Identification of the Doctrine of Violent Extremism of Terrorist Networks in De-Radicalization Efforts

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ABSTRACT

Terrorists are not suddenly born, there is a process in which the process starts from radicalization, namely the transmission of radical ideology into a person. The radical understanding included is an ideology that is related to existing extremist ideology and is usually related to certain political groups or religious groups. The most important process in radicalization is in fact the process of giving doctrine to someone by a terrorist group. Once the Doctrine has been given, it becomes difficult to indoctrinate it. It requires a deep understanding of how doctrines are formed and how they are taught. This research describes how the extremist network of a former convict who is now active in deradicalization activities identifies extremist doctrines and ideologies. By understanding the process of identifying doctrines, it will be understood what processes can be carried out to dispel and fight these doctrines to carry out deradicalization. In this study, the case raised is the extremist network experienced by Agus Suprianto alias Farel, in his journey, he went through a process of accepting radical ideology up to extremist ideology, in the end he was deradicalized and is now in the Pancasila ideology which refers to national unity. The provisions are used to carry out empowerment activities and carry out deradicalization efforts.

Keywords: Terrorist; radicalization; doctrine; ideology; deradicalization

INTRODUCTION

Peace and tranquility are the goals and aspirations of all nations on Earth. Creating peace is the objective of state implementation. However, unfortunately, the goal and effort to achieve peace always face their own challenges, such as conflicts between countries, conflicts between communities, conflicts among groups, and conflicts within society itself. In addition to conflicts, threats from radical groups also serve as obstacles and prevent the attainment of global peace (Fujii et al., 2022; Rooduijn et al., 2017).

Terrorism worldwide is a special concern for all countries. The Global Terrorism Database has developed data collection on countries affected by terrorism, referring to the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) for 2022 issued by the GTD. It can be observed that terrorism incidents from year to year do not show consistent downward trends.

According to Patton (2021), terrorism has a long historical root in the context of Indonesia's development as a nation. During Indonesia's struggle for independence in the 1940s, political terror was directed against the Dutch colonial state. According to Mukhtar (2016), one central figure considered a political fundamentalist at the time was S.M. Kartosoewiryo, who was initially a comrade-in-arms of the proclaimer Soekarno and contributed to Indonesia's struggle for independence. Kartosoewiryo drastically changed his political stance when Indonesia and the Netherlands signed the Renville Agreement on January 17, 1948, which caused the West Java Masyumi to transform into the Indonesian Islamic Assembly (Majelis Islam) with Kartosoewiryo

serving as both the religious leader and political leader. The organizations Hizbullah and Sabilillah, led by Kartosoewiryo, were transformed into the Indonesian Islamic Army (TII).

According to Mubarak (2012), Indonesia has become a fertile recruiting ground for extremist groups and their actions for several reasons. First, the widespread practice of Islam by the majority of the Indonesian population contributes to this factor. Another factor is the physical or geographic aspect, as Indonesia's vast territory and the scattered nature of its islands provide advantages for terrorists to carry out their acts without easy detection. Additionally, various foreign-owned facilities, such as those belonging to the United States, are dispersed throughout Indonesia and can become targets. The third factor is the socio-economic status of individuals involved in bombings, often located in poverty-stricken areas, making it easier to indoctrinate them with terrorist ideologies.

The fourth factor, according to Mubarak (2012), is the influential charismatic figures who spread such doctrines. For example, Mubarak (2012) provides examples such as Dr. Azhari or Noordin Moh. Top, who were admired by their followers. The fifth factor is the level of education and background of an individual, which influences their understanding of Islam. Terrorist groups also interpret and distort the teachings of Islam. However, they selectively choose and misinterpret sacred verses to justify their black-and-white judgments without considering the context. The understanding of jihad, for instance, is no longer interpreted as an effort to combat one's own ego or inner struggle but rather as murder and destruction of anything related to non-Muslims, especially Western culture. Terrorists do not hesitate to make Muslim and non-Muslim individuals victims in their acts of terrorism.

According to the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) website (2022), the terrorism dimension index for 2022 is at 51.54 points, which is significantly lower than the RPJMN (National Medium-Term Development Plan) target of 54.26 points. Furthermore, according to the BNPT, the index for the perpetrator supply dimension is 29.48 points, also lower than the RPJMN target of 38.00 points. In this condition, the smaller the index points, the lower the risk of terrorism.

Although the terrorism risk index has shown positive changes, terrorism continues to cast a shadow over Indonesian society. The recent case of a suicide bombing at the Astana Anyar Police Station in 2022 demonstrates that terrorism and its ideologies can still thrive. Vice President Ma'ruf Amin warns that radicalism can emerge from anywhere and continue to pose a threat to Indonesia. Furthermore, in 2023, there were 116 recidivist terrorists or individuals involved again in terrorist acts, and according to the Chairman of BNPT, 80 percent of these recidivists still adhere to their old ideologies and doctrines.

