De-radicalization Program: The Case Study of Indonesia

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Abstract

Deradicalization program has emerged since 2012 by Indonesian Government due to the fact of increasing number of terrorism act happened in Indonesia. Indonesian government imposed the soft approach in order to be able to rehabilitate terrorist, its group, and family from radical mindset effectively. The ex-convicted terrorist is expected to disengage from their previous group and mindset and ready to rejuvenate as a new person with a moderate mind so that they can mingle back to the society. The program that applied by BNPT is comprehensively for all ages the only differences is when encountered the youth so the approach is slightly different. The purpose of this study is to describe and explaining the formulation of Indonesian deradicalization program in detail. This study uses a social identity theory in explaining the formulation and implementation of BNPT de-radicalization program. In this study, the author used qualitative methods with explanatory research type, followed by collecting data through literature. Based on existing findings, the deradicalization program, which rooted in social identity basic assumptions, is comprehensively established without discrediting certain religious values. And the de-radicalization program in Indonesia can be regarded as successful if the number of people turning back to the radical acts is low. So that to create a sustainable effort BNPT should promote the program more harmoniously, to ensure the effectiveness of the rehabilitation program.

Keywords: BNPT, deradicalization program, social identity, radical act, radicalization, soft approach, religious value

1. Introduction

Empirically, the rise of radical social movements among youth in the last few years has attracted great attention from a wide audience, both from academia, civil society, the media as well as policymakers and raises many important questions. This is especially when some of them choose a form of violent action, either terrorism or vigilantism, as a pattern of articulation of their social and political radicalism.

Department of Social and Political Science, Indonesian University (2018) describes that In Indonesia from 2010 to 2017 there were 130 cases of terrorism recorded. 896 perpetrators have been arrested and sentenced, 126 of them sentenced to death, 674 are currently under sentence, and 96 are free. The number of cases shows that terrorism is still a serious problem in Indonesia which involves not only domestic actors, but trans-national networks (Arifianto, 2019).

Further, the Department of Social and Political Science, Indonesian University (2018) also explained that the trend of terrorism in Indonesia is divided into three periods. The first period was the DI / TII period in the era of 1949 to 1954 who wanted to form the Islamic State of Indonesia. This movement was led by Kahar Muzakar in Sulawesi, Kartosuwiryo in West Java, and Daud Bireuh in Aceh (Tadjoeddin, 2014).

The second period shows that the trend of terrorism changed to Jamaah Islamiyyah which began in 1983 with the support of Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Baasyir. This terrorist group originated from Al Mukmin Islamic Boarding School in Sukoharjo and spread its radical ideas from the Boarding-School. Jemaah Islamiyyah existed in Indonesia until the early 2000s and succeeded in carrying out the terror of the Bali Bombing 1, the Bali Bombing 2, the Bombing at the Australian Embassy, and the JW Marriot Bombing (Sudoyo et al., 2008).

The next period is the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) period. These terrorists were influenced by global terrorism movements centered in Iran and Syria. These three periods have differences in the structure of attack, funding, and communication patterns, ideological dissemination, and recruitment. Structurally, the Jemaah Islamiyyah period has a neat managerial structure, where everyone has their respective roles and responsibilities. Terrorists in the Jemaah Islamiyyah period carried out attacks using high explosive bombs (Schulze and Liow, 2019).

Regarding funding, the three have in common the funds used come from three things: individual donations, infiltration of donations, the results of low-level crime and other organized crime, and business legitimacy. These funds are then transferred to terrorist groups also in various ways, for example, transfers through formal mechanisms through banks, informal money transfers or often called hawalas or using humans as couriers. The development of technology is currently making communication networks trends, dissemination of ideology, and recruitment to be different. The ISIS period uses blogs, websites, social media, and instant messages to spread their ideology, communicate, or even recruit new members.

What is worrying is that in the last few years the radicalism movement has entered the world of education and young people. The phenomenon of the suicide bombing, the bomb in Serpong, the sniffing of the NII (Islamic State of Indonesia) network some time ago confirmed that many radical movements infiltrated their understanding and expanded their network coverage through the campus and school (Temby, 2010). Students who are still in the process of searching for self-identity and learning to know many things have become the most strategic targets to strengthen this religious radicalism movement. Moreover, the strategic positions of students who have a wide social range and are relatively autonomous are considered by the radical movement as the most appropriate and easy means to proliferate the radical ideologies they are fighting for.

