The Impact of Radicalism toward National Defense

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze radicalism impact toward national defense. The method used is descriptive qualitative, data collection techniques such as observation, interviews, documentation, and literature. Processing of research data according to Miles and Huberman. The results showed that implementation of the Territorial Development by District Military Command 0621 Bogor Regency through territorial management of Planning and Control Systems Development of Territories & Management of Territorial Development were able to map the potential and vulnerability of the area ie geography areas, demographic and social conditions so that development of radicalism could be prevented.

Introduction

In common understanding, radicalism could mean any unlawful act or norms and social values which aim to indicate the aspirations of people group by violence method, threats, vandalism of public facilities or eliminate human lives for certain political purposes and against the Constitution. In line with the opinion of Kruglanski et.al (2014), involved activities that violate important social norms (for example, the killing of civilians), a notion which causing vulnerability to terrorism (Lynch, 2014).

After the Bali bombings incident in October 2002 that killed 202 people and a member of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) exposing the terrorist acts. The Indonesian government had issued policies to minimize terrorism impact. Various policies have been taken related to civil defense, internal security, border security, improving public acknowledgment of the terrorist threat. To prevent the spread of radical ideology, the Indonesian government established National Anti-Terrorism Board as an institution that an important role in counter-terrorism and did a few tasks such as formulating policies to implementation de-radicalization. National Anti-Terrorism Board also have cooperation with the police using a "soft" to prevent the spread of radical group's ideology (Aslam et.al, 2016), on ‘soft’ or ‘smart’ non-coercive policies to ‘win hearts and minds’ of groups, individuals and communities most vulnerable (El-Said, 2015).

Basically, against radicalism is not only responsibility of the National Anti-Terrorism Board. However, part of responsibilities of all elements in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia to maintain the national defense of radicalism threat. According to Spalek (2012), the approach to face radicalization is the development of a community-based approach, the which means that the parties involved can comprise of actors and traditional institutions such as government officials, police, security service personnel (professional and non-professional). In addition, all the people who have the initiative to confront the widespread radicalization, such as teachers and other educators, youth workers, social workers, religious
leaders, and community members (Spalek, 2012), families (Spalek, 2016),

As national defense tools, one of the Indonesian National Armed Forces roles to keep the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia from threats and disruption, the Indonesian National Armed Forces is obliged to prevent and addressing radicalism. This is in accordance with Act No. 34 of 2004 on Indonesian National Armed Forces Article 7 (1), that the principal task of the Indonesian National Armed Forces is to uphold state sovereignty, defend the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Research focuses on the role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces in preventing and overcome the radicalism impact that national defense threat through territorial development by Military District Command that act as development commando and territorial operation so that the Indonesian National Armed Forces be able to interact directly with communities through three application methods of Indonesian National Armed Forces dedication, social communication, and resistance development territory to civil-military pointedness. One of the Military District Command that became the research object is the District Military Command 0621.

This research discussed (1) Territorial Development Implementation of District Military Command 0621, (2) Implementation Barriers of Planning Systems and Control Development Territories, (3) Application of Territorial Development to Addressing Radicalism. Territories Development for the Indonesian National Armed Forces was effort, work, and action, either independently and collectively with relevant authorities and other national components to helped of government in preparing defense forces of the land forces, includes defense territory and its sustaining power, civil-military pointedness as authority realization appropriate and legislation to achieve the Indonesian National Armed Forces fundamental duty (Territorial Development Handbook, 2011)

Radicalization and De-radicalization
The issue of radicalization is not a new phenomenon because now as the political and social agenda (Alexandra Dan Halit, 2016). Radicalization as the social and psychological processes that can increase the commitment of extremist political or religious ideology (Horgan, 2008), an incremental social and psychological process (Braddock, 2015), a deviation from ideological norm (Klein and Kruglanski, 2013), a process of embracing extremist ideas (Crone, 2016).

Radicalism appeared from a variety of reasons, including (1) Socioeconomic (poverty); (2) Discrimination or the Alliance of a class or group; (3) The wing of political system to right or left; (4) Ethno-nationalists for certain ethnic groups; (5) The religion issue with a name or different campaign. Meanwhile, many studies suggest that susceptibility to radicalization can be classified from various factors, such as psychological, behavioral, political, ideological and religious, socio-structural and related to socialization (Neumann, 2013), psychological and socialization (Sageman, 2008).

