



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Rebuilding A New Identity: The Psychological And Social Process Of Deradicalization Among Ex-Terrorists In Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the new identity built by former terrorists through psychological and social approaches during the deradicalization process in Indonesia. This article is qualitative research using secondary data obtained from various sources. Data was collected using the Harzing PoP 8 application, the Scopus database, and some online media for the literature review. Moreover, the authors also interviewed some former terrorists and stakeholders. Article data was analyzed using VOS Viewer and Nvivo 14 Plus applications. The findings of this article are that deradicalization is a complex and multifaceted process that involves psychological, social, and even cultural factors. The psychological process of deradicalization of ex-terrorists goes through several stages: disappointment, personal crisis, the introduction of alternative perspectives, and the development of a new identity until finally, the former terrorists can reintegrate into society. As for the social process, deradicalization depends on all parties' acceptance, support, and cooperation. The former terrorist community foundation is a place for former terrorists to actualize themselves in the reintegration process with society after living a social life in prison.

INTRODUCTION

Deradicalization is a policy formed to deal with terrorist convicts who are feared to return to commit terrorist acts after being released and becomes the government's strategy for minimizing the risk of threats to national security (Williams & Lindsey, 2014). Dealing with radical Islamic ideology can be done from two sides, namely upstream and downstream. The deradicalization process is upstream within the interdepartmental and ministry cooperation framework. It involves as many institutions as possible to make the reach more comprehensive. Meanwhile, at the downstream level, the deradicalization process refers to the principles of human rights (Hilmy, 2014).

The deradicalization process uses many psychological and social approaches to become central to the terrorist deradicalization program. Some of those approaches include providing social support, counseling, and discussions to psychologically intervene in detainees (Muluk et al., 2020). The psychological and social approach is essential because it is described as a scientific study of human social behavior that focuses on psychological behavior in a social context. It is understood as an attempt to explain how the presence of other people can directly influence an individual's thoughts, feelings, and behavior. In addition, individual psychological studies cannot be comprehensive if they are not linked to social science and human interaction (Yehoshua, 2020).

The deradicalization process refers to terrorists undergoing rehabilitation. An example of a country with a complete rehabilitation curriculum is Saudi Arabia, which has a rehabilitation program consisting of seven educational, vocational, psychological, spiritual, cultural/family, recreation, and community programs. This program emphasizes the psychological empowerment of terrorist prisoners, which aims to provide prisoners with new abilities/skills and facilitate the transition of former terrorists to mainstream society (David Webber et al., 2017). Meanwhile, providing new skills or expertise to former terrorists is not easy. Deradicalization takes time and is a continuous process that depends on institutional role and post-prison reintegration management (Widya, 2020).

One of the former terrorists who were successful in the deradicalization process was Ali Fauzi (Haryono, 2022). He revealed that going through the deradicalization process is not as easy as one might say because deradicalization takes time and the correct method. In addition, according to Ali, the roots of terrorism, which are not singular, require handling radicalism from various aspects, perspectives, and methodologies (Arfah, 2019). Having new abilities or skills after being released from prison and showing a new identity as a former terrorist is proof of this, as demonstrated by the Debintal Foundation. Debintal is a foundation founded by Detachment 88 Anti-Terror and managed by former terrorists. Their goal is to empower themselves together to reintegrate into society (Kusumawardani et al., 2022). The Debintal Foundation facilitates a group of former terrorists who struggle to socialize because they are labeled ex-terrorists. Debintal helps former terrorists live with a new identity as businessmen in farming, slaughtering qurban, printing T-shirts, and producing lemon drinks (Wicaksono, 2022). Through the egg business, former terrorists have regained the community's trust, where many residents around the foundation have become agents of the egg business and workers who take care of the farms they manage (Dwiastono, 2022).

Based on the description above, this article answers the question of how to build a new identity for former terrorists in the deradicalization program. In making a new identity, changes in individual behavior are influenced by social control, where social control has the same tendency and possibility to influence someone to be wrong or good (Syahputra & Sukabdi, 2021) because psychological-social factors are related to all aspects of terrorism, from how terrorists operate to the impact of terrorism on ordinary people (Webber & Kruglanski, 2018).