MAARIF Institute's research in 2011 on Problem Mapping of Radicalism in Public High Schools in 4 regions (Pandeglang, Cianjur, Yogyakarta, and Solo) which took data from 50 schools confirmed the above phenomenon. According to this research, schools are open spaces for the dissemination of understandings. Because the school is too open, religious radicalism groups take advantage of this open space to actively campaign for their understanding and expand their networks. The religious groups that have entered range from extreme to blasphemous against the state and invitations to establish an Islamic state, to Islamist groups who want to fight for the enforcement of Islamic law. Because of this closed religious understanding, their national understanding has become reduced and depleted. What is ironic is that many schools do not care about religious ideas that are taught through their religious activities in schools. This may be because they believe too much in the independence of their students or it could be because the religious group enters student activities when school hours are over.

What is also interesting is the MAARIF Institute's research findings, that various religious organizations with loud patterns fill the open spaces in schools with their respective agendas. This group also brings understanding The Islam that they understood entered the schoolroom filled the space of the state ideology that was often taught massively. This state ideology is Pancasila which used to be continuously taught and indoctrinated through Upgrading P4 (Guidelines for Living and Practicing Pancasila). Therefore, the Islamic awareness of 50 state high school students in the 4 areas studied by the MAARIF Institute is thicker and stronger than their awareness of nationality or citizenship.

Previously, a survey conducted by the Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace (LaKIP) also showed a similar trend. October 2010 to January 2011 was carried out in 59 private schools and 41 public schools in 10 areas throughout Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi). This survey took a sample of 993 junior high school students and high school students. It is noteworthy; this survey shows that almost 50% of students agree with violence or radical actions for the sake of religion. 14.2% of the students stated that they agreed with the acts of terrorism committed by Imam Samudra, Amrozi, and Coordinating M Top. 84.8% of students also agreed with the enforcement of Islamic law. Meanwhile, 25.8% considered Pancasila no longer relevant as the state ideology. Although some parties have expressed doubts about the methodology and results of this survey, this survey should be used as an alarm or red light for the future of the Indonesian nation (Abdullah, 2017).

To deal with this, Indonesia has two bodies that have worked hard to eradicate terrorism. Through the special Densus 88 team from the police and the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). However, the two bodies have not synergized optimally in terms of the de-radicalization program and are still running individually in the fight against terror in Indonesia (Nakissa, 2020).

With such an empirical context, I will discuss the phenomenon of the radicalism of Muslim youth in post-New Order Indonesia in this thesis. But I will take a different course from most previous studies, which approach the question from a historical perspective and Islamic studies also review the effectiveness of each program of de-radicalization imposed by that Indonesian government. This research also describes the phenomenon of the radical Islamic movement in Indonesia by using a social movement theory and social constructivism theory as its complement.

This research will contribute to the knowledge of international relations especially in the spreading of terrorism in Indonesia. This research is believed to be able to prove the root of terrorism in Indonesia is due to transnational activities brought by the member of jihadist from overseas. Not only that this paper also brings the notion of deradicalization is by knowing well the where it derives from.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the literature review of the deradicalization program. Material and method of the research are shown in Section 3. Results and discussion are discussed in Section 4. Finally, the conclusions of this paper are summarized in Section 5.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Terrorism

Terrorism can be viewed from various scientific angles, such as sociology, criminology, politics, psychiatry, international relations and law. Therefore, it is difficult to formulate a definition capable of covering all aspects and dimensions of terrorism. Based on the United Nations Convention 1937 it says that terrorism is all forms of crime aimed directly at the state with the intention of creating forms of terror against certain people or groups of people or the wider community (Schuurman, 2020)

Lately due to the high number of terrorisms growing urges the government to prepare the best strategy in overcoming the threat. The government's efforts in overcoming terrorism can be identified by the existence of a number of regulations made, one of which by ratifying Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010 regarding The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT).

