



# Implementation Indonesia's Deradicalization Programme for Women and Minors Study at Handayani Social Rehabilitation Centre

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**Abstract-** The Social Rehabilitation Handayani is a pilot project in handling minors and women exposed to terrorism in Indonesia. This study examines the implementation of deradicalization at this Centre. Initially, this Centre was a social institution and transformed into a Social Rehabilitation Centre in early 2018, and has received Foreign Terrorist Fighters back from Turkey in 2016. This research found a gap from the initial stages of deradicalization; the identification stage to the resocialization stage. Communication, limited resources, in both budget and human resources, unclear disposition and fragmented bureaucratic structures are obstacles to optimal resocialization. The collaboration observed between BNPT, Handayanirehabilitation centre under the Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs found a pattern of cooperation that occurs only at the level of coordination and has not increased in the collaboration stage so that it becomes an obstacle.

**Keywords:** Deradicalization, Implementation, Cooperation.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The increasing involvement of Indonesian women in suicide bombing as martyrs was highlighted in a 2017 study by the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict for women and minors involvement to terrorism act. The report looks at how the role of women in Indonesian Islamist organisations evolved. It was not a straight line toward greater activism. JI leaders, following the teachings they had learned in Afghanistan, forbade women from engaging directly in jihad except in personal self-defence. It was generally upheld until the first three women armed combatants appeared in Poso in 2015, all wives of senior leaders of besieged jihadi forces there. Women have also emerged as important online chat administrators, fund-raisers and recruiters, with overseas migrant worker women sharing information about how to join ISIS, assisting with logistical support and sometimes marrying ISIS fighters online. It was a matter of time before would-be women suicide bombers appeared. Indonesia's policy in dealing with terrorism in soft approach is using deradicalization program. In the case of women and children exposed to terrorism act, the Social Rehabilitation Centre "Handayani" is appointed as a pilot project. Currently we found out that at least three alumni of Handayani Social Rehabilitation committed or involved in terrorism act. Based on this phenomenon, this research is to find out the implementation of government's policy in deradicalization in this centre.

## II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study utilizes the qualitative research methods such as triangulation. Denzin [1978] states that there are four types of triangulation as an examination technique that utilizes the use of researchers, sources, methods, and theories. Data collected from the interviews from the Head of Social Rehabilitation Centre, The Director of Deradicalizations, the Social Residence of the Centres and the Social Workers. Using the implementation theory by George C Edwards III and Thomson and Perry to identify the gaps on deradicalization at this centre.

## III. SOFT APPROACH TO DERADICALIZATION IN INDONESIA

As Indonesia's lead counter terrorism agency, the BNPT formulated a national plan for deradicalization popularly known as the Deradicalization Blueprint. In the Blueprint document, deradicalization is explained in four stages. The first stage consists of identification and assessment through data and identity collection. The second stage is rehabilitation, which is aimed at providing rehabilitative care to promote

physical and psychological recovery. The third stage consists of re-education which is aimed to re-introduce and nurture understanding on nationality, religion and tolerance. Lastly, the fourth stage known as resocialization is aimed at reintegrating deradicalized individuals into society.

In the case of women and minors that are exposed or involved in acts of terror, the deradicalization process is conducted at rehabilitation centres under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Affairs known formally as Rehabilitation Centres for Children in Need of Special Protection (Balai Rehabilitasi Sosial Anak Memerlukan Perlindungan Khusus abbreviated as BRSAMPK). These centres were initially established to provide rehabilitative care for minors. The core programmes of the centres are built around rehabilitative care and treatment for minors exposed to domestic violence, however with the growing exposure and to some cases direct involvement of minors in terrorism, the Ministry of Social Affairs has begun to incorporate BNPT's deradicalization programmes into the centre's programmes. Among the most notable of the centres is Handayani Social Rehabilitation Centre which was the first rehabilitation centre under the Ministry to receive women and minors returning from ISIS held territories in Syria.

#### IV. RECIDIVISM: RISE OF RADICALIZATION OR FAILURE OF DERADICALIZATION

Hakim [2020] in his research on social contexts, interpersonal networks and identity argues that one of the critical problems in Indonesia's counterterrorism efforts is that the number of former convicted terrorists returning to extremist groups has increased in recent years. For example, the BNPT reported that in 2013, about 25 of the 300 detainees released were involved in a new terrorist operation. More recent estimates based on 47 cases of terrorist attacks in Indonesia indicate that this number is now higher at 15 percent of the total convicted terrorists [Ismail & Sim, 2016]. Terrorist recidivism, in which freed extremists are involved in new terrorist acts [Webber in Hakim 2020] is a serious problem in the effort to fight terrorism. Although the level of terrorist recidivism in Indonesia appears to be low, many terrorism experts believe that they are still a significant security threat given their influence, ability and militancy to carry out new terrorist attacks in the country.

