EX-TERRORIST MOTIVATION IN REEDUCATION PROGRAM: CASE STUDY OF TERRORISM CONVICTS IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Terrorism is one of the extraordinary crimes, creating terror based on ideological differences and misinterpreting religious teaching. This research focuses on how the re-education program for terrorist convicts is carried out and what are the factors that influence a person to be involved in criminal acts of terrorism. The research uses qualitative methods within the exploratory, investigative approach. The participants of the research are 36 terrorism convicts who are still serving their sentences. The research found that the re-education program given to terrorism convicts centered on strengthening ideology related to strong religious values and nationalism spirit. The ideological aspect is the main point in the re-education program, this is because the ideological aspect is more permanent and effective. The terrorists were still dominated by males and members of JAD (Jamaah Anshorut Daulah). The background of the individuals is also varied, ranging from uneducated to bachelor or higher, unemployed to civil servants. The convicts who join a terrorist group have different reasons. However, several reasons generally stated by convicts involved in terrorist groups are a strong belief in a particular ideology or religion, hatred of certain groups or ideologies, and the urge to make radical changes in society. In addition, convicts may also be affected by factors such as poverty, injustice, and discrimination they experienced. The research also unveils that the convicts have regret for their previous acts. Therefore, the re-education program's main role is to ensure the convicts are part of society once again.

Keywords: terrorist convicts; terrorism; motivation

Abstrak

Terorisme adalah salah satu kejahatan luar biasa yang menciptakan ketakutan berdasarkan perbedaan ideologi dan penafsiran yang salah terhadap ajaran agama. Penelitian ini berfokus pada bagaimana program reedukasi terhadap terorisme dijalankan dan faktor-faktor apa saja yang memengaruhi seseorang untuk terlibat dalam tindakan kriminal terorisme. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan eksploratif dan investigatif. Peserta penelitian adalah 36 narapidana terorisme yang masih menjalani hukuman mereka. Penelitian menemukan bahwa program reedukasi yang diberikan kepada narapidana terorisme berpusat pada penguatan ideologi terkait nilai agama dan semangat berbangsa yang kuat. Aspek ideologis menjadi poin utama dalam program reedukasi, hal tersebut dikarenakan aspek ideologis lebih bersifat permanen dan efektif. Teroris masih didominasi oleh laki-laki dan anggota JAD (Jamaah Anshorut Daulah). Latar belakang individu-individu ini juga beragam, mulai dari yang tidak berpendidikan hingga sarjana atau lebih tinggi, dari pengangguran hingga pegawai negeri. Narapidana yang bergabung dengan kelompok teroris memiliki alasan yang berbeda. Namun, beberapa alasan yang umumnya dinyatakan oleh narapidana yang terlibat dalam kelompok teroris adalah keyakinan kuat pada ideologi atau agama tertentu, kebencian terhadap kelompok atau ideologi tertentu, dan dorongan untuk membuat perubahan radikal dalam masyarakat. Selain itu, narapidana juga dapat dipengaruhi oleh faktor-faktor seperti kemiskinan, ketidakadilan, dan diskriminasi yang mereka alami. Penelitian juga mengungkapkan bahwa para narapidana menyesal atas tindakan mereka sebelumnya. Oleh karena itu, program reedukasi menjalankan peran utamanya untuk memastikan para narapidana kembali menjadi bagian dari masyarakat.

Kata kunci: narapidana terorisme; terorisme; motivasi

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Introduction

Understanding terrorism and its actors has become one of the central issues in Indonesia. To understand terrorists and why they do their terror acts, holistic understanding is necessary, including understanding their socio-cultural background. This study seeks to understand the socio-cultural background of terrorist convicts in Indonesia and the reason why they joined the terrorist groups. More importantly, how is the re-education program able to help the terrorist convicts.

It is necessary to know why this issue is crucial, especially how it could affect social-political condition as shown in numerous studies (Brogan, Rusciano, Thompson, & Walden, 2020; Cherney, 2018). Terrorism cases seem to continue to develop in various forms. What has happened and shown in the media is just the tip of the iceberg. As the saying goes, one loss leads to a thousand. The Islamic State of Indonesia (NII), which Kartosoewirjo proclaimed because of his disappointment with the Indonesian government led by Soekarno, was still the primary source for the survival of radical terrorist groups in Indonesia. For example, Jemaah Islamiyyah (JI), Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), ISIS, Neo JI, al Hawariyun and other radical terrorist groups, if traced, will lead to the NII group. One of the Neo-JI leaders once said that all the estuaries of terrorist groups in Indonesia are NII, only changing names to continue establishing an Islamic state (Mareta, 2018; Septian, 2010).

Indonesia has at least four phases of acts of terror and radicalism. The first phase was the emergence of the DI/TII Movement initiated by Kartosoewirjo, which Kahar Muzakkar and Daud Beureuh then continued. The second phase was the emergence of the Jihad Command Movement between 1970-1980. The next phase is the emergence of the Jemaah Islamiyyah (JI) group commanded by Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Bashir. Lastly is the emergence of new groups, which have little to do with the old groups affiliated with ISIS (Mubarak, 2015).

In its release, the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) stated that currently, six groups are still active in carrying out movement and recruitment, namely Jamaah Islamiyyah (JI), Jamaah Ansar Daulah (JAD), Jamaah Ansar Khilafah (JAK), Jamaah Ansar Syariah (JAS), Indonesian Islamic State (NII), and East Indonesia Mujahidin (MIT) (Hartanto, 2019).

Of the six groups, when narrowed down, only two large groups remain, namely Jemaah Islamiyyah (JI) and Jamaah Ansar Daulah (JAD). Although both are considered radical groups, the two have fundamental differences. Even though both have *takfiri* views, JAD tends to be more extreme and broader in viewing the concept of an enemy. JI is affiliated with Al Qaeda, while JAD is affiliated with ISIS (Widya, 2020).