According to the Presidential Decision Number 46 of 2010 the function of BNPT as the center of counterterrorism agency has several functions, including: (1) To prepare policy, strategy, and national program regarding counterterrorism; (2) To monitor, analyze, and evaluate counterterrorism; (3) To coordinate the implementation of prevention and action toward any radical ideology propaganda; and (4) To coordinate the implementation of deradicalization (Bahtiar and Sumari, 2017). From this article it is also known that the program implemented by Indonesian government is using both hard and soft approach. Inside the prison the deradicalization program include identification, development of counter-radicalism and monitoring and evaluation. While outside the prison it includes identification, rehabilitation, reeducation, resocialitation, monitoring and also evaluation (Bahtiar and Sumari, 2017).

2.2. Radicalism

Radicalism is a common symptom that can occur in a society with various motives, be it social, political, cultural or religious, which is characterized by violent, extreme and anarchist actions as a form of rejection of the symptoms at hand. This is in line with the views presented by Karell and Freedman (2019), radicalism is a view that wants to make fundamental changes according to its interpretation of social reality or the ideology it embraces.

Zainiyati (2016) conducted in several schools in Semarang concludes that the spread of radical understanding through educational institutions could be due to the ways in which some teachers interpret some of the themes listed in the Islamic Education Curriculum (PAI) in line with their radical ways of thinking and then present and teach them to the students. In addition, the spread can also be through the reading materials distributed to students be it in the form of specific themes depicted radical understanding, or even inserted in the exam items for students.

If we look at law enforcement that the government has applied to counter terrorism in the country. Indonesia is firm in upholding the law against terrorism. Perpetrators of criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia have been convicted. Not even a few were sentenced to death. For example, Imam Samudra and Amrozi, perpetrators of the 2002 Bali Bombing terrorism act. Likewise, other terrorist perpetrators. After so many terrorism cases happened, the Government of Indonesia issued a regulation Number 1 of 2002 which on April 4, 2003, was passed into Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 15 of 2003 concerning Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts, subsequently revised by Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 the Year 2018. The Government of Indonesia also issued Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 46 of 2010 concerning the Establishment of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) which in 2012 was amended by Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 12 of 2012 (Hamzani et.al., 2020). This research further explained that the law itself is not enough, there must be an extraordinary way to break the chain of terrorism either through formal or informal way of problem solving. In this case the formal way is through court of justice while informal way is through de-radicalization program. It can be concluded that the success of law enforcement become the barometer of the law legitimacy in social reality.

Lastly, it can be said that the de-radicalization program cannot be regarded as the primary way to eradicate the extremist movement in Indonesia. Nor the government cut the radical ideology entirely in a very short period of time. The way that we can do is forming the right method of disengagement strategy.

2.3. De-radicalization in Indonesia

Before discussing about de-radicalisation in Indonesia, it is important to see how it started at the beginning. As the research by Crenshaw (2020) mentioned the definition of Transnational terrorism involves actions in which victims, perpetrators, and sites of violence represent different states and nationalities. Transnational terrorist attacks may be initiated by local actors against foreign targets in the geographic conflict space, or by radicalized local residents or

transnational networks against targets outside the combat zone. These features of actor and location distinguish transnational terrorism from terrorism carried out by local parties within civil wars, which is not unusual.

Transnational terrorism is essentially terrorism with an international orientation. Terrorism is when it "involves individuals and groups attempting to influence the political process in countries other than that of their indigenous origin" (Bhonsle, 2011). From the definitions above, transnational Islamic terrorism can be summarized as acts of aggression by Islamic fundamentalist on a transnational scale.

Terrorism has been a concern for international politics for centuries for its ability to destabilize internal affairs of states and regions. The increasing internationalization of terrorism by Islamic extremists has however shown that terrorism is no longer solely an internal issue and there is an urgent need for the international community to address the challenge.

Specifically, the growth of transnational Islamic terrorism was brought about alongside the rapid rates of globalization. Since the advent of a new world order, nations states have had to share the global stage with new non-state actors (Impara, 2018). Globalization has helped the internationalization of terrorism in three ways. The expansion of air travel, the availability of televised news coverage and consequently the increased exchange of political interest and intersection around a common cause.

Consequently, transnational terrorism has emerged to impact the core assumptions that had formed international politics. It has showed that threats are not only state-centric anymore but also space and boundaries are becoming increasingly irrelevant as any and every one regardless of geographic location is vulnerable. It also showed that the military strength, size of a nation's high-tech arsenal, and geostrategic power provides little protection from the new globalized world (Sandler and Enders, 2004).

