De-radicalization Policy: Communication Power to Prevent Ex-Terrorist Re-joining for Organization and Radicalism Networking

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Abstract. Terrorists as actors can be identified based on several characteristics and features so that they can be classified in line to these features and a degree of destruction as well as threats and fear which will be produced in their own actions. These types encompass terrorists who failed his actions or were success deterrent by Special Detachment 88 and at the same time were success detained by state apparatus The other types are terrorists who played as ideologist who convinced members in doing terrors and propaganda. These facts showed us that terrorists have layers which differentiated one another in their roles which make it very complicated and trivial. Therefore, Indonesia government has developed de-radicalization program to maintain and secure this situation in order to this movement and radicalism can't grow and spread out at the large. First, this program was targeted to terrorists or suspected terrorist who were success detained by Special Detachment 88 so that they failed doing their actions in terrors. Second, this program is actually communication strategic to lessen radicalism conceptions among them who still believe what they perceive as the truth in related to religion, state and justice. By doing Focus Group Discussion among ex terrorists who have been sentenced in jail, this article, on one hand exposed how they did preparations and executed a terror and propaganda as well as recruit a member in this movement. On other hand, this article also exposed the possibility ex terrorists re-join to organization in doing terrors. By understanding these, de-radicalization as program can be implemented success and can be used to cut off connection between ex terrorist and organization.

Keywords: de-radicalization, communication power, terrorist, special detachment, re-joining

1   Introduction

Terrors as phenomena are available in any kind of form and can be affiliated to any kind of organization and background as well as motives [1]. Terrors can be executed by gangsters or mafia which operated in region or territory which in turn, affect to political system and governmental matters. Terror also could be done by opponent and opposition in political in related to clash of interest and power. Terror and violences also could happen when two forces collided to gain power resources even terror could be executed by state. Thus, discussions about terror, radicalism, and violence have actually a wide of scopes and landscapes. It is not merely religion issue especially in related to Islam or other religions: Hindu, Jews, Christianity. On otherwise, it could happen in many areas, issues and motives.

Islam as religion frequently was perceived and connected to violences and radicalism more intense since World Trade Center, in US was attacked and this attack was well known as WTC tragedy. Before this, Samuel P Huntington in 1990s wrote a book that was entitle Clash of Civilization that predict that clash intensity after Uni Soviet ruins will be take place among values of civilization. Huntington pointed out that clash of civilization will bring about between Islam dan West, one of premises looks tendency to Islam.

For decades after WTC Tragedy took place, phenomena of radicalism and terrorism which related to Islam was more intensified and were exposed by media. Depiction and figure out of radicalism and terror in related to Islam can be accessed and easily obtained at any kind of media or communication channel. Killing, bombings, and sabotage, as well as ideas of Islamic State which reflect to Khalifah System in politics are a form of narration which aimed at Islam with direction of negatively. Directly or indirectly Islam was portrayed as "monster" will threat anyone and will destroy social order and arrangement. Following situation, also raises negative labelling for Islam for instances: Jihadist and Fatalist which connected to International affiliation or networking e.g Jamaah Islamiyah, Al Qaeda, Hammas, Al Quds, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Suriah) and so on.

In Indonesia, as the biggest moslem country, penetration which related this matter also can't avoid where the seed of radicalism and terrorism were developing and spreading out. It derives from several ways and directions from inside or outside of country. For instances, every Jihadist organization was created and built, it was frequently appointed to NII (Indonesia Islam State) affiliation or it has connection with NII [2]. Besides this, fragmentation or factions which distort NII existence also made it more complex and more difficult to identify. In progress, many forms of radicalism were created for examples Majelis Mujahidin, Laskar Jihad, Front Pembela Islam, Hizbut tahrir, Jamaah Anshorutauhid, Jamaah Islamiyah and so on. All organizations have an unique structure and command on one hand and another hand, these have closed patterns so that one another can't know the position and their roles.

Recruitment patterns also were executed in the closed pattern through relative and friendship model. Communication was functioned to convince that what they oriented was right and correct pathway as Struggle as Moslem. They believe that Islam has complete formula and conception to solve problem in unjust of the power. At this point, levels of involvement of members in these organizations were disparity. There are some of them sympathizing, and the others highly involved as ideologists. Some of them followed the program and activity, but the others played an important role in doing sabotage or propaganda.

Thus, based on a degree of involvement in organization and radicalism, they can't be treated the same way. Those who committed to do sabotage and bombings public facilities should be treated more strictly and punish them in jail or sentenced a death penalty. It depends on light or heavy consequences and implications which take place to any social and political order. Otherwise, those who just support and provide "infaq" to help financial operation but at the same time did not involve any kind of violences or sabotage, it should be treated more softly which those who committed bombings. For these reasons, De-radicalization was taken as government policy to handle any kind of condition and situation in facing terrorists, radicalism that spread out, and stopping recruitment process in the society.

