



UDC 323

EFFORTS TO OVERCOME RADICAL VIEWS BY EX-CONVICTS OF TERRORISM

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ABSTRACT

The effort to reintegrate former terrorism villains into society turns out to be a challenging issue. Considering the negative stigma and ingrained distrust towards these former terrorism convicts, it has led to the emergence of fear and a sense of vigilance within the community. However, this differs from the situation of former convicts involved with the Moderation House Foundation in Mojokerto. The foundation, officially established by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), includes several former terrorism convicts who have pledged allegiance to the Republic of Indonesia. As is the goal and effort of the BNPT, the deradicalization program would be more effective if conducted by individuals trusted by groups exposed to radicalism, such as teachers, family members, or religious leaders.

Thus, with research conducted using the empirical legal research method and a socio-legal research approach, the Moderation House Foundation in Mojokerto, under the auspices of the BNPT, has become one of the means to prevent radicalism and minimize terrorism activities in Indonesia, particularly in Mojokerto. This is evident from the change in attitude and behavior of the former convicts, who have become more positive due to various structured nationalist activities that have been successfully implemented. As we know, effective approaches require cross-sector cooperation involving all relevant parties, including the government, civil society, and educational, religious, and media institutions.

KEY WORDS

Counter radicalization, deradicalism, Mojokerto moderation house foundation.

The phenomenon of intolerant radicalism in Indonesia that is currently occurring has increased quite significantly. Based on data collected from the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), during the Covid-19 pandemic, this increased four times compared to before¹. As we already know, radicalism itself is a cult, an action attached to a person or group that wants social and political change by using violence, extreme thoughts and actions². Radicalism is related to the thoughts, attitudes, and behavior of people who tolerate violence to achieve goals³. Although according to research by Satriawan et al⁴, the radicalism movement as an ideology is not always characterized by acts of violence, it can still be interpreted that this radicalism is the forerunner to the birth of terrorism.

Indonesia has been the target of terrorist attacks since 2002. Terrorist attacks and developments in Indonesia are generally closely related to changes in the strategic environment both nationally, regionally and internationally⁵. In 2020, the National Police

¹ Hekmi supanji, *synergy between ministries and institutions, a form of commitment to tackling terrorism in Indonesia*, <https://www.kemenkopmk.go.id/sinergisitas-antar-kementerian-dan-anggaran-besar-komitmen-menanggulangi-terorisme-di-indonesia>.

² Budijanto OW and Rahmanto TY 2021 Preventing Radicalism through Optimizing Human Rights Education in Indonesia Human Rights Journal 12 57–74.

³ Tawaang F and Mudjiyanto B 2021 Preventing Radicalism Through Social Media Popular Scientific Magazine Mass Communication 2 131–44.

⁴ Satriawan I, Islami MN and Lailam T 2019 Prevention of Radicalist Movements through the Cultivation of Pancasila Ideology and Community-Based Constitutional Aware Culture Journal Surya Masyarakat 1 99–110.

⁵ Wulandari DD 2019 Analysis of The Indonesian Government Initiative of The National Action Plan on Counter Violent Extremism that Leads to Terrorism Journal of Strategic and Global Studies 2 61–9.



Headquarters revealed that there were 228 suspects in terrorism cases arrested by the National Police throughout Indonesia. In 2021 there will be an increase in the arrests of suspected terrorists and this has become the focus of attention. Based on Densus 88 data, in January 29 suspected terrorists were arrested. Then, February 24 people; March, 75 people; April, 70 people; May 17 people; June 25 people; July 8 people; August 61 people; September 7 people; October 1 person; November 17 people; and December 36 people, even Professor at the Faculty of Law, Diponegoro University, Prof. Dr. Sutek. S.H., M. Hum, when he was a speaker in a discussion entitled "Reflections and Predictions and the Community: Opportunities and Challenges of Islamic Civilization" which was broadcast live on the YouTube channel of the Muslim Doctors Forum Concerned with the Nation, monitored from Jakarta, reported by Antara, Thursday, December 30, estimated that the handling of Cases of radicalism and terrorism by law enforcers in Indonesia in 2022 will be the same as in 2021, namely in the "massive" category.

