



The Efforts of National Sovereign Institution to Deradicalize Ex-Terrorist Convicts Through The Rumah Daulat Buku (RUDALKU) Using a Literacy Approach

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Abstract. Former terrorism convicts are a group of people who have been involved in criminal acts of terrorism, then tried, imprisoned until finally released. One of the risks after they are released is the belief in radical ideology that has been embedded since being in their network. As a result, ex-convicts become vulnerable to joining terrorist groups again, and even carrying out acts of terrorism again. Deradicalization efforts so that they do not return to terrorism are carried out by the National Sovereign Institution with a deradicalization program. Deradicalization is carried out using a literacy approach through the "Rumah Daulat Buku" (Rudalku) program. This research was conducted at the Daulat Bangsa Institute which is located in the Pasar Minggu sub-district, South Jakarta. This research uses a qualitative approach. The method used is descriptive-analytical, to describe a phenomenon to study the who, what, when and how aspects of a topic. The results of the research show that deradicalization efforts are carried out through Rumah Daulat Buku by means of face-to-face study and recitation through ta'lim or talaqi every month. The recitation was attended by ex-convicts who had founded Rudalku and also those who had not. Study using the Arabic book al-Waroqot about ushul fiqh, namely the philosophical discipline of Islamic law. This study uses references to Arabic books designed to indoctrinate moderate religious understanding (wasathiyah). In the study of Fiqh and ushul fiqh, everything is discussed including the meaning of jihad, about national fiqh, about how to think and interpret correctly. Ex-convict participants are also encouraged to express their views for open dialogue (munaqasah). With in-depth study and guidance from experts, without indoctrination, the study participants, namely the wider community and members of Rumah Daulat Buku, finally understand and realize that the actions they took in the past were wrong and now know what is right. This can be seen by a change in mindset, open understanding, the desire to become a religious, tolerant Muslim, to become rahmatan lil alamin by protecting the Indonesian nation and state.

Keywords: Deradicalize, Ex-Terrorist Convicts, Literacy.

1 Introduction

Radical religious movements that carry out acts of terror and violence are basically nothing new in the international world, but globalization has expanded the area of operations and increased the capabilities of these groups in carrying out their actions. The process of globalization has gone hand in hand with "technological democratization", which allows more and more people to be able to access technological developments in a short time.

Although Indonesia's efforts to counter violent extremism have enjoyed some successes, such as the repentance of Ali Imron, Nur Huda Ismail, Ken Setiawan, Sofyan Tsauri, Nasir Abbas, parts of its Islamist community remain committed to militant jihadism. The return from abroad of hundreds of militants linked to ISIS means that there is now a greater need than ever for intervention to prevent radicalization and for programs to reintegrate militants back into society.

Some former jihadists have gone into "temporary suspended animation" but remain vulnerable: they simply did not get involved for tactical or practical reasons. But some also begin to detach emotionally. While they may not completely reject the use of force, these "temporarily backward" activists have moved closer to the minority interviewed who are "completely cornered."

Changes in their personal circumstances (especially while in prison) have prompted a reassessment of their goals such that they no longer engage in jihadist activism. Some disavow ties to their former jihadist comrades. Yet people in this large group still support the jihadist cause on religious and moral grounds, and indicate that they would take up the fight again if conditions permitted, especially if ordered to do so by someone they believed to have the necessary religious authority.

Ex-convicts as a group of people who have been involved in criminal acts of terrorism and were then imprisoned and then released, raise several questions. Where will they go after being released from prison? Will they repeat acts of terror again? Can they be kept away from terrorism during training in prison? Will they be accepted by society when they return to their environment? Changing their behavior is a challenge in itself, because they are still overwhelmed by feelings of injustice or feel like they are victims of circumstances.

What allows someone to become a terrorist is ideology, not pathology. This belief system ultimately inspires their actions. Ideology has a powerful influence that can explain individual and group actions, "ideology determines who the enemy is" and has a long justification for political actions. [1]

Ideology is a coordinated set of beliefs about how things are versus how they should be from the perspective of a group, or category of people. Ideology refers to collectivist rather than individualist goals that set the well-being of the group above the personal well-being of the individual. This is in stark contrast to egoism, hedonism, or greed. People may be motivated to kill for greed, even risking one's life or personal freedom for greed, but a person will not commit suicide because of greed. People will do it for ideological reasons.[2]

Currently, a new approach has emerged, namely the literacy approach to deradicalization, which is realized through the founding program "Rumah Daulat

Buku" (Rudalku). Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is trying to carry out deradicalization efforts through a literacy approach. Currently Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) has gathered more than 40 former Napiters and Napiters' families in various regions, namely Jabodetabek, Semarang, Bandung, Tasikmalaya, Kerawang, Palembang and Medan.

Departing from this background, what then becomes the question in the problem formulation is what are the National Sovereign Institution's efforts to deradicalize ex-terrorist convicts through the Book Sovereign House?

2 Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach. This approach emerged as a result of a reaction from the positivism and post-positivism traditions, so that qualitative research is a multiple method (bricolage and bricoleur) with an interpretive approach in interpreting empirical phenomena.[3] Meanwhile, Creswell argues that it is a "process" of understanding social problems to test hypotheses from existing assumptions. By using inductive logic, information is found without being previously identified so that there is a strong approach to information as an investigative process in order to thoroughly understand developing social phenomena.

The method used is descriptive-analytical, to describe a phenomenon to study the who, what, when and how aspects of a topic. For Ronny Kountur, descriptive research will provide as clear a picture, description or situation as possible without any special treatment of the object being studied.[4].

