The Phenomenon of Radicalism in Indonesia and Efforts to Strengthen Its Prevention through Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2021

Agus Satmoko Adi[1], Nanik Setyowati[2], Maya Mustika Kartika Sari [3,] Siti Maizul Habibah[4], Iman Pasu Purba[5], Nensi Khurnia[6]
State University of Surabaya, Indonesia [1,2,3,4,5,6]

Abstract: Currently, the teachings of radicalism are increasingly on the rise in the midst of the dynamics of people's lives. This is the era of post truth. An era where people trust their own views more and don't want to accept the real facts. By using access to telecommunications such as the internet, radical ideas can be spread from one part of the world to another in seconds. The perpetrators of the suicide bombing at the Makassar cathedral church on Sunday, March 28, 2021 were a young married couple. Likewise, Zakiah Aini, 25 years old, a terrorist at the Indonesian National Police Headquarters, March 31, 2021. They are young people products of radicalism in the internet world. Presidential Regulation number 7 of 2021 concerning the National Action Plan for Prevention of Extremism (NAP PE) is a government policy containing action plans to tackle extremism. One of the points of concern is the role of community policing. The NAP PE will conduct community policing training to support efforts to prevent violent extremism that leads to terrorism. The strategy of involving the community in preventing extremism is a very appropriate strategy, because the government cannot be alone in preventing and dealing with extremism.

Keywords: Radicalism, Post-Truth, Preventing Extremism, NAP-PE

Introduction

Etymologically, the word radical comes from radices which means a concerted attempt to change the status quo (David Jarry, 1991). This understanding identifies the term radical with political nuances, namely the will to change power. The term radical is also often synonymous with the terms fundamental, extreme and militant. This term has the connotation of incompatibility with prevailing convention. This term radical is also often identified with religious groups that fight for fundamental religious principles in a strict, tough, uncompromising manner.

The essence of this radical definition relates to the sharp contradiction between the values championed by certain groups and the prevailing or established order of values at that time. At first glance this understanding connotes physical violence, even though radicalism is also an ideological contradiction.

Meanwhile, radicalization is defined as a process marked by an increase in commitment to violence or a commitment to allow violent means and strategies in various conflicts (Porta & LaFree, 2012). All of these processes can include changes in beliefs, feelings, and attitudes that justify violence in inter-group conflicts, or attitudes that require sacrifices in defending the group.

---

[1] *Email: agussatmoko@unesa.ac.id*

Thus, radicalization includes two closely related elements, namely action (behavior) and attitude (goal), although the dependency between the two does not always exist. Therefore, radical attitudes are not always and must not be implemented by acts of violence. One thing that must be noted is that radicalization is always associated with various processes which must be distinguished analytically because these processes are directed by different mechanisms, following several different patterns, which are understood in the local socio-political context.

Angel Rabasa concluded that the definition of radical is the process of adopting an extreme belief system, including the willingness to use, support, or facilitate violence, as a method for leading to social change (Rabasa, 2010).

Broadly speaking, the pattern of spreading radicalism is carried out through various channels, such as: a) mass media: including the internet, radio, books, magazines and pamphlets; b) direct communication with the form of preaching, discussion and friendship; c) kinship with the form of marriage, kinship and nuclear family; d) educational institutions in schools, Islamic boarding schools and universities. Of the various patterns of the spread of radicalism, the technique of spreading radicalism through the internet has become the most frequently used media (Blue Print 2017, BNPT).

Globalization began to enter a decisive momentum with the end of the Cold War with the victory of the United States. The important role played by the United States in a globalized world raises concerns around the world that globalization is a form of "Americanization". This concern will naturally cause a reaction from community groups to protect their culture from the "Americanization" process (Thomas Friedman, 2006). For radical groups and individuals alike, the fear of Americanization has reinforced the perception of a common enemy. This perception has provided a new impetus for radicalism to increase the intensity of its actions against anything deemed compatible with and supporting the actions of the United States.

Religious radical movements that carry out acts of terror and violence are basically nothing new in the international world, but globalization has expanded the area of operation and increased the capabilities of these groups to carry out their actions. The process of globalization has gone hand in hand with the "democratization of technology", which allows more and more people to be able to access technological developments in a short time (Joseph S. Nye, 2004).

With the cheaper and smoother the flow of communication, it has enabled radical groups to increase their area of operation, from local to global. By using access to telecommunications such as the internet, radical ideas can be spread from one part of the world to another in seconds. "Millennial" radicalism is increasingly enlivening radical attitudes that may have been latent. After the birth of the internet and the emergence of social media, what was hidden then was shed sometimes blindly.