In addition, there are efforts to support the prevention of radicalism through counter-radicalization and deradicalization, as stipulated in the Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 77 of 2019⁶, regarding "Prevention of Terrorism and Protection of Investigators, Prosecutors, Judges, and Prison Officials," where in Chapter I, Article I, number 3, it is stated that the Prevention of Terrorism is an effort to prevent the occurrence of terrorist acts through National Preparedness, Counter-Radicalization, and Deradicalization. According to research conducted by Puspita⁷, counter-radicalization is a program that prevents radicalization from targeting civilians who hold radical views before they commit crimes. Meanwhile, deradicalization is a planned, integrated, systematic, and continuous process carried out to eliminate or reduce and reverse radical ideologies about terrorism that have already occurred. Quoting from John Horgan by Pettinger⁸, deradicalization includes programs carried out after the crime has occurred, while programs that incorporate schemes before the crime occurs are called counter-radicalization.

Efforts made by ministries or institutions include active involvement in counter-terrorism through a soft approach from upstream to downstream in accordance with the duties and functions of each ministry or institution coordinated by BNPT (National Counter-Terrorism Agency) as the leading counter-terrorism sector in Indonesia, activities This is done by carrying out counter-radicalism aimed at people who have not been exposed to radical ideas, then carrying out de-radicalization activities to neutralize radical ideas, and fulfilling contact facilities aimed at building, repairing, providing, optimizing, supporting facilities and public facilities on a limited basis through cooperation between BNPT. In Riyanta et al's research⁹, they also said that there must be a joint effort to combat terrorism and this joint effort can be achieved through collaboration between academics as part of civil society and the government. On different occasions.

Stanislaus Riyanta, who is also an intelligence and terrorism observer, told to VOA (Voice of America), that the government's counter-radicalization program needs to be expanded and strengthened, apart from that the program must be more active, involve the community in it. To neutralize radicalism, de-radicalization and counter-radicalization efforts are needed with programs that can better reach groups that have been exposed to radicalism and the community and the younger generation who are vulnerable to exposure to radicalism. In 2006, the United Nations (UN) approved the *United Nations Global Counter Terrorism Strategy*, where one of its pillars emphasized the importance of steps to overcome conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism¹⁰.

Resolving terrorism does not only end with law enforcement but most importantly touches the upstream problem with prevention efforts. An effective approach requires cross-sector collaboration and involves all relevant parties, including government, civil society, and educational, religious and media institutions. In the field of prevention, BNPT also uses the

⁶ Ardianto KM 2020 Countering Radicalization as an Effort to Prevent Criminal Acts of Terrorism in Indonesia (Surabaya).

⁷ Puspita R 2020 Counter-Radicalization on Social Media in a Communication Perspective Garut University Communication Journal: Results of Thought and Research 6 509–29.

⁸ Pettinger T 2017 De-radicalization and Counter-radicalization: Valuable Tools Combating Violent Extremism, or Harmful Methods of Subjugation? Journal for Deradicalization 12 159.

⁹ Riyanta S, Rahayu AYS and Mamoto BJ 2021 Revisiting The Deradicalization In Indonesia: A Proposal For Better Implementation Journal of Terrorism Studies 3 1–13.

¹⁰ <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/kontra-radikalization-dan-deradikalkan-perlu-menjangkau-komunikasi-vultan/5181412.html>.



first two strategies, counter-radicalization, namely efforts to instill nationalist values and non-violent values. In the process, this strategy is carried out through both formal and non-formal education. Counter-radicalization is directed at the general public through collaboration with religious leaders, educational leaders, community leaders, traditional leaders, youth leaders and other stakeholders in providing national values. The second strategy is deradicalization. The field of deradicalization is aimed at sympathizers, supporters, core and militant groups carried out both inside and outside prisons.

With the implementation of effective and varied approaches, as well as innovations and collaborations, the deradicalization program is continually evolving. Therefore, due to the importance of prevention in combating radicalism leading to extremism, this research was conducted with the aim of understanding how the BNPT's counter-radicalization and deradicalization efforts through the Mojokerto Moderation House Foundation by former terrorism convicts can contribute more effectively to the prevention of radicalism in the future. It is also hoped that the community can be more decisive in efforts to prevent radicalism by understanding radicalism within them and in their surrounding environment.

