



**TECHNIUM**  
**SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL**

**Vol. 32, 2022**

**A new decade  
for social changes**

[www.techniumscience.com](http://www.techniumscience.com)

ISSN 2668-7798



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## **Desifter Interventions: Heaven, Home, and Habit Approaches**

**Ardi Putra Prasetya<sup>1</sup>, Adrianus Eliasta Sembiring Meliala<sup>2</sup>, Iqrak Sulhin<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Department of Criminology, Faculty of Social Science and Politics, University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia.

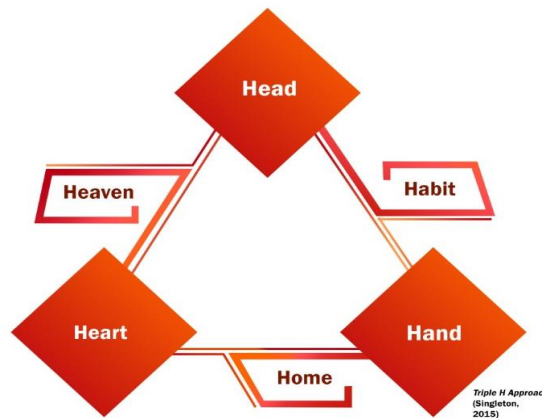
<sup>1</sup>[ardi.putra91@ui.ac.id](mailto:ardi.putra91@ui.ac.id) <sup>2</sup>[adrianusmeliala@gmail.com](mailto:adrianusmeliala@gmail.com) <sup>3</sup>[iqrak.sulhin@gmail.com](mailto:iqrak.sulhin@gmail.com)

**Abstract.** In this study, the author will explain how efforts to prevent recidivism and encourage former perpetrators of terror to desistance from terrorism. The study sought to answer the question: "What is needed to improve the situation of desistance from terrorism?". Researchers will use a triple H (Head, Heart, and Hands) approach to answer the study question. The discussion in this study began with explaining the current conditions of heaven, home, and habit elements, which are based on the findings of the focus group discussion. After knowing and explaining the current condition by finding the root of the problem, the next section of the researcher describes the intervention based on the root of the problem so that the intervention centers on handling and countering current and future conditions. The discussion in this study is also focused on developing a conceptual framework that aims to be a guideline to explain the current conditions for the prevention of recidivism and encourage former perpetrators of terror in situations of desistance from terrorism. Thus, government policyholders and agencies can focus on developing prevention and handling strategies based on heaven, habit, and home concepts.

**Keywords.** Recidivism, desistance, terrorism, prevention.

### **1. Introduction**

The narrative of heaven or life after death became a theme developed by terrorist groups to promote suicide bombings. This condition is also happening and developed by terrorist groups such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda; in addition, the Taliban group uses the explicit narrative "Istish-haadi" and the "love to death" narrative as a similar narrative related to the narrative of heaven. The development of the narrative of heaven and "love to death" connects the behavior of jihad, martyrs, and suicide bombings into a complicated and confusing logic [1].



**Figure 1: Triple H Approach**

In this study, the home context can be understood as a situation that can help former terrorists break away or deradicalize. However, home is also a factor in a person's push into recidivism. Family becomes an essential factor in desistance because of several things. First related to pro-social relationships, both families feel and show care and empathy to family members. Namely, the family helps former terrorists reduce the amount of time commonly spent with radical groups. Using the theoretical framework of the social bond by Travis Hirschi can help explain the condition of families who have and meet the four elements in a social bond, can control crime, and meet situations of desistance from terrorism. Attachment mechanisms in social bond theory consistently show that bonds of affection are negatively associated with evil behavior.

Furthermore, family attachments find conditions to serve the adaptation function of former perpetrators of terror back to society. The commitment element is related to serving the function of achieving goals, where the family will be the primary goal of former perpetrators of terror to stop crime. Then, the belief element is to carry out maintenance functions, where the family will be the party that cares for and controls former terrorists so as not to become recidivists. Habit is defined as behavior that aims to support terror groups. This support consists of two levels: passively (ideologically) and actively through behavior and action. In this regard, ideological support indicates that both attitude and behavioral support are necessary for terror groups to succeed successfully. The term behavioral support is an act of providing support. It can range through passive, neutral, or silent forms of cooperation, offering food, shelter, finance, and information to provide armed and unarmed services [2].

