Implementation of Deradicalization Policy for Terrorism Prisoners: An Indonesian Experience

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ABSTRACT
This study examines the experience of Indonesia in implementing the policy of de-radicalization of terrorism prisoners for them to no longer involve in radicalism terrorism after being released. Researchers examine the factors that influence its effectiveness by using a theoretical model of implementation by Grindle (1980) and try to offer an alternative model suitable for the implementation of the policy of de-radicalization of terrorism prisoners and other cases of social violence. This study uses qualitative descriptive approach, and the finding is that the implementation of the de-radicalization policy might be more effective if applied by the success factor of social communication between the government and community to develop a shared vision of terrorism; and factor of monitoring and continuous guidance for the former terrorism prisoners involving religious leaders with intensive socio-economic and religious approach.

Keywords: radicalism, terrorism, de-radicalization, and policy implementation
1. INTRODUCTION

Many countries face the problem of terrorism. Various ways have been done to solve it, either by counter-terrorism approach and law enforcement, or with a more humane approach that is de-radicalization for terrorism prisoners in prison, and counter-radicalization, addressed to the general public. In the implementation of policies aimed at de-radicalization of terrorism prisoners in prison, not all countries are doing the same, but adapted to the social and cultural conditions concerned. The policy has not always effective because it is influenced by various factors on the stages of implementation. The case of de-radicalization policy for terrorism prisoners in Indonesia is interesting to study and to be a model of comparison, considering Indonesia is predominantly Muslim and is in a democratic transition to face terrorism, which is prone to terrorism hiding behind the religious symbols of Indonesian.

Huntington (1993) asserts the future of world politics will be dominated by the conflict between nations that have different civilizations; such a situation is called a clash of civilizations. Conflict is caused by three main factors, namely western hegemony, Islamic intolerance, and Confucianism. According to Huntington, religions play a lot in the conflicts in the future and in the present, because religions are the spirit of a civilization. Religions may lead to conflict between civilizations when the teachings are interpreted according to unilateral interests or group interests (Huntington, 1996: 3-36). In general, terrorism indicates that there is a link between terrorism and political problems. Djelantik (2013:3) says when the channels of political communication face these blockages, then that is when terrorism appears. Terrorism is also suspected to be related to the civilization, due to clash of cultural values, political values, economic values, and also other factors. The degree of clash will be stronger when there are people who impose themselves as they feel superior to other civilizations. In this context, when religions become the spirit of civilization and their teachings are interpreted in such a way, they will trigger militancy urge against any form of coercion.

The spread of global terrorism is perceived as "Islamists" (the term by Huntington, 2003) and considered a threat to the Western world, according to Ahmed in Husaini (2005: 137), related to the Islamic revival that responds to Western dominance which is regarded as "new colonialism" that tries to undermine the entire cultural traditions of Islam. Huntington in Husaini (2005: 136) says the worse conflict between Islam and the West are due to factors, such as: (1) the rapid growth of the Muslim population, causing widespread dissatisfaction of Muslim youth; (2) Islamic awakening that gives new confidence on privileges and excellence of Islamic civilization values above the Western civilization values; and (3) the efforts by the Western to globalize their values and institutions to keep their superiorities in military and economic, as well as interfering in the Muslim world. The phenomenon in the last decade is that terrorism generally occurs in a predominantly Muslim country, or a country facing democratic transition. Abadie (2003) in Djelantik (2013: 2) says that the country heading to democratic government system is characterized by the proliferation of violence, including terrorism. Predominantly Muslim countries and those facing democratic transition, which have been attacked by terrorism, among others are Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Turkey, Libya, Sudan, Nigeria, Mali, Chechnya, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, India, Thailand and the Philippines. Terrorism also occurs in developed democratic countries, like the UK, US, France and others.

The spread of terrorism throughout the world during the last decade and a half has also been suspected to be caused by the clash between fundamentalist (Huntington, 2003), followed by their followers. In the global context, the perpetrators of terrorism tend to be perceived as coming from Islamic fundamentalism, though fundamentalism may emerge from other religions, such as Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism and other religions or beliefs. Hendropriyono (2013), the former Head of the Indonesian State Intelligence Agency, states that fundamentalism in this era is a global phenomenon that can be found in all the major world religions. Fundamentalism does not show religious beliefs, but rather a socio-political worldview, which concerns the characteristic of the state, society, and world politics articulated through a religious symbol (Hendropriyono, 2013:137). In the context of Indonesia, it has been said that the Al Qaeda global terrorism entered Indonesia targeting the locals, which is not only citizens and symbol of foreign countries, but also the national symbol of Indonesia for executing terrorists.

After the Bali bombing case (2002) that killed more than 200 people, mainly foreign tourists, the government of Indonesia has formulated a Government Regulation in lieu of Decree
Number 1/2002 as legal instruments to handle terrorism. The decree was subsequently approved by the Parliament into the Act of Combating Criminal Acts of Terrorism or Terrorism Act. In 2010, the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme or BNPT) was established, whose duty and authority is to prepare the national counter-terrorism policy and acts as a national coordinator for such policy implementation.

Among the counter-terrorism policy is de-radicalization, as well as law enforcement policy and international cooperation. De-radicalization in Indonesia adopts de-radicalization program policy and contra radicalization of the United Nations (UN) in 2005, as a new approach to tackle terrorism with a more humane way of transforming those who believe in radical ideology of terrorism to be moderate. Based on the Regulation of Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (National Counter Terrorism Agency / NCTA) Number: PER.04 / K.BNPT / 12/2014 on Blueprint for Prevention of Terrorism, the program is intended for terrorism prisoners in prisons, with the aim that after being released from prison, they do not do any radicalism terrorism. In addition to the prison, de-radicalization is also done outside the prison for ex-inmates of terrorism, immediate family, and the network. Counter-radicalization program at the general public aims to help the public unaffected by radical ideology and help prevent the spread of radicalism in order to reduce terrorism.

Deputy I of Protection, Prevention, and De-radicalization (Perlindungan, Pencegahan, dan Deradikalisasi or PPD) of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency, Agus Surya Bakti (2014) said that from 2002 to 2014, there had been 447 ex-terrorism who had followed the de-radicalization. Of that number, about 25 to 35 people involved in reiteration of radicalism terrorism. Effendi (2013) in his research found the fact the presence of the former prisoners involved in terrorism is now difficult to monitor, and most of them live in the unknown area to avoid stigmatization (Effendi, 2013; 17-18).

