

## DE-RADICALIZATION IN INDONESIA: IT'S FACTORS, RECENT PROGRAMS AND IMPLEMENTATIONS

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### Abstract

There are many challenges in developing an effective de-radicalization program due to a lack of understanding of the root causes of radicalization. This paper presents a comprehensive analysis of the de-radicalization programs in Indonesia, focusing on the prime causes of radicalization, the role of the Indonesian government, and the involvement of civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations in the de-radicalization process. By examining the successes and failures of existing programs, this study aims to propose a more effective and evidence-based de-radicalization program in Indonesia. This research is crucial for informing policymakers and stakeholders in the development of strategies to counter radicalization and terrorism in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** De-radicalization, Counter-Terrorism, Root Causes, Counter-Narratives.

**JEL codes:** D74, H56, O53, Z13.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Terrorism and radicalization pose significant threats to the security and stability of societies globally (Subagyo 2021). While many countries have implemented de-radicalization programs to address this issue, their effectiveness remains a subject of debate (Muhammad and Hiariej 2021). Empirically, the rise of radical social movements among youth in the last few years has attracted significant attention from a broad audience, academia, civil society, the media, and policymakers, and it raises many important question. This social movement is especially when some of them choose a form of violent action, terrorism or vigilantism, as a pattern of articulation of their social and political radicalism(Gsdrc 2016) (Subagyo 2021).

The number of incidences indicated that terrorism remains a serious threat in Indonesia, including both internal players and multinational networks. To deal with this, Indonesia has two organizations that have fought tirelessly to remove terrorism. The elite Detasemen Khusus/Detachment 88 team from the police and the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (NCTA), also known as the Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terrorisme (BNPT) (Kapoor 2017)(Allard et al. 2016). However, the two bodies have not worked well together in the de-radicalization effort and are still only marginally involved in the battle against terror in Indonesia. Many terrorism incidents are made public and brought to court. The worldwide community has applauded its success in apprehending terrorists (Suratman 2018) However, law enforcement has not been followed by the success in the de-radicalization program carried

out by several government agencies (Sugiarto 2020). The potential threat of terrorism continues to plague the town. Terrorist arrests and attacks continue to occur. Some of the terrorists' released inmates later returned to be terrorists and were apprehended (Suratman 2018). Some of those responsible for extreme fanaticism in Indonesia are former students or graduates of educational institution. A study reveals that Indonesian women (and young people) are increasingly becoming radicalized and joining violent fanatic groups (Nuraniyah 2018). For quite some time, the Jakarta-based Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) has hailed increased activity involving ladies and expanded aim to engage in a more dynamic warrior part (Perliger 2023). An expected 45% of Southeast Asians voyaged to the ISIS-controlled region are ladies and youngsters who have gone with the men to battle there (Nuraniyah 2018). The government responded with several programs to combat terrorism, one of which required us to implement de-radicalization as part of the *Soft Approach Policy* (Ilyas and Athwal 2021). Unfortunately, the de-radicalization program has not been properly implemented, as seen by the presence of terrorist recidivists; however, one of the purposes of de-radicalization is to persuade criminals to alter their viewpoint, outlook, attitude, and terrorist conduct (Sugiarto 2020). This study uses a historiographical approach to analyze the effectiveness of de-radicalization initiatives in the setting of Islamic studies in Indonesia. It explains the dynamics of the country's radical Islamic movements using social movement theory and social constructivism theory. The primary goal is to evaluate the execution and overall success of de-radicalization activities in Indonesia. This study examines the push and pull elements that contribute to youth radicalization, as well as the preventive steps implemented by the Indonesian government and the specialized Detachment 88 police squad. This study used surveys, interviews, literature reviews, and social experiments to uncover the essential factors influencing effective de-radicalization initiatives.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 Research Design

To provide a wide range of explanations on the context of de-radicalization in Indonesia, this research uses qualitative research methods with interview data collection techniques and literature study techniques. However, this method offers a complete description and analysis of the research subject without limiting the scope of the research and the nature of the participant's responses (Aspers and Corte 2019). Even though it is more appropriate for small samples, it is also risky for the results of qualitative research to be perceived as reflecting the opinions of a wider population (Leung 2015)(Foster 2023).

This research employs an inductive approach, utilizing interviews with experts, open-ended questions, and experimental methods to gather comprehensive data (Leung 2015)(Foster 2023). Beginning with specific observations of de-radicalization programs implemented by two distinct Indonesian government agencies, we identify key factors influencing youth involvement in terrorism. By examining the unique characteristics of each program, we aim to discern commonalities, differences, and gaps, thus formulating tentative hypotheses and developing general conclusions or theories.

