RADICALISM IN INDONESIA AND THE REFLECTIVE ALTERNATIVES TO REDUCE

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Abstract

Radicalism has been an important issue in Indonesia since the last few decades. Identity exclusivity, mainly religion, has caused the increasing of radicalism potency in term of its inter-citizen relation. In order to solve the problem, it is needed contra-radicalism and de-radicalization strategies. In this case, contra-radicalism is carried out by immigration restriction, early detection, law enforcement, and organizations control. Meanwhile, deradicalization can be executed through education inclusive approach; leader persuasion, Pancasila socialization expansion, and religion position understanding straighten out. In

addition, it needs to strengthen the citizenship principles, and encouraging the politics of welfare.

Keywords

Radicalism, Contra-Radicalism, and De-Radicalization

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1. Introduction

Radicalism issues in the two last decades have not indicated the solutions. It will be more sensitive issues if extreme ideas refer to some certain parties' choice. ISIS (Islamic State of Irak and Syiria) expanded its power and recruitment to Indonesia as a potencial target. Indonesia and the world denotes that ISIS comes into question because its influence will not stop only for recruiting the members but also expanding its movement to raise radicalism in Indonesia (see Alaneme and Egesi, 2015; Idachaba 2015; Khatib, 2015; Gunaratna, 2015; Töme, 2015). However, many countries in the world from year to year have not been united by religion ideology in the term of enforcing the nation status (See also Onuoha and Ufomba, 2017). This issue will be very sensitive in heterogeneous country dealing with the integration principles (see Madjid, Hidayat, and Susilawati, 2017).

Public concerns about the transnationalism through mass media, i.e.: social media which has doctrined people's mindset about the expansion of radicalism. Hence, contra-radicalism and de-radicalization movement play an important role in the midst of the slow radicalism movement.

This paper aims (1) to build an argument that radicalism still has enough spaces in various social arenas, both formal and informal one. The seeds of radicalism tend to form openly in which the exclusive movements of strengthening identity need to be noticed; (2) to focus on the effective ways to raise the contra-radicalism and de-radicalization movement.

2. Radicalism Variations

Radicalism and its broadening ideas designate various arenas such as (1) religious organizations tend to deliver *da'wah* radically. Radical means an effort to strengthen the identity by ignoring other different groups, i.e.: negating other groups or forming the exclusive identity. Strengthening the identity of an internal group is actually not problematic.

Radical social organizations consist of *Front Pembela Islam* (*FPI*), *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (*MMI*), *Laskar Jihad* (*LJ*), and several other religious groups (see Muzakki, 2014; Fenton, 2014; Asrori, 2015; Samuel, 2016). Their radical acts generally lead to the negation of certain groups that often end in violence (Muzakki, 2014), for instances: sweeping and cafes destruction. Despite those acts are actually not always done by Islam. Prohibitions of establishing a Muslim worship or burning the Mosques were also done by Christians at some places. Several religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama (NU) have been described as the moderate religious organizations towards a nationalist perspective. Although the government has issued PERPPU to dissolve the organizations that are indicated radical, it is not automatically succeed. Those organizations may no longer be legal entities, but there will be other ways to build network and activities formally. Hate speech against the government or sarcastic deeds are commonly found in various religious places and still relate to the radicalism.

Furthermore, (2) expanding ideas of radicalism for political popularity is not surprisingly. Many figures in government office build a vast network under the table. Political and bureaucratic leaders often treat themselves indirectly as agents of the radical movement, but most of the policies and their speeches tend to place them in a populist position to get the political support; (3) Education places are used to train the seeds of radicalism. Not only schools but also campus or college become a means in fertilizing the seeds of exclusivity. Many organizations in a campus create effective blocks for ideological isolation based on a particular religion; and (4) mass media like social media, for instances: facebook, instagram, whatsapp, and so on is an effective way to distribute disunity seeds. Hate speech, sense of hostility, and the distribution of radicalism seeds occur massively and yet to be resolved properly. Mass media either electronics or prints is also used to extend different feelings in a group communality. Those are managed and led by figures affiliated with the radical movement, so that the news will be eased to construct unilaterally.

3. Contra-Radicalism

The term of contra-radicalism in this paper specifies on the efforts to block the radical movements. It is basically curative and tends to solve a short-term problem.

