

**IMPLEMENTATION OF DERADICALIZATION
POLICIES TO PREVENT TERRORIST ACTS
IN EAST JAVA**

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the implementation of deradicalization policies with the aim of obtaining a comprehensive understanding of (1) the process of implementing deradicalization policies, (2) the actors involved or playing a role in the implementation of these policies, and (3) the impacts of implementing deradicalization policies. To achieve these objectives, we collected data through in-depth interviews, observations, and secondary data documentation. The data were analyzed using the Interactive Model. Based on the data analysis and discussion, the conclusions are as follows. First, the success of the policy implementation process is determined by: (a) the clarity and detail of the policy content, including the tasks of the implementers; (b) the implementation strategies used by the policy implementers; and (c) support from the environment in which the policy is implemented. Second, the effectiveness of the actor's roles in the policy implementation process will be better if (a) there is communication, coordination, and facilitation of the actors' needs in carrying out their tasks; (b) cooperation and mutual understanding of each actor's role are established; and (c) the target groups and the community are involved from the planning stage to the implementation. Third, to achieve direct impacts, practical activities that provide economic benefits and skill development for the target groups are required. For indirect impacts, active involvement of the target groups and the community is necessary to collectively build awareness for improved attitudes and behaviors.

Keywords: policy implementation, deradicalization, terrorism

BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH

In the past two decades, radicalism and terrorism have become increasingly evident in Indonesia. Although acts of violence and threats of violence have begun to show a decline, the roots and symptoms of radicalism remain apparent on a national scale. According to Sidney Jones, while they are a

minority and even fewer engage in violence (Sahri, 2016), their existence and propaganda still represent a latent threat that could act as a “malignant virus,” potentially spreading to other segments of society. This represents a serious challenge for the state and its officials to unravel, contain, and neutralize radicalism to prevent its further spread. The need to contain and neutralize radicalism is particularly urgent because radicalism is the precursor to terrorism. Radicalism is characterized by a desire for total and revolutionary change, dramatically overturning existing values through violence and extreme actions (Bimas Islam Kemenag, 2016).

To address the dissemination of radical ideologies and prevent terrorist activities, the government has enacted Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 77 of 2019 concerning the Prevention of Terrorist Acts and Protection for Investigators, Prosecutors, Judges, and Correctional Officers. One of the measures to prevent terrorism outlined in this regulation is deradicalization, defined as a planned, integrated, systematic, and continuous process aimed at eliminating, reducing, or reversing radical terrorist ideologies.

In relation to deradicalization, this study will address the following questions: (1) How has the process of implementing deradicalization policies been carried out by the government in accordance with the provisions of Government Regulation Number 77 of 2019? (2) What is the role of the actors involved in the policy implementation process? (3) What are the impacts resulting from the implementation of deradicalization policies?

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Radicalism

Radicalism refers to a belief system or movement that seeks social and political change through violent or extreme means. Radicalism can be understood as a political group or movement aimed at achieving independence or electoral reform, including efforts to establish republicanism, abolish titles, redistribute property rights, and promote press freedom, often associated with the development of liberalism (Yunus, 2017).

From a religious perspective, radicalism can be seen as a religious ideology rooted in fundamentalist beliefs and high religious fanaticism, which often leads adherents to use violence against those with differing beliefs in an attempt to forcibly impose their religious views.

Radicalization involves a transformation from passive or moderate activism to more radical, revolutionary, extremist, or militant stances. The term "radical" is often linked to far-left movements. The term "radicalism" derives from the Latin word *radix*, meaning root or tree. This can imply a firm foundation, strong beliefs, or a commitment to peace and stability. The term "radical" itself suggests a detailed and profound understanding and a steadfast adherence to one's beliefs, which can create a perception of deviation in society. Radicalism encompasses a worldview (paradigm), a belief system, and specific doctrines. It is frequently associated with certain movements or ideologies (Asrori, 2015).

Various factors, including religious, economic, and ideological influences, may cause radicalization. These factors are detailed as follows.

(1) Religious

Religious factors contributing to radicalization can be categorized into internal and external factors.

Internal factors arise within the Muslim community, such as deviations from religious norms. This is a highly vulnerable factor affecting society. Due to limited religious knowledge, people often misinterpret *jihad* as radicalism (terrorism) (Asrori, 2015). Radical Islamic groups often emerge from a lack of in-depth understanding of Islamic teachings among the younger Muslim population. This lack of understanding is due to the absence of study on various interpretations, *ushul fiqh* (principles of Islamic jurisprudence), and textual variations (Zuhdi, 2017).

