Implementation of Deradicalization Policy For Terrorism Prisoners: An Indonesian Case

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Article Info

Abstract

Keywords: Radicalism, Terrorism, Deradicalization and policy implementation.

This research examined how Indonesia experiences in implementing the policy of deradicalization for prisoners of terrorism after free from prison in order to not involved reiteration radicalism of terrorism. Researcher examined what factors are supporting and inhibiting for effectiveness of success by using Grindle’s theoretical model of implementation, and trying to offer an alternative model that fits for implementing the policy of deradicalization for prisoners of terrorism, and other cases of social violence. This research used qualitative descriptive approach, and resulted that implementing the policy of deradicalization would might be more effective success if accompanied by intense social communication factor between government and certain society such as religious organizations to build a common perception of terrorism; and monitoring and forecasting factors for ex-prisoners of terrorism which involves intensive religious figures with a socio-economic approach and fostering religious stabilization.

Introduction

Terrorism is still a problem faced by many countries. Various ways have been made to resolve with, both by counter terrorism and law enforcement approach, or with a more humane, namely the policy of deradicalization for prisoners of terrorism, and contra radicalization was addressed to the general population. Such as, the family environment regarding radicalization
to violence and nonviolence has not received significant research attention, although the family environment can be debated in government policies (van San, Sieckelinck and de Winter, 2014). ‘The absence of research about radicalisation within families is striking, given that a recent report by the New America Foundation concluded that the single largest identifiable source for initiating a terrorism investigation came from the category of community, not the intelligence or police services. Indeed, the community category outranked law enforcement by more than a 3:1 margin’ (Spalek, 2016, p. 40).

‘Radicalisation is a complex process of identity denial that is influencing these processes (Lynch, 2013, p. 254)’, ‘which is often linked to causing actual, or vulnerability to, terrorism’ (Spalek, 2016, p. 40) as ‘designates the use of random violence against civilians in the purpose to kill them’ (Galam, 2002, p. 269). Not all countries with deradicalization policy implementation precisely but adapted to the social and cultural conditions of country concerned (Doosje, 2012). These policies have not always effectively managed, caused by various factors supporting and inhibiting the implementation stage (Doosje, Loseman and van den Bos, 2013).

The application of social identity theory to radicalization (a) ‘It told the volunteers assigned to be prisoners that showed the right qualities; (b) that is a single round of promotions that there would be no more changes’ (Reicher and Haslam, 2016, p. 39). The case of deradicalization policy implementation prisoners of terrorism in Indonesia, interesting to be studied and can be used as a model comparison, considering Indonesia is predominantly Moslem and in democratic transition that is generally vulnerable to the threat of terrorism using religious symbols were adopted by many the Indonesian. So, terrorism is defined as ‘politically motivated violence, perpetrated by individuals, groups, or state-sponsored agents, intended to instill feelings of terror and helplessness in a population to influence decision making and to change behavior’ (Moghaddam, 2005, p. 161), while United Nations High
Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2006) saw that terrorism definition as a counter-radicalisation. It means ‘counter-radicalisation is therefore about preventing radicalisation, working to increase resilience and reduce vulnerability’.

Huntington (1996) said that a political future of the world will be dominated by the conflict between nations that have different civilizations. Such situation, described as a clash of civilization. Conflict is caused by three main factors, namely arrogance (hegemony) western, Islamic intolerance, and fanaticism confucianism. According to Huntington (1996) that religion play a lot in the conflicts that occur in the future (present), since the religious aspect became the spirit of a civilization. Religion may burst conflict between civilizations when doctrine is interpreted according to the interests unilaterally or group. Generally, acts of terrorism that occurred during this time, indicating there is a link between terrorism and political problems.

Schaefer (2003) said, when the channels of political communication had these blockages, then terrorist attacks appears. Terrorism has also been identified related to the civilization that is when an intercourse clash of values, cultural, political, economic, and because of other factors. The degree of collision is getting stronger, when that part imposes themselves for feeling superior prompting the other civilizations. In this context, when religion into the spirit of a civilization and its doctrine interpreted in such a way, then will trigger the urge militancy against all forms of coercion.

The spread of terrorism throughout the world during the past decade and a half, also suspected because of the clash between fundamentalist (Huntington, 1996), followed by each of adherents. In the global context, terrorism tend to be perceived as coming from Islamic fundamentalism, even though fundamentalism may emerge from other religions, such as Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism and other religions or beliefs. Hendropriyono (2009), former Head Indonesian State
Intelligence Agency said that fundamentalism in this era is a global phenomenon that can be found in all major religions of the world. Fundamentalism does not indicate religious beliefs, but rather a socio-political worldview, concerning the nature of the state, society and world politics are articulated through religious symbols (Hendropriyono, 2013). In the context of Indonesia, Al Qaeda global terrorism entered Indonesia with local targets, which is not only the citizens and foreign state symbols, but also a symbol of the state of Indonesia for executing perpetrators of terrorism.