METHODS

This qualitative article used secondary reference data collected from various sources. Data collection techniques were carried out using the Harzing Publish or Perish 8 application, making it easier to find relevant data quickly by entering the keywords deradicalization, ex-terrorist, psychology, and social. In addition, the authors also used the Scopus database and some information from online news. The authors also interviewed some former terrorists to share their experiences during their deradicalization process.

The data analysis technique in this article was done by collecting data and then converting the data into RIS file types using the Mendeley application. The RIS data type is needed because the data processing in this article used for the VOS Viewer application to produce data visualization, as shown as follows;

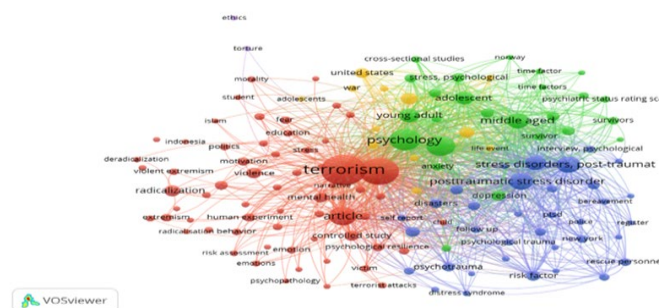


Figure 1. Visualization of keywords related to terrorism

Visualization using VOSviewer enabled the authors to identify keywords related to terrorism. In the keyword visualization, larger circle clusters indicate topics that are frequently and widely discussed in the references. The network lines represent the relationships between different clusters. Furthermore, the authors utilized the RIS file, which was imported into NVivo 14 Plus. The data were then analyzed through the creation of codes and cases, which were further explored using a framework analysis matrix. This approach allowed the authors to efficiently identify the key information required for the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Deradicalization is a long process, and its success depends on many factors, from individual motivation to change support from families, communities, and government institutions to the effectiveness of deradicalization programs. The deradicalization process attempts to break down the radical belief system and violent behavior associated with terrorists by providing psychological, social, and economic support (Mitchell, 2016).

Identity Issues as Terrorists

Individuals who carry out ideological transformation are influenced by two factors, namely, the influence of internal and external factors. Internal factors are related to the psychology and understanding of a former terrorist. At the same time, external factors relate to individual views of society and government policies. The following are internal factors that can affect personal transformation:

First, as related to the internal aspect, the process of deradicalization of terrorists begins with self-identification (Mabborang, 2019). Self-identification is a phase of self-identification of terrorists while in prison, in which individual terrorists are influenced either externally related to their ideology or conditions when they explore the truth and search for new beliefs that shake old beliefs so that they open up and accept outside world views (Isnanto, 2018).

Terrorists tend to carry out the process of self-transformation based on the circumstances around them. Fearful experiences when carrying out actions, feelings of insecurity while involved with extremist groups, feelings of boredom and pressure from violence, and feelings of disappointment with groups are various things that influence and encourage terrorists to leave their groups (Grip & Kotajoki, 2019). Moreover, the experiences in prison, seeing the victims' condition of their bombing action, meeting law enforcement officers with good attitudes, and reading inspirational books using gentle methods also support leaving terrorist groups (Sukabdi, 2015). This triggers self-awareness in individuals and identifies that old beliefs are no longer compatible, so they change mindsets based on complex factors, cut the connection with terrorist movements, and then change their identity from terrorists to fighters for peace (Thahir, 2019).

In Indonesia, the Circle of Peace Foundation (Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian/YLP) is a foundation that serves as a platform for ex-terrorists to be empowered. Former terrorists who are members of YLP are expected to become agents of change and peace in society so that they are not involved in terrorism (Muhammad Noor & Fauziyah, 2022). In realizing this hope, YLP has a core work program: mentoring, empowerment, and peace campaigns (Soniya & Yani, 2022). In the mentoring program, YLP visits various prisons as an initial step to change mindsets through education-based meetings. YLP also offers moral and social assistance to former terrorists since they are in jail (Haq & Adi, 2022). For empowerment, YLP conducted training and human resource development programs for former terrorists after prison to improve their social and economic skills (Jundullah & Arifin, 2021). YLP also arranges regular recitation programs by inviting the local community, the Police, and the TNI. This activity, called a bright recitation, is a forum for former terrorists to complete their intention to stay in touch, convey an apology, and establish good relations with the victims' families (Soniya & Yani, 2022). With an offer like this, the deradicalization strategy can be more effective and touch convicts'

minds to carry out the transformation.