External factors come from outside the Muslim community, such as the actions of governments or Western hegemony. For example, the movement of *komando jihad* has become a symbol of resistance against the West (Asrori, 2015). Radical Muslims often experience frustration due to their inability to counter the materialistic culture of the West, leading them to use violence to resist Western

materialism and penetration (Zuhdi, 2017). Other external factors include the rise of ISIS and the associated terror threats in regions like Poso, a town in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, as well as discriminatory practices, such as airport security measures targeting names like Muhammad and Ali, which exacerbate religious and national instability (Natalia, 2016).

(2) Economy

Socio-economic disparities in Muslim countries and the perceived erosion of Islamic values by Western cultures, such as hedonism and materialism, have spurred defensive reactions among Muslims. Many individuals are motivated by a sense of injustice and exploitation in Islamic countries, leading to radical movements (Asrori, 2015).

Another economic factor is despotic governance that deviates from fundamental Islamic values. Regimes in Muslim countries are often seen as failing to uphold idealistic Islamic values, instead oppressing their people and aligning with exploitative Western colonialism. This misalignment with Islamic principles can provoke resistance from various groups against global injustices (Yunus, 2017). While radicalism was once closely associated with economic deprivation, in which radical groups exploited the people of the low economy to recruit new members by offering attractive incomes, recent cases show that radicalization can occur among individuals from more stable economic backgrounds. For example, an Indonesian media once reported a motorcycle taxi driver who was offered a monthly wage of IDR 52 million (around USD \$ 3,800) if he joined a militant organization. By Indonesian standards, this is a very high wage and would make it attractive for tens of millions of Indonesians living on the poverty line to join, not for ideological reasons but for the lucrative payments (Sholikin, 2016).

Currently, economic factors are no longer the main factor causing radicalization. This can be seen in the incident in Surabaya in 2018. Radicalism in the form of the bombing of three churches was known to be a suicide bombing of one family of a father, mother and their four children; they came from a stable economic background. The perpetrators were known to be the leaders of the JAD group, which was allied with ISIS. In this tragedy, a new trend occurred, where

women and children became suicide bombers. This indicates that radicalism can now affect diverse socio-economic groups, including those with stable economic conditions.

(3) Ideology

Contemporary radicalism is often fueled by dissatisfaction with the perceived marginalization of certain groups within their own countries or abroad, such as Palestinians. This dissatisfaction can lead to increased interest in radical ideologies, often through literature that promotes such beliefs. These ideologies are frequently used as guidelines for radical actions due to limited knowledge and understanding of Islamic teachings (Zuhdi, 2017). Radical ideologies often reject national institutions, seeing them as symbols of corruption or infidel, advocating for their replacement with radical beliefs. This ideological influence extends beyond ordinary citizens to state officials like the police and civil servants. Radical ideology spreads rapidly through extensive literature and structured indoctrination camps. For example, the 2018 Surabaya suicide bombings involved family members, including children, who were indoctrinated to carry out *jihad* activities such as suicide bombings against designated targets.

Terrorism

Terrorism has been defined in various ways by researchers, reflecting the lack of a universal definition. According to A. Schmid, a scholar in the fields of politics and terrorism, terrorism is defined as “a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims become targets of violence. Through the previous use of violence or the credible threat of violence, other members of a group are put in a state of chronic fear (terror)”; this definition implies that terrorism involves targeting random or symbolic victims with violence, with the intention of instilling a high level of fear in other members of the group through either prior violence or credible threats (Djelantik, 2016).

The United States government defines terrorism as “the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals that are political, religious, or

ideological in nature, through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear.” According to Law Number 15 of 2003 on the Establishment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 on the Eradication of Terrorist Acts into Law, a terrorist act is defined as (a) any act intentionally causing violence that generates fear in public facilities, both nationally and internationally; (b) any act by an individual who unlawfully imports, manufactures, receives, attempts to acquire, delivers, or attempts to deliver, possesses, stores, transports, hides, uses, or carries any firearm, ammunition, explosive materials, or other dangerous materials with the intent to commit terrorist acts.

