ARTICLE

Psychological Risk Factors of Terrorist Offenders in Indonesia

Zora A. Sukabdi*
University of Indonesia, Indonesia

ARTICLE INFO

Received: 3 September 2021
Revised: 20 September 2021
Accepted: 1 October 2021
Published Online: 5 October 2021

Keywords:
Terrorism
Risk assessment
Risk factors
Motivation
Ideology
Capability

1. Introduction

The number of research papers focused on terrorism has increased dramatically since the 9/11 tragedy [1]. They have produced many etiological theories and opinions regarding pathways to terrorism [2]. Nevertheless, there remains a deficiency of empirical research into terrorism [3,4]. There has been limited valid and systematic examination of individual risk factors for terrorism [5]. The deficiency of empirical researches on terrorism risk assessment and effective rehabilitation is caused by many factors; however, it is assumed to be primarily because of the difficulty in engagement with terrorists [6] and confidentiality and the sensitivity of the issue [7], making research and publication very challenging. Furthermore, there is a potential that terrorism researchers may be subjected to close and critical observation and suspicion from both authorities and terrorism networks alike [8].

In terms of investigation into individual terrorism risk factors, there is an increasing debate among scholars (in Criminology and Forensic Psychology) regarding whether general criminal risk assessment methods are applicable...
to assessments of terrorism risk. LaFree and Dugan\(^9\) highlight five conceptual similarities and six conceptual differences between terrorism and general crime. The similarities include (1) both studies of terrorism and common crime are intensively interdisciplinary, (2) both terrorism and general crime are social constructions, (3) for both, there are wide discrepancies between formal definitions and the practical applications of these formal definitions, (4) terrorism and general crime are committed by young males, and (5) sustained levels of terrorism and sustained levels of common crime destabilize social trust. The differences include (1) terrorism activities usually constitute multiple crimes, (2) the response to general crime seldom goes beyond local authorities, unlike terrorism, (3) the offenders of common crimes are typically trying to avoid detection, in contrast to terrorist offenders who are looking for maximum attention and exposure, (4) terrorism is typically used as a tool directed at wide-ranging political goals, unlike common crime, (5) terrorist offenders have higher goals, thus they see themselves as altruists, and (6) in terrorism, offenders change their criminal activities over time and are more likely than general criminals to revolutionize. LaFree and Dugan\(^9\) argue that finding the dissimilarities between terrorism and general crime are no more challenging than dissimilarities between general crime and more specialized crimes (i.e., gang activity, organized crime, hate crime, or domestic violence). Likewise, Rosenfeld\(^{10}\) refutes the concept that terrorism is qualitatively dissimilar to any form of violence criminologists’ study. In the field of forensic psychology, the application of contemporary approaches to general violence risk assessment to the field of terrorism is challenged by Demevik, Beck, Grann, Hoge, and McGuire\(^{11}\). Further, they argue that findings from studies on mentally disordered offenders and general violence perpetrators may not be relevant to the prediction of recidivism in those who engage in politically motivated behavior\(^{12}\). Responding to this dispute, Monahan\(^{13}\) argues that valid individual risk factors for terrorism have to be identified before determining whether contemporary violence risk assessment approaches can be applied to terrorism risk assessment.

In Indonesia, how to assess terrorist offenders and foreign terrorist fighters coming back from several conflicting zones is unclear, hence security agencies are still making efforts to create specific constructs and scales\(^{13}\). The current instruments of CVE (Counter Violent Extremism) in Indonesia are merely measuring religious radical extremism, not risk and need factors of offenders after being detained\(^{13}\). The government calls for a need to apply extremism screening tests at schools and government offices\(^{14-17}\). Due to the lack of knowledge and research on risk factors of terrorists after detained, several security agencies simply categorise perpetrators into unclear categories (e.g., ‘radical vs non-radical’, ‘cooperative vs non-cooperative’, and ‘capable vs not capable to make bomb’)\(^{18-23}\). Further, some Western instruments for terrorists in Indonesian prisons do not thoroughly fit into Indonesian context and culture\(^{24}\).

Against this background, ‘MIKRA’ Motivation-Ideology-Capability (MIC) Risk Assessment was developed to identify individual criminogenic risk factors and needs (“Risk-Need”) of terrorist offenders in Indonesia. This study was formulated to set up future parameters of effective rehabilitation/responsivity to terrorism. The study was inspired by Psychology of Criminal Conduct (PCC) which emphasizes the identification of Risk and Need of criminal offenders, before Responsivity (RNR) or rehabilitation/treatment\(^{25}\). PCC itself is holistic and multidisciplinary and open to the contributions of any discipline in explaining individual differences in the criminal behavior of individuals\(^{26}\). The study was conducted in Indonesia which is aimed to increase knowledge to contribute to the risk assessment of ideology-based terrorist offenders in Indonesia, particularly to define their individual risk factors.

2. Causes of Terrorism

Schmid\(^{27}\) collected 109 academic definitions of terrorism and argued that the number of available definitions of terrorism might be similar to the number of published experts in the field. Hence, the lack of consensus is undeniable and expected, given the variety of terrorist offenders’ behaviors, the various declared or assumed motivations, and the question of whose perspective is accepted regarding the terrorist offenders’ behavior; in other words, one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter\(^{28,29}\). Nevertheless, two elements are commonly found in contemporary definitions of terrorism: 1. terrorism involves aggression against non-combatants, and 2. instead of accomplishing a political goal, the terrorist action in itself is expected by its perpetrator to influence a targeted audience’s behaviors, to meet the goals of the terrorists\(^{30,31}\).

Terrorism is complex and multifaceted, and actors involved can be classified across multiple variables. Schultz, in Victoroff\(^{32}\), suggested seven variables (cause, environment, goal, strategy, means, organization, and participation), could be used to classify terrorism into two higher-order types, revolutionary versus sub-revolutionary terrorism. Post, Sprinzak, and Denny\(^{33}\) divide political sub-state terrorism into 1. social revolutionary terrorism,
2. right-wing terrorism, 3. nationalist-separatist terrorism, 4. religious extremist terrorism, and 5. single-issue (e.g., environmental issue) terrorism and argues that each type tends to be linked to its own social-psychological dynamics. Victoroff[^43] identified numerous variables relevant to understanding terrorism and how dimensions of these variables could be classified, such as individual vs group, state vs sub state vs individual, secular vs religious, and suicidal vs non-suicidal.