## 2.2 Data Collection

The data collection process entails conducting in-depth interviews as the primary method, supplemented by secondary data analysis from academic journals, books, and official government websites. In-depth interviews are chosen for their personalized and unstructured nature, allowing for the exploration of emotions, feelings, and opinions related to the research subject (Stenfors, Kajamaa, and Bennett 2020). This method fosters direct engagement between interviewers and interviewees, reducing non-response rates. Interviewers must possess requisite skills to effectively facilitate interviews.

The research utilized a semi-structured questionnaire as an interview guide, augmented with supplementary questions aligned with the research objectives. To address potential challenges encountered during interviews, additional questions were developed as necessary (McGrath, Palmgren, and Liljedahl 2018)(Dahlin 2021). Purposive sampling was employed as the method of selection in this research. This approach, categorized under non-probability sampling techniques, entails selecting members based on their knowledge, skills, abilities, relationships, and expertise relevant to the research subject (Robinson 2013).

The selected sample members in this research possess a specialized relationship with the subject matter, along with substantial and pertinent work experience in terrorism and de-radicalization programs within Indonesia (Ilyas and Athwal 2021). This sample group actively engages in training ex-convicted terrorists, conducts research on terrorism issues, and includes academicians from political and psychological fields (Anisa and Syauqillah 2023). Notably, participants comprise seventh persons as the following:

1. The Director of the De-radicalization Program from NCTA; Prof. Irfan Idris.
2. Head of Terrorism Program Studies, University of Indonesia; Muhamad Syauqillah, S.H.I., M.Si., Ph.D.
3. Head of Operation for Detachment 88; Kombes Pol Dayan Victor Imanuel Blegur
4. Research Center of Middle East, Universitas Islam Indonesia; Dr. Broto Wardoyo, Lutfi al-syaukani, Sumanto al-kutubi
5. Islamic Organization in Indonesia such as; Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama and FPI
6. Ex-Terrorist; Abu Bakar Baasyir
7. Director of Foundation YLP (Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian); Mr. Ali Fauzi Manzi

The interviews were conducted in November 2021, utilizing varying setups among informants, including direct interviews and email correspondence. Interviews commenced with an overview of the research scope and study nature. Respondents generally expressed willingness to participate voluntarily and provide necessary information. The average interview duration ranged from 30 minutes to 1 hour. Throughout, the researcher maintained notes to guide the interview process and gather respondent data, while respondents were encouraged to freely express their views and recommendations.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1. The Pull and Push Factors of Radicalization in Indonesia

An interview conducted with one of the terrorist perpetrators in Poso stated that the main thing that attracts people to join as terrorist members is because they have a wrong understanding of a religion, in this case namely Islam (Rogers et al. 2007). They consider that destroying infidels on earth is the door to jihad that will lead them to martyrdom. This wrong understanding continues to be taught so that they become radical individuals and dare to carry out acts of terror (Afsaruddin 2016). In addition, technological advances that are able to reach many people in a short time also make it easier for terrorist groups to recruit new members to join (Nor and El-Muhammady 2021). Apart from that, Indonesia's geographical area which borders several countries is a factor in the spread of radical understanding across countries in Southeast Asia. The feeling of inequality also part of the internal factor that may grow the radical thought among those convicted to terrorism (Vergani et al. 2018). People who has limited sources of foods and basic needs has high possibility to commit a crime rather than other factors such as psychological, political and also religious factors. The lack of economic stability is measurable while other factors is not tangible so we need further analysis in order to conclude the behaviour of someone (Botero et al. 2014). So, we belief that the formulation of sustainable economic revival for ex convicted terrorist who has released from detention. This sustainable economic revival should provide opportunities for employment and income generation, reducing the likelihood of individuals resorting to radical ideologies or engaging in terrorist activities (Rusli and Kadir 2022).

#### 3.2. The Current Program Of De-Radicalization In Indonesia

##### 3.2.1 Rehabilitation

The rehabilitation program is carried out in two ways; independence development to train and nurture ex-convicts to prepare skills and expertise, and personality development to approach dialogue with terrorist convicts. The goal of the rehabilitation program is to reintegrate ex-convicts into society and prevent them from returning to radical ideologies (Rusli and Kadir 2022).

