Cultural Radicalization Cons as an Effort to Eradicate the Crime of Terrorism in Indonesia

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Abstract: *Radicalism, which is the main root of a person becoming a terrorist, is a fact that to fight the spread of radicalism, law enforcement is not enough. On the one hand, social conditions also significantly influence efforts to counteract radicalism. From these problems, the question of this research is how socio-culture works in counteracting radicalism. The method used in this study is Socio-legal-based legal study. Further, this study aims to understand and elaborate that socio-culture influences efforts to fight the spread of radical ideas and eradicate criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia. The results of this study show that in society, there has been cultural radicalization cons through community activities, which have succeeded in countering the spread of radicalism.*

Keywords: *radicalism; terrorism; radicalization cons.*

Abstrak: Paham radikal yang selama ini dianggap sebagai akar utama seseorang menjadi teroris menjadi fakta bahwa dalam upaya melawan penyebaran paham radikalisme tidak cukup dengan penegakan hukum. Disatu sisi, kita bisa melihat bahwa kondisi sosial yang ada di Masyarakat juga memberikan pengaruh besar terhadap upaya menangkal paham radikal. Dari permasalahan tersebut, yang menjadi pertanyaan penelitian ini ialah bagaimana sosial-budaya bekerja dalam menangkal paham radikalisme. Tujuan dari penelitian ini ialah untuk memahami dan menguraikan bahwa sosial budaya berpengaruh terhadap upaya melawan penyebaran paham radikal dan pemberantasan tindak pidana terorisme di Indonesia. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini ialah penelitian hukum berbasis Socio-legal. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dalam Masyarakat telah terjadi kontra-radikalisasi

secara kultural melalui kegiatan-kegiatan kemasyarakatan, yang berhasil melawan menyebarnya paham radikal.

Kata Kunci : Radikalisme; Terorisme; Kontra-Radikalisasi.

INTRODUCTION

The diversity in Indonesia is contradicted to the various words spoken by the government; we can see how the word "*Toleransi*" is only a symbol that is seen and heard but is unable to feel the benefits. It is exacerbated by the birth of the four pillars formulation, which since 2007 has been used as the main guideline in the life of the nation and state. The four pillars are *Pancasila*, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (*NKRI*), and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. It is also unable to overcome various acts of intolerance and radicalism. The omission of these two things is a threat to the stability and security of a country's integrity because intolerance and radicalism become fertile ground for thoughts and behaviours that ultimately lead to terrorism. Intolerance is the main root of terrorism, and terrorism is the culmination of intolerance[1].

A person turns into a terrorist not instantly. As Fathali Moghaddam describes, some stages must be passed with various social dynamics and individual psychology. Becoming a terrorist is the culmination of a person's increasingly narrow mindset. In Moghaddam's framework, there are at least five things that drive a person to become a terrorist;

1. The emergence of a sense of inequality, a person will try to provide solutions to eliminate the social symptoms that occur in their environment. Poverty, sociocultural disparities, and unfair treatment have encouraged individuals to be intolerant.
2. Building physical readiness: this is an actualization to move the solution to the problem to the attack stage (an attempt to rebel). Those who actively look for gaps to continue to rebel increase to the next stage: fight against those considered enemies.
3. The individual identifies with and adopts the group's moral values.
4. The crucial problem is that from the third stage to the fourth stage, once a person joins a terrorist group, there is little or no chance of leaving the organization alive.
5. At the last level, psychologically, people who have gone through several stages become ready and continue to be motivated to commit acts of terrorism.

From those stages, we can know that intolerance is the gate to terrorism, the question of what and why someone becomes intolerant is also influenced by the surrounding conditions. On the one hand, socio-cultural factors, behaviour, and the attitude of the community itself also influence the recovery efforts of both the perpetrators and victims of terrorism.

