

11-20-2020

## THE INVOLVEMENT OF EX-TERRORIST INMATES AND COMBATANTS IN THE DISENGAGEMENT FROM VIOLENCE STRATEGY IN INDONESIA

Bella Widya

*Terrorism Studies, School of Strategic and Global Studies Universitas Indonesia, bella.widya91@ui.ac.id*

Muhamad Syauqillah

*Terrorism Studies, School of Strategic and Global Studies Universitas Indonesia,  
muhamadsyauqillah@ui.ac.id*

Sri Yunanto Mr.

*Terrorism Study, School of Strategic and Global Studies, Universitas Indonesia, yunan26@gmail.com*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/jts>



Part of the [Peace and Conflict Studies Commons](#), [Social Policy Commons](#), and the [Terrorism Studies Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Widya, Bella; Syauqillah, Muhamad; and Yunanto, Sri Mr. (2020) "THE INVOLVEMENT OF EX-TERRORIST INMATES AND COMBATANTS IN THE DISENGAGEMENT FROM VIOLENCE STRATEGY IN INDONESIA," *Journal of Terrorism Studies*: Vol. 2 : No. 2 , Article 2.

DOI: 10.7454/jts.v2i2.1022

Available at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/jts/vol2/iss2/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the School of Strategic and Global Studies at UI Scholars Hub. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of Terrorism Studies by an authorized editor of UI Scholars Hub.

JOURNAL OF  
**Terrorism Studies**

**THE INVOLVEMENT OF EX-TERRORIST INMATES AND  
COMBATANTS IN THE DISENGAGEMENT FROM VIOLENCE  
STRATEGY IN INDONESIA**

**Bella Widya<sup>1</sup>**

Terrorism Study, School of Strategic and Global Studies, University of Indonesia  
bella.widya91@ui.ac.id

**Muhammad Syaquillah econd author<sup>2</sup>**

Terrorism Study, School of Strategic and Global Studies, University of Indonesia  
muhamadsyaquillah@ui.ac.id

**Sri Yunanto<sup>3</sup>**

Terrorism Study, School of Strategic and Global Studies, University of Indonesia  
yunan26@gmail.com

**Abstract**

In Indonesia, there are a number of foundations which were established by the ex-terrorist inmates as a new community towards peace and a way of empowerment for the ex-terrorist inmates. The involvement of ex-terrorist inmates in disengagement strategy in Indonesia has also raised pro(s) and con(s). This research aims to explore the involvement of ex-terrorist inmates in disengagement strategy in Indonesia. This kind of involvement is hoped to become a softer approach because it focuses more in using kinship method, in a way that it will be easier to gain trust, and the people have the same experience and background in terrorism. The methodology used in this research is a qualitative with interview technique. This research found that the phenomenon of the arousal of new communities towards peace which was established by ex-terrorist inmates and combatants is a positive thing as a new medium for those inmates and other inmates who has the desire to come and disengage from violence. However, this kind of phenomenon has to be guided, guarded and controlled by the government in order to keep it in line with the true purpose of deradicalization and counter strategy of terrorism in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Disengagement, Ex-Terrorist Inmates, Deradicalization, Indonesia.

**Abstrak**

Di Indonesia terdapat beberapa yayasan yang dibentuk oleh mantan nara pidana terorisme sebagai komunitas baru di jalan perdamaian dan pemberdayaan mantan napiter. Pelibatan mantan napiter dalam strategi *disengagement* di Indonesia juga menuai pro dan kontra. Tujuan tulisan ini adalah mengeksplorasi pelibatan mantan napiter dalam strategi disengagement di Indonesia. Pelibatan mantan napiter diharapkan mampu menjadi pendekatan yang lebih lunak karena mereka mengedepankan metode kekeluargaan, lebih mampu mendapatkan kepercayaan, dan memiliki pengalaman atau latar belakang yang sama dalam terorisme.

Metodologi yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan menggunakan teknik wawancara. Penelitian ini meneukan bahwa fenomena munculnya komunitas baru di jalan perdamaian yang dibentuk oleh para mantan napiter dan kombatan merupakan hal yang sangat bagus untuk wadah baru bagi para mantan napiter dan kombatan lainnya yang ingin disengage. Namun fenomena tersebut harus terus dibimbing, diawasi dan dikawal oleh Pemerintah agar sesuai dengan tujuan dari deradikalisasi dan strategi kontra terorisme di Indonesia.