Researchers use qualitative because the problems are dynamic, unclear and full of meaning. The qualitative approach aims to describe broadly and in depth various conditions and situations that arise in society or in the place that is the object of research. The analysis used in qualitative research is more descriptive-analytic, which means that the interpretation of the content is made and arranged systematically or thoroughly and systematically.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1. An overview of radicalism

Etymologically, the word radical comes from radices which means a concerted attempt to change the status quo. This understanding identifies the term radical with a political nuance, namely the desire to change power. The term radical is also often synonymous with the terms fundamental, extreme and militant. This term has the connotation of nonconformity with prevailing norms. The term radical is also often identified with religious groups that fight for fundamental religious principles in a strict, harsh, firm manner without compromise.

The essence of the radical understanding is related to a sharp conflict between the values fought for by a particular group and the value order that prevails or is considered established at that time. At first glance, this definition connotes physical violence, even though radicalism is also an ideological conflict.

Meanwhile, radicalization is defined as a process characterized by increasing commitment to violence or commitment to allowing violent methods and strategies in various conflicts.[5]. All of these processes can include changes in beliefs, feelings, and attitudes that justify violence in intergroup conflicts, or attitudes that demand sacrifice in defense of one's group. Thus, radicalization includes two closely related elements, namely action (behavior) and attitude (goals), although the nature of dependence between the two does not always exist. Therefore, radical attitudes are not always and do not have to be implemented through violent actions. One thing that must be noted is that radicalization is always related to various processes that must be differentiated analytically because these processes are directed by various different mechanisms, following several different patterns, which are understood in the local socio-political context.

3.2. Radikalisme Generasi Milenial

Globalization began to enter a decisive momentum along with the end of the Cold War with the victory of the United States. The important role played by the United States in a globalized world has raised concerns throughout the world that globalization is a form of "Americanization." This concern will naturally give rise to reactions from social groups to protect their culture from the "Americanization" process. For radical groups and individuals, the fear of Americanization has reinforced the perception of a common enemy. This perception has given radicalism a new impetus to increase the intensity of its actions to oppose anything deemed to be in line with and supporting the actions of the United States.

Radical religious movements that carry out acts of terror and violence are basically nothing new in the international world, but globalization has expanded the area of operations and increased the capabilities of these groups in carrying out their actions. The process of globalization has gone hand in hand with "technological democratization", which allows more and more people to be able to access technological developments in a short time. [6].

With increasingly cheap and smooth communication flows, it has enabled radical groups to increase their area of operation, from local to global. By using telecommunications access such as the internet, radical ideas can be spread from one part of the world to another in a matter of seconds. 'Millennial' radicalism is increasingly enlivening radical attitudes that may have been hidden for a long time. After the birth of the internet and the emergence of social media, what was hidden was then poured out, sometimes indiscriminately.

The emergence of radicalism among Islamic boarding schools was discovered in initial research by the Center for the Study of Radicalism and Deradicalization (PAKAR), which stated that November 2010-April 2011 showed that there were at least 102 radical Islamic boarding schools spread across 15 provinces in Indonesia. Data released by the NII Crisis Center shows that there are a number of campuses where NII movements take place.

In its research on marginalized urban communities throughout Jabodetabek, the Setara Institute concluded that there was an increase in radicalism caused not only by religion, but also by economic factors, social and political disparities.[7].

3.3. Post Truth dan Radikalisme

Phenomena like this reveal again how Indonesia is always experiencing irregular 'jumps'. In the past, when television was present in society, people watched television in droves. And now, the world of the internet is here which makes people euphoric, making it easier for them to get information scattered on the internet. They are 'forced' to use digital media, but actually they are not 'ready' for the digital era. As a result, they only use the internet for pragmatic, superficial purposes, not for scientific deepening. They don't have a tradition of reading well. "The public space we live in today is a public space that is very strongly influenced by digital social media." [8].

This is what is often referred to as the 'post truth' era. This term refers to people who believe more in their own views and do not want to accept actual facts. The important thing is that the news or narrative that appears provides 'pleasure' or 'comfort' for the reader, without having to try to investigate in order to reach the 'truth'. So, there is no more truth, because what exists is 'opinion' and 'perception'. People influence the public by prioritizing sensationalism and overriding emotionality. [9].

That is the reality today, where information technology is flooding our lives, so that we are now entering a strange era. The important thing is to form an opinion on the information that is presented, then the reality will be followed up and adjusted. Inevitably, Post-truth became famous, even though the term has actually been popular since 1992. In Indonesia, until now there has been 'disruption' with us often being treated to various strange discourses. And even stranger, these empty discourses without data, aka pure rhetoric, have received extraordinary response from fanatics. Truth is no longer in question. People feel more comfortable when "facts" are distorted and adapted to personal interpretations, opinions and beliefs. This reality occurs due to the emergence of puritanical and extreme ideologies that take the form of identity politics, a conservative turn, conservative religious sentiments, and literacy that does not use critical reasoning, and even conflicts between beliefs that end in curses and blasphemy. According to J A Liorente, phenomena like this indicate that the socio-political climate ignores objectivity and rationality by allowing emotions/desires to side with beliefs even though the facts show different things. [9].

Post-truth is rooted in the human soul itself which easily falls into cognitive bias. Humans are not as rational as previously thought. In the face of unpleasant truths, humans tend to fall into cognitive bias. Our ego has a self-defense mechanism, so that when what we believe is proven wrong, we don't immediately admit our mistake. This is also what the philosopher Herbert Marcuse from the Frankfurt school called 'One Dimensional Man', a human who loses his dimensions because he shrinks himself within the 'bars' of narrow-minded beliefs, without criticism.

Ideology is a coordinated set of beliefs about how things are versus how they should be from the perspective of a group, or category of people. Ideology refers to collectivist rather than individualist goals that set the well-being of the group above the personal well-being of the individual. This is in sharp contrast to egoism, hedonism or greed. People may be motivated to kill for greed, even risking one's life

or personal freedom for greed, but a person will not commit suicide because of greed. People will do it for ideological reasons.[2].