Radicalism or thoughts in Indonesia can easily live in the community. In addition to the confinement of a mindset that considers that religion is the sole truth, another factor that

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[1] SETARA Institut, Dari Radikalisme Menuju Terorisme Studi Relasi Dan Transformasi Organisasi Islam Radikal Di Jawa Tengah & D.I. Yogyakarta, ed. Ismail Hasani & Bonar Tigor Naipospos, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2012).

encourages the proliferation of radicalism is the birth of radical groups that are affiliated with terrorist organizations such as *ISIS*. These groups are covered by the word "*Agama Islam*" so that they can quickly get sympathy and acceptance from the community. Since Indonesia entered the reformation period, some contemporary radical organizations that have been established and have received much attention, as follow;

1. *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (majelis Pejuang Jihad Indonesia)*
2. *Front Pembela Islam (FPI)*
3. *Jama'ah Islamiyah*
4. *Laskar Jihad (prajurit Jihad)*
5. *Jama'ah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT)*

Those organizations have their tasks and functions to achieve their ultimate goal, which is the implementation of Islamic law (*Shari'ah*) in Indonesia and anti-westernism. The organisation's members do not refrain from using violent means in their actions. Another feature of the organization is the Arab background of its founders.[2]

Furthermore, social representation is likely that someone part of a community will exchange thoughts and ideas and act together as a form of social interaction behaviour. It becomes an agreement, understood and obeyed collectively. The system of values, ideas and practices has two important roles. First, implementing and enforcing rules (agreements) will encourage individuals to orient themselves in the material and social world and make adjustments to handle the environment around them. Second, to communicate about various aspects. Whether individual or group, both occur among community members by using communication aids for the participants, such as specific codes, specific naming, and precise classification, all of which enable social exchange.

The two things mentioned above are evidence of the role of individual behaviour/attitudes in launching their goals by carrying out social identification. The same thing should happen in efforts to counteract radicalism; a separate agreement should be carried out collectively and obeyed together. Thus, this study aims to analyze and describe how the behaviour or attitude of the community, which behaviour or attitude has influence, can eradicate the spread of radicalism that occurs.

Efforts against and eradicating terrorism as stipulated in Law (*UU*) Number 5 of 2018 on Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 on the Stipulation of Government Regulation instead of Law Number 1 of 2002 on Eradication of Terrorism into Law. The law also explains, as stated in article 43A paragraph (3), that there are 3 ways to counter the spread of radicalism, which is believed to be the precursor to someone becoming a terrorist, namely (1) Deradicalization, intended for someone who is identified as having been exposed to radicalism, (2) radicalization cons, to the general public, who have not and have the potential to be exposed to radicalism, and (3) national preparedness, of which the three are implemented by the government and through a planned, integrated, systematic, and

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[2] Ahmad Sholikin, "Potret Sikap Radikalisme Menuju Pada Perilaku Terorisme Di Kabupaten Lamongan," *Journal of Governance* 3, no. 2 (2018): 184–202, https://doi.org/10.31506/jog.v3i2.3255.

sustainable process.

However, this policy does not necessarily reduce the spread of radicalism. The purpose of the law, ranging from order, law-abiding, and public welfare, is no longer a consideration for someone not to become radicalized. Poverty and injustice have become the main factors where someone easily affiliates with radicalism because, for them, it is one way against it. What has been living in the community is indirectly also an antidote that naturally fights radicalism both from moral values, religious norms, social norms, and norms of decency. It is the primary benchmark that this study is carried out.

In addition, this study focuses on efforts to mitigate the spread of radical ideology through values and behaviors that live in the community, which have automatically worked and become radicalized cons culturally. Key aspects that will be examined include the need for clear guidelines, institutional support, and the role of community leaders in the lowest structure in teaching tolerance and preventing radicalization among the community as part of efforts to mitigate radicalism based on local wisdom.