**Table 1.** Sources from Focus Group Discussion.

No	Name	Agencies/Institutions/NGOs	Signification
1	<b>Chief Police Brigadier Anto</b>	Detachment 88 Batam Region	Has been intervening in former terrorism inmates and families since 2017.

2	<b>Mayor Junaidi (Retd)</b>	Intelligence Detachment Makassar Region	Since 2008 the focus has focused on Pok Igaras in South Sulawesi, especially former terrorists.
3	<b>Police Commissioner Adjutant Arsyad</b>	Central Sulawesi Regional Police	Mastered the Poso issue and became a builder of former terrorism convicts.
4	<b>M. Taufiqurohman</b>	Experts on Terrorism and Radicalism	Active in the identification program of former terrorism convicts.
5	<b>Mohd Bakti Ade</b>	Experts on Terrorism and Radicalism	Actively engage in the identification program of former terrorism convicts (since the trial).
6	<b>M. Bakhtiar Affin</b>	Directorate of Deradicalization of the National Counterterrorism Agency (Badan Penanggulangan Terorisme/BNPT)	Has been the coordinator of the handling of terrorism convicts in various provinces since 2015.
7	<b>First Inspector Suyanta</b>	Police Task Force Lampung Region Detachment 88	Have experience identifying former terrorism convicts since 2012.
8	<b>Chief Police Brigadier Eko</b>	Mobile Intelligence Brigade Corps of Central Java	Experience fostering former terrorism convicts, especially in fundraising, since 2015.
9	<b>M. Irwan</b>	Class II of Watampone Correctional Agency, South Sulawesi	Handling former prisoners who have been on parole in South Sulawesi since 2013.
10	<b>Saifuddin Zuhri (Gus Aep)</b>	Nadhatul Ulama (NU)	Guiding deradicalization targets since 2012.

<b>11</b>	<b>Khoiratul Maknunan (Nuna)</b>	Prasasti Foundation (Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian/YPP)	Perdamaian	Intervene in terrorism convicts and former terrorism convicts, particularly women and children.
<b>12</b>	<b>Serma Subardi</b>	Strategic Intelligence Agency (Poso Task Force)	Agency	Intervened and rallied former prisoners in Poso since 2011.
<b>13</b>	<b>M Soffa Ikhsan</b>	Daulat Buku Home (Rumah Daulat Buku/Rudalku)	(Rumah)	Deradicalization activists initiated the reading house for former terrorism convicts. Actively intervened with the former terrorism convicts since 2011.

Source: reprocessed by the researcher (2021)

## 2. Method

This research will use a qualitative approach where the qualitative approach can be used for grey research, so the researcher would like to understand in depth a complex social situation. Furthermore, the qualitative approach can also address the problem of research, where researchers do not know the variables that need to be explored [3]. This is following terrorism studies. Usually, researchers face critical methodological challenges concerning sensitive and clandestine populations. As Leiken and Brooke explain, covert and hidden terrorist status presents a tremendous obstacle to the objective forms of open-source data collection, given that terrorists have characteristics such as necessity, keeping secret about their operations, personal details, and membership [4].

In helping answer research questions, the researcher will use two data sources, the first being primary data sources and secondary data sources. The role of primary data sources will dominate this research. The primary data source will come from an informant of competent former terrorism. The data source in this study was chosen based on the needs and objectives of the researchers [5]. Researcher refers to samples which have experience, knowledge, and insights related to terror studies, such as government stakeholders, government, in this case, the Directorate of Deradicalization of the National Counterterrorism Agency (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme/BNPT), and Detachment 88 to related NGOs. At the same time, the secondary data will focus on the literature that summarizes the primary sources of the first research. Secondary sources are books, previous research journals, and government and NGO reports engaged in the study of terrorism and deradicalization.