From these definitions, it can be concluded that a group is considered a terrorist group if it meets the following criteria: (a) systematically exploits human vulnerabilities to create paralyzing fear; (b) uses threats or physical violence; (c) has political objectives; (d) generally targets civilians; and (e) engages in rational planning and preparation.

Deradicalization

Deradicalization refers to counterterrorism preventive actions or strategies aimed at neutralizing radical and dangerous ideologies through non-violent approaches. The goal of deradicalization is to guide individuals with radical views back towards more moderate thinking.

Terrorism is a serious issue for the international community as it continually poses a threat to national security. Thus, deradicalization programs are essential as a formula for addressing and preventing radical ideologies (Pusbangdatin, 2018).

For a deradicalization program to be effective, it must have a well-defined strategy to ensure the appropriate “treatment” for radicalism. Rohmad (2002) illustrates the relationship between the roots of radicalism, deradicalization strategies, and the objectives of deradicalization in the “triangle of deradicalization,” as depicted in the diagram below.

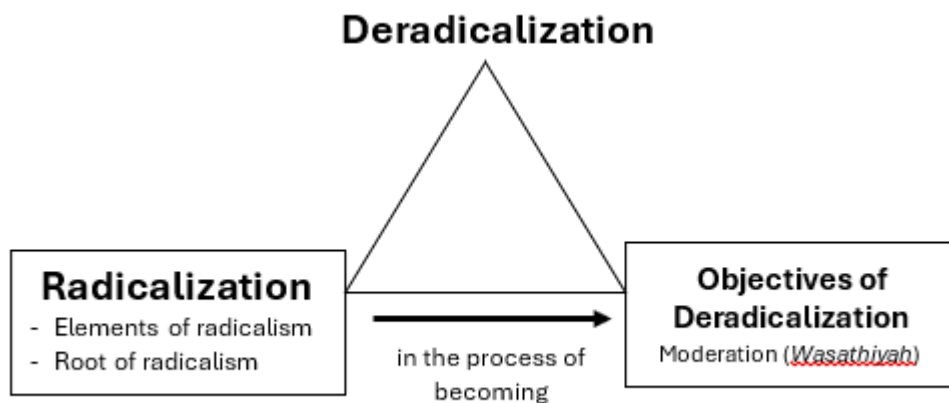


Figure: **Triangle of Deradicalization**

Source: Rohmad (2002)

According to Rohmad, deradicalization programs should start from the roots of radicalism, which include preventive and preservative measures for moderate Islam. It is crucial that deradicalization efforts are proactive rather than reactive, as they should address radical actions before they occur, such as bombings or suicide attacks.

If deradicalization programs are effectively implemented, they can be extremely beneficial for early detection allows security personnel to identify whether an individual or group has started developing “negative” thoughts or has an agenda for terrorist activities. In many cases, Densus 88¹ has successfully conducted early detection, leading to the arrest of radical group members planning terrorist actions and the seizure of explosives prepared for these attacks.

RESEARCH METHOD

In line with the research objectives, this study adopts a qualitative research approach, wherein the researcher acts as the primary instrument in the research process. Specifically, this research utilizes a case study approach, which involves

¹ Densus 88 is a special counter-terrorism unit of the Indonesian National Police. Established in 2003, its primary role is to combat terrorism and address threats posed by extremist groups in Indonesia.

exploring real-life, contemporary bounded systems (cases) or multiple bounded systems (various cases) through detailed and in-depth data collection from diverse and multi-faceted sources of information and reporting on case descriptions and case themes (Creswell, 2015; Yin, 2008). Data were collected using observation, in-depth interviews, and documentary techniques to gather secondary data.

Data analysis was performed using the interactive model of analysis as outlined by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014). The process involves the following stages: (a) the collected data from various sources, including observations, interviews, and documentation, are read, studied, and thoroughly examined; (b) data is then reduced and organized systematically to highlight the research focus; (c) data validity is checked by detailing observations and triangulating with other data sources, and to ensure the trustworthiness of the research results, validity tests are conducted, including tests for credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability; (d) data is analyzed and discussed using relevant theories; and (e) conclusions are drawn.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Implementation of Deradicalization Policy

The policy governing the implementation of Counter-Terrorism Measures, including deradicalization, is outlined in Indonesian Government Regulation Number 77 of 2019 on the Prevention of Terrorist Acts and Protection of Investigators, Public Prosecutors, Judges, and Correctional Officers. This regulation specifies that the prevention of terrorist acts is carried out through (a) National Preparedness, (b) Counter-Radicalization, and (c) Deradicalization. There are distinctions among these three preventive measures, including differences in policy actors, types of activities, and target groups, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Differences Between National Preparedness, Counter-Radicalization, and Deradicalization

