The Recruitment of Parking Attendants as Members of Radical Religious Study Group in Indonesia

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Abstract

How do radical religious groups recruit new members? Why do parking attendants want to be involved in radical religious study groups? This study aims to look at the role of religious study groups (*pengajian*) in one of the Religious Study Councils (*Majelis Taklim*) in Jakarta as a place for indoctrinating radicalism to people from a lower social class. The study also aims to identify the factors and approaches to radicalization. To see the phenomenon of radicalization in parking attendants, this study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The participants in this study are the wives of six former members of *pengajian* affiliated with ISIS as well as former parking attendants in Jakarta. The results of the study show that the parking attendants and their religious study groups have a significant role in attracting and recruiting new members through employment opportunities and facilities for studying the Qur'an, as well as exclusive Islamic teaching. The changes of attitude and thought that occurred in the parking attendants after attending the *pengajian* can be seen in their refusal to attend Friday prayers outside their group, their attendance to the weekly study group schedule, and the physical exercise performed such as self-defense.

Keywords: ISIS, Parking Attendant, Radical Religious Study Group, Radicalization, Terrorism.

INTRODUCTION

A person's motivation to become radical and join terrorist networks in Indonesia is a fairly complex situation to understand. Inayatul Ulya concludes that religion is a medium that is considered appropriate to be the reason for the emergence of terrorism because religion is very easy to use in propaganda which is behind it for political purposes[1]. Hence, religion can be a reason for someone to join a radical terrorist group

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[1] Inayatul Ulya, "Radikalisme Atas Nama Agama: Tafsir Historis Kepemimpinan Nabi Muhammad Di Madinah," *Addin* 10, no. 1 (2016): 113–40, http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/addin.v10i1.1131.

that is dangerous for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI)[2]. On the other hand, religion can also be a reason for someone to return to the mainstream (deradicalization)[3], as in the case of Nasir Abas, the former leader of Jama'ah Islamiyah. Based on observations that the author made to the families[4] of members of Islamic study groups affiliated with ISIS[5], who joined as participants in the Family Resilience Program conducted by the Division for Applied Social Psychology Research in 2019[6], it shows the reality that members of radical study groups are mostly motivated for economic reasons[7]. Furthermore, there are also factors of friendship, family, and the factor of redemption from sins that have been committed in the past[8]. Therefore, the factor of a person being radical needs to be analyzed from various aspects, such as family conditions (family factors can be a factor of involvement and deradicalization)[9], education, friendships, individual psychological conditions[10], and other factors (pull and push)[11] that can motivate a person to become a terrorist[12].

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[2] Nur Khamid, "Bahaya Radikalisme Terhadap NKRI," *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2016): 123–52, https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v1i1.123-152.

[3] Angga Natalia, "Faktor-Faktor Penyebab Radikalisme Dalam Beragama (Kajian Sosiologi Terhadap Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 11, no. 1 (2016), https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsla.v11i1.1436.

[4] Any Rufaedah and Idhamsyah Eka Putra, "Coping with Stigma and Social Exlusion of Terror-Convicts' Wives in Indonesia: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis," *The Qualitative Report* 23, no. 6 (2018): 1334–46.

[5] See Leah Windsor, "The Language of Radicalization: Female Internet Recruitment to Participation in ISIS Activities," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1385457.

[6] Hana Berliani Adiningsih, Fajar Erikha, and Idhamsyah Eka Putra, "Policy Brief Program Resiliensi Keluarga Narapidana Kasus Terorisme," *Buletin KPIN*, February 4, 2021, https://buletin.k-pin.org/index.php/arsip-artikel/791-policy-brief-program-resiliensi-keluarga-narapidana-kasus-terorisme.

[7] See David H. Gray and Tom Owen Matchin, "Children: The New Face of Terrorism," *International NGO* 3, no. 6 (2008), https://academicjournals.org/article/article1380892899_Gray%20and%20Matchin.pdf.

[8] Mia Mellissa Bloom, "Death Becomes Her: The Changing Nature of Women's Role in Terror," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 11, no. 1 (2010): 91–98.