The research that conducted by Crenshaw (2020) regarding transnational terrorism mentioned that Transnational networks can also be arms suppliers. Again, Syria is a case in point: one reason for the resilience of the jihadist groups was their fighting prowess based on experience gained in Iraq and their access to weapons supplies. Non-jihadist groups depended on them to fight assad despite ideological quarrels.

Like the case in Indonesia itself there are some groups that categorize themselves as Wahabi, Ihkwanul Muslimin (IM), and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). According to van Bruinesen (2002), the birth of what he calls "radical Islam" can be traced to the emergence of Darul Islam in several cities and the Indonesian Muslim Shura Council (Masyumi) political party which often builds transnational networks with several movements in the Middle East. The movements in question are varied, such as Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Later Hizb ut-Tahrir emerged from Jordan. All in all, each organization has a different colour pattern of movement that is quite diverse, so researchers are careful in generalizing Islamism groups.

To eradicate the activities the government with the help of civil society needs to organize de-radicalization program effectively.

According to Azyumardi (2012), de-radicalization is carried out with six approaches, namely rehabilitation, re-education, resocialization, fostering national insight, moderate religious development, and entrepreneurship. The explanation of this approach is as follows:

1. Rehabilitation. The rehabilitation program is carried out in two ways, namely; 1) independence development to train and nurture ex-convicts to prepare skills and expertise, and 2) personality development to approach dialogue with terrorist convicts so that their mindset can be straightened out and have a comprehensive understanding and can accept parties who are different from them. The rehabilitation process is carried out in collaboration with various parties such as the police, correctional institutions, the Ministry of Religion, Kemenkokersa, mass organizations, and so on. It is hoped that this program will provide provisions for them to live life after leaving the correctional institution.

2. Reeducation is a deterrence by teaching enlightenment to the public about radical understanding, so that there is no neglect of the development of this understanding. Whereas for terrorism convicts, education is carried out by providing enlightenment related to deviant doctrines that teach violence so that they realize that committing violence such as suicide bombings is not jihad but is synonymous with acts of terrorism.

3. Resocialization is a program carried out by guiding former terrorist convicts and convicts in socializing, mingling and blending with the community. Deradicalization is also carried out through education by involving universities, through a series of activities such as public lectures, workshops, and others. Students are invited to think critically and strengthen nationalism so that they are not easy to accept destructive doctrines.

4. The development of national insight is moderating the notion of violence by providing an understanding of state nationalism and Indonesian nationality.

5. Religious formation is a series of religious guidance activities for them to have an inclusive, peaceful and tolerant understanding of religion. Religious development refers to ideological moderation, namely by changing the orientation of radical and violent ideologies to an ideological orientation that is inclusive, peaceful, and tolerant. Entrepreneurial approach by providing training and business capital so that they can be independent

and do not develop an understanding of violence. Entrepreneurship has a big role in implementing de-radicalization. The business world is able to create jobs, reduce unemployment, increase people's income, and increase productivity. In addition, the business world also has an important role to play in making people more creative and independent.

2.4. De-Radicalization Program in Indonesia

Other than concerning on the actor of de-radicalization program, the methodology is also much more crucial to our attention. The research done by Muluk et. al (2019) has come up with the use of psychological intervention to ex-convicted terrorist. This is because nowadays terrorist is suffering and many kinds of negative psychological costs of being held as detainees. This thing because there is such ideological shift as a terrorist, they are the ideological element and the motivational element. The researcher made the program of "Critical Thinking and Narrative Writing Workshop + Discussion on Civil Life" from 17 different prisons across Indonesia. from this program the observer of this research made some behavioral and emotional checklists to be measured. This program has found that both cognitive flexibility and emotional expression aptness alone did not predict terrorist detainees' extent of support for democratic civil life. Increased level of support for civic life was observed only when both detainees' cognitive flexibility and emotional expression aptness was high. Although the effect was relatively small, this finding supports the general argument that psychological aspects, including detainees' emotion and cognition, are crucial for promoting detainee's agreement to ideas of democratic civil life offered in counter ideology discussions (Muluk et al., 2019).