The term terrorism radicalism in this article is described as a doctrine or radical actions and is based on religious motivation, which by the Indonesian government is categorized as radicalism terrorism. Analysis of de-radicalization policy implementation is interesting to study as there is a gap between the theoretical and empirical fact, and the gap between policy objectives to be achieved and the fact of its implementation.

Figure 1. Blue-Print of Terrorism Prevention (Source: PerKa BNPTNomor: PER-04/K.BNPT/12/2014 on the Blue-Print of Terrorism Prevention, adapted by Sutrimo)
After the case of bombings in Bali 2002 that killed more than 200 people, mainly foreign tourists, Indonesian government prepare Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No 1/2002 as a legal instrument to deal with terrorism. The decree was subsequently approved by parliament by Law Combating Criminal Acts of Terrorism or Terrorism Act. In 2010, formed Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT)/Indonesian National Counter-Terrorism Agency assigned and authorized to draw up a national counter-terrorism policy and as the national coordinator.

Among the counter-terrorism policy is deradicalised, in addition to law enforcement policy and international cooperation. Deradicalization in Indonesia adoption of the policy United Nations (UN) program deradicalization and contra radicalization in 2005, as a new approach to tackle terrorism in a way that is more humane, which turn those who adopts radical terrorism to be moderate. According to the regulations the Head BNPT Number: PER.04/K.BNPT/12/2014 about the Prevention of Terrorism Blueprint (BNPT, 2014), applied to the deradicalization program aimed at prison for terrorism prisoners, with the aim that after free from prison, former prisoners of terrorism does not do iteration radicalism terrorism. In addition to the prison, deradicalization is also done outside prison reserved for former prisoners of terrorism, immediate family and its network. While the counter-radicalization program aimed at the general public with the purpose not affected by radical concepts and to help prevent the spread of radicalism so as to reduce terrorism.

Deputy I of Protection, Prevention of and Deradicalization BNPT Agus Surya Bakti in 2014, said that from 2002 to 2014, perpetrators of terrorism who were arrested by the security forces and were free serving a sentence, 447 people, and previously followed deradicalization (BNPT, 2014). From that amount, about 25 to 35 people reiteration involved radicalism terrorism. Effendi (2013) in his dissertation research found the fact the presence of the former prisoners involved in terrorism is now difficult.
to monitor, and mostly living in the unknown environment to avoid stigmatization.

In order to inhibiting terrorism, starting with the necessary policy input, processed in a political system in the right way thus to produce output appropriate policies to be implemented (Boston, 1990). Feedback policy implementation will be input back and so the process repeated so. Radicalism terrorism case, related considered ideological motivations and political use one symbol of the great religions.

According to Grindle (1980), that in the implementation of policies, will be influenced by Content of Policy and Context of Implementation especially in developing countries, as an important factor that determines the success or whether implementation, which often face a critical situation caused by social, political and economic. All of it, relating to the political and administrative context.

Implementation of deradicalization policies for the prevention of terrorism that former prisoners not involved reiteration) radicalism, in several countries such Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Morocco, Tunisia and Indonesia, it turns out in general do not always succeed maximal. The cause is believed to due to the complicated and complex problem of terrorism relating to the social and cultural conditions.

Counter-terrorism policies in Indonesia are grouped into three: firstly, Prevention Policy; secondly, Enforcement Policy and Development Capabilities; and thirdly, International Cooperation Policy. Prevention Policy, terdiri atas tiga jenis yaitu Prevention Policy, Protection Policy and Deradicalization Policy. It is divided into two, firstly, Deradicalization of prisoners terrorism (because it has embraced radicalism), and secondly, Cons Radicalization intended for the general public (because its have not been affected/adopts radical). Deradicalization policy revealed to be Deradicalization Program namely Deradicalization and Cons Radicalization Program.

This research is expected to find a new implementation model or
reconstructing the existing theory, particularly the theory of Grindle’s model implementation, that can be used to overcome violent conflicts such as terrorism radicalism whose motivation is ideological, political and religious conflict or using religious symbols to achieve its objectives. The problem formulation in this research is: a) how the implementation of the policy deradicalization by BNPT for terrorist prisoners in prisons after they are free not involved reiteration radicalism terrorism?; b) whether the factors supporting and inhibiting the implementation of the policy deradicalization?; and c) how alternative policy implementation model that is suitable for deradicalization to prevent former terrorism prisoners involved reiteration radicalism terrorism?

Purpose of research is to describe, explain and analyze the following matters: a) how the implementation of deradicalization policy for terrorism prisoners in prison after they are free not involved reiteration radicalism terrorism; b) whether the factors inhibiting and supporting the implementation of the policy deradicalization; and c) Grindle theoretical model Policy Implementation, and to find alternative theoretical model for the deradicalization terrorism to prevent former prisoners involved reiteration radicalism terrorism.