In Indonesia, Mufid, Sarwono, Syafii, Baedowi, Karnavian, Zarkasih, and Padmo[^34] studied terror perpetrators by interviewing 110 terrorists. He found that 87.8% of the terror perpetrators in Indonesia were Muslims, while 12.2% were Christians involved in ethnic-religion conflicts. The majority of terror perpetrators in Indonesia in this study were Indonesians (92.2 percent). The remainder were Malaysians (7%) and Singaporeans (0.9%). Further, most terror perpetrators were ethnically Javanese (43.6%), followed by Pamonese (12.7%) and Malays (10.9%). Buginese and Sundanese respectively constituted 5.5% of participants, while 4.5% were Betawi. The rest, 17.3%, came from various ethnic backgrounds, including Acehnese, Ambonese, Arab, Balinese, Bima, Indian, Kaili, Makassar, Madurese, Minang, and Poso. Moreover, related to age (age of respondents was calculated from the year of their involvement in acts of terrorism), the average age of terror perpetrators was 29.7, with the youngest 16 years and the oldest 64 years. If classified according to the age group, the majority (59%) were young, below 30. Related to level of education, Mufid et al.[^34] found that the highest level of educational attainment of most terror perpetrators was senior high school (63.3%), followed by college and university (16.4%) and junior high school (10.9%). In addition, 5.5% of terrorist offenders attended, but did not graduate from a college or university and another 3.6% only graduated from primary school. These findings are similar to research in other countries. For instance, a study of 102 Salafi Muslim terrorist offenders from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, France, Algeria, Morocco, and Indonesia found that the average age of perpetrators (joining in terrorism acts) was 25.7 years, with 18% described as ‘upper,’ 55% from ‘middle,’ and 27% from a ‘lower’ class.[^40]

Mufid et al.[^34] found that in Indonesia most terror perpetrators had non-religious educational backgrounds. Around 48.2% of terror perpetrators interviewed graduated from secular senior high schools, 18.2% from non-religious colleges or universities, 10.9% from junior high schools, and 6.4% from vocational senior high schools. Only 5.5% graduated from pesantren (Islamic traditional boarding school) and 3.6% from a madrasah (Islamic school). On one hand, this finding does not confirm a common perception held by many (foreign) observers that most Indonesian terrorist offenders came from religious schools, such as madrasah and pesantren. On the other hand, this finding supports a 2010 survey reporting a significant level of radicalism among students of general secondary schools.

3. Motivations of Terrorism

Related to typology of terrorist offenders in Indonesia, Mufid et al.[^34] reported that the roles of 110 terror perpetrators in Indonesia can be classified into leaders (9.1%), middle management (10%), and followers (80.9%). His study also found various factors that motivated individuals in Indonesia to engage in acts of terrorism: religious-ideological, solidarity-driven, separatist, ‘mob mentality’, and situational. An ‘ideological-religious-motive’ is defined as the drive to establish the perfect model of religion-based government or society (the establishment of dawlah Islamiyah or the implementation of sharia) where acts of violence or terrorism are considered as a justified means to achieve these ideals. Included in this category is participation in terrorism that is driven by the abhorrence of the Western economy-political domination, cultural hegemony, and military interventions in Arab or Muslim-dominated countries. Participation in acts of terrorism for the purpose of protecting fellow believers from the threat of conversion attempts conducted by other religious communities is also included in this category.

A ‘solidarity motive’ is defined as the drive to participate in acts of terrorism to express empathy or to help fellow believers, especially in a situation when they are threatened or become victims in a conflict. The ‘revenge-seeking motive’ is identified as the drive to join in terrorism acts as an attempt to strike back against enemies for losses (of lives or property) that may have been experienced by the terrorist actor or their family. A ‘separatist motive’ is defined as the drive to participate in terrorism as a way to meet a political goal, of creating a separate state. ‘Mob mentality’ is the drive to spontaneously participate in acts of violence or terrorism conducted by others, even though the perpetrators do not have clear reasons, their behavior is simply in response to the behavior of others. Finally, ‘situational motives’ refers to factors that forcibly drive individuals to be involved in acts of terrorism. For example, individuals who are convicted of terrorism offences through association other terrorism perpetrators, even though they do not directly participate in acts of terrorism themselves.[^43] Based on the above categories, most terror perpetrators in[^44] study
were driven by ideological-religious motives (45.5%), followed by a sense of community solidarity (20%), mob mentality (12.7%), revenge-seeking (10.9%), situational (9.1%), and separatist motives (1.8%). The finding confirms that religious-ideological motives, despite variation of their meanings, were predominant reasons that motivated perpetrators to participate in terrorism acts in Indonesia.

There is certainly no single explanation about why and how Islamic radicalism has come into its existence in Indonesia. Largely, two main factors give the reasons of the emergence of Islamic radicalism, internal and external factors. The internal factors are disputes among Muslim elites which have driven Islamists to revive the spirit of Islam. On the contrary, external factors include outer drives, such as colonialism or invasion. Roy describes that among the leading factors causing cause the birth and rise of Islamic radicalism is external factors beyond religion such as economic discrepancy and social confusion. Ideology serves as a catalyst or mass-mobilizing factor that escalates radicalization level of religious understanding delivered by religious charismatic leaders or ideologues. Roy also previously suggests that there is a continuing pattern of history in the form of a cause-and-effect correlation between social crises and the rise of religious, revolutionary, or revivalist movements. Mufid et al. argue that in Indonesia economic factors such as poverty and social inequality are insufficient structural factors, and do not necessarily contribute to a rise in terrorism. Instead, a combination of structural factors at global, national, and sub-national levels are significant factors for the rise of terrorism.