3.4. Terrorism studies, deradicalization and literacy approaches.

In the study of terrorism, two approaches are usually distinguished, namely deradicalization and disengagement. These two terms describe the process by which individuals or groups cease their involvement in violence. Disengagement is the process through which members of a terror group, radical movement, gang, or sect choose to cease participation in acts of violence. They can do this either by abandoning the movement or by migrating from violence to nonviolence. Thus, the term connotes a change in behavior. This is different from ideological deradicalization, which shows the delegitimization of the ideology that underlies the use of violence. In other words, deradicalization indicates a change in values and attitudes. In terror groups or radical movements, individual views on violence can vary significantly across factions and members. A person can detach themselves, for example, change their behavior, without being completely deradicalized, for example, changing core beliefs. [10].

Basically, deradicalization works at the ideological level, with the aim of changing the doctrine and interpretation of terrorists' religious understanding. Because of this abstract nature, the success of deradicalization programs is difficult to measure. This concern can be magnified when dealing with terrorist elites who are difficult to deradicalize again. Due to the immeasurable nature of its effectiveness, Horgan and Braddock prefer to call deradicalization programs "risk reduction initiatives". From their research in five countries (Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Indonesia, Northern Ireland and Colombia), they concluded that these programs were not directed at reaching the point of deradicalization, but rather focused on efforts to reduce the risk of terrorists. [11].

Research conducted by Hwang (2017) through field studies between 2010 and 2014 with 50 jihadist members showed that many participants stated that disengagement was a situational factor that was different in each region. Several participants admitted that they would rejoin if Indonesia was attacked by China, Russia or the USA. In the Indonesian context, Poso jihadists will rejoin if they are attacked again by Christian groups. This research also concludes that there are 6 incentives that are the reasons for disengagement from terrorist groups, including: disappointment with tactics, leadership or other aspects of the movement, awareness of greater losses if the action continues, whether or not there are relationships with individuals or networks outside the jihadist scope, pressure from family, changes in personal and professional priorities, and humane treatment from authorities. [10].

The discussion focused on deradicalization is actually a combination of two terms that have different meanings, but the ultimate goal is the same, namely to make terrorists want to abandon or give up acts of terrorism in the form of violence. Deradicalization is the reversal of the radicalization process. [5]. Therefore, rehabilitation programs must carefully assess the radicalization process of targeted individuals and then develop programs that can reverse the course. To this end, it is important to consider the differences between different types of extremist groups.

According to Horgan & Braddock.[11], deradicalization has a much deeper connotation than disengagement; requires a qualitative change in attitudes and, perhaps, previous values; a process of physical, social and psychological detachment “to the extent that they are no longer at risk of reoffending”; changes in cognition, not just the physical cessation of some observable behavior. Deradicalization can include supply and demand. On the supply side, for example, ideology is no longer considered attractive or long-term goals are no longer able to mobilize constituents. On the demand side, this can occur when there is a lack of potential new members. Research reveals that many terrorists have separated from terrorism, but have not yet been deradicalized.[11] In Indonesia itself, there is a view that until now there is no consensus regarding success in stopping the movement of terrorist groups.

Religious-based terrorism appears to have a higher level of militancy. The emergence of Islamic terrorism is a significant reason for the growth of terrorist attacks with the highest casualties both quantitatively and qualitatively, especially in the period 1998 to 2006. Islamic terrorism is identified as terrorist attacks carried out by groups motivated by the interpretation of Islamic political principles or by identity. Muslim religion and communalism. Interpretations of the principles and definitions of communal identities vary widely among Islamist groups.[12] This interpretation then becomes the ideological basis that justifies attacks carried out by terrorist groups.

Research by Lutz & Lutz (2004) revealed that in dealing with terrorism there is no single counterterrorist technique or approach because terrorism is much more complex than just one approach. This is both a challenge and an opportunity for Indonesia to continue to develop appropriate technical innovations in finding solutions to countering terrorism. Another challenge is that the events, environment and issues that fuel terrorism are no longer clear, so they cannot be resolved immediately. No program has formally identified valid and reliable indicators of successful deradicalization or even disorganization, whether in cultural, psychological, or other terms. As a result, any attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of such programs is beset with as many challenges that are conceptual as they are practical. [11].

Thus, complete deradicalization must continue to be the ultimate goal, if only for the practical reason that terrorists who begin to break free may repeat themselves. These jihadists, with some of their typologies, still maintain their beliefs even though they have spent years in prison. As the examples of Aman Abdurrachman, Abdullah Sonata, and Abdul Rauf illustrate, recidivism remains a real possibility if individuals in this category are released. But such re-engagement is not a common pattern, as it most often leads to de-radicalization. Therefore, carrying out either disengagement or deradicalization needs to be done systematically. The jihadists, both convicts and ex-convicts, in research show that their radicalism is still strong. They just stop for a moment, and when there are things that allow them to jump in, it's very easy to do. [13].

According to Wildova Radka.[14], the literacy approach itself states that the main principles are reading and writing. With a literacy approach, it emphasizes the relevance of education, the practical use of acquired skills in common everyday situations and the importance of intrinsic motivation for optimal reading and writing

development. In the context of the literacy approach for ex-convicts, it refers to a literacy model that pays attention to the practical as the main thing, because starting from the practical, abilities are created. In order to "become" more and more, this ability is continuously honed and strengthened in practice. The literacy model in this context is one that is built with a deeper and more holistic meaning, touching on aspects of individual and collective consciousness. Literacy can lead to openness of insight so that one becomes critical and is not easily carried away by deviant currents.

Research on deradicalization in America as shown by Mitchell (2016) reveals that the White House introduced a national counterterrorism program, "Strategy to Empower Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States", or colloquially referred to as "Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) " (Countering Violent Extremism) program in 2011. The program focuses on "proactive measures to counter extremist efforts to recruit, radicalize, and mobilize followers to violent actions and to address conditions and reduce factors that are likely to contribute to recruitment and radicalization by violent extremists" (US Government 2016; Mitchell, 2016).