The difficulty in detecting recruitment and the growth of terrorist groups is acknowledged by the state. For example, the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo) admits the challenges in detecting terrorism developments. Moreover, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) itself acknowledges the difficulty of keeping up with the developments of small groups, particularly in identifying different ideologies and doctrines.

The rapid development of ideologies and doctrines, coupled with the advancement of technology, poses significant challenges in eradicating terrorism in Indonesia. When these doctrines and ideologies are easily detected, the state can better prepare prevention and handling measures, including countering them with opposing doctrines and ideologies. Understanding the process, strategies, and successes in identifying doctrines and ideologies becomes crucial in determining the appropriate efforts for countering, handling, and preventing terrorism. Having a detailed understanding of the identification process allows for quick detection and prevention of

new ideologies and doctrines. Given these conditions, this research is crucial because the identification of doctrines will lead to successful deradicalization. Additionally, understanding the narrative of the ex-terrorist's ideological journey from radicalism and extremism to deradicalization is important. This study will focus on the case study of the network associated with FA, a terrorist actor linked to terrorist groups in Poso.

Based on the background explanation in the previous section and analyzing the gaps in previous research, the researcher formulates the following research questions:

- How is the doctrine of violent extremism identified within the Agus Surpiyanto Network involved in terrorism in Indonesia?
- How is the process of identifying the doctrine of violent extremism in terrorist perpetrators used to determine appropriate deradicalization programs?

Based on the formulated problem and research questions, the main objective of this study is to understand how doctrines are identified by former terrorists, specifically Agus Supriyanto alias Farel, as an effort to determine appropriate deradicalization programs based on their respective doctrines. Specifically, this research aims to answer the formulated research questions. The objectives of this study are as follows:

- To understand the doctrine of violent extremism within the Agus Supriyanto Network, which led to his involvement in terrorism in Indonesia.
- To identify the process of identifying the doctrine of violent extremism in terrorist perpetrators in order to determine suitable deradicalization programs.

METHOD

The method used is qualitative research. A qualitative approach is employed because the aim is to delve into the story of how former detainees identify terrorist doctrines in order to determine appropriate deradicalization programs. Neuman (2014) explains in his book that qualitative data collection allows for in-depth exploration of specific phenomena. Creswell (2014) supports Neuman's explanation, stating that thick description can be obtained through a qualitative approach. states that qualitative research can provide a deeper description of social phenomena in everyday life.

Based on the problem statement and research objectives in Chapter 1, the research design used in this study is a case study. Referring to Neuman (2014), a case study is conducted to examine an issue or problem through a single and unique case. In this case, the focus is on the former detainee network of Agus Supriyanto in identifying detainee doctrines. By focusing on this case, it is hoped that it can demonstrate in a tangible and real manner how doctrines can be identified.

Referring to Creswell (2014), the data used in this research consists of primary and secondary data. The primary data comes from in-depth interviews with key informants. The secondary data consists of literature reviews and statistical data related to this research. The researcher will use the results of in-depth interviews with informants as primary data to analyze the issues and identify patterns to describe and answer the research questions. The researcher will also collect various statistical data related to the research topic as secondary data to support the arguments formed from the primary data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The development of Islamic extremist terrorism ideology in Indonesia can be traced back to its history, from the growth of Islamic ideology during the independence era to the reform era in Indonesia. In general, some of the terrorism groups that have developed in Indonesia from the early 2000s until today include Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT), and Jamaah Ansharut Syariah. According to (Syahputra & Sukabdi, 2021), these terrorist groups, such as JI, JAD, JAT, and MIT, have affiliations with global terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS. They share similarities in their goals of establishing an Islamic state and implementing Sharia law (see Djelantik & Akbar in Syahputra & Sukabdi, 2021).

The early development of Islamic movements that later turned into terrorist groups can be seen in the emergence of NII (Negara Islam Indonesia) or commonly known as Darul Islam (DI). DI or NII grew out of Islamic militias organized by Kartosowiryo. The aim of the NII movement was to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia based on Islamic law. It can be observed that the roots of the development of terrorist groups in Indonesia can be traced back to these movements.

According to Syauqillah and Fathon (2019), the ideological foundation of jihad in Indonesian extremist movements can be traced back to Darul Islam and its connection to the Middle Eastern extremist movements associated with the conflict in Afghanistan. Generally, Indonesian individuals who went to Afghanistan to fight against the Soviet Union had familial ties to Darul Islam. From the statements above, it can be seen that the development of extremist Islamic ideology began as Indonesia itself developed. The main goal was to establish an Islamic state based on Sharia law.