Now, the teachings of radicalism are increasing in the midst of the dynamics of people's lives. There are even those who think that cases of radicalism in Indonesia are increasingly chronic, and have entered the red category. This teaching spreads through preaching which is carried out in houses of worship, recitation, religious education institutions, and has even spread to public education institutions such as high schools and universities. The spread of radical teachings is carried out openly or privately.

Many studies have been conducted to target the growth of radicalism in Indonesia. Several studies have shown a degree of "vigilance against radicalism". Research conducted by the Center for Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in 2008-2009 shows the development trend of radicalism that uses mosques as a medium for its dissemination. A survey conducted by Lazuardi Birru and LSI in 2011 which confirmed the CSRC findings that more than half of the mosques in Jabotabek had committed radical acts (50.95%). Meanwhile, 20.09% said they were willing to do it, and only 28.95% said never.

The emergence of radicalism among Islamic boarding schools was found in the initial research of the Center for the Study of Radicalism and Deradicalization (PAKAR) which stated that November 2010-April 2011 indicated that there were at least 102 radical Islamic boarding schools in 15 provinces in Indonesia. Data released by the NII Crisis Center shows that there are a number of campuses where the NII movement is based, including UI, UNAS, Mustopo Beragama and others. A survey conducted by LIPI on several campuses in Java shows that 80.6% of student respondents surveyed have approval of the Jakarta Charter as the basis of the state. This is a research by Anas Saidi (LIPI) at 5 universities namely UI, IPB, UGM, Unair, and Unibraw in 2010 on the understanding of Islam in the tarbiyah movement on campus.

A survey by the Institute for Islamic Studies and Peace (LaKIP) in 100 public junior high schools and senior high schools in Jakarta and its surroundings that of the 933 students surveyed, around 48.9% agreed or strongly agreed with acts of violence in religious clothing. Meanwhile, among the 590 religious teachers surveyed, 28.2% agreed to acts of violence in the name of religion and morals. (Deputy for Prevention, Protection and Deradicalization of BNPT, 2013).

In its research on urban marginalized communities in Jabodetabek, the Setara Institute concluded that there was an increase in radicalism caused not only by religion, but also by economic factors, social and political inequality (Setara Institute, 2020).

This article will discuss the never-ending phenomenon of radicalism in Indonesia and how to strengthen its prevention. How methods are effective and are able to have a pervasive impact on tackling radicalism and terrorism, will be tried to break down, especially in relation to the new ammunition with the issuance of Presidential Decree no. 7 of 2021 concerning the National Action Plan for the Prevention of Extremism (NAP PE)

Research Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach. This approach arises as a result of a reaction from the positivism and post-positivism traditions, so that qualitative research is a multiple method (bricologe and bricoleur) with an interpretive approach in interpreting empirical phenomena. Meanwhile, Creswell argues as a "process" to understand social problems to test hypotheses from existing assumptions (John W. Creswell, 2003). By using inductive logic, information is found without being identified beforehand so that there is a strong approach to information as an investigative process in order to comprehensively understand developing social phenomena (John W. Creswell; 2018).

The method used is descriptive-analytical, in order to describe a phenomenon to study the who, what, when, and how aspects of a topic. For Ronny Kountur, descriptive research will provide a description, description or situation as clearly as possible without any special treatment of the object under study (Ronny Kountur; 2009).

Findings & Discussion

The intellectual world in Indonesia today seems to be experiencing degradation and quality degradation as a result of the strong current of militants which is growing every day. Stories of religious militancy that continued to be published, eventually formed — to borrow Baudrillard's term — hyperreality. As a result, people who are easily hypnotized will turn from "common sense" to "reason blindness". As a result, there is the fact that those who previously did not understand religious teachings suddenly became combatants, terrorists, who acted brutally for the sake of religious ideology that they did not really understand.

Other facts also show how religious awareness has shown a massive increase. The house of worship is always full. Many are competing to build mosques in all their glory. Religious awareness is then often shown by "identity" in clothes and words. This we can see in the "real world" around us. Likewise, if we look at the "virtual world" such as social media which is busy

with comments from netizens who are "religious". Religious arguments are used to address emerging issues. Even for conversations and insults, it is not uncommon to attach holy verses.

Along with the increase in education and diversity, hoaxes and hate speech are also rampant, especially for matters that intersect with politics, such as during the 2019 presidential election. utter hate speech. This is a "paradox" in the era of the third millennium now, which is coloring the life of society and nation in our country. We certainly wonder why this has penetrated those who are actually expected to have resilience from the explosion of information that crosses each other. In the context of religion, it can be seen that religion is only put as an "energy" which is no longer rational, not enlightening, instead it amplifies violence and uproar. To borrow Erich Fromm's term, religious behavior has turned into authoritarian and separated from its humanist function.