No.	Type of Counter-Terrorism Measure	Implementing Organization (Policy Actors)	Types of Activities Conducted	Policy Targets
1.	National Preparedness	Relevant Ministries/Agencies coordinated by BNPT; May involve regional governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Community empowerment b. Enhancement of personnel capabilities c. Protection and improvement of infrastructure d. Development of terrorism studies e. Mapping of areas vulnerable to radical terrorism ideologies 	Community groups and organizations, civil servants
2.	Counter-Radicalization	Relevant Ministries/Agencies coordinated by BNPT	Conducted directly or indirectly through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Counter-narratives; b. Counter-propaganda; or c. Counter-ideology 	Individuals or groups vulnerable to exposure to radical ideologies
3.	Deradicalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Ministries responsible for legal and human rights affairs; b. The Indonesian Attorney General's Office; c. The Indonesian National Police; and d. May involve academics, practitioners, religious leaders, and/or community leaders, private sector entities, and the general public. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Deradicalization for suspects, defendants, convicts, and prisoners of terrorism offenses is conducted through the following stages: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Identification and assessment; b. Rehabilitation; c. Re-education; and d. Social reintegration. 2) Deradicalization for former terrorism prisoners or individuals or groups already exposed to radical terrorism ideologies may be implemented through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Nationalism education; b. Religious education; and/or c. Entrepreneurship training. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Suspects, defendants, convicts, and prisoners of terrorism offenses; and b. Former terrorism prisoners or individuals or groups already exposed to radical terrorism ideologies.

Note: Summary of Data from the Content of Government Regulation Number 77 of 2019

Table 1 illustrates the various forms of deradicalization activities implemented, depending on the target groups. From the perspective of policy content in Grindle’s (1980) policy implementation model, the regulation of these activities reflects an effort to ensure that the stakeholders affected by the policy can benefit from it and do not engage in “resistance” as a consequence of changes to their previously conducted political activities. As Grindle stated, the type of public policy enacted will specifically impact political activities. Therefore, if public policies lead to changes in social, political, economic, and other relationships, they may provoke resistance from parties whose interests are threatened by the policy. Consequently, the implementation of deradicalization activities aims to provide collective benefits to both the primary target group—namely suspects, defendants, convicts, and prisoners of terrorism offenses—and the secondary target group—namely former terrorism prisoners or individuals or groups already exposed to radical terrorism ideologies. In this context, Grindle (1980) posits that the implemented program must offer collective benefits to facilitate easier support and higher compliance from the target groups.

Government Regulation Number 77 of 2019 contains more detailed policy content related to deradicalization than the regulations for national preparedness and counter-radicalization activities. This is evident from the detailed activities for identification and assessment, rehabilitation, re-education, and social reintegration, as presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Details of Deradicalization Activities According to Government Regulation Number 77 of 2019

No.	Target Group	Type of Activity	Activity Details	Activity Options
1.	Suspects, defendants, convicts, and prisoners of terrorism offenses	Identification and assessment	Initial identification and assessment	a. Inventorying suspect data; b. Conducting interviews, observations, and clarifications; and c. Data processing.
			Further identification and assessment	a. Monitoring and evaluating the behavior of defendants, convicts, or prisoners; b. Conducting interviews, observations, and

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No.	Target Group	Type of Activity	Activity Details	Activity Options
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> clarifications; c. Data processing; and d. Risk analysis and needs assessment.
		Rehabilitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Individual counseling; and b. Group sessions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Lectures/general talks; b. Discussions; c. Coaching and mentoring; d. Counseling/socialization; and/or e. Practical exercises.
		Re-education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Strengthening religious understanding; b. Counseling on national awareness and peace issues; c. Knowledge of conflict resolution; and/or d. Character education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Lectures/general talks; b. Discussions; c. Coaching and mentoring; d. Counseling/socialization; and/or e. Practical exercises.
		Social re-integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Strengthening self-confidence to reintegrate into society without fear or dependence on extremist groups or networks; b. Enhancing understanding through interactions with society; c. Improving social skills for reintegration into society; and/or d. Enhancing skills to support oneself and one's family. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Discussions; b. Coaching and mentoring; c. Counseling; d. Socialization; e. Specific skills education; f. Job training and certification; g. Entrepreneurship training; h. Internships; and/or i. Social activities.
2.	Former terrorism convicts, individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideology	Instilling Indonesian Archipelagic Vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. National defense activities; b. Protecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; c. Safeguarding the state ideology; d. Practicing and internalizing Pancasila; 	