[9] See Elga Sikkens et al., "Parental Influence on Radicalization and De-Radicalization According to the Lived Experiences of Former Extremists and Their Families," *Journal for Deradicalization*, no. 2 (2017): 192–226.

[10] David J. Paulsen et al., "Decision-Making under Risk in Children, Adolescents, and Young Adults," *Frontiers in Psychology*, 2011, https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2011.00072; Santi Dwi Putri, "Cyber Terrorism: Strategi Propaganda Dan Rekrutmen ISIS Di Internet Dan Dampaknya Bagi Indonesia Tahun 2014-2019," *Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 4 (2019): 827–33; Nesa Wilda Musfia, "Peran Perempuan Dalam Kelompok Terorisme ISIS Di Indonesia," *Journal of International Relation* 3, no. 4 (2017): 174–80.

[11] Adrian Cherney et al., "The Push and Pull of Radicalization and Extremist Disengagement: The Application of Criminological Theory to Indonesian and Australian Cases of Radicalization," *Journal of Criminology*, 2021, 1–18, https://doi.org/10.1177/26338076211034893.

Alex Schmid in his study report explains that there are three levels: micro, meso, and macro[13], which can be used to analyze the factors of a person's involvement in terrorist networks. The micro-level is the individual level such as identity problems, failed integration, feelings of alienation, marginalization, discrimination, relative deprivation, humiliation (direct or indirect), stigmatization, and rejection, which are often combined with moral anger and feelings of revenge. The meso-level includes broader factors such as a radical environment that includes a social environment that supports or is even involved in terrorist networks. This social group serves as a meeting point and is a broader reference group for terrorists. It can radicalize groups and lead to the formation of terrorist organizations. The macro-level is the role of the government and society and abroad that causes rebellion. Radicalization caused by macro factors is public opinion and party politics, as well as tensions between majority and minority relations.

The various factors that make a person involved in a radical terrorist network, there are certain characteristics that can be seen explicitly to identify that they have started or are being radicalized. Bertjan Doosje et al. provide an overview of five characteristics of radical groups. First, radical groups take the problems that exist in society seriously. Second, these groups are dissatisfied with the government's way of dealing with problems that exist in society. Third, these groups consider their norms and values to be superior to other groups. Fourth, these groups legitimize violence to solve their problems, and violence is often directed at outsiders who are seen as responsible.[14] Then, in the end, radical terrorist groups carry out acts of terror targeting the wider community who are considered different from their group[15] and with a specific purpose to show that they are a superior group. This can be seen in the case of suicide bombings carried out by perpetrators based on their religious beliefs which threaten and even

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[12] See Mirra Noor Milla, Idhamsyah Eka Putra, and Ahmad Naufalul Umam, "Stories from Jihadists: Significance, Identity, and Radicalization through the Call for Jihad.," *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 25, no. 2 (May 2019): 111–21, https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000371.

[13] Alex Schmid, "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review" (The Hague: The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT), 2013), 4, http://icct.nl/publication/radicalisation-de-radicalisation-counter-radicalisation-a-conceptual-discussion-and-literature-review/; Bertjan Doosje et al., "Terrorism, Radicalization and de-Radicalization," *Current Opinion in Psychology* 11 (October 2016): 79–84, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2016.06.008.

[14] Doosje et al., "Terrorism, Radicalization and de-Radicalization," 79–80.

[15] See Charles Stangor and Scott P. Leary, "Intergroup Beliefs: Investigations from the Social Side," in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, ed. M. P. Zanna, vol. 38 (Elsevier Academic Press, 2006), 243–81, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(06)38005-7.

involve children under the age of 18[16]. In a study conducted by Hendro Wicaksono on the bombing case in Surabaya, which involved one family in 2018, it was found that the suicide bombing occurred with an altruistic type, which was caused by very strong social integration. This type of altruistic suicide is an act of suicide to gain a higher virtue or goodness after death. The suicide bombers in Surabaya were the result of those who believed that this was a righteous and noble act and believed that after death, they would find a better place.[17]

The radicalization process and the doctrine that a person receives can cause changes both in terms of ideology and behavior. In addition, these changes can result in actions that are detrimental to himself and the people around him. According to Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (1953), social change is a change that occurs within a certain period of time either in roles, institutions, or orders consisting of social structure, emergence, growth, and decline[18]. Simply, Gillin and Gillin reveal that social changes are variations in ways of life that are accepted either because of changes in geographical conditions, material culture, population composition, ideology, or new findings[19]. Piotr Sztompka explains that social change is a change that occurs in a social system that includes differences from each system that is the same and one after another[20].