Currently, social media - biological children born from the womb of the digital era, is the channel that is most loved by netizens. The easier internet access means that there is no longer any limit for someone to be able to get an account on social media, so that, like a public toilet, social media can be accessed by everyone without exception. The digital era, in layman's language, is a term to define the development of technology, information and internet-based communication. This era then gave birth to new media terminology. The word "new" embedded in the media refers to the accessibility used. This means, if previously the market was controlled by conventional media (print and electronic media), now it has shifted to internet technology.

The more massive use of internet-based communication media, the more it confirms that we are experiencing digitalisation. The digitalization of technology, communication and information that is currently happening has made access to information more open. As a result, everyone can easily get information from the internet. This diversity also reveals that religious elites and educated people have not been able to become the support for a healthy democratic life in Indonesia. They also have not been able to become literacy drivers for their people so that they are able to "filter and share" quality and enlightening information. Instead, they exploit "reason" and religion to give birth to blind militancy.

1. Post Truth and Radicalism

Phenomena like this re-reveal how Indonesia always experiences irregular 'leaps'. In the past, when television was present in the community, people in droves watched television. And now, the world of the internet is here, which makes people euphoric, making it easier for them to get information that is scattered on the internet. They are "forced" to use digital media, but in fact they are not "ready" for the digital age. As a result, they only use the internet for pragmatic, superficial purposes, not for scientific deepening. They don't have a tradition of reading well.

This is what is often referred to as the 'post truth' era. This term refers to people who believe more in their own views and do not want to accept the real facts. The important thing is the news or narrative that appears to provide "pleasure" or "comfort" for the reader, without having to try to investigate in order to reach "truth". Thus, there is no more truth, because there are 'opinions' and 'perceptions'.The Post Truth era shows a condition in which the information media has belonged to all individuals so that everyone can easily make hate speech. Higher internet access and easier use of devices should be balanced with massive digital literacy as well.

That is the reality today, where information technology has flooded our lives, so that we are now entering in a strange era. The information that is presented, the important thing is to form an opinion first, the reality will then be proposed and adjusted. Inevitably, Post-truth has become famous, even though the term has actually been popular since 1992. In Indonesia, until now there has been "disruption" with we often being treated to various strange discourses. And even more strangely, these empty discourses without data, aka pure rhetoric, have received

tremendous response from fanatics. The truth is no longer in question. People feel more comfortable when "facts" are distorted and adjusted to personal interpretations, opinions and beliefs. This fact occurs as a result of the emergence of puritanical and extreme views with the face of identity politics, conservative turn, conservative religious sentiment, and literacy that do not use critical reasoning, and even conflicts between religious groups.

Post-truth is rooted in the human psyche itself, which easily falls into cognitive bias. Humans are not as rational as they have been. In the face of unpleasant truths, humans tend to fall into cognitive bias. Our egos have self-defense mechanisms, so when what we believe is proven wrong, we don't necessarily admit our mistakes. This is also what the philosopher Herbert Marcuse of the Frankfrut school calls 'One Dimensional Man', a human being who loses his dimension by shrinking himself into the 'bars' of narrow belief, without criticism.

One of the cognitive biases is cognitive dissonance, which is the discrepancy of knowledge, which can be harmonized. In the words of the German philosopher Nietzsche, humans do need a "handle". Whatever he will use as a handle, if the need is for a big handle. The greater the need, the more fanatical the truth will be. And it is normal that people call the handle the truest. Likewise, if it is a mistake, hoax or fake news, as far as it makes him comfortable, then he will call it the truth.

Post-truth is increasingly phenomenal as the role of the traditional newspaper and television media decreases. Anyone can now be a writer, editor and publisher for what he thinks is right. The emergence of technology and the development of social media have also triggered more anarchic news coverage so that hoaxes and fake news have become something that is considered normal, even daily food is hunted through gadgets.

It is inevitable that the current spread of radicalism has targeted various groups in various ways. Radical understanding tends to have a narrow, hard, rigid understanding and always corrects other understandings that are contrary to its understanding. Unfortunately too, they openly recognized themselves as anti-Pancasila and wanted to turn it into a caliphate. The perpetrators of the suicide bombing at the Makassar cathedral church on Sunday, March 28, 2021 were a young married couple. Likewise, Zakiah Aini, 25 years old, terrorists at the Indonesian National Police Headquarters, at the end of March 2021. They are young people products of radicalism in the internet world. They are millennial generations who lack literacy, which are why they are easily fascinated by calls for violence in the name of jihad as a religious commandment, with heaven in return. They are very pragmatic in understanding religion. This is one of the phenomena of radicalism in Indonesia today

The pattern of radical understanding has indeed been proven to find its momentum increasingly when information technology, such as the internet, has become a popular communication tool in the community. Through the internet, extreme groups can spread their understanding. Society becomes polarized. And the extreme 'sleep cells' wake up and spread anger.