METHOD

The method used was the legal study with a socio-legal approach. The primary legal material used in this research is Law (*UU*) Number 5 of 2018, on Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 on the Stipulation of Government Regulations instead of Law Number 1 of 2002 on eradicating criminal Acts of Terrorism into Law. It regulates related 3 ways to fight radicalism: national preparedness, Deradicalization, and Radicalization cons. Data collection techniques used in this study include;

a. **Observe:** It involves direct observation at the study site, sampling some respondents who will play an essential role in the study. A combination of offline and online observation methods will ensure maximum data collection. This approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of the research subject while adapting to the circumstances in which this study is conducted.

b. **Interview:** The interview technique collects data through oral question-and-answer interactions between two or more people, either directly or remotely. In the study context, researchers conducted in-depth interviews (In-depth Interviews) with several resource persons to collect data. Researchers also prepared interview guidelines to ensure a structured interview process.

c. **Literature Review:** conducted to obtain written data from various sources, including previous study relevant to the problem under study. These sources can include government documents such as laws and experts' opinions and doctrines. In addition to providing a foundation for researchers, the literature review also provides an overview of the depth of theory involved in the study. It reflects the level of scientific rigor in the study.

Using the socio-legal research model is an effort to provide an overview of a problem

(law) being studied. A legal study is more comprehensive with these methods than a legal dogmatic approach. Hence, the study results are no longer value-conditional but value-free, and using these methods aims to enrich legal studies in Indonesia.

DISCUSSION

Implementation of Radicalization Cons in Indonesia

Having a radical mindset and understanding alone does not necessarily make someone involved in terrorism. Other driving factors encourage a person to join terrorism networks, including domestic factors such as poverty, injustice, or dissatisfaction with the government, international factors such as global injustice and arrogant foreign policies, and cultural factors related to shallow religious understanding and narrow interpretation of religious texts. Radical attitudes and understandings motivated by these various factors often encourage individuals to choose to engage in acts and networks of terrorism[3].

As stipulated in Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010 on the National Counterterrorism Agency, which outlines the functions of *BNPT* (National Counterterrorism Agency) in dealing with radicalism and terrorism. These functions include formulating national counterterrorism policies, strategies, and programs; monitoring, analyzing, and evaluating counterterrorism efforts; coordinating the implementation of prevention and propaganda cons against radical ideologies; and coordinating deradicalization programs. This regulation highlights the comprehensive approach taken by the Indonesian government to tackle radicalism and terrorism through various strategies and coordination efforts[4].

The presidential regulation emphasizes the role of *BNPT* as the leading sector responsible for formulating policies, strategies, and coordination in counterterrorism efforts. Led by a head, *BNPT* focuses on three policy areas: prevention, protection, and deradicalization; law enforcement and capacity building; and international cooperation. BNPT adopts a holistic approach, addressing the root causes of terrorism through preventive measures, recognizing that counterterrorism efforts go beyond law enforcement and require a comprehensive prevention strategy[5].

In the area of prevention, the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*) uses two strategies: first, radicalization cons, which involves instilling values of nationalism and non-violence through both formal and non-formal education. This strategy is aimed at the

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[3] Et al Bilqis Rihadatul Aisy, "PENEGAKAN KONTRA RADIKALISASI MELALUI MEDIA SOSIAL OLEH PEMERINTAH DALAM MENANGKAL RADIKALISME," *Jurnal Hukum Magnum Opus* 2, no. 1 (2019): 5.

[4] Nur Paikah, "Kedudukan Dan Fungsi Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) Dalam Pemberantasan Terorisme Di Indonesia," *Al-Adalah Jurnal Hukum Dan Politik Islam* 4, no. 1 (2019): 1–20, https://doi.org/10.35673/ajmpi.v4i1.214.

[5] Kurdi Fadal, "Pendahuluan Secara Doktrinal , Islam Tidak Mengajarkan Kekerasan Terhadap Sesama Maupun Pihak Agama Lain . Karena Itu , Bassam Tibi Menilai Bahwa Radikalisme Dalam Islam Berakar Dari Faktor Politik , Bukan Faktor Teologis . 1 Namun Bagi Keppel Gilles , Ge," *Mutawatir Jurnal Keilmuan Tafsir Hadist* 10, no. 1 (2020): 48–73, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15642/mutawatir.2020.10.1.48-73.

general public through collaboration with religious, educational, community, traditional, and youth leaders and other stakeholders to promote national values. The second strategy is deradicalization, which targets sympathizers, supporters, core members, and militants, both inside and outside prisons.

