

## ASSESSMENT OF RADICALISM AS A CONCEPT OF COUNTING RADICALISM THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA IN INDONESIA

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### Abstract

*The radicalism that instills ideas of violence is the embryo of terrorism. Radicalism is an attitude that wants total change and is revolutionary by overturning existing values drastically through violence. Efforts to deal with repressive radicalism are often seen as an attempt by the authoritarian government and contrary to human rights. What the government is fighting is not self-criticism of the government, but ideas that carry the nature of hatred, and hostility and also call for violence that leads to terror. The approach used in tackling radicalism cannot only be repressive countermeasures. There must first be detailed identification so that law enforcement against the perpetrators of spreading radicalism is right on target and does not result in a boomerang for the government later. The assessment process is a process of assessing a person's radical level. This process will later become a clear action, because the perpetrators of radicalism in social media will be tested on how much exposure to radicalism has occurred to them, and this will determine whether later the perpetrators will be fostered into deradicalization boarding schools or through the criminal justice system.*

**Keywords:** Assessment, Radicalism and Social Media

### INTRODUCTION

Radicalism is an ideology or current that calls for extreme or violent social and political revolution. If these perceptions and actions are based on ideology and beliefs originating from religious teachings, then their nature becomes more extreme.<sup>5</sup> Radicalism itself is not a problem insofar as it is only in the (ideological) thinking of its adherents. "However, when the radicalism of thought shifts into radical movements, it starts to cause problems, especially when their hopes of realizing fundamentalism are hindered by other political forces because in this situation radicalism will be accompanied by violence."<sup>6</sup>

The radicalism that instills ideas of violence is the embryo of terrorism. Radicalism is an attitude that wants total change and is revolutionary by overturning existing values drastically through violence and extreme actions. Several characteristics can be recognized from radical attitudes and beliefs, namely intolerance (not wanting to respect other people's opinions and beliefs). There is a fanatical nature (always self-righteous; considering others wrong), exclusive (distinguishing oneself from Muslims in general and revolutionary (tending to use violent means to achieve goals.<sup>7</sup>

The presence of Islamic radicalism which leads to systematic violence, actual violence, and symbolic violence becomes dangerous for the survival of religion, especially in Indonesia. According to Endang Turmudi, radicalism is not a problem, provided that it is in the form of thought. However, when radicalism is already at the ideological level, it means that it has shifted to the movement area, and this is a problem. Especially if it has collided with politics in a situation like this, it is not uncommon for radicalism to be accompanied by violence or terrorism.

The Prevention Director of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) Ahmad Nurwakhid said that there were 33 million people exposed to radicalism in Indonesia. <sup>8</sup>Survey conducted by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) together with the Coordinating Forum for Prevention of Terrorism (FKPT), Ministry of Religion research and development center (Puslitbang Kemenag), University of Indonesia (UI) Terrorism Study, National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), The *Center for Indonesian Crisis Strategic Resolution* (CICSR), Nasaruddin Umar Office, The Nusa Institute, Daulat Bangsa, and Alvara Research Institute noted that the Radicalism Potential Index in 2022 is 10 percent.<sup>9</sup>

The radicalism of thought is based on beliefs about values, ideas, and views held by a person or group which he considers to be the most correct and considers others to be wrong, and must be opposed (against). While in the activity movement to achieve missions with radical actions (terror, bombs, hostage taking, allegiance, and murder). <sup>10</sup>Therefore, the postponement of the spread of radicalism in Indonesia must be carried out massively.

The Law on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, with the threat of severe penalties up to the death penalty, apparently did not deter perpetrators, the fact is that terrorism and radicalism still occur. The radicalism movement is an embryo to become a terrorist movement. The suicide bombing at the Makassar Cathedral church in 2021, for example, shows that the threat of the Terrorism Law does not deter people from committing acts of terrorism. The same goes for actions radicalism. Various drafted regulations \_ for support countermeasures deployment understand radical Already Lots done good with do strengthening capacity from surviving institution \_ this responsible in countermeasures terrorism but the spread of radicalism is increasingly widespread, which in turn causes more and more terror to occur in Indonesia.