In fact, today's society is vulnerable to sensitive issues that arise. Polarization is getting stronger. Not a few people are classified as ordinary people in religious matters, with little knowledge of their religion, becoming vulnerable and easily influenced by information in cyberspace. Information from radical groups in cyberspace will be easily accepted without critical thinking. Indoctrination from the recitation mentor or his group will strengthen his understanding which gradually becomes radical as well and is ideological in nature. The stronger the mindset of extreme doctrine, so it will be easy to sympathize when reading writings on the internet calling for extremism. Reading that smells of extremes either on the internet or in books can be "triggers" for extreme thoughts. This is a testament to the lack of a reading culture. So what emerges is an explosion of 'emotional' religion without being based on scientific, in-depth and critical reasoning or research.

Thus, this fact is increasingly aware that ideology - citing Ranya Ahmed (2018) - has a strong influence that can explain individual and group actions. Embedded in the dictum "ideology determines who is the enemy". Ideology has a long justification for political action. Views of extremism have decisions, and actions are guided both by violence and without violence.

An ideology is a coordinated collection of beliefs about how things are versus how they should be from the point of view of a group, or category of people. Ideology refers to collectivist rather than individualist goals that regulate the welfare of the group above the personal well-being of individuals. This is in stark contrast to egotism, hedonism or greed. People may be motivated to kill for greed, even risking one's life or personal freedom for greed, but one will not commit suicide out of greed. People will do it for ideological reasons (Kruglanski, 2014).

2. Contest in Public Spaces

Public spaces are often disputed. Claims of ownership of public space in the realm of praxis cause many conflicts that lead, not only to the potential for disintegration, but also to the level of eroding basic human values. Such groups compete in society so that groups not affiliated with groups with certain beliefs get less attention. The condition of religious life in Indonesia today is a clear example of the struggle for public space. Likewise, this condition is an application of the irregularity of ideas in a peaceful public space arrangement for a plural society like Indonesia.

The relationship between the presence of religion in the public sphere seems to be explained through Jurgen Habermas' construction theory. In contrast to secular circles who completely eliminate the role of religion and all religious reasons from the public sphere, Habermas proposes a pluralistic public space model that accepts various aspirations, including religious aspirations, without having to be blocked. The process involved all parties without silencing those who voiced religious aspirations. However, Habermas requires regulations to allow religion to exist in the public sphere. First, religious aspirations, especially if they are to become public policies, must be explained rationally and treated as a rational area. Second, secular citizens or citizens of other faiths need to learn from these religious aspirations to reach an understanding. This means that in the ideal of public space all parties must be open to various discourses.

This view of Jurgen Habermas is in line with the views of Nurcholis Majid or Kuntowijoyo, an intellectual figure of Indonesian Muslims. According to Nurcholis Madjid, religious aspirations, especially if they are to become public policies, must be universalized so that they can be accepted by various parties. In the Kuntowijoyo language, if the teachings of Islam are to be formalized in the public sphere, it must first experience objectification. This means that there needs to be an effort to translate or rationalize religious values into objective categories.

According to Habermas (Budi Hardiman, 2009) public space is all areas of life that allow us to form public opinion. According to him, this area must be free from domination and censorship. Basically, all citizens can enter such a space because each individual is basically a private citizen who, because of the nature of their conversation involving the public interest, then they enter the public domain. Such a situation requires guarantees to assemble freely and express opinions freely as well. The public sphere is thus characterized by the state of access by all people and refers to inclusive characteristics. Habermas understands the public sphere as a network for communicating themes and attitudes. Public space is everywhere because it is plural

Habermas connects his concept of public space with the concept of citizen society. According to him, citizen society is formed when citizens are free to reach an agreement to achieve their socio-political goals and form an autonomous association, independent of

bureaucratic and market interests. Private actors in society jointly build discursive space. These actors take part in the reproduction of public spaces (Budi Hardiman, 2009). Private humans involve themselves in the process of critical rational debate and then give birth to a universality which becomes the basis for majority thought and opinion afterwards (Habermas, 2010). In this case, communicative action to achieve understanding naturally presupposes agreement that is driven by rational motivation among participants and can be measured on the basis of claims of validity that can be criticized (Michael Pussey; 2011).