According to FA, the existing extremist ideologies today are associated with ISIS, NII, and JI, and tend to have connections and affiliations with Al-Qaeda. Although each group operates differently, they share the common goal of enforcing Islamic law or Sharia in leading a nation.

One of the extremist networks involved in terrorist activities in Indonesia is the network led by Agus Alias Farel. Before understanding the ideologies of extremism within this network, it is important to understand how this network was formed and the ideological journey of FA as one of its members.

FA comes from a family that follows the NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) or commonly known as Nahdiyin. Initially, he lived in South Sumatra, specifically in the city of Palembang. During high school, he moved from South Sumatra to Yogyakarta. It was in Yogyakarta that he encountered new ideologies and doctrines. During that time, he was exposed to various facts about conflicts in the Middle East, such as acts of violence committed by Zionists against Palestine and the oppression experienced by Palestinians. These events influenced FA's understanding and support for defending Islam.

Regarding the extremism exhibited by the FA network, (Ghaemmaghami, 2017) states that radicalism and extremism in Islam can be seen in two main aspects. Firstly, they reject the secularization of society and the separation of religion and politics, church, and mosque from the state, as carried out by Western governments. The success of Western countries in secularizing is seen as something dangerous and a threat to Islam, which is not only concerned with the afterlife but also governs worldly matters. Secondly, some Muslims desire their societies to be governed in accordance with the Quran and Islamic law as the foundation of the state. Therefore, it is not

surprising that underground movements emerged with the aim of establishing an Islamic caliphate, advocating for the sovereignty of God, jihad, and Islamic revolution (Almazova, 2016; Hairgrove, 2011; Hansen, 2021; Harun et al., 2011; Khoir, 2015; Muthuswamy, 2012a, 2012b; Naumkin, 2003). The FA network operates underground and has its own ideology and doctrines. The extremist ideology planted within the FA network is based on Jihad Fi Sabilillah, advocating for physical warfare against those deemed enemies of Islam, even if they are fellow Muslims. This ideology is also based on Quranic verses such as Al-Ma'idah (5:54). Therefore, FA acknowledges their network as "554."

In essence, the FA network is not a group with a new ideology. It serves as a haven for jihadists who have joined radical groups and later separated to join this network. In the recruitment process during its early stages, members of this network directly approach potential recruits. The initial approach involves assessing the level of faith, religious knowledge, and social relations of the potential recruit. They usually target individuals who are introverted within their communities or surroundings.

Once a target is identified, the next step is to approach and establish a personal connection. After getting to know and establish a relationship, the recruiters will test the recruit's knowledge, particularly in religious, state, and other areas. The recruiters aim to evaluate the recruit's worldview. The information provided during this stage aims to show that Islam is the right way to govern a majority Muslim country.

Once their worldview and ghiroh (enthusiasm) are assessed, the recruiters analyze the recruit's level of ghiroh, which reflects their passion and dedication. The recruiters provide narratives about conflicts andoppression faced by Muslims worldwide, particularly in the Middle East, to further cultivate ghiroh in the recruits. They also analyze the recruit's relationships and affiliations.

After ghiroh is established, the next stage is to invite the recruit to embrace hijrah (migration). In this context, hijrah involves a total transformation of the recruit's self, abandoning their old beliefs and adopting extremist ideologies.

Overall, the development of extremist ideology within this network serves as a platform for radicalized individuals who seek to manifest jihad fi sabilillah. The recruitment process involves initial personal approaches, where the recruiters assess the recruit's faith, religious knowledge, and social relations. After identifying individuals with strong faith, they establish a closer personal connection to expand their religious knowledge and encourage a drastic hijrah. Once the complete transformation occurs, the recruiters indoctrinate the recruits with the concept of jihad fi sabilillah, emphasizing physical warfare against all enemies of Allah, including governments deemed to be thogut (idolatrous).

When examining an individual's religious development, members within this network seem to be trapped in the dogmatic stage. (Bruner, 2019; Gawda, 2022; Landy & Royzman, 2018; Turner & Pickvance, 2004)explains that religious development can be divided into five stages: egocentric, dogmatic, transitional, reconstructed, and transcendent. According to (Muthuswamy, 2012b), in the dogmatic stage, religious dogma provides rules for the reciprocal relationship between individuals and God. Judgments of right and wrong are based on obedience to these rules without considering situational context. Compliance with the group and the religion becomes a necessity in the dogmatic stage, following and practicing to maintain order without critically questioning the teachings. In the context of the FA network's extremism, they adhere strictly to religious dogma without considering the conditions, situations, and contexts. They confront anything they perceive as contradictory without critical analysis.