De-radicalization should be perceived as efforts which dedicated to ex-terrorists or participants who provide their sympathy to radicalism on behalf of religion especially Islam back to society. The main objectives this program is to prevent ex terrorists or participants who provide their sympathy back to radicalism organization. Otherwise, De-radicalization is a program which design to make ex terrorists back to society and they accept Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia as the legitimate state for them in achieving social and economic needs. As

the program, De-radicalization must be executed by stressing toward communication power in integrating one way and procedure through communication power to prevent and return them to society.

Contra-narration and contra communication were needed to compete and replace misconception about ideology, state and justice which terrorist organization have developed. They indoctrinate people to against government with ideas of justice and prosperity with Islam. Therefore, De-radicalization must devote to communication power to change misconception about state and justice vis a vis Islam and Nationalism. Both were not needed to be confronted with each other, but both are complementary.

Ideas toward " an image of reality" are center of interest in this article to capture that communication power can be used to change misconception about ideology, state, justice, prosperity. As we know that power of attraction toward radicalism is to focus on ideas of ideology and Islam. How Islam and Ideology, Islam and State, as well as Islam and prosperity are main narration and stories which were developed and offered to members. Therefore, contestation of communication should be given more systematically and more strategically.

Theoretically, ideas to power communication which devotes to creation " an image of reality" was known as symbolic convergence theory. Sometimes this was called Fantasy Themes Analysis [3][4][5]. Radicalism and terrorism can be perceived as fantasy driven by communication. By an image of reality, someone then drives to self-motivation to do terror or radicalism through an image of reality which cultivate in their mind. These processes only take place via communication. By communication power, ideologist of terrorism can sublime and penetrate member's cognitive that by saying that terror or radicalism are Jihad manifestation of religion tenets so that all consequences and implication which follow it are pure and holy. Therefore, by only communication power, these can be changed. De-radicalization are devoted to change these by communication power in order to members will be aware that what matters they perceived were wrong and incorrect.

2   Research Method

This article was written based on research which conducted toward ex terrorist who were released from the jail. Many of them had been sentenced in jail for 5 or 7 years with any kind of terrors and sabotages. During in jail, they had been approached and persuade that what they had been done in sabotage and explode via bombings were wrong and barbaric manner if they believe that they were moslem. There are 15 ex terrorists who were placed as informants to gain insightful and fruitful information in related to what kind of activity, how they adapt and adjust to society, and the possibility re-joining to radicalism organization toward any difficulties in adapting to the society. Focus group discussion was functioned to obtain information collectively [6]. Most of them live in Solo areas for instance Solo, Sukoharjo, Sragen, Klaten and Boyolali. Whatever information which were collected then verified to check membership which has expertise about this matters. This procedure can be claimed as triangulation model and procedure. Documents and other data which support this article were also functioned to sharpen the analysis.

3   Result and Discussion

3.1. The seeds and context of Radicalism and Terrorism

Viewed from system approach, someone was being radical and be also terrorist, it must be started at the beginning of processes. How these social and psychological procedures were designed in order to someone accepted and has loyalty to organization and ideology. These processes include many stages with gradually procedure and finally they offered openly to radical orientation and radical ideology. These processes formerly were strictly closed and formed an isolated network and connections. By alert judgement derived from their mentors, they finally informed openly that they are involved at any kind of activities that reflect for struggle in justice and especially related to Islam. At this phase, a new recruit has difficulties to quit or avoid these network and connections.

Prior this activity looks like Islamic recites and Quranic interpretation-kind of exegesis which depict a way to interpret texts in religion. Normally, it can't be differed from ordinary activities which were prevailed by people. The point of issues which depict how these activities can be called as radicalism when it analyzed Islamic values in related to states, government, economic and politics. By doing comparison with Islam, currently governance and state existence were perceived as incompetence and evil ways because it were governed by non-Islamic values which it meant as "thogut".

A closed circuit and an isolated network which designed these the patterns create group dynamic among them in the same as level. But on the other hand, he can't access the other level in the organization. It was surprisingly finding out that each of members can disseminate himself without any connections and networking. These patterns have produced much probable toward any kind of radicalism action and terror. These were assumed as unpredictable puzzle. Based on much information which were collected from focus group discussion, this found out that directly or indirectly, for them that were being radical and terrorist are things which made them proudly although it can be seen as a false of proud. Therefore, to prevent and make them quit from organization and networking, contra-structure and deep penetration must and should be done. It was functioned to lessen and avoid the organization spreading out at the large.