Efforts to deal with repressive radicalism are often seen as an attempt by the authoritarian government and contrary to human rights. What the government is fighting is not self-criticism of the government, but ideas that carry the nature of hatred, and hostility and also call for violence that leads to terror. Therefore we need a method that is firm and does not violate human rights in tackling radicalism in Indonesia.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research is legal research with a normative juridical approach and an empirical juridical approach. The normative juridical approach is used to study principles of law, the law in the abstract, in concrete, sync vertical and horizontal, legal comparisons, and legal history, where through this research the authors identify various rules (norms) associated with the spread of radicalism, while empirical juridical research begins with the authors' efforts to discover various phenomena that occur. in society

related to the spread of radical ideas, especially by using social media. These two approaches were chosen considering the aspects related to the spread of radicalism by using social media not only within the scope of legal (juridical) norms but also empirically where society is the target of socialization. In addition, an empirical juridical approach is used to sharpen the analysis by using data on the spread of radicalism that is officially issued by various institutions in Indonesia, such as the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Indonesian National Police.

This research was conducted through several stages, namely library research and field research. Field research was conducted to obtain primary data through interviews with respondents/resources law enforcement officials, perpetrators, and victims in cases related to the spread of radical views as well as experts in criminal law and criminology. The instrument used in the interviews was an interview guide, where the instrument was prepared concerning the legal issues to be studied. Field research was carried out in several regions and police institutions, namely the North Sumatra Regional Police (Polda), Polda Metro Jaya, East Java Regional Police, South Sulawesi Regional Police, the Ministry of Communication and Information, and the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT).

## **DISCUSSION**

### **Countermeasures Crime Policy Concept Radicalism through Social Media in Indonesia**

Social media, in this case, is used as a means of planning terrorism, both communicating, sharpening radicalism, and collecting terrorism funds to arrive at *amaliyah*, namely the act of terror bombing. In addition, the forms of social media platforms used include Facebook, Youtube, WhatsApp, and Telegram. This shows that theorists are increasingly sophisticated and are starting to look for media that are safe, fast, and efficient in realizing their goals, namely *amaliyah* or acts of terror bombing.

The results of an interview with Kasatgaswil East Java Detachment 88 AT Polri Kombes (Pol) Iwan Ristiyanto stated that internet media is very influential in spreading radicalism. Currently many use social media as a modus operandi. It's always easy for terrorists to change their modus operandi. Currently, there are many channels that are widely used to spread their views, carry out recruitment, and plan terrorist activities, namely violence/bombings, so the role of social media is very large/plays a role.<sup>11</sup>

Radicalism is the embryo of the birth of terrorism. Radicalism is an attitude that yearns for total change and is revolutionary by overturning existing values drastically through violence and extreme actions. Rendy Adiwilaga & Agus Kurniawan stated that, before the formation of a radical individual character, usually that person will experience four stages, namely; (1). Pre-Radicalization, where an individual is still carrying out activities and routines as they should; (2). Self-Identification, individuals begin to identify themselves and think in a radical direction. (3). Indoctrination, starting to intensify and focus on the belief in the movement to be taken; (4). In Jihadization, an individual carries out actions or actions based on his beliefs which are considered a form of jihad.<sup>12</sup>

This means that in the first stage, namely pre-radicalization to third indoctrination, there has been no law enforcement carried out either by Densus 88 Anti-Terror or other law enforcers. This is of course a plot hole for the spread of radicalism on social media. The results of interviews with the Deputy Head of the Special Anti-Terror Detachment (Densus) Brigadier General. Pol. Drs. Sentot Prasetyo, SIK stated that the current policy, of law enforcement, continues. There are two strategies namely hard approach, law enforcement, and soft approach or prevention, which is in charge of the Prevent Directorate playing upstream, matters because the radical seeds are upstream. Downstream is when law enforcement is carried out, when they are arrested there is no more violence. It comes to us with a humanist, empathetic approach, with its heart and family approach. So we play downstream, which

is already happening. This is the activity of the Idensos Directorate. However, Densus 88 has never caught a case purely because of it something later status arrested.<sup>13</sup>

The urgency of regulating radicalism in Indonesia in general and specifically in social media is also increasing because it is not regulated at the level of legislation that binds social media platforms to spread radicalism. Even though platforms have collaborated, be it Facebook, Google, Youtube, Twitter, and Telegram to reduce and eliminate terrorism and radicalism content, this is only the goodwill of the platforms. Meanwhile, social media is like a double-edged knife whose sides can hurt anyone. When social media is used by terrorists, the platform will only say that anyone can use a knife for any purpose. The content reduction can only occur post-factum (when it is reported/complained then it is taken down), so there is no guarantee that this understanding has not spread.

Moreover, these large platforms are foreign platforms, which cannot just be subject to policies in Indonesia. It is very possible that the platform will not follow the collaboration initiated by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology. For example, in social media such as WhatsApp and telegrams that are not public, such as tweeters, Facebook, and Youtube, it is very possible that platforms do not supervise the transmission of their content.