Some of these actions follow what is stipulated in Presidental Regulation 46 of 2010. All of these actions indirectly emphasize preventive efforts, where fighting the spread of radicalism does not only focus on prosecution. However, whether we realize it or not, other actions are more powerful, namely those related to habits that live in the community that are indirectly able to ward off radicalism.

Addressing Individuals Influenced by Radicalism

Initial analysis of the attitudes of individuals exposed to radicalism is 1) sympathy, 2) intolerance, 3) radicalization, 4) joining radical groups, and 5) readiness to commit acts of terror that are synonymous with violence. Related to the usual attitude towards someone who is exposed to radicalism, this cannot be separated from the long history of acts of terror and the spread of radicalism in Indonesia, where the Bali bombings I and II tragedies became a turning point, that so far many of the spread of radicalism has been done through religious propaganda.

In the post-occurrence of the Bali I bombing, not only the victims and their families but also the wider community who heard the news felt anxious that terrorism would allow them to become victims in the future. After the establishment of Government Regulation In Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 on the Eradication of Terrorism, efforts to punish terrorists have been intensified by the authorities. On the one hand, efforts to counter the spread of radicalism continue to be implemented in the form of national preparedness, Deradicalization, and Radicalization cons[6].

Furthermore, deradicalization efforts are carried out to reduce acts of violence by groups or citizens that occur due to dissatisfaction, disputes, revenge, or other forms of radicalism that are still classified into the level of ideology as well as radicalization cons that continues to be carried out to the broader community. Radicalization cons has been carried out through dialogues, discussions, and persuasive actions that discuss various religious, social, cultural, economic, and political topics. Efforts to eradicate the spread of radicalism can be made through counseling, direction, guidance, and community empowerment. What happened in an environment that has been exposed to radicalism, such as in Amrozi's house (Death Row Bali Bombing Case), is proof that the culture of respect and courtesy towards foreign guests who have higher religious knowledge is a driving factor in the ease of radicalism penetrating the minds of individuals who believe in it[7]. In Tenggulun, Solokuro, Lamongan is city evidence of how the community easily accepts radicalism in the name of

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[6] Made Sri Indriani, "Penandaan Ikonis, Indeksikal, Dan Simbolis Pada Wacana Tragedi Bom Bali," *Jurnal IKA Undiksha* 11, no. 2 (2002): 1–15, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23887/ika.v11i2.1985.

[7] Fajar Purwawidada, *Jaringan Baru Teroris Solo*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: PT gramedia, 2014).

religion. Some community responses after the Bali bombing, and Amrozi was declared the mastermind of the bombing, among others;

A. The Rise of Empathy

Religious affiliation is an important factor in the longevity of radicalism in Indonesia. In order to mobilize, wage war, and gain support, the first effort made by terrorist groups is to find standard views or affiliations. This similarity aims to make it easier to carry out propaganda so that individuals exposed to it become intolerant. In several conflicts that have occurred in Indonesia, in addition to religious similarities, other similarities often used are racial, ethnic, cultural, and national similarities[8].

Although classified as a classic method, these methods are quite effective in attracting attention, convincing others, gaining sympathy, and mobilizing people to participate in struggles that they consider holy. From this explanation, we can understand that the first effort made by terrorist organizations is to find a basis and justify that their actions are right and become the ultimate goal of the struggle. The religious affiliation approach is the most appropriate tool because they live and fight in an Islamic religious environment. Therefore, they use several terms from the Quran and hadith, such as *Jihad Fisabilillah, Fardhu Ain, Kafir, Taghut, Syahid, Bid'ah, Musyrik, Surga, and Neraka.*

B. Intolerance

Next, after conducting propaganda with a religious affiliation approach, sympathetic individuals will move to the next level, namely, becoming intolerant individuals[9]. It is the main door for someone to become a terrorist; they will continue to seek justification for various acts of violence committed by terrorists so that, for them, the truth is absolute and singular. On this basis, a person who experiences several changes in his life.