No.	Target Group	Type of Activity	Activity Details	Activity Options
			e. Indonesian Archipelagic Vision; and/or f. Consolidating national values.	
		Religious insight development	a. Religious tolerance; b. Social harmony within the framework of national unity and integration; and/or c. Interfaith harmony.	
		Entrepreneurship	a. Job training; b. Business cooperation; and c. Business capital.	

Note: Summary of Data from the Content of Government Regulation Number 77 of 2019

Policy Implementers recognize that activities such as discussions, public lectures, outreach, and similar efforts cannot directly change attitudes and behaviors. This is due to the strong influence of external factors, including social media, which significantly shape attitudes and behaviors. As revealed by Ghifari (2017), recruitment of youth into radical organizations is often conducted through the internet. Social media plays a crucial role in disseminating information on radicalism, thereby influencing public opinion through the radical content spread on these platforms. This is evidenced by several terrorist groups using social media for propaganda and establishing dedicated sites for coordinating all activities related to carrying out terror acts.

The desired changes from the implemented deradicalization activities are long-term, except for entrepreneurship programs, which include field practice and business capital assistance, that can promote attitude and behavior changes toward social rehabilitation and integration. This aligns with Grindle's (1980) assertion that the extent of anticipated change also affects the success of policy implementation. Programs that are long-term and demand changes in community

behavior, and which do not provide immediate benefits to the target groups, tend to face more challenges in implementation.

Apart from policy content dimensions, the success of public policy implementation is also determined by policy context variables. In this context, counter-terrorism policy implementation is adjusted to the complexity of evolving terrorism threats. Generally, there are two models of counter-terrorism policy implementation: the war model and the criminal justice model. The war model uses a military approach to counter-terrorism, whereas the criminal justice model uses a law enforcement approach (BNPT, 2021). Post-reformation counter-terrorism policy implementation has predominantly adopted the criminal justice model, though it still incorporates elements of the war model due to the need for inter-agency cooperation. In counter-terrorism actions, the National Police (Polri) serves as the primary component, and the Indonesian National Army (TNI) acts as a supporting component, regulated under the framework of Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) coordinated by the BNPT (BNPT, 2021). The criminal justice model, combined with community empowerment approaches, tends to be more effective than approaches relying on armed forces. Khamdan's (2015) research indicates that the radicalization of terrorism convicts and the public can be addressed through peace-building approaches, reinforcing tolerant Islamic teachings and human rights understanding through planned programs. Therefore, Khamdan (2015) does not believe that radicalization among terrorists or terrorism participants within society can be stopped except through deathly resistance, such as execution. Peace-building deradicalization can certainly be carried out once the underlying factors of radicalization are understood.

Based on this discussion, we can formulate the following proposition related to the deradicalization policy implementation process.

Minor Proposition (1):

The success of policy implementation is determined by (a) clear and detailed policy content that outlines the tasks of the implementers, (b) the implementation strategy used by policy

implementers, and (c) support from the policy implementation environment.

Roles of Actors in the Deradicalization Policy Implementation Process

Normatively, nine institutions or groups are involved in the implementation of deradicalization policies: (a) BNPT; (b) the Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia; (c) the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia; (d) academics, practitioners, religious leaders, and/or community leaders; (e) the Indonesian National Army (TNI); (f) regional governments; (g) correctional or prison officers; (h) private sector; and (i) the public. All activities carried out by these institutions are coordinated by the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT).