Religious radicalism in Indonesia has such an extensive history. In contrast with the current Indonesian society, religious radicalism in the colonial period gained support from the majority of people in the country as the radicals was to fight against Western colonialism and to achieve Indonesia’s independence in 1945. After Indonesia value freedom of speech in the Era of Reformation followed by economic recession in 1997, Islamic radicalism proves its existence after ‘devoid leadership’. The economic crisis was used by some Islamist ideologues to bring together a wider audience. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), for instance, came to Indonesia’s political stage with a distinguished slogan: “Selamatkan Indonesia dengan Syari’ah” (Save Indonesia by Applying Sharia Law). Due to the financial crisis, radical Islamists gained support from their sympathizers in promoting their ideology.

Ideology-based terrorism in Indonesia is related to a desire to establish an Islamic state or create khilāfah Islāmiyah ‘alā minhajin nubuwwah (an Islamic caliphate on the precepts of prophethood). An underground movement in Indonesia, such as Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and its affiliations, set this goal. JI became an umbrella organization for radical movements with long historical and ideological ties to DI/NII (Darul Islam/Negara Islam Indonesia). The expansion of terror attacks in Indonesia occurred by targeting individuals including Muslims whom are perceived as thaghut (evil). Pепy Fernando’s group, for example, committed terror actions through ‘book bombs’ against individuals suspected of having close relations with the Western thoughts. Packages of book bombs were sent to Ulil Absar Abdallah (an activist of Liberal Islam Network), Ahmad Dani (a musician accused of having Jewish descent), Yapto (a leader of a youth organization), and General Gorríes Mere (a police officer regarded as the Western ‘puppet’ in the war against terrorism in Indonesia).

According to Imam Samudra, Muklas, and the perpetrators of the 2002 Bali bombing, the terror actions in Indonesia were justified according to six fundamental teachings of Salafi-Jihadist: 1) the United States and its allies lead a conspiracy to destroy Islam, 2) non-Muslims, including Protestants and Jews, are infidels and enemies of Islam, 3) killing of civilians is allowed if it is part of revenge against the United States and its allies for the killing of Muslims over the world, 4) both Americans and non-Americans who cooperate with the United States government are enemies because they pay taxes to make war possible and through elections, they choose the government officials who lead the war against Muslims; hence there is no difference between civilians and combatants, 5) Muslim leaders who cooperate with the United States and its allies are thaghut or the enemy of Islam, and must be regarded as infidels, and 6) the death of innocent Muslims during the Mujahidin attacks are acceptable for the sake of Muslim interests.

Acts of terrorism committed by Indonesian religious militants in diverse places, targeted various foreigners, involving different actors, with different recruitment techniques; this is demonstrated by the first Bali bombing in 2002, the JW Marriott bombing in 2003, the Australian Embassy bombing in 2004, the second Bali bombing in 2005, and the JW Marriott and Ritz Carlton bombing in 2009. Their goal remains the same, to establish of dawlah Islāmiyah (Islamic State) and implement Shariah (Islamic law) As terror actors engage in various types of crimes (e.g., fa’i and robbery, bombing, murders, and so forth) linked to military trainings/tactics and global networks, terrorism is accordingly seen as a ‘non-ordinary’ crime.

During criminal investigation offenders claim that what
they did was not an act of terrorism but based on their understanding of the word ‘jihad’. Jihad alone, according to their ideological perspective, is an instrument to pursue a goal to establish an Islamic state and to apply Islamic law \[44,47-49\]. An act of terrorism committed by a religious group can be regarded as a religious activity since it is based on religious doctrines/principles. Therefore, many perpetrators of terrorism deny that their group’s activities contain terrorism \[50\].

The review of ideology-based terrorism in the context of Indonesia shows that the terrorist offenders are driven or inspired by many factors including religious doctrines, in this case is Islam as the most common religion in the country. The literature review indicates that there are at least three psychological domain of offenders in Indonesia which can be assessed for identifying risks: 1) motivation, related to internal/individual’s drivers which may connect with external factors such as political turbulence and economic discrepancy; 2) ideology, related to individual’s belief systems and radical doctrines; and 3) capability which includes an individual’s hard and soft skills which can be used to support terrorism; therefore this study focuses on ‘Motivation, Ideology, Capability (MIC or MIK in Indonesian spelling) Risk Assessment’ or ‘MIKRA’. These MIC psychological domains lie within micro level (individual level) regardless the affiliation they are in such as JI, ISIS, and Al Qaeda (external factors).

As this study aims to identify individual terrorism risk factors of offenders in Indonesia, findings may be used by service providers responsible for the design and implementation of terrorism rehabilitation efforts, such as reducing the level of each risk factor to prevent recidivism. The study collected information from Indonesian eminent counterterrorism experts and practitioners, including terrorism intelligence analysts, investigators, and heads of security units who first-handly examined terrorist offenders’ cases. The major question in this baseline study is “What are the psychological criminogenic risk factors of terrorist offenders in Indonesia?”.

4. Methods

4.1 Participants

A total of thirty-two people between the age of 35 and 68 (mean: 46) participated in this study. These participants were eminent Indonesian counterterrorism experts (i.e., counterterrorism senior advisors, intelligence analysts, criminologists, and members of government think tanks), practitioners (i.e., in deradicalization programs and rehabilitations), and professionals (i.e., heads of government counterterrorism agencies and units) (twenty-seven males, five females). The names of participants were carefully selected based on their nation-wide recognized and documented products (i.e., researches, analysis, investigations, deradicalization programs, open-sourced or security unit internally-used) and official positions in Indonesian counterterrorism. Participants’ roles in counterterrorism were diverse, including security analyst, advisor, investigator, deradicalization and disengagement program designer (inside and outside prisons), military commander, theology, counter narrative designer, terrorism prosecutor, special task force/field officer, forensic analyst, intelligence operator, cyber terrorism analyst, and senator member at the House of Representatives. The participants’ experiences in counterterrorism ranged from five to thirty years.