There have been many studies on deradicalization [Doosje et al., 2016; Kruglanski, Chen, Dechesne, Fishman, & Orehek, 2009; Kruglanski et al., 2014; Moghaddam, 2005 in Hakim 2020]. However, few studies have systematically analysed the sociopsychological dynamics of terrorist recidivism. In the case of Handayani rehabilitation centre, a number of cases have been found which indicate that the resocialization program carried out by Handayani rehabilitation centre has not achieved the expected results. These cases include the recidivism that happened to Rullie Rian Zeke and Ulfah Handayani Saleh, Khalid Abu Bakar. Married couple Rullie Rian Zeke and Ulfah who involved at the Jolo Church, Philippines on January 27, 2019 by quoting from online news<sup>1</sup>, who had previously carried out a rehabilitation program the Handayani Rehabilitation Centre. Both were deported from Turkey after failing to enter ISIS controlled territory in Syria. Rullie and Ulfah are part of the seventy-five members of the Basalamah family consisting of three generations who wish to join ISIS. The suicide attack committed by Rullie and Ulfah in Jolo in 2019 led researchers to question the effectiveness of the deradicalization programme. A study on rehabilitative treatment for radicalized individuals carried out at Handayani Rehabilitation Centre indicated that the deradicalization programme's main success indicators are based on periodical review of an individual's civic views. For example, most radicalized individuals initially will denounce their nationality and a major indicator of their successful deradicalization is when they acknowledge the state. This is one of the main indicators of the deradicalization programme. However, the lack of in-depth psychological assessments aimed at identifying critical behavioural changes is one of the main factors that undermines the effectiveness of the deradicalization programme itself. Similar outcomes were also studied from cases involving another recidivist, apart from Rullie and Ulfah. The case of Khalid Abu Bakar, a former social residents at Handayani Rehabilitation Centre, who had left the rehabilitation process was suspected of being an ideologue and mentor for the leadership of Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD) East Java. One of the congregations is Dipta Apriyanto - the perpetrator of the 2018 Surabaya bombs incidents. After completing the rehabilitation program, Khalid returned to Surabaya without being accompanied by related parties. In Surabaya, Khalid became an ideologue and gave recitation, including being a mentor for Dipta Apriyanto so he often gave *tausiah*<sup>2</sup> to Dipta and his family. The third case is Anggi Indah Kusuma who was convicted of committing acts of terror. Anggi was rehabilitated at Handayani. Rullie, Anggie and Khalid was the examples of terrorist perpetrators who was rehabilitated in Handayani Rehabilitation

<sup>1</sup><https://www.beritasatu.com/iman-rahman-cahyadi/nasional/573438/hasil-tes-dna-keluar-polri-ungkap-identitas-pelaku-bom-gereja-di-filipina>

<sup>2</sup>*Missionary endeavor*

Centre. The description of the implementation of the deradicalization program shows that there are gaps or problems in procedures and coordination between related stakeholders, such as the BNPT and the Regional Government and its sub district community.

#### V. DERADICALIZATION AT SOCIAL REHABILITATION CENTRES: EXAMINING THE GAPS

The Handayani Rehabilitation Center operates under the Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 17 of 2018 concerning the organization and work procedures of the technical implementation unit for children's social rehabilitation within the Directorate General of Social Rehabilitation, Article 4 states that BRSAMPK Handayani has the task of carrying out social rehabilitation in children. In Law No. 35 of 2014 concerning the protection of children who are victims of abuse of narcotics, alcohol, psychotics and other addictive substances.

Law No. 24/2007 as the basis for the intervention of Balai Handayani under the command of the Ministry of Social Affairs in dealing with children and women exposed to terrorism. This law is the responsibility of the government in providing social protection from the impact of disasters, and fulfilling community rights, restoring conditions from the impact of disasters for refugees who are victims of disasters. Then, reaffirmed by Law Number 11 of 2009 concerning Social Welfare and Government Regulation Number 39 of 2012 concerning the Implementation of Social Welfare, mandating that Former Social Assisted Citizens Correctional facilities for citizens who are exposed to terrorism are the objectives of the twenty-seven target beneficiaries. Meanwhile, the cooperation and mechanisms for handling child victims of terrorism provided by Handayani did not have legislation as a clear legal basis. The legal umbrella of Handayani in conducting rehabilitation guidance based on the Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 17 of 2018 concerning the change of the Marsudi Putra Social Home (or known as PSMP Handayani) which then transformed into a Child Social Rehabilitation Center Needing Special Protection with the Minister of Social Affairs affirming Handayani as a service as well as social rehabilitation of children in a larger scope in almost all regions of Indonesia.

