56 people and 13-16 years = 5 people.

Measurement Instrument

Support for acts of terrorism is measured using an item adapted from the research by (Cherney and Povey, n.d.) and further refined by Hudiyana, Muluk, Milla, and Shadiqi (2018). The item assesses the likelihood of someone supporting violence, formulated as: "There are people who believe that suicide bombings and other acts of violence can be justified in defending religion from its enemies, while others contend that such violence is unjustifiable under any circumstances. Do you consider these forms of violence acceptable for the protection of religion?" In the development of the instrument for this study, the researcher selected this particular item from the work of Hudiyana et al. (2018) and engaged

in an expert judgment process that included the evaluation of three psychology experts. This expert review was instrumental in ensuring both the validity and contextual relevance of the item, specifically in measuring attitudes toward violence in the context of religious defense. Throughout this process, the item underwent critical evaluation and refinement to align with the objectives of the current study while preserving its theoretical underpinnings.

The Moral Processing Style consists of five items developed by Young, Willer, and Keltner (2013), with each item presenting a specific scenario to measure the "appropriateness" of a decision. The respondents' scores on the moral consequentialist process are measured using four items adapted from Young et al. (2013) by Hudiyana, Muluk, Milla, and Shadiqi (2018). Each item contains a scenario involving a moral dilemma. One example is:

"A car of the train is approaching five workers, and these five individuals will be killed if the train continues on its path. You are situated on a bridge directly above the railroad tracks. The only means to save the five workers is by pushing a stranger next to you from the bridge. His large body can halt the train car; the stranger will perish, but the workers will be spared. Is it justifiable to sacrifice the stranger to save the five workers?"

Conversely, Radicalism is assessed using the ARIS (Activist Radicalism Scale) developed by (McCauley and Moskalenko 2017). This scale encompasses two components: The Activism Intention Scale (comprising four items) and the Radicalism Intention Scale (comprising six items), thereby providing a comprehensive measure of radicalism.

Procedure

The data collection in this study is using Google form and questionnaire, the questionnaire is a data collection tool by distributing a list of questions to participants with the aim of participants responding to the list of questions provided. The questionnaire contains questions that represent the dimensions and indicators that have been determined, this is used as a benchmark for respondents to assess the extent to which these items can represent themselves

The measuring tool that will be used to determine the respondent's consequential moral process is the "Consequentialist Moral Processing", which consists of 5 items and was developed by Young (2013), all items in this measuring instrument are Favorable, each item has a specific scenario where one person can be sacrificed/killed to save more people, higher

scores show strong indications for consequential moral processes. One of the scenarios in the measurement is:

"A car of the train is approaching toward five workers, the five people will be killed if a car of the train keeps approaching toward them, your onset on the bridge right above the railroad tracks. The only way to save the five workers is by pushing a stranger next to you from the bridge, his large body can stop the train car, the stranger will die, but the worker will be saved. Is it worth sacrificing the stranger to save the five workers?"

The radicalism scale used in this study is by modifying the Radicalism Intention Scale (ARIS) developed by (Moskalenko and McCauley 2009). Prior to the main data collection, the instruments underwent a rigorous process to ensure their validity and reliability. The Radicalism Intention Scale (ARIS) developed by (Moskalenko and McCauley 2009) was adapted for use in this study through a series of steps, including translation and back-translation to ensure linguistic and conceptual equivalence in Bahasa Indonesia. After the translation process, the scale was evaluated through expert judgment by three psychology specialists to assess content validity and contextual appropriateness. The feedback from this evaluation resulted in adjustments to the wording of several items, ensuring that they were clear and easily understood by respondents.

Following these refinements, a pilot study was conducted with 29 respondents whose characteristics closely mirrored those of the primary respondents, specifically religious activists. The results of the pilot study demonstrated a high level of reliability for the scales used. The Activist Radicalism Scale (ARIS) achieved a reliability coefficient of 0.959, indicating that the items were highly reliable. The Consequentialist Moral Processing Scale, used to measure moral reasoning in scenarios of ethical dilemmas, also showed strong reliability with a coefficient of 0.851. These reliability scores confirm the robustness of both instruments.