Article 1 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution states that the State of Indonesia is a state based on law. The consequences of the Indonesian state as country law is every policy and behavior of state equipment and residents must be based on law. State equipment and citizens are not allowed to act arbitrarily. According to Wirjono Prodjodikoro, a constitutional state means a state whose territory includes:<sup>14</sup>

- a) All equipment from the state. In particular, the tools of the government in their actions both towards citizens and in their respective relationships, must not be arbitrary, but must pay attention to the applicable regulations.
- b) All people (residents) in social relations must comply with the applicable legal regulations.

When all the tools of the state, especially the tools of the government in their actions both towards citizens and in their respective relationships, cannot be arbitrary and also all people (residents) must obey the rules applicable law, then the law must be clear on which rules must be obeyed.

Radicalism is not regulated in Law 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law 15 of 2003 concerning the Stipulation of Perppu 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism. However, Article 12B paragraph (3) of Law 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law 15 of 2003 regulates people who intentionally create, collect, and/or disseminate writing or documents, both electronic and non-electronic for use in terrorist training. Apart from that, Article 43A of Law 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law 15 of 2003 concerning the Stipulation of Perppu 1 of 2002 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism to become Law only states that there is deradicalization.

Based on this, it is clear that there is a legal vacuum in regulating radicalism, especially radicalism through social media. In addition, Law Number 19 of 2016 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (ITE) in Article 27 paragraph (3) only regulates insults and/or defamation, and Article 28 paragraph (2) only against ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup (SARA). Thus there is a regulatory vacuum regarding radicalism through social media, whereas based on the principle of the rule of law the principle of legality is an important foundation so that all people (residents) must comply with applicable legal regulations and state equipment to work. By not regulating radicalism, legal stagnation occurs.

Law is an institution that aims to deliver people to a just, prosperous life and make people happy." Based on the 'law for humans', the law is not only for himself but for something bigger and wider. Therefore, if there is a problem with the law, then the law can be revised and corrected, not humans who are forced to enter into the legal scheme. In the context of thinking that progressive law does not accept the law as an absolute and final institution, but is determined by its ability to serve society, the law is always developing.

According to Satjipto, the law should be an institution that continuously builds and transforms itself toward a better level of perfection. The quality level of perfection can be verified by the factors of justice, welfare, concern for the people, and so on. Thus, according to Satjipto, the essence of "law is always in the process of becoming."

The definition of criminal policy or criminal politics (criminal policy) is a rational and organized effort from a society to tackle crime. Where this definition is taken from Marc Ancel who formulates it as "the rational organization of the control of crime by society". Meanwhile, G. Peter Hoefnagels argued that "criminal policy is the rational organization of the social reactions to crime". Furthermore, G. Peter Hoefnagels put forward several definitions of criminal policy, including:

1. *Criminal Policy is the science of response* (criminal policy is the science of reactions in the face of crime).
2. *Criminal policy is the science of prevention* (criminal policy is the science of overcoming crime).
3. *Criminal policy is a science of designing human behavior as crime*.
4. *Criminal policy is a rational total of response to crime* (criminal policy is a rational reaction to crime).<sup>15</sup>

Criminal law policy aims to formulate positive legal rules, which are positive legal rules and are also statutory regulations for administrators or executors of court decisions. For example, the application of criminal law can be measured better when justice is more real for society because the administration of justice and its implementation will be by better guidelines.

A. Mulder, argues that criminal law policy is a policy line to determine:

- a) To what extent do the applicable criminal provisions need to be changed or renewed (*in welk opzicht de bestaande strafbepalingen hersien dienen te worden*)
- b) What can be done to prevent a crime from occurring (*wat gedan kan worden om strafrechtelijk gedrag te voorkomen*)
- c) The way in which investigations, prosecutions, trials and execution of crimes must be carried out (*hoe de opsproring, vervolging, berechting en tenuitvoerlegging van straffen dien te verlopen*).<sup>16</sup>

As the problem described by the author, legal loopholes that occur in overcoming radicalism through social media include, radicalism has not yet been regulated in several legal regulations, by not regulating these legal rules, the countermeasures for radicalism through social media will only end in taking down content. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out three points of overcoming radicalism through social media, namely supervision, prosecution, and platform and community collaboration. Both with a penal approach and a nonpenal approach.

Currently, supervision is carried out by each institution, both Densus 88 Anti-Terror, Directorate of Cybercrime, Bareskrim Polri, BNPT, and Kominfo. Such supervision must be put together and

integrated, to produce optimal results. Although each still has a supervisory function, integrated supervision must be required, so that decisions can be made quickly, precisely, and accurately.