Based on the data presented, each institution and segment of society has specific roles within the framework of deradicalization activities, as detailed in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Institutions and Roles in Deradicalization Activities

No.	Name of Institutions/Groups	Roles in Deradicalization Activities
1.	Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) - The National Counter-Terrorism Agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Coordinating all deradicalization activities carried out by institutions and the public;• Implementing deradicalization activities for suspects, defendants, convicted individuals, and prisoners involved in terrorism offenses, as well as former terrorism convicts and individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideologies;• Assessing the results of rehabilitation, reeducation, and social reintegration activities; and• Monitoring, evaluating, and documenting the outcomes of deradicalization activities conducted for suspects, defendants, convicted individuals, and prisoners involved in terrorism offenses, as well as former terrorism convicts and individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideologies.
2.	Kejaksaan Republik Indonesia - The Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Implementing deradicalization activities for suspects, defendants, convicted individuals, and prisoners involved in terrorism offenses;• Assisting BNPT in assessing the results of rehabilitation, reeducation, and reintegration activities; and• Assisting BNPT in monitoring and evaluating the implementation of deradicalization activities conducted for suspects, defendants, convicted individuals, and prisoners

No.	Name of Institutions/Groups	Roles in Deradicalization Activities
		involved in terrorism offenses, as well as former terrorism convicts and individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideologies.
3.	Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia - The National Police of the Republic of Indonesia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assisting BNPT in implementing deradicalization activities for former terrorism convicts and individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideologies; • Assisting BNPT in assessing the results of rehabilitation, reeducation, and reintegration activities; and • Assisting BNPT in monitoring and evaluating the implementation of deradicalization activities conducted for suspects, defendants, convicted individuals, and prisoners involved in terrorism offenses, as well as former terrorism convicts and individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideologies.
4.	Academics, practitioners, religious leaders, and/or community leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assisting BNPT in implementing deradicalization activities for suspects, defendants, convicted individuals, and prisoners involved in terrorism offenses; • Assisting correctional officers in implementing rehabilitation activities; • Assisting BNPT in assessing the results of rehabilitation, reeducation, and reintegration activities.
5.	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) - The Indonesian National Army	Supporting deradicalization activities conducted by ministries, police, the Attorney General's Office, and the public
6.	Correctional Officers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementing rehabilitation, reeducation, and social reintegration activities; and • Documenting the progress of rehabilitation, reeducation, and social reintegration in the guidance or mentoring cards.
7.	Local Governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assisting BNPT in implementing deradicalization activities for former terrorism convicts and individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideologies
8.	Private Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assisting BNPT in implementing deradicalization activities for former terrorism convicts and individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideologies; and • Providing facilities for entrepreneurship or practical training activities.
9.	Community Members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assisting BNPT in implementing deradicalization activities for former terrorism convicts and individuals or groups exposed to radical terrorist ideologies; • Assisting community-based officers in implementing social reintegration activities.

Note: Data condensation results

The involvement of numerous actors and the insufficient human resources within the BNPT have complicated coordination efforts, despite the fact that the effectiveness of deradicalization activities depends on the cooperation and harmony among all involved parties. As highlighted by Apriliana et al. (2017), the

ineffectiveness of deradicalization implementation is due to a lack of harmony among all stakeholders, including both government and community, and the absence of continuity in the program. This aligns with Nugroho's (2014) assertion that the effectiveness of policy implementation is hindered by inadequate coordination and collaboration among existing agencies; Edward III (1980) refers to this as communication factors and/or structural barriers within the bureaucracy. Edward III explains that for decision-makers to ensure policy implementation aligns with their intentions, they must provide precise information. Accurate communication prevents discretion among actors, as they would otherwise attempt to interpret general policies into specific actions. Discretion is unnecessary if there are clear and specific rules about what needs to be done. However, overly rigid rules can also impede implementation by making it difficult for actors to adapt. Thus, policies must be transmitted to implementing agents clearly and consistently while allowing for necessary adaptation.

Therefore, policies should be substantive, meaning they are directly developed by government bodies and officials. According to Nurcholis (2007), there are five aspects related to substantive policy. *First*, goal-oriented objectives or activities should be the main focus, rather than random behavior or sudden events. *Second*, policy should reflect patterns of action by government officials regarding their discretionary decisions. *Third*, policy should cover what the government does, not merely what it intends or claims it will do. *Fourth*, policies can be either positive or negative in form. *Fifth*, positive public policies are based on legal provisions and authority, aiming to achieve societal welfare through government regulations.

In addition to substantive policies, actors must also build relationships and trust among citizens as social capital to facilitate social reintegration between former terrorism convicts and the surrounding community, as noted by Suprpto (2014). The government has taken various steps, such as establishing BNPT, Densus 88, anti-terror laws, and regulations on blasphemy. However, these steps have not reduced religious radicalism, which has only grown over time. One crucial aspect for actors in policy implementation is the role of positive role

models from Muslim religious leaders (*Kyai* and *Ustadz*) in internalizing multicultural and inclusive values within the community.