The Radicalism Intention Scale (RIS) specifically measures the likelihood of individuals engaging in group actions that involve significant behavioral and belief changes, often carried out through illegal means and with a tendency to increase conflict. By ensuring proper translation, expert evaluation, and piloting, the study ensured that the instruments not only retained their original theoretical underpinnings but were also contextually relevant and easily comprehensible for the target population. This rigorous preparation underscores the suitability of the instruments for accurately measuring the constructs in the study.

Support for terrorism is measured by a single item from (Cherney and Povey 2013.) and it adapted from Hudiyana, Muluk, Milla, and Shadiqi (2018), that item is a question of whether someone will support or justify acts of violence if used in defending religion. The complete item as below:

"There are some people who think that suicide bombings and other acts of violence can be justified in defending religion from its enemies, while there are some people who argue that violence is not justified for whatever reason, do you think such forms of violence protect religion can be justified? "

This research addresses a sensitive theme, and ethical considerations are a priority throughout the study. To ensure compliance with ethical standards, the researcher sought approval from an institutional ethics committee prior to data collection. A formal letter of ethical approval was issued by an institution specializing in research ethics, confirming that the study adheres to established ethical guidelines.

Before administering the questionnaire, respondents were provided with a clear explanation of the study's purpose, methods, and potential implications. They were also informed of their rights, including the right to withdraw at any time without any consequences. Written consent was obtained from all participants to ensure that their participation was voluntary and based on a full understanding of the research.

Furthermore, respondents were informed that the findings of the study would be published but that their identities and personal information would remain strictly confidential. This approach ensures that participants' autonomy and privacy are respected, and it aligns with the principles of ethical research practice. These steps demonstrate the researcher's commitment to maintaining ethical integrity while addressing a sensitive research topic.

Finding

The coefficient of determination explains the variation of the impact of independent variables on the dependent variable. The coefficient of determination is obtained by looking at the output R² or Adjusted R-Square. With mediation analysis, the steps taken are to estimate the paths a, b, c', and ab. Paths a and b are paths of indirect effects (indirect), while

path c' is the path of direct effects (direct). The path estimation results in the mediator model. See Figure 1 below.

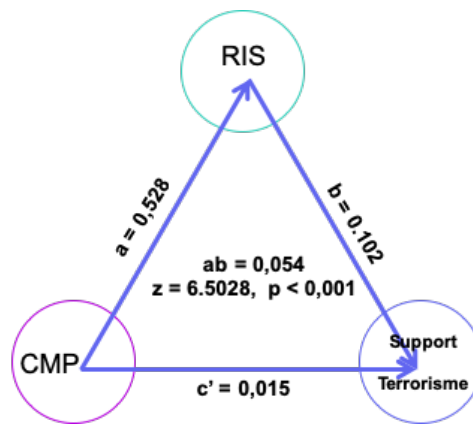


Figure 1. Result of Estimation Path of Mediator Model No.4

Based on the table above it known that the path score of c' is between the Consequentialist moral processing variable and support for terrorists is equal to 0.015 ($p > 0.05$). Whereas for point a, namely Consequentialist moral processing towards Radicalism is 0.528 with a correlation score is 0.4155 ($p < 0.01$). The last estimate is lane b, which is the path of radicalism towards terrorist support, which is 1,102 ($p < 0.01$).

The result of the study above shows Consequentialist moral processing provides a direct effect of 0.015 against support for terrorists (lane c') with an R score is 0.2993 ($p > 0.05$). However, the effect obtained by support for terrorists will occur if the moral processing Consequentialist first passes Radicalism. This is indicated from the results of the indirect effect of 0.054 with a score of Sobel (z) of 6.5028 ($p < 0.01$). Based on the results of this analysis, it can say that Radicalism is a mediator for Consequentialist moral processing and support for terrorists in this study.

The inferential analysis technique used in this study is the mediator regression analysis. Mediator Regression Analysis is conducted to find out whether Consequentialist moral processing (X1) and radicalism (M) variables impact the support of terrorist (Y) variables in religious organization activists by using PROCESSv3.0 Procedure for SPSS Model No. 4 by Andrew F. Hayes. From this analysis obtained the model feasibility test score or F score, the

score of the regression coefficient or the score of t , the score of the coefficient of determination, and the regression equation.

Mediation analysis is a statistical method used to evaluate evidence from research designed to test hypotheses about how some of the antecedent variables causing X to transmit their effects on the consequent variable Y . In this study using a simple mediation analysis model that is a causal system in which at least one cause-and-effect variable X is proposed as influencing the results of Y through a single intervening variable M . This simple mediation model is represented in the form of a conceptual diagram in table 5.1.