The recent studies also prove that the usage of communication strategy by BNPT has resulted a huge success. This situation broadly explains in the research by Sugiarto (2020) that until the end of 2018 the success rate of the deradicalization program reached one hundred percent. The deradicalization program has already been attended by 800 people; 325 former terrorism inmates and the rest of the families of terrorist prisoners. None of the 325 ex-terrorist inmates who participated in the deradicalization program resumed acts of terror. One aspect that supports the success of the deradicalization program in Indonesia is the communication aspect. The models of communication use by BNPT are using a combination of communication planning models of Assifi and French, ACADA, Diffusion of Innovations (Sugiarto, 2020). The model includes de-radicalization inside and outside the prison. The Deradicalization in prisons includes the stages of identification, rehabilitation, reeducation, and resocialization. Deradicalization outside of prison includes the stages of identification, religious formation, fostering national insight, and fostering independence or entrepreneurship. The targets of the deradicalization program outside of prison are ex Terrorist Convicts, families and networks or those connected with terrorists (Sugiarto, 2020).

There are six dimension of critical areas needed that needs special attention in the process of rehabilitation and de-radicalization according to the research conducted by Sukabdi (2015), they are the contextual insights, vocational skills such as businesses and other kind of technical skills to make them survive in the society, spiritual maturity through religion preaching given by the expert, personal skills that they have and it must be different among one another, social skill which consider to be the most important one for them to mingle back to the society, and lastly the domestic skills.

Apart from those six dimensions there is one factor that will suit ex-convicted terrorist for the process of de-radicalization that is humanitarian based rather than securitization based. The reason is because an extremist or terrorist group or participating in an active conflict zone puts an individual's life at significant risk and will likely not yield the impact and reward, they desire because there is an increased likelihood of them being arrest- ed or killed before having any impact on the conflict. Herein lies the potential value of incorporating humanitarian work within de-radicalisation and disengagement programs (Mohammed, 2020).

Public participation has played a significant success in de-radicalization program in Indonesia. This will include every element in the community to bring back the confidence of ex terrorist. It can be seen from the researched by Sarjito et al. (2019) mentioned that to strengthen public participation we need to develop three models they are information, consultation, and active participation. This model created to describe each and every character in the society, level of participation and place them in the policy cycle. By having this model, we can also identify how active and willing the participants are to the design by monitoring and evaluation at the end of it. Furthermore, this research also places the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) as the most important body to achieve the goal of de-radicalization through reduction of power, knowledge and specific intelligence (Sarjito et al., 2019).

Another good resolution that has been done by BNPT in order to bring back the ex-convicted terrorist to the community is by getting them taking part in socio-economic activity. This statement supported by the research done by Asrori and Syauqi (2020) which proves that this method is able to heal the anger, frustration, complaints, humiliation and also loss of self-meaning from the ex-convicted terrorist. Because so far very few of terrorist who is willing to talk freely to the society so the interaction that they do is only with the person they trusted the most. This article also provides the exclusive interview from some well-known ex-convicted terrorist such as Nasir Abbas who is

the former member of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) who stated that his exit from JI is to safe Muslims so that they will not be affected by misconception so they are not subject to bombings and any form of attacks without any reasonable view.

Further research conducted by Evi et al. (2019) also proves the successful example of ex-convicted terrorist involvement in de-radicalization program from the establishment of "Peace Culture" and Foundation of Peace Circe (*Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian*) or YLP. Ali Fauzi fostered around 96 ex-terrorists and ex-combatants. In his village on August 17, 2019, ex-terrorists, ex-combatants and their family, about 200 person joined a flag-raised ceremony. He helped ex-terrorists and ex-combatants with the method of deradicalizing "Peace Culture" through face-to-face dialogue, providing communities for them and imparting digitalization to channel the millennials in their understanding of peaceful Islam. Peace culture of ex- terrorists and ex-combatant can be used as an alternative for de-radicalization program in Indonesia.

In a broader view it can be seen that de-radicalization program can be upgraded if able to follow these several indicators such as adequate funding, reform within the prison structure, use of knowledgeable and well-respected Islamic clerics, incorporation of cultural norms, provision of monetary support to families of detainees, and follow through with after-care programs (Johnston, 2009). These six factors emerge due to several weaknesses identify by the researcher of this paper that sees the disengagement program is too much exposed in the media so that the ex-convicted terrorist has no confidence to show themselves to the community. Not only that the prison in Indonesia is overcrowded which can cause the infectivity of the program.