Deradicalization carried out by the Australian Government as researched by Levi (2018) revealed that in 2010, the Australian government shifted its focus from high policy to "soft" deradicalization methods which sought to prevent radicalization and release those who were no longer radical). This approach became policy, when Julia Gillard's government adopted a national CVE strategy with a \$9.7 million budget that sought to disengage radicalized individuals, support "at-risk groups and individuals," increase "societal cohesion and resilience to violent extremism," and present counter narrative to "challenge extremist messages. Organizations in Australia have been involved in three areas: youth engagement, social cohesion, and education. The CVE program emphasizes increasing social cohesion" beliefs held by citizens, where they share a moral community, which enables them to trust each other."

A study of deradicalization carried out by Saudi Arabia as shown by Boucek (2008) revealed that referring to the domestic terrorist attacks in 2013, the Saudi Arabian government began to have ambitions to expand counterterrorism efforts. Apart from increasing security through law enforcement efforts to kill and arrest terrorists, a parallel strategy launched is to fight extremist violent ideologies using a soft approach consisting of 3 components: prevention programs for people involved in terrorism, rehabilitation programs designed to increase support and sympathy to publicize violence, as well as after care to prevent recidivism and for reintegration into society. One of the things that makes the program in Saudi Arabia successful is the social support provided to prisoners and their families. Apart from religious education, counseling programs increasingly contain vital socio-psychological elements (Capstack, 2015). Experts, often educated in the West, analyze the behavior of prisoners and provide appropriate therapy. To graduate from the program, detainees must pass tests to show that they renounce their radical beliefs, as well as being deemed by a psychological and security subcommittee to no longer pose a threat. Regardless of whether they graduate the program, prisoners must still serve their full sentences. Before being allowed to re-enter society, participants in the

rehabilitation program spend eight to twelve weeks at the Muhammad Nayif Counseling and Advice Center, outside Riyadh.

3.5. Rumah Daulat Buku

Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) was founded on the idea of a researcher named Musoffa Ihsan who had long been involved in research on radicalism and terrorism both with the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) and other institutions. In 2011, this young alumnus of the UGM Faculty of Philosophy, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah and Leeds University, England, founded an institution called the National Daulat Institute which is engaged in community empowerment and research on moderation and radicalism. After having been involved in research on radicalism and meeting with many ex-convicts in various regions, Musoffa Ihsan discovered the fact that the approach taken so far, especially by BNPT, in its deradicalization program for ex-convicts was still not very effective and comprehensive. From his observations, the idea emerged to take a literacy approach to deradicalize ex-convicts. In 2017, he founded Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) as a 'wing' for the deradicalization of ex-convicts. The concept is simple, it is enough for ex-convicts' houses to be used as reading houses by inviting local residents, neighbors and their friends, especially children and teenagers, to become activists, visitors and participants. Together with his team, he tried to approach former prisoners he had known for a long time to encourage them to set up a book house. Slowly and with great patience, several ex-convicts were willing to build the book house.

Musoffa Ihsan departed from research that reading activities are closely related to fluctuations in radicalism and terrorism. Therefore, Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) carries the tagline "Read a lot so you are open, read a lot so you are tolerant". In its operations, the management of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) encourages ex-convicts who are approached in a friendly manner (friendship) to establish Rumah Buku. Then the manager sent books on various topics to the ex-convict's house. Next, they will provide assistance and mentoring by holding activities at the ex-convict's house which will be attended by children or teenagers around the house. The material taught at Rumah Daulat Buku ranges from encouraging interest in reading, reading good books, building a home library to teaching moderate religious insight and nationalism as part of preventing radicalism.

The aim of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is to empower ex-convicts in efforts to de-radicalize and prevent society from the threat of radicalism and terrorism. Through Rumah Daulat Buku, it is hoped that they will become agents of change for the surrounding community to reduce information poverty, improve education and develop the economy of society in Indonesia.

Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is dedicated to gathering ex-convicts by starting with establishing personal and family libraries (usroh model) in their respective homes. In this way, it is hoped that they will read books on varied topics, so that the radical understanding that is still deep in their minds can be opened to wider insight. So that it can stimulate ex-convicts to be able to accept pluralism, beyond the identity that has been taught by radical mentors that the identity of radical groups is absolute and the most correct. The recruiters of terror acts want Muslims to forget that they

actually have various other identities and that they must decide for themselves various important political and moral issues and be responsible for those decisions and not be guided by the guidance of these recruiters who are based on an unorthodox understanding of Islam that can be observed and criticized. [15].

The private and family libraries of ex-convicts were then used as reading parks for the local community. This effort can be a form of strengthening assistance for ex-convicts in social reintegration. From here, it is hoped that these ex-napiters can become agents of change (agents of social change) for society, families and their groups through efforts to spread moderate and peaceful understanding. Research reveals that efforts that can be made to free individuals or groups from terrorism, even to deradicalize or change their beliefs, are by understanding the strategies used to motivate potential members, such as face-to-face recruitment, through media, the internet, even books (Speckhard , 2011). It appears that radical books are one of the strategies carried out by terrorist groups to spread the beliefs they believe in in order to recruit new members by giving them away for free or selling them at very cheap prices. In order to match this, efforts are needed to reverse this understanding through the establishment of Rumah Buku with the provision of varied and moderately content literacy in order to change radical understanding. Positive interactions that occur between ex-convicts and moderate people can be one of the factors that make individuals leave their groups.[16].

3.6. Deradicalization Through The “Rumah Daulat Buku”

It is proven that radical ideology is increasingly gaining momentum when information technology such as internet media becomes a popular communication tool in society. Through the internet, radical groups can spread their beliefs. Society becomes polarized. And the radical 'sleeping cells' woke up and spread their anger.

