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Radicalism in Indonesia: Modelling and Legal Construction

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ABSTRACT

Radicalism, commonly intertwined with terrorism, assumes a critical role in Indonesia's efforts to counter and deradicalize individuals as part of its broader counterterrorism strategies. Despite the incorporation of contra-radicalization and deradicalization measures within the Indonesian Anti-Terrorism Law, the legal framework lacks a precise definition of radicalism. The absence of a clear legal concept prompts ongoing debates among academics and political entities, leaving the definitive elucidation of radicalism largely within the purview of the government. This article contends that for the sake of achieving conceptual uniformity and ensuring legal clarity, a formal



regulation addressing the nuanced dimensions of radicalism is imperative. The objective herein is to scrutinize the existing model for gauging radicalism in the Indonesian context and subsequently formulate a robust legal construct surrounding this complex phenomenon. To this end, a set of four criteria—intolerance, fanaticism, exclusiveness, and revolutionary fervor—has been devised to quantitatively measure the extent of radicalism. This measurement process involves the administration of interviews or surveys, with the resultant data shedding light on respondents' inclinations and tendencies. The proposed legal framework posits that an individual or group can be categorized as radical only when they meet the predefined criteria encapsulated within the regulations, encompassing the four specified dimensions. By delineating and operationalizing these criteria, this research endeavors to contribute to the development of a comprehensive legal framework for addressing radicalism in Indonesia. This approach not only facilitates a more nuanced understanding of radicalism but also provides a tangible basis for legal categorization and intervention. Ultimately, the aim is to enhance the effectiveness of counterterrorism efforts by establishing a clear and standardized definition of radicalism within the Indonesian legal landscape.

Keywords: Legal Concept, Radicalism, Measurement, Legal Construct

INTRODUCTION

Since the attacks on two important US sites, the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, on September 11, 2001,¹ the term radicalism has

¹ Ambrosius Yustinus Kedang, "Internasionalisasi dan Internalisasi Wacana War on Terror," *Jurnal Sosial Politik* 3, No. 2 (2017): 21-42. It is further emphasized that the interplay between internasionalization and internalization is dynamic. Global events, such as terrorist attacks or international initiatives, shape how

become increasingly popular. Osama Bin Laden of Al-Qaeda, an alleged radical group, was suspected to have caused the attack.² Following WTC tragedy, a series of suicide bombings ripped through Indonesia, from Bali on October 12, 2002, the second Bali bombings in 2005, the JW Marriott Jakarta hotel in 2003, the Kalimalang in 2010, the Cirebon Mosque in 2011, the Sarinah 2016, to the Jakarta Kampung Melayu bombings in 2017 respectively. The perpetrators are deemed to have practiced a misunderstanding of Jihad, leading them to be radicals.³

Over time, the term radicalism began to be widely and overly used by politicians, academics, and even the general public.⁴ Although radicalism is not the only root of terrorism, it has been found to have played a significant role in terrorist pathways.⁵ As

individual countries internalize and adapt their counterterrorism strategies. Simultaneously, the effectiveness of national efforts contributes to the overall success or challenges faced in the international campaign against terrorism. While collaboration is a key component, debates and differing perspectives among nations also emerge regarding the methods and priorities in addressing terrorism. This intricate relationship underscores the ongoing evolution of the global and national counterterrorism narrative, demonstrating the interconnectedness of efforts to address the multifaceted challenges posed by terrorism. See also Navin A. Bapat, "The internationalization of terrorist campaigns." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24, No. 4 (2007): 265-280; Guido W. Steinberg, *German Jihad: On the Internationalization of Islamist Terrorism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013); Pål Kolstø, and Helge Blakkisrud. "Separatism is the Mother of Terrorism': Internationalizing the Security Discourse on Unrecognized States." *Unrecognized States in the International System*. (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 110-127; Hana Fairuz Mestika, "Terrorism and Islam in the Global Perspective". *Indonesian Journal of Counter Terrorism and National Security* 2, No. 1 (2023): 147-78.

² Alfred Goldberg et al., *Pentagon 9/11* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Office Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2007).

³ Herlina Nurani and Ahmad Ali Nurdin, "Pandangan Keagamaan Pelaku Bom Bunuh Diri di Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 3, No. 1 (2019): 79-102.

⁴ Nell Bennett, "One Man's Radical." *Security Challenges* 15, No. 1 (2019): 47-62.

⁵ Hillary McNeel, Lisa Sample, and Samantha Clinkinbeard. "Construction of radicalization: Examination of an important construct in the explanation of terrorism." *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 16, No. 1 (2022): 1-28. Furthermore,

Brian Michael Jenkins in Ezzarqui states, terrorists do not fall from the sky. They arise from a set of firmly held beliefs. They are radicalized,

in the same context, it is explained that, the term "*radicalism*" has become pervasive in public discourse, with politicians, academics, and the general public frequently using it. This widespread usage sometimes borders on excess. It's crucial to recognize that radicalism is not the sole root cause of terrorism; rather, it is a complex phenomenon with multiple contributing factors. However, research and analysis indicate that radicalism do play a significant and influential role in the trajectories that lead individuals or groups towards engaging in acts of terrorism. The term "*radicalism*" generally refers to the advocacy of extreme, often drastic, social, political, or religious changes. In the context of terrorism, it often involves the adoption of radical ideologies that justify violence as a means to achieve certain objectives. While radicalism itself does not automatically lead to terrorism, it can serve as a precursor or a contributing factor. Individuals who become radicalized may develop a mindset that justifies or glorifies the use of violence for ideological purposes. This ideological shift can be exploited by terrorist groups seeking recruits who are willing to carry out acts of violence in furtherance of their radical beliefs. Radicalization processes can vary widely, and individuals may be influenced by a range of factors, including social, economic, political, and religious elements. Understanding the role of radicalism in the pathways to terrorism is essential for developing effective counterterrorism strategies. It involves addressing not only the symptoms, such as acts of violence, but also the underlying factors that contribute to radicalization. This nuanced approach recognizes the complexity of the issue and emphasizes the importance of preventive measures, such as community engagement, education, and addressing socio-economic grievances, to mitigate the influence of radical ideologies. See also Nathan Rotenstreich, "On Radicalism." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 4, No. 2-3 (1974): 169-182; Elisabeth Carter, "Right-wing extremism/radicalism: Reconstructing the concept." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 23, No. 2 (2018): 157-182; Astrid Bötticher, "Towards academic consensus definitions of radicalism and extremism." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 11.4 (2017): 73-77; Alfi Maunah, "Radicalism Among Indonesia's Young Generation: How to Overcome It?". *Indonesian Journal of Counter Terrorism and National Security* 1, No. 2 (2022): 247-66; Olivier Galland, and Anne Muxel. "Radicalism in Question." *Radical Thought among the Young: A Survey of French Lycée Students*. (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 1-23; Daniel Karell, and Michael Freedman. "Rhetorics of radicalism." *American Sociological Review* 84, No. 4 (2019): 726-753.

then they become terrorists.⁶ This terrorist ideology gives a narrow understanding of beliefs or religions, thus creating conflict and ending up with terror.⁷

As articulated by Adriana Elizabeth, Head of the Political Research Centre at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, the swift growth of radicalism in Indonesia can be attributed to four primary factors. Firstly, radical ideologies proliferate through systematic ideological indoctrination, coupled with enticing promises of salvation and financial prosperity. Secondly, active political propaganda plays a pivotal role in disseminating radicalism across various societal strata. Moreover, radical groups strategically offer facilities and transportation as incentives to attract new recruits into their folds. Beyond the promotion of radical ideologies, another catalyst for its expansion is the prevailing skepticism toward democracy, stemming from negative perceptions and behaviors exhibited by political elites in Indonesia. Notably, this distrust has created fertile ground for the appeal of radicalism as an alternative to conventional political leanings and lifestyles. In essence, these multifaceted reasons underscore the complex web of influences contributing to the rapid proliferation of radicalism in the Indonesian context.⁸

In the further context, a survey conducted by the Wahid Institute in 2020 demonstrated that the trend of intolerance and radicalism in Indonesia has increased over time. There are around 0.4% or around 600,000 Indonesian citizens who have committed radical acts. The data is calculated based on the total adult population of around 250 million people. Of them, there are around 11.4 million or 7.1% of the

⁶ Leila Ezzarqui, "De-Radicalization and Rehabilitation Program: The Case Study of Saudi Arabia", *Thesis*. (Washington DC: Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University, 2010).

⁷ Nurani and Nurdin, "Pandangan Keagamaan Pelaku Bom Bunuh Diri di Indonesia."

⁸ Riani Sanusi Putri, "LIPI Ungkap 4 Alasan Mengapa Radikalisme Berkembang di Indonesia," *TEMPO*, 2021. Retrieved from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1062388/lipi-ungkap-4-alasan-mengapa-radikalisme-berkembang-di-indonesia>

people are prone to be influenced by radical movements and potentially enter radical movements when invited or given an opportunity. Similarly, Yenny also exhibited the increasing trend of intolerance in Indonesia from previous around 46% to current 54%.⁹

The intertwining nature of radicalism and terrorism has prompted the Indonesian government to address radicalism as an integral component of its counterterrorism efforts. However, a notable challenge arises due to the absence of a universally agreed-upon definition of radicalism. Divergent interpretations proliferate among various groups or institutions, each providing subjective definitions without a solid legal foundation.¹⁰

For instance, Ahmad Nurwakhid, the prevention director of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), asserted that 33 million Indonesians have been exposed to radicalism. Similarly, when the issue of radicalism surfaced on campuses, Komjen Boy Rafli Amar, the Head of BNPT, highlighted the presence of suspected terrorist radical groups on several Indonesian campuses, potentially involving both lecturers and students.¹¹ Moreover, General Dudung Abdurachman, the Army Chief of Staff, took measures to discourage the invitation of radical preachers, reflecting concerns within the military.¹² In response, Umar Hasibuan questioned the standards

⁹ Zannuba Ariffah Chafsoh, "Survei Wahid Institute: Intoleransi-Radikalisme Cenderung Naik," *Media Indonesia*, January 18 (2020). Retrieved from <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/284269/survei-wahid-institute-intoleransi-radikalisme-cenderung-naik>.