The comparative study on de-radicalization program in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand is also important to look at. Like the research by Aslam et al. (2016) gives the overview that the similarity program that they do is by attaching the ex-convicted terrorist to the psychologist for giving the security assessment. his process is very important in order tries to understand a person's on extreme interpretation regarding their belief in religion and the involvement in militant act. In addition to make sure the terrorist detainees were not isolated from the community as well as abandon from their relatives.

Hence, to review the root cause of the emerging number of terrorists in Indonesia it is not far from the educational curriculum and also the Islamic understanding. This statuesque is supported by the research of Zainiyati (2016) who presents that the educational institution plays two roles especially in transmitting Islamic understanding either to preach the tolerance or in contrast radicalism. The researcher argues that the educational institutions themselves cannot be assumed free from radical movement either from its curriculum or the community around it. Indonesian State Intelligence Agency (BIN) also warned †he society to be alert on the dissemination of radical groups. It potentially spread through formal education lessons in radical Islamic boarding schools, the utilization of radical organizations network, education at the religion –focused university, the public sermons, books distributed free of charge, electronic media, such as television, radio, website and so on.

2.5. Problems and Challenges of De-radicalization in Indonesia

Some of the challenges in de-radicalization program in Indonesia can be seen from the research conducted by Isnanto (2015) that explicitly mentioned that there is no legal instrument that can ensnare someone who spreads hate speech. The absence of this legal instrument is an opening for radical terrorist groups to carry out propaganda or provocation through the spread of hatred such as disbelief, defamation and prohibition of other groups so as to trigger intolerance and anger that can lead to acts of violent terrorism. Easy access to information through the internet or printed media and books containing the teachings of radical terrorism. Ease of access to radical materials can accelerate the process of radicalization of terrorism both independently and in groups through discussion and or learning. Distortion of the understanding of jihad and martyrdom as the highest practice in Islam. This distortion of two important terminologies in Islam is used to lure someone to become a terrorist and sacrifice his life in exchange for heavenly pleasures.

Not only that this paper also found there are still a lot of community groups accuse the deradicalization program as a program entrusted by the United States to corner Islam. The de-radicalization program is a de-Islamization program. It is further said that 30% of former terrorists who are targeted for deradicalization are immune to the program. BNPT is not careful in choosing partners to run the program. Many partners appointed by BNPT do not have access to the target communities of the program so that the program is ineffective so that deradicalization is less effective. The results of Syafiq Hasyim's research on several former terrorists stated that deradicalization was not effective because it tended to be on the ideological aspect. Meanwhile, ideology itself is difficult to change without continuous efforts which include several aspects such as welfare, education and socio-culture (Isnanto, 2015).

One of the possible solutions for in-effectiveness of de-radicalization program according to Suratman and Praditya (2017) are; the programs officers in prisons must understand the concept of de-radicalization, and they cannot only have the knowledge background of criminal science and extra-ordinary crime, program officer in prisons can handle the radicalized inmates by embracing the existence of their family and religion figures. Moreover, the program officer

has the ability to interpreting (tafsir) the Qur'an, for Indonesia case, BNPT must be authoritatively and financially empowered to conduct the de- radicalization program. The main agenda is to provide many qualified program officers to oversee de-radicalization course.

Furthermore, the research conducted by Agastia et al. (2020) has given another opportunity for non-state actor to involve in eradicating the terrorism ideology through de-radicalisation program. The program applied is using the non-kinetic approach or widely known as soft approach. This paper interrogates the roles that non-state actors, particularly Civil Society Organisation (CSO), can play in de-radicalisation programmes because they tend to be closer to the grassroots level of society, which makes them flexible enough to carry out activities that government agencies are often unable or have limitations to perform. However, CSO also contend that there continues to be a perpetual lack of coordination between the government and CSOs. The findings suggest that some of the underlying reasons for the lack of coordination include an absence of a central platform that can serve as a bridge between government and civil society and the lack of incentives for CSOs to engage in rehabilitative efforts for former terrorists. One of the CSO that involves in counter-terrorism is Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian (YPP). This foundation is focusing in building the socio-economic development for ex-convicted terrorist by having them to run small businesses so that they can mingle back with the community (Agastia et al., 2020).