In order to overcome terrorism, public policy and proper implementation is necessary. The selection of policy formulation model and implementation model will determine the success or failure in overcoming radicalism terrorism. According to Easton (1980), in dealing with social issues and politics, policies are needed and their formulation must be preceded by the right inputs, then processed in a right political system so as to produce output of a proper policy to be implemented. Feedback on the implementation of the policy will be the next input and so the process is repeated. Radicalism terrorism is considered related to ideological and political motivations that uses wrong symbols of major religions.

Even when policies are made correctly, when implemented there is no guarantee that they will succeed in reaching the goal, as implementation is influenced by many factors. For example, problems encountered are no longer appropriate with the policy, the emergence of new problems, or implementation is not in accordance with policy decisions. When policies implemented by wrong actors, or lack of support from the stakeholders or because of any other factors, such as the impact of global security, they may also fail.

According to Grindle (1980), the implementation of the policy will be influenced by the Content of Policy and Context of Implementation, especially in developing countries, as an important factor that determines the success or failure of implementation, which often faces a critical situation caused by social, political, and economy conditions. All of those are related to the political and administrative context (Grindle, 1980: 11 and 21). Implementation of de-radicalization policies for the prevention of prisoners in reiteration of radicalism, in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Morocco, Tunisia and Indonesia, generally does not always work optimally. The cause may be due to the complicated and complex issue of terrorism associated with social and cultural conditions. The problem of terrorism in Indonesia, according to Hendropriyono (2009), is because social and cultural conditions and communities allow terrorism to grow.

In the case of radicalism in Indonesia, the former Head of NCTA, Ansyaad Mbai (2009) says the government categorized them into five groups: (1) radicalism idealism; (2) radicalism premanisme; (3) radicalism vandalism; (4) radicalism separatism, and (5) radicalism terrorism, that refers to radical actions or the act of committing terror motivated by religious ideology and conducted by a network.

The term terrorism radicalism in this article is described as a doctrine or radical actions and is based on religious motivation, which by the Indonesian government is categorized as radicalism terrorism. Analysis of de-radicalization policy implementation is interesting to study as
there is a gap between the theoretical and empirical fact, and the gap between policy objectives to be achieved and the fact of its implementation.

Figure 1. Blue-Print of Terrorism Prevention *(Source: PerKa BNPTNomor: PER-04/K.BNPT/12/2014 on the Blue-Print of Terrorism Prevention, adapted by Sutrimo)*

De-radicalization in Indonesia is interpreted into three (3) terms, namely: (a) first, as a method of moderation that is the way to make ones holding radical terrorism to be moderate; (B) second, as an institution, namely the Directorate of De-radicalization (which is under the Deputy I of PPD NCTA); and (c) third, operationally as a policy program in counter-terrorism policy. This study explores the implementation of De-radicalization Program as part of the Counter-Terrorism Policy, whose goal is to turn ex-terrorists to be part of the community, that after their release from prison, they are not involved in radicalism terrorism.

Counter-terrorism policies in Indonesia are grouped into three: first, Prevention Policy; second, Enforcement Policy and Development Capabilities; and third, the International Cooperation Policy. Prevention Policy consists of three types namely Prevention Policy, Protection Policy, and De-radicalization Policy. De-radicalization Policy is divided into two, namely Deradicalisation for inmates terrorism (as they have embraced radicalism terrorism), and Counter Radicalization for the general public (because they have not been affected by radical ideology). De-radicalization Policy is divided into De-radicalization Program and Counter Radicalization Program. See the image.

This study is expected to find a new implementation model or reconstruct existing theories; especially the one by Grindle, the model implementation theory, so that it can be used to address violent conflicts such as terrorism radicalism whose motivation is ideological, political, and religious conflicts or using religious symbols to achieve its objectives. *Problem formulation* in this study are (a) how is the implementation of de-radicalization policy by NCTA to terrorist prisoners in prisons as to prevent them from reiteration in radical terrorism?; (b) what factors are influencing (supporting and inhibiting) the implementation of de-radicalization policies?; and (c)
what alternative policy implementation model that is suitable for de-radicalization of terrorism to prevent former prisoners from reiteration in radical terrorism?

Thus, the purpose of the study is to describe, explain, and analyze the followings: (a) the implementation of de-radicalization policy by NCTA to terrorism prisoners in prisons as to prevent them from reiteration in radical terrorism; (b) factors influencing (supporting and inhibiting) the implementation of de-radicalization policies; and (c) the implementation model of Grindle Policy and the alternative policy implementation model that is suitable for de-radicalization of terrorism to prevent former prisoners from reiteration in radical terrorism.

The implications expected from this study is (a) on the theoretical aspects, the study is expected to be useful for the development of the theory on the implementation of existing policies to prevent reiteration of a person in social radicalism, terrorism, and other violence; (b) on the practical aspects, it is beneficial for NCTA in improving the implementation of de-radicalization policy to be more effective to prevent prisoners of terrorism in reiteration of radicalism terrorism; and (c) this study is also expected to grow the interest of other researchers to conduct further research related to prevention of radicalism terrorism, terrorism prevention policy, especially the policy of de-radicalization.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Studies

There had been much research related to terrorism and ways to combat radicalism. The results bring advantages and disadvantages, as one way to deal with terrorism. Previous research has not been linked directly to the development of the discipline of Public Policy Studies, in particular the Public Policy Implementation. Results of previous research we chose are the ones relevant to Public Policy in particular related with De-radicalization Policy Implementation. Here is a summary of findings and contributing ideas and critiques.

Rabasa et al. (2011), of the US RAND (Research and Development) National Security Research Division, conduct a study in a number of European countries, the Middle East and Southeast Asia and conclude that de-radicalization policies can only change individual beliefs and are very difficult to change the behavior of terrorism. This is because the acts of terrorism are more motivated by an ideology rooted in the major religions of the world, which is seen as an obligation. It is said that the policy of de-radicalization leaving a number of limitations, and it cannot be said as implemented successfully.

Lertangtam (2014) in his dissertation entitled “Unpacking the Impact of Democracy on Terrorism” (State University of New York at Albany, USA) concludes that state policy that cannot accommodate the interests of the elite, it will trigger the emergence of violence in a form of conflict of interest, and it has a potential to form terrorism. Therefore, policies to deal with the root of terrorism should consider the causes of violent conflict, especially in the elite. This conclusion shows that the prevention of terrorism, including de-radicalization, should also pay attention to factors as the root of terrorism.

Srobana Bhattacharyya (2013) in the dissertation entitled “Who Supports Terrorism? A Comparative Study of the Civilian Support for Terrorist Groups” (Southern Illinois University Carbondale, USA) says that the implications of public policy in the fields of politics and economy will affect the success of the counter-terrorism policy, a term whose meaning is the same as de-radicalization and the two are often used interchangeably. The government needs to consider policy issues in the fields of politics and economics associated with the de-radicalization policy to deal with terrorism.