What about exnapiters? Yes, dealing with the issue of ex-convicts is a big problem for countering terrorism in Indonesia. Ex-convicts are individuals who were previously involved in acts of terrorism, were caught and sentenced to prison, until they breathed freedom and returned to society. However, their return to society is not without risk. One very important risk is the belief in radical ideology that is embedded in the network. As a result, ex-convicts become vulnerable to joining terrorist groups again and carrying out similar actions. Apart from ideology, the stigma that exists in society is also a big challenge for ex-convicts. Thus, synergistic cooperation is needed in deradicalization efforts that involve many parties, including the community.

Deradicalization efforts so far have not extended to literacy for ex-convicts. The existing literacy movement is more targeted at the general public in the context of preventing radicalism, such as through anti-hoax training or managing healthy social media. The community of book lovers and reading parks has indeed grown quite a lot in various regions. This is certainly an encouraging fact. However, almost all of the book communities that were formed did not reach out to ex-convicts. This means that ex-convicts are not yet positioned as figures capable of managing reading parks. They are not yet seen as individuals whose direction can be changed from 'terror jihadists' to 'literate jihadists' as pioneers in creating a 'new jihad'.

This literacy approach is carried out comprehensively, not just distributing books without any follow-up activities. The tagline is "Reading a lot becomes open, reading a lot becomes tolerant." Another activity in the Rudalku literacy program is holding face-to-face recitations through ta'lim or talaqi every month. The study invited ex-convicts who had founded Rudalku and also those who had not. Study using the Arabic book al-Waroqot about ushul fiqh, namely the philosophical discipline of Islamic law. During the Covid 19 pandemic, recitations are conducted via Zoom. This recitation activity is also a strategy to recruit ex-convicts to establish Rudalku as well as coordinate its management. This study uses references to Arabic books designed to indoctrinate moderate religious understanding (wasathiyah). In the recitation, ex-convict participants are encouraged to express their views for open dialogue (munaqasah). The recitation is carried out using the sorogan model as is done in traditional Islamic boarding schools.

In studying and reciting ushul fiqh, al waroqot, extensively until finally discussing Jihad. In this case, the National Sovereign Institute researcher, Mussofa Ihsan, said the following:

We discussed Jihad, and I explained the meaning of Jihad. Jihad is an effort made seriously to achieve the good of humanity as a whole. ... An example of a sentence that uses the word jihad with that meaning is, for example, we are fighting against poverty. First, Mujahadah al-aduw az-zahir (jihad against a real enemy). Second, mujahadah ash-shaitan (jihad against Satan). Third, Mujahadah an-nafs (jihad against lust). The three types of jihad are explained in more detail in the discussion.

According to the National Sovereignty Institute, jihad is one of the terms that is most often misunderstood. Some people understand the meaning of jihad with a narrow understanding. When the word "jihad" is mentioned, what comes to mind is war, weapons, martyrdom, as stated by Mussofa Ihsan below: "For radical groups, the obligation to fight jihad is interpreted as the obligation to fight infidels and hypocrites until they convert to Islam. In fact, war is only a form of jihad carried out under certain conditions and certain conditions. In lughawi (language), the word Jihad comes from the word "jahd" which means "difficulty" or "trouble". Jihad is an activity that involves difficulties and difficulties. Therefore, working to support your wife and children is Jihad. Studying at school is Jihad. Living and supporting orphans and the poor is Jihad, fighting lust is the greatest Jihad. By understanding the meaning of Jihad comprehensively, you can finally understand it correctly and do what is not right."

With in-depth recitation and study guided by experts, as explained by researchers from the National Sovereign Institute, then automatically and without indoctrination, the recitation participants, namely the wider community and members of Rumah Daulat Buku, can know that the actions they took in the past were wrong and know where correct.

In the fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Number 3 of 2004 concerning terrorism, it states that acts of terror and jihad are two different acts. Jihad is a loan word from Arabic, which means mobilizing all one's potential to do something. Jihad also means all efforts and best efforts as well as the willingness to endure difficulties in fighting and resisting enemy aggression in all its forms.

Meanwhile, terrorism is referred to as a crime against humanity and civilization which poses a serious threat to state sovereignty, a danger to security and world peace and is detrimental to the welfare of society. Jihad and terrorism also have striking differences. Jihad is in the nature of carrying out improvements, aims to uphold the religion of Allah, and is carried out by following the rules determined by the Shari'ah with a clear enemy target.

Meanwhile, terrorism is destructive (ifsad) and anarchic in nature, its aim is to create fear or destroy other parties and is carried out without rules and without limits. From this difference, the MUI prohibits terrorism and requires jihad. Furthermore, National Sovereignty Institute researcher, Mukti Ali, stated the following: "Yes, that's right, terror and Jihad are two different things. Why did terrorism arise, blowing up churches with suicide bombs?, because of a misunderstanding. That is terror, not jihad. By reading the Koran and studying books, you will get a correct understanding. Because of this, it is necessary to return to printed books because reading means being in front of a real book, not just a virtual one via the internet. This is also an effort to reduce radicalism and extremism, where currently quite a few people, especially young people, are becoming extreme because they read more on the internet. By reading printed books, people will be 'forced' to finish reading, not jumping around like reading social media. There is deepening and deposition when reading printed books. By deepening it, you will avoid short-sighted thinking which can lead to extremes. "There's no need to use pot bombs, or guns or anything. Now, immediately use missiles that produce good. Missiles use books. When we're on Whatsapp in the Rudalku group, we like to say, let's missile books there," are words that Rudalku activists also often say to the 'Rudaller Brotherhood'.