King and Taylor (2011) suggests four core models for the process of radicalization. Radicalization is viewed as numerate and multifarious integrative factors. As seen in the table below:

### Table 1. The four major models of radicalisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Type of model</th>
<th>Stage or factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borum (2004)</td>
<td>Linear</td>
<td>• Social and economic deprivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Inequality and resentment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Blame and attribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Stereotyping and demonizing the enemy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiktorowicz (2005)</td>
<td>Multifarious with linear stages embedded</td>
<td>• Cognitive opening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Religious seeking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Flame alignment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Socialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moghaddam (2005)</td>
<td>Linear</td>
<td>• Psychological interpretation of material conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Perceived options to fight unfair treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Displacement of aggression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Moral engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Solidification of categorical thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• The terrorist act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Type of model</td>
<td>Stage or factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sageman (2008)</td>
<td>Nonlinear, multifarious</td>
<td>• Sense of moral outrage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Frame used to interpret the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Resonance with personal experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Mobilization through networks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: King and Taylor (2011)

Discussions on de-radicalization are often associated with radicalization. In fact, both have differences. The radicalization reflects (1) A high level of commitment to ideological goals and violence to its attainment, (2) Reduce commitment to goals and values of the alternative. De-radicalization represents (1) Focus on recovery (2) Commitment reduction to focus on ideology, violence, and terrorism (Kruglanski *et al.*, 2014).

De-radicalization has been conceived as an important instrument for combating radicalization by policy-makers (Elshimi 2015). Many countries have created programs de-radicalization, such as Middle East (ME) and Southeast Asia (SEA), and Europe (the late 1990s), however, the post-2009/2011, the program aims to separate individuals and groups from terrorism (Bjorgo and Horgan 2009; Ashour 2009). In addition, the de-radicalization program also could involve all parties, such as prisoners, ex-prisoners, people who have been involved radical militants, sympathizers, families, communities, and stakeholders (Hikam, 2016), former militants who are now law-abiding (El-Said, 2015).

**Method**

This study used the descriptive qualitative method to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by subjects of study such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, and others a holistic manner, and by means of a description in word form and language, a specific context naturally and using various scientific methods (Moleong, 2011).

Data were obtained from agencies and institutions are relevant to this research. Research informants consisted of National Anti-Terrorism Board, Commander Central of Territorial Army, Territorial Assistant Chief of Army Staff, Government of Bogor Regency, Regional House of
Representatives Bogor Regency, Commander Resort of Military 062, Commander of Military District 0621, Head of Police Resort Bogor, Council of Religious Scholars Bogor, Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama and Dormitory of Al-Zikra.

Data collection techniques through observation, interviews, documentation, and literature study. Processing of research data according to Miles and Huberman, ie: Data Collection, Data Display Process, Data Reduction Process, and Conclusion Verification Process (Ahmadi, 2014).

Testing data validity, researchers used reliability test to qualitative research data in a way: observation extension, improve diligence, triangulation, and reference materials (Sugiyono, 2012).

Result and Discussion

Territorial Development

Implementation of District Military Command 0621

Territorial Development of District Military Command 0621 is implemented in accordance with the cycle of Planning Systems and Control Development Territories, three application methods of Indonesian National Armed Forces dedication, social communication, and resistance development territory to realize space, tools and strong struggle condition and civil-military pointedness.

Territorial Development has become sustainable development system that can provide an overview of territory situated in the form of potential territory and negative things to be studied and analyzed into territory power. Petrus Golose (El-Said, 2015) concluded that to eradicate terrorism and radicalism, the de-radicalization program is the best step because these programs will touch on issues to their deepest roots.

Planning Systems and Control Development Territories could be seen in the table below:

Table 2. Result of Territorial Development Implementation of District Military Command 0621

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Planning of Control System</td>
<td>• Territorial Instruction Guidelines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Potential territory analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Potential Analysis of Defense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Through Planning Systems and Control, Development Territories can be known for certain areas that are prone high-medium levels and conductive area to be made a development plan until conducive. Military District Command 0621 can control of target territory, covering demographic and social conditions. Implementation of territorial capabilities is Preparedness of territorial authorities to situation development, territorial management capabilities, and social communication skills.

With systematic and supported activities of territorial capability, then space, equipment and strong struggle condition of Indonesian National Armed Forces command have been manifested through goal setting. According to Act No. 26, The year 2007 on Spatial Planning explained that the strategic areas include military agencies.

An embodiment of tools and struggles conditions by development entire of potential territory to preparing measures and face all forms of threats arose. In Cibinong, Babakan Madang and Citeureup, military commander, community, organizations, and government officials have united in the declaration...
of anti-radicalism and terrorism on September 2016. This was confirmed by the statement of the Chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama Bogor and leaders Al-Zikra dormitory that stated: “them very comfortable (like family) could close to Military District Commander, military commander, and non-commissioned officers “.

Bogor Regent has also benefited to its territory development, in interviews said that “Territorial Development has helped in the construction of these areas, especially remote areas and isolated becomes open & have good access to connect with other areas”. When viewed from the de-radicalization concept of terrorism outside prison by step activities such as identification, development concept of nationalism, religion, and entrepreneurship, Territorial Development has exceeded de-radicalization activities program.