3.2. Role of Family: Relation a Wife and Terrorist in His Family

Marriages can be perceived as sacred of contract social between a woman and a man. By giving declaration to marry, someone has engaged to this commitment and promises to love each other for all time and for all life as well as supporting each other in sadness or happiness. This marriage creates a family as small system in the society. But, ironically, a marriage was a sacred of social contract between both based on love each other, can be used as an instrument to control and to secure of membership in radical organization. If someone tend to marry, he can tell to his mentor or organization. Behalf of request, this mentor tries to offer a woman in order to marry. It is very interesting that marriages did not merely reflect a sacred of social contact between a man and a woman, but it was also to ensure that all members of organization united into one organization and one power within a marriage contract.

This family lives with other families in the society. They spent time in every day life with other member society. They behave normally like other families for instances: working in offices or company, making socialization and interaction to others, praying daily in mosque and perform well accordance with moral and ethic standard. These are camouflage which hidden their identity and affiliation that they have involved in radical organization. But if it was observed more detail and deeper, what a kind of behavior was conducted was actually reflect to what they believe in and to Islam They usually implement and customized to Islamic values or Islamic

ethic and standard their owned family. It can be seen from their children. Basically, they actually dreamed to idealism milieu in the society with shari'ah implementation. Therefore, it was very difficult to differ them between those who behave natural and who behave to pretend. An ordinary people frequently was surprising when Special Detachment 88 arrested them an abruptly.

Relation between a wife and a husband as terrorist are interesting. First, if they are not detected as radical membership in organization, this spouse created breeding and enforcing toward Islamic values in the family. Husband can manage and lead his family with Islamic belief. A husband invites his wife to be actively in organization and involved in the routine agendas Once again, it looks normally as moslem in general without exception. It could take place because these ideology and movement are very closed and an isolated circuit as well as limited network.

But otherwise, secondly if a husband was arrested by Special Detachment 88 and accuse as suspect in radicalism, relation between between a husband and a wife are separated each other. Thus, both are rarely doing interaction but organization still provides a supporting and assistance to this family to ensure that ideology devoted still maintain and secure. In this situation, family as entity was unstable because seen from social aspect, many have a surprisingly with the fact that her husband who was known " sholeh" was arrested by Special Detachment 88.

When a husband as terrorist was sentenced in jail by the court, there is a new of phases in their life. Government by doing program De-radicalicatization supposed this to lessen and to change their an understanding about Islam, Nation State, Justice and Economic. This program was implemented during these terrorists in jail and after was released from the jail. Crucial moment took place in this situation. where as a program, De-radicalization was supposed to return and back to NKRI (Nation State of Indonesia) for all member of radicalism organization to society. They can be back to society and quit from organization.

Tension between a wife and husband as ex-terrorist could take place when a wife knew that his husband as radicalism activist has changed and acknowledged that NKRI is the best way to articulate his interests and needs. Islam and NKRI have not be necessary contradicted each other. By De-radicalization program, several of them have success been changed and back to NKRI. They signed gentleman agreement to commit and accept NKRI as final decision and choice.

This fact made their wives shock, saw it as unbelievable reality toward her husband after release from punishment and finally many of them summoned to divorce. They called ex husband as murtad (distorted and desertion) for ideology reasons which produce wife's refutation. However, ex terrorists who want to be back to society and quit from radicalism organization can't prevail without disturbances and contentious. On one the hand, he must adapt and adjust his life after prevailing punishment in the jail to society. He needs much time for adaptation and adjustment because negative perceptions were embedded to them. These are crucial problems for him cause of related to jobs, physiology and esteem needs.

Contentious between a wife and her husband as ex terrorist take place cause controlling from organization or other members of organization who always supervise and control a wife who left by husband because he arrested by Specual Detachment 88. It means that although a husband were in jail, his wife still plays an important role to maintain or to change the paradigm about Islam, State and Justice. She has still loyalty to radicalism organization until her husband coming back to her after prevailing the penalty. Seen from informants who interviewed, they must accept the reality that his wife refutes him because he return and accept NKRI and Pancasila as ideology. Divorces among them are actually unavoidable and a part of their life forever.

3.3. Constraints and Disturbances in the Society

Life continuity and destiny for the future are crucial matter which always intrigue and haunt for ex terrorists who want to be back to society. First, not all companies or government can't accept them as labors or clerks. On one the hand, they also veil their own identity so that they try to survive with new spirit and new orientation. They try to present themselves to others without knowing that they are ex-terrorists. Being ex-terrorists are nightmare that will haunted their life forever as wrong doing, wrong friendship and wrong connections.