2.6. Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory is used to explain how a person plays a role in acts of terrorism that get influence their members in the group. Terrorism is an action that is carried out collectively or in groups where individuals commit acts of terrorism based on encouragement from the group and because of the goals, the group wants to achieve.

Not only that radicalization models usually incorporate identity-related factors, but identity itself is also rarely a central focus. To fill this gap, this literature review examines a specific area of social psychology – Social Identity Theory (SIT) – to explain how identity and related nuances of group membership, depersonalization, and self-esteem, can operate to transform individuals into radicals (Al Raffie, 2013).

Hogg et al. (2004) explains that the identity perspective is self-awareness that focuses specifically on the relationship between groups, or the relationship between individual members of small groups. This identity is created based on the assumptions that exist in the group. In this case, the assumption built on the group is a positive identity. The building of 13 identities is done by categorizing who I (we) are and who they are. This makes group members compare the positives of the group against other groups of people.

Social identity theory is used to explain the position of a person in a terrorist group as reflected in the belief and feeling that the opposing group thinks that those who oppose the affiliated group are "not us". Through their social identity, they also build loyalty to the group and use the group's point of view as their perspective on understanding the world. Social identity also brings someone who will place the group's goals and interests as a priority so that they comply with the rules and tasks given by the group (Schwartz et al., 2009).

In using identity theory to explain the choice of types of activities in terrorist groups, it is necessary to understand that there are many forms of a person's role and function in the activities of a terrorist group. Adapted from the hierarchy of terrorist roles in groups according to Victoroff (2005), that terrorist groups are divided into five roles with lone-wolf terrorism as an exception. The lone wolf becomes a separate part of the role hierarchy because of its independent nature. In this hierarchy, Victoroff (2005) divides the highest role at the sponsor level which is then divided into three roles below, the next level, namely leader with four roles, and then the executive committee has two roles, then middle management with four roles and the last level, namely followers with five functions.

Social identity theory explains the role and function that exists in a group is the identity that a person has. Starting from the highest position of a group to a sympathizer, who is not involved in acts of terror, actually has the same identity value, namely the value of the system and the shared ideology. Sympathizers provide support in the form of moral, financial, and so on because they cannot join directly due to long distances. This is done as atonement for their guilt, living more comfortably out of reach and unable to take immediate action (Hogg et al., 2004).

Important to our understanding of identity is also the notion that identity is a social construct shaped by multiple factors and as such it "responds to changes in both long-term intergroup relations and immediate interactive contexts, and elaborates the underlying socio-cognitive mechanism." This means that an individual's social identity, and resulting behavior, are products of circumstance, including threats, frustrations, and socio-economic.

3. Materials and Methods

3.1. Materials

The scope of this research is limited to policy issues and the implementation of de-radicalization programs for youth carried out by the Indonesian government, namely the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT).

3.2. Methods

To provide a wide range of explanations on the context of cultural diplomacy, this research is using the qualitative research method by studying the literature. The characteristics of qualitative research are most appropriate for small samples and the outcomes are not measurable and quantifiable. 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 (Collins and Hussey, 2003).

To make sure the effectiveness of the qualitative research, it is important to be aware of the skills and ability of the researchers, while the outcomes may not be perceived as reliable because they mostly come from the researcher's judgments and interpretations. 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. The process of collecting qualitative data is more time consuming and less able to generalize with the researcher plays a role as the data gathering instrument.

4. Results and Discussion

Acts of terrorism which originated from a radicalization process are then seen as a form of social construction. This is because terrorism, which originates from a radical understanding, does not appear immediately, but because of the actors' interpretation of events that have occurred in the international world (which are seen as threats to themselves or their groups), along with various assumptions behind the emergence of these incidents. Therefore, things that are seen as threats in the social structure are the result of the construction of each actor in it. All actions, behaviors, understandings, and so on are very dependent on how they perceive themselves and others, through Cultural Understanding that arises based on interactions between actors.