Habermas's study of the public sphere pays special attention to the conditions of post-secular society. Post-secular society is a modern society that again sees religious values as important. The emergence of the idea of postsecular in Habermas's view is motivated by the following facts. First, that the development of naturalism is increasingly leading to the instrumentalization of human understanding, especially the view that places sensory experience as a single measure of truth. Second, the recent acts of terror are a reaction to Western modernization which only brings a void of meaning and is a response to the oppression caused by the arrogance of Western modernization. Third, the depletion of solidarity values of citizens. Citizens in a situation of modernization turn into monades that are isolated from one another and often act in the name of their own interests.

That is why, Habermas emphasized the importance of learning from religion and transforming religious values in the social space. He noted that the encounter between Christianity and Greek philosophy was also initially successful in synthesizing normative concepts, such as responsibility, autonomy and justification, history and memoria, emancipation and fulfillment, individuality and sociality, and so on. Another important thing is how to place religion as a means to restore collective human awareness of solidarity. Religion is also an effective arena for social motivation. Solidarity seems to be important because the lack of solidarity will have the potential to cause conflicts between communities.

Following Habermas, it is clear that religion regained its position after experiencing an erosion in modernization. However, Habermas emphasized the involvement of religion in certain spaces. To negate the role of religion in the flow of modernization means to ignore the fact that religion can be a source of defense against minorities as do the churches in America. According to Habermas, there is a potential that can be extracted from religious traditions. It's just that, religious traditions also cannot be used as guidelines in regulating formal public spaces because they have the potential to be used as a tool for the majority group to carry out their will.

The presence of Islam in the Indonesian public sphere in the last decade is interesting to observe, not only because Islam is associated with various incidents of violence, radicalism and even terrorism. However, his presence was taking place at a time when democracy in Indonesia was gaining momentum. Islam appears in the public sphere with its various expressions and orientations. Apart from its ideological and political face, Islam colors the public space through cultural symbols such as the veil and even the veil, soap operas, cinema, literary works, Islamic books and Islamic social media. Islamic texts and symbols are also increasingly being read and viewed on the internet, making Islam part of what is called a "virtual religion". In short, in this increasingly democratic public sphere, the penetration of Islamic symbols gave birth to various expressions, identities, organizations and institutions labeled as Islamic which were actually going wider and deeper.

The expansion of Islam in the Indonesian public sphere along with the democratization process seems paradoxical. However, if one looks closely, the prominence of the presence of Islamic symbols and identities in the Indonesian public sphere is precisely made possible by democracy itself. Contrary to the secularist assumption that religions will only exist in the private sphere, democracy precisely necessitates the thinning of the separation between the private and the public. Even private issues such as marriage, divorce, care and / or relations between children and their parents can become important discourses in the 'political arena' involving issues of gender justice and also human rights. In addition, democracy facilitates more groups in society to fight for their existence and legitimacy in the public sphere. Religious

groups also affirm their identity and try to influence the discourse and orientation of modern public life from a religious perspective.

Based on the context of predominantly Muslim countries, including Indonesia, Islam seems to play an important role as a catalyst for the expression of frustration of the marginalized masses. As stated by Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni: "For the poor and the unfortunate (unfortunate people), the economic and socio-political crisis has grounded them. When hopelessness arises, religion is the ultimate savior (Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni (Ed.), 2004). Moreover, they argue, "the tendency of people to return to religion increases when in crisis (Greg Fealy and Anthony Bubalo, 2007). This means that frustration is a potential "partner" for fundamentalist movements in the name of Islam.

Conditions of economic decline, such as conditions during the current Covid-19 pandemic, where the country is experiencing a recession, creates its own vulnerability which makes it easier for radical ideas to enter the minds of the Indonesian people. Radical ideas can act as an alternative solution for people who are less prosperous. The euphoria of freedom in reform and the weakening of state control over various developing freedoms have weakened the state's efforts to socialize the values of Pancasila, encourage cultural values of pluralism, tolerance and mutual cooperation. This emptiness in the socialization of Pancasila cultural values was then filled with various ideologies that easily fit into the euphoria of reform.

The 1998 political reform was followed by the making of various kinds of regulations in the security sector, such as the Defense Law No.3 of 2002. Then the TNI Law No. 3 of 2004. The drafting of various regulations and laws in the security sector requires institutional adjustments in various fields and a weakening of the capacity and coordination between security institutions. The drafting of a law in the security sector on the one hand, was accompanied by the repeal of Law No. 11 / PnPs / 1963 concerning the Eradication of Subversion Activities, which in the 80s succeeded in overcoming terror effectively. The absence of these two pillars makes monitoring and preventing the development of radicalism more difficult.