Second, internal factors of disappointment. Several driving factors are codified as a feeling of disappointment that makes combatants leave the group, such as unfulfilled expectations because they are not following principles, dissatisfaction with group actions or strategies where the methods used are not mutually agreed upon, feelings of disappointment with fellow personnel, and being unable to cope psychological effects of violence (Heide, 2016). A sense of dissatisfaction strengthens the motivation to leave radicalized groups (Altier et al., 2017).

Third is a personal crisis. After experiencing disappointment, terrorists tend to begin to doubt the motives and actions of their goals. When joining a terrorist group, they want to participate in jihad. However, the reality of terrorist groups is different from their expectation, so they decide to leave the group (Heide, 2016). This is due to unfulfilled expectations, which result in negative emotions and create distance between participants and organizations/groups. If the disappointment is experienced more than once, it becomes a tiered effect (Jenaway & Windisch, 2022). Through this stage, individuals can also choose to deradicalize themselves. In David A. Winter's research, the results found were informants who experienced personal crises questioning the ideological doctrines they believed in, such as experiencing major conflicts with themselves. According to him, the reason is because one's identity does not come from soft 'clay', so it is easy to shape as needed. More than that, one's identity is a set of negotiations with oneself, the environment, cultural heritage, and religion. So to fight non-conformity, negotiation requires a lot of struggle to go beyond previous beliefs (Winter et al., 2018).

External factors that can affect the process of transforming the psychological behavior of a former terrorist are the process of implementing the government's deradicalization program. However, not a few of the terrorist convicts who received the deradicalization program only ended up at the disengagement from violence stage. This means that the changes experienced by terrorism convicts are still at the psychomotor (behavior) level, not accompanied by affection (feelings), let alone the cognitive level (thoughts) (Dinansi, 2018). An exciting example is Ismarwan, a former terrorist who has been deradicalized since 2015 but was arrested again in 2019 for involvement in JAD military training in Aceh (Djafar & Ismed, 2021). The material support provided by the government was in the form of an amount of Rp. 10,000,000 in 2015, then Rp. 10,000,000 in 2017, Rp. 15,000,000 in 2018, as well as Rp. 5,000,000 in 2019 could not wholly change Ismarwan (Ifad, 2020). Meanwhile, not all terrorists and extremists leave their old groups and ideologies for psychological and social reasons (Koehler, 2017). It is difficult to measure the cognitive level of radicalization of former terrorists. Therefore, the motive of terrorism cannot be ignored in the process of psychological deradicalization. The process includes individual assessments, systematic plans, and activity parameters to revive societal functions and capacities (Mareta, 2018).

Indeed, the person or counselor who provides the program needs to be considered in the deradicalization process (Mardlatillah & Hidayat, 2019). Counselors must focus on psychology, where the method must be friendly to militants. Counselors who expose their way of thinking treat them as normal people/friends, not terrorists. Furthermore, they can show that what they believe is a deviation and a contradiction with authentic Islamic teachings (Kamaruddin et al., 2017). This method can break through their knowledge and replace their belief with the moderate teachings of Islam.

Exposure and Building New Identity

In building a new identity in deradicalization, conducting profiling is important to understand networks, databases, and the needs of prisoner rehabilitation programs (Sumarlan, 2016). Terrorist convicts have problems understanding other's different perspectives. So, they need to be exposed to skills and ideas so that after leaving prison, they can rejoin society (Pranadipa, 2018). Building identity begins when they have been exposed to alternative ideologies or other views. Moreover, if it is supported by financial assistance in the deradicalization program, this promises positive results.

This is because financial support helps former terrorists make ends meet, provide for their families wives/children, and fund businesses (Milla et al., 2020).

In building a new identity, several social contexts are essential in changing the mujahid's identity, namely the prison, the house, and the environment (Hakim & Mujahidah, 2020). Prison is a social environment that is the first place for terrorists to reach a turning point in their desire to carry out transformations because the authorities have arrested them (Dinansi, 2018). The harsh prison life keeps inmates isolated. Sofyan Tsauri, a former convict, admits that social life in prison does not bring him a sense of security. Sofyan's lousy experience while in prison was food poisoning, suspected of being an assassination attempt on him (Facette, 2018). In addition, Muhtar Daeng Lau, the perpetrator of the bomb at Mc Donald Mal Ratu Indah Makassar, also admitted that while in prison, he had pondered a lot about the lessons and enlightenment given about the futility of acts of terror and was exposed to the real struggle to make his family happy, because the actions taken had an impact on great for himself and his family (Asril & Sukmana, 2018).