**Kata kunci:** *Disengagement*, Mantan napiter, Deradikalisasi, Indonesia.

## INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is always a threat to every country in the world. As an attempt in ensuring the country security from terrorism, Indonesia has formed a special agency designed to handle terrorism which is known as The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT - *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*), Detachment 88 (*Densus 88 Antiteror*), as well as a set of law forces related to eradication of terrorism. Indonesia is also participating in doing the hard and soft approach to smoothen the counterterrorism strategy. Law enforcement has been viewed as not nearly enough to provide a solution in eradicating terrorism and radicalism. Many ex-terrorist inmates are back in action after being released from the penitentiary. Take the event of 2019 for

instance, when the detachment 88 yet again detained a terrorist Wahyu Nugroho a.k.a Uceng in Soekarno-Hatta International Airport when he attempted to escape to Suriah through Iran (Kompas.com, 2019). Wahyu Nugroho was once involved in a group called JI (*Al Jamaah Al Islamiyah*) and was arrested twice for terrorism. After being released, Wahyu Nugroho once again came in contact with one if ISIS member and was being advised to proceed to Suriah immediately and was also given a 30 million rupiah fund (Kompas.com, 2019). The money given was not only a way for Wahyu to escape to Suriah, Wahyu also distributed the money to sleeper cells in Indonesia (Kompas.com, 2019)<sup>1</sup>. According to the research done by The Institute for International Peace Building (*Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian*) from 2009

---

<sup>1</sup> Reported by Kompas (2019) after receiving 30 million rupiah funds from Abdul Wahid (ISIS member in Suriah), Wahyu Nugroho is expecting to escape to Suriah and distributed the remaining money to

sleeper cells in Indonesia. Sleeper cell is a cell of radical groups in Indonesia who are still committing the radical beliefs and ideology and is not yet to perform a terrorism act.

through 2019, there are 80 recidivists for terrorism in Indonesia cited from (Setiawan, 2020)<sup>2</sup>. One of the leading cause for these recidivists in terrorism is the feeling of in need to be put as a figure, by means that when an ex-terrorist inmate was in prison, their families were being supported financially by the radical group, thus when they were released it will be difficult for them to leave or to not stay loyal to the group that has helped to support their families, they will feel respected and embraced by that group (Setiawan, 2020).

Based on that example, it can be seen that the counter-terrorism strategy as a whole needs a more humanist approach which can be expected to touch the root of radicalism. The soft approach strategy in Indonesia is applied in the deradicalization<sup>3</sup> program. The process of deradicalization in Indonesia is directed towards the groups that have already brushed with radical ideology and is expected to be able to reduce the level of radicalism in them. The groups of terrorists

in Indonesia tend to be more religious-based, thus the deradicalization process is rather more difficult to apply than disengagement. Jihadist groups, for example, their doctrines and ideology is strongly rooted internally in each of the member's beliefs, therefore it is quite a struggle to attempt the deradicalization process. In other hands, disengagement is not necessarily raised deradicalization. Disengagement is viewed as a new alternate way of handling terrorism because the former way seems to be a rather too long of a process and is quite ineffective to be evaluated. In order to achieve the purpose of deradicalization, the individual needs to participate in a program willingly without any external force, while in the disengagement program there are many factors that support and tend to place the individuals into a condition where they have no other choice. Disengagement is considered as a more rational way to perform because it will change their behavior towards violence, from siding

---

<sup>2</sup> Research from the year 2009-2019 done by The Institute for International Peace Building on recidivists for terrorism cases in Indonesia.

<sup>3</sup> Hard approach is one of the approach used by the country in the counter-terrorism strategy, such as the militaristic approach. Soft approach is one of the approaches in the counter-terrorism strategy in which using a softer and more sentimental way such as law enforcement and deradicalization.

with it into siding against it (Saloom, 2016).