Table 2. Result of Regression Analysis of Mediator No. 4

Antecedent		Consequent						
		M (QWL)			WE			
		Coeff.	SE	P		Coeff.	SE	P
X (CSE)	<i>a</i>	.528	0.070	<0.01	<i>c'</i>	.015	0.011	>0.05
M (QWL)		---	---	---	<i>b</i>	0.102	0.008	<0.01
Constant	<i>i_M</i>	8.288	.781	<0.01	<i>i_Y</i>	26.9206	.135	<0.01
<i>R</i> ² = 0.173				<i>R</i> ² = 0.351				
<i>F</i> (1.388) = 57.960, <i>p</i> <0.01				<i>F</i> (2.387) = 115.887, <i>p</i> <0.01				

The feasibility model test or the F test can be done by looking at the output in the matrix results of the process. If the calculated F probability score is smaller than the error level 0.05, then the estimated regression model can be declared feasible. Conversely, if the calculated F probability score found greater than 0.05, the estimated regression model is declared not feasible.

Tabel 3. Result of Feasibility Model Test

Model	Df	F	Sig.
Regression	2	105,024	0.000
Residual	387		
Total	389		

Based on the table above, it can see that the calculated F probability score is 105.024 ($p < 0.01$) so it can conclude that the estimated linear regression model is feasible to be used to explain the effect of Radicalism and Consequentialist moral processing on dependent variables supporting terrorists. Besides, it can say that there is an impact of radicalism and moral equalization consequentialist simultaneously on the support of terrorists.

The regression coefficient test or t-test is used to test whether the parameters (regression coefficients and constants) can explain the behavior of independent variables in affecting the dependent variable whose results can be done by looking at the output of the matrix results of the process. If the probability score t is calculated in table $p < 0.05$, it can be said that the independent variable significantly influences the dependent variable. Conversely, if the probability score t is calculated in table $p > 0.05$, it can be said that the independent variable has no significant effect on the dependent variable.

Table 4. Result of Coefficient Model Test

Model	T	Sig.
Terrorist	3,033	0.003
	3,455	0,147
CMP	12,512	0.000
Radicalism		

The score of t-cont for support for terrorists in the table above is 3.033 ($P < 0.01$), Consequentialist moral processing because the t-score is 3.455 ($P > 0.05$) and the t-count of radicalism is 12.512 ($p < 0.01$).

Discussion

Results of this study indicate that radicalism can be an effective mediator between Consequentialist moral processing and support for terrorists. Consequentialist moral processing will have a correlation with support for terrorism if through radicalism as a mediator. If Consequentialist moral processing is directly connected with support for terrorists, the score is 0.015 ($p > 0.05$) means that there is no significant correlation. But if radicalism is present as a mediator between Consequentialist moral processing and support for terrorism, the correlation becomes significant with a score is 0.054 ($p < 0.01$). This shows that radicalism is an effective mediator in the correlation between Consequentialist moral processing and support for terrorists, where the correlation between Consequentialist moral processing and support for terrorists will not occur if not through radicalism. Consequentialist moral processing and radicalism contribute to support for terrorists as

much as 35.1% while the other 64.9% is affected by other factors beyond Consequentialist moral processing and radicalism.

Respondents in this study are members of religious organizations of five religions in Indonesia (Islam, Protestant Christians, Catholic Christians, Hindus, and Buddhists). From the results of this study, the researchers suspect that group dynamics have a very important role in shaping more positive attitudes towards support for terrorism. As a member of the organization, individual identity will integrate with group identity, this is in line with the opinion of (Silke 2008) which states that individuals gradually internalize the ideology of their fellow group members. For individuals who are still searching for their identity in a culture, a group is a place where they find a place to live that provides accommodation for self-interest (Kruglanski and Fishman 2006) and self-esteem (Pyszczynski et al. 2006). In other words, groups give individuals the feeling that their lives have a certain meaning. Individuals who join, and identify themselves as group members of a certain religious organization are able to increase their self-esteem and make themselves more meaningful in line with group identity.