Thus, in Indonesia, religious radicalism can be manifested in the form of radical thoughts that want to change the state system fundamentally by replacing the state system based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution into a system based on religious thought in the form of an Islamic state and Islamic caliphate. At first, radical thought did no harm to peace. However, radical thinking, directly or indirectly, will provide an impetus for and influence the emergence of radical actions in the form of thuggery, communal conflict, separatism and terrorism.

Religion - which in this case is Islam - does not appear to be the main factor that triggers the emergence of various forms of social behavior in urban marginalized communities which can be categorized as "hard". (M. Zaki Mubarak, 2008). The use of the term 'hard' here is intended as an attempt to describe the use of Islam as a manifestation of a reactive attitude towards various multidimensional crises caused by increasingly globalizing secular political economy designs, which are currently present in the form of globalization.

In general, this view and behavior is defined as 'fundamentalism.' Disappointed with the secular economic-political system which is considered to have failed to provide certainty, a sense of security and prosperity, the main idea contained in the corpus of Islamic fundamentalism thought offers alternative solutions that are considered to guarantee totality and certainty. The only way of salvation to get out of the confines of the Western secular system, based on the perspective of Islamic fundamentalism, is to "return" to the basic values of Islam, namely the Al-Qur'an and Al-Hadist, as the central points of regulation of all aspects of life. For this reason, fundamentalists state: it is necessary to make various efforts so that the basic values of Islam can be realized in concrete forms. The path to this ideal can only be accomplished if the current system is changed or fundamentally replaced - if necessary by means of physical violence.

. However, such a 'tough' attitude does not just appear in a vulgar form. The process of forming this attitude generally takes place gradually or in stages (tiered). Many of these patterns will depend on the objective situation and conditions. An escalating economic and political crisis, and therefore, the more squeezing of marginalized groups, it is likely that their behavior and responses will also become more violent. Although it may be that what these circles 'complaints' about global political economy injustice today have a fairly reasonable basis, in offering solutions to these problems, Islamic fundamentalists also raise other problems. Interestingly, radicalism, even including those that do not support physical violence, has a fairly strong tendency of intolerance and exclusivity (M. Zaki Mubarak, 2007).

Radical change can be achieved through peaceful and persuasive means, but it can also be achieved by means of violence. And in this case it is necessary to distinguish between physical violence and violence in the form of symbolic or discourse. Usually many parties tend to associate violence in physical form, such as: assault, beating, vandalism and so on, but ignore symbolic violence or discourse. Meanwhile, provocation, labeling, stigmatization, or agitative oration, including hate speech, tends to be underestimated and is not something that is seen as a condition that allows escalation to physical violence.

Meanwhile, puritanism is a view which sees that the religious teachings it adheres to include time and space and is valid throughout time. Ignoring the context, social structure and culture in which the society is located. Religion is totality. Regulating all fairies of social life, be it individual behavior as a person or at the level of a larger organism, namely the state.

There are many factors that influence the emergence of radicalism. The political, social, and economic dimensions have become a significant context in seeing the phenomenon of radicalism. Political changes that have implications for freedom of expression, a prolonged economic crisis, and changes in the values of society have become one of the causes for the birth of radicalism, which is supported by a scripturalistic religious perspective.

The fall of the New Order has brought significant changes to the development of Islamic movements. The 1998 reform process became a momentum for radical movement activists to rise. Freedom of expression has been the driving force for the growth of radical Islamic organizations. This reality shows that the fall of the regime is not only taken up by the momentum of political elites who want change, but also by Islamic movements that have a radical orientation (Khamami Zada, 2002). Without freedom of expression, radicalism will find it difficult to find various forms. The euphoria of freedom is used by radical Islamic groups to express their Islamic aspirations in the public sphere.

The economic crisis that once hit Indonesia also encouraged Muslim communities to turn to religion. For the poor, the economic and socio-political crisis has overwhelmed them. When hopelessness arises, religion is the ultimate savior (Jamhari and jajang Jahroni (ed), 2004). The religious style that suits those who live in poverty is a literal-scriptural religious style, which does not rely on complex, analytic, and philosophical ways of thinking. They are not used to being asked to think and discuss. With this scripturalist Islamic character, their point of view is in line with various radical symbolic actions.

Socially, the emergence of moral decadence in society due to secularization that continues to hit religious values in society, resulting in social frustration in the Muslim community. There is the powerlessness of the community's protection system against moral principles that have long been maintained as a society's value system. In the view of Muslim society, promiscuity in a modern lifestyle has become the cause of the destruction of social morality. Then came the call to change the social system of society towards an Islamic life. This condition is also driven by the powerlessness of law enforcers in various incidents. The condition of 'moral decadence' and the powerlessness of legal institutions has triggered religious radicalism in Indonesia.

