The implementation of the pentahelix model for the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia

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Abstract: The policy of countering terrorism in Indonesia is carried out through hard power (namely law enforcement) and soft power (in the form of counter-radicalism and de-radicalization). The deradicalization program of terrorism carried out by the Indonesian government, especially the National Counterterrorism Agency, has been running less than optimally, with indicators of the many acts of terrorism occurring in Indonesian territory. This study aims to analyze the implementation of the pentahelix model in the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia, which involves five parties, namely academics, business, community, government, and the media (ABCGM). The research method used is descriptive qualitative method, with data interview techniques in the form of interviews and literature studies. The results showed that the less than optimal de-radicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia was caused by the absence of business actors (business community) and the media. So far, only the government, academia, and society have been involved, even though important business groups are involved in providing funds through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) to former terrorists for business capital, while the media is also very important in creating anti-radicalism and anti-terrorism narratives in print, electronic, online, and social media. The conclusion is that the pentahelix model is very suitable to be applied in the...
deradicalization program. Therefore, this study provides suggestions for implementing the pentahelix model in the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia.

Subjects: politics; policy; government; security; transnational crime

Keywords: Pentahelix model; deradicalization; terrorism; collaborative governance

1. Introduction
Terrorism has become a global issue since the tragedy of the WTC and the Pentagon, 11 September 2001. The issue of terrorism has become a global threat to every country that is dangerous to the security of every country and international security (Kawser. et al., 2018). All countries in the world strive to create global terrorism by making rules that are expected to be able to tackle acts of terrorism (Eitan. et al., 2015). One of the countries in the world that is actively struggling to eradicate acts of terrorism is Indonesia. As a country that experienced acts of terrorism for the first time in the tragedy of the Jakarta Stock Exchange Bombing in 2000, Bali Bombing I in 2002 and Bali Bombing II in 2005 since the reform era, Indonesia has handled acts of terrorism through the Order of the National Counterterrorism Agency. The Indonesian government believes that in addition to the law enforcement process, efforts to prevent acts of terrorism are also needed (Zuhri, 2017). Terrorism is born from the seeds of intolerance that occurs in individuals and groups in society, resulting in radical behavior in seeing every difference and every different statement, especially religious beliefs. This radicalism is manifested in the form of acts of terrorism based on certain basic beliefs and religions.

Realizing that tackling terrorism cannot only be from the downstream, but must be from the upstream, the Indonesian government has made policies and programs for deradicalization of terrorism which have been carried out since 2008, where in addition to the hard power approach (law enforcement), prevention efforts are carried out through soft power, namely counter radicalism and deradicalization. The hard power approach through law enforcement by hunting, arresting, detaining and imprisoning the perpetrators of terrorism committed by the Indonesian Police, especially the Special Detachment 88/Anti Terror, since 2000 has been unable to deter terrorists and has been unable to prevent acts of terrorism in the region. Indonesia. Therefore, in 2008, the Indonesian government ordered the National Counterterrorism Agency to adopt a soft power approach through the deradicalization program, which received funding assistance from the United States government.

The deradicalization program is carried out at the stage before the correctional facility, during the correctional facility, and after the correctional institution. The targets of the deradicalization program are suspects, accused, convicted terrorists, terrorist convicts, former terrorists, former terrorist convicts, their families and their networks. The process of implementing the deradicalization program for terrorism suspects, defendants, convicts and convicts of terrorism is carried out through several stages, namely identification, rehabilitation, re-education, and social reintegration. Meanwhile, the deradicalization program for ex-convicts, former terrorists, their families, and their networks exposed to the radicalism of terrorism is carried out through the stages of national insight development/nationalism/state defense/patriotism values (political ideology approach), religious insight development (religious approach), and entrepreneurship development (economic approach).

However, since the deradicalisation program was launched 13 years ago, acts of terrorism in Indonesian territory are still frequent. From 2008 to 2020, there have been 367 cases of terrorism, of which 1,325 have been arrested, 123 were sentenced to death, 819 are serving sentences in prisons, and 196 have been released from punishment. Of these terrorism actors, there are 104 former terrorism convicts who did not deter their actions and committed acts of terrorism after being released from correctional institutions (Jerry. & Aji, 2019). These data show that the deradicalization program in prisons has not been optimal. Coupled with the fact that there are
still many families and terrorist networks in the community who reject the deradicalization program, behave in a closed manner with neighbors, do not want to associate with their environment, and reject the presence of law enforcement officials, so they have the potential to be exposed to radical ideology and even spread radical ideas to friends, neighbors, relatives, and the surrounding environment (Hermastuti, 2016). This can be emphasized that the deradicalization program outside of prisons has failed.

On the basis of these real conditions, it can be said that the deradicalization program carried out by the Indonesian Government, under the National Counterterrorism Agency, has failed. The research question posed is: Why did the terrorism deradicalisation program launched by the National Counterterrorism Agency fail? There have been many studies and studies conducted by several researchers and academics on the deradicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia, such as highlighting the failure of the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia due to limited budget allocations (Isnanto, 2015), weak legal rules (Bakti, 2016), a method that is conventional (Bakti, 2014), and the performance of the National Counterterrorism Agency which is still weak (Larasati, 2014), the struggle of interests between the Indonesian National Army and the Indonesian Police (Choiruzzad & Banna, 2013), weak civil society support (Hikam, 2016) and a lack of community support below (Hwang, 2018). However, so far no one has discussed the failure of the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia with the involvement of five parties in the pentahelix collaboration model (academia, business, community, government, media, ABCGM). Therefore, research is needed on the implementation of the pentahelix model in the deradicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia, so that it will produce novelty and authentication of the results of this research, which has not been researched by anyone.

2. Theoretical framework
In analyzing the problem of this research, a theoretical conceptual framework was established as a measured, systematic, and objective analysis knife to map, explain, and project forward deradicalization policies and programs carried out by the Indonesian government. The theoretical conceptual framework used is the pentahelix model, collaborative governance theory, and the concept of deradicalization.