Public participation in the implementation of deradicalization policy is critical, especially in efforts to encourage community engagement in providing information to authorities and participating directly in social reintegration activities. Dharmawan (2006) identifies several important aspects underlying the principles of community-based programs. *First*, community participation is a tool for obtaining information on local conditions, needs, and attitudes, particularly regarding former terrorism convicts. The only way to gather such information is by involving the local community directly in planning deradicalization activities. *Second*, the community is more likely to trust a project or program if they are involved in its planning, preparation, and execution, leading to a greater sense of ownership. *Third*, promoting general participation is important as it is considered a democratic right to involve people in their own community development, which is directed at improving their circumstances rather than merely as a tool for development.

Based on the analysis and discussion of the roles of actors in the policy implementation process, the following proposition can be formulated:

Minor Proposition (2):

The effectiveness of actor's roles in the policy implementation process will be enhanced if (a) there is communication, coordination, and facilitation of actors' needs in performing their tasks; (b) cooperation and mutual understanding of roles among the involved actors are established; and (c) target groups and the community are involved from the planning phase through to the implementation of activities.

Impact of Deradicalization Policy Implementation

The implementation of deradicalization policy has had impacts across several aspects, namely: (a) ideological impact, (b) social and cultural impact, (c) economic impact, and (d) political impact. According to Asrori, one of the most

significant impacts is economic, which is linked to religion and manifests as social-economic disparities in Muslim countries, as well as the expansion of Western culture that is perceived to undermine Islamic values, such as hedonism and materialism (Asrori, 2015). This has led to a defensive reaction among those of the same Islamic faith, feeling that social and economic injustices experienced by Islamic countries must be avenged, often through radical movements. Another economic-political factor is the despotic power of governments that deviate from fundamental Islamic values. Regimes in Islamic countries are seen as failing to uphold idealistic Islamic values as servants of the people, instead ruling arbitrarily and oppressing citizens. Yunus (2017) argues that awareness of the importance of implementing idealistic Islamic messages, which are not followed by ruling regimes, triggers resistance from some groups against global injustices. In other words, radicalism can emerge from global economic injustices that marginalize specific countries or individuals. Radicals or terrorists were previously associated with individuals from lower economic backgrounds, which radical groups exploit by offering attractive income opportunities to recruit new members.

Regarding policy impact, Anderson (2003) explains that all forms of policy benefits and costs, whether intended or unintended, are measured in terms of symbolic or real effects. When evaluating policy implementation, key impacts include the following. *First*, the impact on the target situation or group (in this study, suspects, prisoners, former prisoners, and those exposed to radical ideologies) should be the primary focus of the policy. *Second*, the impact on other groups or situations beyond the target group (the general public) must also be considered. *Third*, the impact on current and future conditions should also be predicted. *Fourth*, the direct costs of the policy in terms of funding and resources used in the program must also be calculated. *Fifth*, indirect costs of the policy, including lost opportunities for other activities, must also be taken into account. *Sixth*, the indirect benefits of activities on the community, often referred to as the symbolic impact of the policy, can be observed through changes in public attitudes and behaviors and increased awareness of the program's importance.

Based on this perspective, the impacts of deradicalization policy implementation can be categorized into direct and indirect impacts. Direct impacts are primarily related to activities that directly provide skills to prisoners and former prisoners, such as entrepreneurship training, workshop training, and similar activities, which have economic effects on the target groups. Indirect impacts are associated with changes in attitudes and behaviors of the target groups, which are long-term and related to ideological, social, cultural, and political impacts. Some deradicalization activities that have been conducted and are expected to influence attitude and behavior changes include (a) dialogues with youth on national visions; (b) scout training, food security programs, countering latent communist threats, strengthening national defense; (c) conducting social communications with community components and government officials; and (d) religious enlightenment by religious leaders to eliminate extremism and radicalism from hardline fundamentalist groups.