The stages of Iman (faith), Hijrah (migration), and Jihad also play a crucial role in FA's deradicalization efforts. When dealing with suspected terrorists or detainees who have embraced the concept of jihad, FA knows how to guide them to contextualize jihad fi sabilillah within the framework of being a good Indonesian citizen. When interacting with specific groups, FA can easily identify whether their teachings lean towards radicalism or not.

FA possesses the ability to assess an individual's or group's ideological and doctrinal inclinations related to Iman, Hijrah, and Jihad. With this knowledge, FA knows how to conduct deradicalization. For example, in the stage of faith, FA emphasizes belief in Allah SWT and portrays Islam as a peaceful religion.

In the hijrah stage, FA emphasizes personal transformation from negative qualities to positive ones, rather than changing the direction of the state from what they consider bad to what they perceive as good. FA acknowledges going through a personal hijrah, shifting from old understandings to newer and broader perspectives regarding peace in Islam.

In the jihad stage, individuals can understand jihad fi sabilillah as the sincere struggle in the path of Allah. The doctrine of jihad presented to potential members involves physical warfare against all enemies of Allah, including governments that neglect Islamic Sharia. Strong emphasis is placed on the significance of Surah Al-Baqarah (2:218), where those who engage in jihad will receive great mercy and blessings from Allah SWT. This verse is used by the FA network to recruit new members, targeting the Indonesian government as an enemy to be fought against.

Over time, the recruitment process within this network has evolved, consisting of several identifiable stages. In the first stage, they initiate initial approaches, and during this process, they evaluate the recruit's level of faith, religious knowledge, and relationships. Once they identify individuals with strong faith, they establish a closer personal connection to broaden their religious knowledge and guide them towards a drastic hijrah. After the complete transformation, the recruiters indoctrinate the recruits with the concept of jihad fi sabilillah. The emphasis is on physical combat against all enemies of Allah, including governments deemed to be thogut.

When relating this to anindividual's religious development, members within the network appear to be stuck in the dogmatic stage. Rooduijn et al.,(2017) explains that religious dogma provides rules for the reciprocal relationship between individuals and God. Judgments of right and wrong are based on obedience to these rules without considering situational context. Compliance with the group and the religion becomes a necessity in the dogmatic stage, following and practicing to maintain order without critically questioning the teachings. In the context of the FA network's extremism, they adhere strictly to religious dogma without considering the conditions, situations, and contexts. They confront anything they perceive as contradictory without critical analysis.

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Furthermore, FA's experiences in studying the weaknesses and strengths of potential terrorist members are utilized to understand the weaknesses and strengths of detainees or suspected terrorists undergoing deradicalization. One common weakness found by FA is the inability of detainees to meet their daily needs or economic factors.

Economic factors become a weakness that FA often exploits during the deradicalization process. FA directs the deradicalization targets to participate in activities organized by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) to obtain resources for a new life.

In FA's current position as a member of the foundation that supports former detainees, FA must have accurate knowledge of the ideologies and doctrines held by detainees. Understanding their weaknesses and strengths provides an opportunity to implement deradicalization programs for detainees and suspected terrorists affiliated with FA's network.

As Kusari & Walsh (2021) point out, the involvement of former detainees in reintegration has received significant attention in recent years. The participating foundations play a vital role in providing support to prevent recidivism. Former terrorists often face risks and challenges post-release, such as stigmatization, distrust, and social and economic isolation. The transition period is crucial in determining the success of prevention programs. The participating foundations initiate community-based mentoring and supervision, promoting financial independence, shifting perspectives towards moderation through discussions and dialogues, and ensuring societal acceptance in the first place.

CONCLUSION

the ideology and doctrine of FA network's extremism are deeply rooted in the application of the best generation in carrying out Jihad Fi Sabilillah. This extremist ideology advocates violence to achieve the ultimate perfection of jihad through martyrdom. The opposing parties, including the Indonesian government, are viewed as enemies hindering the establishment of Islamic Sharia, and fighting against them is considered an integral part of Jihad. The doctrine and ideology of FA network's extremism are consistently transmitted throughout the stages of a Muslim's faith, hijrah, and jihad. These three aspects are inseparable, and those who adhere to them are promised glory and blessings from Allah SWT. The faith stage involves strengthening one's belief in Allah SWT, while the hijrah stage focuses on transitioning from a negative state to a better one, implementing Islamic Sharia to transform society. In the jihad stage, jihad fi sabillah is emphasized, calling for war against enemies of Allah SWT and governments that do not uphold Islamic law. This jihadist struggle guarantees instant martyrdom and is consistently promoted by the extremist network. Deradicalization efforts involve guiding individuals towards the practice of Iman, Islam, and Ihsan, where Islam is a religion that promotes peace. Each stage is crucial and interconnected, emphasizing the importance of Iman, Hijrah, and Jihad as integral aspects of Islamic teachings.

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