Then, Sztompka explains how the system is formed and derived from various bound elements. It divides the system into three levels. First, the macro level, namely the global community as a whole that forms the international system, states, and countries. Second, the meso level is the area of politics, major associations, and religious movements. Third, the micro level includes local communities, small associations such as workgroups, families, and circles of friends. These three levels can influence each other so that social change is the medium of each actor who mutually influences and is influenced in the order of the system[21]. Social change does not only occur in groups or social structures but includes individual behavior and beliefs that affect a group or institution. This is supported by what Morris Ginsberg (1958) said that the term social change must also include changes in attitudes and beliefs, in so far as

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[16] Amy Chew, "Surabaya Attack: Teen Suicide Bomber Seen Crying Inconsolably before Bombings, Says Witness," CNA, 2018, https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/surabaya-attack-teen-suicide-bomber-seen-crying-inconsolably-10244778.

[17] Hendro Wicaksono, "Analisis Kriminologis: Serangan Bom Bunuh Diri Di Surabaya," *Deviance: Jurnal Kriminologi* 2, no. 2 (2018): 88–101.

[18] Henry L. Tischler, *Introduction to Sociology*, 3rd ed. (Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1990), 613.

[19] Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*, 4th ed. (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1982), 304–5.

[20] Piotr Sztompka, *The Sociology of Social Change* (Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993), 4.

[21] Sztompka, 4–7.

they sustain institutions and change with them[22]. However, individual motivation has a real role in social change, which the role is difficult to measure in social change.

As for the factors that cause social change, sociologists divide them into two categories, namely internal factors, and external factors[23]. The internal factors in social change consist of (1) technological innovation (2) ideology (3) cultural conflict, and (4) institutionalized structural inequality[24]. First, technological innovation discoveries in technology are one of the causes of social changes. In Indonesia, nowadays people can get motorcycle taxis through online applications such as Grab and Gojek and pay with electronic money, so they no longer need to go to motorcycle taxis and use cash. The findings of this new technology change people's lifestyles and their behavior so that social change occurs[25]. Discoveries in technology will not only affect one field such as economics but extend to other fields. For example, the invention of the radio caused changes in the fields of education, religion, government, and recreation, and others[26]. In the case of terrorism, technology is used to recruit new members and as a propaganda medium in influencing society. The Morris study shows the involvement of the internet in recruiting children into terrorist networks[27].

In Indonesia, based on the results of Muthohirin's study, it shows that social media such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter, and even WhatsApp are used to spread extremist ideas by transnational organizations. These groups voice content that invites the public to establish a caliphate, apply Islamic politics, and so on.[28] However, on the other hand, social media can also be used as a medium to fight radicalism[29]. The study of Kusuma and Azizah presents that the Indonesian government through the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) in collaboration with the Media Damai Center (PMD) uses social media as a tool to fight propaganda from radical groups on the internet by

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[22] Tischler, *Introduction to Sociology*, 613.

[23] Tischler, 613–14.

[24] Tischler, 614.

[25] Fino Yurio Kristo, "Awal Mula Transportasi Online Menjamur Di Indonesia," detikInet, 2017, https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-3609781/awal-mula-transportasi-online-menjamur-di-indonesia; Harwanto Bimo Pratomo, "Intip Tokoh Di Balik Suksesnya Grab Menjadi Decacorn Asia Tenggara," merdeka.com, 2019, https://www.merdeka.com/uang/intip-tokoh-di-balik-suksesnya-grab-menjadi-decacorn-asia-tenggara.html.

[26] Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*, 321.

[27] Emma Morris, "Children: Extremism and Online Radicalization," *Journal of Children and Media* 10, no. 4 (2016): 508–14, https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2016.1234736.