In recent years, Indonesia has implemented a comprehensive rehabilitation program aimed at addressing the root causes of radicalization and preventing the reoccurrence of extremist activities. The program consists of various components, including psychological counseling, vocational training, ideological re-education, and community reintegration. The Indonesian government, in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and religious institutions, has designed specialized rehabilitation centers where ex-convicts receive counseling and mentorship to address their grievances and misconceptions that led to their involvement in extremist activities (Hunter et al. 2015). Moreover, vocational training programs are provided to equip these individuals with practical skills and facilitate their reintegration into the workforce (Horgan 2021). The rehabilitation program also includes ideological re-education, where ex-convicts are engaged in dialogue and discussions to challenge and change their radical beliefs (Fitri 2022). The successful implementation and outcomes of Indonesia's

comprehensive rehabilitation program reflect the collaborative effort between the government, non-governmental organizations, and religious institutions in addressing the multifaceted challenges of radicalization (Mukhlis, Mustofa, and Syarifudin 2022).

If we compared with Saudi Arabia and Singapore have provided valuable insights into effective rehabilitation practices. For instance, the Saudi Arabian program incorporates religious re-education and family counseling, emphasizing the importance of familial support in the reintegration process (Boucek 2008). On the other hand, Singapore's rehabilitation model involves strong community engagement and employment support to facilitate the transition of ex-convicts back into society (MacKenzie 2012). By integrating lessons learned from comparative studies, Indonesia can further enhance the effectiveness of its rehabilitation programs and develop targeted interventions that address the complex interplay of pull and push factors associated with radicalization (Lewis et al. 2023)(Vergani et al. 2018). Furthermore, ongoing collaboration with international counterparts can provide opportunities for knowledge exchange and the adoption of best practices, ultimately contributing to the continuous improvement of Indonesia's de-radicalization initiatives (MacKenzie 2012).

### **3.2.2 Re-Education**

Re-education is deterrence by teaching the public about radical understanding so that there is no neglect to develop this understanding (Mukhlis, Mustofa, and Syarifudin 2022). For terrorist convicts, education is carried out by providing enlightenment related to deviant doctrines. The re-education of terrorist individuals in Indonesia is a complex process that encompasses various aspects of ideological transformation and behavioral change. It involves not only addressing the misconceptions and grievances that led to their involvement in extremist activities but also challenging and changing their radical beliefs. The re-education process should focus on deconstructing the extremist ideology and promoting critical thinking and analytical skills to counter the indoctrinated narrative (Köehler 2017). This approach aligns with the principles of cognitive restructuring and cognitive-behavioral therapy, which have shown promising results in the cognitive reconstruction of radicalized individuals. Furthermore, the re-education efforts should emphasize the importance of religious re-education and doctrinal enlightenment to counter the misinterpretation of religious teachings that fuel extremist ideologies.

### **3.2.3 Re-Socialization**

Re-socialization is a program that guides former terrorist convicts and convicts in socializing, mingling, and blending with the community. The pull and push factors of radicalization in Indonesia have been the subject of extensive research and analysis. Studies have highlighted the interplay of various factors, including socio-economic inequalities, religious misconceptions, and geopolitical influences, in shaping individuals' susceptibility to radical ideologies (Abbas 2023). The socio-economic factors, such as limited access to basic necessities, have been identified as significant contributors to the vulnerability of individuals to radicalization, underlining the importance of addressing economic stability as a preventive measure against extremist activities. Another crucial aspect of re-socialization is addressing the psychological and emotional needs of former terrorists to reintegrate them into society



successfully (Sugiarto 2020). In the context of de-radicalization programs, Indonesia's approach aligns with successful models from other countries. Comparative studies with Saudi Arabia and Singapore. The incorporation of religious re-education, community engagement, and employment support in rehabilitation programs has demonstrated positive outcomes in these countries, emphasizing the importance of multifaceted interventions in addressing radicalization (Lewis et al. 2023). Indonesia can further enhance the effectiveness of its de-radicalization initiatives and contribute to the global understanding of countering extremism. International collaboration and knowledge exchange will be pivotal in sustaining the progress and continuous improvement of de-radicalization efforts. In recent years, Indonesia has implemented a comprehensive de-radicalization program aimed at rehabilitating and reintegrating individuals who have been radicalized (Mindarti and Anggraeni 2020).

### **3.2.4 Developing National Insights**

The development of national insight is moderating the notion of violence by providing an understanding of state nationalism and Indonesian nationality (Siregar, Noor, and Romli 2022). The current program of de-radicalization in Indonesia has been a subject of extensive research and analysis in the context of addressing the root causes of radicalization. The rehabilitation program in Indonesia is a multifaceted initiative that encompasses various components, including psychological counseling, vocational training, ideological re-education, and community reintegration (Vergani, Barton, and Iqbal 2021).