De-radicalization as the program was not covered this matter in detail. " We must devote ourselves to survive in getting the jobs, getting an acceptance from people and then can live normaly,' said one of informants. According to them, De-radicalization tends as project in line to expenditure. It does not cover in the detail to how ex terrorist try to survive after releasing from the jail. Consequently, ex terrorists are self motivation to effort the jobs and a work. Some of them work as security task in the private company, others work in the informal sector which are alike opening kiosk for selling meat ball and soto, working as driver in online system transportation and being entrepreneur for local products.

In addition, contentious also come from a former of colleague who had ever at the same as radical organization. With a judgement as "murtad", he persuade us to re-join this organization by proposing idealistic arguments and reasons. On other hand, according to informant: " They also suspect us as an agent of intelligence so that they look making a distance. For me, it does not matter. It is a challenge to survive and reorganize of my life," he who one of ex terrorist explained it.

Burden of economic, social, and psychological at the same time must be carried out by ex terrorists. In fact, many of them failed to quit these problems so that they re-join to radical organization. It indicates that De-radicalization should not be merely changing of ideological radical into moderate, but it also covers any kind of efforts with solution toward economic, social and psychological problems which in faced by ex terrorists.

3.4. Perception Ex Terrorist to De-radicalization Program

Consciousness is very important for someone to do objectified program. According to them, someone wants to changing or not derived from radical to moderate are actually determined by consciousness. Core of consciousness itself is about the thought or mind which figure out of configuration of knowledge of things or ideas especially about the truth, Islam, justice and state. Misconception toward these, produce extreme conception and rebellion against the regimes. Therefore, ex terrorists acknowledged that De-radicalization was directed to change misconception and made them having a new consciousness. Thus, de-radicalization is actually communication program which used communication elements as the power to persuade and convinced them that they are wrong and missed.

As communication program, de-radicalization consist of guidance and an accompanying as well as togetherness. Dialog strategy and discussion frequently were used to get an impression that state and state apparatus were not alike what they perceived. Within dialog and discussion, officers made comparison to judge which one will be more advantages between being as radicalism or moderate people. On one occasion, the authority invited key informant ex terrorist or academician to give an insight and thought about Islam, justice, and state with moderat tones. Another time, the authority gave an opportunity to them for expressing what they imagine and what they want to realize. Gradually, between the authority and terrorists who in jail made collaboration and produced a trusted relationship. On one hand, terrorists felt more confidence,

otherwise the authority displayed a support for them to change misconception about ideology. These processes gradually changed the consciousness which derived from radical to moderate. During in the jail, this treatment was prevailed with continuity and on scheduled.

In the later development, de-radicalization also encompasses economic assistance program to support ex terrorist who has acknowledged and signed an agreement to be back to society as normally people. As an informant argued that economic assistance was given to stipulate and trigger for small business or small kiosk. But this program was incident not reflecting continuity planning till maturity. Therefore, some of ex terrorists sometime felt that their existence just were treated as commodification in line to de-radicalization program. At the end, their existence will be sooner or slower forgotten and will be watched frequently to ensure that they did not re-join the radical organization more.

Some of them questioned to Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme whether this program will conducted seriously or not. This sceptical question cause of facts that this program has many leakages in many way directions and objectives. This program, according to them should be audited and evaluated in related to process input-output-outcome circles to determine that this program was was efficient and effectively or not. They finally suspected that this program could be as project in line to expenditure politics. According to them also, this program was very useful if this was executed seriously to enlighten everyone especially ordinary people to be alerted toward any kind of radical organization including politics and state itself. This finding should be accepted with wise position that finally ex terrorists have critical opinion toward de-radicalization program.

4 Conclusion

De-radicalization program was governed by BNPT (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme) is a complexity program was designed to ensure that people and ex terrorist will not join to radicalism organization. Complexities of this program can be seen from the directions of program, level of involvement, continuity of program, probable of failure toward program as well as the program being routine agendas.

Based on operational and objectives, de-radicalization used communication strategic to persuade and convince people and ex-terrorist that what they perceive and believe are wrong and false. By integrating communication component alike narration, credibility of communicator, logic of argument and messages, humanism approaches, economic support, and dialog as well as discussion are crucial communication power to create an image of reality in line to harmony, tolerance, peaceful and loving. Ideas of living togetherness and accepting NKRI and Pancasila are ways which this program were directed.

In general, this program was needed as long as possible where the potent of radicalism and terrorism are still alive. It needs to prevent a human tragedy and violence because it is human being matters, but it is not a thing. On the contrary, critic to this program also displayed that this program should be directed more useful and more benefis if it was implemented more serious and has continuity plan.

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