[28] Nafi' Muthohirin, "Radikalisme Islam Dan Pergerakannya Di Media Sosial," *Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman Afkaruna* 11, no. 2 (2015): 240–59, https://doi.org/10.18196/aiijis.2015.0050.240-259.

[29] See John Lord Alderdice, "Fundamentalism, Radicalization and Terrorism. Part 2: Fundamentalism, Regression and Repair," *Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy* 31, no. 3 (2017): 301–13, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02668734.2017.1368693.

promoting opposite contents, such as voicing inclusive messages and carry a message of peace[30]. Likewise, a study conducted by Sunarto emphasized that social media has two sides, like a coin, that can be useful in social change but also has a negative side such as being used by radical groups to spread their understanding[31].

Second, ideology has a major role in leading the direction of social change. Tischler divides three types of ideology, including conservative, liberal, and radical[32]. First, conservative or traditional ideologies try to preserve things as they are and these ideologies can slow down the social changes promoted by technological advances[33]. Second, liberal ideology is seeking limited reforms that do not involve fundamental changes in the social structure of society. Third, radical ideology, which seeks major structural changes in society and opposes liberalism. This radical ideology is obtained from various media, such as through families with radical understandings[34], friendships[35], education[36], and social media[37], which since the development of the internet has also grown online radicalization[38]. The third internal factor of social change is cultural conflicts and the fourth is institutionalized structural inequality. On the other

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[30] Rina Sari Kusuma and Nur Azizah, "Melawan Radikalisme Melalui Website," *Jurnal Aspikom* 3, no. 5 (2018): 942–57.

[31] Andang Sunarto, "Dampak Media Sosial Terhadap Paham Radikalisme," *Nuansa: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Kemasyarakatan* 10, no. 2 (2017): 126–32, http://dx.doi.org/10.29300/nuansa.v10i2.647.

[32] See Tischler, *Introduction to Sociology*.

[33] See Heather Selma Gregg, "Three Theories of Religious Activism and Violence: Social Movements, Fundamentalists, and Apocalyptic Warriors," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2014, 1–123, https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2014.918879.

[34] Gray and Matchin, "Children: The New Face of Terrorism"; Any Rufaedah, "Meledak Bersama: Natural Instinct Perempuan Jihadis," *Buletin KPIN*, June 9, 2019, https://buletin.k-pin.org/index.php/arsip-artikel/422-meledak-bersama-natural-instinct-perempuan-jihadis; IPAC, "Managing Indonesia's Pro-ISIS Deportees" (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), 2018), http://understandingconflict.org/en/conflict/read/78/Managing-Indonesias-Pro-ISIS-Deportees.

[35] See Britni Barricman, "Deradicalizing and Disengaging the Children of the Islamic State" (Moneterey, Naval Postgraduate School, 2019), https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/62805; Matteo Vergani et al., "The Three Ps of Radicalization: Push, Pull and Personal. A Systematic Scoping Review of the Scientific Evidence about Radicalization Into Violent Extremism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 43, no. 10 (2018), https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1505686.

[36] Gray and Matchin, "Children: The New Face of Terrorism"; Tom Allard, "Indonesian School a Launchpad for Child Fighters in Syria's Islamic State," *Reuters*, September 7, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-militants-school-insight-idUSKCN1BI0A7.

[37] Achmad Zainal Huda, A. Josias Simon Runturambi, and Muhammad Syauqillah, "Social Media as An Incubator of Youth Terrorism In Indonesia: Hybrid Threat and Warfare," *Jurnal Indo-Islamika* 11, no. 1 (2021): 21–40, https://doi.org/10.15408/jii.v11i1.20362.