MATERIALS AND METHODS OF RESEARCH

The research method that has been used is the empirical juridical research method. Meanwhile, the approach that has been used is through a *socio-legal research* approach. This *socio-legal study* approach can be identified in two ways, namely: first, *socio-legal studies* carry out textual studies, articles in laws and regulations and policies can be analyzed critically and explained their meaning and implications for legal subjects, in this case it can be explains how the meaning contained in these articles harms or benefits certain groups of society and in what ways. Second, *socio-legal studies* develop various "new" methods resulting from the combination between legal and social science methods, such as qualitative *socio-legal* research and *socio-legal ethnography*¹¹.

There are 3 types and sources of data here, namely the first is primary data. Primary data refers to data obtained directly from the community as the first source through field research. Obtaining primary data from field research was carried out through observations, interviews and distributing questionnaires when counter-radicalization and de-radicalization activities occurred. The second is secondary data, namely primary, secondary and tertiary legal materials¹². The primary law in this research is Constitution Number 5 of 2018, Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 77 of 2019 as well as all official documents containing related legal provisions, while the primary legal material is several articles, journals and several related research results and tertiary data such as dictionaries and encyclopedias.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Counter-radicalization and de-radicalization are very important efforts in preventing and neutralizing radicalism. Radical ideology still exists in our society even though we are aware of its dangers. This does not imply that radical ideology is not present in it. This refers to several factors and phenomena that are happening at the moment, including the increasingly widespread development of science and technology (IPTEK), where our society can reach all information through online media without knowing the truth or what is usually called "Hoax news". Djafar Shodiq in his research stated that the emergence of social media platforms, which support the uploading of user-generated content that easily visualizes terrorist violence, in a sensational manner, can provide terrorist networks with a powerful tool for legitimacy and efficacy in radicalization and recruitment¹³.

Meanwhile, according to Inayatillah's research, ideology is defined as a perspective, attitude and practice of religion in life together with the embodiment of the essence of

¹¹ Sulistyowati I 2013 *Legal Research Methods: Constellations and Reflections* ed S Shidarta (Jakarta: Pustaka Obor Indonesia Foundation).

¹² Asikin Z 2004 *Introduction to Legal Research Methods* ed Amirudin (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada).

¹³ Shodiq Moh D 2022 *Doctrine of Radicalism Terrorism Through Social Media in Indonesia Legal Research Journal Legality* 15 1–6.



religious teachings that protect human dignity and dignity and build public benefit, based on the principles of justice, balance and obedience to the constitution as a national agreement¹⁴. The perpetrators of terrorism since the *World Trade Center* (WTC) incident in the United States on September 11 2001 admitted that the actions they carried out were a form of jihad fi sabilillah, as Ali Imron admitted in the Bali bombing which was influenced by several reasons, namely dissatisfaction with the government which was not based on Islamic law and the absence of imamate, destruction of morality and community beliefs, protecting Muslims, retaliation against infidels who fight Muslims¹⁵.

Basically, there are many approaches to fighting radicalization and deradicalization, for example legal, psychological, religious, economic, educational, humanitarian and socio-cultural approaches. The deradicalization program will be more effective if it is carried out by people trusted by groups exposed to radicalism, such as teachers, family or ustadz. Policies in dealing with acts of terrorism need to focus on preventive efforts, with the aim of identifying the urgency of social issues which are the main problems in acts of terrorism¹⁶.

Attempts to reintegrate former terrorists into society are difficult¹⁷. Given the negative stigma and beliefs instilled in former terrorists, this has resulted in the emergence of a sense of fear and vigilance. However, this is different from former terrorism convicts in Mojokerto, where they have become a special attraction for the wider community because of the personal experiences they have had. Providing information to the public based on facts, not just assumptions or even false information that will give rise to hoaxes. Providing information that has been experienced directly turns out to make people more enthusiastic to find out more about what attracts someone to be exposed to radicalism and become a terrorist. Attractiveness can vary from one individual to another, as what one person finds attractive may not be the same as what another person finds attractive. Attractiveness is often subjective and influenced by an individual's values, preferences, and experiences.

According to Sadawi's research¹⁸, not only a soft approach, BNPT also has the authority to determine strategies using a hard approach, including, first, counter radicalization carried out directly or indirectly through counter narratives, counter propaganda as also mentioned by Sadarussalam and Hasan in their research¹⁹, or counter ideology through seminars, workshops and FGDs; second, deradicalization which can be carried out through coaching, FGDs, workshops and seminars. As stated in the Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 77 of 2019²⁰ Chapter 2, article 2, first part concerning Prevention of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, which states that the Government is obliged to implement the Prevention of Criminal Acts of Terrorism.