The next important finding in this research that consequentialist moral processing is not related to support for terrorism, consequentialist moral processing will be related to support for terrorism if mediated by radicalism. Direct links between radicalism and support for terrorism in members of religious organizations not conducted yet much, in Indonesia, research on the theme is only limited to the survey, for example in January 2018 the Lembaga Survey Indonesia (LSI) released the results of a survey containing the results that the majority of Muslims in Indonesia disagrees with radical mass organizations (Damarjati 2018). While support for terrorism was more clearly seen during the funeral of one of the death row convicts for terrorism in Indonesia, the corpse of the Bali bombers, the arrival of the corpse to be buried in his hometown in Indonesia was greeted with fanfare by the residents there, not only local residents who enthusiastically welcomed but members of various religious organization. There are sections of society have viewpoint that the martyr who was martyred to uphold his religion (DeSoucey et al. 2008).

We must highlight the findings in this study, when compared to previous research has focused about radicalism on Islamic organizations, this study revealed that radicalism and support for terrorism were also evident in Christian, Hindu Catholic, and Buddhist

organizations. This study presents significant findings that extend beyond previous research, which primarily concentrated on radicalism within Islamic organizations. The research reveals that radicalism and support for terrorism are also present among members of Christian, Hindu, Catholic, and Buddhist organizations. These findings underscore that radicalism is not limited to any single religious group but can manifest across various religious organizations. In this context, terrorism may not be ideologically regarded as an inherited activity linked to specific religious doctrines but rather as a "tool" employed to achieve certain objectives, such as attaining political power or defending religion against perceived threats (Kruglanski and Fishman 2006). Furthermore, adverse social and political conditions play a crucial role in shaping positive attitudes toward terrorism (Silke, 2008).

In the specific context of this research conducted in Jakarta, several factors contribute to the potential for adherents of various religions to exhibit radicalism and support for terrorism. Jakarta, as Indonesia's capital and a melting pot of diverse ethnicities, cultures, and religions, frequently experiences heightened social and political tensions. These tensions may arise from economic disparities, political instability, or perceived injustices among religious or ethnic groups. Such conditions can create a fertile environment for grievances, rendering individuals more susceptible to radical ideologies as a means to address perceived threats to their identity or beliefs.

Moreover, religious organizations in Jakarta may, at times, function as platforms for disseminating radical narratives, particularly in response to political or social issues perceived as targeting their faith or community. This dynamic may reinforce the belief that violence or terrorism is a justified means of protecting religious identity or achieving political objectives. For instance, inter-religious conflicts, politicized religion, or discriminatory policies may exacerbate feelings of marginalization, thereby increasing the likelihood of radicalization across various religious groups.

The study further suggests that individuals who endorse terrorism to attain their desired political or religious outcomes tend to exhibit a consequential moral processing style. Within this moral framework, the appropriateness of an action is assessed based on its outcomes rather than its intrinsic morality. This indicates that individuals supporting terrorism may rationalize their actions as necessary to achieve what they perceive as a greater good, such as protecting their religion or attaining social justice.

By examining radicalism across multiple religious groups in Jakarta, this study highlights the complex interplay between social, political, and religious factors that contribute to fostering radicalization. These findings emphasize the necessity for inclusive approaches to address radicalism, focusing on reducing social inequalities, promoting interfaith dialogue, and addressing grievances that fuel support for terrorism.

One of the important result of this study explaining the gap between moral processing and support for terrorism becomes stronger with the presence of radicalism. This is confirmed by the results of research by (Putra and Sukabdi 2014), he revealed that support for acts of terrorism from religious fundamentalists is affected by the rationalization of the objectives of the violence, if aiming to defend religion then violence in the name of defending religion is morally justified. Consequential moral processing would lead to stronger support for terrorism in people in religious organizations (Hudiyana et al., 2019). Although the results of this research have not found a strong correlation between involvement in religious organizations with support for terrorism, but in previous studies, interactions between leaders and followers greatly affected the ideological process of jihad (Milla et al., 2013), where this ideology of jihad which then becomes the legitimacy of acts of terror that occurred in the Bali bombing 1, inculcation of ideology that occurs due to interaction in a group then forms a theory of social identity, where individuals who are very strongly indoctrinated will assume other groups that are opposite are negative groups that must be resisted and eradicated.