The pentahelix model is synergy and collaboration between parties in the implementation of programs and activities so that they are in line with expectations, are in line with goals, and achieve targets previously set (Kirke et al., 2012, p. 3). The pentahelix model, which was initially widely used in analyzing economic, management, development and tourism issues, has become an analytical framework on political, social, cultural, environmental, defense and security issues (Halibas et al., 2017, p. 14). The pentahelix model is a collaboration between five parties or actors, namely Academic, Business, Community, Government, and Media (ABCGM) (Lindmark, Sturesson & Roos, 2009, p. 24). The key to the success of a policy is largely determined by synergy and collaboration between stakeholders (Colin & Colapinto, 2012, p. 344). Communication between parties will be able to accelerate an activity. Coordination between actors will improve the quality of a program being implemented (Jaki & Spelman, 1994, p. 135). The pentahelix model offers five-party cooperation and partnership that will determine the success of implemented policies, by involving the academic world (lecturers, researchers, analysts), the business community (business actors, business groups, entrepreneurs), the community (community leaders, religious leaders, youth, community organizations, NGO’s), government (ministries, government agencies, bureaucracy, law enforcement officers) and the media (journalists, reporters, presenters) (Freeman, 1984, p. 25). In its application, the pentahelix model is expected to be able to accelerate the deradicalization programs and activities currently implemented by the government, with its spearhead being the National Counterterrorism Agency. The pentahelix model can be described as follows:

This pentahelix model (Figure 1) can be implemented in a political system and government system that promotes collaboration. The pentahelix model cannot be realized in an authoritarian
country, a totalitarian state, and a militaristic state. The pentahelix model when applied requires government actors who prioritize collaborative governance, uphold partnerships, and uphold cooperation. Collaborative governance is a space that can create pentahelix partnerships in dealing with the de-radicalization of terrorism in Indonesia. Therefore, it will also explain the analytical framework of collaborative governance theory in analyzing the deradicalization of terrorism in Indonesia.

The theory of collaborative governance states that governance currently puts forward a new paradigm of collaboration, where all government policies will run effectively if cooperation, partnership and synergy are carried out between related parties (Chris. & Gash, 2007, p. 544). The implementation of government policies will not be successful if they do not get support, assistance and participation from the community, social groups and the business world. Collaboration between actors involved in governance is a must so that all programs and activities are in line with expectations (Donahue, 2004, p. 9). Communication and coordination is the key for the government to form partnerships with all parties involved in a particular issue or problem (Chris. & Gash, 2009, p. 7). Collaboration is carried out not only when making decisions/policies, but also at the stage of implementing policies/decisions and evaluating policies/decisions. One tangible manifestation of collaborative governance implementation is the pentahelix collaboration model in the implementation of the deradicalization program carried out by the Indonesian government, which is the focus of this research. Thus, we will briefly review the concept of deradicalization so that there is one perception and one perspective in viewing radicalism and terrorism as well as the current deradicalization program in Indonesia.

The concept of deradicalization is an effort to eradicate and eliminate radical teachings in a person by cultivating an understanding of religious values that is inclusive, friendly, moderate, and peaceful in the framework of diversity and pluralism, so that all religions are willing to accept any differences fairly. Radicalism is a process when an individual is introduced to a certain world view that is considered radical, harsh, or extreme. That is, radicalism has a tendency to use violent instruments as a permissible way to achieve certain goals (Anne. & Striegher, 2012). Mitchell D. Silber & Arvin Bhatt emphasized that the process of radicalism was formed through four stages, namely pre-radicalization, self-identification, indoctrination, and jihadization. Pre-radicalization is the initial radicalization process which describes
the condition of the related individuals before becoming hardline terrorists. Self-identification is defined as the stage when an individual begins to be exposed to radical understandings and teachings that make the individual reinterpret religious values differently. Indoctrination is the moment when the person concerned begins to believe that the behavior and actions of jihad are justified in realizing the goals that are on the group’s agenda. Jihadization is the final stage in which the individual has entered into the execution of terror and the perpetrator of terror, so that his identity becomes a “religious holy warrior”.

There are two factors that support the radicalization process, namely external factors in the context of the political, economic, social, cultural environment, such as political injustice, discriminatory government policies, social inequality, income inequality, economic poverty, and ignorance in society. Meanwhile, the internal factor, namely religion which is based on the interpretation of the Islamic teaching text, the belief to fight for Islam, and the assumption that jihad through violence is the duty of every Muslim. It is this wrong interpretation of religious values that has the potential to give birth to radical behavior which, if not prevented, will result in acts of terrorism (Lemieux, 2016). Hikam (2017) states that deradicalization means two things, namely Disengagement and Deidelogization. The meaning of Disengagement is trying to break or separate a radical understanding of oneself and return to moderate thinking so that it will stay away from acts of terrorism. Disengagement is an effort and process to release or abandon the values, norms, attitudes, behaviors and aspirations instilled during a person as a member of a terrorist group. Disengagement is said to be successful with indicators if someone hates and even condemns the values and norms previously held with the terrorist group. Meanwhile, the meaning of Deidelogization is an effort to eliminate radical ideology in a person and instill moderate values that are tolerant, open, and peaceful. Deidelogization is a process carried out to eliminate, destroy, and eliminate values and norms as well as radical behavior inherent in a person. At the same time, efforts are made to include, internalize, and instill humanist, pluralist, modernist, and civilized values, attitudes, behaviors and actions in someone who is trapped in radical behavior and has committed acts of terror. That way, deradicalization will be successful if it includes disengagement and deidelogization activities.

In this context, the deradicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia, if it uses the pentahelix model, will be able to accommodate two important activities in deradicalization, namely Disengagement and Deidelogization, supported by the current Indonesian political and governmental system which emphasizes an atmosphere of collaborative governance.

3. Research methods
This research uses qualitative methods that are descriptive. Qualitative research emphasizes the meaning behind numbers, the meaning behind the data, and the meaning behind events, where data is narrated in the form of words, sentences, and narratives that are systematically arranged to form a construction that relates to one fact to another (Creswell, 2010). Descriptive means that this study describes, narrates, and analyzes events that are as they are, objective, and informative so that the actual facts and data will be described for the sake of the validity of the analysis in this study (Moleong, 2007). In this regard, qualitative research is expected to be able to narrate the deradicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia and be able to explain the causes of the failure of the terrorism deradicalization program that has been implemented by the National Counterterrorism Agency.