Although there are many accounts of ex-terrorist inmates who became recidivist for terrorism case, there are also a number of those who became the agent of change. Those ex-terrorist inmates who have become the agent of change are frequently attributed to the success of deradicalization. However, according to Horgan (2009) in (Saloom, 2016) based on the interview result from year 2006 to 2008 stated that almost the majority of ex-terrorist inmates are only appropriate to be regarded as having gone through disengagement rather than deradicalization. This result occurred because there are many ex-terrorist inmates who have left the terrorist path but never truly leave their ideology. Sarwono (2012) and Amirsyah (2012) in (Saloom, 2016) also stated that almost the majority of these ex-terrorist inmates are facing a difficult time trying to leave their past ideology, particularly the jihad ideology merely because the belief have been internalized in them and is justified by The Holy Quran. Recently, there are a number of phenomenon in which the ex-terrorist inmates are becoming the agent of change.

Some have established a foundation and are willing to publicly tell their story, while some others are still in a personal level and are not quite ready to be publicized. Take Ali Fauzi in Lamongan, Machmudi Hariono in Semarang and Khairul Ghazali in Medan for instance, they are the ex-terrorist inmate who are currently active in serving as the agent of change. The three are ex-terrorist inmates who are willingly speak up about anti violence and also participate in counter radicalism campaign in each of their own region. With ex-terrorist inmates being involved as partners in disengagement strategy, there are some pros and cons which will be discussed later in this research. This article will also elaborate those pros and cons as well as unveiling the challenges in involving the ex-terrorist inmates in the disengagement strategy.

## **METHODS OF RESEARCH**

The methodology used in conducting this research is qualitative method. The author used in-depth interview with the informant as data collection technique. This in-depth interview is directed towards the key informant and the subject of this research. The informant chosen for this research is the ex-terrorist inmates who are currently active in voicing peace and the

empowerment of other ex-terrorist inmates. Among those are: Machmudi Hariono as representative of *Putra Persadani* Foundation in Semarang and Ali Fauzi from *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Disengagement VS Deradicalization**

For individuals that has become radical or even already being a part of a terrorist group will face difficulties when trying to leave the community. Horgan (2006) stated that the factor which will make individuals to be free from radicalism or leave the terrorist community is considered to be a very specific thing and cannot be generalized (Altier, Boyle, Shortland & Horgan, 2017). The term deradicalization and chain breaker is a related thing, however the two terms are referring to two different psychological and social process. According to some experts such as Noricks (2009), Nauman (2010), Sarwono (2012) and (Saloom, 2016) claimed that deradicalization aims to change the substance of ideology for the individuals not to embrace the radicalism value and certain ideology, whereas disengagement focuses on facilitate behavioral change for instance the change of attitude towards violence from siding

with it into against it. Rissie 2004 in (Fitriana, 2016) stated that the individual's willingness to participate in certain program within certain period of time can cause identity change through several mechanisms. In other words, disengagement can be a trigger for individuals towards deradicalization (Fitriana, 2016).

Breaking the chain or is better known as disengagement is one of the most crucial thing in a full attempt on deradicalization. Breaking the chain or disengagement focuses on behavioral change such as leaving the group and do not need a change in values or goals, but there is a change in the manner of achieving goals with no violence involves (Fink & Hearne, 2018). Deradicalization refers to cognitive shift, fundamental change in perception. So often this occurs because of traumatic events which caused a change in the old mindset and makes individuals go through a "cognitive opening" phase by accepting new ideas with the help from social services and law enforcement to convince them about their wrongful way in the past (Fink & Hearne, 2018). In the process of disengagement, there are various factors that can make an ex-combatant and ex-

terrorist inmate to decide not to come back to their old group. These factors can be in form of internal force (voluntary) or external force (involuntary) such as coercion of demobilization by the government, capturing and arresting or even death (Fink & Hearne, 2018). There are several things that becomes consideration for the member of terrorist group in leaving the group and this factors believed to have powerful impact in succeeding disengagement process, which are:

1. Sense of Trauma

A feeling of individuals towards their own experience. For example, one's experience of war or losing friend or colleague because of ideological violence or force;