Some of the steps the Philippine government faced deployment Radicalism lies in monitoring and counter-radicalism, such as:

- a) Monitoring Overseas Filipino Workers
- b) Supervising Madrasas
- c) Against Radicalization
- d) Online Campaigns and Countermessaging

The supervisory functions needed include cyber patrol, profiling, and mapping. The cyber patrol function is to obtain outside data which is scattered quite a lot, then the catch is analyzed and also profiled word by word, who is the author, is the account fake, where is the content written, what is the IP address, up to the stage where the perpetrator's coordinates are located. Apart from profiling, it is also necessary to map when content is uploaded, where content is usually uploaded, what the conversation is about, what the goals are to be carried out, and so on so that when a mapping can be done, law enforcement officials can identify and analyze the potentials that could occur.

The prosecution is certainly not only limited to taking down content on social media. This of course will only lead to the birth of a million similar radicalism content on social media. Therefore, as a mapping material, the prosecution is carried out using two approaches, namely the hard approach and the soft approach as the prevention of criminal acts of terrorism.

#### **Assessment of Radicalism as a Countermeasure Concept Radicalism through Social Media in Indonesia**

Acts of terrorism originating from radicalism are a global phenomenon that is included in the category of extraordinary crimes. Radicalism is the embryo of the birth of terrorism. Radicalism is an attitude that yearns for total change and is revolutionary by overturning existing values drastically through violence and extreme actions. There are several identifiable characteristics of radical attitudes and understanding.

1. Intolerance (not wanting to respect the opinions and beliefs of others).
2. Fanatical (always self-righteous, thinks others are wrong).
3. Exclusive (different from Muslims in general, and
4. Revolutionary (tending to use violent means to achieve goals).

Other factors motivate someone to join a terrorist network. Motivation is caused by several factors. First, domestic factors, namely domestic conditions such as poverty, injustice, or feeling disappointed with the government. Second, international factors, namely the influence of the foreign environment which has given impetus to the growth of religious sentiments such as global injustice, arrogant foreign policies, and modern imperialism of the superpowers. Third, cultural factors are closely related to shallow religious understanding and narrow and lexical (literal) interpretation of scriptures. Radical attitudes and understandings motivated by the various factors above often make a person choose to join terrorist acts and networks.

In radical individual character, a person will experience four stages, namely:

1. Pre-radicalization, in which an individual is still carrying out activities and routines as they should.
2. Self-identification, where individuals begin to identify themselves and think radically.
3. Indoctrination, namely starting to intensify and focus on the belief in the movement to be taken,
4. Jihadstasi, an individual carries out actions or actions based on his beliefs which are considered a form of jihad.

Radicalism is fanaticism (absolute) towards a belief and an attitude that does not want to compromise in defending their beliefs, with which they fight the beliefs of other parties. The emergence of radicalism is inseparable from the existence of religious polarization which creates anti-cultural sentiments and narrow interpretations of doctrine, ideology, or theology. Radicalism in Indonesia occurs because many community groups fail to integrate plurality-based nationalist values.

Radical groups can be seen from three patterns, namely:<sup>17</sup>

1. Ways of conveying and framing ideas to the public ( *framing* );
2. Mobilizing the source of movement ( *mobilizing* );
3. Tactics and strategies ( *making decision* )

Commitment to a radical movement itself can point to a person's level in the organization according to Golose divided into:

1. First, *Hardcore* described as those/members who have the highest or deepest commitment, they have been in the organization for a long period of time and are usually involved in planning or executing violent activities.
2. Second, *the Activist* points to members who are often involved in violent activities, but they may not be long-time members, and not every aspect of their life is related to the group.
3. Third, *Newcomers* are a group members who have only joined a group for a short period of time so they tend not to have affinity between organizational layers and classes.
4. Fourth, *Supporters* are those who have fewer ties to the organization. They are not permanent members, only occasionally helping radical groups, for example, by protecting or harboring members or giving them funds.
5. Fifth, *Sympathizer* refers to those who are not actively involved with radical organizations, but they identify the goals and ideology of the group and so they can passively help the group, for example, by not sharing information they know with law enforcement officials.

Not all thoughts exposed to radicalism are criminals. For example, if he falls into the category of sympathizers, they are people who are not actively involved with radical organizations. At the newcomer stage, for example, they are only group members who have only joined a group for a short period so they tend not to have affinity between organizational layers and classes. Therefore, the sentencing approach becomes a whip for those who feel radicalized. This means that they will be very happy if the government starts in a repressive way so that the hatred of the families of people exposed to radicalism will arise again to attack the government.