This study has several limitations. First, the sample of this study was limited to individuals who are members of religious organizations and cannot be comprehensive in the population of these organizations. Future research should consider taking a more diverse sample, including secular groups, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of moral processing patterns and support for terrorism more broadly. Second, this study is a self-report questionnaire, to enrich the perspective of this issue. Further research can conduct mixed methods by integrating qualitative approaches, such as interviews or focus group discussions, to triangulate findings and explore deeper perspectives on radicalism and moral processing. In addition, this study focuses on the correlation between moral processing, radicalism, and support for terrorism in the Indonesian context. Further research can expand the sample size to various cultures to see this issue globally.

Conclusion

This study provides valuable insights into the relationship between moral processing, radicalism, and support for terrorism while addressing the research questions posed. First, the findings indicate that consequentialist moral processing—which evaluates actions based on their outcomes—does not directly correlate with support for terrorism. This suggests that while individuals who engage in consequentialist moral reasoning may weigh the justification for violent acts, this factor alone is insufficient to explain support for terrorism. Second, the study reveals that radicalism serves as a critical mediator between consequentialist moral processing and support for terrorism. This implies that radicalism functions as a bridge, transforming moral justifications for violence into active support for terrorist actions. In other words, radicalism is a key factor that translates moral reasoning into pro-terrorism attitudes. Third, this research challenges the prevailing assumption that terrorism and radicalism are inherently linked to specific religions. By examining religious organizations across Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Catholicism, and Buddhism, the findings demonstrate that radicalism and support for terrorism are shaped by complex social, political, and psychological factors rather than solely by religious ideology. This underscores the need to move beyond religious narratives when analyzing the root causes of radicalization.

In conclusion, terrorism and radicalism are not exclusively products of religious ideology but rather the result of intersecting sociopolitical and psychological dynamics. Consequentialist moral processing contributes to support for terrorism only when radicalism is present as a mediating factor. Additionally, this study highlights that radicalism is not confined to a single religious tradition but can be found across various faith communities. Future research should further explore the dynamics of radicalization across diverse social and cultural contexts and develop comprehensive intervention strategies. A mixed-methods approach would provide a more nuanced understanding of the complexity of radicalization, helping to inform effective counterterrorism measures and prevent misguided responses to terrorism.

References

- Alcalá, Héctor E., Mienah Zulfacar Sharif, and Goleen Samari. 2017. "Social Determinants of Health, Violent Radicalization, and Terrorism: A Public Health Perspective." *Health Equity* 1 (1): 87–95. <https://doi.org/10.1089/heq.2016.0016>.
- Atran, Scott, Robert Axelrod, Richard Davis, and Baruch Fischhoff. 2017. "Challenges in Researching Terrorism from the Field." *Science* 355 (6323): 352–54. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aaj2037>.
- Baez, Sandra, Eduar Herrera, Adolfo M Gracia, Facundo Manes, Liane Young, and Agustin Ibanez. 2017. "Outcome-Oriented Moral Evaluation in Terrorists." *Nature Human Behavior*.
- BBC. 2012. "The 12 October 2002 Bali Bombing Plot." 2012. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19881138>.
- Borum, Randy. 2011a. "Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4 (4): 7–36. <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.1>.
- . 2011b. "Radicalization into Violent Extremism II: A Review of Conceptual Models and Empirical Research." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4 (4): 37–62. <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.2>.
- Cherney, Adrian, and Jenny Povey. n.d. "Exploring Support for Terrorism Among Muslims" 7 (3).
- Collier, David, Henry E. Brady, and Jason Seawright. 2010. "Outdated Views of Qualitative Methods: Time to Move On." *Political Analysis* 18 (4): 506–13. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mpq022>.
- Damarjati, Danu. 2018. "Survei: Mayoritas Muslim Indonesia Antiormas Radikal, Yang Pro 9%." *Detik News*, 2018. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3839810/survei-mayoritas-muslim-indonesia-antiormas-radikal-yang-pro-9>.
- Decety, Jean, Robert Pape, and Clifford I. Workman. 2018. "A Multilevel Social Neuroscience Perspective on Radicalization and Terrorism." *Social Neuroscience* 13 (5): 511–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17470919.2017.1400462>.
- DeSoucey, Michaela, Jo-Ellen Pozner, Corey Fields, Kerry Dobransky, and Gary Alan Fine. 2008. "Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom." *Cultural Sociology* 2 (1): 99–121. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975507086276>.
- Doosje, Bertjan, Fathali M Moghaddam, Arie W Kruglanski, Arjan De Wolf, Liesbeth Mann, and Allard R Feddes. 2016. "Terrorism, Radicalization and de-Radicalization." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 11 (October): 79–84. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2016.06.008>.
- Hudiyana, J., H. Muluk, M.N. Milla, and M.A. Shadiqi. 2017. "The End Justifies the Terrorist Means: Consequentialist Moral Processing, Involvement in Religious Organisations, and Support for Terrorism." In *Diversity in Unity: Perspectives from Psychology and Behavioral Sciences*, by Amarina A. Ariyanto, Hamdi Muluk, Peter Newcombe, Fred P. Piercy, E. Kristi Poerwandari, and Sri Hartati R. Suradijono, 1st ed., 621–28. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781315225302-78>.
- Hwang, Julie Chernov. 2018. "Pathways into Terrorism: Understanding Entry into and Support for Terrorism in Asia." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30 (6): 883–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1481186>.