There had been much research related to terrorism and ways to combat radicalism. The results bring advantages and disadvantages, as one way to deal with terrorism. Previous research has not been linked directly to the development of the discipline of Public Policy Studies, the Public Policy Implementation. Results of previous research we chose are the ones relevant to Public Policy in particular related with De-
radicalization Policy Implementation. Here is a summary of findings and contributing ideas and critiques.

Rabasa et al. (2011), of the US RAND (Research and Development) National Security Research Division, conduct a study in several European countries, the Middle East and Southeast Asia and conclude that de-
radicalization policies can only change individual beliefs and are very difficult
to change the behavior of terrorism. This is because the acts of terrorism are more motivated by an ideology rooted in the major religions of the world, which is an obligation. It is said that the policy of de-radicalization leaving several limitations, and it cannot be said as implemented successfully.

Lertangtam (2014) in his dissertation entitled “Unpacking the Impact of Democracy on Terrorism” (State University of New York at Albany, USA) concludes that state policy that cannot accommodate the interests of the elite, it will trigger the emergence of violence in a form of conflict of interest, and it has a potential to form terrorism. Therefore, policies to deal with the root of terrorism should consider the causes of violent conflict, especially in the elite. This conclusion shows that the prevention of terrorism, including de-radicalization, should also pay attention to factors as the root of terrorism.

Bhattacharya (2013) in the dissertation entitled “Who Supports Terrorism? A Comparative Study of the Civilian Support for Terrorist Groups” (Southern Illinois University Carbondale, USA) says that the implications of public policy in the fields of politics and economy will affect the success of the counter-terrorism policy, a term whose meaning is the same as de-radicalization and the two are often used interchangeably. The government needs to consider policy issues in the fields of politics and economics associated with the de-radicalization policy to deal with terrorism.

Shor (2010) in the dissertation entitled “Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: A Comparative Cross-National Analysis” (The Graduate School, Stony Brook University, New York, USA), which analyzes the effect of state policy on the prevention of terrorism, concludes that many policymakers in the field of terrorism have failed because they only use the postulate of rational logic approach as a response to an act of terrorism or decrease the number of acts of terrorism alone. Shor concludes that policies with a rational approach alone only effectively tackle certain
situations, and vice versa could lead to the emergence of terrorism at a higher level.

Abrahms (2009) in the dissertation entitled “The Causes of Terrorism: A Reappraisal of the Conventional Wisdom” (University of California Los Angeles) analyzes the causes of terrorism and considers the conventional wisdom that had been assumed to be true. Abrahms concludes that terrorism is not effective if it is handled in violent ways. Counter Terrorism policy or strategy, which uses only a political approach, will not work well on any level in a systematic way.

Effendi (2013) in the dissertation entitled “Analysis on Anti-Terrorism Policy in Indonesia: Preventative Study in Preventing Terrorism from the Perspective of Theory of Collective Action (University of Brawijaya, Malang, Indonesia) concludes law enforcement and one institution only is not enough to combat radicalism terrorism; it takes collective cooperation across government institutions. Effendi says that changing the ideology of terrorists is difficult.

The conclusion of previous studies is that de-radicalization program in many countries is still not effective, as radicalism terrorism remains resurfaced and allegedly still occurs in the future, and more creative approaches and other ways are needed to overcome them.

Methods and Research Approach

The research method is descriptive qualitative approach, because of the widespread problem of radicalism and terrorism that occurred in various countries and a number of regional, including the repetition of former prisoners of terrorism, is involved in radicalism and terrorism, is a social phenomenon that is now expected in the future and will remain there. The focus of research is: a) implementation of deradicalization in prisons policy that includes the principles and approaches; method of deradicalization; material deradicalization and terrorism coaching prisoners in prisons; b) factors supporting and inhibiting the implementation of deradicalization and c) alternative implementation
models deradicalization. Technical analysis of the data using interactive analysis techniques developed by Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014).

**Results and Discussion**

Specifically, deradicalization strategic policy aimed to achieve two major objectives, namely the; (a) the core group and the militants renounce violence and terror in fighting mission; and (b) the core group, militants and supporters to moderate their radical ideologies in line with the spirit of Moderate Islamic group and fits with the mission of strengthening the Homeland nationalities. The focus of this study is a radical terrorist group, and the following target image deradicalization:

![Figure 2. Radical Terrorism Categories (Source: NCTA (2014))](image)

The principle on the implementation or De-radicalization Program will be done by upholding the supremacy principle of the law, human rights, equality, development and empowerment, as well as under religious, psychological, social, cultural, economic, legal, political and technological approach. The material provided for de-radicalization in
prisons actually depends on its stages. Each stage has different goals and objectives. However, the general provision of material in the de-radicalization programs in prisons include understanding on religious teachings and respect for differences, national vision of Indonesia as to grow love to the country, eliminating prejudice and fostering empathy for others, as well as job skills training as needed for livelihood when terrorism prisoners are free.