2. Disappointment towards group leader (Fink & Hearne, 2018)

The feeling of disagreement with the group leader yet still have to committed to it (Altier, Boyle, Shortland & Horgan, 2017);

3. Feeling stressed/exhausted living with the group

Living a brand new life in the group and the feeling of frustrated in following the lifestyle which somehow does not meet the expectation (Fink & Hearne, 2018). The feeling of not wanting to live quietly (clandestine) forever (Altier, Boyle, Shortland & Horgan, 2017);

4. The desire to live a normal "civil" life

The feeling that it is better to live a normal civil life as before which enables one to get married, have a career and build a family in peace (Fink & Hearne, 2018);M

5. Losing faith towards the group's ideology (Altier, Boyle, Shortland & Horgan, 2017);

6. Social relations

There is pressure and the struggle of social relations from families, friends, or parents and spouse (Fink & Hearne, 2018).

The above things is said can be leading factors for individuals to open their cognitive level then they will become receptive to new values and ideas which are considered as more relevant with their

new state of mind. In a study conducted by Altier et al (2017) found that the most determining factor of all is the internal force or voluntary, for example one's disappointment towards the strategy used, the disappointment towards the leader or a fellow member, or disappointed by the role one takes in a group (Altier, Boyle, Shortland & Horgan, 2017). Generally, it is when expectation were not achieved which strike the sense that there is a prominent gap between fantasy (the one that get one into joining terrorist groups) with the reality in daily life. Alter stated that disappointment factor plays a role as much as 37% (Altier, Boyle, Shortland & Horgan, 2017)<sup>4</sup>. Almost 57,1% of ex-terrorist inmates succeeded disengagement due to external force (involuntary), wherein 42,9% others were successful due to internal force (voluntary<sup>5</sup>).

These factors can be a good force whether as a personal reason or external force for individuals not to come back in joining their former group, but this also cannot deny the possibility for individuals to search for new group/community which

can be even more radical than the previous one, or it is also possible to find a new group/community which is softer and is more nationalist. Roles and attention from many parties is urgently needed in every process to change radical individuals into those who are free from radicalism, or is better known as deradicalization. This defines as a process of fundamental change (Fink & Hearne, 2018). In Indonesia, the whole process is from start to end. The National Counter-terrorism Agency has already put out various programs to help bring back the ex-terrorist inmates into the society, or is better known as reintegration. Breaking the chain might not appear as complicated as deradicalization process, just that disengagement is one of important process and a progress in a sustaining deradicalization. This means that if an individual wants to leave his/her previous group and not using violence, then the government can keep making approach in order for the individual to achieve the goal of deradicalization.

---

<sup>4</sup> Mary Beth Altier, Emma Leonard Boyle, Neil D. Shortland & John G. Horgan (2017) with the title of the study *Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist*

*Disengagement Events from Eighty-seven Autobiographical Accounts.*

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

**Table 1:** Comparison between Disengagement and Deradicalization

<b>Disengagement</b>	<b>Deradicalization</b>
There is change or reduction of any involvement in terrorism action	Require a change in ideology
Only implicate change in physical instrumental	Implicate a fundamental change
Disengagement is not always triggers deradicalization	A successful deradicalization certainly has gone through disengagement
Can involve a supporting factor, leaving the group does not always occur because of ideology shift.	Voluntary, leaving previous group's ideology when deciding to leave the group.

Source: Saloom, 2016.

## RESULT AND ANALYSES

Indonesia has done a good number of attempts in establishing the counter-

terrorism program, one of which is by executing the complex deradicalization program that has been run pretty well by the government through The National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*). However, the level of awareness and resistance from the society is considered as high toward issues surrounding radicalism and terrorism, as well as the negative stigma labeled by the society into those related to the issue. Seeing the complexity of resolutions over terrorism, therefore it seems important to have synergy from many parties including the society and work in coordinate. Besides the law enforcement, police, and related government agencies, there are also other parties that are needed in resolving terrorism problem such as scholars from various subjects, academics, government agencies, mass media, non-governmental organization, community organizations, families, society and private party. The importance of these parties involvement is quite urgent to help support the government because the government has their limitation in executing the prevention and countermeasures strategy of terrorism. There is also the need of special institution to monitor and coordinate so that these

parties are able to synergize in attempt of preventing and handling terrorism (Golose, 2009).