Data collection techniques were carried out using indepth interview techniques and literature studies. The indepth interview technique was carried out on informants who were taken by purposive sampling, especially to government parties, in this case the National Counterterrorism Agency, which has become the spearhead of the de-radicalization program in Indonesia. Informants from the National Counter-Terrorism Agency are the Director of Deradicalization, Irfan Idris and the Head of the Sub-Directorate for Counter-Propaganda and Deradicalization, Dadang Hendra Yudha. The questions posed to these two informants are related to how the deradicalization program has been carried out by the National Counterterrorism Agency? Why did the deradicalization program fail? And to confirm whether the failure was caused by the absence of business actors (business groups) and the media community?
Other informants assigned were informants in the pentohelix (ABCGM) model, namely A.S. Hikam (Academic element), Rosan Perkasa Roeslani (business element), Said Agil Siradj (Community element), Bahtiar (government element), Arief Suditomo (media element). The question that was addressed by the five informants was whether they were involved in the terrorism deradicalization program? What forms of involvement are carried out in supporting the deradicalisation of terrorism program? And has the terrorism deradicalization program carried out so far been effective?

Informants who were interviewed in depth were key informants involved in the terrorism deradicalization program and informants who had the competence and capacity in de-radicalization issues in Indonesia, which will be described in more detail in the following table 1.

| Number | Name                           | Position                                                                 | Element                         |
|--------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1      | Irfan Idris                    | Director of Deradicalization of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency     | the National Counter-Terrorism Agency |
| 2      | Dadang Hendra Yudha            | Head of Sub-Directorate for Counter-Propaganda and Deradicalization of the National Counter-terrorism Agency | the National Counter-Terrorism Agency |
| 3      | A.S. Hikam                     | Lecture & Researcher at President University                             | Academic                        |
| 4      | Rosan Perkasa Roeslani         | Chairman of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry              | Business                        |
| 5      | Said Agil Siradj               | Chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board                          | Community                       |
| 6      | Bahtiar                        | Director General of Politics and General Government of the Ministry of Home Affairs | Government                      |
| 7      | Arief Suditomo                 | Chief Editor of Metro TV                                                 | Media                           |

Note: All informants are willing to give their names and opinions in the interview process and activities presented in the manuscript of this article.

Literature studies are carried out by collecting, sorting, selecting, and analyzing various literatures, such as books, journals, internet websites, and official documents issued by the government and other related parties (Strauss & Corbin, 2003). Qualitative data processing and analysis techniques are used by data reduction, data display, and data verification (Matthew. & Huberman, 2005). The literature collected includes data on the number of acts of terrorism, the number of terrorists, the number of radical organizations, the target of deradicalization, the number of deradicalization participants, the amount of deradicalization financing budget, and the parties involved in implementing the deradicalization program in Indonesia.

4. Findings

4.1. The development of radicalism in Indonesia
The development of radical Islam in Indonesia has existed since the era of colonialism and imperialism, which was born and crystallized due to the suffering of political isolation, the cruelty of Western colonialism, and the domination of the West in controlling natural resources. The radical Islamic movement originated from the Islamic movement in the Middle East, which was brought by Wahabi and salafi groups to Indonesia which caused sympathy for the same suffering between the people of Indonesia and the Middle East which were colonized by colonial nations (Ratnasari, 2020). At present, in Indonesia there are 4 radical Islamic groups, namely Wahabi, salafi, jihadi, and takfiri, all of which exist in several socio-religious organizations and are also
affiliated with certain political parties (Febriyan, 2019). From a series of terrorism cases in Indonesia from 2000 to the present, the perpetrators of terror are part of the four radical groups.

There are three kinds of radical understanding in Indonesia, namely radicalism in belief, action and politics. Radicalism holds the view that other people or other groups are infidels and will go to hell except for the group. Radicalism in action is a group that always justifies all means, including the law of killing in the name of religion. Politically radicalism is a group that wants to replace the ideology of the Indonesian State, Pancasila, with the ideology of the caliphate. Politically radicalism is the most dominant group in Indonesia, making Indonesia a country that is in an emergency situation for radicalism (Ridwan, 2019). There are 4% or around 9 million Indonesians who have a radical understanding and are ready to be invited to carry out acts of terror targeting government officials, law enforcement officials, and Westerners. In addition, there are 11.4 million or 7.1% of people who are prone to being influenced by radicalism and there are also around 54% of people who have an attitude of intolerance or do not accept differences (Zuraya, 2020).

In Indonesia, there are many radical groups that have the potential to be influenced to become potential terrorists, so they are very vulnerable to endangering public security and safety. This radical group has links to international terrorism networks, such as Al Qaeda and ISIS. There are 16 Indonesian radical groups sworn in by the ISIS leader and 3 radical groups that were not sworn in by the ISIS leader, but supported ISIS (Hidayat, 2015), as shown in the following Table 2.

| Number | Radical Group Name                           |
|--------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1      | Mujahideen Indonesia Barat                   |
| 2      | Mujahideen Indonesia Timur                   |
| 3      | Jamaah Tawhid Wal Jihad                     |
| 4      | Forum Aktivis Syariah Islam                 |
| 5      | Pendukung dan Pembela Daulah                |
| 6      | Gerakan Reformasi Islam                     |
| 7      | Asybal Tawhid Indonesia                     |
| 8      | Kongres Umat Islam Bekasi                   |
| 9      | Umat Islam Nusantara                        |
| 10     | Ikhwan Muwahid Indunisy Fie                 |
| 11     | Jazirah Al-Muluk Ambon                      |
| 12     | Ansharul Kilafah Jawa Timur                 |
| 13     | Gerakan Tawhid Lamongan                     |
| 14     | Khilafatul Muslimin                         |
| 15     | Laskar Jundullah                            |
| 16     | DKM Masjid Al Fataa                         |
|        | Radical Groups Supporting ISIS              |
| 1      | RING Banten                                 |
| 2      | Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid                      |
| 3      | Halawwi Makmun Group                        |

Source: (Hidayat, 2015)
Apart from radical groups that have links to ISIS, there are also radical Islamic groups that are not related to ISIS, but their teachings, attitudes, and actions are radical and many of their members are involved in terrorism cases in Indonesia in the reform era, some of which are related to networks. international terrorist, Al Qaeda, that is: Forum Komunikasi Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah (FKASWJ) along with its military wing Laskar Jihad (LJ), Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) (Hiariej, 2014).