The importance of literacy with proper guidance from experts for the wider community cannot be denied. So far, many people have become extremists because of emotions and desires, with wrong doctrines, plus not reading books and misinterpreting religious teachings. National Sovereign Institute researcher, Saepullah, stated the following:

These ex-convicts are indeed a group that is still vulnerable to the influence of radicalism. There is enough evidence that ex-convicts who were influenced again by radicalism then carried out acts of terror. There are political issues that arise and they suddenly wake up again and become 'terrorists'.

Prison is not always a place of repentance for terrorist inmates, but sometimes it becomes a learning field to become a more militant terrorist. To prove this, researchers from the National Sovereignty Institute explained as follows:

In reality, prison is not always a 'place of repentance' for prisoners. On the contrary, it often becomes 'breeding' for radical indoctrination. For example, Urwah alias Bagus Budi Pranoto, one of the masterminds of the 2009 Marriot 2 bombing, was initially only a peripheral player in the circle of the terrorist movement. But when he was sentenced to 4 years in prison for being involved in the Australian embassy bomb, Urwah learned a lot from the main actors. When he comes out, he becomes the main player. There are also names such as Luthfi Haedaroh alias Ubeid, Deni Suramto alias Ziad, Rahmat Puji Prabowo alias Bejo and Heri Sigu Samboja alias Shogir. The police had 'embraced' these names while they were in prison, but failed to control

them. For example, Irianto Romdhoni, who was arrested again for his involvement in the Pasuruan-Bangil network, had even participated in a deradicalization program, but he returned to the JAD (Jamaah Ansharut Daulah) network, which was one of the Surabaya bomb perpetrator networks. [17]

Handling the issue of ex-convicts is a big problem for countering terrorism in Indonesia. Ex-convicts are individuals who were previously involved in acts of terrorism, were caught and sentenced to prison, until they breathed freedom and returned to society. However, their return to society is not without risk. One very important risk is the belief in radical ideology that is embedded in the network. As a result, ex-convicts become vulnerable to joining terrorist groups again and carrying out similar actions. Apart from ideology, the stigma that exists in society is also a big challenge for ex-convicts. Thus, synergistic cooperation is needed in deradicalization efforts that involve many parties, including the community. Therefore, the study at Rumah Daulat Buku also discusses national fiqh, as explained by Mussofa Ihsan as follows:

We learn and learn about National Fiqh, how to knit togetherness in the midst of diversity, how to live a life that is rahmatan lil alamin and the principles of life in society, nation and state. National fiqh is a study of jurisprudence law which examines nationality. Or in other words, an answer to the phenomenon of nationality that often occurs using a fiqh perspective, with a combination of sharia texts and the context ('urf and maslahah) in the region. 'Urf, which means habits or customs that have been agreed upon, in this state context are Pancasila, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, UUD 45, and the Republic of Indonesia. By studying national Fiqh, it is hoped that little by little friends at the book daulat house will understand national issues, analyze and resolve national issues from the perspective of the four pillars of nationality.

Learning about national fiqh is an effort to counter radical ideology, and provide a complete perspective on Indonesian nationality. True radical character can be changed. Radical attitudes are not innate, but something that is learned. An attitude can change from time to time, depending on the individual's internal and external conditions. Thus, softening radical understanding can be done by providing re-understanding, for example through re-education which is part of de-radicalization. Because of this, it is very important to build a religious and tolerant civilization through Rumah Daulat Buku, as stated by Saepullah below:

For me, my missiles are the work of civilization. This could be a vehicle and vehicle to encourage ex-convicts to build a civilization that is always based on knowledge through active reading or literacy. That way, they will be able to transmit the literacy virus to the surrounding community in order to build an intelligent, peaceful, religious and tolerant Indonesia.

The exclusive thinking tendencies of ex-convicts gave birth to Islamic activists who were textualist, militant and radical. The ex-convict, through the Rumah Sovereign Book, learned to change his mindset from an exclusive one to a more inclusive, tolerant and national-minded one. To maintain the continuity of the nation, collective consciousness is needed to maintain national unity, preserving constructive social life. Politics should be used as a means to advance the nation, not to gain power. National Sovereign Institute researchers confirmed the thoughts of KH.

Ahmad Siddiq who explained theological and fiqhi arguments about the importance of national awareness, including: 1) Establishing a state and forming leadership within the state as an effort to maintain religious nobility and regulate world welfare is obligatory. 2) The agreement of the Indonesian people to establish the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is legally valid and binding on all groups, including Muslims. 3) establishing the Unitary State of Indonesia is legally valid and must be taken into account.

Regarding the study and research guided by the National Sovereign Institute, former terrorist convict, Mukhtar Khoiri (ex-convict in the military training case at Jantho Aceh with an NII background), responded as follows:

I've been with Rudalku from the start. I felt a aura that was different from the others. At Rudalku I gained a lot of knowledge and insight. The management is so brotherly and friendly. The books given to me to create a library at home are also of high quality so that they encourage my family to read a lot. I also saw that other ex-convict friends who were members of Rudalku seemed to soften easily and not be as volatile as in the beginning. I think this is due to good management of Rudalku through intensive literacy'.

Ex-convicts are a group that is still vulnerable to the spread of information in cyberspace. The indoctrination from their mentors when they joined the radical network did not just disappear even though they had served time in prison. They still have radical doctrines in their heads, so it will easily 'flame' when they read articles on the internet that call for radicalism. Reading with a radical flavor either via the internet or radical books can be a 'reminder' of radical thoughts. Again, this is proof of how little they read. So what appears is more 'emotion' without being based on scientific, in-depth and critical reasoning. Mukti Ali in the Rumah Daulat Buku recitation explains as follows:

That's why we study fiqh and ushul fiqh, in order to get a correct understanding. The aim of studying Jurisprudence is to correctly apply Sharia laws to the actions of themukallaf themselves. ... Meanwhile, the Science of Usul Fiqh aims to apply the rules contained therein to the texts (texts) or postulates of the Shari'a, in order to draw conclusions about a law. The science of Ushul Fiqh exists with the aim of knowing the Islamic propositions, whether relating to the areas of faith, worship, muamalah, morals, or uqubah (laws relating to matters of violation or crime). In this way, the laws of Allah SWT can be understood and implemented. If a person does not study ushul fiqh, he may become a Muslim who simply follows along (muqallid) without knowing the basis of the law, blind taklid, the important thing is to follow what they say, or basically what A, B, C say.