¹⁰ Rofi Ali Majid, "BNPT: 33 Juta Penduduk Indonesia Terpapar Radikalisme, Butuh Undang-Undang Pencegahan," *KOMPAS*, July 21 (2022). Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.tv/article/311315/bnpt-33-juta-penduduk-indonesia-terpapar-radikalisme-butuh-undang-undang-pencegahan>.

¹¹ Rizki Sulistio, and Bitor Ekin Putra, "BNPT Sebut Sejumlah Kampus di Indonesia Diduga Terpapar Kelompok Radikalisme", *VOI Online*, May 24 (2022). Retrieved from <https://voi.id/berita/171321/bnpt-sebut-sejumlah-kampus-di-indonesia-diduga-terpapar-kelompok-radikalisme>

¹² Siti Ruqoyah, "Gus Umar Sindir KSAD Dudung: Apa Sih Ukuran Ustaz Radikal, Pak?", *VIVA News*, March 3 (2022). Retrieved from <https://www.viva.co.id/berita/nasional/1454336-gus-umar-sindir-ksad-dudung-apa-sih-ukuran-ustaz-radikal-pak>

employed by Abdurachman in labeling certain preachers as radical, raising valid inquiries into the criteria utilized by BNPT to quantify the 33 million Indonesians exposed to radicalism and identify the campuses affected.¹³

This lack of consensus on the definition and parameters of radicalism poses a significant hurdle in devising coherent and

¹³ Ruqoyah. In the further discussion, it is emphasized that the indicators of radicalism are multifaceted and often encompass a range of ideological, behavioral, and contextual factors. Ideologically, signs of radicalism may include the endorsement of extreme political or religious views, a rejection of mainstream values, and a willingness to use violence as a means to achieve ideological objectives. Behavioral indicators could involve a heightened level of social isolation, an increased susceptibility to extremist propaganda, and participation in radicalized online communities. Contextually, radicalization may be influenced by social, economic, or political grievances, as individuals experiencing marginalization or perceived injustice may be more susceptible to radical ideologies. Additionally, the adoption of radical rhetoric and a desire for radical change in societal structures may also serve as indicators. Recognizing these diverse indicators is crucial for early detection and effective counter-radicalization efforts, fostering a nuanced understanding of the complex pathways leading individuals or groups toward radical ideologies and potential engagement in extremist activities. See Maharani, Maya Dewi Dyah, and Ismaniah Ismaniah. "The Sustainability of the Regional Government Directive Policy and Key Performance Indicator in Addressing Radicalism and Extremism in Indonesia." *Journal of Strategic Innovation and Sustainability* 15.6 (2020): 111-116; Islamy, Athoillah. "Pendidikan Islam Multikultural Dalam Indikator Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Analisa Pemikiran Insan Cendikia (Jurnal APIC)* 5.1 (2022): 48-61; Rodiyah, Rodiyah, et al. "How Should Student Behave? A Legal Ethics and Policy towards Nationalism and Anti-Radicalism Characters." *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 4.2 (2019): 259-276; Masyhar, Ali, and Muhammad Azil Maskur. "Method and Strategy of the Universitas Negeri Semarang in Overcoming Student Radicalism." *ICILS 2020: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Indonesian Legal Studies, ICILS 2020, July 1st, 2020, Semarang, Indonesia*. 2021; Damanik, Erond L., and Yakobus Ndona. "Revelation is a symbol: Anti-radicalism of pluri-religious communities according to Jaspers in the context of Indonesia." *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology* 9 (2020): 587-603; Arifin, Ridwan, Ali Masyhar, and Btari Amira. "The Invisible Big Waves: How Indonesia Combat with Radicalism and Terrorism in Global Perspective." *HIKMATUNA* 6.1 (2020): 105-121.

effective strategies for countering its influence. Establishing clear and universally accepted standards for identifying radicalism is imperative for fostering a unified understanding and facilitating targeted initiatives to address this complex issue.

Today, the word “*radical*” has been overused for labeling certain people, groups, or religions to associate them with extremism. Indeed, the use of “*radical*” has left a serious problem due to the absence of an agreed-upon measurement as long as a legal definition is concerned. It is not even well defined in the Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 7 of 2021. As a result, the anti-radical movement is frequently less successful. As the former head of the National Counterterrorism Agency, Ansyad Mbai has stated, the failure of the deradicalization program by the government resulted from the confusing definition of radicalism causing an ineffective program of deradicalization. The government should have clarified and standardized the definition of radicalism, and provided clearer references so that the deradicalization program can run effectively.¹⁴

As long as the regulation is concerned, there is no stipulation concerning the meaning of radicalism in Indonesian legislation. In Indonesian Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2021 concerning the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Mitigation of Violent-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism for 2020-2024, the term extremism is used instead of radicalism. In the amendment to Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism to Become Law,¹⁵ the concept of radicalism is not

¹⁴ CNN Indonesia, “Eks Kepala BNPT Kritik Deradikalisasi: Radikalisme Itu Apa?” *CNN Online*, April 7 (2021). Retrieved from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20210407165808-20-627122/eks-kepala-bnpt-kritik-deradikalisasi-radikalisme-itu-apa>.

¹⁵ Republic of Indonesia, *Undang-Undang 5 Tahun 2018 Tentang Perubahan Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 15 Tahun 2003 Tentang Penetapan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2002 Tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme Menjadi Undang-Undang*, (Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara, 2018).

explained despite the regulation of deradicalization.¹⁶ As Rizki has demonstrated that there is no single definition of radical can be found in Terrorism Law resulting in arbitrary interpretation of the term.¹⁷ Likewise, according to Wicaksono, so far there has been no measure that can explain how we can assess individual radicalism. Therefore, it is necessary to have a measuring tool based on a scientific assessment of personality developed by experts who have mapped various traits and characteristics of human personality.¹⁸

Various scholars, including Alex P. Schmid¹⁹ and Astrid Bötticher²⁰, have undertaken efforts to redefine complex and frequently used concepts like radicalism and extremism from an academic standpoint, steering clear of politically charged definitions. However, such endeavors may seem futile, as outlined in their works. Rik Peels, in his exploration, revealed that the term 'radicalization' is relatively recent, primarily emerging post-2005 due to shifts in the political climate. Peels demonstrated its widespread use in discussions involving extremism, fundamentalism, conspiracism,

¹⁶ From the concept of deradicalization in this law, what is meant by radicals is "terrorist radicals," or criminal acts of terrorism. In the framework of this law, the term "deradicalization" is explicitly directed at individuals characterized as "terrorist radicals." This designation applies to individuals who have been involved in criminal acts associated with terrorism. The focus is on addressing and mitigating the radicalization that leads individuals to participate in or support terrorist activities. Essentially, the law aims to implement measures and strategies to counteract and rehabilitate individuals who have been radicalized in a manner that poses a threat to public safety and security. The emphasis on "*terrorist radicals*" underscores the law's specific focus on countering radicalization within the context of terrorism-related criminal activities.

¹⁷ Faisal Farras Prima Arizki and Emilia Rusdiana, "Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme," *NOVUM: Jurnal Hukum* 9, No 2 (2021): 1–10.

¹⁸ Hendro Wicaksono and Mohammad Kemal Dermawan, "Alat Ukur Tingkat Radikalisme Berdasarkan Penilaian Kepribadian," *DEVIANCE: Jurnal Kriminologi* 4, No 1 (2020): 84-102.

¹⁹ Alex P. Schmid. "The Revised Academic Consensus Definition of Terrorism", *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6, No. 2 (2012): 158-159.

²⁰ Astrid Bötticher Towards Academic Consensus Definitions of Radicalism and Extremism, *Perspectives on Terrorism* 11, No. 4 (August 2017): 73-77.

fanaticism, terrorism, and counter-terrorism. Nevertheless, the precise definition and proper usage of the term have faced considerable challenges and objections.

Similar perspectives on the topic are presented by Rochelle L. Frounfelker et al.²¹, Bartlett J., and Miller C.²² These authors converge on a shared observation: the definition of radicalization remains conflicted and nebulous. They argue that "radicalization" is a multifaceted phenomenon with expressions varying based on the unique social, cultural, and historical contexts of diverse societies. Despite concerted efforts to establish a universal definition for radicalism, these works conclude with contextual meanings and conceptualizations. Their attempts, rooted in specific interests, either geographically or thematically, result in a lack of a universally acceptable definition and delineation of boundaries.

This study attempts to revisit the criteria of radicalism from which a model for measuring radicalism and the legal concept of radicalism is developed. To avoid a claim of a universal definition, this article refers to the Indonesian Anti-Terrorism Act in which the words "contra-radicalization" and "deradicalization" are regulated. But there is no single definition of radicalization. The absence of the definition may lead to an obstacle in a war on terrorism. Therefore, this article's objective is to contribute to a legal concept of radicalism to provide certainty about what actions can be categorized as radicals to avoid differences and misuse or abuse in measuring and interpreting radicalism.