In carrying out acts of *amaliyah*/terror, the perpetrators were convinced by religious interpretation that the *amaliyah* would rewarded by martyrdom/*shahid*. Each terror group has a way of indoctrinating its members to perform *wala'* and *baro'*. One terrorism convict said recruiting members of the Jamaah Islamiyyah was challenging. For those who did not have a mature religious knowledge basis, it could take approximately ten years, so the level of loyalty to the group was unquestionable (Firdaus, 2017; Firmansyah, 2019).

Yusuf al-Qardawi believes many factors cause the emergence of radicalism/*al-tatharruf,* including 1) Partial religious knowledge. 2) Literal understanding of religious texts so that

radicals only understand Islam from their skin but lack knowledge about religious essence. 3) Exaggeration in forbidding many things that burden the people. 4) Weak in historical and sociological insights so that their fatwas often conflict with the benefit of the people, common sense, and the spirit of the times. 5) Radicalism often appears as a reaction to other forms of radicalism, such as the radical attitude of secularists who reject religion. 6) Resistance to social, economic, and political injustice in society against its government (Hafid, 2020; Kamaludin, 2020).

In addition to group involvement, the perpetrators of terrorism also have indirect involvement factors. This can be seen in the terrorist acts in 2009, namely Afham, Sony, and Fajar. The three were involved in helping the suicide bombers at the JW Marriot and Ritz Carlton hotels. At least three reasons unconsciously influenced them: kinship, friendship, and teacher-student relationships (Indrawan & Aji, 2019; Mubarak, 2014).

Febyorita et al. researched the motivation of women as perpetrators of acts of terrorism in Indonesia. This study found that 1) the form of terrorism threats carried out by women continues to grow. Previously they were only supporters or sympathizers, but now, they have become perpetrators. 2) the motivations that emerge from female terrorists are economic, justice, self-actualization, and social. 3) in tackling acts of terror by women, the state uses an approach of ends, ways, and means (Amelia, 2020). Meanwhile, Musdah Mulia said that although women are the actual perpetrators, they are victims of their husband's ideology, religious indoctrination, social stigmatization, media, and conflict (Mulia, 2019).

Saraswati and Elsafira researched the profiling of child terrorists using a phenomenological approach. The results obtained are that terrorists exploit children in two ways: 1) the brainwashing method, namely instilling radical ideology in children who are experiencing an identity crisis. 2) by force, namely kidnapping and intimidation. These children will be forced, indoctrinated, and taught to disassemble and use weapons. Another important thing is the parents' role in giving appreciation and attention to children (Saraswati & Reyanta, 2020).

In research conducted by Agus et al., five motivations lead to religious radicalism, namely: 1) social and political factors, a sense of injustice towards the government, and government policies that reject the NII Movement; 2) the factor of religious emotion and the religious sentiment is sometimes the trigger for acts of radicalism and terrorism; 3) cultural factors, certain groups accuse the government of being unjust and tend to be hostile to Muslims; 4) ideological factors. Religious motivations are described to make people become fanatics, understand *takfiri,* and justify any means; 5) government policy factors. The government is considered to have yet to provide concrete solutions for people's lives (Reksoprodjo et al., 2018).

The previous studies contributed to the current studies, especially regarding internal factors that led to radicalism and terrorism. However, the previous studies are still lacking in exploring the background of those involved in terrorist acts which are believed to be essential in understanding terrorism. Therefore, this study offers new information and insights in understanding the terrorist convicts.

Based on the background above, this study aims to capture the socio-intellectual background of terrorist convicts and their motivations for joining the groups. It is crucial to understand the

socio-cultural background of terrorists. Studies support that socioeconomic inequality, injustice, judicial impartiality, ethnical issue, and political play a prominent role, either in flourishing or eradicating radicalism (Zulfikar & Aminah, 2020; Zhang, 2019; Mendoza, et. al., 2021). As terrorists are driven by an ideology, which is unseen but easy to transmit to other people. Therefore, understanding the socio-intellectual background of terrorist convicts is contributive to counterterrorism studies, especially in terms of understanding the driving factors and variables of terrorists in Indonesia.

Method

The method used in the implementation of this research is the qualitative method. The exploratory investigative approach (Stebbins, 2001) is used as a process that wants to know about the profile and motivation of the perpetrators of acts of terrorism. On the other hand, a descriptive analysis approach is used to describe conditions that are seen as they are. M. Nasir defines this descriptive research as a systematic, factual, and accurate description (picture) regarding the factors, characteristics, and relationships between the phenomena studied.

In this study, data sources are divided into two categories: 1) the primary data source used is contained in the question items, which are summarized in the form of a research questionnaire that will be conducted offline or online. From the respondents' answers to the questionnaire question items; 2) Secondary data sources are supporting and complementary data sources for research data. This data is crucial for the completeness of the analysis of the findings of this study. Secondary data sources referred to books and literature reference materials related to the motivation for extremism acts.

This research was conducted for 5 (five) months, August – December 2022, which included preparation, implementation, analysis, and reporting activities. The research begins with several stages: Preparation: in this activity, the researcher tries to prepare initial data related to the research problem being studied; second, Research Implementation: research implementation activities by collecting related data based on the research instruments that have been prepared; third, Evaluation or Reporting Research Results: the final act carried out by researchers by making research results reports following the standard systematics.

The respondents in this study were 36 (thirty-six) terrorism convicts serving their sentences in several correctional facilities. Some of the things to be revealed in this study. Namely, the background, includes gender, marital status, educational background, working history, networking groups, and roles in the group (Khamdan, 2016). In addition, other things to be disclosed, namely the motivation, including the reasons for joining, *I'dad* experience, personal invites, perceptions of *hijrah*, perceptions of *jihad*, perceptions of suicide bombings, perceptions of the caliphate, perceptions of *takfiri*, perceptions of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, perceptions of democracy, guilt, and hopes after released (Febriyansah et al., 2017).