Based on this, the approach used in tackling radicalism cannot only be repressive countermeasures. There must first be detailed identification so that law enforcement against the perpetrators of

spreading radicalism is right on target and does not result in a boomerang for the government later. The assessment process is a process of assessing a person's radical level. This process will later become a clear action, because the perpetrators of radicalism in social media will be tested on how much exposure to radicalism has occurred to them, and this will determine whether later the perpetrators will be fostered into deradicalization boarding schools or through the criminal justice system.

Acts of radicalism through social media certainly have various aspects, namely intolerant, fanatical, exclusive, and revolutionary violence. Each aspect of these elements can intersect with other legal regulations, but still in the same corridor. Radicalism through social media, of course, must be prosecuted. This has a function as an early detection of radicalism and also as a means of deterrence for people who utter radicalism.

The assessment was carried out by experts, namely religious experts, linguists, psychologists, and legal experts. The four experts will assess whether the actions of an alleged propagator of radicalism on social media have high or low levels. A religious expert is needed as a pointer that the understandings that exist in the suspect are not by religious teachings. Then the linguist determines whether the content being disseminated contains radicalism through content analysis studies. Psychologists are used to measuring the mental state and thinking of the suspect. Then finally the legal expert gave his considerations regarding the alleged act which contained legal consequences in the form of a crime.

Assessment process aims to find out how radical a person is, whether hardcore, activist, newcomer, supporter or just a sympathizer. With this analysis, of course, it will be able to determine the appropriate deradicalization actions for the perpetrators. For example, a perpetrator uploads allegiance to ISIS and blames the government for being an infidel government, Thogut, and others, but when confirmation or arrest is made, he cannot make bombs, has no affiliation, and is just joining in, and cooperative, then he does not enter the judicial process, but deradicalization boarding schools.

The deradicalism boarding school approach is intended as a half-soft approach, this is because the perpetrators of the utterances of radicalism that are collected will be taught the right things, thereby eroding and destroying the radical ideas that have been exposed in them. The approach is dialogical, yet centralized and far from the prison. In the deradicalism boarding school, the perpetrators will be directly fostered, and of course, an assessment will be carried out whether they are allowed to go home or have to study at the pesantren.

Post-assessment, if it is decided that there are perpetrators who are in the hardcore category, has recruited, has been able to make bombs, have affiliations with other terror organizations, and have scheduled an amaliyah, then the criminal justice process can be carried out. Thus, the law is used clearly, namely to deter the perpetrators of radicalism. By trimming radicalism, the fruit of radicalism, namely terrorism, can also be suppressed, so that security stability can be created.

Perpetrators who are prosecuted through the criminal justice process must also be deradicalized, this is of course a correctional process, where convicts are also re-washed their thoughts with the right thoughts. So that when you are released later you don't do the same thing a second time. The soft approach that was carried out was also regarding counter-terrorism. The government must always spread positive propaganda and fight terrorist propaganda through social media.

The results of the interview with Iwan Ristiyanto stated that usually they use Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp, Telegram, then the one belonging to Turkey, namely BIP. Densus currently has not touched the platform service in question. In Indonesia, the police can ask the relevant platform to release data, which we can then develop, but if the platform belongs to a foreign country and has activities abroad that don't have branches in Indonesia, then there will be difficulties.<sup>18</sup>



Deradicalization of terrorism is one of the programs that is considered to be able to help efforts to eradicate terrorism. In the deradicalization program, there are three very important keys, namely humanist, soul approach, and touching the grassroots. Humanism means efforts to eradicate terrorism must be by efforts to uphold human rights. Eradication of terrorism, according to him, must be able to create prosperity, equality, and justice for the entire community, for suspects or convicted of terrorism. The soul approach means that the eradication of terrorism is carried out through good and educational communication between law enforcement officials and terror suspects or convicts, not using violence and intimidation. The last key, namely, touching the grassroots, is a program that is not only aimed at terror suspects or convicts, but this program is also, according to him, directed at sympathizers and members of the public who have been exposed to radical ideas. As well as instilling multiculturalism in the wider community.<sup>19</sup>

## CLOSING

The approach used in overcoming radicalism cannot only be repressive countermeasures. There must first be detailed identification so that law enforcement against the perpetrators of spreading radicalism is right on target and does not result in a boomerang for the government later. The assessment process is a process of assessing a person's radical level. This process will later become a clear action, because the perpetrators of radicalism in social media will be tested on how much exposure to radicalism has occurred to them, and this will determine whether later the perpetrators will be fostered into deradicalization boarding schools or through the criminal justice system.

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