²¹ Rochelle L. Frounfelker, et.al., "Transnational Evaluation of the Sympathy for Violent Radicalization Scale: Measuring Population Attitudes toward Violent Radicalization in two Countries", *Transcult Psychiatry* 58, No. 5 (2021): 669–682.

²² Bartlett, Jamie, and Carl Miller. "The edge of violence: Towards telling the difference between violent and non-violent radicalization." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24.1 (2012): 1-21.

RADICALISM & RADICALIZATION

A. Interpreting Radicalism

In spite of the massive use of radicalism, the underlying concept has not been agreed upon universally.²³ A Scottish study has reported that no universally agreed definition of radicalism has been evidently found. As the term is subjective, it is defined in various ways.²⁴ Rik Peels explains that the concept of radicalization developed relates to a shorter or longer temporal process, during which a particular progression occurs: an individual, group, or social entity moves from moderate to extreme cognitively, behaviourally, or both, and one could argue, to extremism. Rik Peels wants to expand the concept of radicalization to include affective and conative radicalization.²⁵

In Europe in 2005, after the term first appeared in EU police and intelligence circles, the Commission defined violent radicalization as "*the phenomenon of people adopting opinions, views, and ideas that may lead to acts of terrorism*".²⁶ Scholars have come up with many definitions that may partially overlap and are far from identical; this can also be said with terms such as radicalization, extremism and terrorism. Besides all of these definitions consider radicalism a process,²⁷ they

²³ Bennett, "One Man's Radical."

²⁴ Scottish Government, *Understanding Extremism in Scotland: Research Findings*, (Edinburgh: The Scottish Government, 2023).

²⁵ Rik Peels, "Towards a Fruitful Concept of Radicalisation: A Synthesis," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* (2023): 1–15.

²⁶ European Commission, "Communication Concerning Terrorist Recruitment – Addressing The Factors Contributing to Violent Radicalisation", *Online*, 2015.

²⁷ Neumann, Peter R. "The trouble with radicalization." *International Affairs* 89.4 (2013): 873-893. Furthermore, it is highlighted that the inherent ambiguity surrounding the concept of radicalization, a term frequently used in academic and policy circles within the context of the 'war on terror.' Despite its widespread usage, the meaning of radicalization lacks clarity, leading to significant debates and controversies. The article argues that while radicalization is a real phenomenon, the ambiguity in its definition is the source of major debates. The primary conceptual divide revolves around two perspectives: one emphasizing

differ on the outcome of this process, framing it as radicalization 'towards (*political*) violence, towards (*violent*) extremism or towards terrorism'. In contrast to the working definitions above, most academic ones are long and complicated.²⁸

Literally, the word "radicalism" derives from the word "radical." This word has several meanings according to the context. *First*, it relates to the origin, fundamentals, and principles. *Second*, in the political context, it is associated with extreme demand for changes to restore political or government ideas or behavior. *Third*, advanced in thinking or behavior. By adding the suffix "ism" to "radicalism" it means: *first*, radical views or beliefs in politics; or *second*, ideology or sect of people who wants drastic social or political change by means of violence; or *third*, extreme approaches in political attitude.²⁹ In Arabic, the term "radicalism" is called *syiddah al-tanatu*, meaning hard, exclusive, narrow-minded, rigid, and truth claim. When the word radicalism is associated with Muslims, that would refer to those Muslims who are narrow-minded, rigid in understanding Islam, and

extremist beliefs ('cognitive radicalization') and the other focusing on extremist behavior ('behavioral radicalization'). This conceptual ambiguity has resulted in varying definitions of radicalization, fueling scholarly debates concerning the interplay between cognition and behavior. Neumann delves into the differences in policy approaches, broadly categorized as 'European' and 'Anglo-Saxon,' revealing distinct strategies in addressing radicalization. Despite the challenges posed by this ambiguity, the article advocates for a deeper understanding and acceptance of the concept. Instead of dismissing its validity, scholars and policy-makers are encouraged to engage more rigorously with the nuanced complexities of radicalization, recognizing its enduring significance in shaping research and policy agendas for years to come.

²⁸ Schmid, Alex P. "Radicalisation, de-radicalisation, counter-radicalisation: A conceptual discussion and literature review." *ICCT The Hague Research Paper* 97.1 (2013).

²⁹ Pusat Pengembangan bahasa Kemendikbud Ristek, "Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Online," n.d., <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/radikalisme>. See also Cambridge Dictionary at <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/radical>, Collins Dictionary at <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/radical>.

exclusive in viewing other religions.³⁰ In addition to radicalism, the Black Law Dictionary defines terrorism as “the use or threat of violence to intimidate or cause panic, especially as a means of affecting political conduct.”³¹

From the perspective of social psychology, radicalism is an active attitude driving motivation and behavior towards a total defence of what is considered to be the most fundamental values of a belief, ideology, religion, or the like. Similarly, passive attitudes are expressly demonstrated in way of avoiding, rejecting, negating, or excluding certain objects. Theoretically, there is no innate attitude. So that no one is born radical. Radicalism is learned and shaped through experience, education, or training.³² From a sociological perspective, in a positive vibe, David A. Snow and Remy Cross, expressed that radicalism is a social movement favoring both individual and collective freedom and emancipation. It is an ideological view to be very critical of the existing status quo and advocacy for restructuring / or overthrowing outdated political structures.³³

Within the scope of religious groups, according to A Rubaidi, radicalism is religious movements trying to totally overhaul the existing social and political order by using violence.³⁴ Religious radicalism originates from a political movement that is based on the most fundamental religious doctrine which is completely and literally free from compromise, domestication, and reinterpretation

³⁰ Musthafa Lutfi, *Melenyapkan Hantu Terorisme dari Dakwah Kontermporer* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al Kausar, 2008).

³¹ Bryan A. Black, Henry Campbel, Garner, *Black's Law Dictionary: English Edition*, ed. Bryan A. Garner (New York: New York: West, 2009).

³² Sarlito Wirawan sarwono, *Terorisme di Indonesia dalam Tinjauan Psikologi*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Alvabet dan Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (LAKIP), 2012), pp. 130-131

³³ Snow, David A., and Remy Cross. "Radicalism within the context of social movements: Processes and types." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4.4 (2011): 115-130.

³⁴ A Rubaidi, *Radikalisme Islam, Nahdlatul Ulama Masa Depan Moderatisme Islam di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Lagung Pustaka, 2007).

(interpretation).³⁵ Another definition describes that radical or radicalism is any principle or practice carried out radically, a choice of action that is generally observed from the way of contrasting sharply between the values defended by certain religious groups *vis a vis* the order prevailing or established values at the time.³⁶ According to Doosje, radicalism is a teaching or ideology that perceives other groups as culprits responsible for people's grievances, thus legitimizing them to commit violence as the most effective means to achieve their ideological and political ends.³⁷

Purwati et.al divides three meanings of radicalism. They are: 1) in symbolic meaning (ordinary language). Ordinary language is based on a symbolic agreement formed indirectly by the current generation through everyday conversation, both in the world of research (in various international journals) and in mass media, portraying radicalism in a negative sense, i.e. something related to

³⁵ Azyumardi Azra, "Memahami Gejala Fundamentalisme," *Jurnal Ulumul Qur'an*, 6, No. 4 (1993). See also Rosidah, Nur. "Fundamentalisme agama." *Walisono: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 20.1 (2012): 1-24; Mikail, Kiki. "Problem Doktrin Keagamaan dan Fundamentalisme dalam Membangun Budaya Multikultural." *Journal of Darussalam Islamic Studies* 1, No. 1 (2020): 12-19; Suryani, Tamat. "Terorisme dan Deradikalisasi: Pengantar Memahami Fundamentalisme Islam dan Strategi Pencegahan Aksi Terorisme." *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional* 3, No. 2 (2017): 271-294; Masyhar, Ali, Ali Murtadho, and Ahmad Zaharuddin Sani Ahmad Sabri. "The Driving Factors for Recidivism of Former Terrorism Convicts in Socio-Legal Perspective." *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 8, No. 1 (2023): 379-404; Masyhar, Ali, et al. "Digital transformation of youth movement for counter radicalism." *AIP Conference Proceedings* 2573, No. 1 (2022): 030010. <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0109808>; Masyhar, Ali. "Deter and Deny Strategies in Counter Terrorism Crime." *Law Research Review Quarterly* 3, No. 1 (2017): 1-14.

³⁶ Annissa, Jeanie, and Ricky Widyananda Putra. "Radikalisme Agama dan Tantangan Identitas Nasional di Indonesia." *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan* 6, No. 1 (2022): 1211-1218; Thoyyib, Mochamad. "Radikalisme Islam Indonesia." *TA'LIM: Jurnal Studi Pendidikan Islam* 1, No. 1 (2018): 90-105; Mufid, Fatkhul. "Radikalisme Islam dalam Perspektif Epistemologi." *Addin* 10, No. 1 (2016): 61-82.