The method of delivery depends on the actual condition of prisoners and dialogue with personal and group. This stage aims to help prisoners to be independent and able to live in the society when they leave prison. This is done in stages starting from identification, rehabilitation, re-education and re-socialization, and monitoring and evaluation at each stage. Factors supporting and inhibiting the implementation of de-radicalization refers to Grindle Theory, which is influenced by two main factors, namely the Content of Policy and Context of Implementation.

The de-radicalization model implemented in prison by NCTA for terrorism prisoners is illustrated in Figure 3.
Figure 3. An Alternative Model of De-radicalization Implementation
### Table 1. Summary of Principles and Approaches of Deradicalization (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Principles</th>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Approaches</th>
<th>Aims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rule of Law</td>
<td>Uphold the law and provide legal certainty</td>
<td>Law and Religion</td>
<td>Encouraging understanding in line with the values of humanity, and the value of kindness to self and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>Acknowledge the rights of every person</td>
<td>Law and Religion</td>
<td>Encouraging awareness to acknowledge the rights of others, and the spread of love to others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>Equality before the law</td>
<td>Law and Religion</td>
<td>Encouraging awareness to acknowledge the equality of everyone before the law and religious teaching that is full of love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Guidance</td>
<td>Provide guidance in order to arise awareness to renounce violence, to live in peace, tolerance</td>
<td>Politics, Religion and Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Changing the radical ideology to be moderate, tolerant, peaceful with religious values in the order to be accepted in the social life of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>Restoring psychological condition to be able to socialize in a normal society, debriefing work skills.</td>
<td>Psychological, Economy, Technology</td>
<td>Restore confidence and foster self-reliance in order to be socially and economically independent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Summary of Principles of De-radicalization in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Effort</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Actors Involved</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Profiling</td>
<td>Suspected terrorists, family, network</td>
<td>Profiling individuals, family, and network</td>
<td>Categorizing for the next process</td>
<td>Looking for information about the suspect, family and networks</td>
<td>Detachment 88, NCTA, relevant authorities, family, community</td>
<td>To facilitate the legal process and coaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rehabilitation</td>
<td>Efforts to change radical ideology to be moderate, tolerant, accept differences</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists</td>
<td>Leaving the radical ideology of terrorism, be moderate and tolerant</td>
<td>Persuasive, psychological, religious, dialogic communication</td>
<td>Moderate religious understanding</td>
<td>NCTA, Religious Leaders, psychologist, former terrorists, victims</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists, well-behave, recommended for reeducation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reeducation</td>
<td>Strengthen religious understanding, the concept of nationalism, psychology</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists recommended for reeducation</td>
<td>Strengthening the teaching of religion related to moderation, tolerance, peace, accepting differences</td>
<td>Seeking to expand understanding of religious teachings that are moderate, tolerant and peaceful</td>
<td>Counseling, persuasive communication and dialogue</td>
<td>NCTA, Religious Leaders, psychologist, former terrorists, victims</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists, well-behave, recommended for resocialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Resocialization</td>
<td>Setting up the psychology of normal life in society, providing knowledge of business and job</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists recommended for resocialization and those</td>
<td>To be self-sufficient, to have a normal life and is not easily affected by radicalism</td>
<td>Enlightenment on psychological readiness, introduction to business and job skills training</td>
<td>Psychological training, job skills training and the introduction of the small business world</td>
<td>NCTA, psychologist, trainers on SME</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists, never join rehabilitation, reeducation, and resocialization, their family, and network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
<td>Monitoring the implementation of each phase of the de-radicalization in order to effectively match the goal</td>
<td>Activities of each stage</td>
<td>Ensuring the implementation of each stage matches the goal</td>
<td>Helping to remind that the activities are carried out according to the plan</td>
<td>Helping with the adaptation when there are changes</td>
<td>NCTA officials in charge of Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
<td>As a control tool that helps the leaders of de-radicalization program</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Details of Identification Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Objectslke</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Indicators of Success</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Efforts to identify and determine the identity of suspects and related networks</td>
<td></td>
<td>Knowing the level of understanding and radical stance of suspects and networks</td>
<td>Availability of mapping of the network of terrorist suspects, indicated to have a radical ideology;</td>
<td>Involving stakeholders and Government agencies in data collection and classification of terrorist suspects;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This is a whole effort to identify suspects and related networks</td>
<td>Networking is a group linked to terrorist suspects</td>
<td>Collecting data on suspects, family, and networks is available</td>
<td>Data on terrorist suspects, family, and networks is available</td>
<td>Involving NGOs, activists of de-radicalization, the former terrorist groups, academics and community leaders.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Details of Rehabilitation Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Indicators of Success</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intended for those who have been sentenced as terrorism prisoners by the court;</td>
<td>They need help to abandon the radical ideology and terrorism activities.</td>