There are a number of communities present in Indonesia from civil society such as The Institute for International Peace Building (*Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian*), CSAVE, etc. Interestingly, there is a trend in Indonesia where the ex-terrorist inmates establish foundation as a way to empower other fellow ex-terrorist inmates. This is well welcomed by all parties including The National Counter-terrorism Agency.

The involvement of ex-terrorist inmates and ex-combatant has its own benefit towards the current disengagement strategy. This is considered as a softer approach because they tend to put family value, their own experience, link and extraordinary potential in advance. The involvement of senior ex-terrorist inmates is expected to be able to be heard and followed better by other ex-terrorist inmates. They have similar case in terrorism, thus the senior one is considered as having better knowledge about the terrorists because they were once also standing alongside them doing jihad. This makes the senior ex-terrorist inmates is believed to have a better understanding

about the condition of any terrorists rather than the government or any other organization which only consist of ordinary civil society. Having this senior ex-terrorist inmates involved is more beneficial because they have the capability to be heard, and they also have the knowledge and experience related to the terrorist groups. Yet there are also cons towards this kind of involvement in the deradicalization program such as the doubt and uncertainty about the present ideology of these ex-terrorist inmates, whether or not they have truly set free from their previous radical mindset. However, the involvement of ex-terrorist inmates and ex-combatants especially those who are seniors is still regarded as an urgent matter. Besides having the experience and being respected by other inmates, they also have links and appeal to gather other ex-terrorist inmates or even expose the network of other terrorist groups out there. They are also considered as being more trustworthy to share the feeling to during their participation in disengagement program runs by the government.

In Semarang, there is a foundation established by ex-terrorist inmate that is known as *Putra Persadani* Foundation.

Machmudi Hariono from that foundation told the author about the background of the foundation, and it is true that the foundation was first initiated by ex-terrorist inmates and ex-combatant located in Semarang. These ex-terrorist inmates and ex-combatants are also wanting to learn about forming and running formal organization, and one way to do it is by establishing this foundation which aims if anyone ever intends to provide any kinds of help, they will be able to welcome and accept formally, and also being more responsible. Machmudi Hariono also hopes that by establishing this foundation together with other colleagues will be beneficial to other ex-terrorist inmates and ex-combatants in that area, as stated: *“Other consideration is that there are inmates in Semarang who will also soon be released from the penitentiary, thus we hope that this foundation will be able to help them and bring benefit to other ex-terrorist inmates who have already been released or also other who wants to be released, means by proposing a parole for example”*.

The programs proposed in this foundation is roughly by the ex-terrorist inmates and ex-combatants for ex-terrorist

inmates and ex-combatants. The name choice *Putra Persadani* is also showing several things, with the philosophy of the word *“Persaudaraan”* (in English *“Brotherhood”*) means that this foundation aims to bring together colleagues who are in the past were once against one another and having disagreements in many things. He also stated that: *“So, the main core is about brotherhood. Then I noticed that each and everyone here has a different background. One was a civil servant, one was a business man, one was a college student but everyone is trapped in the same situation which is terrorism that caused them be arrested, fired from their previous work place. But I believe that they still have the same right as a citizen of this country, they still have the right to be treated equally in the face of law, facing the same judicial relief and all that we have all been though similar circumstance. So we are all sharing the same fate. Some of us have been released earlier, so we intend to help to rest who we consider as brothers”*.

Despite having an entirely different background, the hours spent behind bars and being trapped into the same case raised the sense of brotherhood and led to the need of helping each other among ex-

terrorist inmates and ex-combatants. The differences perceived by Machmudi Hariono between his foundations with other foundation such as *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation (*YLP*) are only the focusing area and local culture. He stated that: *“Actually, if we talk about seniority, we can say Mr Ali Fauzi was longer, but if we talk about differences... The most obvious one is the area. Secondly, we might be a little more complicated because we use Central Java culture. People said that Central Java is the core of terrorists, but we are the core of brotherhood. We intend to give Central Java a more positive rather than negative image. So the ex-terrorist inmates in Solo Raya has already tried to do something for the area, therefore we take this side of the area such as Semarang, Brebes, Pantura, up to Purwokerto we are hoping that there will be others who can take over the untouched sides. Those in Central Java are also doing a lot in West Java, East Java but they will come back home to their families in Central Java eventually”*.