³⁷ Doosje, Bertjan, et al. "Terrorism, radicalization and de-radicalization." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 11 (2016): 79-84.

violence. 2) In the synoptic meaning, reflected through the philosophical perspective. Radicalism is understood in a positive meaning because it is related to a rooted and comprehensive thought process to find the truth. From a historical perspective, the notion of radicalism was associated with philosophical thought or actions against colonial atrocities. 3) in the religious meaning. All religions (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucius) uphold human values. When the meaning of radicalism is transformed into a new context (the negative sense of radicalism), those religions demonstrate disapproval and condemnation of teachings that allow violence to achieve goals. It is learned therefore, the true meaning of radicalism shall be understood by starting with determining in what context the discussion is made, either in terms of time (past or present) or in terms of paradigm (original of new meaning).³⁸

In the previous description, various interpretations regarding the meaning of radicalism were used to evaluate a thought, attitude, or action, according to the background of understanding and political interests in its definition, so that sometimes this concept is raised in a pejorative sense. Sometimes the word radicalism is used as a label to corner certain people or groups. So that radical religious movements are always considered as negative movements, such as being exclusive, militant and using undemocratic methods. It is also common to find the use of criteria for radical actions or movements that differ from one government agency to another. This shows that radicalism has a plural meaning, according to the context.³⁹ This view is also acknowledged by David A. Snow and Remy Cross, who state that the ambiguity of the concept of radicalism is due to the fact that radicalism and radicalism are often defined by context.⁴⁰ As a result, there are various meanings and measures of radicalism. In efforts to deradicalize and prevent terrorism, such a condition will end up with

³⁸ Purwati, Purwati, et al. "Meaning of Radicalization." *International Conference on Sustainable Innovation Track Humanities Education and Social Sciences (ICSIHES 2021)*. Atlantis Press, 2021.

³⁹ Azra, "Memahami Gejala Fundamentalisme."

⁴⁰ David A. Snow and Remy Cross, "Radicalism within the context of social movements: Processes and types."

difficulty. For this reason, the legal construction of radicalism to a single agreed definition is necessary, so that there is the same reference in understanding the meaning of radicalism.

B. Interpreting Radicalism

Radicalism does not emerge independently but is an extreme reaction to its environment. According to Randy Borum, radicalization is multi-determinant. It is driven and sustained by a variety of push and pull causes. Bases can include both broad factors that push individuals toward radical ideologies and specific ones that attract them.⁴¹

Daniela Pisoiu's study has found that while there is no specific profile for extremists or terrorists, the existing literature indicates the role of certain personality traits such as specific knowledge, motivation, and emotions. Furthermore, the study highlights the importance of social interaction and socialization processes. However, the research should also consider the complex processes and interdependencies involving individuals, groups, and societies.⁴²

In the context of religious radicalism, Afdal suggests that radicalism is closely linked to fundamentalism, which involves a return to fundamental religious doctrines. Fundamentalism is an ideology that considers religion as the guide to life for both society and individuals. The association with violence arises when the path to return to religion is blocked by the socio-political situation in society. Therefore, radicalism itself is not a problem as long as it remains a mere ideology in the minds of its adherents. However, when this ideology transforms into radical movements accompanied

⁴¹ Borum, Randy. "Radicalization into violent extremism II: A review of conceptual models and empirical research." *Journal of strategic security* 4, No. 4 (2011): 37-62.

⁴² Pisoiu, Daniela, et al. "Factors of individual radicalization into extremism, violence and terror—the German contribution in a context." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)* 14 (2020): 1-13.

by violence, it poses a problem. This phenomenon typically leads to open conflicts or violence between two opposing groups.⁴³

According to Abu Rokhmad, there are three main ways a person becomes radicalized: First, improper and literal understanding of religion. This understanding concerns the issue of purifying tawhid, *taghyir al-munkar* (changing evil through violence), the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, the meaning of the doctrine of jihad and the Republic of Indonesia is not an Islamic state. Second, political factors. The factor of the global political situation in which some Muslims feel entitled to take revenge for the injustice and arbitrariness of the US and Europe against the Islamic world. It includes sympathy and solidarity for the suffering experienced by the Islamic world (Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq). The West's and the US's conspiracy to discredit and marginalize Muslims by designing and creating the term radical Islam to be used as a 'common enemy' also causes Muslims to become radicalized. The national political situation, which has not emerged from the multi-dimensional political, economic, legal and moral crisis, has encouraged some Muslims to act radically. This situation has led to the desire of some Muslims to offer alternative systems and ideologies. It includes the issue of the formalization of Islamic Shari'a, the ideals of establishing the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) or the idea of an Islamic caliphate. These two factors appear to be interrelated and inseparable, with the first being reinforced by the second, for example, in the form of US and European injustice towards the Islamic world. Similarly, the second is legitimized by religious texts.⁴⁴

Remy Cross explains that the path to radicalism is not a simple or straightforward one. It involves various types and pathways, as different contributing factors interact and combine in different ways.

⁴³ Turmudi, Endang, and M. Riza Sihbudi, eds. *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia*. (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005).

⁴⁴ Rokhmad, Abu. "Pandangan Kiai tentang Deradikalisasi Paham Islam Radikal di Kota Semarang." *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion* 21.1 (2014): 27-37.

There is no single pathway to radicalization.⁴⁵ Zainal Abidin suggests that radicalism can arise from various factors, including poverty, evil and disobedience, incorrect religious beliefs, lack of understanding of *maslahan* (benefit) and *mafsadah* (harm) methods, unstable political and security situations, ignorance, failure to be selective in absorbing information, excessive religious fervor, following one's desires instead of consulting scholars, and engaging in haphazard jihad.⁴⁶ Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi believes that the problem of radicalism lies in the inaccurate interpretation of religious texts. Distorted interpretations are often used to justify violence in the name of religion, which gives the impression that the hijacked interpretation has become the mainstream religious practice. However, the true purpose of religion is not the same as that expressed by the violent extremists who rely on the notion of jihad.⁴⁷ Islamic law considers radical actions as equivalent to treason or rebellion against those who hold different ideologies or against the state. Therefore, the Quran does not provide any justification for religious radicalism. Any arguments that support radical dogmas invariably stem from a narrow understanding of the Quranic text itself.⁴⁸

There is an ongoing debate among experts about the relationship between religion and radicalism. While some argue that religious radicalism is purely motivated by theological factors, others believe that non-theological factors rooted in issues of inequality could also play a significant role. Syafi'i Ma'arif and Sofian Munawar Asgart share this view and suggest that various factors can cause the emergence of radical Islamic movements in Indonesia. These include authoritarian power, a lack of justice, and blockage of communication channels, as well as the development of social diseases in society.

⁴⁵ Snow, David A., and Remy Cross. "Radicalism within the context of social movements: Processes and types." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4.4 (2011): 115-130.

⁴⁶ Zainal Abidin, *Menangkal Ideologi Radikal, Mengungkap Sejarah, Pemikiran Dan Dalang Ekstremisme* (Jakarta: Pustaka Imam Bonjol, 2014).

⁴⁷ Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, "Fundamentalisme dan Upaya Deradikalisasi Pemahaman Al-Qur'an dan Hadis," *Religia* 13, No. 1 (2010): 89-90.

⁴⁸ Said, Hasani Ahmad. "Radikalisme Agama dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam." *Al-Adalah* 12.1 (2017): 593-610.

Furthermore, radicalism can also arise from deliberate fabrications created by certain groups for specific purposes.⁴⁹ In this regard, for example, Ahmad Rizky and Vedi R. Hadiz provide a thesis: "Radical Islam" was essentially born by the New Order. The birth of radicalism was a long process of social and political turbulence that arose because the repressive New Order regime had used its roles to suppress Islam as a political force in Indonesia. The discourse of "Radical Islam" was born to subordinate the power of Islam. The first case brought up by the New Order regime was Komando Jihad (the hijacking of the Woyla airplane), allegedly the first act of terrorism in Indonesia. Then, other cases were born that could not be separated from the political interests of the New Order.⁵⁰

In terms of the link between anti-Muslim rhetoric by Western politicians and the growth of radical attitudes among European Muslims, an experimental study in Bosnia shows that rhetorical attacks on Islam by Western politicians do not strengthen individual Muslim identities, cause higher levels of hostility towards the West or lead to condoning the use of violence. The study also found that while increasing positive views of the West, pro-Muslim rhetoric did not affect the strength of Muslims' identity or their radical sympathies. These results have important implications for the sources of radicalization and efforts to curb radical tendencies.⁵¹

Leila Ezzarqui refers to this arranged radicalism as "*radicalization*", a change process in which nonviolent individuals come to support and promote violence. The radicalization process requires the individual to enter a transformative mental process, with a change in personal conditions for violence. Radicalization is a stage

⁴⁹ Sofian Munawar Asgart, "Melawan Radikalisme dan Terrorisme di Indonesia", *Interseksi*, (2022).

⁵⁰ Umar, Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah. "Melacak akar radikalisme Islam di Indonesia." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* 14, No. 2 (2010): 169-186.

⁵¹ Winter, Charlie, et al. "Online extremism: research trends in internet activism, radicalization, and counter-strategies." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)* 14 (2020): 1-20.

that consists of internalizing a set of beliefs, a mindset that includes militant violence as the ultimate test of one's beliefs.⁵²

Diego Muro states that radicalization is a multi-level process, as depicted in a pyramid model. In this model, the individual's position is central to this socialization process, but what happens in the sociopolitical and organizational environment is also essential. Therefore, a comprehensive counter-radicalization strategy must consider the individual, organizational and societal levels.