Findings and Discussion

Framework of Reeducation Program

Studies highlight that a positive approach is more significant over harsh approach in counterterrorism efforts (Abozaid, 2020). Cases like Kenyan counterterrorism approach (Kamau, 2021) which shows the increasing of 'responses' from terrorist group, Al-Shabaab is one of the examples. Therefore, besides hard approach, deradicalization program plays prominent role.

Deradicalization is a planned, integrated, systematic, and continuous process carried out to eliminate, reduce, and reverse the radical ideology of terrorism that has occurred. (Law No. 5 of 2018). This is an effort by the government to de-ideologize terrorism convicts who were previously hardened by their understanding of terrorism so that they can return to society who followed the state ideology under the constitution and the foundations of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Deradicalization Program implemented by the Indonesian government, in this case the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) targeting terrorism convicts, has four stages: Identification and Assessment, Rehabilitation, Reeducation, and Social Reintegration. These four stages should be followed by terrorism convicts in correctional institutions willing to participate in the Deradicalization program.

The third stage in the Deradicalization program is Re-education, namely coaching or strengthening someone to abandon the radical ideology of terrorism. In this stage, WBPs for crimes of terrorism will be equipped with Islamic educational knowledge, which is expected to filter radical interpretations of the holy book Al-Qur'an and misuse of hadith. In Islamic religious education, the material content includes the basics of the faith of a true Muslim. Then there is material about the relation between Islam and the state, which is a strong component to be challenged by erroneous understandings of Islamic education.

Re-education means providing the basics of a discipline or idea and its relationship to others. Islamic education and national insight presented in re-education have a focus on the meeting point between religion and the state as a complementary unity, not in conflict with each other.

Re-education activities have social transformation as social cohesion and conflict resolution from long discussions regarding leadership systems, especially regarding religion and the state. Islamic education is the key to opening a space for dialogue so that open communication can occur to foster peace. The output of the re-education program is directed at peace which starts from the mind and then results in harmonious actions. Islamic education develops eight educational principles, namely the universal principle (*syumuliyah*), the principle of balance and simplicity (*tawazun wa iqtishadiyah*), the principle of clarity (*tabayun*), the principle of non-contradiction, the principle of realism and can be implemented, the principle of desired change, the principle of maintaining differences, and dynamic principles and accepting change.

The re-education program for terrorism convicts also provides national insight, including understanding Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and the Republic of Indonesia. These four national consensuses create collaboration between religious and national understandings. The national insight approach is a strategy for discussing the relationship between religion and the state. The convicts had the militancy to be hostile to the Republic of

Indonesia. They attempted to change the state system because they considered the Republic of Indonesia *taghut* and infidels who had to be fought. So, re-education is the right time to re-discuss Indonesia as a unitary country with Islam as the religion of *rahmatan lil alamin.*

The final approach in the reeducation program is character education. This approach is carried out to encourage convicts to realize that many alternative solutions can be used when facing life problems, whether welfare problems or constitutional problems. Apart from that, character education also strengthens the view that diversity is inevitable and must be accepted as a blessing. Bringing up opportunities for new solutions and alternatives in understanding religious and state life becomes necessary when someone feels stuck in interpreting the phenomena of their life. So, in re-education, it is hoped that life expectancy will be colored again with various multidimensional solutions from multiple perspectives.

The re-education stages are structured based on the findings in the identification and assessment stages, which are followed by the rehabilitation stages that have been carried out. This provides an overview of the factors that lead to support for the path of violence. Apart from that, baseline data related to individual classification was also obtained so that a targeted and specific approach taking into account individual differences could be carried out. Convicts in the re-education stage have been screened in the rehabilitation stage.
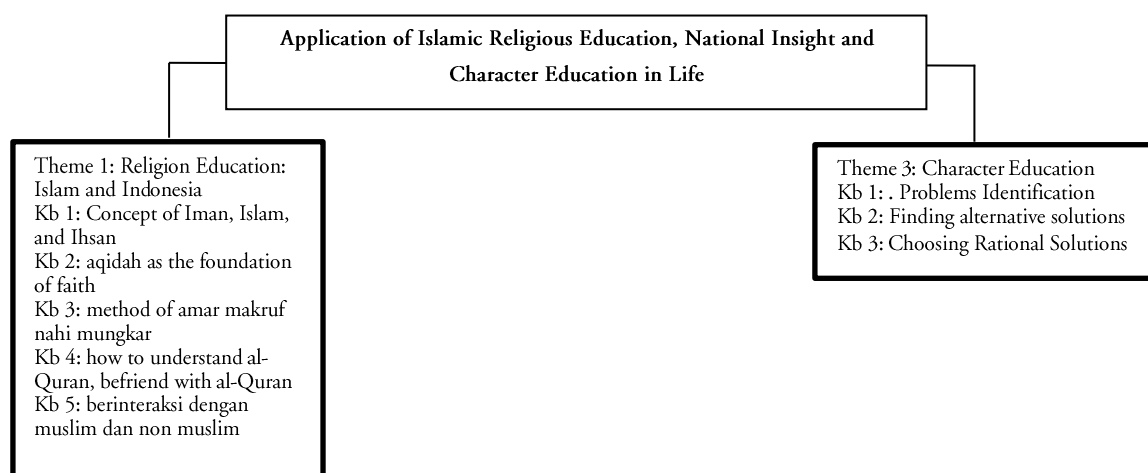

Figure 1. concept map of reeducation program

The strategy in educating ideology is carried out through intensive dialogue with the themes chosen as the basis for justifying their ideology, which is carried out individually and in groups. There are three main narratives raised, namely: 1) Religious Education (Islam and Indonesianism): re-understanding the context of Faith, Islam, and Ihsan, *aqidah* as a basis for faith, methods of *amar makruf nahi mungkar,* how to understand the Qur'an, make friends with the Qur'an, interact with Muslims and non-Muslims; 2) National Insight Education: History of the Nation's Struggle, the four basic national consensuses, development of the Indonesian government system, National Defense, and Love for the Motherland; 3) Character Education: Reorientation to identifying problems, developing various alternative solutions, and choosing rational solutions.