4.2. The terrorism deradicalization program of the National Counterterrorism Agency

The deradicalization program is the Indonesian government’s policy to prevent acts of terrorism through a soft power approach, which has been held since 2008, and is legally strengthened through Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Crime of Terrorism and is specifically regulated in Government Regulation Number 77 of 2019 concerning Prevention of Terrorism and Protection of Investigators, Public Prosecutors, Judges and Correctional Officers. The deradicalization program is a method to change the understanding, beliefs, and mindset of a person who has been exposed to radicalism and the ideology of terrorism to become more moderate, open-minded, and behaves appropriately normally (El-Said, 2015). The hope is that after going through the deradicalization program, there is no desire to return to radical groups and do not want to carry out acts of terrorism, it can even be a funnel to bring a message of peace and moderate values in society (Kohler, 2017).

In carrying out the deradicalization program, the government agency that directly handles is the National Counterterrorism Agency. So far, the National Counterterrorism Agency has focused on the deradicalization program through 3 stages, namely before being in a correctional facility, while in a correctional facility, and after leaving the correctional facility.

In the pre-prison stage, the deradicalization program was carried out for terrorism suspects, defendants and convicted people while they were still being investigated by police investigators, prosecution by the public prosecutor, and court proceedings by judges. Indeed, there are those who reject the deradicalization program and find it difficult to accept the deradicalization program, so that it takes strong efforts for officers to approach and persuade them to accept and participate in the deradicalization program. Data for 2020 shows that the National Counterterrorism Agency has carried out a deradicalization program for 244 suspects, defendants and convicts, with details in the following table 3.

| Number | Category | Total |
|--------|----------|-------|
| 1      | Suspect  | 125   |
| 2      | Defendant| 93    |
| 3      | Convict  | 26    |
| Total  |          | 244   |

Source: The Indonesian Police, 2020

At the stage during his time in prisons, the deradicalization program is directed at convicts of terrorism, both prisoners who are sentenced to death, sentenced to life, or sentenced within a certain period of time. Terrorism convicts with the death penalty and life sentence are very difficult to accept the deradicalization program because they have no hope of living freely or have been exposed to deep radical ideology, including terrorism figures who are considered leaders of terrorism groups to be reluctant to accept the deradicalization program. This deradicalization program in prisons was carried out so that they realized that they had made a mistake in understanding religious values and also aimed not to influence other general inmates to become part of the group. Data for 2020 shows that the National Counterterrorism Agency has implemented
a deradicalization program based on the level of exposure to radicalism, which is divided into the following 4 levels:

In the phase after leaving the prison, the deradicalization program carried out by the National Counterterrorism Agency is directed at the targets of former terrorist convicts, former terrorists, terrorist families, and terrorist networks. Former terrorist convicts, after being released from punishment, return to the community and a deradicalization program is carried out through mentoring, monitoring and surveillance mechanisms in order to ensure that these former terrorist convicts are aware, do not return to their old groups, and live normally in the community. Former terrorists are members of terrorist groups who have not committed acts of terrorism, but have regained consciousness and returned to normal life, which are also embraced in the joint de-radicalization program with terrorist families and terrorist networks, so as not to be influenced by radicalism and realize that radicalism is incompatible with true Islamic religious values. This deradicalization program outside of prisons or in the midst of society is certainly not easy because there are terrorist families who reject it and there are also networks that oppose and even fight back. Data for 2020 shows the number of former terrorist convicts, former terrorists, terrorist families and terrorist networks, who are included in the deradicalization program, as follows:

To support the deradicalisation program by the National Counterterrorism Agency, the Indonesian government has allocated a large budget so that the deradicalization program runs as expected. The Indonesian government realizes that the deradicalization program requires a large budget and with a big goal as well, namely to free Indonesia from the threat of radicalism and acts of terrorism. The government’s commitment to carrying out a terrorism deradicalization program is reflected in the annual budget allocation which can be seen in the following Table 4 and 5.

| Number | Level | Information | Total |
|--------|-------|-------------|-------|
| 1      | Level I | Don’t want to be met, don’t want to cooperate with the government | 50    |
| 2      | Level II | Willing to be met, Not willing to join the program. Still strong in his ideological stance | 63    |
| 3      | Level III | Willing to be met, Willing to open up and join the program, Not wanting to invite his friends | 85    |
| 4      | Level IV | Willing to be met, Willing to join the program, Willing to invite his friends, Willing to transform the understanding he has received to his family and network, Already adapting a peaceful and tolerant understanding | 43    |
|        | Total   |             | 241   |

Source: The Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, Security Affairs, Indonesia, 2020

| Number | Category         | Total |
|--------|------------------|-------|
| 1      | Former Terrorism Prisoners | 183   |
| 2      | Former Terrorists | 84    |
| 3      | Terrorists Family | 107   |
| 4      | Terrorists Network | 71    |
|        | Total            | 478   |

Source: National Counter Terrorism Agency, Indonesia, 2020
However, the terrorism deradicalization program carried out by the National Counterterrorism Agency since 13 years ago with a large budget and strong government support failed. Evidence to support that the deradicalisation program of terrorism has failed is that there were still rampant acts of terrorism that occurred in Indonesia from 2015 to 2020. The budget allocation for the deradicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia, which is very fluctuating as in Table 6, is due to the fluctuating condition of the Indonesian economy in the last five years, plus the budget changes in 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This fluctuating budget condition also causes the deradicalization program of terrorism to be unable to involve many related parties, resulting in failure.