Erna Shor (2010) in the dissertation entitled “Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: A Comparative Cross-National Analysis” (The Graduate School, Stony Brook University, New York, USA), which analyzes the effect of state policy on the prevention of terrorism, concludes that many policymakers in the field of terrorism have failed because they only use the postulate of rational logic approach as a response to an act of terrorism or decrease the number of acts of terrorism alone. Shor concludes that policies with a rational approach alone only effectively tackle certain situations, and vice versa could lead to the emergence of terrorism at a higher level.

Max Abrahms (2009) in the dissertation entitled “The Causes of Terrorism: A Reappraisal of the Conventional Wisdom” (University of California Los Angeles) analyzes the causes of terrorism and considers the conventional wisdom that had been assumed to be true. Abrahms
concludes that terrorism is not effective if it is handled in violent ways. Counter Terrorism policy or strategy, which uses only a political approach, will not work well on any level in a systematic way.

William G. Cunningham, Jr. (2006) in the dissertation entitled “Terrorism and Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice” (George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, USA) concludes that the acts of terrorism by non-state actors cannot be generalized. To cope with this, we should pay attention to strategy and tactics on the characteristics of the type of terrorism and motivations. Reduction of sources of conflict is a more precise way and is more recommended than Counter Terrorism directly.

Parker (2013) conducts a study of de-radicalization (disengagement) in a US prison (Naval Post Graduate School, Monterey, California). Parker concludes that the de-radicalization program in a US prison is less effective due to limited managerial and prison facilities. It is recommended that, for de-radicalization to be more successful, in addition to the technical issues, social interaction and communication with family is done, as well as improving the competence of personnel handling the de-radicalization.

Duvall, Noy, and Knox (2012) conduct a study of de-radicalization in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Indonesia (Naval Post Graduate School, Monterey, California), and conclude that there is a difference in dealing with terrorism, both in techniques, approaches, and treatment of de-radicalization in all three countries due to different background such as in geography, laws, policies, targets, goals, and objectives as well as cultural conditions.

Umar Effendi (2013) in the dissertation entitled “Analysis on Anti-Terrorism Policy in Indonesia: Preventative Study in Preventing Terrorism from the Perspective of Theory of Collective Action (University of Brawijaya, Malang, Indonesia) concludes law enforcement and one institution only is not enough to combat radicalism terrorism; it takes collective cooperation across government institutions. Effendi says that changing the ideology of terrorists is difficult.

Research by Febrica (2010), a teaching staff of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia (Jakarta) on “GWOT in Southeast Asia: Indonesia-Singapore and the Securitization of Terrorism” reveals that in dealing with terrorism, the government can play the role to bring the voice of the people when negotiating cooperation with other countries, and as a communicator with domestic society. In the case of Indonesia, according to Febrica, it faces harder situation compared to Singapore. When Indonesian government is strict, it increases political support of constituents, and may be the vice versa, as fight against terrorism is often linked to Islam and raises negative public view about the war against terrorism, as Indonesia implements system of pluralistic policies. Singapore government, on the other hand, plays a major role in the respond to radicalization of terrorism, because the government has the same view with the community.

The conclusion of previous studies is that de-radicalization program in many countries is still not effective, as radicalism terrorism remains resurfaced and allegedly still occurs in the future, and more creative approaches and other ways are needed to overcome them.

Analysis on the Social Setting of the Study

The Indonesian government on the mandate of Law Number 15 Year 2003 on Terrorism forms NCTA. Structurally, it is subordinate and accountable to the President. Its tasks is to prepare and make policy and strategy to combat terrorism, as well as the national coordinator for counter-terrorism (Bakti, 2014; 75). Based on Presidential Decree No. 46/2010 amended in Presidential Decree Number 12 of 2012, NCTA main duties are as follows: (a) developing policies and strategies and national programs in the field of counter-terrorism; (b) monitoring, analyzing, and evaluating policies in the field of counter-terrorism; and (c) coordinating in the prevention and implementation of activities against the propaganda of radical ideology; (d) implementing de-radicalization; (e) protecting of objects potential to be target of terrorist attacks; (f) implementing action, capacity building, and national preparedness in the field of counter-terrorism; and (g) implementing international cooperation.

NCTA execution of tasks is reflected in the structure of the organization, led by the President. It is assisted by a Principal Secretary, Inspectorate, and 3 Deputies, namely a) Deputy I of Prevention, Protection, and De-radicalization; b) Deputy II for Enforcement and Capability Development; and c) Deputy II International Cooperation, as well as the expert group. Each deputy has the main duties and functions of NCTA and leads 3 Directorates each headed by a Director.
3. RESEARCH METHOD AND APPROACH

The research is descriptive with a qualitative approach, because the research problem (widespread of radicalism and terrorism in various countries and regions, including reiteration of former terrorism prisoners in radicalism and terrorism) is a social phenomenon happening now and is very possible to happen in the future. Thus, the focus of the study is: (a) the implementation of de-radicalization policy by NCTA to terrorism prisoners in prisons including principles and approaches, method of de-radicalization, materials, and guidance in prison; (b) factors influencing (supporting and inhibiting) the implementation of de-radicalization policies; and (c) the alternative policy implementation model that is suitable for de-radicalization of terrorism to prevent former prisoners from reiteration in radical terrorism. Data analysis techique used is the interactive analysis technique by Miles, Huberman (1984), and Saldana (2014).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Specifically, the strategic policy of de-radicalization is aimed to achieve two major objectives, namely (a) the hardcore group and the militants renounce violence and terror in a fight for their mission; and (b) the hardcore, militants, and supporters moderate their ideology to match with the one by the Moderate Group of Islam and the national missions of Indonesia. The focus of this study is radical terrorist groups, illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Radical Terrorism Categories (Source: NCTA (2014))

The principle on the implementation or De-radicalization Program will be done by upholding the supremacy principle of the law, human rights, equality, development and empowerment, as well as under religious, psychological, social, cultural, economic, legal, political and technological approach. The material provided for de-radicalization in prisons actually depends on its stages. Each stage has different goals and objectives. However, the general provision of material in the de-radicalization programs in prisons include understanding on religious teachings and respect for differences, national vision of Indonesia as to grow love to the country,
eliminating prejudice and fostering empathy for others, as well as job skills training as needed for livelihood when terrorism prisoners are free.