<td>Help them to see the fallacy of radical ideology and acts of terrorism, especially the wife, children, parents, in-laws, and close relatives, brothers, and sisters</td>
<td>Turn the radical ideology and violence into an inclusive, peaceful and tolerant; Religious and personality guidance;</td>
<td>Involving former terrorists who have turned their ideology and have turned moderate; Placing in accordance with the topology of the group;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmates are placed in prisons;</td>
<td>Help their family, who have and support the ideology, attitudes and actions of radicalism, to change their ;</td>
<td>Ideology and radical action changes after assessment; Modulating the radical ideology and attitudes of terrorism prisoners and their families to be inclusive, peaceful and tolerant;</td>
<td>Got a recommendation for the next stage; Involved former terrorists who have turned their ideology and have turned moderate.</td>
<td>Involving prison officers, religious leaders, psychologists, counselors, researchers, and others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 5. Details of Reeducation Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Indicators of Success</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This reeducation is to strengthen their thought and understanding, of moderation, to open their mind; This stage emphasizes moral education and self-reliance.</td>
<td>Inmates who have joined terrorist rehabilitation program and can participate on reeducation program; Those who have not gotten the recommendations is special treatment; The nuclear family and close relative;</td>
<td>Strengthen moral foundation, and understanding, and attitude; Religious teachings to lead them into peace, tolerance, and respect for diversity; Learn nationalism and patriotism; Continuing the independence.</td>
<td>Increased understanding and awareness of their moral and their families’; The change of thinking and understanding of radical attitude, to be open-minded, tolerant, peaceful; The growth of love for the homeland; Behave well, and understand that acts of terror are wrong.</td>
<td>Prioritize persuasive and dialogue; Involving former terrorism prisoners who already change their ideology and have national commitment; Involving victims; Putting them in a different room from other terrorism prisoners; Involving prison officers, religious leaders, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6. Details of Resocialization Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Indicators of Success</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>These programs prepare for them and their families to be able to interact in society, and to eliminate the general public suspicion and where former terrorism prisoners will be living in a society.</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners, former terrorism prisoners, and their families</td>
<td>Prepare them back into society through personality development and self-reliance; Prepare the public to accept them well; Providing training about independence and development and strengthening of religious understanding, peace and respect for differences, empathy and mutual respect.</td>
<td>Have the mental attitude and skills so they can return to the community; Leaving a radical ideology and violence; Being more tolerant and living in the community well, with respect to differences; Those who participate in this program well get a recommendation to get a remission of punishment.</td>
<td>Put forward persuasive and dialogue; involving a former terrorism prisoners and bomb victims; Putting them in a different room from other terrorism prisoners; Giving priority to moral education, involving religious leaders, psychologist, prison officers, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7. Details of Monitoring and Evaluation Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Documents Needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Aspects of inputs, processes, outputs, benefits and impacts of the stages of identification, rehabilitation, reeducation and resocialization.</td>
<td>Guidance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals</td>
<td>a. Monitoring: examine the objectives and implementation strategies of deradicalization in prisons; find the problems; know the supporting factors and inhibitors; improve the implementation of de-radicalization; adapt the program to changing environment well without deviating from the goal. Monitoring and evaluation stage in prison.</td>
<td>Monitoring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Evaluation: assess readiness, implementation and results achieved; provide input into future planning, and assessment.</td>
<td>Evaluation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types</td>
<td>a. Monitoring: regular and routine, continuous, programmed all the time; focus monitoring on the implementation of the overall program that covers input, processes, output, and impact.</td>
<td>Monitoring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Monitoring: Non-routine and is carried out in a limited period, focus on activities (process) happening, the results is a basis for problem solving.</td>
<td>Monitoring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Evaluation: Initial activities (preparation); formative evaluation (assessing the results achieved in the implementation in prisons); and summative evaluation (what has been achieved);</td>
<td>Evaluation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach, Method, and Technique</td>
<td>Direct and indirect approaches (formal surveys, rapid monitoring; participatory, using test, observation and questionnaires, etc.)</td>
<td>Approach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Stages</td>
<td>Preparing monitoring draft and evaluation program; conducting monitoring and evaluation; and preparing and submitting a report;</td>
<td>Main Stages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actors</td>
<td>NCTA, Ministries or Agencies concerned, government authorities, NGOs, Universities, the mass media, and so forth.</td>
<td>Actors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This method is a series of instruments for the process of moderation. The process starts from profiling and mapping to determine the extent or degree of radicalism adopted, the position and role in the terrorist network, the condition of the immediate family as well as groups of friends and networks. This continues to moderation process of thought and the psychological recovery, strengthening religious belief and nationalism, and learning job skills and socialization to psychologically and morally prepare for reintegration into society and to accept the common values that apply. The success of moderation process will be greatly influenced by how the method is implemented and conditions of each individual terrorism prisoners. In addition, the effectiveness will be determined by the material and the officers who perform moderation.
Deradicalization Materials in Prison