Table 6. The National Counterterrorism Agency Budget

| Number | Year | Total         |
|--------|------|--------------|
| 1      | 2015 | Rp. 293,7 billion |
| 2      | 2016 | Rp. 650,6 billion |
| 3      | 2017 | Rp. 715,9 billion |
| 4      | 2018 | Rp. 501,0 billion |
| 5      | 2019 | Rp. 699,6 billion |
| 6      | 2020 | Rp. 460,2 billion |

Source: Ministry of Finance, Indonesia, 2020

Coupled with that is still an attitude of intolerance in society, especially the younger generation, and radical behavior that does not accept differences, and tends to justify all means in the name of religion. The perpetrators of the acts of terror who were arrested turned out to be some of the old terrorists or former terrorism recidivists, their families and their networks, because they were taking revenge on the deaths of their relatives and friends who were shot dead by the Special Detachment 88 Anti-Terror Police. There are also those who have completed the deradicalization program of terrorism, but they have disappeared and are presumably returning to their old groups to carry out acts of terror.

The terrorists who carried out acts of terrorism for the second time after they left the prison and after participating in the deradicalization program were supported by the results of an interview with Irfan Idris, Director of Deradicalization of the National Counterterrorism Agency, as follows:

On 13 November 2016 there was an act of terrorism at the Ecumenical Church, Samarinda, East Kalimantan Province, where the perpetrator was Juhanda alias Muhammad Aceng Kurnia. The perpetrator of terrorism is a former terrorist convict in the terror bomb case at the Research Center for Science and Technology, Tangerang, Banten Province, in 2011. The person concerned has been imprisoned for 3.5 years since 2012 and is on parole after receiving remission on the 28th. July 2014. While in prison, he received a deradicalization program, but after leaving prison, he actually committed acts of terror. There are indeed many incidents like this where after leaving prison, they are not deterred, and instead carry out repeated acts of terrorism (November 2020).

Some others feel hopeless because they are in the community, but their future is unclear considering they do not have a job or do not have business capital to meet the necessities of life for themselves and their families so that they return to their old networks. The increasing need for life, poor living conditions, and inadequate work after leaving prison have made it easy for them to be persuaded and seduced by their old networks, which, in fact, promises even more lucrative and promising material (Haritz. Abu, 2017). Some others, after participating in the deradicalization program of terrorism, were treated to narratives of intolerance, radicalism, terrorism, and anti-government and anti-Western hate speech, which were obtained through social media and
internet websites, so that what initially had returned to moderate thinking turned back to a radical understanding that leads to the ideology of terrorism (Nasution, 2017).

Seeing this fact, the failure of the terrorism deradicalization program by the National Counterterrorism Agency is due to the fact that the parties involved in the terrorism deradicalization program are still very limited. The National Counterterrorism Agency only involves elements of the government (central and local governments), academics (universities), and the community (religious leaders, community leaders, socio-religious organizations, NGO’s). It is not wrong to involve the government, academics and the public, because personnel from these elements are very competent and have worked hard in the terrorism deradicalization program so far. However, it requires the involvement of the business community and the media in the terrorism deradicalization program.

In connection with the parties involved in the deradicalization program of terrorism by the National Counterterrorism Agency which only involved elements of the government, academics, and society, it was confirmed from the results of an interview with Dadang Hendra Yudha, Head of the Sub-Directorate for Counter-Propaganda and Deradicalization of the National Counterterrorism Agency, as follows:

The involvement of all parties in the de-radicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia is a commitment of the government and the National Counterterrorism Agency. For the initial stage, the government will take and involve groups of academics and civil society to help the government accelerate the deradicalization program. Academics are considered to have scientific competence in assisting deradicalization programs and civil society, especially religious leaders and religious organizations who have religious competence in providing awareness to terrorism convicts to return to the right path in religion. For the next stage, if deemed necessary, the involvement of other parties is very wide open, as long as it is able to support the success of the deradicalization program in Indonesia (November 2020).

The National Counterterrorism Agency acknowledged that those involved in the deradicalization program were only limited to the government, academics and civil society. The involvement of academics and civil society has not been optimally empowered so that the deradicalization program has failed in Indonesia. To confirm his involvement in the deradicalisation program of terrorism, in-depth interviews were conducted with academics represented by the A.S. Hikam, a terrorism expert from President University, is as follows:

Academics are involved in the de-radicalization program in Indonesia, especially terrorism lecturers and researchers as well as psychologists from various well-known universities in Indonesia. They are involved in the process of research, study, and assistance to terrorism convicts in prisons to provide correct understanding and conduct religious moderation and correct interpretation of their religious teachings. However, the involvement of these academics is still not fully optimal and has not been massive so that the deradicalization program has failed. The involvement of business groups and the media community is indeed important to overcome the problem of terrorism, especially from upstream to downstream (October 2020).

Apart from academics, the parties involved have been civil society, which consists of religious leaders, community leaders, and religious organizations, which have a dominant influence in society. As for knowing the involvement of civil society in the deradicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia, confirmation was carried out through an in-depth interview with Said Agil Siradj, Chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board, the essence of his statement is set out in the following quote:

The de-radicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia, which has been carried out by the National Counterterrorism Agency, must be supported because the goal is that the former terrorists and former convicts of terrorism after serving their sentences and return to society will no longer repeat their actions and not attempt to commit acts of terror again. In fact,
the government has also turned former terrorists into anti-terrorism figures who have always provided enlightenment about the dangers of terrorism and radicalism, such as Nasir Abas, Leader of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), and Sofyan Tsauri, a former police officer who joined Jamaah Anshorut Daulah (JAD). They both realized and repent ed to return to the right path and are currently being used as funnels in promoting tolerant religious teachings. However, indeed the deradicalization program did not run smoothly because many former terrorists joined the deradicalization program but instead joined back to their old terrorist organizations and returned to terrorizing for economic reasons as well as influence on social media. It is at this point that the involvement of business groups and the media is also needed (October 2020).

Efforts to involve the business community and the media are very reasonable considering that after leaving prisons, these former terrorism convicts need security of decent living, work according to their expertise, and can provide for their relatively poor families, so they need business capital, job security, and opening up jobs, which of course requires the participation and involvement of the business community through its CSR funds. In addition, these former terrorism convicts, after leaving prisons, still easily access radicalism narratives on social media which encourage them to return to their old networks, so the involvement of the media is needed to build narratives of peace and pluralism on various social media and internet websites.