The method of delivery depends on the actual condition of prisoners and dialogue with personal and group. This stage aims to help prisoners to be independent and able to live in the society when they leave prison. This is done in stages starting from identification, rehabilitation, re-education and re-socialization, and monitoring and evaluation at each stage. Factors supporting and inhibiting the implementation of de-radicalization refers to Grindle Theory, which is influenced by two main factors, namely the Content of Policy and Context of Implementation.

The de-radicalization model implemented in prison by NCTA for terrorism prisoners is illustrated in Figure 3.
Figure 3. Model of De-radicalization of Terrorism Prisoners in Prisons (Sutrimo, 2015)

The implementation of deradicalization policy in prison for terrorism prisoners

Principles:
- Rule of Law;
- Human Rights;
- Equality;
- Guidance

Approaches:
- Law, Politics, Religion, Economy;
- Social, Culture, Technology;
- Local Wisdom

Methods in prison:
- Identification;
- Rehabilitation;
- Reeducation;
- Resocialization

Guidance categories of radicalism:
- REDA (isolation, persuasion, attention, communication);
- GREY (persuasion, empathy, active communication);
- YELLOW (persuasion, empathy, active communication, moderation);
- GREEN (moderation, religious teaching, psychology, nationalism, small business, skills)

Materials:
- Religious understanding, which is moderate, tolerant, accepting differences and propagation of religion in peace;
- Understanding the concept of nationalism, NKRI based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika;
- Knowledge of small business and vocational.

The policy of deradicalization program

The goal of deradicalization is changing understanding of radicalism into moderate, tolerant, leaving violence, living in NKRI based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

Feedback

Former terrorism prisoners are not involved in reiteration of terrorism.
Table 1. Summary of Principles and Approaches of De-radicalization (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Principles</th>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Approaches</th>
<th>Aims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rule of Law</td>
<td>Uphold the law and provide legal certainty</td>
<td>Law and Religion</td>
<td>Encouraging understanding in line with the values of humanity, and the value of kindness to self and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>Acknowledge the rights of every person</td>
<td>Law and Religion</td>
<td>Encouraging awareness to acknowledge the rights of others, and the spread of love to others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>Acknowledge equality before the law</td>
<td>Law and Religion</td>
<td>Encouraging awareness to acknowledge the equality of everyone before the law and religious teaching that is full of love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Guidance</td>
<td>Provide guidance in order to arise awareness to renounce violence, to live in peace, tolerance</td>
<td>Politics, Religion and Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Changing the radical ideology to be moderate, tolerant, peaceful with religious values in the order to be accepted in the social life of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>Restoring psychological condition to be able to socialize in a normal society, debriefing work skills.</td>
<td>Psychological, Economy, Technology</td>
<td>Restore confidence and foster self-reliance in order to be socially and economically independent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Summary of Principles of De-radicalization in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Effort</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Actors Involved</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Profiling</td>
<td>Suspected terrorists, family, network</td>
<td>Profiling individuals, family, and network</td>
<td>Categorizing for the next process</td>
<td>Looking for information about the suspect, family and networks</td>
<td>Detachment 88, NCTA, relevant authorities, family, community</td>
<td>To facilitate the legal process and coaching</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rehabilitation</td>
<td>Efforts to change radical ideology to be moderate, tolerant, accept differences</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists</td>
<td>Leaving the radical ideology of terrorism, be moderate and tolerant</td>
<td>Persuasive, psychological, religious, dialogic communication</td>
<td>Moderate religious understanding</td>
<td>NCTA, Religious Leaders, psychologist, former terrorists, victims</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists, well-behave, recommended for reeducation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reeducation</td>
<td>Strengthening religious understanding, the concept of nationalism, psychology</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists recommended for reeducation</td>
<td>Strengthening the teaching of religion related to moderation, tolerance, peace, accepting differences</td>
<td>Seeking to expand understanding of religious teachings that are moderate, tolerant and peaceful</td>
<td>Counseling, persuasive communication and dialogue</td>
<td>NCTA, Religious Leaders, psychologist, former terrorists, victims</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists, well-behave, recommended for resocialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Resocialization</td>
<td>Setting up the psychology of normal life in society, providing knowledge of business and job skills</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists recommended for resocialization and those who will be free from prison</td>
<td>To be self-sufficient, to have a normal life and is not easily affected by radicalism terrorism again</td>
<td>Enlightenment on psychological readiness, introduction to business and job skills training</td>
<td>Psychological training, job skills training and the introduction of the small business world</td>
<td>NCTA, psychologist, trainers on SME</td>
<td>Inmates terrorists, never join rehabilitation, reeducation, and resocialization, their family, and network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
<td>Monitoring the implementation of each phase of the de-radicalization in order to effectively match the goal</td>
<td>Activities of each stage</td>
<td>Ensuring the implementation of each stage matches the goal</td>
<td>Helping to remind that the activities are carried out according to the plan</td>
<td>Helping with the adaptation when there are changes</td>
<td>NCTA officials in charge of Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
<td>As a control tool that helps the leaders of de-radicalization program</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Details of Identification Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Indicators of Success</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Efforts to identify and determine the identity of individuals suspected as terrorist and related networks of radical ideology and terrorist acts. This is a whole effort to identify suspected terrorists.</td>
<td>Terrorist suspects; Their immediate families; Networking is a group linked to terrorist suspects indicated to have radical ideology and act</td>
<td>Knowing the level of understanding and radical stance of suspected terrorists, their families and networks; Knowing the typology of understanding and religious attitudes and nationalities of terrorist suspects; Map the network of terrorist suspects; Collecting data on suspected terrorist detainees, families, and networks. Knowing the level of understanding and typology of terrorist suspects;</td>
<td>Availability of mapping of the network of terrorist suspects, indicated to have a radical ideology; Data on terrorist suspects, family and networks is available</td>
<td>Involving stakeholders and government agencies in data collection and classification of terrorist suspects; Involving NGOs, activists of de-radicalization, the former terrorist groups, academics and community leaders.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Details of Rehabilitation Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Indicators of Success</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intended for those who have been sentenced as terrorism prisoner by the court; They need help to abandon the radical ideology and terrorism activities.</td>
<td>Inmates are placed in prisons; Family members, especially the wife, children, parents, in-laws and close relatives, brothers and sisters</td>
<td>Help them to see the fallacy of radical ideology and acts of terror they do; Help their family, who have and support the ideology, attitudes and actions of radicalism, to change their; Moderating the radical ideology and attitudes of terrorism prisoners and their families to be inclusive, peaceful and tolerant; Religious teaching.</td>
<td>Turn the radical ideology and violence into an inclusive, peaceful and tolerant; Religious and personality guidance; Ideology and radical action changes after assessment; Got a recommendation for the next stage; Involving former terrorists who have turned their ideology and have turned moderate.</td>
<td>Involving former terrorists who have turned their ideology and have turned moderate; Involving victims; Placing in accordance with the typology of the group; Involving prison officers, religious leaders, psychologist, counselors, researchers, and others.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Details of Reeducation Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Indicators of Success</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This reeducation is to strengthen their thought and understanding, of moderation, to open their mind; This stage emphasizes moral education and self-reliance.</td>
<td>Inmates who have joined terrorist rehabilitation program and can participate on reeducation program; Those who have not gotten the recommendations is special treatment; The nuclear family and close relative;</td>
<td>Strengthen the moral foundation, and understanding, and attitude; Religious teachings to lead them into peace, tolerance, and respect for diversity; Learn nationalism and patriotism; Continuing the independence.</td>
<td>Increased understanding and awareness of their moral and their families'; The change of thinking and understanding of radical attitude, to be open-minded, tolerant, peaceful; The growth of love for the homeland; Behave well, and understand that acts of terror are wrong.</td>
<td>Prioritize persuasive and dialogue; Involving former terrorism prisoners who already change their ideology and have national commitment; Involving victims; Putting them in a different room from other terrorism prisoners; Involving prison officers, religious leaders, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Details of Resocialization Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Indicators of Success</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>These programs prepare for them and their families to be able to interact in society, and to eliminate suspicion and fear, and to grow mutual respect.</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners, former terrorism prisoners, and their families and the general public where former terrorism prisoners will be living in a society.</td>
<td>Prepare them back into society through personality development and self-reliance; Prepare the public to accept them well; Providing training about independence and development and strengthening of religious understanding, peace and respect for differences, empathy and mutual respect.</td>
<td>Have the mental attitude and skills so they can return to the community; Leaving a radical ideology and violence; being more tolerant; and living in the community well, with respect to differences; Those who participate in this program well get a recommendation to get a remission of punishment.</td>
<td>Put forward persuasive and dialogue; involving a former terrorism prisoners and bomb victims; Putting them in a different room from other terrorism prisoners; Giving priority to moral education, involving religious leaders, psychologist, prison officers, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7. Details of Monitoring and Evaluation Stage in Prison (Sutrimo, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Documents Needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Aspects of inputs, processes, outputs, benefits and impacts of the stages of identification, rehabilitation, reeducation and resocialization.</td>
<td>Guidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals</td>
<td>A. Monitoring: examine the objectives and implementation strategies of de-radicalization in prisons; find the problems; know the supporting factors and inhibitors; improve the implementation of de-radicalization; adapt the program to changing environment well without deviating from the goal.</td>
<td>Monitoring and evaluation stage in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Evaluasi: assess readiness, implementation and results achieved; provide input into future planning, and assessment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types</td>
<td>A. Monitoring: regular and routine, continuous, programmed all the time; focus monitoring on the implementation of the overall program that covers input, process, output, and impact.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Monitoring: Non-routine and is carried out in a limited period, focus on activities (process) happening, the results is a basis for problem solving.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Evaluation: Initial activities (preparation); formative evaluation (assessing the results achieved in the implementation in prisons); and summative evaluation (what has been achieved);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach,</td>
<td>Direct and indirect approaches (formal surveys, rapid monitoring; participatory, using test, observation and questionnaires, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Stages</td>
<td>Preparing monitoring draft and evaluation program; conducting monitoring and evaluation; and preparing and submitting a report;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actors</td>
<td>NCTA, Ministries or Agencies concerned, government authorities, NGOs, Universities, the mass media, and so forth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This method is a series of instruments for the process of moderation. The process starts from profiling and mapping to determine the extent or degree of radicalism adopted, the position and role in the terrorist network, the condition of the immediate family as well as groups of friends and networks. This continues to moderation process of thought and the psychological recovery, strengthening religious belief and nationalism, and learning job skills and socialization to psychologically and morally prepare for reintegration into society and to accept the common values that apply. The success of moderation process will be greatly influenced by how the method is implemented and conditions of each individual terrorism prisoners. In addition, the effectiveness will be determined by the material and the officers who perform moderation.