1. Peace is no longer the main goal in the life of the nation and state.

2. Closed, exclusive, no longer heed the existence of diversity.

3. There is no respect for individuals considered different, so egocentricity and tension are increasing due to indifference.

From the interview with Yuli Mujahidin Mustaqim,[10] one of the community leaders in Solokuro, it is known that efforts to form a person into a radical are easier than efforts to counteract it. Not a few people support the bombing actions carried out by Amrozi; the group considers that the actions taken by Amrozi are worth the

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[8] Muhammad Ali Zaidan, "Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme: Pendekatan Kebijakan Kriminal," *Law Research Review Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (2017): 149–80, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15294/snh.v3i1.20932.

[9] Agus Subagyo, "Mplementasi Pancasila Dalam Menangkal Intoleransi, Radikalisme Dan Terorisme," *Jurnal Rontal Keilmuan PKn* 6, no. 1 (2020): 10–24, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.29100/jr.v6i1.1509.

[10] Samsul Arifin, Diskusi Bersama Tentang Penyebaran Paham Radikalisme di Desa Solokuro, Lamongan (2022).

violence against Muslims in the Middle East conflict areas. It cannot be separated from the practice of political sectarianism that has encouraged people to hate each other between one group and another.

C. The Role of Radicalization Cons

As one of the efforts to counter radicalism, radicalization cons in its implementation cannot be separated from *BNPT* itself, which indeed has the main task of tackling criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia, on the one hand, the implementation of radicalization cons cannot be separated from the participation of the community, that the basis of society that must be built is a moral movement to fight terrorism or radical ideology, the moral movement must be able to make every person or group realize that there is no single reason to justify acts of violence, as well as openness to accept the return of perpetrators of terrorism in the community so that they no longer feel alienated and can return to behave following the norms adopted by the people around them[11].

Those conditions make radicalization cons efforts stagnate because they are racing against the sole role of *BNPT*. What has been implemented so far gives us the answer that it could be more effective in eradicating the spread of radicalism[12]. Indeed, radicalization cons programs have been implemented in several countries that have the same potential as Indonesia for radicalism concerns.

Saudi Arabia, through the Ministry of Culture and Information, develops radicalization cons efforts by sending religious experts to schools and mosques; they are given the obligation to provide knowledge of the dangers of radicalism and carry out approaches to groups or organizations that have proximity or have the potential for communication with radical groups that are profiled. Through these organizations, messages about the dangers of radicalism can be conveyed directly, and radicalization cons efforts can be implemented[13].

D. *BNPT* Partnership

One of the main tasks and functions of *BNPT* is to coordinate national policies, strategies, and programs in the field of countering criminal acts of terrorism. One of the implementations of this is to carry out cooperation with several organizations at the regional level that have the same spirit and goals.

One of the organizations that *BNPT* partners with is the *Yayasan Lingkar*

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[11] Muhammad Zulfikar and Aminah Aminah, "Peran Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme Dalam Pemberantasan Terorisme Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia* 2, no. 1 (2020): 129–44, https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v2i1.129-144.

[12] Fauzia Gustarina Cempaka Timur and Jamaluddin Syakirin, "Peran Community Resilience Di Amerika Serikat Dan Inggris Dalam Upaya Kontra Terorisme," *Jurnal Sosial Politik* 4, no. 1 (2018): 21, https://doi.org/10.22219/sospol.v4i1.4833.

[13] Ratna Puspita, "Kontra-Radikalisasi Pada Media Sosial Dalam," *Jurnal Komunikasi Universitas Garut* 6, no. 2016 (2020): 509–29, https://doi.org/://dx.doi.org/10.10358/jk.v6i2.785.