3.1 Tightening the Immigration

It cannot be denied that the spread of radicalism and its network is strongly influenced by the outflows and incoming of people from the Middle East to Indonesia or vice versa. According to Jati (2013), Islam radical in Indonesia is connected to Islamic thought in the Middle East in which many figures involve to the international radical movement both as a labour and a visitor. ISIS spreads its agents across countries, but their entry can be traced from the flow of immigration. Therefore, it is important to build synergies with the immigration officials to anticipate the influx of immigrants, and to tighten the incoming of people by detecting their purpose and length of visits to and from the Middle East.

3.2 Detection through *RT/RW*

RT/RW coordinators are the lowest governmental organ. They are very familiar with the conditions in the field because of their intense interaction to the community. Empowering the *RT/RW* coordinators to report the socio-political development in each region periodically is one of the contra-radicalism's roles. Government can actually develop the self-report application to every guest who comes to an area especially for a certain case. The security with *Babinkamtimas'* support in each village is expected to provide information cooperatively about activities that lead to the radical movement.

3.3 Law Enforcement

Today's mass media has been trend massively in the term of developing the new ideology based on the exclusivity of identity. Supelli (2010) states that mass media tend to take over the reality. Not surprisingly, provocative statements, hate speeches, and irrelevant information can be commonly found and freely accessed in mass media. It is as dangerous as the grouping movement on social media. Government, a law and security apparatus, must firmly apply the instruments of ITE Law to catch on everyone who uses this media as a means to create group exclusivity. The State may not tolerate to the actors who hide behind the freedom of expression and democracy that will precisely harm the State's authority.

The commitment of law enforcement should be strengthened to protect citizens from the judgment project in the name of belief and trust, for instance: ambiguous acts of some religious violence cases. The State may not assign its authority to certain groups in the name of the majority. However, the State must protect the interests of all circles from the chain of judged stereotypes (compared with Sutanto, 2011). A belief cannot be judged. Theology discussions are

indeed the substance of religious belief, but Bagir dan Dwipayana (2011) convey that the State functions to ensure them being harmless one another. The State has a responsibility to keep people in the same minimum standards.

Four legal instruments of Indonesia firmly regulate the standards, as follows:

1. Articles 156, 156a, and 157 of the Criminal Code stipulate the prohibition of expressing hostility to different identities related to religious, racial, ethnic, and intergroupal issues. These articles are applicable to any person who spread the news, statements, or actions.

2. Law Number 40 of 2008 regulates the removal of discrimination of race and ethnicity.

3. Law Number 11 of 2008 jo Law Number 19 of 2016 about Information and Electronic Transaction stipulates the prohibition of spreading hatred and differences. This regulation is relatively easy to impose on groups or individuals who significantly exaggerate the issue of identity difference as a problem in interpersonal relations.

4. Regulation on Community Organization in Law Number 17 of 2013 emphasizes the importance of social organization to preserve diversity with the spirit of unity.

These various legal instruments will be the ammunition of the State to not tolerate any integration efforts based on identity differences. The exclusion and negation of different groups become an immense bet. Hence, more intensive scrutiny is needed to prevent this situation, but not to harm the framework for freedom of expression as a human right.

3.4 Organization Control

Basically, law enforcement instruments in Indonesia are clear enough. Although *PERPPU* has firmly regulated the social organizations in relation to the dissemination of ideology which is contrary to the principle of Pancasila, the control of various vaguely organizations needs to be improved. Today's many radical organizations or individuals continue to perform the movements under the table. It is important for the government and the State through the security apparatus to control not only the groups that have similar activities to radical organizations, i.e.: ISIS, declared its organization as one of an international radical movement in 2014, the government officials who play double roles, but also the activities that deconstruct the nation principle through dishonest ways and double personality.

4. De-Radicalization

De-radicalization is an effort to reduce the influence of radicalism. The author understands that de-radicalization is more cultural and preventive, and can be perceived for long-term impact.

4.1 Inclusive Education

Education world is the most effective media of instilling any values, i.e.: schools and higher education. Schools from year to year have been used to shape children's paradigm thinking through character building. According to Muchith (2016), schools at the end are also effective to build a doctrine that does not build the national principle of this nation (compared with Azra, 2015). Schools must be placed as the most strategic agents in building an inclusive education, either in the theoretical context (see Munip, 2012) or in practice. Hence, schools are being a concern and strategic partner (see Ranstorp, 2009). Hamidi and Lutfi (2010) infer that schools should be the laboratory of democracy through education with a humanistic approach. Teachers and principals should be involved as an important partner in building a critical awareness of the pattern of instilling the inclusivity values. Schools is the vanguard to prepare a tolerant generation and respectful in diversity.