The government, as the person in charge of the terrorism deradicalization program, also supports it if the business groups and the media community are involved in the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia. For the government, it is time for all parties that are considered to be contributing to and support the deradicalization program of terrorism, considering that terrorism is an enemy of the state and an enemy of humanity as well as a common enemy. This is reflected in the following interview with Bahtiar, Director General of Politics and Public Administration of the Ministry of Home Affairs:

There are many facts that show on the ground that the former terrorists who have served their sentences in prisons and followed the deradicalization program have not yet realized and joined the terrorism network again, indicating that the deradicalization program must be evaluated. On average, they re-enter into terrorism because of the problems of living necessities, do not get jobs, and want to support their families but do not have business capital. As a result, they easily re-enter their old networks, even more so provoked by social media that leads to radicalism and terrorism. The involvement of business groups is very important to assist these former terrorists in getting decent jobs through business capital assistance and also obtaining comprehensive and objective digital literacy in cyberspace from the media community (November 2020).

Thus, in order for the deradicalization program of terrorism carried out by the National Counterterrorism Agency to succeed as expected, participation, involvement, collaboration and synergy between academia, business, community, government and media (ABCGM) is needed. The combination of these five parties will certainly be able to create the success of the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia because it will complement and solve the problems of intolerance, radicalism and terrorism from upstream to downstream, considering that the roots of terrorism are poverty, unemployment and inequality. This collaboration model is known as the pentahelix model.

4.3. The implementation of the pentahelix model

The failure of the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia was caused by the exclusion of business groups and the media community, so that the implementation of the terrorism deradicalization program was not complete from upstream to downstream. So far, only the government, academics and the public have been involved, without involving business groups and the media. Therefore, it is necessary to expand the parties involved in the de-radicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia into five parties, namely the government, academia, civil society, business groups and the media. These five parties are called the pentahelix model. The pentahelix model is
a model of collaboration, synergy and coordination between the government and academics, business, society, media to support and complement each other in implementing programs and activities, in this case, programs and activities for deradicalization of terrorism which have been held by the National Counterterrorism Agency.

The implementation of the pentahelix model in the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia is very important considering that the government cannot work alone, but requires assistance, participation and support from all related parties. In the terrorism deradicalization program, the related parties are the government which is the maker of policies and programs for deradicalization of terrorism so that it has strong authority, strength and justification, where the government has a kind of political power. The government needs to be supported by academics who have knowledge power where all theories, concepts, and various studies on radicalism and terrorism exist in the world of higher education, which of course lecturers, researchers, and experts in the academic world can support the terrorism deradicalization program. The community has public power in the community where religious leaders, NGO’s activists and socio-religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah can contribute to the deradicalization program of terrorism. Business groups have economic power in the form of funds and CSR budgets to finance various business activities, venture capital, and training to become entrepreneurship for former convicts of terrorism to ensure their future in society so as not to fall into poverty and become unemployed because they will easily enter the network again. terrorism. Media is information power, where media crews can be collaborated to contribute by creating narratives in mainstream media and social media in the form of writings, stories and testimonials in photo, caricature, comics, and videos that contain the values of peace, social harmony, harmony between religious community, so that it will give birth to positive public opinion for the community, which in turn can ward off the seeds of radicalism and terrorism. The following is a table of actors involved in the deradicalisation program of terrorism based on the pentahelix model (Table 7).

| Number | Element | Actors | Power |
|--------|---------|--------|-------|
| 1      | Government | Central Government Local Government | Political Power (Parties with political, legal and security powers in carrying out the terrorism deradicalization program) |
| 2      | Academic | Lectures Researcher | Knowledge Power (Parties who have the power of knowledge, theories, concepts and studies that support the terrorism deradicalization program) |
| 3      | Community | Religious Leaders NGO's Religious Organizations | Public Power (Parties who have the power and legitimacy of the public in the community to encourage the deradicalization program of terrorism) |
| 4      | Business | Entrepreneur Conglomerate Businessmen Industry Players | Economic Power (Parties who have the economic power, funds and capital to support the terrorism deradicalization program) |
| 5      | Media | Journalist Press Editor You tubers Vlogger Content Creator | Information Power (Parties who have the power of information, news, and narratives in the real world and cyberspace so as to support the deradicalization program of terrorism) |

Ideally, the actors/parties involved in the deradicalization program are five parties as stated in the pentahelix model so that they can complement each other, support each other, and synergize each other from upstream to downstream of the deradicalization program, both before in the correctional institution, during the prison, and after leaving from the correctional facility. The five actors in this pentahelix model have their respective roles in the terrorism deradicalization program according to their respective expertise, skills and competencies, so that their duties,
responsibilities, and roles will not overlap with one another, instead they will be synergistic, comprehensive, and collaboratively handle and implement terrorism deradicalisation programs.

The government in which there is a central government as well as local governments formulate programs and activities needed to prevent radicalism and terrorism through the National Counterterrorism Agency. The Police of the Republic of Indonesia and the Attorney General’s Office of the Republic of Indonesia provide various data, facts, information and facilities for de-radicalization programs to terrorism suspects, defendants and convicts. The Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia provides facilities, support, and data so that the terrorism deradicalization program in prisons can run intensively. The Regional Government helps to collect data, map, supervise and monitor former terrorism convicts, former terrorists, terrorist families, and their networks through Rukung Tetangga and Rukun Warga in the community. The Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education strive to carry out peace, tolerance and pluralism education in elementary, middle and high schools as well as in universities so that anti-radicalism thoughts can be realized among the younger generation.

Academics in higher education contribute to assisting the government in implementing the deradicalization program through studies, research and analysis on intolerance, radicalism and terrorism, as well as creating anti-radicalism campaigns and movements among students. Psychologists are directed to analyze the psychological, mental and personality aspects of a terrorist. Nationalism experts can map the levels of nationalism and patriotism of terrorism, terrorism experts analyze and map terrorism networks from historical, sociological, ideological, cultural and anthropological aspects. Public policy experts are directed to assist in evaluating and monitoring the terrorism deradicalization program on an ongoing basis.