**De-radicalization Materials in Prison**

The material provided in de-radicalization in prisons actually depends on the stages. Each stage has different goals and objectives. However, the general provision of material in the de-radicalization program in prison revolve around the following description (Table 8).

**Table 8. Materials in De-radicalization Program in Prison**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Mentor</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Religious teaching</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners,</td>
<td>NCTA officers, involving psychologists,</td>
<td>Given to terrorism prisoners in Grey, Yellow, Green categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>immediate family</td>
<td>religious leaders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners,</td>
<td>NCTA officers, involving psychologists</td>
<td>Given to terrorism prisoners in Grey, Yellow, Green categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>immediate family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nationalism</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners,</td>
<td>NCTA officers, involving psychologists and</td>
<td>Given to terrorism prisoners in Yellow, Green categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>immediate family</td>
<td>other experts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Business Knowledge and Skills</td>
<td>Terrorism prisoners,</td>
<td>NCTA officers, trainers of business skills</td>
<td>Given at the stage of reeducation and resocialization, involving community leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>immediate family,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>former terrorism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prisoners, network</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The treatment of terrorism prisoners based on profiling identification and mapping of the radical ideology is categorized into 4 groups: Red, Grey, Yellow and Green. Red category is a group whose levels of the radical ideology is still strong, and it is difficult to communicate with them that moderation process faces obstacles. Grey is those whose levels of radical ideology is still strong, but still want to communicate in a rather passive manner. Yellow is a category of terrorism prisoners who have been open to communication and dialogue so that a moderation process begins slowly. Being the last category is Green, and these are terrorism prisoners that have begun consciously to abandon radical ideology that they can communicate actively and moderation process is going well and smoothly.