The material provided in deradicalization in prisons depends on the stages. Each stage has different goals and objectives. However, the general provision of material in the deradicalization program in prison revolve around the following description (Table 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Mentor</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Religious teaching</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners, immediate family</td>
<td>NCTA officers, involving psychologists, religious leaders</td>
<td>Given to terrorism prisoners in Grey, Yellow, Green categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners, immediate family</td>
<td>NCTA officers, involving psychologists</td>
<td>Given to terrorism prisoners in Grey, Yellow, Green categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nationalism</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners, immediate family</td>
<td>NCTA officers, involving psychologists, and other experts</td>
<td>Given to terrorism prisoners in Yellow, Green categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Business Knowledge and Skills</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners, immediate family, former terrorism prisoners, network</td>
<td>NCTA officers, trainers of business skills</td>
<td>Given at the stage of reeducation and resocialization, involving community leaders</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The treatment of terrorism prisoners based on profiling identification and mapping of the radical ideology is categorized into 4 groups: Red, Grey, Yellow and Green. Red category is a group whose levels of the radical ideology is still strong, and it is difficult to communicate with them that moderation process faces obstacles. Grey is those whose levels of radical ideology is still strong, but still want to communicate in a rather passive manner. Yellow is a category of terrorism prisoners who have been open to communication and dialogue so that a moderation process begins slowly. Being the last category is Green, and these are terrorism prisoners that have begun consciously to abandon radical ideology that they can communicate actively and moderation process is going well and smoothly.

Effort to open communication, preparing the conditions to initiate the process of moderation, for each
category of terrorism prisoners, that is changing their radical ideology into moderate, tolerant, accepting differences and renounce violence, is different. The effort is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Guiding Terrorism Prisoners in Prison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Red (Level I)</td>
<td>Trying to approach, isolating, watching, listening, paying attention.</td>
<td>Efforts to open up communications with persuasive approach.</td>
<td>Red Understanding, approaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Grey (Level 2)</td>
<td>Trying to approach, isolating, watching, listening, paying attention.</td>
<td>Giving attention, aspirations, engage in deradicalization activities.</td>
<td>Grey Join activities, passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yellow (Level 3)</td>
<td>Trying to approach, isolating, watching, listening, paying attention.</td>
<td>Giving attention, religious understanding and dialogue</td>
<td>Yellow Moderation, convincing stage, psychologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Green (Level 4)</td>
<td>Trying to approach, isolating, watching, listening, paying attention.</td>
<td>Providing strengthening religious understanding, nationalism, job skills, and effort.</td>
<td>Green Strengthen religious understanding, nationalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Results of Deradicalization in Prison in 2002-2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terrorism Prisoners</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reiteration</th>
<th>Reiteration</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>447 people</td>
<td>2002 to 2014</td>
<td>422 – 412 people</td>
<td>25-35 people</td>
<td>a. The exact figure is not obtained; b. The former terrorist is a freeman; c. Known to get back to radical acts because they are captured again, or become a suspect of terrorism, or their whereabouts is unknown d. Activities and whereabouts are unknown, whether in Indonesia or abroad. e. It is not known because of other causes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coaching or guidance for terrorism inmates in prison is actually the core of the de-radicalization as an attempt to moderate the way of thinking of the radical ideology into a moderate thinking, tolerant and renounce violence. NCTA does it at the core of de-radicalization, that is rehabilitation and reeducation.

In summary, the factors
supporting and inhibiting de-radicalization policy implementation for the terrorism prisoners by NCTA, as follows:

**Factors Related to Content of Policy**

1) Those affected by the policy, which specifically are terrorism prisoners and their immediate families, such as wife, children, parents, in-laws and siblings, while in general, are the Indonesian people and the foreigners who live and or visit Indonesia.

2) The benefits, as former terrorism prisoners and their immediate families are enlightened, moderation in the understanding of religious teachings, and getting work skills for livelihood so hopefully they left radicalism, terrorism; whereas for the general public, including foreigners who live or visit Indonesia, there will be a sense of security, which is expected to help the economic recovery, such as the tourist arrivals and foreign investment to Indonesia.

3) Expansion of changes wanted, as radicalism and terrorism is a global problem that affects local (domestic)terrorism cases, including Indonesia. NCTA is trying to make adjustments and expansion of policy on the prevention of terrorism, including through de-radicalization. In the implementation, there are things beyond the authority of NCTA, e.g. the content of new regulations on terrorism which is not enough to deal with new developments on terrorism, such as the emergence of ISIS and the use of online media related to the development of Information and Communication Technology used for the dissemination of radicalism and techniques for the manufacture of weapons such as bombs and other terrorist techniques.