4.2 Procedure and Material

This study involved counterterrorism experts, practitioners, and professionals. The study included procedures of data collection such as reviewing nation-wide names in the field of Indonesian counterterrorism, approaching and corresponding with candidates of participants, gaining informed consent from participants, and conducting thirty-two semi-structured interviews with participants as data was gathered using this technique.

After reviewing names recommended by Indonesian counterterrorism forums, security units, and executive government think tanks, fifty names of potential candidates were collected. The potential candidates were approached and provided with a description of this study. Thirty-two people expressed their appreciation and interest in taking part in the study; all committed to participate in the study. Appointments in Jakarta, Indonesia, to conduct interviews were then established. Each participant was given a copy of the informed consent form to be signed and asked about the use of recording equipment during the interview. From a total of thirty-two participants, thirty-one participants signed the consent form, whilst one in top-rank ministry position was unwilling to sign which reflects the sensitivity of terrorism research in Indonesia. He requested to have his photograph taken with the researcher to replace his signature in the form. In those cases where the participant refused to sign a consent form, the preparedness to organize a time and place for the interview and participation indicated consent. Given the participants were mostly seniors, these conditions assured consent was informed and voluntary. Furthermore, all participants refused to have the interview recorded. Thus the researcher performed note-taking.

The interviews used the list of questions set in interview
4.3 Analysis

This study used qualitative analysis on participants’ answers. Qualitative thematic analysis was used to define criminogenic psychological risk factors. A total of 222 risk factors were revealed prior to thematic analysis (TA). As the research is a baseline study which involved multidisciplinary experts/practitioners in counterterrorism, many words mentioned by participants were very technical; hence, the researcher asked for clarification.

In the TA, participants’ answers were then tabulated, coded, and categorized into similar themes. *External* ‘uncontrollable’ risk factors (e.g., *recruitment style in groups, networks, chance to commit terror act, support from violent groups, and anti-social associates*) were excluded as this study only focused on internal risk factors. The TA combined inductive (themes were chosen taking from one of the participants’ answers which represented the whole idea of risk factors), deductive (themes were taken from existing concepts of terrorism from previous researches), latent (themes were taken from concepts and assumptions underpinning the risk factors raised by participants), and *constructionist approaches* (themes constructed certain reality created by participants’ answer). In other words, a name of the theme might be chosen even though the term was weak in quantity (but strong in quality) because it incorporated a broader meaning or concept, for example the theme ‘*Mechanical and Electrical (M and E) Skills*’ was chosen to incorporate these terrorism skills stated by participants: 1) “aeromechanical”, 2) “weapon/gun-assembling”, 3) “auto-mechanical”, 4) “electromechanical”, 5) “mechatronic”, 6) “technical”, 7) “aerodynamic”, 8) “drone-assembling”, and 9) “bomcrafting” skills, although the word “mechanical and electrical skill” was only mentioned once. This is due to its coverage and presented the eight other words mentioned above.

Themes were then presented to each participant for verification. A round-typed diagram to illustrate themes of risk factors, as seen in Figure 1, was drafted and presented to participants for verification. An intrarater judgment by two psychologists (forensic and clinical), eight ‘grassroots’ deradicalization practitioners, and a psychometrician was conducted for validating themes (content validity) and diagram.

5. Results

The results of this study show that there are 18 factors grouped into the following domains: *Motivation, Ideology*, and *Capability*. Six risk factors could be located within the higher order *Motivation* domain, six into *Ideology*, and six...
of this risk factor includes the following concepts or terms: unfulfillments of basic biological needs, financial motives, poverty, employment problems, perceived economic discrepancies, and economic dissatisfactions.

**Risk factor 2: Justice Motives.**
Justice Motives is defined as motives of terrorism associated with the needs to search for justice. The scope of this risk factor includes revenge and rejection of law, social rules, and regulations.

**Risk factor 3: Situational Motives.**
Situational Motives is defined as motives of terrorism associated with the needs for safety and security. The scope of this risk factor includes the following concepts or terms: unfulfillment of safety needs, insecurity, stress, individual crisis leading to grievance, criminal history, personal vulnerability, emotional instability, personal issues (e.g., family, broken-home, education, immigration, troubled peers, delinquency, adjustments, substance abuse), troubled backgrounds, subjective discrepancy (personal dissatisfactions), and escaping motives (fugitivity).

**Risk factor 4: Social Motives.**
Social Motives is defined as motives of terrorism associated with the needs of social support, sense of...
belonging, and social identity. The scope of this risk factor includes the following concepts or terms: unfulfillment of social needs, feeling marginalized or lonely, self-confidence issues, attribution of kindship, affiliation preferences, solidarity, social vulnerability, self-identity issues, and online networks.

**Risk factor 5: Superiority Motives.**

Superiority Motives is defined as motives of terrorism associated with the needs for power or reaching a higher position in a social hierarchy. The scope of this risk factor includes the following concepts or terms: unfulfillment of controlling needs, prestige, pride, need for power, seeking for social status, needs to control others, and political motives.

**Risk factor 6: Actualization Motives.**

Actualization Motives is defined as motives of terrorism associated with the needs to give impact to others. It includes the following concepts or terms: unfulfillment of actualization needs, needs to contribute, outreaching motives, lack of positive involvement in society, lack of positive organizational experience, lack of self-actualization, adventurous motives, curiosity, and needs for existence.

**Domain: Ideology.**

The domain of Ideology includes religious or spiritual concepts, a system of ideas, commitment, experiences, attitudes, mindsets, and positions constructing legitimation to acts of terrorism. Ideology is symbolized as “Head”, which explains justifications, knowledge, rationalizations, sense of values or definitions of “right or wrong”.

**Risk factor 7: Values (Doctrines).**

Values is defined as thoughts, concepts, dogmas, doctrines, and ideas which are favorable to violence. This includes the following concepts or terms: violent-related beliefs/doctrines, low sense of spirituality, spiritual immaturity, takfiri, hakimiyah, intolerance to outer circle, anti-coexistence, anti-establishment, religious radicalism, lack of personal introspection, narrow-mindedness, rigid thinking, black-and-white way of thinking, violence-dominated interpretations of sacred texts, tendency to choose the most harsh religious practices, undermining bloodshed, rejection of ethics/norms/laws, non-citizenship behavior, and exclusiveness.