This foundation has just legally formed, but they already performed several programs such as visiting local penitentiary, helping ex-terrorist inmate

who will soon be released, looking for solution for developing business and economy, and most recently is taking part in *qurban* 2020 by joining the committee.

In Lamongan, East Java also *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation which was initiated by ex-terrorist inmate and combatant Ali Fauzi. This foundation has already been established earlier than *Prasasti Perdamaian* in Semarang. *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation consist of ex-terrorist inmates and combatants who believed in Indonesia and wanted to spread peace. This foundation was established upon seeing two important things which are first, as a former individuals who committed terrorism, it is difficult for them to find a job (economy factor); and second, the stereotype or negative stigma on ex-terrorist inmate make it also hard for them to socialize with the society (Sholeh, Hutagalung, Alting, Wahyudi, Asrori & Sholehuddin, 2018). If these problems were not taken seriously and being handled appropriately, it may lead to a bigger problem such as recidivist. The pressure from the previous terrorist group is abundant to make the ex-terrorist inmates come and join them back. This view points out the importance of a media or a place for

these ex-terrorist inmates to go, share their minds and feelings, as well as helping each other just like being in a group like they were once, only there is no radicalism involve in accordance with the purpose of deradicalization.

There are a number of activities done by *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation such as holding a regular recitation with various speakers invited from many kinds of background, for instance the bombing victim; sport activity such as biking, this activity usually involves cooperation with the local police and government; and monitoring the economy of the member and ex-terrorist inmates. There are also some activities that are performed annually such as giving support to the children of ex-terrorist inmates and combatants. This program aims to help the children of ex-terrorist inmates and combatants to become a strong generation with the immunity towards radicalism. This foundation is also participate in executing the deradicalization program as well as conducting discussion by inviting various speakers such as speaker from the government related to the victims, this activity is known with the name of “The Way of Peace” (“*Jalan Damai*”). Both

*Putra Persadani* Foundation and *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation are very active in paying a visit to the terrorist inmates who are still behind bars. *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation is also focusing on empowering the economy of its member, Ali Fauzi will monitor his member’s economy conditions periodically.

The initiation of *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation was being well-welcomed by the government such as The National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*) which represented by Mr. Suhardi Alius as the chairman by gathering all family members of ex-terrorist inmates in Surabaya. Among the proposed programs are masque renovation, the establishment of Religious School and also partnering with related ministry for *ulama* figures. *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation also cooperated with some related institutions such as the ministry of social and Jakarta Metro Police (*Polda Metro Jaya* in Bahasa Indonesia). Positive support is also coming from abroad such as the visit from the minister of foreign affairs of Netherlands to watch and directly learn about the deradicalization process done by *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation.

Both *Putra Persadani* Foundation in Semarang and *Lingkar Perdamaian* Foundation in Lamongan are using the method of kinship approach, thus the ex-terrorist inmates and combatants will be able to feel embraced and supported by them. These ex-terrorist inmates may as well feel to have new family who accept them with an open hand or become a place for them to start anew, with more peace. The members of both foundations feel that the activities they do are not limited to only merely a program, but instead it is done in the name of kinship.

Kinship approach is a very unique and sentimental approach. This kind of approach is able to gain trust from the ex-terrorist inmates and combatants. The method used in deradicalization is implemented in a form of real activity in daily life, such as helping a fellow member in applying for a job, helping with paper works with the government, as well as assisting the member who intends to start business. These activities are based on the concept of coming together to help one another amongst ex-terrorist inmates which rarely found in any other disengagement and deradicalization program. Therefore, these ex-terrorist

inmates can become more open to each other and are expected to no longer use violence or do any kind of terrorism action.