The themes above are given to instill correct ideological beliefs in convicts, which is reflected in aspects of understanding (cognitive), attitudes (affective), and behavior (psychomotor). An initial psychological approach is essential as an entry point to the education process. This psychological approach aims to reduce convicts' resistance so they are willing to be involved (motivated) in the re-education process.

This activity is carried out by local resource persons with expertise in the field of religion and national insight through training by national resource persons, especially related to religious education, national understanding, and character education. The groups this program targets are those with low, high, and very high levels of radicalism. And the most important thing is that the target has followed the identification and rehabilitation stages.

Reeducation Pattern

As explained in the previous section, a re-education program must implement two main strategies: educating ideology and a psychological approach. Educating creates correct ideological beliefs in convicts, which is reflected in aspects of understanding (cognitive), attitudes (affective), and behavior (psychomotor). This psychological approach aims to reduce convicts' resistance so they are willing to be involved (motivated) in the re-education process, see figure 2.
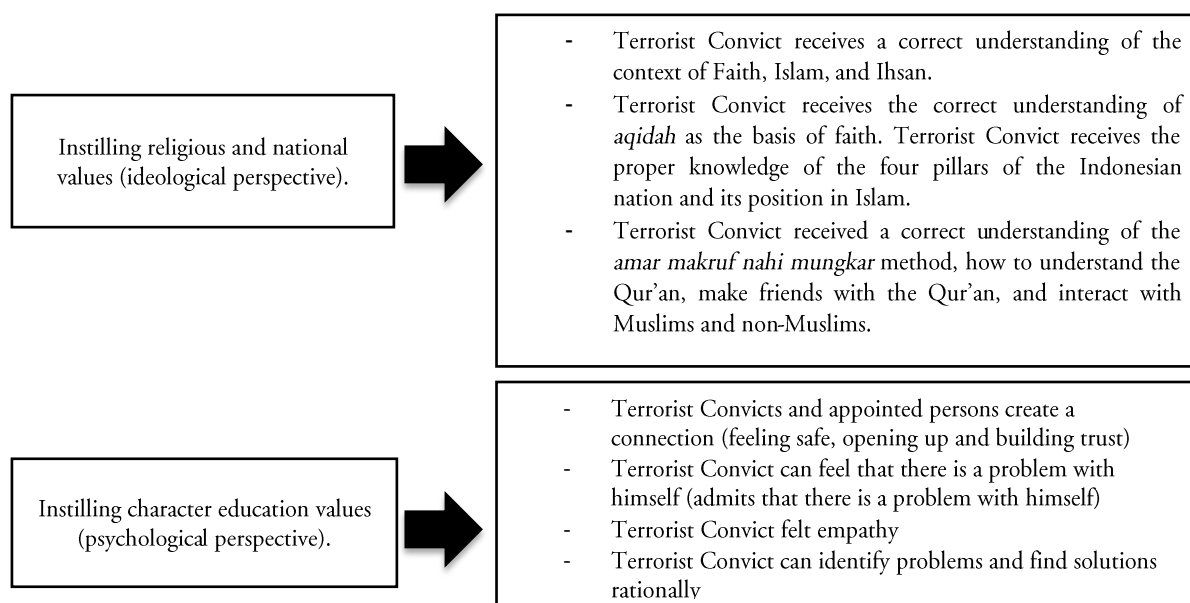

| Instilling religious and national values (ideological perspective). | ➡ | - Terrorist Convict receives a correct understanding of the context of Faith, Islam, and Ihsan.
- Terrorist Convict receives the correct understanding of *aqidah* as the basis of faith. Terrorist Convict receives the proper knowledge of the four pillars of the Indonesian nation and its position in Islam.
- Terrorist Convict received a correct understanding of the *amar makruf nahi mungkar* method, how to understand the Qur'an, make friends with the Qur'an, and interact with Muslims and non-Muslims. |
| Instilling character education values (psychological perspective). | ➡ | - Terrorist Convicts and appointed persons create a connection (feeling safe, opening up and building trust)
- Terrorist Convict can feel that there is a problem with himself (admits that there is a problem with himself)
- Terrorist Convict felt empathy
- Terrorist Convict can identify problems and find solutions rationally |

Figure 2. Reeducation Process

Sex

The data from figure 3 shows that men mostly do terrorist acts, with a percentage of 94%. Qori'ah (2019) explained that since the emergence of terrorism, women have only played the role of intermediaries, data managers through the internet network, fund collectors, and encouragement of "jihad" for their husbands who are incidentally terrorists. However, we also need to be wary of current radicalism propaganda movements that can actively involve women in

acts of terrorism. Women as active perpetrators in terror acts are suspected of showing the piety level of a woman according to their group interpretation.
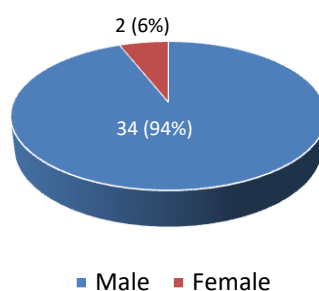

Figure 3. Profile of Terrorism Convict in Reeducation Program
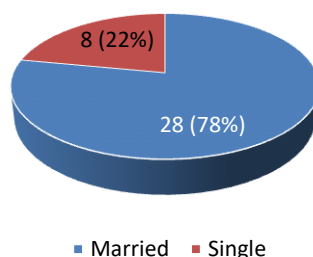
Marital Status

Figure 4. Marital Status of Terrorism Convict in Reeducation Program

The data from figure 4 shows that most perpetrators of criminal acts of terrorism are married, with a percentage of 78%. This raises the presumption that maybe they did this action because of the partner's motivation. But this statement is somewhat contrary to the opinion of Rufaidah et. al. (2017) that the wife of a terrorist is an individual who does not always have the same opinions as her husband. Even though they have high obedience, not all adopt the husband's understanding; some wives are more inclusive, but some are more extreme than husbands. Meanwhile, perpetrators who are not yet married may be exposed to radical ideology from the communities they associate with, both in real life and digital spaces.