The role of the civil society community is very much needed to support all terrorism deradicalization programs because without the help of civil society, the terrorism deradicalization program will experience obstacles. Religious leaders are collaborating to provide enlightenment and understanding of true, moderate and pluralistic religions to terrorists. Religious leaders are asked to play a role in promoting the values of peace and inviting the terrorists to discuss religious knowledge in the hope that the terrorists can return to the right religious path. Socio-religious organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhamadiyah have a role to urge, invite and guide terrorists to change their mindset, paradigm, and moderate mindset and leave hard, radical, and fundamentalism teachings. NGO’s peace activists have a role to provide guidance, training, counseling, and advocacy to former terrorism convicts to live a normal life. The former terrorists who are aware can be used as a tool to assist the deradicalisation program of terrorism because it is hoped that if the person inviting is their own friend, they will most likely want to join the deradicalization program and return to their awareness of the path of moderate religious values.

Business groups are business actors, entrepreneurs, industrialists, and start-up companies that have a very strategic role in providing business capital to former terrorist convicts, their families and networks, such as working capital for workshops, trading businesses, and other entrepreneurs. The entrepreneur community can also contribute to providing CSR funds for entrepreneurship training, micro, small and medium enterprises, as well as other businesses in the community that are intended for former terrorist convicts, their families and networks, so that they can live, provide for their families, and are supported by their education and health. In fact, business actors can channel them to several companies to become company employees according to their abilities, skills and expertise, after passing certain requirements.

The media plays a role in creating public opinion in the real world and in cyberspace about the spread of the values of peace, pluralism, social harmony, religious harmony, and tolerance between people, so that they can become narratives in a soothing public space. Literacy in cyberspace has been filled with violence, radicalism and terrorism, so it must be removed
through the role of the media, both mainstream media and social media, to create large narratives in cyberspace that can be spread and read by all people, including former terrorism convicts, families, and the network. The role of journalists, news editors, content creators, vloggers, bloggers, youtubers, and the like is very important to create educational writing, stories and narratives in the form of photos, caricatures and videos that can be accessed by the public so that they will become constructive and positive literacy. for society, which in the end will become a campaign and community movement against intolerance, radicalism and terrorism.

The role of each actor based on this pentahelix model, if carried out consistently and continuously, is expected to support the success of the deradicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia. The key is that collaboration, synergy, communication, and coordination between the five parties are carried out consistently without any agenda for each party to seek a stage or to be famous for themselves. The actor roles involved based on the pentahelix model can be summarized in the following table 8.

| Number | Element | Role |
|--------|---------|------|
| 1 | Government | - The National Counterterrorism Agency coordinates with all parties involved in the terrorism deradicalization program.  
- The Police of the Republic of Indonesia and the Attorney General’s Office of the Republic of Indonesia provide data, facts and information on terrorism suspects, defendants and convicted people.  
- The Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia submits data, facts and information about terrorism convicts.  
- Local Government helps to record and map former terrorist convicts, former terrorists, terrorist families and terrorist networks. |
| 2 | Academic | - Psychologists analyze, diagnose, and provide advice and counseling on psychological or psychiatric aspects.  
- The National Insight Expert explores the values of nationalism, patriotism, and State defense as well as providing national development.  
- Terrorism experts conduct discussions, dialogues, and map levels of radicalism and provide input on the map of terrorism networks. |
| 3 | Community | - Religious leaders provide an understanding of religious values, religious tolerance, social harmony, and harmony between religious communities.  
- Religious organizations (Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhamadiyah) enlighten moderate attitudes, pluralism, open mindedness, and inclusive behavior in social life.  
- Activists who are members of NGO’s peace provide guidance, counseling, coaching, and advocacy on the values of peace. |
| 4 | Business | - The company community provides CSR funds for business capital after leaving the prison.  
- Business actors provide job training and business skills as provisions for work after leaving the prison.  
- Employers provide job opportunities and job opportunities in companies, factories, start-ups and home industries to former terrorism convicts, their families and networks. |
| 5 | Media | - Journalists write news that is objective, non-subjective, non-provocative, and non-bombastic about matters related to religion, tolerance and social harmony.  
- The Press Editors provide direction and space for news and articles in print, electronic and online media on constructive, educational, and innovative narratives about religious harmony, values of peace, and anti-radicalism.  
- Youtubers, vloggers, and content creators design narratives on social media in the form of photos, videos, and text/sentences that move towards anti-radicalism and anti-terrorism framing. |
By involving business actors and the media to assist the National Counterterrorism Agency in implementing a terrorism deradicalization program, the problem of former terrorism convicts who return to becoming terrorists or joining their old network can be prevented. The problems faced by former terrorism convicts after being released and leaving prisons are economic problems, namely how to make ends meet for themselves and their families, especially basic needs (daily food, clothing, and housing) and secondary needs (education and health for their children) in the midst of conditions of poverty, unemployment and social inequality that they face, thus requiring employment, employment opportunities, and capital for business. In fact, if the business community, business actors, the industrial world, or entrepreneurs are involved, it will support the success of the deradicalization program considering the potential for CSR funds each year obtained from the business community is very large to be allocated as capital for ex-terrorism convicts to open a business and meet their needs. Their needs in the future so that they live properly and do not return to terrorism groups. The amount of CSR funds for the business community can be seen in Table 9 below.

| Number | Company                  | Years          |
|--------|--------------------------|----------------|
|        |                          | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 |
| 1      | State-owned enterprises  | Rp. 1,4 Trillion | Rp. 1,6 Trillion | Rp. 1,7 Trillion | 1,9 Trillion |
| 2      | Private Owned Enterprise | Rp. 2,1 Trillion | Rp. 2,7 Trillion | Rp. 2,8 Trillion | 3,1 Trillion |
| 3      | Multinational Company    | Rp. 2,4 Trillion | Rp. 2,3 Trillion | Rp. 2,5 Trillion | 2,2 Trillion |

Source: Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises, Indonesia, 2021.