Meanwhile, higher education is also expected to be a comfortable place for all groups. The development of some radical organization networks on campus must be overcome by strengthening the awareness of the leader and student organizations.

4.2 Figures Persuasion

Building collective awareness is very important for public figures such as politicians or bureaucrats. Their belief will lead the support and usually be imitated by other people. A public figure must be persuaded to commit to respect for diversity without thinking of the religion. Based on several cases, public figures often comply the most of people's needs and interests by ignoring the minority. Policies and attitudes must stand above all interests without merely considering the aspect of short-term political support. Public figures through de-radicalization are able to give freedom. Hartiningsih (2010) points that public figures have to raise the awareness of public space need a space where the discussion between majority and minority is no longer relevant.

4.3 Strengthening the Ideology of Pancasila

MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) and *DPR* (People's Representative Council) actually have started a big and massive project, the socialization of four pillars. Although four

pillars have been recently revoked by the Court, the project continues. A great task for the leaders of this country is to remind the importance of building a collective awareness of the ideological principles of Pancasila. Pancasila has been perceived negatively and seemed to be immersed in the euphoric attitudes to democratic freedoms by abandoning all stuff related to Suharto. But now this nation has already realized that there is a lost historical chapter along with the excessive freedom. The socialization of Pancasila needs to be strengthened, and either society or government has to build the public awareness of Pancasila. The collective awareness in building a sense of belonging will increase in order to avoid the efforts of intrigue against NKRI.

4.4 Illuminating the Understanding of Religious Position

The author is interested in Raka Santeri's idea (2010). Santeri writes: "Our society is more glorifying religion than sanctifying God". It seems we plot the truth in a religious position. Forgetting that God is more sacred than religion is still debatable issue.

Frequently, both religion and the State cannot be united. Pancasila haters often state that whoever believes in Pancasila, he/she does not believe in his/her God due to the different principles. Young generation in Indonesia has to understand the position of worship is guaranteed by the State. Religious position aims to provide peace and tranquility for mankind. Religion should not be used to negate different groups, but it is for respecting people's belief as a human right.

Illuminating the religious position will be public responsibility, especially the religious leaders. Religious communities are involved in maintaining young generations who live in suspicious and introspective condition.

4.5 Encouraging the Citizenship Principle

Citizenship principle is built in the framework of mutual relationship among people. Indonesia has still focused on building an unstable relation and conditioning the mutualism from year to year. Disintegration, mutual negating, rejecting, repelling, and disfiguring among people are indicated as a new typology of community character. Therefore, citizenship principle refers to an appreciation of differences and efforts to reduce the radical understanding. Ranstorp (2009) addresses it a social initiative that comes from the society itself. Pluralism must be returned not in a theological framework, but in the context of peace (see Bagir, 2011).

4.6 Welfare Improvement

Indonesia not only needs the awareness of mutualism, but also acceleration in the economic field. While many parties doubt that building a strong nationalism in the middle of the unprosperous condition, the author sees that both can go hand in hand. The collective consciousness must be major criteria to protect this nation from the potential ideological influence of dividing the nation. Sen (2016) emphasizes that the importance of establishing fundamental changes is to win the terrorist recruitment and training (see also Törnquist, 2007). Therefore, the government plays an important role to accelerate the economic prosperity. Many assumptions show that economic problems force radical ideas to deconstruct the current government. However, in fact, power and politics are ultimately more dominant. Welfare is an inherent task for the government as long as the awareness of mutualism in diversity is the prerequisite.

5. Conclusion

This paper proposes that contra-radicalism can be carried out by tightening the immigration, collaborating with RT/RW in detecting certain events related to radicalism, law enforcement, and controling the organizations and individuals affiliated with radicalism networks. Meanwhile, de-radicalization can be done by strengthening an inclusive education at schools and higher educations, persuading public figures to be more moderate in attitude and taking policy, strengthening the socialization of Pancasila, illuminating the understanding of religious position, encouraging the citizenship principle and the improvement of economic prosperity to ensure that the government works for its people.

Contra-radicalism and de-radicalization certainly is not only the responsibility of the government and the security apparatus, but also all people in Indonesia. However, the influence of radicalism can be widespread through the increasing of the influence and network of hard-line organizations, the potential for conflict, disintegration, and threats to the Republic of Indonesia. Governments, legal apparatus, politicians, scientists, and society must support to protect Indonesia from the influence and expanding of radical networks.

Acknowledgemnent

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