Home or family is equally important in rebuilding a new identity for former terrorists. Family support, such as communication with spouses and children, can build former terrorists' confidence to live normally. Families who have shown support since the terrorists were in prison were able to have a positive impact on them. Families who maintain interaction, starting from being arrested and languishing in prison, are essential in the terrorist transformation because they tend to be more confident in changing against extremism (Adina & Lestari, 2018).

Some former terrorists we interviewed said that family was the most potent factor that made them want to live a normal life again. The urge to feel remorse, such as that you have taken away the happiness of your children and wife, triggers efforts to return to your family (Kusuma Putra & Eliasta Meliala, 2023). Some former terrorists reveal that family is the primary source of support and acts as the first door for individuals to accept new ideologies or ideas (Al Adawiyah, 2020). Therefore, they build a determination to pay for their past mistakes to make their family happy. However, some former terrorists are eventually forced to return to their old networks because of difficulties in gaining access to rejoin society (Mujahid, 2023).

Finally, the social context in the environment. The environment becomes the last place that determines the perfection of the new identity built by former terrorists. Because individuals or former terrorists are in the community environment and part of society, it is crucial to optimize the environment and the role of society to prevent further acts of terrorism (Tri Wahyudi & Hadi, 2021).

The former terrorists with experience, skills, and support from the environment have a more significant opportunity to be free from their old networks. Social support from the environment guarantees psychological well-being, including self-acceptance, building positive relationships with others, forming independence to decide attitudes, finding new goals, being responsible, and continuing to develop oneself (Darlis, 2019). In addition, there are examples of former terrorists, for instance, in the Poso case, who were excited when they received a certificate for participating in ProPosoku activities, a program initiated by The Habibie Center (THC) in collaboration with the Civil Society Strengthening Institute (LPMS) which supports the activities of former convicts working in the informal sector after prisoned (Litha, 2023). Former terrorists tend to feel cared for when there is support. In 2017, when the Ministry of Social Affairs assisted 24 families in YLP, it left a positive impression on former terrorists. Together with the Family Hope Program from the Ministry of Social Affairs, the former terrorists were excited to continue their independent business (Arfah & Patnistik, 2017). This effort needs to be continued to help former terrorists to live normally again with their new identities in society.

Then what about the process of forming a new identity? To be able to develop a new identity for former terrorists, apart from experiencing disappointment and personal crisis as previously described, former terrorists need to go through the following stages:

First, exposure to alternative perspectives. At this stage, terrorists are confronted with alternative

views and ideas to challenge their extremist beliefs. This exposure can be done through deradicalization programs that include counseling and education. However, presenting alternative ideas is not easy because the government must be able to convince former terrorists that living as citizens is better than being involved in radicalism (Asdira, 2020). Exposure to this program has to include understanding religious teachings, respecting differences, eliminating prejudice, and fostering empathy and love for the motherland. It depends on dialogue built to help prisoners become independent, living in a society where they are free (Sumarlan, 2016). For example, a former terrorist who is the research subject by Kamaruddin (2017) informs that psychology is a significant influence for him as a combatant leaving radicalization. He claimed to have been exposed to knowledge about ways of thinking and to be treated normally as friends, not as terrorists (Kamaruddin et al., 2017).

Second, new identity development. This stage can be called the process, where the individual develops a new identity based on the positive beliefs received in the previous steps. The coaching carried out during the last stage is none other than the aim of fostering independence and personality. Fostering self-reliance aims to train and give convicts, sympathizers, and former terrorists the ability to support themselves through the various skills taught. At the same time, they are fostering personality through a dialogic approach to change understanding (Praba, 2020). When successful at that stage, it is easy for the individual to develop a new identity. Through these two combinations, the individual has been shaped psychologically and socially. One example is Joko Triharmanto, a former terrorist involved in the Bali Bombing I, who built his new identity as a Soto culinary business entrepreneur in Sukuharjo (Sari, 2021). As a former combatant, Joko initially experienced various difficulties when starting a business, starting from working at a friend's restaurant, running a computer shop, opening a Hik shop, and, in the end, succeeding in a chicken soup business. Even Soto's business, which at first could only afford to rent a small piece of land, has moved to a more prominent location and has been running for over 5 years (Zamzami, 2021).