**Implementation Barriers of Planning Systems and Control Development Territories**

Although has been formed Military Command model that serves as a training ground to improve territorial knowledge of new members, but still not maximal because of territorial development is not enough stuff with the knowledge but need territorial attitude. Good social communication through information and message will be received without incorrect perception.

Communities that have been exposed radical understanding it would be difficult to broaden their thinking because the truth is perceived regarded as an absolute truth without regard to other opinions. Through proper communication techniques will be able to encourage them to follow speaker desires.

External barriers, such as (1) the intensity or quantity of activity is still less than vast territory and communities number, (2) lack of budget that is causing Territorial Development Program became few. However, minimal budget from the Commander was already covered by the participation of regional government by providing funds to finance Territorial Development activities. Bogor Regent said it would increase the budget for Territorial Development to be doubled.
Another factor is the Act No. 15 2003 updated by Act No. 9 The year 2013 regarding the Prevention and Eradication of Terrorism. This legislation has precluded components other countries to participate actively in combating terrorism because terrorism defined as a crime, which suggests only institutions engaged in the legal field to handle terrorism. In the meaning of the presence of these laws could hinder spirit of combating terrorism has been used as a common enemy in Indonesian society.

This condition would be counterproductive to addressing terrorism efforts, it is well known that terrorism and radicalism are not a group and live in a certain territory but a group or organization that can thrive through recruitment and could spread secretly or massive like ISIS in Iraq and Syria. In many cases, social affiliation often played an important role in collective recruitment, like family bonds or friendship, larger or smaller groups of two or a few friends (Bakker and Bont, 2016).

**Application of Territorial Development to Addressing Radicalism**

In an interview on August 30, 2016, Director of the National Anti-Terrorism Board says that there is no single cause of terrorists. Cause of terrorists is complex, that means there was a motivating factor, such as resentment, disillusionment, injustice, poverty, underdevelopment, inequality, narrow fanaticism, etc. De-radicalization concept reflected from the identification, re-education, rehabilitation, and resocialization, which refers to principles rule of law, human rights, development equality, and empowerment. The approach used is a religious, psychological, political, socio-cultural, economic, legal, and technology. This means that the de-radicalization requires an interdisciplinary approach to those who are exposed affected of radical and pro-violent understanding. While the conceptual understanding Ashour (2009), de-radicalization occurred at the level of collective in the Islamic movement as a process of relative changes. Ashour (2009) distinguish the level of de-radicalization into three, namely (1) Behavior: refers to group abandon the use of violence. (2) Ideology refers to the de-legitimization of violence, (3)
Organization: refers to the demobilization of members.

Territorial Development in Combating Radicalization Territorial by District Military Command 0621 includes (1) Development of Pancasila ideology, (2) Social-Cultural Development, (3) Development Nationalism Concept, and (4) Development of National Defense activities. From those activities, the government through the National Anti-Terrorism Board conduct cooperation and synergy with the Territorial Command to implement de-radicalization measures outside the prison, according to National Anti-Terrorism Board to Territorial Command can engage in de-radicalization activities to combating terrorism context through soft power. The de-radicalization activities, according to Elshimi (2015) is described by the term rehabilitation, de-programming, and dialogue.

Territorial Development has taken two important roles: First, the overloaded role of the military command and District Military Command, in terms of military command and Military District Command could be maintained conducive situation to reduce activities and ideologies that undermine Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Second, the role conflict among interests with ethical standards of dedication. But the concept of de-radicalization using interdisciplinary approaches requires the involvement of various skills and expertise, then de-radicalization involve all components of the nation according to their expertise, including the Territorial Development of the Military District Command.

In fourth paragraphs, the opening of the 1945 Constitution has mentioned state goal explicitly. The government has maximized efforts to social security. The Territorial Development role can serve areas of social and economic life of society (public service), where the state administration cannot refuse to decision making (Recht's vacuum). The Indonesian National Armed Forces role are accordance with article 6 of Act No. 34 of 2004, stated Indonesian National Armed Forces serves as restorer of security due to security chaos.

**Conclusion**
Based on the fact analysis and obtained data, can be concluded as follows:

1. Territorial Development of District Military Command 0621 is implemented with three application methods of Planning Systems and Control Development Territories i.e. Indonesian National Armed Forces dedication, social communication, and resistance development territory.

2. The implementation barriers of territorial development include the intensity or quantity of activity is still less and lack of budget that is causing Territorial Development Program became few.

3. Territorial Development in Combating Radicalization Territorial by District Military Command 0621 includes Development of Pancasila ideology, Social-Cultural, Nationalism Concept, and National Defense activities.

**Recommendation**

For further research, can be evaluating placement and ability of personnel in the territorial command, so that the Territorial Development implementation be a superior program to improve security and de-radicalization.

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