So far, they have complained that the government has not kept the promise of getting decent living necessities and job security and business capital guarantees, so they feel cheated and disappointed by the deradicalization program of terrorism that they have been participating in is not in accordance with their expectations and promises from government. This is where the role of business groups is needed that can help ex-terrorism convicts to continue their life with their families in peace in the midst of society with economic assistance, business capital assistance, and the distribution of decent work by business actors or business groups. When confirmed that their involvement in the deradicalization program of terrorism is confirmed, business actors are also willing to participate and support according to their respective abilities, as stated in the results of an interview with Rosan Perkasa Roeslani, Chair of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as follows:

We from the business group support and agree to be involved in the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia because terrorism disturbs national security and national stability, while security and stability are urgently needed in the business world, investment climate and business activities. Every economic activity and business activity always requires stable security conditions. The existence of acts of terrorism will make foreign investors run away and will cause economic chaos. Therefore, we support if the government involves business groups in accelerating the terrorism deradicalization program. We have CSR funds every year to help with the deradicalization program of terrorism and we can also provide business assistance to former terrorists who have realized and repented to be given capital so that they can provide for their families and live in a decent life in the community. So far, we have not been involved in the deradicalization program, but if there is a request for us to participate in the deradicalization program, we are ready to support and ready to be involved in it (October 2020).
In the midst of disappointment, job uncertainty, pressing economic needs, and urgent family needs, they are faced with narratives on social media and news from their old networks and groups to re-enter and join the world of terrorism along with huge material offers that make them drift away back under the influence of radical groups and terrorist networks. At this stage, it is very important to involve the role of the media community to provide a correct and soothing narrative to the community about harmony between diverse communities and social harmony between religious adherents as well as striving to improve the digital literacy of society. The role of the media is expected to cover the statements and writings of modernist religious figures and provide a large portion of coverage to influencers and other public figures so that they can create good and positive public opinion in society about religious tolerance and peace in the world without violence and terrorism. This is supported by the following interview results with Arief Suditomo, editor in chief of Metro TV:

So far, the media community has often coordinated with the government in the terrorism deradicalization program. However, there is no specific media involvement to assist the deradicalization program. As a responsible media, we are ready to assist the government if asked to support and be involved in the terrorism deradicalization program. It is realized by all parties that in the era of the development of information technology, social media and the 4.0 industrial revolution, terrorists use the media to teach deviant sects on social media. The confessions of the terrorists who were caught stated that they were influenced by heretical teachings from reading on social media, learning how to assemble bombs on the internet, and brainwashing and recruiting members through social media. Therefore, we from the media community are ready to assist and be involved in the de-radicalization program of terrorism through increasing digital literacy, covering statements of cool figures, counter-writing about radicalism, giving influencers a place to campaign for the spirit of anti-radicalism, anti-terrorism, and anti-fanaticism, so that the virtual world contains friendly information with human values, peace, harmony and brotherhood (October 2020).

In fact, when viewed from the potential of the mass media in Indonesia, there are many, both print media, electronic media, and online media. Coupled with the existence of social media which has recently dominated the flow of information in cyberspace that affects people's lives. The role of the media today is to create public opinion, form trend setters, build behavior, and become a means of cool information so that it can be designed to build narratives and digital literacy that enlightens society and counters radical doctrine that are mostly produced by anonymous accounts in cyberspace. The number of media currently available in Indonesia can be presented in Table 10 below:

| Number | Media          | Amount       |
|--------|---------------|--------------|
| 1      | Print Media   | 26,530,000   |
| 2      | Electronic Media | 20,721,000  |
| 3      | Online Media  | 1,108,000    |
| 4      | Journalist    | 197,000,000  |
| 5      | Influencer    | 31,260,000   |

Source: Ministry of Information & Communication, Indonesia, 2021.

Thus, the implementation of the pentahelix model that involves elements of the business community and the media is very important to do immediately, so that former terrorist convicts, along with their families and networks, can be given venture capital to work to make ends meet and there is a guarantee of a viable future so they can get out of gap of poverty, underdevelopment, inequality, and unemployment. Isn't it that the root of terrorism is poverty and injustice? The media involvement can also produce positive public opinion about the values of peace,
tolerance, harmony and harmony among religious communities through narratives in the mainstream media and social media. Isn't the indoctrination of the heretical teachings of radicalism and terrorism spreading in society through heretical narratives created by radical groups on social media?

5. Conclusion

One of the government’s policies in tackling acts of terrorism is by holding a terrorism deradicalization program, as a soft approach, with the spearhead of the National Counterterrorism Agency, which has been held from 2008 to the present. However, this terrorism deradicalization program has failed because many former terrorism convicts who have been included in the terrorism deradicalization program, both before being in prisons and after leaving prisons, continue to re-enter terrorism groups and networks and carry out acts of terrorism, on the grounds because the conditions of the necessities of life for himself and his family are still squeezed into the chasm of poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment. Plus the influence of social media which contains narratives of intolerance and radicalism which push them back into the terrorism network.

The findings of this study are that the failed deradicalization program of terrorism in Indonesia was caused by the exclusion of elements from business groups and the media by the National Counterterrorism Agency. So far, the priority points collaborated with the National Counterterrorism Agency are academics and civil society only, so that collaboration in the terrorism deradicalization program is less comprehensive and sustainable from upstream to downstream. Therefore, it is necessary to collaborate and synergize five parties in the implementation of the terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia in order to run successfully, effectively and efficiently, through the implementation of the pentahelix model, which involves government actors, academics, civil society, business groups, and the media.

The implementation of the pentahelix model will be able to encourage the success of the deradicalization program, because of the role of the government, academics, and civil society in changing the beliefs of terrorist prisoners towards tolerant and humanist teachings and cutting ties with the old terrorist network. After that, when these terrorists prisoners leave the correctional facility and return to the community, they are not just let go, but assistance is carried out by involving business groups to get business assistance and support for job searches in the industrial world to meet the needs of their families. At the same time, the role of the media community is needed to provide positive narratives and increase digital literacy in cyberspace so that these former terrorist convicts are equipped with strong knowledge so that they are not influenced by the incitement or provocation of the old terrorist group.

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