**Risk factor 8: Violent Attitudes.**

Violent Ideology-Driven Attitudes is defined as attitudes toward outside social group driven by thoughts, concepts, dogmas, doctrines and ideas which are favorable to violence. The scope of this risk factor includes the following concepts or terms: non-cooperativeness to outer circle, aggressions, rejection of contacts/visits and favors from outer circle, selective kindness (only to inner circle), anti-social attitudes, and hatred towards outer circle.

**Risk factor 9: Beliefs about Objectives (Targets of Missions).**

Beliefs about Objectives is defined as goals or targets in life driven by thoughts, concepts, dogmas, doctrines, and ideas favorable to violence. Their scope includes the following concepts or terms: purpose of life, ultimate goals, violence-related visions, destructive plans, violence-related missions, instrumental goals, targeted victims/perceived enemies, targeted media/equipment, targeted modus operandi/means, violence-related deadlines, and planned actions.

**Risk factor 10: Layers in Ideological Groups.**

The definition of this risk factor is positions in violent ideological group(s) which describe roles, status, involvement, grades, layers, levels, tasks, and ranks. Its scope includes the following concepts or terms: roles in terrorism, status in terrorism networks, involvement in terrorism networks/criminal offense/military training/local or global conflicts, levels of seniority in terrorism groups, duties/ranks/grades in ideological groups, outreach in terrorism networks, and reputation in ideological groups.

**Risk factor 11: Terrorism Militancy.**

Militancy is defined as resistance to alter thoughts, concepts, dogmas, doctrines, and ideas which are favorable to violence. Its scope includes the following concepts or terms: devotion to higher figure(s) in terrorism networks, violence-related risk-taking, resistance to positive changes, anti-dialogue/negotiation, and rejection of positive opportunities.

**Risk factor 12: Understandings on Philosophy and Contexts.**

This risk factor is defined as the lack of understandings of religious philosophy and its implementation in various contexts. In Indonesia, this factor means the lack of contextual insights and understandings on 1) Pancasila the national constitution; 2) Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 the basic law; 3) Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI), the official name of the country; and 4) Bhinneka Tunggal Ika or “Unity in Diversity”, the official national motto. These are four fundamental national consensuses set by the founding fathers of Indonesia. The scope of this risk factor includes the limited understandings of religious concepts/teachings, various contexts (time and place) of religious practices, local wisdom, the philosophy of Islam, the spirit of national consensuses of Indonesia, Pancasila, UUD 1945, NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Indonesian history, anthropology of religions in the world, Islamic history (tarih Islâm) and anthropology, and interpretations of sacred texts. It is also described by lacks ability in conceptual/abstract thinking regarding philosophies of religious values, critical thinking,
accepting critiques and feedback, and performing cost-benefit analysis in making decisions.

**Domain: Capability.**

The aspect of **Capability** covers skills used in terrorism. **Capability** is symbolized as “Hand” reflecting the fact that these capabilities are things that can be performed by hand or equipment, power, or physical sources.

**Risk factor 13: Intelligence Skills.**

The definition of this risk factor is skills to acquire, collect, manage, store, retrieve, combine, compare, distribute, build, and use information including complex data, which can be to manage a terrorism activity. Their scope includes skills in data gathering, processing, analysis, interpretation, and management. The scope also includes skills in Big Data management, disinformation, spying, conditioning, counterintelligence, surveillance, decision making, problem solving, and counter-deradicalization.

**Risk factor 14: Language Skills.**

The definition of this risk factor is skills of listening, reading, speaking, and writing in multiple languages, which can be used to manage a terrorism activity. Their scope includes listening, speaking, writing, reading, translating, journalistic, literacy, and public speaking using multiple languages.

**Risk factor 15: ICT (Information and Communication Technology) Skills.**

This risk factor is defined as skills in using and creating Information and Communication Technology, such as computers, programs, cyberspace, Information Technology (IT) and Dark Web, which can be used to manage a terrorism activity. Their scope includes skills in Information Technology (IT), social engineering, computer coding and decoding, digital forensic, cyber defense and security, ICT security-analysis, cryptography, crypto analysis, cyber-virus making, steganography and watermarking, web development, cyber-attack/hacking, Big Data development, and drone-making.

**Risk factor 16: Military Skills.**

Military Skills are skills operated in physical fighting, battlefield, warfare, and conflicts, which can be used to manage a terrorism activity. Their scope includes knowledge and experience in physical toughness, field engineering, defense, martial arts, battlefield, war tactics, psychological warfare, weapon shooting, Chemical Biological Radioactive Nuclear and Explosive (CBRNE) such as poison-making, bombs designning, survival, war strategies, weapon technology, guerilla, disabling security, trap making (e.g., booby trap), and military training.

**Risk factor 17: Social Domination Skills.**

This risk factor is defined as skills of influencing others, such as persuading, negotiating, recruiting, mobilizing, leading, manipulating, controlling, and financing people, which can be used to manage a terrorism activity. Shown in its name, this risk factor’s scope includes skills in human-approaching, social networking, financing, propaganda, and micro expressions (understanding people). Their scope also lies in skills in directing, coordinating, guiding, and even brainwashing people.

**Risk factor 18: M and E (Mechanical and Electrical) Skills.**

This risk factor is defined as skills of using and creating technical, mechanical and electrical equipment, which can be used for managing a terrorism activity. Their scope is described by aeromechanical, weapon/gun-assembling, auto-mechanical, aerodynamic, mechatronic, electromechanical, and bomb-crafting skills.

6. Discussion

There remains a deficiency of empirical research into terrorism related to structured examination of psychological risk factors for terrorism [51]. These risk factors are beneficial to formulate risk assessments to terrorist offenders and design interventions/responsivity [9]. Monahan [9] suggests that criminogenic psychological risk factors for terrorism must be identified prior to create terrorism risk assessment/instruments. In Indonesia, assessments to terrorist offenders and foreign terrorist fighters are still unclear. Current instruments for CVE in the country are basically focusing on religious radical extremism, not the risk and need factors of offenders after being detained [13].