4) The policy-making place, as since its establishment in 2010 until 2014, NCTA has not yet have had a permanent office and is constantly changing locations. The problem being addressed is relatively new, that this condition is a difficulty in itself, especially
the need for competent employees as needed. Until this dissertation report was written, the number of employees needed NCTA cannot be met by the government. Since the end of 2014, NCTA has an office of IPSC Deradicalisation Center in Sentul, Bogor, West Java. De-radicalization policies are formulated and set in different places, until finally NCTA office is settled.

5) The implementation of policy is adapted to the established policy and implementation stages. Stages of de-radicalization activities carried out by the staff of the Deputy of Directorate of De-radicalization I NCTA, in collaboration with experts on terrorism and religious issues, as well as the organization of religious studies, psychologists, former terrorists, community groups, and related agencies.

6) The result of the de-radicalization policy implementation has not reached the maximum, especially related to effectiveness in transforming the radical ideology of terrorism because of the difficulty of knowing how their attitudes and behavior of former prisoners, as it is difficult to monitor them and there is no party responsible for the continuous monitoring and guidance after leaving the prison.

7) The commitment of implementing the policy, which is very high because they are aware of the dangers of radicalism terrorism to human safety, and even in certain circumstances, it may endanger the safety of the nation.

Factors Related to Context of Implementation

1) The powers, interests and strategies of actors, namely NCTA, which is a government agency that is authorized to formulate policies and acts as a national coordinator in counter-terrorism, and its position is directly related to the national interest, related to human security that is supported by many parties, including religious organizations and community groups. Its power has not been
used optimally, especially the involvement of religious organizations more intensively in the coaching and guiding of the former terrorism prisons in everyday life in the community.

2) Institute and the characteristics of the regime, that NCTA is established upon recommendation of Commission I, among others, in charge of national security issues so that the position is very strong due to the support from the government. In a democratic system of governance, the rule of law and respect for human rights is put forward.

3) Compliance and responses, as terrorism is a very complex issue, motivated by issues socio-political and globalization and world security, then NCTA is trying to make adjustments in response to the development of terrorism, both of which occurs abroad as well as in the country. However, NCTA has limitations related to coordination and authority because existing terrorism laws are inadequate to face the new developments of terrorism.

The results of the government’s efforts show that terrorist activity in Indonesia tend to fall drastically, and the success is recognized by many other countries. This is evident from the increasing number of high-ranking officials of other countries who wish to obtain information about the key to the success of Indonesia to tackle terrorism, such as Germany, Australia, USA, UK, and other countries. This success has also been recognized by experts of radicalism terrorism. However, according to the confession of former terrorism prisoners, that the decline in the incidence of terrorism cases may be caused more by the interests of those whom the government accused of being adherents of radicalism. It is said that they divert their activities through peaceful means, and if the government does not discredit the stigmatization of “terrorists”, the acts of terrorism in Indonesia will disappear.

Meanwhile, a theoretical model of policy implementation by Grindle (1980), when applied to de-radicalization policy implementation,
and to address other cases of social violence, there are drawbacks and it requires at least 2 (two) elements, as follows:

1) Elements of social communication, social communication for coordination among the actors, and social communication for coordination and close cooperation between actors and targeted societies, such as the leaders of religious organization:

2) Monitoring and continuing guidance, which is an element of necessity, as there is institutional cross-functional role to monitoring and coaching of former prisoners of terrorism, families and networks, and social and economic empowerment continuously until they leave their radical ideology, behaved moderate, are tolerant, and can accept differences.

While the elements in the model of policy implementation by Grindle, if coupled with the element of social communication for coordination, and the element of monitoring and ongoing guidance, the completeness of the theory will further determine the successful implementation of the policy of de-radicalization of terrorism prisoners in prisons. From the above it can be concluded that enabling and inhibiting factors that determine the effectiveness and successful implementation of de-radicalization of prisoners of terrorism are as follows:

**Supporting Factors**

a) Support from the government, parliament, budget, relevant government agencies, as well as the support of the general public, both domestic and international community; and

b) The existence of civil society supporting religious organizations, theologians and other related sciences, expert on terrorism, and the participation of former terrorists who had left the radical ideology to engage and influence their friends or to leave a radical ideology.