The various activities undertaken by the police, ministries, the armed forces, and others, as described above, represent strategies employed by policy actors to achieve the policy goals of rehabilitation, reeducation, and social reintegration. From the perspective of policy implementation context, Grindle (1980) identifies three factors influencing policy impact: (a) the power, interests, and strategies of the involved actors; (b) the characteristics of institutions and authorities; and (c) compliance and responsiveness. In terms of power usage and institutional characteristics (particularly BNPT), the policy implementation model aimed at achieving desired impacts is most accurately described as a coercive mechanism model. According to Nugroho (2014), a coercive mechanism model emphasizes the role of public institutions as the sole entities with a monopoly on coercive mechanisms within the state, where there are no incentives for compliance but penalties for non-compliance. The “primary monopoly holder” here is BNPT, as it is responsible for coordinating all activities of ministries/agencies and community groups. The target groups, including suspects, convicted individuals, former prisoners, and those exposed to radical ideologies, are required to participate in

deradicalization activities without receiving any incentives (monetary or material, except knowledge) from their participation.

Based on the analysis and discussion of the impacts of deradicalization policy implementation, we can formulate the following proposition:

Minor Proposition (3)

To achieve direct impacts from policy implementation, practical activities are needed that provide tangible economic benefits and skill enhancement for the target groups. In contrast, to achieve indirect impacts, active involvement of the target groups and the community is required to collectively build awareness toward improved attitudes and behaviors.

After formulating three minor propositions, we then propose the following major proposition as research finding:

Major Proposition

The effectiveness of policy implementation (deradicalization) is influenced by (a) the content and environment of the policy; (b) strengthening the roles of policy implementers through budget support, infrastructure, and resources; (c) reinforcing ideological, political, social, cultural, and economic impacts; and (d) enhancing public participation.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the data analysis and discussion, the following conclusions are drawn:

- (1) **Terrorism Prevention:** Prevention of terrorism is carried out through (a) National Preparedness, (b) Counter-Radicalization, and (c) Deradicalization. From a policy perspective, it can be concluded that there are differences among these three forms of prevention in terms of policy actors, types of activities, and target groups. Generally, the success of policy implementation is determined by (a) clear and detailed policy content outlining the tasks of

implementers, (b) the implementation strategies used by policy implementers, and (c) support from the environment in which the policy is implemented.

- (2) **Institutions and Groups Involved:** Normatively, nine institutions or groups are involved in the implementation of deradicalization policy, including (a) BNPT (National Counter-Terrorism Agency); (b) the Indonesian Attorney General's Office; (c) the Indonesian National Police (POLRI); (d) academics, practitioners, religious leaders, and/or community leaders; (e) the Indonesian National Army (TNI); (f) correctional officers; (g) local governments; (h) private sector; and (i) the general public. All activities conducted by these institutions/groups are coordinated by BNPT. The primary shortcoming is the lack of harmony among institutions, as the effectiveness of deradicalization efforts relies on cooperation and harmony among all involved parties.

The role of actors in the policy implementation process will be effective if (a) there is communication, coordination, and facilitation of the actors' needs in performing their tasks; (b) cooperation and mutual understanding of roles among the actors are established; and (c) target groups and the community are involved from the planning phase through to the implementation of activities.

- (3) **Impacts of Deradicalization Policy:** The implementation of deradicalization policy has brought several impacts, including (a) ideological impact, (b) social and cultural impact, (c) economic impact, and (d) political impact. These impacts can be further categorized into direct and indirect impacts. Direct impacts are primarily related to activities that provide direct skills to prisoners and former prisoners. Indirect impacts are associated with changes in attitudes and behaviors of the target groups, which are long-term and relate to ideological, social, cultural, and political aspects.

Therefore, to achieve direct impacts from policy implementation, practical activities that offer economic benefits and skill enhancement for the target groups are necessary. In contrast, to achieve indirect impacts, active

involvement of the target groups and the community is needed to collectively foster awareness towards improved attitudes and behaviors.

Recommendations

Based on the research findings, particularly regarding the factors that hinder progress, the researcher offers the following recommendations:

- (1) **Human Rights Considerations:** Given the potential for deradicalization activities to infringe on human rights, there should be immediate regulations involving the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) in the implementation process of deradicalization policies and terrorism prevention efforts more broadly.
- (2) **Regulatory Framework for TNI:** There is a need to establish regulations that define the role of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) in terrorism prevention efforts in general and in deradicalization activities specifically.
- (3) **Budget and Resource Allocation:** The government should pay attention to the budgetary needs of BNPT and other institutions actively implementing deradicalization activities to ensure the smooth execution of these activities. Additionally, it is crucial to provide adequate compensation to communities affected by or victims of terrorism.

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