In theoretical terms, there are several models of radicalization compiled by several experts. One of the most widely circulated models of Jihadi-Salafi radicalization comes from the New York Police Department (NYPD) Intelligence Division, with input from terrorism researchers and other experts. The NYPD states that citizens from Western countries ultimately adopt Jihadi-Salafi ideology, doing so through a linear four-stage process that aligns with the terminology and sequence used in the FBI model, namely Self-Identification, Indoctrination and Jihadization. According to the report, Pre-radicalization characterizes the period before exposure to jihadi-Salafi ideology. Self-identification marks exploring Salafi Islam, adopting its ideological tenets, and affiliating with its proponents. Indoctrination is the intensification stage for the individual's beliefs and commitment to like-minded ideas, actions, and collectives. Ultimately, the NYPD model calls the final stage Jihadization, but the character of the stage is essentially the same as in the FBI assessment. Its hallmark is the individual's acceptance of and commitment to his duty to act on behalf of the cause. This model can be described as follows:

⁵² Ezzarqui, Leila. "De-radicalization and rehabilitation program: the case study of Saudi Arabia". *Thesis* (Washington, DC.: Georgetown University, 2010).

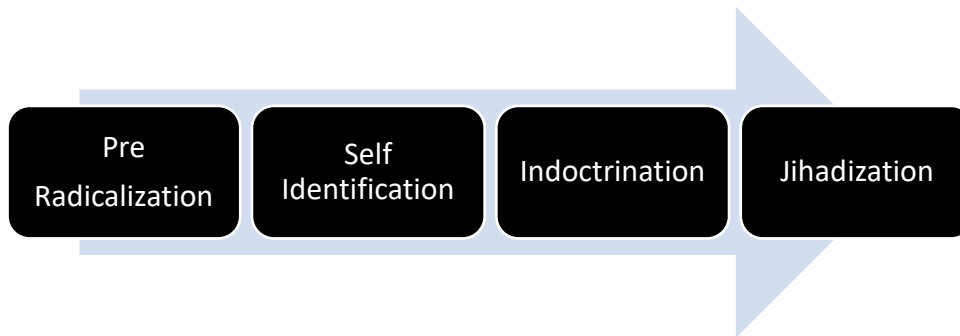


FIGURE 1. NYPD Model of Jihadization

Precht, in a qualitative review commissioned by the Danish Ministry of Justice, summarizes the broad contours of radicalization in the country, describing that radicalization often starts with individuals frustrated with their lives, society or government's foreign policy. The typical pattern is that these individuals meet other like-minded people, and jointly, they go through a series of events and stages that can eventually lead to terrorism. Nevertheless, only a few end up becoming terrorists. The rest stop or leave the radicalization process at different phases. Precht further outlines four phases of the "typical pattern of radicalization." this is also in line with the conceptual model developed by the FBI and the NYPD Intelligence Unit, stages he calls Pre-radicalization, Conversion and identification with radical Islam; Indoctrination and increased group ties; and Actual or planned acts of terrorism. Precht notes, however, that small group dynamics and identification are often powerful drivers of commitment to extremist ideologies.⁵³ If it is depicted, it will appear as follows:

⁵³ Borum, Randy. "Radicalization into violent extremism II: A review of conceptual models and empirical research." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, No. 4 (2011): 37-62.

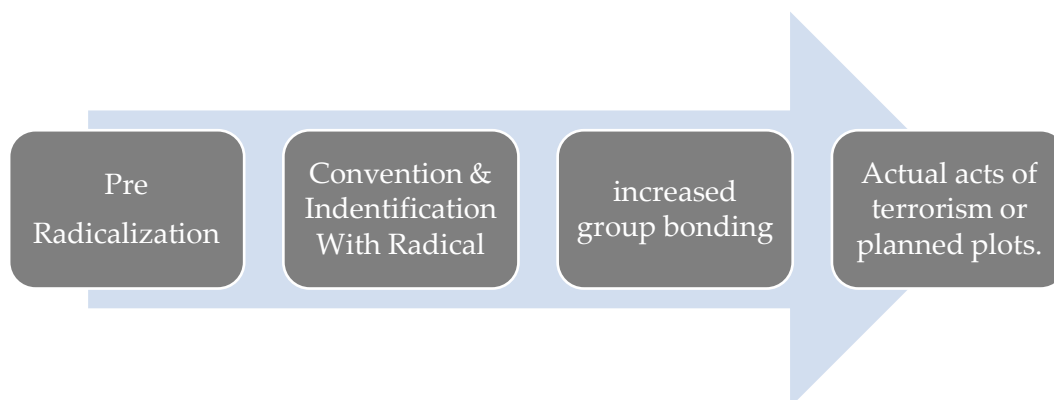


FIGURE 2. Precht's Model of a "Typical" Radicalization Pattern

According to Petrus Golose, radicalization is the process of making someone radical. Radicalization is carried out through the stages of Recruitment, Identification, and misguided Jihad,⁵⁴ as shown below.

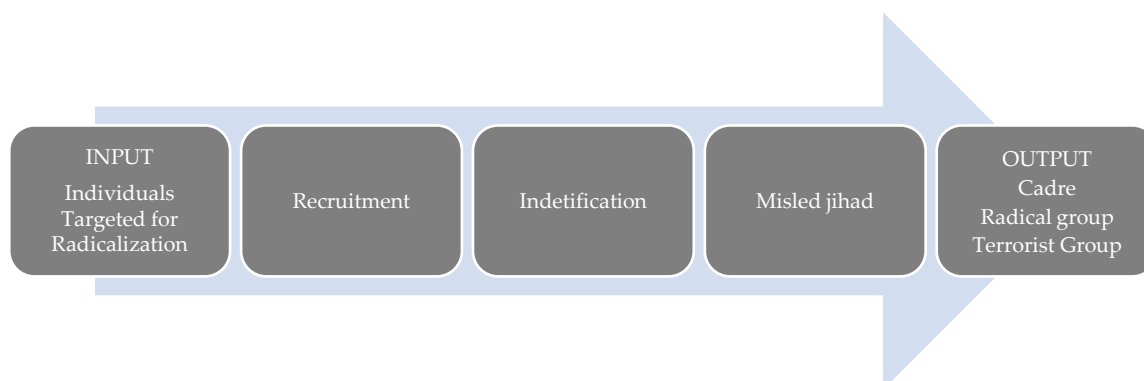


FIGURE 3. Radicalization Process

The process of radicalization results in varying degrees of radicalism. This means that the level of radicalization among individuals in a group can differ. Abu Rokhmad classified the levels of radicalized individuals into three categories. The first category consists of leaders or ideologues, while the second category includes middle-level leaders or ideologues. The third category comprises

⁵⁴ Golose, Petrus Reinhard. *Deradikalisasi Terorisme: Humanis, Soul Approach dan Menyentuh Akar Rumpit*. (Jakarta: YPKIK, 2009).

followers who are still in the process of adopting radical beliefs.⁵⁵ A person or group can become radicalized through various methods including direct contact, mass media, and family relationships.⁵⁶ The following is an examination of radicalizing media:

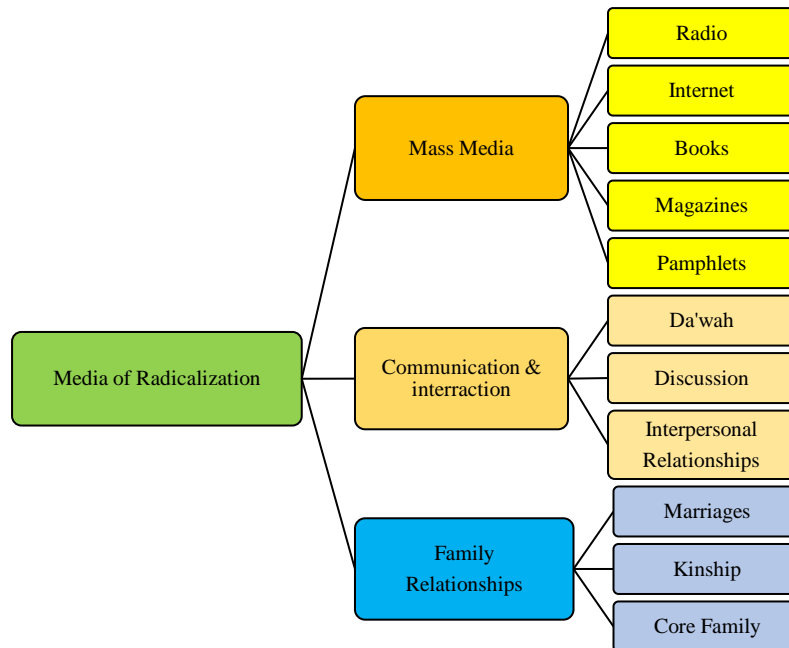


FIGURE 4. Media of Radicalization

As to the use of internet media, Charlie Winter explains the reasons why violent extremist organizations using online tools are identified and evaluated, including their propaganda, recruitment,

⁵⁵ Rokhmad, Abu. "Pandangan Kiai tentang Deradikalisasi Paham Islam Radikal di Kota Semarang." *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion* 21, No. 1 (2014): 27-37.