## 3. Results

### 3.1. Heaven: The Narrative of Heaven

3.1.1. *Existing (Current Condition)*. (a) **Search for Religious Interpretation**. The findings of this study show that the search for religious interpretation is often sourced in books and fatwas that promote the narrative of heaven. It was found that the radical books of

terrorism spread in Indonesia became a guidebook and a handle to understand the ideology they embraced. In fact, in the act of law enforcement against the perpetrators of terrorism, almost all found evidence in the form of books on radicalism extremism, one of which is titled "Tarbiyah Jihadiyah" by Assyaikh Dr Abdullah Azzam, which can be accessed through the internet and traded freely through online [6]. Furthermore, ISIS propaganda through the online magazine Dabiq often exploits the vulnerability of Muslims, recognizing a comprehensive Islamic narrative. Interestingly, these Islamic sacred sources and texts are the primary references to Dabiq, but Dabiq uses the Islamic narrative in a fragmented way providing a different story component to reinforce his arguments on different issues. It becomes a problem when readers do not read and know the complete narrative of the Qur'an, so they tend to be fragmented with readings in Dabiq articles [7]. Therefore, former terror perpetrators have the same vulnerability as would-be terrorists. This becomes an alarm for law enforcement and government agencies handling terrorism that easily various kinds of books containing partial interpretations of physicality can be freely accessed by all circles. It is also supported by the source's statement that:

Even moderate Islamic books can trigger disapproval of such moderate thinking so that they can be provoked into continuing their actions. (Interview with Bardi, BAIS, 2021)

After arriving in Makassar, this child and his brother entered Gramedia. The child wants to buy books, but his brother prevents/is not allowed by his brother—books of da'wah problem that. (Interview with Irwan, Bapas, 2021)

Terrorist groups use the above conditions to serve as a backstop to behave for their followers, especially concerning the history of beheading enemies, the history of carrying enemies, and the history of burning enemies alive [8]. This shows a codification of religious interpretation that shapes identity to moral legitimacy, which is essentially totalitarian. Based on partial interpretations in fatwas and arguments, former perpetrators of terror do not care whether it is an act of terror or not, the most important thing is how others follow their will, and violence is the choice. This condition is in line with the fact in the findings that:

[...] So that provokes with theses, for example, there is a case of persecution against a Muslim, it will be packaged "our brother, our brotherhood, it should not be left alone" then use proposition as the proposition states "the pain of our brother is our pain, one tweet then we all have to reply", as it is the packaging informed to the groups either through WhatsApp or other social media, it is packaged at the time of the study, ta'lim-ta'lim. It will bring them back to life. Moreover, the motivation to follow jihad worship, yes, like that. When getting information and then good information primarily related to violence, the opportunity for him was packed with arguments. Then the source of the reading, I am sure that all ex-prisoners still have a handbook on jihad by Ustad Yasin. (Interview with Arysad, Poso Police, 2021)

**(b) Hijrah, Takfiri, and Jihad.** Related to hijrah, study and study is one of the efforts of Muslims to improve themselves for the better, one of which is by studying and practicing Islamic sharia. In this context, former terrorists already have a network of friends and studies that tend to be radicalized, with conditions voluntarily or forced. Studies are the main route to engaging in terrorist groups. In its more complete form, the study prepares prospective members for inclusion in specific Islamic organizations in a more public form, aiming to reach out to the broader community through da'wah to gain supporters and sympathizers [9]. A statement supports this condition:

Furthermore, I also see their religious factors and their religious background. They used to be active in this political organization, this tarbiyah, and even NII and DI, etc. They are gathered every day as if there were no day without religion. This is what gave birth to that

thought. I said I do not love religious books a lot because it makes them realize they wake up. (Interview with Bardi, BAIS, 2021)

The option to hijrah encourages a person willing to seek and understand matters related to Islamic teachings and sharia through social media. Ironically, terrorist groups use this to spread propaganda so that someone who chooses a life of hijrah tends to be vulnerable to engaging in radical activities. In addition, hijrah is also closely related to the involvement of former terrorists in boarding schools to spread the teachings of Islam comprehensively. This is related to the findings of Hwang & Schulze, in his research that the perception of people in Indonesia still sees pesantren as the type of school that can create and develop Muslim personalities [10]. Then, the study results showed that the current condition of former terror perpetrators began to carry out takfiri activities, which are also related to the narrative of paradise. This is due to the strategy developed by terrorism groups that continuously develop a narrative of hatred against groups considered enemies, rather than as a form of struggle for identity and existence to remain and is an attempt to distinguish between oneself and others [11]. The findings of the study show that former perpetrators of terror are still often plunged into the propositions, fatwas and other readings contained in Salafi-takfiri jihadi ideology, where there is an understanding to free Muslims from ignorance and cleanse the world of apostates and kuffar to uphold Sharia law throughout the earth. The source's statement also supports this condition:

One of them is very sensitive, so the trigger of these ex-prisoners is the first empathy among fellow Muslims; if there are social activities that are victims of persecution by Islamic groups, they automatically directly defend the group that victims. (Interview with Arsyad, Poso Police, 2021)

That there is a fatwa where tips can do amaliah without going to the land of Sham. Then there is the fatwa that confirms me to do these activities in my region without going, for example, to Syria. So, there is a person's affirmation to do activities that he could not previously do, such as ex, deportees, or returnees. (Interview with Affin Bahtiar, BNPT, 2021)

Takfiri activities are also concerned with the resounding rejection and hatred of those who participate in shirk, heresy, taqlid, and ijihad, which have highlighted the adherence to proclaiming a form of takfir against individuals and governance regimes. In the context of Indonesia, national and international issues are the conditions that encourage them to do takfir against non-Muslim groups and fellow Muslims. National issues related to economic, social, and political conditions that are considered not pro to their groups will target their takfir. On the other hand, issues developed by radical ideology and terrorism, such as liberalism and the issue of China to Covid-19, encourage hatred and trigger the spirit to commit acts of terror. The findings support this condition. The sources stated:

So there are significant issues, political, economic, and other issues; the issue of China is still a factor that can trigger their spirit to take action. (Interview with Junaid, Makassar Intelligence Detachment, 2021)

As I told you earlier, the issue of weakening KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi) and Omnibus Law issue. When in the community, there are pros and cons to support the policies carried out by the government, and then they read that many communities are counter, that is where they try to develop a narrative to influence the parties who are counter to the government. They read the situation and make their opportunity to act. Maybe that can be seen from the dynamics of their movements. That is it, roughly. (Interview with Gus Aeb, NU, 2021)

Moreover, one of the causes of former terrorists is that the continued takfiri is the fatwa that allows jihad against other Muslims and is a dead-end interpretation of takfir itself. One of them is ibn Taymiyyah's controversial fatwa, which affects radical groups, extensively mentioning infidels to Muslim governments/rulers, Islamists, Islamic figures, and countries involved in Muslim ethnic cleansing in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan. Indirectly, takfiri ideological fatwas develop infidel stigma against the above categories; therefore, ideology has spread widely and is considered a consequence of the propaganda of terrorist groups. In line with the previous explanation, the jihadi movement is directly related to the narrative of paradise. Where this stage is an individual who has entered a terrorist act or movement by becoming a bride in heaven or carrying out a suicide bombing aimed at gaining paradise, it also found that many terrorist groups borrowed heavily hadith related to global jihadists who claimed the legitimacy of suicide bombings based on scripture. The conditions that perpetuate jihadi ideology among former perpetrators of terror are adequate narratives. There is a narrative of jihad that is widely understood and consistently carried out. For example, the narrative of jihad that Al-Qaeda consistently spreads has impacted to date; jihadi ideas that have led to a series of symbols and are well-understood remain, although they no longer exist [12]. This condition is supported by the findings at the time of focus group discussion:

Then, he (Win Gobel) tried to spread the narrative to the children with a narrative still in LPKA; he piloted the narrative to evoke that they also had to be involved as young people who still had the passion and so on. When I talked to the two of them, his desire was still strong. He stated that he wanted to make it a martyr. (Interview with Gus Aeb, NU, 2021)

*3.1.2. Forms of Intervention. (a) Alternative Narratives.* Alternative narratives to violent extremism play an essential role in countering the appeal of terrorism. They should be considered an effective type of counter-narrative and not inclined directly to oppose the message of extremism but should instead seek to influence those sympathetic to extremists. Alternative narratives can include fact-checking information, awareness campaigns, and community outreach programs conducted through print, digital, and face-to-face platforms (Ramakrishna, Morales, & Renomeron-Morales, 2021) [13]. This strategy is supported by sources, including:

If heaven, I think counter-narrative or counter-propaganda becomes one thing that is important for us to optimize through various media, both media literacy, visual, etc. Because heaven is related to ideology, so all we can do is how we give our views. We do not force him, we give him a view other than his view of heaven so that he also remembers that there is a world here. Maybe from me like that, ma'am. (Interview with Affin Bahtiar, BNPT, 2021)

Another thing if in intervention, we also often slip or add an element of 'love' in the intervention. We believe that the love that our fellow human beings give, I think it will provide positive energy for the perpetrator. So, we not only intervene in the context of programs, projects, or even work but also position ourselves as fellow human beings through love. So why don't we do intervention programs only as economic support and as more excellent emotional support? Because we believe that building a strong ukhuwah compared to ukhuwah Islamiyah or ukhuwah brotherhood which is a form of love from the previous group will divert their thirst/longing for their love for the group. (Interview with Nuna, YPP, 2021)

The findings above show that the values of tolerance, moderation, and compassion for fellow living things become important things to emphasize, to become a common goal and values. On the other hand, the alternative narrative is not to forcibly indoctrinate former perpetrators of terror to achieve desistance from terrorism, but rather to promote universal values. Efforts using this soft approach can be made through actual religious narratives.

Therefore, there needs to be a program that focuses on improving literacy and the study of scriptures to terrorist convicts and former perpetrators of terror. Especially in Indonesia, people use scripture as a guide to life, so there needs to be direct intervention to strengthen heavenly narratives further to be more moderate. It is also supported that the most basic Islamic alternative message needs to be to allow listeners to break away from extremist ideas [14]. Supported by the results of the study findings that:

[...] When it comes to heavenly narratives, what Gus Sofa does can also be an alternative to how to translate the heavenly narratives they already believe in to be more directed to more moderate narratives. That is important, yes. (Interview with Gus Aeb, NU, 2021)

It was combining the understanding of Islam with the form of the nation's own culture. Especially in providing an understanding of the heavenly narrative, literacy and assistance are needed following the character of terrorism convicts and former perpetrators of terror. For example, in the context of different heavenly understandings, but universally the same, there needs to be an understanding that every religious community in different regions has faith or craves heaven by committing peaceful acts. Thus, there is no justification for committing violence to reach heaven. It also deals with the definition of an alternative narrative as a system of stories that relate to each other. Hence it is necessary for former terrorists and terrorist convicts to know the values outside of the terrorist group.

**(b) Credible Speakers.** The delivery of radical alternative messages must involve credible moderate religious leaders to counter-narratives of social anger, hatred, oppression, and sentiment to anti-government incitement. In addition, credible speakers engage the Muslim community as equal partners. Through the development of a greater understanding of shared ideals, it can build a positive narrative [15]. Previous studies have seen that terrorist groups use the alleged mismatch between moderate values and their interpretation to promote the idea of jihad. Therefore, it is essential to have a religious figure or leader who can dismantle the core narrative of radicalism related to jihad.

On the other hand, the strategy of instilling anti-violence by moderate religious leaders is still ineffective, and recidivist levels of terrorism characterize the condition. Where former terrorism convicts are still involved in terrorism activities, proving that terrorism convicts do not accept the cultivation of anti-radical ideology at the time of the deradicalization process. According to the study's findings, one of the causes of the above conditions is the background of jihadi ideology thoughts owned by terrorist convicts contrary to the understanding of religious figures who become credible speakers. Therefore there is rejection. This condition is also conveyed in the focus group discussion process:

I just want to say that Islamic studies must be methodological, not just studies that are only that -it is (to change the thinking of ex-prisoners). (Interview with Soffan, Rudalku, 2021)

[...] Cultivate moderate scholars, and in contrast to the scholars, they now understand, Sir. BNPT or Densus often invites scholars or *kyai* to Lapas to give lectures. If you change your habits, you have to use a personal approach, Sir. (Interview with Anto, Detachment Batam, 2021)

### **3.2. Home: Family**

**3.2.1. Existing (Current Condition). (a) The Role of Families in Supporting Desistance from Terrorism.** The study's sources agreed that the family has a role in supporting the formation of desistance from terrorist situations. Even in the literature on

desistance from terrorism, it is found that the family becomes one of the turning points of former perpetrators of terror. According to LaFree and Miller, individuals have social solid care and relationships with others who are law-abiding, in this case, family [16]. The study also found that:

[...] For example, in Poso, he was radicalized because of his friend, but when he got out of prison, his family was the turning point for him. I agree that family becomes a significant turning point in a person. (Interview with Taufik, Expert on Terrorism and Radicalism, 2021)

Using the theoretical framework of social bonds, the heart can be an element of attachment and belief. In the context of attachment, in line with previous research on parental influence and parenting can affect the behavior patterns of other family members. Parental warmth can be combined with control and will produce the most positive child. Affective parental interaction with the child will help moral development. In addition, through discipline meetings, parents help their children establish pro-social moral internalization [17]. With the formation of attachments among former perpetrators of terror, their priority and purpose in life is family. Because the family has been a supportive and willing actor to be there for them, this situation is also supported by the findings of the data; the sources stated:

[...] Because in sociological theory, primary socialization previously ended up we to school or the environment, the first is family. Nuclear families, parents, and children if they already have children. In some cases, even for them to return to the lap of mother earth is on family grounds. (Interview with Affin Bahtiar, BNPT, 2021)

Concerning commitment, it can be understood as the involvement of individuals with conventional actions obtained by society. This element is very attached to rational choice and consideration of profit and loss or cost-benefit. Thus, when an individual invests in conventional lifestyles and social actions, deviant behavior will become something very irrational and detrimental. This element also refers to the investments individuals make to achieve conventional goals, relationships, or activities [18].

**3.2.2. Interventions. (a) Involvement of Family Members.** It focuses on the family as a protective factor preventing recidivism in former perpetrators of terror. Interventions should be individualized and focused on family counseling and group activities. In the context of this study, interventions by families should be supported by the government, i.e., family-oriented P/CVE programs. The government provides training and guidance programs related to countering violent extremism to the families of former terrorists, aimed at raising awareness, intervening upstream, and disseminating information related to the radicalization process [19].

Concerning desistance from terrorism, with this program, families will have an essential role in identifying the early signs of radicalization, one of the advocates of interventions aimed at diverting individuals from violent extremism. Therefore, the family becomes a critical agent that must be prepared carefully so that the role of prevention of recidivism behavior among former perpetrators of terror can be prevented. The family-oriented P/CVE program is also in the form of intervention and the role of the government to prepare the families of former terrorists after they have finished serving the sentence period. For example, providing a family group conference program that utilizes resources in and around the family by facilitating meetings to spread the impact of radical information, find solutions and help problems in the family (Stanley, Guru, & Coppock, 2017) so that when terror inmates finish serving their sentences, they will be faced with families who are ready to help them for desistance from terrorism. The above program is also an effort by the

government concerning practical issues that directly affect families facing radicalism. Data findings also support this condition:

Women and children will be an essential aspect in this home or home. As the initiator of activities, Kia needs to be able to directly target children or women (mothers or wives) with programs that can take the hearts of ex-convicts (from where he became a suspect to released). The family will be an entity that we must keep an eye on. Whether it is the way his son is schooled or his parents, we pay attention or even the training we give to his wife. (Interview with Affin Bahtiar, BNPT, 2021)

I think family intervention prepares the family to be able to do the reception and prepares to be a strong family from various elements of recruitment, for example. Since many cases may also be found by friends, initially his wife knows nothing, gets involved nothing, and when her husband is arrested, his wife becomes weak then approached by the groups, yes finally wrinkled. It happens a lot. (Interview with Nuna, YPP, 2021)

### **3.3. Habit**

**3.3.1. Existing (Current Condition).** (a) **Easy to Receive Information – Not Critical.** Current conditions indicate that former terrorists who tend to re-engage in terrorist groups are encouraged to support constitutional behavior and engage in nonviolent and violent acts. Looking through the perspective of the activities of terrorist groups, the methodological framework of propaganda of the dead utilized terrorist groups to radicalize the consensus of radical ideology and increase cooperation with terror groups. In short, significant markers of the nonviolent and non-coercive methods of terrorists are constituency led to believe that a person is taking an active, favorable decision to support a terror group.