This study examines psychological criminogenic risk factors and needs (“Risk-Need”) of terrorist offenders in Indonesia inspired by Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) Model by PCC Theory by Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge [25,51] which emphasizes the identification of **Risk** and **Need** of criminal offenders prior to **Responsivity** or rehabilitation. This study can help in setting up future parameters of effective terrorism rehabilitation in Indonesia. Moreover, the study can be replicated in any countries to understand the risk/need factors in other contexts.

This study identifies 18 individual risk/need factors of ideology-based terrorist offenders in Indonesia that are grouped into three higher order domains: **Motivation, Ideology, and Capability**. Participants described **Motivation** as the “heart” which means interests, wills, drives, feelings of discontentment, unfulfillment of certain needs, and emotions favorable to support terrorism. Moreover, **Ideology** domain or the “head” encompasses religious and spiritual concepts, a system of ideas, knowledge, the definitions of “right or wrong”, and a
sense of values determining attitudes. The last domain, Capability or the “hand” contains all abilities supporting terrorism which can be hard and soft skills.

The results of this study reveal 18 individual risk factors and needs of ideology-based terrorist offenders in which the first six are classified as Motivation, the second six as Ideology, and the rest as Capability. The first six risk factors are: 1) Economic, 2) Justice, 3) Situational, 4) Social, 5) Superiority, and 6) Actualization Motives. These risk factors are closely related to motives by Maslow as basic human needs before introduced to any knowledge on religious teachings.

The second six risk factors found in this study are: 7) Doctrines, 8) Targets of Missions, 3) Attitudes, 4) Militancy, 5) Understandings on Philosophy and Contexts, and 6) Layers in Ideological Groups. This supports several scholars’ studies that ideology and belief systems play an important role in causing terrorism including in Indonesia. The findings also support Rokeach’s Belief System Theory which highlights the importance of values/ideology in the study of social attitudes and behavior. In Indonesia, the description of terrorism Ideology of terrorism focuses on violent doctrines which are in contrast with the sacred foundational philosophical values of Indonesia: Pancasila. Pancasila as an abstraction of Indonesian ancient wisdom and philosophy (Pancasila means “Five Fundamental Commandments”) includes Five Principles: 1. Belief in one God, 2. Human Rights, 3. Unity in diversity, 4. Consent and democracy, and 5. Social prosperity; therefore, it has adopted religiosity as its elements. Unfortunately, Pancasila still cannot satisfy the mind of Indonesian Islamic violent extremists as it does not literally state the implementation of sharia laws; hence, the Indonesian government and its people are perceived as secular (deserve attacks) according to them. The last six risk factors identified in this study are skills in: 1) Intelligence, 2) ICT, 3) M and E, 4) Military, 5) Language, and 6) Social Domination. In this finding, the study shows its uniqueness by listing the terrorist offenders’ possible technical skills in details, such as auto-mechanical, coding, digital forensic, drone-making, hacking, financing, and CBRNE skills. The results include the previous findings of terrorism capabilities.

Due to the limited research on terrorism risk factors locally and internationally, this baseline study can be regarded as a reference for future development of terrorism risk assessments. Published information about terrorism risk assessment and their items are limited and risk/need assessments of terrorist offenders within security agencies usually are not released or available for public review, collection, or comparison, therefore this study becomes considerably important. Furthermore, as the study uses qualitative approach, the results provide a rich information about targeted risk/need factors of terrorists which can accordingly become the future objectives for rehabilitation or deradicalization in Indonesia. Referring to Meehl’s view about risk factors, the risk factors explored in this baseline study were dynamic or clinical rather than actuarial (“statistical”). The results provide guidance for assessors to consider risk and need factors in each domain of offenders and to help assess progress (by comparing risk/need factors before and after rehabilitation). If quantification is considered beneficial then further research needs to be conducted to elucidate the quantification of MIC risk assessment.

Taking place in Indonesia as the largest Muslim population before and during pandemic, the study sharply prioritizes both online and offline risk factors. It focuses its attention only on relevant risk factors in the domains of Motivation, Ideology, and Capability. The study eliminates several variables when examining terrorists, such as marital status, gender, and social class.

The study facilitated open discussion among cross-sectional Indonesian professionals in terrorism and gave these participants the opportunity to provide opinions on sensitive issue such as Islamic radicalism. The qualitative approach of this study gives each risk factor an equal value/quality, which means there is no risk factor that is more/less important than others. For practical advantages, this will help Indonesian practitioners coordinate and eradicate ‘sectoral-ego’ in counterterrorism efforts because everyone’s role (e.g., psychologists, lawyers, clerics, police, social workers, military officers) is important to modify the behaviors of terrorists.

The results of this study are in line with findings in the previous study by Sukabdi which involve terrorist offenders as participants. When asked about the differences/changes before and after deradicalization, the offenders in the study explained that the following issues were critical that needed intervention in the beginning of their arrestment: Lack of positive purpose of life, Lack of self-introspection, Limited critical thinking ability, Lack of independence against radical networks, Incomplete achievement in society, and Lack of life improvement. All these risk factors have been included comprehensively in the current study. Moreover, using humanistic psychology approach and viewing each offender as an active agent capable of generating a ‘free will’ and independent responses to a variety of stimulations/environments, the study excludes external risk factors such as recruitment style and terrorism networks/affiliations. Therefore, the study takes no account of networks-grouping issues such...
as ‘ISIS vs non-ISIS’.