The phenomenon of ex-terrorist inmates being able to establish a place and run programs by means to empower is an interesting thing and need to be supported with the condition of having the same purpose as the purpose of deradicalization program in Indonesia. Whether it is legally formed as a foundation or only in a form of community and groups, they provide benefit as media to embrace other ex-terrorist inmates and combatants to come together and become the agent of change as aimed by the deradicalization program in Indonesia. The occurrence of this phenomenon gives out example that the ex-terrorist inmates as partner of The National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*) play a rather significant role in succeeding the existing programs. Machmudi added: *“Well, I see it becomes better now, meaning that there is a mutual understanding that we are all responsible as group, no longer as individuals. So, if there will be in Kalimantan, or Sulawesi it is better because working alone is less effective than working together. Therefore*

*I keep on motivating that all my friends outside Java is also welcome. It is impossible in Palembang, PERSADANI reaches Palembang, or Medan or elsewhere. But if they already have a place it's much better. There is a business, soap business in Medan foundation for example, then what in Semarang? There was an initiation for groceries, eggs. And now there is pandemic going on, what could be possibly do? Maybe partnering with other foundation to handle the impact caused by this Covid-19. The point is, everything is becoming much better now, the more the better.”*

The phenomenon of the establishment of foundations by the ex-terrorist inmates is viewed as a new alternative in soft approach. The presence of new communities is considered as crucial in the process of disengagement and deradicalization. According to (Saloom, 2016), Relations and new friendship offers the possibility of new social network to counterbalancing the force from jihadist circle or previous groups. This new connection is often facilitate the shift of personal and professional priorities, in which the opportunity to go back to school or get

profiting job enables the jihadists to start perceiving the re-orientation in their identity. Ali Fauzi added that in order to start radicalization, we have to prepare a new community which provide similar support with the old community but with different objective. There are also several supporting variables needed to support deradicalization such as moral support (ideology, *ukhuwah islamiyah*, *ta'lim*) and also material support (work field, tuition fee and health funds). Therefore, the establishment of new community is urgently needed in order for deradicalization to be successful. This new community is very depending on the two continuous support over the two variables.

The most important thing in the beginning of the program towards deradicalization is getting the heart of participants so that it will be easier for them to follow every programs. Terrorism groups sure are stealing attraction from both terrorists and ex-terrorist inmates as they are capable of giving both moral and material supports. If a terrorist decided to leave the group, they will be isolated, hostiled, or even being threatened with murder. Thus, it becomes very urgent to create a community which provide similar

support but with peace as a motive and objective in line with The Republic of Indonesia. With the formation of this new community, it is expected to be able to gain trust from the ex-terrorist inmates and combatants, in which this trust is crucial to begin with the deradicalization program.

### **Threats and Challenges**

The emergences of new community established by ex-terrorist inmates in fact raises some pressures from the old terrorism communities. This attempt is viewed as a kind of betrayal towards jihad done by the terrorism groups, so often they are being mocked and are labelled as *kafir* as well as being threatened on their way towards peace. This kind of pressure is one of the hardest factor faced by the ex-terrorist inmates. Besides, negative stigma is still frequently raises by the society towards the activities done by *Lingkar Perdamaian* only because it was run by ex-terrorist inmates and combatants. This perspective makes the society feels skeptical towards any kind of activity holds by the foundation. This also forms an even higher resistance level from the society towards radicalism and terrorism issues.

Other than that, these prejudice are somehow what makes the ex-terrorist inmates intention to fully come to their right senses is full of pressures.

However, the involvement of ex-terrorist inmates in the program needs to always be guarded by related organization, because it seems that they are more suitable to be considered as having gone through disengagement rather than deradicalization. These foundations can only become a place for these ex-terrorist inmates to have a new community which is not based on violence, but cannot be utilized by the government to achieve to objective of deradicalization especially the removal of radicalism ideology and truly come back to the embrace of The Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, it seems critical to really give guidance and supervision from The National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme* in Bahasa Indonesia) for every new community established by ex-terrorist inmates, for instance, conduct a regular partnership in giving material about the value of Pancasila, diversities, and other things. Sarwono in (Saloom, 2016) stated that there are in fact more ex-terrorist inmates who are choosing to leave the path

of terrorism yet never truly had a change in their ideology, and they don't even have to leave their original ideology. According to (Hwang, 2015) in his study on the disengagement process by Indonesian jihadists using *Jamaah Islamiyah* as study case, (Hwang, 2015) found that their disengaging process is conditional with various conditions varied according to their location. The condition they applied is to create certain condition not to participate in any kind of terrorism action whenever they are about to get involve again. Thus, by creating this standard enables individuals to rationalize and become more open towards the disengagement process, however they will still loyal towards their original principal and is possible to relapse into doing terror crime.