What the National Daulat Institute researchers convey shows how important it is to learn fiqh and ushul fiqh, as is the importance of learning to read. God has ordered humans to do "iqra", read holistically. This noble demand needs to be grounded through mobilization to educate and educate society. So that anyone is no longer easily provoked by extreme news and knowledge because they are fortified by the tradition of intelligent literacy, fortified by understanding religious teachings as a whole. Ex-convict Agus Farrell, ex-convict in the Jantho case and with a background

as an activist with Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid and Majelis Mujahidin and bodyguard of Abu Bakar Baasyir, said the following:

"I am happy to enter Rudalku. At first I was wondering why literacy. What is the need for literacy. After I entered, it turned out that the activities were good, such as reciting the book of Usul Fiqh every month as well as sending books and doing literacy activities at my house several times. I get benefits from Rudalku, especially additional knowledge."

It cannot be denied that at this time there is a need to produce more 'literate jihadists' who have high militancy, forged by persistence and patience. . In the midst of a situation in this country which is threatened by the rise of irrationality in the form of extremism, Rudalku's glimmer of effort will hopefully help to curb the rate of narrow-minded thinking through literacy. Radicalism, whose roots also stem from a lack of literacy, should be countered by promoting literacy movements for moderation and protecting society from the influence of radicalism. Kristanto, an ex-convict who was once the emir of Jamaah Anshorud Daulah (JAD) in Malang and is now in Solo after being released in November 2020, expressed optimism about increasing literacy culture.

"When I was contacted by the Rudalku coordinator to join, I was immediately ready. I have a child who likes to write and his book was published by a publisher in Solo. With Rudalku literacy, I hope it can encourage my family to like reading and writing more. I now sell dumplings around using a motorbike. I carry Rudalku books on my motorbike and when I stop at a place, the buyers, especially my children, ask to read the books I read. So even though I sell dumplings, I want to spread literacy to the community"

Deradicalization carried out by community forces makes it easier to approach former jihadists and those exposed to radicals, then invite them to be friends and then carry out useful activities. Therefore, deradicalization is not just done 'with one blow', then quiet again. Like real ex-convicts, they only stop for a moment, and when there are things that allow them to jump in, it is not impossible that it is easy to do. For this reason, through Rumah Daulat Buku, ex-convicts are invited to recite the Koran and think deeply, guided by scholars who are fiqh experts and exegetes. The following is the explanation from National Sovereignty Institute researcher, Mussofa Ihsan:

Believers must be wise in thinking and acting in carrying out religious teachings. Therefore, we study *Fil khalam wa shomthi*, how to speak and be silent, think about *al akhil*, in depth, so as to produce wisdom. Many statements on social media are full of hate speech, which causes uproar. Many people don't want to think before speaking. Netizens in Indonesia are the most brutal in Southeast Asia. This is sad, even though we have so many schools and campuses. People become radical because they don't think deeply, they only think partially. They learn by themselves, read by themselves, understand by themselves, interpret by themselves, even though interpreting holy verses must be methodologically guided by an expert scholar. This is where we study, we explain.

The explanation from the researcher at the National Sovereign Institute is the essence of the recitations conducted at Rumah Daulat Buku, that thinking deeply and reciting the Koran carefully can correct wrong views and interpretations of religious

teachings. For example, understanding what thagut is. The word tagut has entered Indonesian with the writing 'tagut'. The Big Indonesian Dictionary gives the meaning of tagut with three meanings: first, telling people to do evil; second, that people worship, but not God; idol; third, anything that is worshiped besides Allah SWT. like in the book Tadzkirah

In Book I Tadzkirah, Advice and Warnings because of Allah by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir it is said, "Because in reality the rulers of the Republic of Indonesia who claim to be Muslims refuse to regulate the government with pure Islamic law and kaffah and even fight against Muslims who fight for the pure implementation of Islamic law and kaffah in government, then the Republic of Indonesia is an infidel country and its ruler is toghut which must be rejected by the Islamic ummah." "Because Thogut is a human devil, he is considered by Allah to be the leader of the infidels."

Meanwhile, according to Mussofa Ihsan, citing the views of the founder of the Center for Al-Quran Studies (PSD) M. Quraish Shihab, he gave an explanation of the meaning of thogut, that thogut is taken from the word thogo, something that goes beyond limits. Everything that goes beyond the limit is called thogut. Satan, thogut, transgresses in evil. The tyrannical ruler, thogut, transgressed in his attitude. So, in principle, everything that exceeds that limit is thogut. The limit that religion teaches is moderation. So if you go beyond the limits of moderation, you go beyond what is reasonable to do. If the perpetrators of terror state that the government is thogut, on the other hand it can also be said that they are thogut because they are exceeding the limits, there are provisions in religious teachings that they are violating.