Moreover, ongoing collaboration with international counterparts can provide opportunities for knowledge exchange and the adoption of best practices, ultimately contributing to the continuous improvement of Indonesia's de-radicalization initiatives (Ilyas and Athwal 2021). The successful implementation and outcomes of Indonesia's comprehensive rehabilitation program reflect the nation's commitment to addressing the multifaceted challenges of radicalization and contribute to the global understanding of countering extremism (Mawaddah, Huang, and Chang 2020).

### **3.2.5 Religious Formation**

Religious formation is a series of religious guidance activities to have an inclusive, peaceful, and tolerant understanding of religion. Moreover, the importance of religious re-education and doctrinal enlightenment has been highlighted in contemporary studies as essential elements in countering the misinterpretation of religious teachings that fuel extremist ideologies (al-Fikri, Sudrajat, and Cahyati 2020). By integrating insights from the most recent literature, Indonesia can further refine its re-education efforts to foster a critical understanding of religion and promote tolerance and inclusivity (Utami 2022). By drawing from the most recent literature and leveraging international collaborations, Indonesia can continue to enhance the effectiveness of its deradicalization programs and contribute to the global understanding of countering extremism. With ongoing knowledge exchange and the adoption of best practices, Indonesia can sustain its progress and continuously improve its deradicalization efforts, ultimately serving as a valuable model for other countries facing similar challenges..

### 3.2.6 The Entrepreneurial Approach

The entrepreneurial approach provides training and business capital to be independent and does not understand the violences. It represents a strategic and innovative method of addressing the challenges associated with reintegration and rehabilitation of former terrorists. This approach encompasses providing training and business capital to empower individuals and enable them to become economically independent, thereby reducing the likelihood of them resorting to violent activities. By this approach, Indonesia can create opportunities for economic empowerment and sustainable livelihoods for individuals seeking to reintegrate into society (Suratman 2018). Through vocational training, mentorship programs, and access to business resources, former extremists can develop the skills and knowledge necessary to establish and manage their own businesses. This not only promotes financial independence but also fosters a sense of purpose and contribution to the community, steering individuals away from potential radical influences (Luke, Verreyne, and Kearins 2007).

Furthermore, the entrepreneurial approach aligns with the principles of social reintegration and community engagement by encouraging the active participation of these individuals in the society and economy. By promoting self-sufficiency and non-violent means of livelihood, this approach contributes to the overall stability of communities and diminishes the allure of extremist ideologies by offering viable alternatives (Suratman 2018).

### 3.3. The Implementation Of De-Radicalization Policy Of Ex-Convicts Of Terrorism In Indonesia

The National Counter Terrorism Agency (NCTA) collaborates closely with religious institutions like Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in implementing de-radicalization programs. Additionally, several NGOs, including the Peace Prasasti Foundation, work in conjunction with NCTA to carry out these initiatives. Institutions such as The Habibie Center, focusing on Counter Violent Extremism and Prevention of Violent Extremism, frequently engage in cooperative efforts with BNPT through study and discussion forums. The NCTA programs predominantly lack proper planning, often being perceived as haphazard and inconsistent. This absence of clear programming leads to skepticism, with some viewing it as merely a financial burden or a source of fear induction. Effective inter-institutional collaboration is crucial, yet seldom realized.

The sudden involvement of Sector Police officers frequently disrupts the reintegration process led by village officials, especially for individuals with prior affiliations with Detachment 88 and NCTA, who often harbor deep trauma and strong aversion to law enforcement. There seems to be a lack of coordination among authorities in several instances. For example, following a recent act of terrorism, Sector Police independently visit and monitor former inmates, reporting to their superiors without coordination.

This approach, oblivious to the pressure and intimidation experienced by former inmates, leads to a business-as-usual mentality among authorities, resulting in decreased cooperation with the government (Cnaan et al. 2008)(2018)

#### 4. CONCLUSION

This study revealed the intricate pull and push factors contributing to radicalization in Indonesia, with misconceptions about Islam and socio-economic inequalities playing prominent roles in attracting individuals to extremist ideologies. Consequently, addressing socio-economic disparities emerges as a crucial aspect of any comprehensive de-radicalization strategy. The examination of existing de-radicalization programs unveiled diverse initiatives, including rehabilitation, re-education, and socio-religious interventions, aimed at facilitating the reintegration of ex-convicts into society. However, challenges such as poor planning, irregularities, and insufficient coordination among authorities underscore the necessity for cohesive and well-orchestrated efforts in the de-radicalization process. In sum, the study underscores the complexity of combating radicalization and advocates for a multifaceted approach that accounts for the various underlying factors and challenges in program implementation. These findings offer valuable insights for future research and policy formulation to effectively counter radicalization and foster enduring peace and stability in the region.

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