Chowdhury & Krebs, who conduct fundamental research on counter-terrorism, argue that the strategy to counter the ideology of radicalism which leads to violence must be carried out in the field of communication, which is not only through a war approach but also using language²¹. Meanwhile, Greenberg suggested that this resistance strategy be carried out by using counter-narratives or counter-messages. In other words, counter-radicalization strategies must also be carried out by spreading messages or narratives to counter violent ideologies²².

The Moderation House Foundation itself has legality, namely a Notarial Deed, Alfiah, SH, M.Kn. (15 December 2021) and Minister of Law and Human Rights Decree No. AHU-0040101.AH.01.12 (2021) and inaugurated by the District Regent of Mojokerto Dr. Ikfina Fahmawati, M.Si and head of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) Komjen. Pol. Dr. Drs. Boy Rafli Amar, M.H on February 17, 2022.

¹⁴ Inayatillah I 2021 Religious Moderation among Millennials Opportunities, Challenges, Complexities and Offers of Tazkir Solutions: Social and Islamic Sciences Research Journal 7 123–42.

¹⁵ Ali Imron, Ali Imron the Bomber (Jakarta: Republik, 2007), p.41.

¹⁶ Khamdan, Muh 2015 Rethinking Deradicalization: Peacebuilding Construction for Handling Terrorism Vol. 9 No. 1 <https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/Addin/article/viewFile/612/625>.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Sadawi S 2019 The Role of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) and Civil Society in Preventing Religious Radicalism in Indonesia (Jakarta).

¹⁹ Sadarussalam BWA and Hasan K 2019 Counter Propaganda of the National Counterterrorism Agency in Overcoming the Development of Radicalism in Indonesia The Indonesian Journal Of Politics And Policy (JPP) 1 74–82.

²⁰ Wafa AK 2020 Juridical Review of Handling Criminal Acts of Terrorism According to Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism in Indonesia (Semarang).

²¹ Chowdhury A and Krebs RR 2010 Talking about terror: Counterterrorist campaigns and the logic of repres Greenberg KJ 2016 Counter-Radicalization via the Internet The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 668 165–79entation European Journal of International Relations 16 125–50.

²² Greenberg KJ 2016 Counter-Radicalization via the Internet The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 668 165–79.

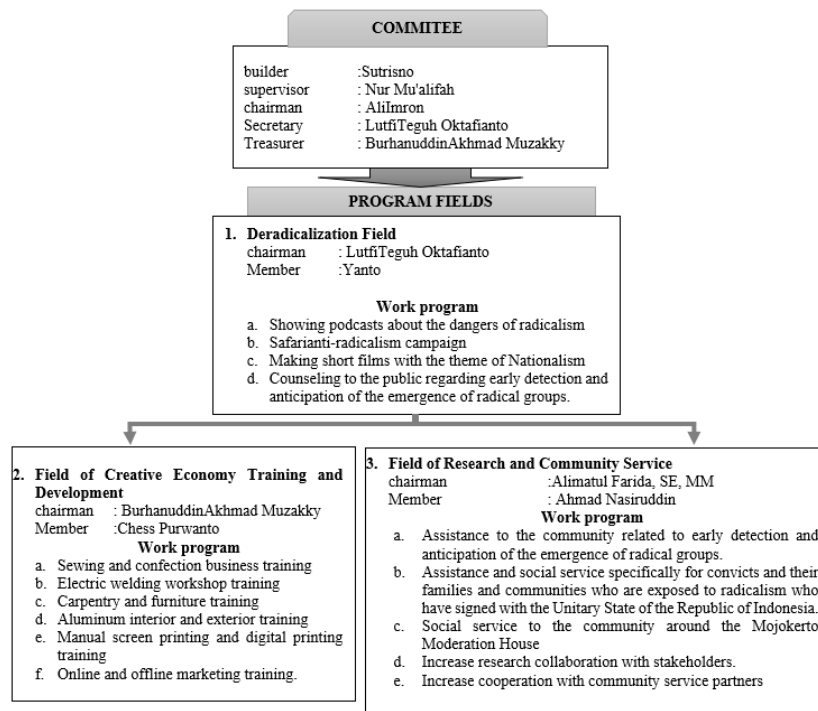


Figure 1 – Mojokerto Moderation House Management Structure (Source: Data Rumah Moderisasi Mojokerto)

VISION	MISSION
1. Instilling the spirit of love of peace in building the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).	1. Deliver a message of peace.
2. Strengthening the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) from the danger of disintegration.	2. Fostering the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in the younger generation.
3. Develop talented human resources who are ready to face global challenges.	3. Provide insight into the dangers of radicalism.
4. Fostering an entrepreneurial growth mindset in the younger generation.	4. Carry out training in the field of entrepreneurship.