At Rumah Daulat Buku, it is actually a place for learning together, guided by scholars, studying the Koran by studying many perspectives, many views of scholars, so that you don't become blind in faith. Rahman Surahman, former prisoner from Cirebon in the ISIS case in Marawi. He engaged in arms with ISIS in Marawi, stating the following,

"I am happy to enter Rudalku. Previously, Rudalku's management first met my wife when I was still in Nusakambangan. After leaving, the administrator came to the house and held a literacy activity. Oh, I see. I am happy to be able to gather children and teenagers around the house. This became my new field of jihad, namely literacy. I have realized that what I used to do was wrong. Now with Rudalku I want to try to focus on literary jihad. This is in accordance with the command of the Koran, namely Iqra, the command to read'. "With this book house, it really helped me. As a layman, I don't have much knowledge, I hope that with this literacy activity I can share it. Ana can't do charity. This literacy activity is what I can now do, at least to help educate the nation's children. In the future, hopefully it can be more than this,"

Activities at Rumah Daulat Buku with in-depth recitations and studies guided by a cleric who is an expert on the Koran, a hadith expert, and an expert on tafsir, provide awareness to expatriates from being narrow-minded and extreme to being open-minded, as felt by Rahman Surahman. Rahman said that he wanted to seek the truth, not justification. He felt, used to feel right. However, after undergoing a period of training in the correctional center, by reading the history of the Prophet and his

companions and becoming an activist at Rumah Daulat Buku, his mind changed as stated as follows:

"Oh God, how come we feel so self-righteous. Too exclusive. It used to be a principle that only certain people's ideas were accepted, others were rejected. "I am who I am today because of my thought process. Open yourself to receive views from outside. He doesn't want to only listen to religious preachers from the same route. Now, I can listen and take from the ustadz. If it's just the understanding of that path, I already know. "In the past, I only recited the Koran to Ustadz Aman Abdurrahman or Ustadz Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Apart from that, I refuse, just because we are already leaning that way. Well, that's a fatal mistake in my opinion."

According to the National Sovereignty Institute, changing one's thoughts and ideology is not easy, but it also does not mean it cannot be changed. This fact makes us increasingly aware that ideology - citing Ranya Ahmed (2018) [1] - has a strong influence that can explain individual and group actions. There is a dictum "ideology determines who the enemy is." Ideology has a long justification for political action. The worldview has decisions, and actions guided by both violence and non-violence. With patience and continuous assistance, with friendship from the heart, by reciting the Koran lillahita'allah, hard hearts can become soft. This is confirmed by the views of the former convict in the ISIS Marawi case, Rahman Surahman, as follows:

"The TNI-Polri that we thagut, we call anshorut thogut. Indeed, we don't see whether the president prays or not, but we know that he is a Muslim, even going on the Hajj. Why do we call the TNI-Polri anshor thogut?" In my opinion, a Muslim leader is not thogut, as long as he does not prohibit religious activities. "I judge that the president is outwardly a Muslim and not a Thogut.

In these uncertain economic conditions, Rahman is still committed to dedicating himself to the children around his house by teaching the Koran, encouraging children and local residents to enjoy reading, and providing access to reading in his house, which now has a mini library. After living life behind bars and now being an activist at Rumah Daulat Buku, Rahman feels that his life is light. He felt better than he had previously felt and lived. Previously he felt completely uncomfortable. "Now I have become familiar with Pak RT and Pak RW. "They considered my activities positive," said Rahman. By being like now, he admits that he can gain a lot of knowledge. Rahman wants to continue to improve himself so that he is useful for his family and the wider community. He has now changed, overturning everything he believed to be true. He felt regretful that admitting the absolute truth was the wrong step, because he did not want to accept other people's views. For Rahman, truth can be perceived from anywhere as long as it is within the Islamic corridor. As a result of his long deliberation, Rahman now recognizes the Republic of Indonesia as his homeland and therefore this is the country he must love and care for.[18]

4 Conclusion

The low level of literacy culture is one of the reasons why someone does not fully understand many life problems. One of the reasons for the emergence of people with

radical views is the lack of reading ability and quality. The National Daulat Institute views deradicalization efforts from another perspective, namely by promoting literacy culture, because the reality shows that deradicalization efforts so far have not extended to literacy for ex-convicts. This literacy approach for ex-convicts is based on the finding that radicalism infected them because of their lack of reading. On the other hand, the more someone reads, the more open their insight and knowledge will be so that they understand religious teachings comprehensively and correctly, which in the end is not easily influenced by radicalism.

The most important agenda in establishing Rumah Daulat Buku is to encourage former convicts to become 'agents of social change' for the community, at least the community around where they live. With this book house, they are encouraged to be able to spread the culture of reading and sow moderate thinking among local residents. This goal is also useful in two domains, namely deradicalization and preventing society from being lured by radicalism. This is necessary so that ex-convicts do not repeat their actions. And this can target directly at deidiologization efforts. This literacy approach is also very important for efforts to Counter Violence Extremism (CVE) and Preventing Violence Extremism (PVE) which are currently being intensified by various parties.

Deradicalization efforts are carried out through Rumah Daulat Buku by holding face-to-face recitations and studies of the science of fikh and ushul fikh through ta'lim or talaqi every month. Study using the Arabic book al-Waroqot about ushul fiqh, namely the philosophical discipline of Islamic law. This study uses references to Arabic books designed to indoctrinate moderate religious understanding (wasathiyah). In the recitation, ex-convict participants are encouraged to express their views for open dialogue (munaqasah). Some of the material discussed in the recitation at Rumah Daulat Buku is about the issue of Jihad, about national fiqh, about how to think using common sense, reciting the Koran and hadith and interpreting them, guided by scholars, so that a comprehensive, straight and correct understanding is obtained.

With in-depth study and study guided by experts, automatically and without indoctrination, study participants, namely the wider community and members of Rumah Daulat Buku, can know that the actions they took in the past were wrong and know what was right. This can be seen by a change in mindset, open understanding and the desire to become a religious, tolerant Muslim, to become rahmatan lil alamin.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by Faculty of Social Sciences and Political Science, Universitas Negeri Surabaya. Thanks to the Universitas Negeri Surabaya, especially to Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Political Science. Thank you also to colleagues at Political Science study program, Universitas Negeri Surabaya

Autors' Contribution

The author consist of 4 members who have shared research work jobs. Among the stages of data collection, are data analysis to research reports submitted to reviewers.

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