It is known that terrorist groups have established propaganda strategies to exploit the vulnerability of individuals, namely the increment of information, particularly related to heavenly narratives. This proves that the head element goes earlier than the hand. When a person is exposed to radical information, they will directly participate in the activities of radical groups. The spread of radical information aimed at propagandizing is inevitable. Especially today, the means of the internet are used to promote and support acts of terrorism aimed at eradicating radicalization to incitement to terrorism. It is becoming increasingly difficult for former terrorists to stop engaging in radical acts, especially when they still have a strong head with terrorism radicalism, so do not hesitate to fall back into the terrorist group. The findings show:

For example, in 2019 (Presidential Elections), around the first of April. I'm facing that rather strange case. There was one case of one person taking part in a demo during the presidential election. At that time, his wife asked her husband where. It turned out that her husband was taking part in the demo. Overnight. Then he went to study. When asked, it might be like there's some kind of Takiyah. (Interview with Soffan, Rudalku, 2021)

Acceptance of the disinformation carried out by former perpetrators of terror is caused by the still inherent ideology and radical beliefs of terrorism, so that they will unknowingly voluntarily engage in acts of violence such as before being deradicalized. Experts argue that disinformation consumption fosters citizens' distrust of the mainstream and authoritative sources of information. Such information consumption is also thought to be self-reinforcing because it conditions individuals to accept disinformation in the future better and interferes with their ability to distinguish lousy information from good [20].

(b) **The Doctrine of Political Issues.** In the findings of this study, researchers saw that the habits of former terrorists related to the impact of doctrine in the past caused them to

re-engage in terrorist groups. Among them, it is still found that former perpetrators of terror justify acts of violence as a rational choice to achieve political goals. On the other hand, justification for violence and suicide is a form of rational political violence that can coerce the enemy and mobilize popular support in the community for terrorist groups [21]. Therefore, the return of the habits of former terrorists has been neutralized to support political goals that are considered correct. This study found that political issues became a strong driver of the return of the habit of former perpetrators of terror. The doctrine of political issues has been done through the spread of disinformation. The online conspiracy theory and disinformation framework have encouraged strong political tribalization, resulting in conditions in which terrorism is more likely to occur. Online disinformation sharpens political polarization in society. False or misleading information presented in social media communities or online political opinion and news websites increases mass political polarization. This mass political polarization occurs, and the data findings show that some former terrorists return to their old habits:

If I observe it monitoring social media or chat of ex-prisoners, it is easy there are two types of ex-prisoners, namely ex-prisoners kampret and ex-prisoners cebong. If the former prisoners are kampret, that means they have not repented. They are still anti-government. Then his behavior is like the behavior of the opposition that spread such hoaxes. Moreover, the cebong is a former prisoner who has NKRI, and he often advises other former prisoners not to spread hoaxes. (Interview with Taufik, Expert on Radicalism and Terrorism, 2021)

In addition, there is an exciting pattern of social media that creates so-called filter bubbles and echo chambers that substantially narrow or limit the reach of political information open to consumers. This feature protects consumers from alternative information that may oppose political beliefs and prejudices. In the context of this study, it strengthens the habit and political attitudes of former terrorists who already exist, and makes them increasingly incompatible with alternatives, ultimately increasing political polarization.

**3.3.2. Interventions. (a) Show Up of a Former Terror Perpetrator.** The first intervention relates to utilizing the human capital of former terrorists to involve themselves in deradicalization. Looking at the current conditions, former terrorists are still involved in training and radical education to classify members who support terrorism networks. Here, the intervention will involve former terrorists to prevent radicalism terrorism by making them credible voices. The idea of a credible voice is not new, but the role of a credible voice can amplify the voice of former terrorists to show the horrifying reality of terrorist groups. Credible voice is also a strategy to connect with targets such as terrorism convicts through emotional bonding instead of creating narrowly focused comparison narratives about ideologies that seek to persuade them [22]. Data findings support this condition:

For example, in welfare, if we give business to them and it turns out they do not have the ability, we can provide training so that they can occupy themselves. Alternatively, if they prefer to spread, teach, or give talks, we can channel them to talk. The point is how we disengage someone so as not to return to that behavior. (Interview with Affin Bahtiar, BNPT, 2021)

In addition to being a positive new habit for former terror perpetrators, a credible voice is also one of the efforts so that former terror perpetrators have a responsibility to participate in deradicalization programs. When involving former terrorists as credible voices, there is the utilization of full potential, reach, influence, position, and social position among deradicalization targets to build counter-narratives [23]. The responsibility of former perpetrators of terror as credible voices is to provide new perspectives and positive support to

fight radical ideologies, which are based on experience. Here, former terrorists are encouraged to show up and prove that they can contribute to strengthening community cohesion and resilience.