⁵⁶ Khairil, Muhammad. "The Transformation of the Symbolic Meaning of Radicalism in Acts of Terrorism Post-Conflict in Poso Central Sulawesi." *International Conference on Democracy, Accountability and Governance (ICODAG 2017)*. Atlantis Press, 2017; Khairil, Muhammad. "Communication Strategies to Prevent Terrorist Group's Radical Ideology and Doctrine within Islamic Universities at Central Sulawesi." *Al-Ulum* 17.2 (2017): 285-305; Khairil, Muhammad, et al. "Understanding terrorism based on radicalism idea in order to avoid instability for achieving environmental peace and justice through Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)." *Journal of Food, Agriculture & Environment* 15.1 (2017): 48-51.

logistics, funding, and hacking.⁵⁷ The Internet has become an operation center for extremism and a key facilitator for radicalization. Although there is no causal relationship between the two phenomena, there is no doubt that extremist organizations would not have been able to reach their current positions without their proficiency in using the virtual platform.⁵⁸

Based on the previous discussion, it can be observed that radicalism does not just appear by itself, but through the process of radicalization. Radicalism is formed from a complex path, ranging from theological issues, gaps in social life, and economic instability, to political problems. Therefore, determining the criteria or indicators of radicalism must include these aspects.

RADICALISM CRITERIA

What are the criteria or indicators that an event is radical? This is a fundamental question that must be answered in order to determine whether a person or group can be categorized as radical. However, there are many different criterias, although there are also similarities. For example, Elisabeth Carter determines the minimum criteria for the concept of radical ideology to include authoritarianism, anti-democracy, and exclusive and/or holistic nationalism.⁵⁹

To assess or determine whether a person or group has radical views, it can be measured from the criteria attached to that person or group. Many scholars and institutions have tried to determine the criteria for radicalism. However, they frequently argue on the measurement of radicalism as they focus on philosophical and sociological determination, yet similarities are also found. For example, in the context of radical groups, some scholars use the following criteria: 1) Groups that have high and fanatical ideological

⁵⁷ Pisoiu et.al., "Factors of individual radicalization into extremism, violence and terror—the German contribution in a context."

⁵⁸ Pisoiu et al.

⁵⁹ Carter, Elisabeth. "Right-wing extremism/radicalism: Reconstructing the concept." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 23, No. 2 (2018): 157-182.

beliefs that strive to replace the existing value system and system. 2) In its activities, it often uses acts of violence, and even violence, against other community groups that are considered contrary to their beliefs. 3) Socio-cultural and socio-religious, they have strong group ties and display distinctive characteristics of self-appearance and rituals.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, Ahmad Ro'uf et.al. in compiling an instrument for detecting radical understandings of terrorism in the name of *jihad*, employed eight criteria, namely: 1) Intolerance and judgmental understanding of other people's religions that are different from themselves and their group, 2) Anti-social and wisdom 3) Forcing Islam as the state ideology, 4) Insisting Islamic law as a constitution, 5) Rejecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and all its products of the government system, 6) Justifying violence and crime to uphold religious teachings, 7) Defining *jihad* as the physical war to obtaining martyrdom, 8) Support or have affiliation with extremist organizations.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Mustofa, Muhammad. "Memahami Teorisme: Suatu Perspektif Kriminologi." *Jurnal Kriminologi Indonesia* 2, No. 3 (2002): 30-38; Guntara, Deny. "Tinjauan Kriminologi Terhadap Pelaku Tindak Pidana Terorisme di Indonesia dalam Perspektif Teori Differential Association." *Justisi: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 3, No. 1 (2018). In the similar context, it is emphasized that a criminological perspective on terrorism involves analyzing and understanding terrorism as a form of criminal activity. Criminologists may investigate the root causes, motivations, and patterns of terrorist behavior, applying theories and methods traditionally used to study criminal conduct. This approach aims to provide insights into the social, psychological, and environmental factors that contribute to the emergence of terrorism, and it may also involve developing strategies for preventing and controlling terrorist activities. By applying criminological perspectives to terrorism, scholars and researchers seek to enhance our understanding of this complex phenomenon, with the ultimate goal of developing effective strategies for preventing and responding to acts of terrorism from a law enforcement and criminal justice standpoint. This interdisciplinary approach involves integrating insights from criminology, sociology, psychology, and other relevant fields to comprehensively analyze and address the various aspects of terrorism.

⁶¹ Ro'uf, Ahmad, Samsudi Samsudi, and Zaim Elmubarok. "The Characteristics of Standard Instruments for Early Detection of Terrorism in the Name of Jihad in

To enrich the criteria discourse, the Wahid Foundation uses five elements of radicalism, namely: *first*, take part in sweeping the activities that are considered to have been contrary to *Shari'a*. *Second*, organize demonstrations of the groups that are perceived to have violated the sanctity of Islam. *Third*, call for others to join the fight for Islamic law. *Fourth*, contribute material to organizations or groups that fight for *sharia*. *Fifth*, commit attacks on houses of worship of other adherents.⁶² Meanwhile, a radicalism survey conducted by the National House and the Board of Trustees of the Association for Islamic Boarding Schools and Community Development (P3M) used four criteria for radical content, assessed from the theme of the Friday sermon, namely: 1) hate speech. 2) negative attitude towards other religions. 3) positive attitudes towards the caliphate system, and 4) negative attitudes towards women leaders and non-Muslims. P3M also ranks the level of radicals. The lowest level of radicals is measured by the opinion of the preacher who disagrees with intolerance but appreciates it. The middle level is measured from the attitude of agreeing with acts of intolerance and the idea of *Khilafah* or the establishment of an Islamic state. The highest level of radicals is measured from the approval of radical views and agitation towards the *ummah* to ask them to participate in the struggle of establishing Hizbut-Tahrir or an Islamic caliphate.⁶³

Blocking alleged radical sites, the BNPT uses four radical criteria, namely: 1) encouragement to make changes quickly and by means of violence in the name of religion. 2) disbelieving other people. 3) supporting, spreading, and inviting to join ISIS; and 4)

High School Students." *Journal of Research and Educational Research Evaluation* 11, No. 1 (2022): 23-34.

⁶² Fatiyah Wardah, "BNPT: Tren Potensi Radikalisme di Indonesia Menurun", *VOA Indonesia*, March 23 (2021). Retrieved from <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/bnpt-tren-potensi-radikalisme-di-indonesia-menurun/5824157.html>

⁶³ "Survei P3M dan Rumah Kebangsaan Khotbah di Sejumlah Masjid Kementerian Terindikasi Radikal," *Jurnal Asia Online*, July 9 (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.jurnalasia.com/nasional/survei-p3m-dan-rumah-kebangsaan-khotbah-di-sejumlah-masjid-kementerian-terindikasi-radikal/>.

interpreting *jihad* in a narrow sense. On another occasion, the BNPT also released four criteria for radicalism, namely 1) intolerance, 2) anti-Pancasila, 3) anti-NKRI, and 4) spreading *takfiri* ideology.⁶⁴ Likewise, according to the Director of Prevention of the National Counterterrorism Agency, Brigadier General Ahmad Nurwakhid, there are at least five indicators to see whether a speaker is in the radical category or not; 1) Delivering teachings that are anti-Pancasila and pro-transnational *caliphate* ideology; 2) Preaching *takfiri* views against other parties who have different understandings or different religions; 3) Instilling antipathy against legitimate leadership or government with an attitude of hatred, building public distrust against the government and the state through slanderous propaganda, pitting one against the other, spreading hate speech, and sharing hoaxes; 4) Having an exclusive attitude towards the environment and change as well as intolerance towards differences and diversity (plurality); 5) having views of anti-culture or religious local wisdom.⁶⁵

The Director of State Security for the Intelligence and Security Agency for the Indonesian National Police, Brigadier General Umar Effendi, explained that the characteristics of someone exposed to extremism and terrorism are: 1) Intolerance, that is, not willing to respect other people's opinions and beliefs; 2) Fanatical, claiming a self-righteous and considering others wrong; 3) Exclusive, separation and self-restriction from other people or groups, and 4) revolutionary, namely having a desire for social or governance transformation revolutionary and drastically by means of force or coercion.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Ratna Puspita, "BNPT Berikan Kriteria Radikalisme kepada Pansel Capim KPK", *Republika*, July 1 (2019). Retrieved from <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/ptys2c428/bnpt-berikan-kriteria-radikalisme-kepada-pansel-capim-kpk>

⁶⁵ Egidius Patnistik, "5 Indikator untuk Tahu Penceramah Radikal Menurut BNPT," *KOMPAS*, March 5 (2022). Retrieved from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/03/05/19453191/5-indikator-untuk-tahu-penceramah-radikal-menurut-bnpt>.

⁶⁶ Mulia Budi, "Polri Beberkan Ciri-Ciri Orang Terpapar Ekstremisme-Terrorisme," *Detik News*, January 26 (2022). Retrieved from

The following table is the comparison of radicalism criteria elaborated by the experts:

TABLE 1. Idea on Radicalism Criteria

Initiator	Radicalism Criteria
Elisabeth Carter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Authoritarianism, b. Anti-democracy, c. Exclusive and/or holistic nationalism
Saut P. Panjaitan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Having high-level ideological beliefs and fanaticism they strive for to replace the existing value and system. b. Using acts of violence, and even force, against other community groups that are considered contrary to their beliefs. c. Having a strong bond of community and showing distinctive characteristics of personal appearance and rituals.
Ahmad Ro'uf, Samsudi, dan Zaim Elmubarak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Intolerance b. Anti-social and local wisdom, c. Insisting Islam as a state ideology, d. Insisting Islamic law as the constitution, e. Rejecting the concept of NKRI and the Indonesian governance system, f. Justifying violence to uphold religion, g. Defining <i>jihad</i> as merely physical war to achieve the level of mart sebagai perang fisik untuk memperoleh kesyahidan, h. Supporting or having affiliation with extremist organizations.
Wahid Foundation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Committing sweeping against any activities deemed as against the <i>Shari'a</i>. b. Organizing group demonstrations that desecrate the sanctity of Islam. c. Convincing others to join the fight for Islamic law. d. Contributing materials to organizations/groups fighting for <i>Shari'a</i>.