Effort to open communication, preparing the conditions to initiate the process of moderation, for each category of terrorism prisoners, that is changing their radical ideology into moderate, tolerant, accepting differences and renounce violence, is different. The effort is presented in Table 9.
Table 9. Guiding Terrorism Prisoners in Prison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Red (Level 1)</td>
<td>Trying to approach, isolating, watching,</td>
<td>Efforts to open up communications with persuasive approach.</td>
<td>Red Understanding, approaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>listening, paying attention.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Grey (Level 2)</td>
<td>Trying to approach, isolating, watching,</td>
<td>Giving attention, aspirations, engage in de-radicalization activities.</td>
<td>Grey Join activities, passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>listening, paying attention.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Yellow (Level 3)</td>
<td>Trying to approach, isolating, watching,</td>
<td>Giving attention, religious understanding and dialogue</td>
<td>Yellow Moderation, convincing stage, psychologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>listening, paying attention.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Green (Level 4)</td>
<td>Trying to approach, isolating, watching,</td>
<td>Providing strengthening religious understanding,</td>
<td>Green Strengthen religious understanding, nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>listening, paying attention.</td>
<td>nationalism, job skills, and effort.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Results of De-radicalization in Prison in 2002-2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Former Terrorism Prisoners</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No reiteration</th>
<th>Conduct reiteration</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>447 people</td>
<td>2002 to 2014</td>
<td>422 – 412 people</td>
<td>25-35 people</td>
<td>• The exact figure is not obtained;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• The former terrorist is a free man;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Known to get back to radical acts because they are captured again, or become a suspect of terrorism, or their whereabouts is unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Activities and whereabouts are unknown, whether in Indonesia or abroad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• It is not known because of other causes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coaching or guidance for terrorism inmates in prison is actually the core of the de-radicalization as an attempt to moderate the way of thinking of the radical ideology into a moderate thinking, tolerant and renounce violence. NCTA does it at the core of de-radicalization, that is rehabilitation and reeducation.

In summary, the factors supporting and inhibiting de-radicalization policy implementation for the terrorism prisoners by NCTA, as follows:

**Factors Related to Content of Policy**

1) Those affected by the policy, which specifically are terrorism prisoners and their immediate families, such as wife, children, parents, in-laws and siblings, while in general, are the Indonesian people and the foreigners who live and or visit Indonesia.

2) The benefits, as former terrorism prisoners and their immediate families are enlightened, moderation in the understanding of religious teachings, and getting work skills for livelihood so hopefully they left radicalism, terrorism; whereas for the general public, including foreigners who live or visit Indonesia, there will be a sense of security, which is expected to help the economic recovery, such as the tourist arrivals and foreign investment to Indonesia.

3) Expansion of changes wanted, as radicalism and terrorism is a global problem that affects local (domestic)terrorism cases, including Indonesia. NCTA is trying to make adjustments and
expansion of policy on the prevention of terrorism, including through de-radicalization. In the implementation, there are things beyond the authority of NCTA, e.g. the content of new regulations on terrorism which is not enough to deal with new developments on terrorism, such as the emergence of ISIS and the use of online media related to the development of Information and Communication Technology used for the dissemination of radicalism and techniques for the manufacture of weapons such as bombs and other terrorist techniques.

4) The policy-making place, as since its establishment in 2010 until 2014, NCTA has not yet have had a permanent office and is constantly changing locations. The problem being addressed is relatively new, that this condition is a difficulty in itself, especially the need for competent employees as needed. Until this dissertation report was written, the number of employees needed NCTA cannot be met by the government. Since the end of 2014, NCTA has an office of IPSC Deradicalisation Center in Sentul, Bogor, West Java. De-radicalization policies are formulated and set in different places, until finally NCTA office is settled.

5) The implementation of policies adapted to the established policy and implementation stages. Stages of de-radicalization activities carried out by the staff of the Deputy of Directorate of De-radicalization I NCTA, in collaboration with experts on terrorism and religious issues, as well as the organization of religious studies, psychologists, former terrorists, community groups, and related agencies.

6) The result of the de-radicalization policy implementation has not reached the maximum, especially related to effectiveness in transforming the radical ideology of terrorism because of the difficulty of knowing how their attitudes and behavior of former prisoners, as it is difficult to monitor them and there is no party responsible for the continuous monitoring and guidance after leaving the prison.

7) The commitment of implementing the policy, which is very high because they are aware of the dangers of radicalism terrorism to human safety, and even in certain circumstances, it may endanger the safety of the nation.

Factors Related to Context of Implementation

1) The powers, interests and strategies of actors, namely NCTA, which is a government agency that is authorized to formulate policies and acts as a national coordinator in counter-terrorism, and its position is directly related to the national interest, related to human security that is supported by many parties, including religious organizations and community groups. Its power has not been used optimally, especially the involvement of religious organizations more intensively in the coaching and guiding of the former terrorism prisons in everyday life in the community.

2) Institute and the characteristics of the regime, that NCTA is established upon recommendation of Commission I, among others, in charge of national security issues so that the position is very strong due to the support from the government. In a democratic system of governance, the rule of law and respect for human rights is put forward.

3) Compliance and responses, as terrorism is a very complex issue, motivated by issues socio-political and globalization and world security, then NCTA is trying to make adjustments in response to the development of terrorism, both of which occur abroad as well as in the country. However, NCTA has limitations related to coordination and authority because existing terrorism laws are inadequate to face the new developments of terrorism.

The results of the government's efforts show that terrorist activity in Indonesia tend to fall drastically, and the success is recognized by many other countries. This is evident from the increasing number of high-ranking officials of other countries who wish to obtain information about the key to the success of Indonesia to tackle terrorism, such as Germany, Australia, USA, UK, and other countries. This success has also been recognized by experts of radicalism terrorism. However, according to the confession of former terrorism prisoners, that the decline in the incidence of terrorism cases may be caused more by the interests of those whom the government accused of being adherents of radicalism. It is said that they divert their activities through peaceful means, and if the government does not discredit the stigmatization of “terrorists”, the acts of terrorism in Indonesia will disappear.
Meanwhile, a theoretical model of policy implementation by Grindle (1980), when applied to de-radicalization policy implementation, and to address other cases of social violence, there are drawbacks and it requires at least 2 (two) elements, as follows:

1) elements of social communication, social communication for coordination among the actors, and social communication for coordination and close cooperation between actors and targeted societies, such as the leaders of religious organization;

2) monitoring and continuing guidance, which is an element of necessity, as there is institutional cross-functional role to monitoring and coaching of former prisoners of terrorism, families and networks, and social and economic empowerment continuously until they leave their radical ideology, behaved moderate, are tolerant, and can accept differences.