Handayani Social Rehabilitation Centre is a national and international reference for handling cases of radicalism, human trafficking, refugee, the management of children of Indonesian labour, and other cases of children in the international scope. In this study, the social assisted residents at BRSAMPK Handayani fulfilled the point, namely people or groups of people who had been exposed to the understanding of terrorism. BRSAMPK Handayani has the task of providing guidance, service and social rehabilitation that is curative, rehabilitative, promotive in the form of basic education, physical, mental, social guidance, skills training, resocialization of advanced guidance for children with social issues so that they are able to be independent and play an active role in social life and assessment and preparation of service standards, provision of information and referrals.

The implementation of this collaboration is reflected in the duties and functions of BRSAMPK Handayani which is carried out by the Social Programs and Advocacy Section. Apart from cooperation, the Social Program and Advocacy Section is also responsible for assessing and accepting citizens which includes identification and initial observation, compiling social rehabilitation programs, providing information and service outreach, providing social protection assistance and social advocacy, conducting post-rehabilitation reintegration, assessments and preparation of standardized materials for the development of rehabilitation service programs, monitoring and evaluation of reporting on social rehabilitation and protection programs.

Dwijowijoto [2003] describes that implementation is a series of activities in providing policies to the community so that these policies provide the expected results. This series of activities includes the preparation of a set of follow-up regulations that are interpretations of the policy. Formulation of policies relating to programs and activities, accompanied by an act of implementation. Policy implementation is not just concerned with the mechanism of translating political decisions into routine procedures through bureaucratic channels, but more than that, it concerns issues of conflict, decisions and who gets what from a policy [Grindle in Wahab, 1990]. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that implementation is an important aspect of the entire policy process, in this case how the Handayani Rehabilitation Centre implement the deradicalization process to their social rehabilitation residence.

Moreover, Grindle [in Wahab, 1990], that there are eight prerequisites that are important in the implementation of the implementation of public policies by the provincial government and district / city government officials who need to pay attention to this community. The eight prerequisites elements namely: the absence of external obstacles, the availability of adequate resources, good policies, minimal dependency relations, understanding and agreement on objectives, tasks determined in a proper order, communication and coordination smoothly effective and there is support from the authority.

The policy implementation model developed by George C. Edward III with Direct and Indirect Impact on Implementation, there are four variables that determine the success of implementing a policy, namely communication, resources, disposition and bureaucracy [Leo Agustino, 2008]. Variable one is **communication**; Knowledge of what they will do can work if the communication goes well, so any policy decisions and implementation regulations must be transmitted (or communicated) to the appropriate personnel department. In addition, the communicated policy must be precise, accurate and consistent. Communication (or information transmission) is needed so that decision makers and implementers will be more consistent in implementing any policies that will be applied in society. There are three indicators that can be used (or used) in measuring the success of the communication variables mentioned above, namely transmission, clarity, and consistency. Transmission; good communication channel will be able to produce a good implementation too. Often what happens in the distribution of communication is a misunderstanding (miscommunication), this is due to the fact that communication has gone through several levels of the bureaucracy, so that what is expected is distorted on the way. The clarity of communication received by policy implementers (street-level-bureaucrat's) must be clear and not confusing (not ambiguous / ambiguous).

At some level, implementers need flexibility in implementing policies. But at another level it will divert the objectives to be achieved by the policies that have been set. The unclear disposition or division of authority adds to the challenges in implementing the deradicalization program at the level of implementing agencies such as BRSAMPK Handayani. This lack of clarity in the division of authority is evident from the absence of a standard operating standard developed by BNPT as the main agency authorized in deradicalization. In an effort to be able to carry out its function as an institution that supports deradicalization in Indonesia, BRSAMPK Handayani then developed its own indicators to evaluate the development of the social assisted citizens. However, since 2017 when Handayani first received women and children who were exposed to radicalism, an evaluation to measure the effectiveness of the indicators developed by Handayani had not been carried out by the agency authorized in dealing with terrorism and Indonesian deradicalization. Several incidents of terror attacks involving former Handayani social assisted citizens show that the implementation of the de-radicalization disposition delegated by Handayani has not been running optimally.