[38] See Anne Aly, "The Terrorists' Audience: A Model of Internet Radicalisation," *Journal of Australian Professional Intelligence Officers* 17, no. 1 (2009): 3–19; Nava Nuraniyah, "Not Just Brainwashed: Understanding the Radicalization of Indonesian Female Supporters of the Islamic State," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30, no. 6 (2018): 890–910, https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1481269.

hand, the external factors in social change are "changes within a society produced by events external to that society"[39] – changes that occur because they are caused by events outside a particular society. External factors in social change occur because of the transmission of traits or values from one culture to another. In this era, social change usually occurs because of the development of technology that easily brings certain values and cultures to other places, which are then adopted with local culture and values so that social changes occur in society. This has long been mentioned in Hatu's study. He said that the socio-cultural changes of society were caused by various factors, such as the development of knowledge and technology, the development of transportation and communication, and the movement or migration of rural residents to cities. The existence of mobilization and the factors that have been mentioned can change the local culture according to the times.[40]

This study specifically discusses the factors a person joins into a radical network and the social changes that occur, becoming the basis for outlining the objectives in the focus of this study. The objectives of this study are, firstly, to examine the role of radical study groups (*pengajian*) in one of the Religious Study Councils (*Majelis Taklim*) in Jakarta as a place for indoctrinating radical understanding so that its members experience changes both ideologically and behaviorally. Second, the purpose of this study is to identify the factors and approaches of radicalization taken by radical groups towards their targets. Therefore, in order to achieve the objectives of this study, this study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach[41]. Data collection was done through observation and interviews. Observations were made to 23 participants in the Family Resilience Program conducted by the Division for Applied Social Psychology Research in 2019 and semi-structured interviews were conducted with six participants (wives) of terrorist convicts, who were involved in religious study groups which are affiliated with ISIS in Jakarta. In addition, the author also interviewed 17 participants of the Family Resilience Program consisting of wives, mothers, children, and sisters of convicts with the same topic as supporting data of this study.

Interviews were conducted in two meetings at a place determined by the participants. Generally, the interviews were conducted at each participant's home personally. The duration of the interview for each participant in each meeting is approximately two hours. In the interview process, the results of the interviews were

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[39] Tischler, *Introduction to Sociology*, 616.

[40] Rauf Hatu, "Perubahan Sosial Kultural Masyarakat Pedesaan (Suatu Tinjauan Teoritik-Empirik)," *Jurnal Inovasi* 8, no. 4 (2011).

[41] John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 4th ed. (California: SAGE, 2018).

transcribed and then analyzed by coding based on predetermined themes and new themes that emerged in the field. Six participants were chosen to be the main source of this study because they have something in common, namely their husbands as parking attendants and joining the same religious study groups. The parking attendants in this context is especially a case in North Jakarta – the person who works in a parking area which is a public place like minimarket or shops.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Recruitment of Religious Study Groups Members through Employment

The radicalization carried out by *Yayasan Majelis Taklim* in the Jakarta area is based on a radical environment that includes a social environment that supports or is involved in terrorism networks. This social group serves as a meeting point and is a broader reference group for terrorists, which can radicalize parking attendant groups and lead to the formation of terrorist organizations[42]. Based on the findings in the field, radicalization in parking attendants is led by a parking area owner who happens to be the owner of *Yayasan Majelis Taklim* which is networked with radical groups who have pledged allegiance to ISIS. This parking area owner has a background as a thug away from religion who later repents and runs penance to become a better person[43]. After converting, he then formed a religious study group and recruited his friends and people who needed work to work with him, but with the condition that they had to attend the study group. This type of recruitment is carried out with a socio-economic approach to people who do not have a job and are categorized as having low-class economic conditions. This can be observed from the requirements as parking attendants: that they must attend a study group every week at Yayasan, as stated by the following informant:

> "…It's like working together, he has to follow him at all. Actually, this is what they have to do, they also have to. Because of work, right? Mostly because of work, right. The problem is that if you don't learn the Qur'an, you don't get parking jobs, you can't park. For example, here we are, we have the schedule for the Qur'an study on Sunday, if we won't come here, we'll be suspended for one week, we can't do parking with him..."[44]

The informants explained that her husband attended the religious study group because it was already a package with the job offer that he received as a parking attendant. If they do not attend the study groups, parking attendants are prohibited from working for some time depending on how long their absence is. If they don't attend the

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[42] Schmid, "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation," 4.

[43] See Bloom, "Death Becomes Her: The Changing Nature of Women's Role in Terror."