- Jacques, Karen, and Paul J. Taylor. 2009. "Female Terrorism: A Review." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21 (3): 499–515. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550902984042>.
- Khan, Rabea M. 2023. "The Coloniality of the Religious Terrorism Thesis." *Review of International Studies*, October, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210523000517>.
- Kruglanski, Arie W., and Shira Fishman. 2006. "The Psychology of Terrorism: 'Syndrome' Versus 'Tool' Perspectives." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18 (2): 193–215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550600570119>.
- Maskaliūnaitė, Asta. 2015. "Exploring the Theories of Radicalization." *International Studies. Interdisciplinary Political and Cultural Journal* 17 (1): 9–26. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ipcj-2015-0002>.
- Masters, Daniel. 2008. "The Origin of Terrorist Threats: Religious, Separatist, or Something Else?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (3): 396–414. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550802073359>.
- McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2017. "Understanding Political Radicalization: The Two-Pyramids Model." *American Psychologist* 72 (3): 205–16. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000062>.
- Media Indonesia, Indonesia. n.d. "2002: Tragedi Bom Bali." <https://mediaindonesia.com/humaniora/126861/2002-tragedi-bom-bali-1>.
- Milla, Mirra Noor, Faturochman, and Djamaludin Ancok. 2013. "The Impact of Leader–Follower Interactions on the Radicalization of Terrorists: A Case Study of the B Ali Bombers." *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 16 (2): 92–100. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12007>.
- Moskalenko, Sophia, and Clark McCauley. 2009. "Measuring Political Mobilization: The Distinction Between Activism and Radicalism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21 (2): 239–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550902765508>.
- Narang, Chaim E. 2019. "Socio-Economic Discrimination and Processes of Securitisation as Catalysts of Radicalisation among Franco-Maghrebis." *Undergraduate Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2 (1): 4. <https://doi.org/10.22599/ujpir.102>.
- Putra, Idhamsyah Eka, and Zora A. Sukabdi. 2014. "Can Islamic Fundamentalism Relate to Nonviolent Support? The Role of Certain Conditions in Moderating the Effect of Islamic Fundamentalism on Supporting Acts of Terrorism." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 20 (4): 583–89. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000060>.
- Pyszczynski, Tom, Abdolhossein Abdollahi, Sheldon Solomon, Jeff Greenberg, Florette Cohen, and David Weise. 2006. "Mortality Salience, Martyrdom, and Military Might: The Great Satan Versus the Axis of Evil." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 32 (4): 525–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167205282157>.
- Schaafsma, Juliette, and Kipling D. Williams. 2012. "Exclusion, Intergroup Hostility, and Religious Fundamentalism" 48 (4): 829–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550600570119>.
- Schmid, Alex P. 2004. "FRAMEWORKS FOR CONCEPTUALISING TERRORISM." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16 (2): 197–221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550490483134>.
- Schuurman, Bart. 2020. "Research on Terrorism, 2007–2016: A Review of Data, Methods, and Authorship." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32 (5): 1011–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1439023>.

- Silber, Mitchell D, and Arvin Bhatt. n.d. "Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat."
- Silke, Andrew. 2008. "Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalization." *European Journal of Criminology* 5 (1): 99–123. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370807084226>.
- . n.d. "Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalization" 5 (1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370807084226>.
- Young, Olga Antonenko, Robb Willer, and Dutcher Keltner. 2013. "'Thou Shalt Not Kill': Religious Fundamentalism, Conservatism, and Rule-Based Moral Processing." *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* 5 (2). <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1037/a0032262>.