Educational Background

The data from figure 5 shows that the terrorist convicts have quite diverse educational backgrounds. However, the most significant number came from upper secondary level backgrounds with 53% and bachelor with 17%. This shows that a relatively high level of education does not necessarily reduce the risk of being exposed to extreme ideologies in the name of religion. Windiani (2017) stated the condition of the Indonesian people who faced economic and social problems, resulting in many were very easily influenced or recruited into terrorist groups.
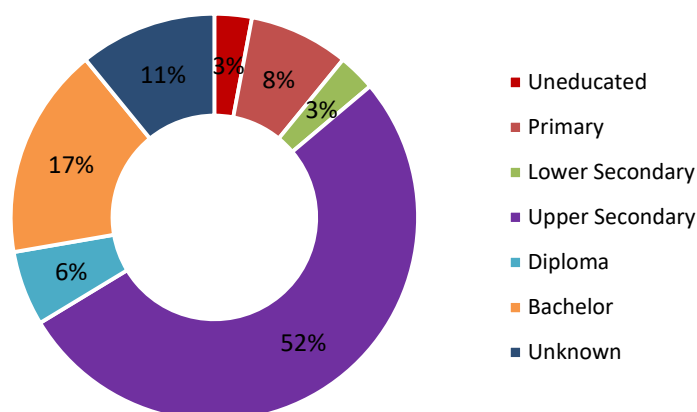
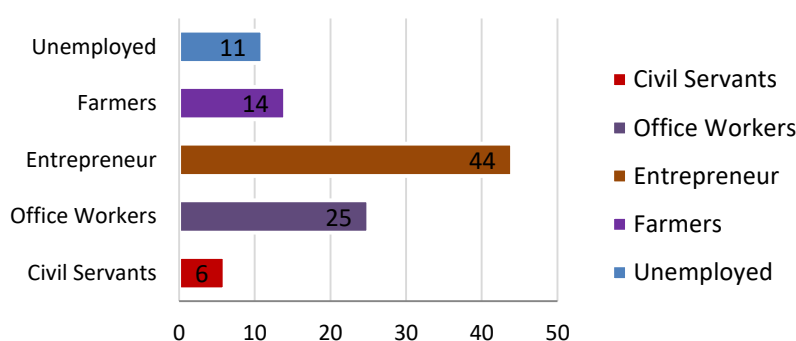Figure 5. educational background of terrorism convict

Occupation

Figure 6. Occupation of Terrorism Convict Before Reeducation Program

The data from figure 6 shows entrepreneur is most exposed to extreme ideology in the name of religion, with 44% of the total. However, the unique thing is that 6% have a civil servant background. This should be an evaluation for the future development of ASN (Civil Servants) so that there are no more perpetrators of terrorism from this group. What needs to be watched out for is that the strategy for exposing the ideology of terrorism follows the development of human life with situations that support it. The more sophisticated the technology we possess, the easier it will be for their networks to recruit new victims (Junaid, 2013).

Affiliation

The data from figure 7 shows that the network group that massively recruits its members is JAD, with 50% of the total data, followed by ISIS, with 19%. Windiani (2017) states that terrorist groups in Indonesia allegedly have strong funding sources, clear organizational structures, and recruitment patterns for new members or networks. This must be watched to minimize and even eradicate the spread of extremist ideology.
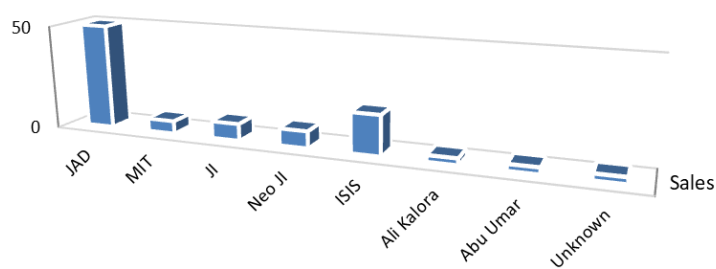
JAD	MIT	JI	Neo JI	ISIS	Ali Kalora	Abu Umar	Unknown
50	6	8	8	19	3	3	3

Figure 7. Affiliation of Terrorism Convict
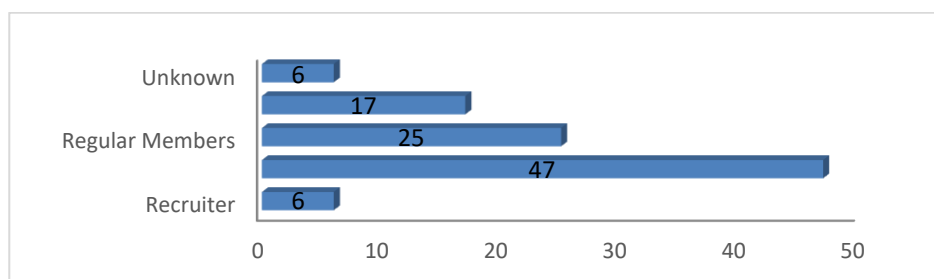
Roles in the Group

Figure 8. Role of Terrorism Convict Before Reeducation Program

The data from figure 8 shows most perpetrators of terrorist acts are militia in their network groups, with a total of 47%, followed by supporters and sympathizers as much as 9% and 6%. Starting from sympathizers, then one can become a regular member. After being deemed to have a strong belief in the group, a member is raised to a militant level and can eventually become an ideologue to recruit new members. Windiani (2017) stated that global technological advances, such as the internet and cell phones, made it easier for investigators and members to communicate with their groups. In addition, terrorists also have the convenience of traveling and moving across nations' borders, making it very difficult to break the chain of global terrorism networks.