Figure 2 – Vision and Mission Mojokerto Moderation House (Source: Data Rumah Moderisasi Mojokerto)

The management structure consists of former terrorist convict members, namely Mr. Sutrisno is a former convict involved in hiding information regarding the bomb deposit from Agus Satrio Widodo (2018 Surabaya Bomb) and his son Lutfi Teguh Oktavianto l'dad Gunung Bromo, who knew information regarding the bomb deposit from Agus Satrio Widodo. Not only former terrorism convicts, other members are also local people who have the same vision and mission as the modernization house. The vision and mission contained in the Mojokerto Moderation House Foundation can be seen in Figure 2.

With the vision and mission contained in the Mojokerto Moderation House, the activities carried out become structured and directed. The activities that have been carried out include togetherness, virtual and community service activities. First, together with all members of the Mojokerto Moderation House Foundation, several joint activities were held at various times and places, such as activities discussing nationality at the Republic of Indonesia coffee shop. Then the moderation house also holds virtual activities on our social media such as YouTube, Instagram, and so on. Apart from that, the moderation house also participates in several community activities such as seminars, government programs, coordination, synergy, and so



on, which are carried out by members of the moderation house who are accompanied by officials and related agencies.

The moderation house also establishes synergy efforts with regional authorities and agencies in Mojokerto, including coordinating and synergizing in counter-radicalization and de-radicalization efforts with the Mojokerto City and District Head of Police, coordinating and synergizing with Kodim 0815 Mojokerto and starting counter-radicalization and de-radicalization programs with Mojokerto Ministry of Religion. Until now, the Mojokerto Moderation House Foundation is still trying to gather little by little people and friends who have previously been exposed to participate in the program created by the Mojokerto Moderation House Foundation. There are 6 members who have been exposed who joined as of February 24, 2022.

It is time for the world to start thinking again, that radicalism can not only penetrate Muslims, even in his thesis Samuel P. Huntington, a professor of Government Science and director of the John M. Ulin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University (USA), argued that Radicalism always associated with the east (one of which is represented by Islam). This thesis indirectly strengthens the assumptions of most Western scientists who see Islam as aggression and hostility. This condition must be placed in a balanced position for each religion, that any religion or belief can contribute to radicalism. Religious entities are placed as a space to express radical actions at any time, not only Islam, every other religion can also carry out radical actions that lead to terror, blasphemy and violence.

For example, if we open the memory of a series of radical expressions in the name of religion (where this has become a collective memory) what emerged then was a group of hardline Hindu followers burning down the mosque in Ayodha, India, violence emerged in the form of terror, other violence - the Bali bombings and Jakarta, which was accused of radical Islam, then continued with the movement of fundamental groups in the Netherlands with the film "Fitnah" and the burning of the Koran in the United States, which the perpetrator called "God". These few expressions of terror and violence become a memory of radical actions labeled as religion. John Miller, who is the FBI's director of public affairs, stated before the Senate Homeland Security Committee that the roots of "radicalization" can be found in the basic tenets of the Islamic faith and that individuals become radicalized due to the influence of authoritative religious leaders²³.

CONCLUSION

Radicalism is something that cannot be ignored, both by the government and by civil society, because from one understanding, it is possible for various acts of terrorism to occur that can endanger the unity and sovereignty of the state. By Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 77 of 2019 concerning "Prevention of Criminal Acts of Terrorism and Protection of Investigators, Public Prosecutors, Judges, and Correctional Officers", radicalism can be prevented and overcome through counter-radicalization and deradicalization.

The Mojokerto Moderation House Foundation, which is a house where ex-terrorism convicts are trained who have made the NKRI Pledge, which is under the auspices of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) is one of the means to prevent this understanding from developing and also to radicalism to minimize acts of terrorism in Indonesia, especially Mojokerto. This can be seen in the change in the attitude and nature of ex-terrorism convicts who have become more positive with the existence of various structured and well-executed nationalism activities.

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