Qualitative method used in this study helps in generating ‘systematic broader, clearer, and operational’ risk factors which gather together and combine all issues identified by various scholars in terrorism field [2, 5, 6, 95-97]. Borum [94] in his Four-Stage Model of the Terrorist Mindset, for the 1st example, suggested that Grievance (“It’s not fair”), 2) Target attribution with external Locus of Control/LoC (“It’s your fault”), and 3) Devaluation of people (“You’re evil”) would facilitate a justification for aggression. The 2nd example, Horgan [56], hypothesises that these following issues: Values, Dissatisfaction (e.g., social or political), Vulnerability, Identification with victims (Solidarity and Needs for justice), Social motives, and Targets are crucial in the psychology of terrorist offenders. The 3rd example, McGilloway, Ghosh, and Bhui [2], highlight individual’s Vulnerabilities as the variable that increases the exposure to radicalisation. The 4th example, Monahan [5], states that Ideologies, Affiliations, Grievances, and Emotions are individual variables that need assessment in the offenders. The 5th example, Pressman and Flockton [95] set Beliefs and Attitudes, Context and Intent, History and Capability, Commitment and Motivation, and Protective Factors as categories of items in Violent Extremism Risk Assessment (VERA). The last example, Silke [96], underlines Social identity, Marginalisation, Discrimination, Perceived injustice or Revenge, Status and personal rewards as elements determining why certain individuals involve in terrorism.

A further research on the most appropriate skill set when assessing each risk/need factors is accordingly necessary. Further studies in other regions with different systems, replicating the current research, are also needed to examine the generalizability of certain risk factors. Economic and Justice Motives for example, is crucial in the context of Indonesia where poverty, malnutrition, and inequality are still issues faced by the country [97, 101]. Moreover, further studies of MIC risk factors in the countries where an ideology other than Islam (i.e., Buddhism, Communism, Judaism, Supremacism) is used to justify violence is recommended. These studies may capture different risk factors for each type of terrorism mentioned earlier by Victoroff [32].

7. Conclusions

This study recognizes eighteen individual risk and need factors of ideology-based terrorist offenders. The eighteen risk and need factors are clustered into three higher domains: Motivation, Ideology, and Capability. Motivation is the interests, wills, drives, feelings of discontentment, unfulfillment of certain needs, and emotions favorable to support terrorism. Ideology is religious and spiritual concepts, a system of ideas, knowledge, the definitions of “right or wrong”, and a sense of values determining attitudes to support terrorism. Capability consists of abilities which may support terror actions.

The results of this study disclose eighteen individual risk and need factors of offenders. The first six factors are in Motivation, the second six are in Ideology, and the last six are in Capability. The first six risk factors are: 1) Economic, 2) Justice, 3) Situational, 4) Social, 5) Superiority, and 6) Actualization Motives. The second six risk factors are: 7) Doctrines, 8) Targets of Missions, 3) Attitudes, 4) Military, 5) Understandings on Philosophy and Contexts, and 6) Layers in Ideological Groups. The last six risk factors are skills in: 1) Intelligence, 2) ICT, 3) M and E, 4) Military, 5) Language, and 6) Social Domination.

References

[1] Shepherd, J. (2007), The rise and rise of terrorism studies. The Guardian, 3 July. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/education/2007/jul/03/higher-education.research.

[2] McGilloway, A., Ghosh, P., & Bhui, K. (2015), A systematic review of pathways to and processes associated with radicalisation and extremism amongst Muslims in western societies. International Review of Psychiatry, 27(1), 39-50. DOI: 10.3109/09540261.2014.992008.

[3] Abbas,. T., & Siddique, A. (2012), Perception of the processes of radicalisation and de-radicalisation among british south asian muslims in a post-industrial city. Social Identities, 8, 119-134.

[4] Tausch, N., Spears, R., & Christ, O. (2009), Religious and national identity as predictors of attitudes towards the 7/7 bombings among british muslims: an analysis of uk opinion poll data. Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale, 22, 103-126.

[5] Monahan, J. (2012), The individual risk assessment of terrorism. Psychology, Public Policy and Law, 18(2), 167-205. DOI: 10.1037/a0025792.

[6] O’Duffy, B. (2008), Radical atmosphere: explaining Jihadist radicalisation in the UK. PS: Political Science & Politics, 41(01), 37-42.

[7] Bhui, K. S., Hicks, M. H., Lashley, M., & Jones, E. (2012), A public health approach to understanding and preventing violent radicalisation. BMC Medicine, 10(16).

[8] Shepherd, J. (2007), The rise and rise of terrorism studies. The Guardian, 3 July. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/education/2007/jul/03/higher-education.research.

[9] Shepherd, J. (2007), The rise and rise of terrorism studies. The Guardian, 3 July. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/education/2007/jul/03/higher-education.research.
LaFree, G., & Dugan, L. (2004), How does studying terrorism compare to studying crime? In M. DeFlem (Ed.), Terrorism and counter-terrorism: Criminological Perspectives (pp. 53–74). New York, NY: Elsevier.

Rosenfeld, R. (2003), Why criminologists should study terrorism. Crime & Justice International, 19, 34–35.

Dernevik, M., Beck, A., Grann, M., Hogue, T., & McGuire, J. (2009a), The use of psychiatric and psychological evidence in the assessment of terrorist offenders. Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology, 20, 508–515. DOI: 10.1080/13501760902771217.

Dernevik, M., Beck, A., Grann, M., Hogue, T., & McGuire, J. (2009b), A response to Dr. Gudjonsson’s commentary. Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology, 20, 520–522. DOI: 10.1080/13501760902771258.

Milla, M. N. (2019, December), Pengukuran radikalisme dalam perspektif psikologi politik [Measuring radicalism in political psychology perspective]. Conference session presented at Seminar Nasional Asosiasi Psikologi Militer, Bandung.

CNN Indonesia. (2019, November 15), Radikalisme. Definisi Semu Dan Potensi Salah Sasaran [Radicalism, its blurred definition and potential misuse]. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191115104318-20-448568/radikalisme-definisi-semu-dan-potensi-salah-sasaran.

Chaterine, R. N. (2019, October 9), Mendikbud Minta Ukuran Radikal Di jelaskan, agar Sekolah Tak Disalahkan [the Ministry of Education asks for the definition of radicalism]. Detiknews. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4739948/mendikbud-minta-ukuran-radikal-dijelaskan-agar-sekolah-tak-disalahkan.