Reason for Joining

The data from figure 9 shows that the most found reasons for joining extreme groups are in the context of implementing Islamic law and aiming to fight for Islam, with 39% and 36%. However, those who said fight for Islam still question which part they will fight for. Nainggolan (2016) also explained that many people join extreme groups in the name of religion in Indonesia for economic, geographical, and demographic reasons, the rise of radical campaigns to carry out acts of terrorism on social media, as well as the emptiness and weakness of law enforcement in the country. Thus, poverty alleviation, making anti-terrorism laws, and better and consistent law enforcement need to be a priority, in addition to the need for a deradicalization campaign.
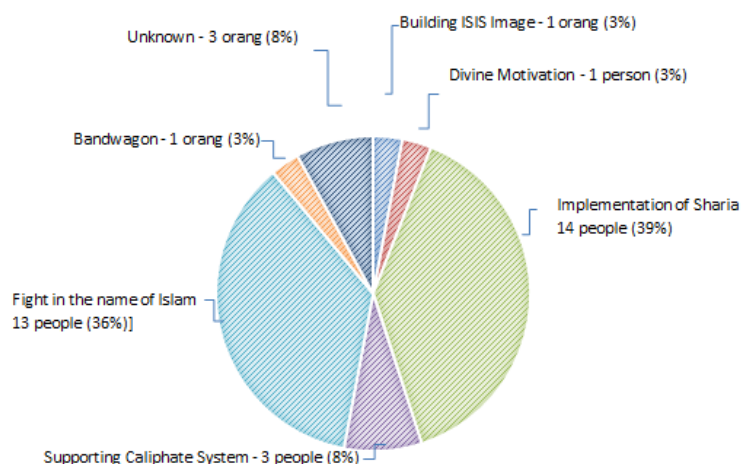
Figure 9. Reasons for Joining Extreme Groups
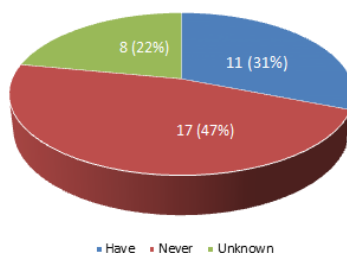
I'dad Experience

Figure 10. Reasons for Joining Extreme Groups

The data from figure 10 shows that most of the terrorism convicts in this research admit that they have no *I'dad* experience, with a total of 47%. This may be because extremist groups have just recruited them, so they still convince them of their ideology before moving on to the following process: *I'dad.*
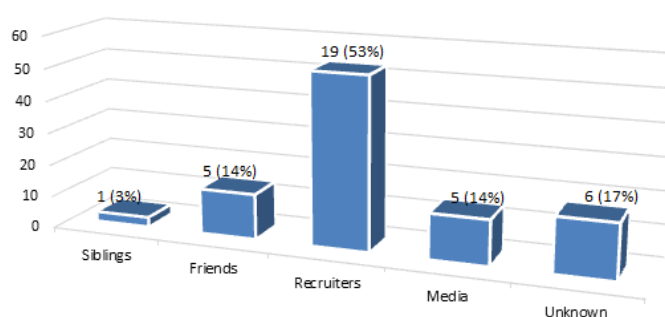
Accepting Invitation from

Figure 11. Source of Invitation to Extremist Group

The data from figure 11 shows that convicts join extremist groups through invited by recruiters as much as 53%. In addition, some join through media propaganda, friends, and

relatives. Advances in internet media have allowed extremist groups to recruit, propagandize, and disseminate ideology. If the conventional method of spreading radicalism requires face-to-face meetings or direct contact, this method is now equipped with online media (Zamzamy, 2019).
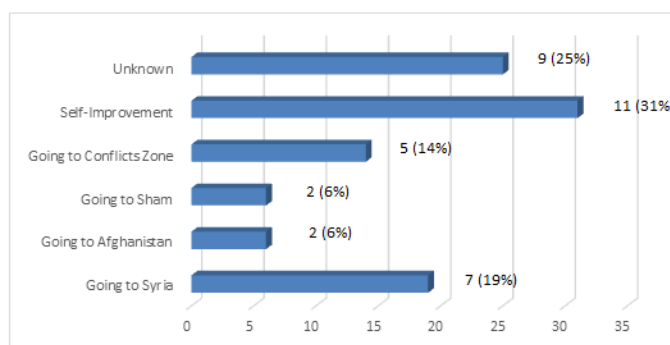
Perception regarding Hijrah

Figure 12. Perception Regarding Hijrah

The data from figure 12 shows that the participants of this research have different perceptions regarding *hijrah.* Some believe that *hijrah* means going to Syria (19%), going to Afghanistan (6%), going to places of conflict (14%), going to Sham (6%), and *hijrah* means improving oneself (31%). The last perception is the most conveyed by the perpetrators. This may be obtained after they contemplate and gain enlighten`ment from various activities in prison. *Hijrah* is improving yourself from a previous bad condition. The extreme acts in the name of *hijrah* are due to the lack of Islamic religious literacy (Musa, 2019).
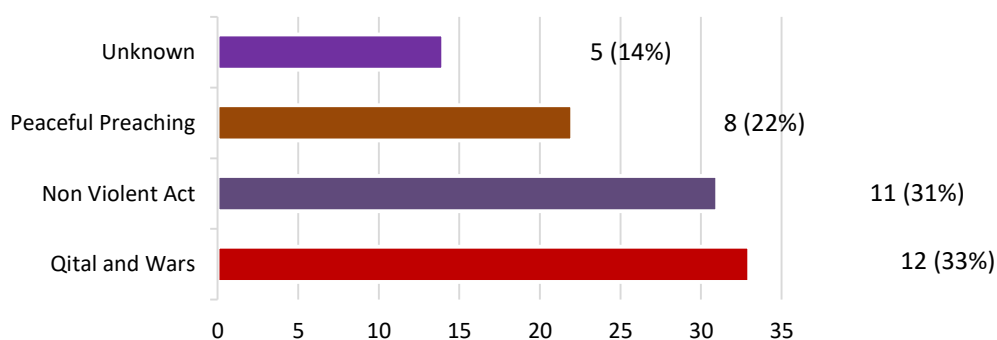
Perception regarding Jihad