3. Strengthening through NAP-PE

The National Action Plan for Prevention of Extremism (NAP-PE) is a government policy containing action plans to tackle violent extremism divided into four pillars. First, the pillar of prevention which aims to target the general public and vulnerable groups. Second, deradicalization targeting terrorism convicts and their families. Third, law enforcement and strengthening the legislative framework. Fourth, international partnerships and cooperation which contain national plans for government cooperation with civil society and the business world at the local, national and international levels.

The Draft NAP-PE was prepared by the Directorate for Regional and Multilateral Cooperation Deputy for International Cooperation of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). In this draft, the government's strategic efforts are compiled with systematic planning, planned, and synergized with all stakeholders with the aim of tackling violent extremism using the four pillars mentioned above.

One of the reasons for the issuance of the NAP PE is the increasing threat of violent extremism that leads to terrorism. This situation creates a precarious condition that threatens the right to sense of security and the stability of national security. The NAP PE aims to increase the protection of citizens' rights to sense of security from violent extremism that leads to terrorism. This is part of the implementation of the state's obligation on human rights to maintain the stability of national security.

One thing that is new in the NAP PE is the involvement and active role of all stakeholders. The NAP PE is a "universal" program involving the ranks and institutions of central and local government and various elements of society.One of the points of concern is the role of community policing. The Perpres RAN PE will conduct training on community policing to support efforts to prevent violent extremism that leads to terrorism.Community policing training is appropriate for preventing extremism. The strategy of involving the community in preventing extremism is a very appropriate strategy, because the government cannot be alone in preventing and dealing with extremism.

As a policy, the issuance of the Presidential Decree on the NAP PE is clearly something positive as part of the commitment and obligation of the state to guarantee and protect the right to a sense of security in society from the threat of terrorism. In Resolution 2178 (2014), the UN Security Council has clearly stated the link between violent extremism and terrorism. The resolution also underlines the importance of efforts to prevent and combat violent extremism and terrorism in line with human rights principles and standards as well as international norms. Furthermore, efforts to prevent and combat violent extremism and terrorism also require comprehensive and collective efforts.

Violent extremism and terrorism are real threats in Indonesia. That way, state policy to tackle these threats is a must and in overcoming it requires a more comprehensive approach, which includes not only counter-terrorism measures based on a security approach but also systematic preventive measures that can directly address the driving factors. (push factors) violent extremism that gives rise to new extremist groups.

Moreover, the active involvement of various stakeholders is also important in preventing and tackling violent extremism and terrorism. Partial policies and strategies are difficult to produce optimal results given the complexity of the roots and sources of the problems that exist. Thus, efforts to promote comprehensive policies and the involvement or participation of various stakeholders as well as synergy and cooperation between them in order to realize the right to a sense of security in society need to be put forward.

Comprehensive countermeasures for violent extremism and terrorism must also consider respect and protection of human rights, which are actually the essence of the concept of security itself (human security). Thus, efforts to maintain security must not negate the essence of security itself, namely respect and protection of human rights. In formulating anti-extremism

and anti-terrorism policies, the state must fulfill its obligations properly, namely placing protection against the "liberty of person" in a permanent balance point with protection for the "security of person". The practice of countering violent extremism and excessive terrorism and negating human rights often becomes the driving force for acts of terrorism itself.

So far, it is admitted that within the community itself, there has not been a clear and complete understanding of what is meant by violent extremism, its characteristics and dangers to society. At a practical level, identifying violent extremism is also not an easy task and has even led to radical or extreme stigmatization of people who are based on dress or have certain thoughts. Apart from that, it is also understandable that the problems mapped in the NAP PE are very broad, so they need to be accompanied by an adequate monitoring and evaluation system. This is because it is very important in measuring the success rate of implementing the NAP PE. In the context of monitoring and evaluation, it is important for the Government to also involve other stakeholders, including various elements of civil society, in order to ensure the transparency and accountability of the NAP PE.

Thus, in the end, the Government really needs to create and enforce a policy of zero tolerance for religious motives. Extremists who are then involved in jihad activities usually go through several stages of radicalization first, often by participating, for example, in an extremist study group. The sweeping action of places that they consider immoral, such as that carried out by Team Hisbah in Solo and the one that was excessive was FPI before being disbanded by the Government, is of course very dangerous, because they often use violence. There is some evidence to suggest that once a radical has committed some form of violence, it is easier for him to commit to a more severe form of violence.

Conclusion and Summary

Radical movements are not a new phenomenon, but globalization has caused radical movements to develop easily and quickly. Anyone can easily become radical as a result of opening a radical site on the internet. This happened because radical groups increased their area of operation, from local to global. By using access to telecommunications such as the internet, radical ideas can be spread from one part of the world to another in seconds, and can affect readers in a matter of minutes. Young people who are still emotionally stable and have low understanding of their religion can easily turn radical and are ready to carry out acts of terror. Zakiah Aini who carried out acts of terror at the Indonesian National Police Headquarters at the end of March 2021 is an example.