[44] Interview with the 1st informant, 2019

study group once, they can't work in the parking area for one week and of course, they don't get income. This makes parking attendants inevitably have to follow the study group required by the parking area authorities. In this case, the wives of the study group members did not know that the group their husbands attended was affiliated with ISIS, which in fact has networks in several places in West Java. In fact, the members have a special schedule to conduct such study groups in other areas as one of the groups in the same study group network.

In the case of one of the informants, she was very happy that her husband worked in a place that required him to do the religious study group. She admitted that her husband used to be a man far from religion and a drunkard. Being given the opportunity in old age to study religion is a blessing. The wife felt this feeling because previously she did not know that the religious study group her husband was attending was a group that led to radical terrorism.

> *"...I'm really happy, what else do I end up saying, 'I've been doing this and this is where there's a religious study group here,' I'm happy to ask forgiveness, it's like getting knowledge and getting a job like that..."*[45]

> *"...Isn't that right, even though he used to be crazy about drinking, he used to be young when he was crazy about drinking, he was crazy about drinking..."*[46]

There is no problem with the rules made by the owner of the parking area if he demands his parking attendants to attend the religious study group. But this later became a problem for parking attendants and their families because it turned out that the study group that they attended was an ISIS-affiliated group and they were eventually arrested. The pleasure experienced by the informants at the beginning because of the fact that her husband got a job as well as free Islamic religious education was not in line with expectations. Jobs as parking attendants become the meeting point of the reasons people are involved in cases of convicted terrorism. Although they have not yet committed acts of violence, but based on the study of Doosje et al., radicalism is a thought that motivates people to use violent means against other groups or symbols of other groups to create behavior change and achieve political goals so that they become a dangerous group in Indonesia[47].

Due to the urgent economic situation, even though there are irregularities felt by the wives, it does not make husbands quit their jobs as parking attendants. The economic conditions experienced by the families of parking attendants and their low

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[45] Interview with the 3rd informant, 2019
[46] Interview with the 3rd informant, 2019
[47] Doosje et al., "Terrorism, Radicalization and de-Radicalization."

education force them to follow the rules and have to participate in the study group and other activities, such as self-defense training and "doing sports at Puncak, Bogor" which is an obligation that must be followed. The following is a quote from an informant related to the economic conditions that finally made him accept a job as a parking attendant even though it was conditional:

> "At that time, my husband used to sell. Selling food. And then it goes bankrupt; What to do now? Ee… he sold things at the sidewalk, right? Can't sell anymore now. He was evicted by Kamtib (local authorities for managing security). My husband was still confused. What works that he will do, then there are friends coming. It is said 'you didn't want to work?' 'I want to'. 'You work, but you join the religious study group' that was the beginning. That's it. Then he was told to go to the study group first… 'What do you study?' 'Just study the Qur'an' it is like that. Okay then. He wanted to join the parking job. 'My wife, Can I join the parking work? But I have to attend the religious study group' 'What kind of study?' 'Ordinary Quran recitation, Quran recitation is like that. He works in the parking area, said the husband. It's a shame if my husband doesn't work, where will he eat from?"[48]

If children in Sri Lanka are recruited by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as soldiers because they are promised economic welfare[49], the same thing happened to members of parking groups in Jakarta. They were promised jobs with the condition that they had to become members of the study group which were initially taught basic religious lessons such as how to read the Qur'an until eventually they were implanted in a radical ideology[50], which led them to think that groups outside of them were wrong[51]. This type of indoctrination carried out by the leaders of the Foundation and their teacher is a type of approach that is carried out in stages, starting from being motivated by economic factors to entering into religious fanatics.

Friendship, Redemption, and Family Factor

Unlike the husbands of the five informants, the husband of one of the respondents in this study worked in the parking area because he followed his friend's invitation, which motivated him to return to the right path as a form of repentance. Her husband used to work as an employee at a bank in Indonesia. The informant's husband suddenly left his job, which had his family reprimanded for his attitude. However, her husband remained determined to quit his job. The wife also assumes that her husband

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[48] Interview with the 6th informant, 2019

[49] See Gray and Matchin, "Children: The New Face of Terrorism."

[50] See Tischler, *Introduction to Sociology*.