Figure 13. Perception Regarding Jihad

The data from figure 13 shows that the terrorist convicts in this research have various perceptions about jihad. Some believe that jihad is *vital* and war (33%), jihad is not carried out through violence (31%), and jihad is through peaceful propaganda (22%). This shows that most of them still believe that *qital* and war are the only *jihad* that must be carried out. This belief comes from a lack of knowledge and understanding of comprehensive Islamic teachings. In contrast, the main foundation of jihad is patience. For someone who does not have a patient character, the jihad carried out is only to vent anger and political lust. Jihad is not evil, and it is

not killing others. Indonesia continues implementing Islamic Sharia values while respecting differences and humanizing humans (Ismail, Albantani, Adam, & Ahmad, 2018).

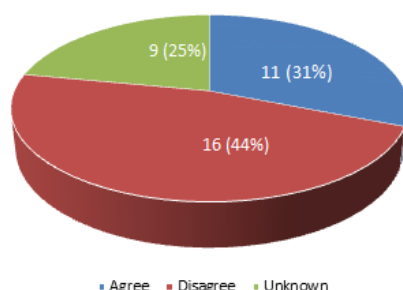**Perception regarding Suicidal Bomb**

Figure 14. Perception Regarding Suicidal Bomb

The data from figure 14 shows that suicide bombings carried out by extremist groups are still approved by the convicts, although only 31%. Their approval is still high despite no single religious teaching allowing extreme acts. In line with Handoko (2019), any religion's teachings, especially Islam, do not justify acts of terrorism and extremism. Extremist groups only use religion as a shield to carry out their plans and behavior. This is to ensure that every member is based on religious doctrine that can make them believe their actions are a holy mission that can lead them to God's blessing.

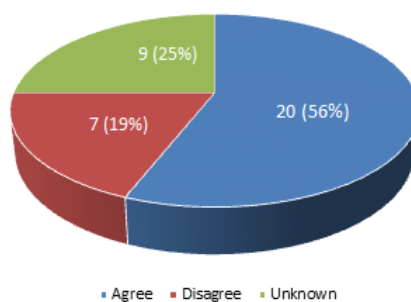**Perception regarding Caliphate**

Figure 15. Perception Regarding Caliphate

The data from figure 15 shows that the majority, 56%, of terrorism perpetrators have a strong ambition to establish the Caliphate. The other 19% do not share the same purpose of establishing a caliphate government system. The caliphate is not a must-establish system as long as Islamic values have been disseminated in the ongoing government. According to Reksoprodjo et al. (2018), terrorism developing in Indonesia is a follower of a radical Islamic ideology that aims to create an Islamic state in Indonesia through violence. Various religious sentiments, solidarity among Muslims, and misinterpretation of religious teaching became the basis for the group to commit terror.
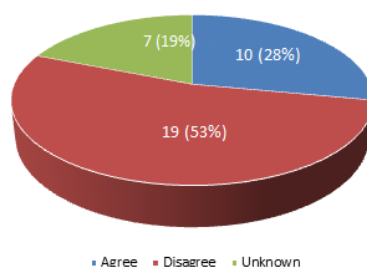
81-86

Perception regarding *Takfiri*

Figure 16. Perception Regarding *Takfiri*

The data from figure 16 shows that the majority of terrorism perpetrators, 53%, do not agree with the *takfiri* concept. Although 28% still believe in *takfiri* for those who do not practice their version of Islamic law. *Takfiri* has nothing to do with *adab* (ethic or moral values) in religious life; it has been used in politics historically. Even Rasulullah SAW forbade his people from hurting those with different beliefs because hurting them is the same as hurting him (Abdul Wahab, Lesmana, Akbar, & Albantani, 2018).
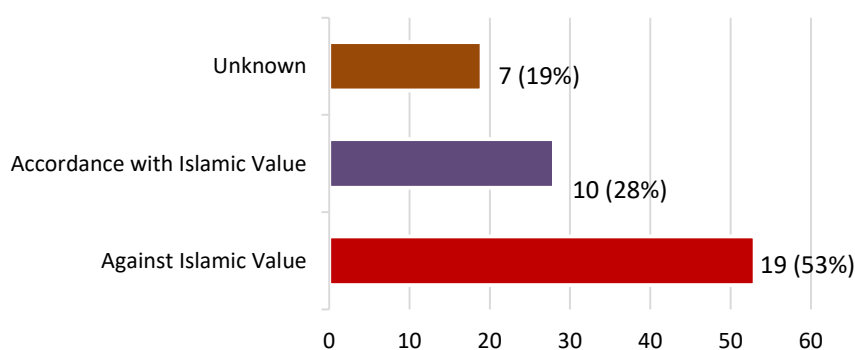
Perception regarding NKRI

Figure 17. Perception Regarding NKRI

The data from figure 17 shows that 53% of the terrorism perpetrators consider the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) against Islamic values. Meanwhile, 28% said the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia was not. This signals that the deradicalization program must be carried out intensively to reduce or eliminate negative perceptions about the NKRI. Again, minimal religious and national literacy is the leading cause for someone to perceive that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is contrary to their religion. Moreover, an understanding of the four pillars of Indonesia, which do not contradict any religion, especially Islam, must be campaigned on an ongoing basis through educational institutions ranging from schools to tertiary institutions (Beridiansyah, 2017).