Due to the continued development of radical groups and the increasing threat of extremism that leads to terrorism, as well as the increasing vulnerability that threatens the right to sense of security and national security stability, the government issued the NAP PE in an effort to stem the influence of radical groups and deradicalize radical groups. In addition, the NAP PE aims to improve the protection of citizens' rights to the sense of security from violent extremism that leads to terrorism. This is part of the implementation of the state's obligations on human rights to maintain the stability of national security.

As designed in the NAP PE, to prevent radicalism is the involvement and active role of all stakeholders, involving the ranks and institutions of central and local government as well as various elements of society. One of the points of concern is the role of community policing. Authorities will conduct community policing training to support efforts to prevent violent extremism that leads to terrorism. Community policing training is appropriate for preventing extremism. The strategy of involving the community in preventing extremism is a very appropriate strategy, because the government cannot be alone in preventing and dealing with extremism.

Suggestion

First, Authorities, such as the ministry of communication and information, police, BNPT to close down radical websites to prevent bad influence on the community.

Second, Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2021 to be implemented immediately, by making implementing regulations, and conducting training on community policing.

Third, In implementing the NAP PE, the government needs to involve non-governmental organizations that have carried out deradicalization programs such as the National Sovereignty Institution (Lembaga Daulat Bangsa), the Prasasti Perdamaian Foundation, and former terrorist convicts who have repented and committed to the Republic of Indonesia.

Bibliography

BNPT, (2017), Blue Print Deradikalisasi*. (Paper)*

Creswell, John W., 2018, Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches 4th Edition, SAGE Publications, Inc. Department of Family Medicine, University of Michigan, USA. *(Book).*

Deputi Bidang Pencegahan, Perlindungan, dan Deradikalisasi BNPT, 2013. *(Paper)*

Fealy, Greg dan Anthony Bubalo, (2007), Jejak Kafilah : Pengaruh Radikalisme Timur Tengah di Indonesia , Mizan, Bandung. *(Book)*

Friedman, Thomas L., (2006), The World Is Flat, Penerbit Dian Rakyat, Jakarta. *(Book)*

Hardiman, Fransisco Budi (2009), Kritik Ideologi : Menyingkap Pertautan Pengetahuan dan Kepentingan, Kanisius, Yogyakarta. *(Book)*

Jamhari dan Jajang Jahroni (2004), Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia, Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta. *(Book)*

Jarry, David & Julia Jarry, Collin (1991), Dictionary of Sociology, Glasgow :Harper Collins Publishers. *(Book)*

Kallen, Horace M., (1998), Radicalism. Dikutip dari Bahtiar Efendi dan Hendro Prasetyo, Radikalisme Agama, PPIM-UIN Jakarta. *(Chapter in an edited book)*

Kountur, Ronny, 2009, Metode Penelitian, PPM, Jakarta*. (Book)*

Kruglanski, A.W., Chernikova, M., Rosenzweig E., & Kopetz, C. (2014). On motivational readiness. Psychological Review, 121, 367–388 *(Journal Article)*

Mubarok, M. Zaki, (2007), Genealogi Islam radikal di Indonesia: gerakan, pemikiran dan prospek demokrasi, LP3ES, Jakarta. *(Book)*

Nye, Joseph S., "Soft Power and American Foreign. Policy", Political Science Quarterly 119, No. 2 Juni. 2004. *(Journal Article)*

Pussey, Michael, Habermas (2011), Dasar dan Konteks Pemikiran, Resist Book, Yogyakarta. *(Book).*

Rabasa, Angel. (2010), et al. Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists, RAND, Pittsburgh *(Edited Book)*

Ranya, Ahmed (2018). Terrorist Ideologies and Target Selection, Journal of Applied Security Research. *(Journal Article)*

Setara Institute, 2011. *(Annual Report)*

Zada, Khamami (2002), Islam Radikal: Pergulatan Ormas-Ormas Garis Keras Di Indonesia, Mizan, Bandung. *(Book)*

About the Author:

Chief Researcher
Agus Satmoko *State University of Surabaya, Indonesia*

Researcher Member
Nanik Setyowati *State University of Surabaya, Indonesia*
Maya Mustika Kartika Sari *State University of Surabaya , Indonesia*
Siti Maizul Habibah *State University of Surabaya, Indonesia*
Iman Pasu Purba *State University of Surabaya, Indonesia*
Nensi Khurnia *State University of Surabaya, Indonesia*