[51] See Stangor and Leary, "Intergroup Beliefs: Investigations from the Social Side."

left his job because of the instigation of his friend who said that working at the bank was usury. Then, finally, the husband chose his friend's invitation to work as a parking attendant and study religion. Her husband's personality, which is easy to follow what his friends say, makes his wife's words not heard. The following is what the informant said about her husband and the influence of her husband's friends who said that working at the bank resulted in usury:

> "...He used to work like that at a bank, he worked in the field like machines (ATM), fixing machines, in the past, it was just because maybe this was an invitation from a friend... that's why he was instigated like that."[52]

> "There is another friend, I also don't know who his friend is. So, they were asked 'why do you work at the bank, at the bank, it is usury."[53]

Analysis at the micro-level shows that an individual can be exposed to radical ideas, one of which is due to failed integration processes and feelings of alienation[54]. The characteristics of individuals who do not have high enough resilience make themselves vulnerable to be recruited into members of radical terrorist groups. The reason for joining the study group is initially because of friendship, then into inner turmoil because of penance for sins in the past, and finally becomes a strong reason to make religion a reason to fight for[55]. This individual factor is certainly used by radical groups to invite them to be further involved in "*jihad*" and other terrorist activities.

The group of parking attendants experienced indoctrination through two aspects. First, the approach is carried out socio-economically by providing jobs. Second, the approach is through the study group, both to husband and wife. Apart from husbands who take part in the *pengajian*, the wives are also asked to participate in the *pengajian* in a special group for the wives of parking attendants. However, in the case experienced by the informants in this study, they firmly denied that they did not want to join the study group because it was based on their dislike of the character of their husband's boss. Some are because of their business, and some because of the discomfort with the attitude shown by the members of the study group to foreigners. As experienced by one of the sources of this study who did not want to take part in the group, she felt that people there did not like her who was actively speaking. As a newcomer, she felt that other congregations had neglected her so she was uncomfortable and did not want to attend the study group in the same place as her husband.

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[52] Interview with the 2nd informant, 2019

[53] Interview with the 2nd informant, 2019

[54] See Schmid, "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation."

[55] See Ulya, "Radikalisme Atas Nama Agama: Tafsir Historis Kepemimpinan Nabi Muhammad Di Madinah."

Social Transformation: Ideology and Behavior

Sztompka[56] divides the change system into three levels. First, at the macro level, the global community as a whole forms the international system, countries, and states. Second, the meso level is the area of politics, major associations, and religious movements. Third, the micro level includes local communities, small associations such as workgroups, families, and circles of friends. These three levels can influence each other so that social change is the medium of each individual actor who influences and is influenced by each other in the system order[57]. Specifically, this study discusses at the micro level, including groups of parking attendants who are members of radical study groups. As a result, parking attendants experience changes, such as in their economic, behavioral, ideological, and psychological structures.

Social changes that occur in members of this study group are initiated by someone who has the power and authority who then has a position to change the structure and make modifications to the group. This is supported by what is said by Morris Ginsberg (1958) which states that social change must also include changes in attitudes and beliefs, as long as they support institutions and change together[58]. As for the factors that cause social change, sociologists divide them into two categories, namely internal factors, and external factors[59]. In this study, it is known that the impetus for social change is caused by internal ideological factors conveyed by their leaders and clerics in the recitation, then changing their behavior in social interactions.

The changes can be seen as follows:

1. No Friday Prayers Outside the Study Group

The informants in this study explained that after attending the group, their husbands experienced changes in their behavior in worship. The most prominent behavior shown is the Friday prayer at the *pengajian* because in another place the imam is not necessarily "Islamic" like their group. This makes the wife suspicious because of the irregularity of what was taught to her husband and the conditions required to participate in the study group as a parking attendant.

> *"I see it seems that when he prays, he should only be with his gang. He said if you want to pray to another mosque, it doesn't mean that the priest has read syahadat."[60]*

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[56] *The Sociology of Social Change*, 4.

[57] Sztompka, 4–7.

[58] Tischler, *Introduction to Sociology*, 613.

[59] Tischler, 613–14.