Regarding communication in government agencies in particular, Grunig[1992] states that the effectiveness of communication is important in the communication system between agencies. Many government agencies do not strategically regulate their communication programs, so their policies cannot be conveyed effectively so their policies do not run optimally. Consistency, namely the orders given in the implementation of a communication must be consistent and clear (to be implemented or carried out). Because if the orders given change frequently, it can cause confusion for the implementers in the field. The second variable or factor is resources. According to George C. Edward III in Leo Agustino[2008], in implementing policies there are four indicators of **resources**, namely staff, information, authority and facilities. Lack of insufficient, inadequate, or incompetent staff in their fields is a factor in failure of policy implementation. Increasing the number of staff and implementers alone is not sufficient, so it is also necessary to have staff who have the appropriate skills and abilities to implement the policy itself. Social workers in the Handayani are not only responsible for providing rehabilitation services to socially assisted residents related to drugs or other social problems, but they are also responsible for dealing with children who are involved in terrorist networks. The absence of additional resources adds to Handayani's workload in general.

The second indicator is information. There are two forms of information in two forms, first is information relating to how to implement policies. Policy implementers understand what to do when they are given orders to take action. Second, information regarding compliance data from the implementers to the established government regulations and regulations. The implementer must know whether other people involved in implementing the policy comply with the rules. Third indicator is **authority**; in government institutions, the authority must be official so that orders are carried out properly. Authority is the authority or legitimacy for the implementers in implementing policies that are determined politically. If in a situation an institution does not have the authority, then the power to implement policies is legitimate, so that it can thwart the policy implementation process. The last indicator is **facility**, is a means of smoothing functions. If the supporting facilities are not fulfilled as needed, the implementation of the policy will not be successful.

Additional into financial perspective, Sawito[2014] emphasizes the importance of the financial side in the implementation process. This financial aspect can be implicated by calculating the cost (budget) given according to the contents of the policy which is clear and consistent. However, if policy actors do not have the capacity of resources, implementation will not run optimally. Resources are defined as human resources, namely the competence of implementing implementers and financial resources. Resources are



the main factor in implementing policies so that they can run effectively. Regarding the importance of the budget, Jeff Kins[in Farouk, 2009], in his research on the analysis of resources for implementing public relations programs, states that the limitations of time, money and other resources must always be aware of their existence and influence. Ministry of Social Affairs is the main funding of Handayani in dealing of women of children including exposed to terrorism.

In relation with the cooperation in main stakeholders such as Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, BNPT, Indonesian National Police need good collaboration between them. Thomson and Perry [2006] mentioned that collaboration is a process in which autonomous actors interact through formal and informal, negotiation, jointly creating rules and structures governing their relationships and ways to act or decide on the issues that brought them together; it is a process involving shared norms and mutually beneficial interactions. Researched met the Head of Handayani Social Centre that the collaboration is based on informal directive, for examples, there is no agreement signed between BNPT to Ministry of Social Affairs regarding to the placement of social rehabilitation residence in relation with terrorism act.

To see the implementation of reintegration program in Handayani rehabilitation centre, the researcher met Ms. Amelia, a returnist from Syria from 2015 to 2018, she returned to Indonesia in early 2019. Ms. Amelia went to Syria with her husband and four children, after a year in Syria, her husband and son died in the war in 2015. After Returning to Indonesia, Mrs. Amelia with her three children and two grandchildren were fostered as residents of BRSAMPK Handayani during the period from April to September 2019. She was lucky that her family covered all her family needs including housing and school for her children's and grandchildren's but she had difficulties to get the birth certificate for her grandson who born in Syria.

This study also observes that the implementation of resocialization as the final stage of deradicalization is not followed by the addition or improvement of coordination, readiness, quality and resources in the implementation of monitoring and evaluation. Limited resources and the absence of regulations or agreements are the main obstacles in this case, so that it can endanger the resocialization process itself. For example, in the case of the Jolo bomber in the Philippines, who was a former member of social assistance at BalaiHandayani. After undergoing rehabilitation and being socialized to the public, the lack of monitoring and evaluation causes the perpetrator to return to the terrorist network and commit acts of terrorism.

## VI. CONCLUSION

An observation of the internal and external impacts concludes that the implementation of resocialization becomes an additional burden for the related ministries and agencies. If this burden is not supported by clear coordination and resources, as well as rules that can be used as guidelines, the resocialization stage process will not contribute to the efforts of the deradicalisation program.

The collaboration observed in this study is related to the relationship between the Handayani Rehabilitation Center and BNPT and the Ministry, and other institutions can be concluded that it is still in the coordination stage as a result of limited technical support and capacity strengthening received by Social Workers at BalaiHandayani. Then, in the implementation of the coordination for the resocialization stage, it has not shown the implementation of coordinated monitoring and evaluation between BalaiHandayani and BNPT as the implementing coordinator. With these limitations, cooperation in the implementation of the resocialization stage has not been able to run optimally.

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