While the elements in the model of policy implementation by Grindle, if coupled with the element of social communication for coordination, and the element of monitoring and ongoing guidance, the completeness of the theory will further determine the successful implementation of the policy of de-radicalization of terrorism prisoners in prisons. From the above it can be concluded that enabling and inhibiting factors that determine the effectiveness and successful implementation of de-radicalization of prisoners of terrorism are as follows:

**Supporting Factors**

a) support from the government, parliament, budget, relevant government agencies, as well as the support of the general public, both domestic and international community; and

b) the existence of civil society supporting religious organizations, theologians and other related sciences, expert on terrorism, and the participation of former terrorists who had left the radical ideology to engage and influence their friends or to leave a radical ideology;

**Inhibiting Factors.**

a) some terrorism prisoners hold their radical ideology strongly;

b) people who do not support terrorism prevention program or embrace radicalism because of a conviction related to the understanding of religious teachings;

c) sectoral ego is prominent among government agencies involved in counter-terrorism, so that coordination of de-radicalization is rather less synergistic or is still going according to the work program;

d) conditions of terrorism prisoners placed in the same prisons as the general inmates, and in different prisons;

e) the absence of a special prison for terrorism prisoners, making coaching difficult;

f) the low number of NCTA personnel who have appropriate competence skills needed in de-radicalization and counter-terrorism; and

g) lack of cross-functional agencies that monitor and provide further permanent guidance to former terrorism prisoners, family and networks, by involving more intensively religious leaders, related to consolidation of religious understanding and socio-economic empowerment.

Other factors to determine the effectiveness and success of de-radicalization in the moderation process are social communication, a communication between actors across organizations, and communication between actors and a particular group of people such as religious organization; and factor of monitoring and ongoing guidance after these inmates are free. Both of these factors, namely social communication, and monitoring and ongoing guidance are not in Grindle’s implementation model. From the description above, the supporting and inhibiting factors on the policy implementation of deradicalized terrorism prisoners in prison can be seen as follows:
Table 11. Summary of Research Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>RESEARCH PROBLEM</th>
<th>DATA</th>
<th>ANALYSIS</th>
<th>MINOR PROPOSITION</th>
<th>IMPLICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>How is the implementation of de-radicalization in prisons?</td>
<td><strong>a. Principles and Approaches:</strong> Principle: upholding the law, respecting human rights, and equality. Approach to the legal, political, religious, economic, social, cultural and local wisdom</td>
<td>Principles and approaches have been appropriate with theories of Policy Framework System (Easton, 1980); Democratic Governance System (Huntington, 1989); Democracy (Dahl, 2005); Democracy and Terrorism (Lertangham, 2014); Good Governance (Osbon, 1980); Sound Governance (Farazmand, 2004); and Sound Governance in the Security Sector (Ball, 2002).</td>
<td><strong>Minor Proposition 1:</strong> Principles and approaches which are based on the practice of democratic governance, and excellence governance determine the effectiveness of the success of de-radicalization.</td>
<td>Strengthen the existing theories by Easton (1980), Huntington (1989), Dahl (2005), Lertangham (2014), Farazmand (2004) and Ball (2002).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>b. Methods:</strong> Identification; rehabilitation, re-education and resocialization, and monitoring and evaluation at each stage.</td>
<td>Method of de-radicalization are in accordance with theories of Social Conflicts (Dahrendorf, 1959); Terrorism and Counter Terrorism (Abrahms, 2009, dan Shor, 2010); theory Terrorism and Conflict Resolution (Cunningham Jr, 2006); <strong>Munculnya Fundamentalisme Islam Modern (Hanafi), and Akar Terorisme dan Toleransi dalam Islam (Esposito, dalam Masduqi 2011);</strong></td>
<td><strong>Minor Proposition 2:</strong> The condition of individual terrorism prisoners determine the successful implementation of the de-radicalization in prisons.</td>
<td>Strengthen the theory of Social Conflict by Dahrendorf (1959), theory by Abrahms (2009), Shor (2010), Cunningham (2006), that terrorist violence cannot be overcome by force, but rather should be addressed by way of non-violence and eliminate the source of conflict. It is also consistent with the theory of Hanafi and Espito that there is a wrong interpretation of Islam that makes its followers to be radical, and this needs to be more comprehensive interpretation of the provision as adopted by the majority of Muslims in the world, which is tolerant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>c. Materials:</strong> Moderate religious understanding, nationalism, and job skills training.</td>
<td>Materials have been appropriate</td>
<td><strong>Minor Proposition 3:</strong> Willingness of terrorism prisoners to receive deradicalised material</td>
<td>Support the theory by Qardawi that fundamentalism is caused by the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Guidance</td>
<td>Categorized as Red, Grey, Yellow and Green for identification, rehabilitation, reeducation and resocialization, job skills training. Results: of 447 former terrorists, involved in reiteration 25-35 people (&lt;12%).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minor Proposition 4:</th>
<th>Radical ideology of individual prisoners who are still strong, the spread of terrorism in some prisons determine the level of effectiveness of de-radicalization process.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation:</td>
<td>with theories of <em>Fundamentalisme Islam dalam Tasfir Haraki</em> (Qardahi); <em>Kritik atas Radikalisme (Gharib)</em>; <em>Islam Rahmatan ll Alamin dan Islam, Kebhinnekaan dan Toleransi</em> (Gus Dur) (inMasduqi 2011); <em>Wawasan Kebangsaan NKRI</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deradicalisation of terrorists in the United States, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia on the conclusion of the studies by Rabasa (2011), Duvall (2012) (2012) and Parker (2013); used as a reference of learning (lessons learned), to include social and cultural conditions of society, including the theories of sound governance by Farazmand particularly the involvement of international cooperation, civil society, and local wisdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>will determine the process of moderation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2. Supporting and Inhibiting Factors: | Supporting and Inhibiting factors, the majority is in conformity with the existing factors in Grindle implementation model, but there are some factors that do not yet exist. These factors that will determine the effectiveness and success for de-radicalization if the theory by Grindle want to be applied on more de-radicalization case and resolve more cases of social violence. |

| a. Supporting: | Support by the government and parliament, the budget provision, support of religious leaders and civil society experts and NGOs concerned with terrorism and mitigation. |

| b. Inhibiting: | Terrorist prisoners still |

| Minor Proposition 5: | Support by the government and parliament, the budget provision, support of religious leaders and civil society experts and NGOs concerned with terrorism and mitigation determine the effectiveness of de-radicalization process. |

| Proposition Minor 6: | Terrorist prisoners still |

| Interpretation: | Grindle policy implementation model is no longer sufficient if it will be used to deradicalize terrorism prisoners (the process of changing the radical ideology to be moderate), and therefore need to be completed (reconstructed). |

| Supporting: | Terrorist prisoners still |

| Inhibiting: | Terrorist prisoners still |

Support the theory by Cunningham that in addressing the problem of terrorism cannot be made uniform but should be case by case and the theory by Abraham about the necessity to find other ways that are more creative, and is once again reinforces the theory and findings by Rabasa *et al*, Duvall and Parker.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Implementation model:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The absence of the element of social communication both for inter-agency coordination officers and certain civil society, and the lack of cross-functional agencies in charge of monitoring and advanced guidance; not exist in the implementation model chosen.</td>
<td>Grindle policy implementation model has not entered a factor of social communication and monitoring and ongoing formation as the factor that will determine the effectiveness and success of de-radicalization and possibility to resolve more cases of social violence.</td>
<td>Minor Proposition 7; The absence of the element of social communication both for inter-agency coordination officers and certain civil society, and the lack of cross-functional agencies in charge of monitoring and advanced guidance may lead to ineffectiveness and failure of de-radicalization and decreases the possibility to resolve more cases of social violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>If we want to use the theory of policy implementation model by Grindle for de-radicalization of terrorism prisoners and cases of violence, it needs to be reconstructed.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Major Proposition**