[60] Interview with the 1st informant, 2019

According to Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (1953), social change is a change that occurs within a certain period either in the role, institution, or order consisting of the social structure, its emergence, growth, and decline[61]. Simply, Gillin and Gillin reveal that social changes are variations in ways of life that are accepted either because of changes in geographical conditions, material culture, population composition, ideology, or other new findings[62]. In the analysis of this study, it is seen that there are changes that occur due to ideological modifications in a group of parking attendants in Jakarta. This is by what Tischler[63] stated which states that social change consists of any modifications in the social organization of a society in its social institutions or social roles.

The phenomenon that occurs in changing the behavior of groups of parking attendants to be exclusive in religion is also supported by the opinion of Doosje et al.[64] which provides an overview of three characteristics of radical groups. First, the radical group takes the problems that exist in society seriously. Second, this group is dissatisfied with the government's way of dealing with problems that exist in society. Third, this group considers their norms and values to be superior to other groups. Fourth, this group legitimizes violence to solve their problems, and violence is often directed at outsiders who are seen as responsible. The findings in this study indicate that husbands are someone who has a radical understanding, where this group considers their norms and values to be superior to values outside their group. Thoughts built on this radicalization process, if not addressed early on, will become more extreme, thus taking actions that lead to violence and acts of terror.

2. Going Out of Town Together and Physical Exercise

"Not only at the Yayasan, they often go to Depok. So, for example, once a month they did the study group in Depok. Keep moving around. To Depok, there are many networks, in Depok, right, this is one, all of them, one assembly, all of them are the same as Depok."[65]

From what was conveyed by the informants above, it turns out that this study group is not based in Jakarta but it has other congregations who are an affiliation outside the study group in Jakarta. Members of the *pengajian* are also given physical training such as martial arts, karate, or boxing every Sunday outside of their study group for reasons of health. Based on the findings of interviews in the

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[61] Tischler, *Introduction to Sociology*, 613.

[62] Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*, 304–5.

[63] *Introduction to Sociology*.

[64] Doosje et al., "Terrorism, Radicalization and de-Radicalization," 79–80.

[65] Interview with the 1st informant, 2019

field, members of the parking attendant group in Jakarta experienced two major changes after the existence of the study group affiliated with the ISIS group. First, the changes experienced by members are ideologically marked by the pattern of Friday prayers which must only be with the group. Second, the changes experienced by members of the study group on a daily basis are doing *pengajian* and physical training.

The changes experienced by parking attendants after attending the study group and after being indoctrinated by their leaders can be found in the activities of parking attendants visiting other areas to get reinforcement of their exclusive ideological thinking as well as physical exercise. For example, in the case of the arrest of members of the Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) group in 2018[66], although this group has not yet taken action, they are a group ensnared by Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 2018. It is the same with the case of parking attendants who are still in the process of preparing physically and spiritually to get deeper indoctrination to carry out the action.

CONCLUSION

The study can be concluded that the group of parking attendants experienced indoctrination through two aspects. First, the approach is carried out socio-economically by providing employment opportunities. Second, the approach is through the *pengajian* to get the teachings of the Qur'an and an exclusive understanding of Islam. Members of the parking attendants' group in Jakarta also experienced two major changes after the existence of an Islamic study group affiliated with the ISIS group. First, the changes experienced by members are ideologically marked by the pattern of Friday prayers which must only be with the group. Second, the changes experienced by members of the *pengajian* on a daily basis are the religious studying activities, gathering with worshipers outside the city, and physical training that is carried out weekly. Indoctrination carried out by parking attendant leaders is carried out in stages, starting from providing job opportunities, providing facilities for studying the Qur'an, giving confidence in the importance of moving in a better direction, to providing material about radical and exclusive Islam.

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[66] Andita Rahma, "Densus 88 Tangkap Terduga Teroris Di Bendungan Hilir," Tempo, July 9, 2018, https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1105296/densus-88-tangkap-terduga-teroris-di-bendungan-hilir; Adi Warsono, "Penangkapan Terduga Teroris Di Bekasi: Tengah Siapkan Serangan?," Tempo, May 13, 2018, https://metro.tempo.co/read/1088421/penangkapan-terduga-teroris-di-bekasi-tengah-siapkan-serangan.

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