Perception regarding Democracy

The data from figure 18 shows that they believe that the democratic system still contradicts Islam. 58% of the participants agree that democracy is against Islamic values. Meanwhile, 22% stated that the democratic system is not against Islam. According to Lele (2005), the handling of terrorism must be carried out in a participatory manner by involving all members of society.

Terrorism develops from cultures and structures of helplessness, poverty, ignorance, and lack of tolerance. Thus, the consolidation of democracy is considered far more effective in dealing with the problem of terrorism through three aspects: institutions, behavior, and performance.
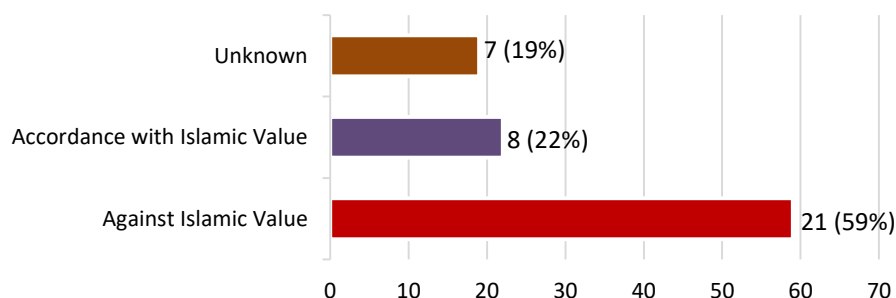

Figure 18. Perception Regarding Democracy
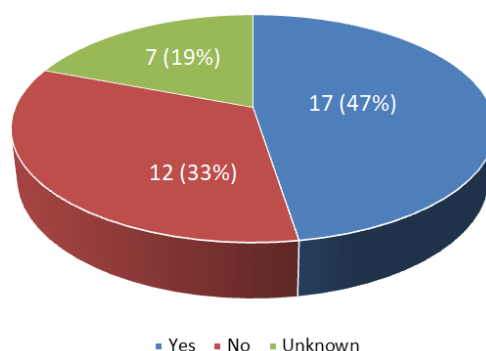
Feeling Guilty

Figure 19. feeling guilty after reeducation program

The data from figure 19 shows that 47% of participants feel guilty about terror acts they have done. However, interestingly, as much as 33% do not feel guilty about why they are currently experiencing it. This can cause them to return to their network after being released if their extreme understanding fails to be straightened out by deradicalization programs. As for the research results, Alfithon and Syafiq (2021) show that terrorist convicts show thoughts, feelings, and actions that indicate feelings of guilt that can occur as part of the results of participation in deradicalization programs. In addition, the officers' positive treatment, part of the deradicalization program, is believed to have opened convicts' minds. Realizing that no human is perfect allows them to learn from past mistakes and cultivate empathy for others.

Hopes after Released

The data from figure 20 shows that the perpetrators have various hopes and wishes after release. 61% want to return to work as before, 11% want to preach, and 17% want to start a business to continue their life. Those who wish to preach after being released must be evaluated so that their preaching will not conflict with *Wasathiyah* Islamic values.
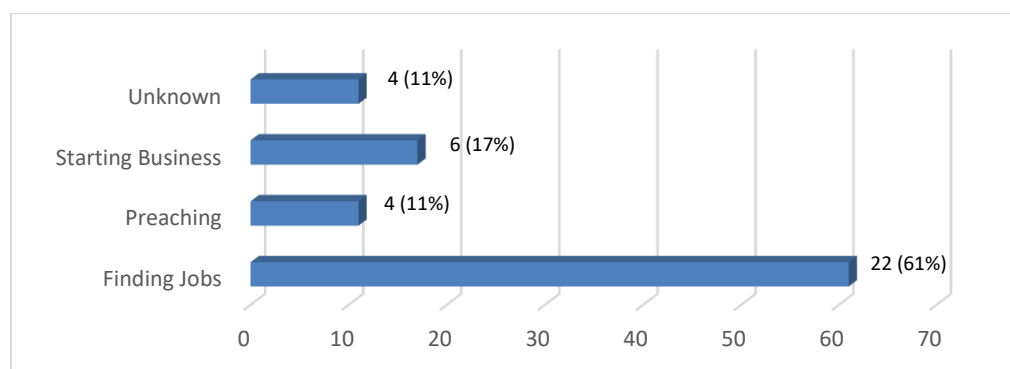
Figure 20. Hopes after Released from Reeducation Program

Some obstacles to deradicalization program activities in prisons include overcapacity, limited resources for correctional officers in quantity and quality, and infrastructure (Firdaus, 2017). Thus, it is necessary to increase the competence of officers, increase cooperation between the BNPT and related institutions, and provide adequate prison facilities and infrastructure.

Conclusion

The research found that the terrorists were still dominated by males (94%) and members of Jamaah Anshorut Daulah (50%). The terrorist perpetrators have quite diverse educational backgrounds. However, the most significant number came from SMA (Upper Secondary) and S1 (Bachelor) backgrounds. More than a third of the convicts have this level of education.

In addition, the most common reasons someone joins a radical group are implementing Islamic law and fighting for Islam. On the other hand, many suicide bombings carried out by extremist groups are still widely accepted (44%). Most convicts have strong ambitions for the establishment of the Caliphate. According to them, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) and democracy are still considered contrary to Islam. In addition, convicts may also be affected by factors such as poverty, injustice, and discrimination they experienced.

Despite the facts, this research also unveils that the convicts have regret for their previous acts and more than half want to establish better lives after their sentences, including finding jobs (61%), opening business (17%), and others. It shows how the number of convicts want to be once again be part of the society.

The research findings able to contribute to counterterrorism studies, especially in understanding how the terrorist socio-cultural and re-education programs help the convicts. However, there are some aspects that could be improved for future studies, including comprehensive monitoring programs to see the effectiveness of re-education program in the society.

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