**(b) Collective Deradicalization.** The second intervention is collective deradicalization aimed at making former perpetrators of terror detached from extremist ideology. In contrast to individual deradicalization, the collective method is a group process involving intragroup bargaining between reform-minded leaders and the rest of the organization. This can have implications for several moderation processes, the types of changes that may occur, and the likelihood that a group of former terrorists will return to terrorist groups. In general, collective deradicalization is targeted directly at radical terrorist groups.

In the context of this research, collective deradicalization was carried out by a group of several former perpetrators of terror and facilitated by the Non-Governmental Organization or government. In the process, former terrorists are probing each other to trigger former terrorists, then debate the benefits of engaging in radical groups [24]. Because collective deradicalization is related to the pressures of friends and social networks, in this case, the terrorist network encourages to reconsider its commitment to violence and adjust to the new worldview, as found in the research that the NGO Rudalku was formed and developed to help former perpetrators of terror towards desistance from terrorism and tried to use specific approaches to deradicalize collectively. Here is the data found:

We approached through the study of fiqh proposals. He had never studied before because the study realized ex-prisoners that understanding the Qur'an is not easy. Must have a lot of knowledge/tools. Are we capable? From boarding school and then to college, I will not be able to. I teach them that way so they know it is not that easy. It is not like just listening to a lecture on TV. They had never even heard such a talk. That is why I thought, yes, I finally found the method of proposing fiqh and used the book of Al-Maraqat. That is the basis of fiqh's proposal, which is very powerful—this book we give to them, listening in Arabic. The study is sentenced by sentence. So they know, at least now they're a bit fluid. So, it's not that easy for him to be in a way. That's why literacy needs to be expanded. This is what I mean by how to build interventions for them. (Interview with Soffan, *Rudalku*, 2021)

Then, with the will of former terrorists and facilitated by NGOs and governments, former perpetrators of terror find a turning point for desistance from terrorism. They begin to determine the utility expected to return to society. As they begin to have beliefs and change their beliefs, they then engage in actions and activities in the community. In essence, this collective deradicalization is carried out jointly by former terrorists so that each other can influence each other positively. Moreover, with the network and social ties with fellow former terrorists, faith may rely heavily on those power bonds to build deradicalization support.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The narrative of paradise also encourages would-be terrorists, terrorists, and former perpetrators of terror to seek and know religious interpretations to misinterpret the form of hijrah. As already explained, terrorist groups build narratives to legitimize suicide bomb violence, where the narrative provides a moral that masks the violence caused. It is also found that terrorist groups use the heavenly narratives of scripture to promote suicide with the idea of martyrdom. Thus, the narrative of heaven or life after death is closely related to the development of extremism radicalism because with that narrative will be born understandings

that tend to promote irrational thinking related to extremism to realize the holy world and heaven.

Thus, the condition of tracing religious interpretation becomes one that becomes the driver of the development of head and heart related to radical behavior of extremism. Head-related cognitive learning derived from fatwas propositions to other religious writings that tend to be radical extremism, thus allowing former terrorists to understand the world and form rational thinking from these sources. On the other hand, this head describes the knowledge and understanding that is sought and known by someone so that when former perpetrators of terror still often seek and read the wrong sources and interpretations, it will have an impact on the knowledge, understanding, and application they know so that there is a tendency for false representations, especially when it comes to understanding terror violence. Learning activities are not just cognitive processes but are influenced by feelings when it comes to the heart. Emotions stimulate our learning and determine whether we are confident in this knowledge.

On the other hand, the heart is related to moral feelings such as love, faith, trust, gratitude, and conscientious activity. Once these emotions are touched, one will indirectly have confidence in the knowledge gained. Therefore, after former terrorists have sought, read, and understood the wrong sources and interpretations will be the source of their trust.

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