Implementation of de-radicalization policy which is based on a policy that applies the principles of democratic system of government, good governance, supported by the government and parliament with the availability of budget, as well as the support of civil society, and commitment of the executive officers, will determine the success of the implementation de-radicalization in prison, and the level of effectiveness and success will be higher, if the placement of inmates terrorism are in one special prison specifically, with more competent officers, and social communication, as well as the monitoring agency and continuing guidance against the former inmates of terrorism, family and network.
Figure 4. An Alternative Model of De-radicalization Implementation
5. CONCLUSION

a. In general it can be said that the implementation of the de-radicalization policy as an effort to reduce terrorism has successful. The indicator is the declining number of terrorism acts and less former terrorism prisoners involved in reiteration of terrorism—it can be interpreted that they have abandoned the radical ideology of terrorism. However, the decline in the number of terrorist acts cannot be made certain whether they are caused by the following matters:

1) is it due to good law enforcement?
2) is it because there are many adherents and militant core categories, including those deemed as leaders (amir), that are still in prisons? (In January to April 2016, there are 206 terrorism convicts are in prisons);
3) is it the output of successful implementation of de-radicalization policies? (Of the 447 former inmates of terrorism, only about 25 to 35 people are getting back to their ideology);
4) is it due to changes in strategy of radical actors in achieving their political goals, which are no longer in a violent manner?
5) is it because the lack of communication between those following the radical ideology of terrorism in Indonesia with international terrorism network, for example, related to the possibility of a global scenario?
6) are there any unknown causes?

The cause of the decline in acts of terrorism may be caused by one factor, or a combination of two factors of the factors mentioned above. Which is certain is that the number of terrorism acts in recent years have decreased, and the number of former terrorism prisoners to get back their radical activities has also decreased. We cannot be sure on the effectiveness of moderation to change the thinking, attitudes, behavior of radical terrorism convicts. The ideology of radical terrorism is in the mind of an individual regarding socio-political and is influenced by many factors in their environment.

b. Factors supporting and inhibiting the implementation of de-radicalization are as follows:

1) Supporting factors: (a) the support of the government, parliament, budget, relevant government agencies, as well as the support of the general public, both domestic and international community; (b) the support of the civil society, religious organizations, religious leaders, and others and the participation of former prisoners of terrorism that left radical ideology in the process of moderation;
2) Inhibiting factors: (a) some terrorism prisoners hold their radical ideology strongly (b) people who do not support terrorism prevention program or embrace radicalism because of a conviction related to the understanding of religious teachings; (c) sectoral ego is prominent among government agencies involved in counter-terrorism, so that coordination of de-radicalization is rather less synergistic or still going according to the work program; (d) conditions of terrorism prisoners placed in the same prisons as the general inmates, and in different prisons; (e) the absence of a special prison for terrorism prisoners, making coaching difficult; (f) the low number of NCTA personnel who have appropriate competence skills needed in de-radicalization and counter-terrorism; and (g) lack of cross-functional agencies that monitor and provide further permanent guidance to former terrorism prisoners, family and networks, by involving more intensively religious leaders, related to consolidation of religious understanding and socio-economic empowerment.
3) Alternative of de-radicalization policy offered is the need for the addition of elements: (1) an element of social communication, in an effort to improve coordination between actors from various government agencies and stakeholders so as to achieve synergy in the implementation of de-radicalization; and communication in an attempt to identify perceptions about the dangers of radicalism, terrorism, and prevention efforts with the leaders of religious organizations; and (2) an element of monitoring and ongoing coaching or guidance against the former terrorism prisoners, family and network by institutions across functions through a program and activities permanently for guidance in terms of the consolidation of religious teachings to be moderate, tolerant and peaceful, and empowerment efforts related to socio-economic field in an attempt to foster independence for terrorism prisoners, families and networks, planned programmatically and sustainable
so that it can be ascertained that they have left radicalism and terrorism not involved in reiteration.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Theoretical implication of the study is that the model of implementation of policies constructed by Grindle need to be completed (reconstructed), because when applied to the case of de-radicalization of terrorism prisoners, families and networks, and to deal with cases of violent conflicts social, the mode become insufficient enough to ensure the effective and maximum achievement of policy objectives that have been set. Therefore, the elements that affect the successful implementation of policies necessary to add are:

1) social communications among actors and targeted societies, in an effort to improve coordination between actors from various government agencies and stakeholders so as to achieve synergy in the implementation of de-radicalization; and communication in an attempt to identify perceptions about the dangers of radicalism, terrorism, and prevention efforts with the leaders of religious organizations; and

2) monitoring and continuing guidance against the former terrorism prisoners, family and network by institutions across functions through a program and activities permanently for guidance in terms of the consolidation of religious teachings to be moderate, tolerant and peaceful, and empowerment efforts related to socio-economic field in an attempt to foster independence for terrorism prisoners, families and networks, planned programmatically and sustainable so that it can be ascertained that they have left radicalism and terrorism not involved in reiteration.

If the two elements are put in the diagram, then the model by Grindle will change as follows:
Figure 5. Implementation Model as a Political and Administrative Process (Grindle, 1980)
Figure 6. Implementation Model as a Political and Administrative Process (Grindle, 1980), Reconstructed by Sutrimo

Implementing Activities Influenced by:

a. Content of Policy
   1. interests affected
   2. type of benefits
   3. extent of change envisioned
   4. site of decision making
   5. program implementations
   6. resources committed

b. Context of Implementation
   1. power, interests, and strategies of actors involved
   2. institution and regime characteristics
   3. compliance and responsiveness

c. Social Communications
   1. communication among the actors
   2. communication between the actors and targeted societies

3. Monitoring and Continuing Guidance
   1. monitoring institution,
   2. continuing guidance that involved civil society

Outcomes

a. impact on societies, individuals, and groups
b. change and its acceptance

Goals Achieved

Policy Goals

Action Programs and Individual Projects Designed and Funded

Programs delivered as designed?
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