Lastly, reintegration into society. This stage is the process of supporting individuals to reintegrate into society's mainstream in various fields. This stage can also be referred to as the resocialization stage, the final step by terrorist convicts ready to return to the community and become ex-terrorists (Widya, 2020). Another thing that needs to be known is that they are not simply released back into society. After being released or post-prison, former terrorists are still monitored by the penitentiary, which is an institution that works to monitor and empower former terrorists to carry out their duties with a new identity in society (Syauquillah & Hanita, 2021). In addition, they are also associated with foundations, namely communities that empower fellow former terrorists.

An example is the Debintal Foundation, established to build good relations between former terrorists and the community (Kusumawardani et al., 2022). Then there is the Gema Salam Foundation in Solo, where the foundation's chairman is Jack Harun or Joko. After building a new identity as a soto businessman, Joko, who was successful, opened wide doors for fellow former terrorists who wanted to find work and rejoin society. It aims to make the former terrorists slowly socialize and have a place in society, thereby reducing the possibility of returning to the old network (Rahmawati, 2022).

These processes and stages must be consistently carried out. They are considering that it has been mentioned that the process of deradicalization is complex, sustainable, and multifaceted. As a long-term personal process, post-prison deradicalization needs support from various parties. Organizations or foundations consider their role effective in helping former terrorists escape violent networks (Cameron Sumpter, 2017). This is because foundations such as YLP or Debintal, besides empowering former terrorists, also offer support to the families of former terrorists to get involved in society and not return to being extremists. The social support of rehabilitation and reintegration is said to produce tangible results. Because former terrorists were formed with the hope of being able to serve and interact regardless of background and so that they can challenge their old beliefs. In addition, exposure like this helps in pluralization, whereby former terrorists deconstruct mindsets with the help of social interaction (Agastia et al., 2020).

A consistent process is needed. There are many examples of former terrorists who eventually

rejoined and became involved with their old radical networks. Several other examples include the Thamrin, Cicendo, and Samarinda bombings involving former terrorists who have undergone a deradicalization program (Rizky, 2018). The Thamrin bombing 2016 involved Aman Abdurrahman and Rohis, who previously were combatants engaged in military training with Acehese terrorists and were involved in a terrorist bombing at the Australian Embassy. The Cicendo bombing involved Agus Sujatno, or Agus Muslim, a JAK Bandung member. Agus was released in 2016 but returned to action with the Cicendo bombing a year after his release (Cnn Indonesia, 2022). The Samarinda bombing involved Juhanda or Jo bin Muhammad Aceng Kurnia, the perpetrator of the Puspitek bombing in Serpong and the Jakarta Book Bomb in 2011. Released after serving 3 years in prison, this did not change Juhanda, and he returned to carrying out the Molotov bombing at the Oikumene Church, Samarinda. He was confirmed to have joined the East Kalimantan JAD group, which colluded with the Anshori group in East Java (Fauzi, 2016). Some of these case examples show that deradicalization is a complex, lengthy process and needs to be continuously monitored by the government.

CONCLUSION

The psychological and social process of deradicalization is long. The challenge is opening a dialogue with individuals beginning to experience a personal crisis who are disappointed and perhaps fearful. Psychological individuals starting to doubt can become a moment of intervention for counselors to invite and persuade them to follow directions to quit terrorist groups by providing general lessons, rehabilitation, and counseling. After accepting a new perspective, the following social process is determined. Terrorists begin to apply the lessons learned in prison.

However, some things cannot be forgotten, namely that the potential for failure in building a new identity is just as great as success. If former terrorists find post-prison life not much different and isolated, they may be invited again and join the old group. The reason is simple, considering that they were radical individuals at the time of their arrest who experienced disillusionment and were then exposed to alternative views. So similar things such as being disappointed with the government again, being disappointed with the social environment, feeling uncomfortable, and having difficulties actualizing themselves can be factors that encourage them to return to extremist groups.

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