## **CONCLUSION**

The complexity of the counter-terrorism strategy as a whole especially in disengagement and deradicalization process needs participation from various parties. The involvement of ex-terrorist inmates and combatants often becomes a dilemma and raises pros and cons. Disengagement and deradicalization process are two closely related and interplays one another. Disengagement process refers to behavioral change and is

not requiring the change in ideology such as leaving the old terrorist group and the change in using violence. Wherein deradicaliation emphasizes on cognitive or fundamental change in perception, in other word, it is requiring the ideological change.

The involvement of ex-terrorist inmates and combatants is able to attract attention from other ex-terrorist inmates due to the similarities in their background on terrorism. The presence of ex-terrorist inmates in the disengagement process is expected to raise and gain trust from other both terrorist inmates and ex-terrorist inmates to join the new community. Furthermore, the ex-terrorist inmates tend to use the kinship approach which is able to give a sense of comfort towards the member. However, the involvement of ex-terrorist inmates like this must continue to be supervised and guarded by related organization because these ex-terrorist inmates are seemingly more suitable to be considered as having been through disengagement rather than deradicalization. The government needs to always provide guidance and partnership programs for the new community established by ex-terrorist inmates,

especially on cognitive level which aims towards their ideology.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT (IF ANY)**

-

#### **REFERENCES**

##### **Books**

Golose, D.P. (2009). *Deradikalisasi Terorisme: Humanis, Soul Approach dan Menyentuh Akar Rumput*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pengembangan Kajian Ilmu Kepolisian.

Suyanto, B., & Sutinah. (2005). *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia Group.

Sholeh, B., Hutagalung, I. R., Alting, M. G., Wahyudi, N., Asrori, S., & Sholehuddin. (2018). *Ekonomi Kaum Muda dan Kebijakan Kontraterorisme*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Usman, H., & Akbar, P. S. (2009). *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial*. Jakarta: PT Bumi Aksara.

Saloom, G. (2016). *Meninggalkan Jalan Teror : Antara Deradikalisasi dan Disengagement*. *Jurnal Dialog* , 109-120.

##### **Journal Articles**

Altier, M. B., Boyle, E. L., Shortland, N. D., & Horgan, J. G. (2017). *Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist Disengagement Events from Eighty-seven Autobiographical Accounts*. *Security Studies*, 305-332.

Fink, N. C., & Hearne, E. B. (2018). *Beyond Terrorism : Deradicalization and Disengagement From Violent Extremism*. *International Peace Institute*, 1-18.

Fitriana, S. (2016). *UPAYA BNPT DALAM MELAKSANAKAN PROGRAM DERADIKALISASI DI INDONESIA. UPAYA BNPT DALAM MELAKSANAKAN PROGRAM DERADIKALISASI DI INDONESIA*, 187-194.

Hwang, J. C. (2015). *The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists: Understanding the Pathways . Terrorism and Political Violence* , 1-19.

##### **Internet (Individual)**

Kompas.com. (2019, Februari 12). *Nasional : Densus 88 Tangkap Seorang Residivis Teroris* Artikel ini telah tayang di Kompas.com dengan judul "Densus 88 Tangkap Seorang Residivis Teroris", Klik

untuk baca:  
<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/02/12/07223571/densus-88-tangkap-seorang-resi>. Retrieved from Kompas.com News:  
<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/02/12/07223571/densus-88-tangkap-seorang-residivis-teroris>

Setyawan, A. B. (2020, April 24). Cerita Residivisme Pelaku Terorisme. Retrieved from Ruangobrol.id Web Site:  
<https://ruangobrol.id/2020/04/24/ulasan/analisa/cerita-residivisme-pelaku-terorisme/>