<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5915709/polri-beberkan-4-ciri-orang-terpapar-ekstremisme-terorisme>

Initiator	Radicalism Criteria
	e. Waging attacks on houses of worship of other religious adherents.
Rumah Kebangsaan	a. Hate speech. b. Negative attitudes towards other religions. c. Positive attitudes towards the caliphate d. Negative attitudes towards women leadership and non-Muslim.
Ahmad Nurwakhi Direktur Pencegahan BNPT	a. Anti-Pancasila and pro-transnational <i>caliphate</i> ideology. b. Preaching <i>takfiri</i> . c. Anti-legitimate government, d. Exclusive attitude towards the environment and intolerance towards differences and diversity. e. Anti-culture and religious local wisdoms
Umar Effendi Director of POLRI and Linda Tri Hamidah	a. Intolerant, b. Fanatic, c. Exclusive d. Revolutionary.

From the description of the criteria for radicalism discussed above, it is inferred that there has not been a consensus in determining the criteria for radicalism. As a result, a person, institution, or group will easily accuse other people or groups of being radical without using an agreed-upon standard. Consequently, radicalism labeling can potentially create social friction among the people. So far, the criteria for radicalism is directed only to certain entities, namely Islamic groups. Yet, radicalism is a phenomenon prevailing across religions and across social groups. To avoid this problem, the government and the Legislators (DPR) need to reformulate the law concerning the limitation of radical, radicalism, as well as the criteria for determining radical and radicalism with the view to provide a consensus in terms of radicalism and ensure legal certainty.

MODELS OF MEASUREMENT OF RADICALISM

In the previous section, criteria for assessing and defining radicalism have been analyzed and their problems have been unveiled. This section is to screen the elemental criteria of radicalism and construct a generalization as the target of radicalism. On top of that, it is also necessary to elucidate the operation of measuring its criteria.

From a number of criteria introduced by experts or institutions as mentioned in Table 1, the core elements that are most relevant, universally applicable to the criteria of radicalism, and are considered to exist in any radical person or group can be picked out. Of the various proposals, the idea of the Indonesian National Police is the most general, inclusive, and fully reflective of the character of radicalism. I would depart from this opinion by making up several modifications to complete their criteria or elements, namely: 1) intolerance of differences and failure to respect the beliefs and choices of other people or groups; 2) Fanatical about their beliefs or choices, resulting in the feeling of truth claiming, and the assumption that others are always wrong. 3) Exclusive, separating, and differentiating themselves from the group in general. 4) Revolutionary, willing to transform social life or government in quick and drastic matters by means of coercion or violence.

The criteria of intolerant, fanatical, exclusive, and revolutionary radicalism are basically still abstract concepts that potentially lead to multiple interpretations. Therefore, it is necessary to determine which actions constitute intolerance, fanaticism, exclusivism, and revolutionism. Further, it is crucial to describe the four criteria for radicalism.

A. Intolerance

The first element of radicalism is intolerance. Tolerance and intolerance are important issues in social and national relations. The

United Nations in the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief displays an important definition of the terms “intolerance and discrimination,” which means “any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on religion or belief and having as its purpose or as its effect nullification or impairment of the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms on an equal basis.”⁶⁷

With regard to tolerance measurement, Supriyanto and Wahyudi establish valid and reliable items pursuant to the tolerance character scale instrument in three aspects, namely peace, respect for differences and individuals, and awareness. The characters are elaborated as follows: (1) aspects of peace constitute indicators of caring, fearlessness, and love, (2) aspects of respecting differences and individuals include indicators of mutual respecting for one another, respecting the differences of the others, and respecting oneself, and (3) aspects of awareness comprise indicators of appreciating the kindness of others, being open, being receptive, being comfortable in life, and being comfortable with other people.⁶⁸

In essence, intolerance is nothing but a denial of the existence of diversity. It may cover but is not limited to, religious matters and all differences in social and national lives, including political choices. The elaboration of intolerance criteria is measured by such actions as 1) Not respecting other people due to differences in ethnicity/nation/religion/political choices. 2) Insulting or showing contempt to people or groups who have different socio-political views. 3) Disturbing or hindering other people from exercising their beliefs and rights.

⁶⁷ See Article 2, Paragraph 2 of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.

⁶⁸ Supriyanto, Agus, and Amien Wahyudi. "Skala karakter toleransi: konsep dan operasional aspek kedamaian, menghargai perbedaan dan kesadaran individu." *Counsellia: Jurnal Bimbingan dan Konseling* 7, No. 2 (2017): 61-70.

B. Fanaticism

The second element is fanaticism. It is described as a too-strong belief in certain teachings, such as politics, religion, and so on. Fanaticism is usually irrational or lacks reason, so it does not accept other beliefs and aims to pursue something. Fanaticism can lead to aggressive behavior and at the same time strengthen the state of individuals who experience deindividuation to be more out of control of their behavior.⁶⁹

Amanah Nururh views fanaticism as a concept associated to fundamentalism. As stated by Azyumardi Azra, the characteristics of fundamentalism are resistance to modernity, secularization and Western values, rejection of hermeneutics, pluralism and religious relativism, and rejection of historical and sociological making them easily caught up in acts or acts of violence.⁷⁰

According to Lesmana, in the sense of fanaticism there are several elements, namely: 1) Extreme enthusiasm, 2) Emotional attachment and love 3) Lasts for a long time, 4) Assuming what they believe is the right thing, 5) Defending and stand up for the truth they believe in.⁷¹ Based on the characteristics, fanaticism is measured based on the following criteria: 1) Less rational, and tends to act by prioritizing emotions. 2) narrow-minded, assuming what they believe

⁶⁹ Rosyid, Maskur. "Kebijakan Pemberantasan Terorisme dalam Tinjauan Maqāshid Al-Sharī'ah." *Al Amin: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu dan Budaya Islam* 4, No. 2 (2021): 322-334. See also Erikha, Fajar, and Any Rufaedah. "Dealing with terrorism in Indonesia: An attempt to deradicalize, disengage and reintegrate terror inmates with a social psychology approach." *Terrorist rehabilitation and community engagement in Malaysia and Southeast Asia*. (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 131-138; Syam, Firdaus, et al. "Narrative and the Politics of Identity: Patterns of the Spread and Acceptance of Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesia." *Religions* 11, No. 6 (2020): 290.

⁷⁰ Nurish, Amanah. "Dari fanatisme ke ekstremisme: Ilusi, kecemasan, dan tindakan kekerasan." *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya* 21, No. 1 (2019): 31-40.

⁷¹ Lesmana, Robby Putra Dwi, and Muhammad Syafiq. "Fanatisme Agama dan Intoleransi Pada Pengguna Media Sosial." *Character: Jurnal Penelitian Psikologi* 9, No. 3 (2022): 36-49.

is the most correct thing, 3) Defending and defending the truth they believe in.

C. Exclusiveness

Literally exclusive is defined as alone, not accompanied by others, separate from the others, standing alone, solely and has nothing to do with the others. In general, exclusivity is an attitude that views Islam's own beliefs, thoughts and self as the most correct, while the beliefs, views, thoughts and principles of other religions are wrong, misguided and must be shunned.⁷² Furthermore, according to Fuadi, there are two characteristics of the Exclusivism group. First, those who apply a literal interpretation model to religious texts. Therefore, exercising *ijtihad* (legal reasoning) is not central in their framework of thinking. Second, they argue that the salvation that can be achieved is through their own (religious) beliefs and teachings.⁷³

An exclusive person is identified by the following characteristics: 1) a tendency to prioritize personal interests over the others. 2) An inclination to avoid activities that connect various people. 3) More apathetic towards the circumstances and conditions that occur around him. 4) A withdrawal from the social circle. 5) Truth claim of his/her own belief.⁷⁴

D. Revolutionary

A revolution is usually a shortcut to achieve radical and fundamental changes for a new civilization. Generally, revolutions are marked by overthrowing a ruling power, yet they are often exercised in a bloody

⁷² Fuadi, Ahmad. "Studi Islam (Islam Eksklusif dan Inklusif)." *Jurnal Wahana Inovasi* 7, No. 2 (2018): 49-55.

⁷³ Fuadi.

⁷⁴ Serafica Gischa Retia Kartika Dewi, "Eksklusivisme: Pengertian, Contoh, Macam, Dan Dampaknya," *KOMPAS*, 2023. Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2023/09/11/163000269/eksklusivisme--pengertian-contoh-macam-dan-dampaknya?page=all>.

way, as a result of violent conflicts generated between the two surviving forces trying to overthrow each other. On the one hand, revolution is needed for quick change, and revolutionary actors are necessary to drive the revolution.

Revolutions are divided into planned and unplanned revolutions. Both can bring about a total change in people's lives in economics, politics, culture, human personality, and so on. Yet, a revolution is generally a quick and unplanned change. Therefore, a revolution always triggers tension or conflict in the initiation. Shortly, based on the concept of revolution, the word revolutionary can be interpreted as a person or group who tends to aspire to a comprehensive and fundamental change.⁷⁵

From a historical perspective, without revolution, the dynamics of society will run slowly. There will also be no historical leaps to build a new civilization in social, economic, political, legal, cultural, science and technology, and religious aspects.⁷⁶ However, change does not always bring positive changes. The revolution led by the Indonesian Communist Party in 1966 actually brought the nation into a socio-political crisis that sacrificed many lives.