In its implementation, the deradicalization program is under the responsibility of Deputy I BNPT for prevention, protection and deradicalization. The program is carried out through seven approaches that are interrelated with one another in order to obtain comprehensive results. Such as religious, psychological, socio-cultural, economic, legal, political, and information technology approaches. As has been regulated in Presidential Decree No. 46 of 2010, BNPT has coordinated both between government and non-government agencies in the implementation of the deradicalization program. Such as the coordination carried out with the Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Education, Da'wah Institutions, and Islamic Organizations.

As previously explained, radical individuals and groups have a shared understanding that is different from the peaceful mainstream understanding, therefore, the BNPT de-radicalization program is designed to reconstruct this radical shared understanding. The deradicalization program is carried out in stages so that its goals and objectives can be achieved effectively. The implementation of the deradicalization program in Indonesia, formulated by the BNPT, has two classifications. The first is the deradicalization program in prisons which is carried out through the stages of identification, rehabilitation, re-education, reconciliation, and observation and evaluation. This program targets terrorism convicts who are currently serving their prison terms. The second is the de-radicalization program outside prisons which is carried out through the stages of identification, counter-radicalism development, observation, and evaluation. This program targets former terrorism convicts and community groups who are vulnerable to the influence of radical ideology.

The main goal of the deradicalization program is to change the ideology or understanding of radical individuals so that they can return to moderation by breaking the understanding of these radical teachings. Because perpetrators of terrorism in Indonesia mainly carry out their actions on the basis of Jihad, or struggle to defend the adherents and teachings of Islam, the deradicalization program is designed to provide counter arguments from Islamic understanding.

Radicals believed by radical individuals by reintroducing peaceful and inclusive teachings of moderate Islam. Even though it received support from most of the community, the deradicalization program did not escape criticism from several community groups who considered that the deradicalization program designed by the government was an effort to discredit the Islamic ideology. They also think that the government's emphasis on moderate understanding of Islam can diminish the essence of the essential Islamic values and teachings.

The BNPT deradicalization program is divided into two types. The first is a deradicalization program outside of prisons for former terrorist convicts and their families who are vulnerable to radicalism. This program is more concentrated on the economic independence of the families of terrorism convicts, the process of reconciliation or reintegration of former terrorism convicts who have been deradicalized into the mainstream social society, and prevention so that later former terrorism convicts do not return to committing acts of terrorism. The second type is the deradicalization program that is carried out in prisons. This program is intended for terrorism convicts in the core and militant categories. The implementation of this program is concentrated on changing the radical ideology of the

prisoners and goes through four stages, namely the identification, rehabilitation, re-education and reconciliation stages.

5. Conclussion

In this paper, we have studied the deradicalization program coordinated by BNPT with compiled in a comprehensive, inclusive and neutral nature, by involving various government and non-government agencies, levels of society, and related stakeholders. The persuasive approach that is emphasized in the deradicalization program, both inside and outside of prisons is based on the basic concepts of disengagement and constructivism theory. Namely the concept of identity, norms, structure and language. These concepts are deemed suitable for rehabilitating radical individuals at the personal stage, so that the individual is likely to change their radical ideology (de-radicalization), after previously undergoing a disengagement process. So, the success of the deradicalization program is expected to slowly overthrow the terrorist cells in Indonesia. The de-radicalization program in Indonesia targets three levels, namely ideological, behavioral and organizational.

In practice, it is quite difficult to judge the success of de-radicalization programs. Because no one can measure with certainty how right and wrong an ideology is or determine precisely whether the individual has really given up the identity that comes from his radical ideology. The Indonesian government is also aware of this, so that the aim of the de-radicalization program does not only lie entirely in changing radical ideologies by fully accepting moderate ideology. However, it also focuses on disengagement and partially moderating ideology.

There are numbers of gaps in our knowledge around the existence of terrorism in Indonesia and where it begins, this would benefit from further research including the way they survive and recruit the member so that they can sustain for a long time. Further, for the future research it is important to do in-depth exploration of how terrorism can be diminished by using the legal assistance from Indonesian government. More methodological work is needed on how to robustly capture the impact and outcome of terrorism act in Indonesia. A final relatively narrow but important question that we identified after data collection has finished is what is the impact of long periods of de-radicalization program in Indonesia.

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