**Inhibiting factors.**

a) Some terrorism prisoners hold their radical ideology strongly;
b) People who do not support terrorism prevention program or embrace radicalism because of a conviction related to the understanding of religious teachings;

c) Sectoral ego is prominent among government agencies involved in counter-terrorism, so that coordination of de-radicalization is rather less synergistic or is still going according to the work program;

d) Conditions of terrorism prisoners placed in the same prisons as the general inmates, and in different prisons;

e) The absence of a special prison for terrorism prisoners, making coaching difficult;

f) The low number of NCTA personnel who have appropriate competence skills needed in de-radicalization and counter-terrorism; and

g) Lack of cross-functional agencies that monitor and provide further permanent guidance to former terrorism prisoners, family and networks, by involving more intensively religious leaders, related to consolidation of religious understanding and socio-economic empowerment.

Other factors to determine the effectiveness and success of de-radicalization in the moderation process are social communication, a communication between actors across organizations, and communication between actors and a particular group of people such as religious organization; and factor of monitoring and ongoing guidance after these inmates are free. Both of these factors, namely social communication, and monitoring and ongoing guidance are not in Grindle’s implementation model. From the description above, the supporting and inhibiting factors on the policy implementation of deradicalized terrorism prisoners in prison can be seen as follows:

**Conclusion**

a. Generally it can be be said that the successful implementation of the de-radicalization policy as an effort to reduce terrorism. The indicator is the declining number of acts of terrorism and many
former prisoners of terrorism is no longer involved reiteration that can be interpreted that they have abandoned the radical ideology of terrorism. However, decrease in the number of terrorist acts can not be certain whether the decline caused by terrorist acts in between things as follows:

1) whether due to the influence of the law enforcement committed by the security forces is expressly?

2) whether because there are many adherents understand the radical core categories and militant including those deemed as leader (amir) who had a sentence of imprisonment in prisons? In the period from January to April 2016 there are 206 terrorism convicts serving sentences of imprisonment in prisons.

3) whether output successful implementation of policies deradicalised?, because from 447 former prisoners of terrorism, which is known to be involved reiteration only about 25 to 35 people.

4) whether due to changes in group strategy adherents of radicalism in achieving their political goals, which are no longer in a violent manner?

5) is there any possibility of interruption of communication between the adherent radical terrorism in Indonesia with international terrorism network, for example, on a possible global scenarios?

6) whether for their other causes are unknown.

The cause of the decline in terrorism, thought to be caused by one factor, or a combination of two factors and the factors mentioned above. It is certain is that the number of acts of terrorism in recent years decreased, and the number of ex-prisoners terrorism who are not involved in reiteration more numerous when compared with the amounts involved reiteration or prevention radicalism terrorism. Unable to know for sure how the effectiveness of the success of moderation change the thinking,
attitudes and behavior of radical terrorism prisoners of terrorism to be moderate, tolerant, accepting differences and peaceful, likely caused by the concepts of radical terrorism is in the nature of one’s mind related socio-political world supposedly influenced by many factors in a specific environmental conditions.

b. Supporting and inhibiting implementation of deradicalization factors, as follows:

1) Supporting Factors: (a) government, parliament, budgetary, relevant government agencies support, as well as general public domestic and international community support; (b) the existence of civil society support religious organizations, theologians and other science-related issues of terrorism, and former prisoners participation who had left the concepts of radical terrorism to persuade or influence of his friends who still adopts that concepts to leave it concepts;

2) Inhibiting Factors: (a) ex-prisoners terrorist attitude that still had radical concepts; (b) civil society and individuals temporarily attitude who do not support terrorist prevention program radicalism, and or adopts radical concepts due to a conviction related to the concepts of religious doctrine; (c) prominence of sectoral ego among government agencies involved in combating terrorism, so that coordination deradicalised impressed walk less synergistic or operate independently appropriate each work program; (d) not available special prisons convicted person terrorist making it difficult for fostering deradicalised due to the dispersal placement in some prisons scattered in various provinces; (e) The unmet BNPT personnel who have competence as required expertise in the field of deradicalization and combating terrorism problem of terrorism; and (f) not
available cross-functional agency charged with monitoring and provides advanced fostering permanently for the former detainees in terrorism, family and its network by engaging more intensively religious figures, Related stabilization religious concepts and empowerment independence socio-economic field of normal life in society.

c. Additional elements alternative models offered deradicalization policy implementation:

1) Elements of social communication, in an effort to improve coordination between actors from various government agencies and related parties so as to achieve synergy implementation deradicalised; and communication in an attempt to identify perceptions about the dangers of terrorism radicalism, and prevention efforts by figures of religious organizations and;

2) Elements of monitoring and advanced fostering, that monitoring and advanced fostering to the former detainees in terrorism, family and its network handled by the institutions in charge of fostering cross-functionality through a program and activities permanently to fostering in terms of strengthening the moderate religious doctrine, a tolerant and peaceful, and empowerment related socio-economic field in an effort to foster self-reliance for prisoners terrorism, family its network, planned programmatically and sustainable so that it can be ascertained that they had left radicalism and terrorism was not involved reiteration.

Reference


49
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