A person is declared a revolutionary if he shows an attitude of dissatisfaction with the situation and demands a comprehensive and fundamental change in accordance with the values he believes in by coercion or violence. With regard to Daniel Karella's use of violence, he describes radical discourse as opposing strong ideas and enemies, but radicals often show a keen interest in personal and local issues.⁷⁷

Smith, Blackwood, & Thomas (2019) stated that radicalization is a group socialization process about a norm related to violence or not. The socialization mentioned here means introducing an understanding of whether violence is permissible or not.

⁷⁵ See Close, David. "The meaning of revolution." *Revolution*. (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 1-14; Arjomand, Said Amir. *Revolution: Structure and Meaning in World history*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

⁷⁶ See Miller, George A. "The cognitive revolution: a historical perspective." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 7, No. 3 (2003): 141-144.

⁷⁷ Karella, Daniel, and Michael Freedman. "Rhetorics of radicalism." *American Sociological Review* 84, No. 4 (2019): 726-753.

Based on the four criteria of radicalism, a guideline for a survey of radicalism is formulated through interviews or questionnaires. Interviews were conducted with a small number of respondents. As for a large number of targets, a survey by filling out a questionnaire was conducted. The list of questions or survey questionnaires was compiled based on four criteria for radicalism and their derivatives. This can be described as follows:

TABLE 2. Radicalism Measurement Criteria Model

No	Statement	Scale			
		SA	DA	A	SDA
1	Intolerant				
	a. Not respecting others because of differences in ethnicity/nation/religion/political choices.				
	b. Making fun of other people or groups because of differences in ethnicity/nation/religion/political choices.				
	c. Disturbing or hindering other people or groups from exercising their beliefs and rights				
2	Fanaticism				
	a. Behaving less rationally, and tend to act by prioritizing emotions.				
	b. Short-sighted, assuming that what they believe is the most correct thing, everything else is wrong				
	c. Defending and defending the truth they believe in even though it is wrong.				
3	Exclusive				
	a. prioritizing personal interests over group interests.				
	d. apathy towards the circumstances and conditions that occur around him.				
	e. uphold their opinions and beliefs				
4	Revolutionary				
	a. Dissatisfied with the government and the existing government system				

No	Statement	Scale			
		SA	DA	A	SDA
	b. Demanding a thorough and fundamental change in accordance with the values that are believed.				
	c. Forcing the will by means of violence.				

In this model there are two poles of attitude, namely strongly agree and agree at one pole, called the right pole, dealing with disagree and strongly disagree, called the left pole at the other pole. If the tendency towards the right pole indicates radicalism. While the tendency towards the left pole shows no radicalism.

These two poles of attitude are further broken down into four levels, namely: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A) Disagree (DA) and strongly disagree (SDA). Each option is interpreted as follows: the tendency towards Strongly Agree (SA), means supporting radicalism; tendency to Agree (A) means radical; tendency to Disagree (DA) means not radical; and the tendency to strongly disagree (SDA) means rejecting radicalism. Thus, the result of the measurement for radicalism is obtained through a scientific method. Yet, it would not have binding legal force. Anyone or any party can take or leave it when necessary. This is because the measurement is not based on applicable regulations.

RADICALISM IN LEGAL CONCEPT

From the previous description, it is revealed that radicalism is an inseparable part of terrorism. Therefore, counterterrorism efforts must include countering radicalism. Counterterrorism policy in Indonesia is stipulated in Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018 on the Amendment to Law Number 15 of 2003 on the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 on the Eradication of the Criminal Acts of Terrorism into Law. However, although this law contains the terms radicalism and deradicalization, it does not explain what the measure of radicalism

is. Therefore, for the sake of legal certainty and public protection, it is important to regulate radicalism.

In regulating the measurement of radicalism, this article uses a criminal offense formulation model. That is, by constructing the elements of radicalism in the unity of the regulation formulation. If the formulation of a criminal offense describes the unity of the elements of a criminal offense, namely: There is a subject; there is an element of guilt; the act is against the law; an act that is prohibited or required by law/regulation and against which the offender is punished; in a certain time, place and condition.⁷⁸ Therefore, the formulation of radicalism must also describe the elements or components of the concept of radicalism.

If the concept of criminal offense formulation is to be used as a model for radicalism formulation, then the concept of radicalism must describe an act that meets the elements of radicalism. The question is what are the elements of radicalism? This requires agreement from policy holders, in this case the Government and the House of Representatives, or other authorized institutions. In this article, the author argues that the elements of radicalism are: 1) intolerant of differences in beliefs and choices, not respecting the beliefs and choices of other people or groups; 2) Fanatic about their beliefs or choices, which results in always feeling self-righteous and considering others wrong. 3) Exclusive, separating and distinguishing themselves from the group at large. 4) Revolutionary, wanting a change in life, or government quickly and drastically by means of coercion or violence.

In formulating regulations on the concept of radicalism, the four elements of radicalism are a complementary unity. Failure to meet the four elements of the criteria, one may not be judged as radical. For example, if one shows only intolerance and revolutionary,

⁷⁸ S.R. Sianturi E.Y. Kanter, *Asas-Asas Hukum Pidana di Indonesia dan Penerapannya* (Jakarta: Stora Grafika, 2002). See also Chuasanga, Anirut, and Ong Argo Victoria. "Legal Principles Under Criminal Law in Indonesia Dan Thailand." *Jurnal Daulat Hukum* 2, No. 1 (2019): 131-138; Atmadja, I. Dewa Gede. "Asas-asas hukum dalam sistem hukum." *Kertha Wicaksana* 12, No. 2 (2018): 145-155.

then he/she is only called intolerant or revolutionary, instead of radical. This concept can be explained by the IFER formula, representing Intolerant, Fanatic, Exclusive and Revolutionary. It is illustrated as follows:

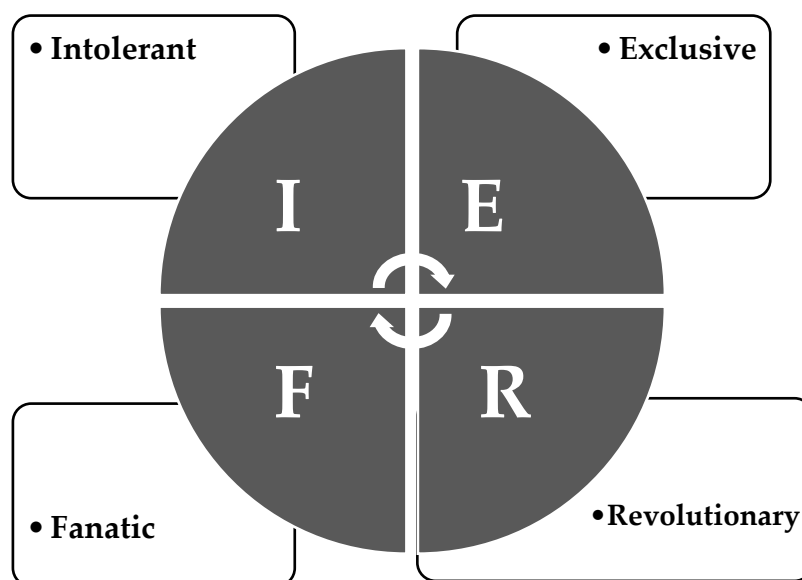


FIGURE 5. Radicalism Formula

Based on this element of radicalism, to judge that a person or group is radical must first be stipulated in a regulation. It is in this regulation that the legal concept of radicalism is formulated. For example, radicalism is an act of someone who reflects intolerance, fanaticism, exclusiveness, and revolutionary. For example, radicalism is a person's actions that reflect intolerance, fanaticism, exclusiveness and revolutionary. Then it is also necessary to formulate an explanation of each of these elements.

Regulations on the concept of radicalism should be included in the amendment to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 2002 concerning Eradication of the Criminal Acts of Terrorism into Law. Because this law already contains the concept of deradicalization. With the inclusion of the concept of

radicalism, the law becomes complete. Because it not only contains about deradicalization, but also contains the concept of radicalism. In addition, with the inclusion of the concept of radicalism in the law, it can be a legal basis in determining that a person or group can be declared as radical. With the regulation on the concept of radicalism, it will ensure a common interpretation and legal certainty about the concept of radicalism.

CONCLUSION

This study concluded and highlighted that to ascertain whether an individual or group can be categorized as radical, a systematic measurement employing specific criteria becomes essential. The proliferation of diverse criteria for radicalism proposed by various experts and institutions has led to a range of interpretations of the term. This article adopts four distinct criteria—intolerant, fanatic, exclusive, and revolutionary—as indicators for measuring radicalism. Practical implementation involves utilizing interviews or surveys, employing instruments aligned with the aforementioned criteria. The outcomes of these measurements are interpreted based on the respondents' tendencies, wherein a strong agreement indicates support for radicalism, agreement implies a radical stance, disagreement signifies a lack of radical tendencies, and strong disagreement indicates a rejection of radicalism. In order to establish a consistent understanding of radicalism and ensure legal clarity in its measurement, it becomes imperative to codify the definition of radicalism. This article employs a criminal offense model to formulate the legal concept of radicalism. Consequently, for an individual or group to be officially declared as radical, they must meet the stipulated elements of radicalism within the regulatory framework, specifically pertaining to being intolerant, fanatical, exclusive, and revolutionary. This approach not only provides a structured and standardized basis for measuring radicalism but also contributes to legal certainty in identifying and addressing radical individuals or groups within the defined parameters.

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