Perdamaian in Tenggulun, Solokuro Regency, Lamongan. Former terrorist prisoner Ali Fauzi founded the foundation. The main focus of establishing the foundation is handling the Movement for the spread of radicalism. Most of the administrators of the foundation are people who have been involved with terrorist groups and former convicted terrorists.

Table I

The Structure of *Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian Members*[14]

No	Name	Position	Note
1	Ali Fauzi	Head	Terrorist of Bali I Bombing
2	Iswanto	Vice	Involved in Poso Tragedy
3	Faqih Lukman	Secretary	Ustadz (teacher) in Al-Islam Boarding School
4	Hajir Rohmad	Vice Secretary	-
5	Sumarno	Treasurer	Convicted of weapons possession hidden in Solokuro forest
6	Yusuf Anis	Coaching Coordinator	Combatant with close ties to Osama bin Laden
7	Habib Mustofa	Member of Coaching	-
8	Hambal	Member of Coaching	-
9	Zain	Member of Coaching	-
10	Arif Budi	Member of Coaching	ex-ISIS member

E. The Role of Society Organizations

One of the main things that drives a person to be intolerant and radicalized is the socio-political gap, primarily related to the opposition to the application of Islamic law, religious conflicts, and the opinion that the state has failed in carrying out its duties and functions based on indications of increasing corruption, and not accompanied by good law enforcement. It has encouraged terrorists to justify their acts of terror.

This condition is exacerbated because social organizations such as *NU* and Muhammadiyah are stigmatized as having close ties with terrorist groups. If studied more deeply, these organizations have an essential role in combating the spread of radicalism, which is the origin of terrorism in Indonesia[15].

There is an example of the attitude of Muhammadiyah leaders who always take

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[14] Sita Afiyatus Soniya and M Turhan Yani, "Strategi Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian Dalam Upaya Deradikalisasi Strategi Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian Dalam Upaya Deradikalisasi Di Desa Tenggulun Kabupaten Lamongan Sita Afiyatus Soniya M Turhan Yani Soniya . Strategi Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian Dal," *Journal of Civics and Moral Studies* 7, no. 1 (2022): 1–15, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.26740/jcms.v7n1.p1-15.

[15] Fajar Purwawidada, *Jaringan Baru Teroris Solo*.

a role in essential conditions that befall this country, including contributions to prevent and eradicate criminal acts of terrorism. On the one hand, Muhammadiyah continues to support and encourage the government to work together and synergize, one of which is related to the technical implementation of radicalization cons. Suppose government institutions and layers of community groups are united and synergize with each other regarding eradicating criminal acts of terrorism. In that case, the potential for the spread of radicalism can be prevented as well as possible. Of course, this is a challenging matter, as the spread of radicalism always follows the development of technology, which is why we as a society must also have our fortress to prevent the entry of this understanding.

In addition, the society awareness is the primary defense fence. By fortifying ourselves against new things or ideas, radicalism can disappear. On the one hand, ideological strengthening, especially by community organizations, must continue to be improved, whether Muhammadiyah with its *KOKAM* or *NU* with its *BANSER*.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, efforts to eradicate radicalism will never be completed with a repressive approach or only rely solely on law enforcement; public awareness is the primary key, which can be built with a cultural approach, one of which is through improving education because education is not only about producing people according to the wishes of the teacher, but also making students aware of the importance of thinking, asking questions, and finding answers to existing problems. Intolerance is the first door for someone to become radicalized. Through its legal products, the state makes every effort to eradicate this through deradicalization, radicalization cons, or national preparedness. However, in practice, more is needed to fight radicals who are increasingly powerful with the propaganda of religious issues.

The government, through *BNPT*, should increase networking with civil society by establishing associations with the same spirit to eradicate radicalism. Of course, this is focused on more than just a particular group or region. Every region in Indonesia has the same potential for the rise of radicalism because the real radicals are not affiliated with any religion at all.

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