Puspita, R. (2019, October 9), Kemendikbud Susun Instrumen Pantau Radikalisme Di Sekolah [Ministry of Education is formulating instruments for detecting radicalism]. Republika Online. https://republika.co.id/berita/pz306428/kemendikbud-susun-instrumen-pantau-radikalisme-di-sekolah.

Sean, A. (2019, November 21), Kecenderungan Radikalisme CPNS Bisa Diukur? [Can we measure radicalism in civil servants?] Indopolitika.com. https://indopolitika.com/kecenderungan-radikalisme-cpns-bisa-diukur/.

Abdurrahman, H. (2019, November 4), Menakar Radikalisme Melalui Cadar Dan Celana Cingkrang [Evaluating radicalism from physical appearance]. Retrieved from https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-4770926/menakar-radikalisme-melalui-cadar-dan-celana-cingkrang.

Jyestha, V. (2018, May 26), BNPT Dinilai Masih Sangat Lemah Melakukan Deradikalisasi Dan Kontra Radikalisme [BNPT is not managing correct deradicalisation and counter-radicalism]. Retrieved from https://wartakotatribunnews.com/2018/05/26/bnpt-dinilai-masih-sangat-lemah-melakukan-deradikalisasi-dan-kontra-radikalisme.

Mubarak. (2012), Stigmatisasi Pemberitaan Terrorism di Media Massa [Stigma in Terrorism Journalism in Social Media]. Jurnal Interaksi Magister Ilmu Komunikasi Undip Semarang, 1(1). Retrieved from http://research.unissula.ac.id/pages/publikasi.php?id=NzkzYXBheWFibmtyaXBzaW55YT8=.

Shemi, H. (2018, May 17), 4 Kategori Teroris Di Indonesia, Salah Satunya Simpatisan [Four categories of terrorists]. Retrieved from https://www.idntimes.com/news/indonesia/helmi/4-kategori-teroris-di-indonesia-1/4.

Santosa, B. (2013, March 16), Inilah 5 Ciri Teroris Modern versi Mabes Polri : Okezone Nasional [These are five characteristics of terrorist according to the national police]. Retrieved from https://nasional.okezone.com/read/2013/03/16/337/776850/inilah-5-ciri-teroris-modern-versi-mabes-polri.

Solahudin. (2011), NII sampai JI: Salafi Jihadisme di Indonesia [From NII to JI: Salafist Jihadism in Indonesia]. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.

Idris, I. (2019, December), Radikal Terorisme dan Pengukuran Radikalisme bagi Sasaran Deradikalisasi [the Measurement on Radicalism]. Conference session presented at Seminar Nasional Asosiasi Psikologi Militer, Bandung.

Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., & Hoge, R. D. (1990), Classification for effective rehabilitation: Rediscovering psychology. Criminal Justice and Behaviour, 17(1), 19-52.

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010), The psychology of criminal conduct (5th ed.). New Providence, NJ: Matthew Bender & Company, Inc.

Schmid, A. (1983), Political terrorism: A research guide to the concepts, theories, databases and literature. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Jenkins, B. M. (1982), Statements about terrorism. In M. DeFlem (Ed.), Terrorism and counter-terrorism: Criminological Perspectives (pp. 53–74). New York, NY: Elsevier.

Idris, I. (2019, December), Radikal Terorisme dan Pengukuran Radikalisme bagi Sasaran Deradikalisasi [the Measurement on Radicalism]. Conference session presented at Seminar Nasional Asosiasi Psikologi Militer, Bandung.

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010), The psychology of criminal conduct (5th ed.). New Providence, NJ: Matthew Bender & Company, Inc.

Schmid, A. (1983), Political terrorism: A research guide to the concepts, theories, databases and literature. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Jenkins, B. M. (1982), Statements about terrorism. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 463, 11-23.

Hoffman, B. (1998), Inside terrorism. New York: Columbia University Press.

Baden, T. J. (1998), Defining international terrorism: A pragmatic approach. Terrorism and Political Violence, 10(1), 90-107.
[31] Laqueur, W. (1999), The new terrorism: Fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction. New York: Oxford University Press.

[32] Victoroff, J. (2005), The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(1), 3-42.

[33] Post, J. M., Sprinzak, E., & Denny, L. M. (2003), The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists. Terrorism and Political Violence, 15, 171-184.

[34] Mufid, A. S., Sarwono, S. W., Syafii, M., Baedow, A., Karnavian, T., Zarkash, M., & Padmo, A. (2011), Research on Motivation and Root Causes of Terrorism. Jakarta: Indonesian Institute for Society Empowerment.

[35] Azra, A. (2006a), Indonesia, Islam, and democracy: Dynamics in a global context. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing.

[36] Azra, A. (2006b), Contemporary Islamic militant movements in Indonesia. Asian Cultural Studies, 15, 1-10.

[37] Roy, O. (2004), Globalised Islam: The search for a new ummah. London: Hurst.

[38] Hilmy, M. (2013), The politics of retaliation: The backlash of radical Islamists against deradicalisation project in Indonesia. Journal of Al-Jami’ah: Journal of Islamic Studies, 51(1), 129-158.

[39] Dekmejian, R. H. (1985), Islam in revolution: Fundamentalism in Arab world. New York: Syracuse University Press.

[40] Yusanto, I. (2003), Selamatkan Indonesia dengan Syariat Islam. Syariat Islam Pandangan Islam Liberal [Save Indonesia with Sharia]. Jakarta: Sembrani Aksara Nusantara, 139-171.

[41] Talafihah, S. T. A., Mohd Amin, M. F., & Mohd Zarih, M. M. (2017), Taghut: A Quranic Perspective. Ulum Islamiyyah, 22, Pp. 87-95. https://doi.org/10.33102/uij.vol22no0.11

[42] Zulkarnain, F., & Purnama, T. S. (2016), The ISIS movement and the threat or religious radicalism in Indonesia. *Mimbar*, 32(1), 31-39. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(1), 3-42.

[43] Kruglanski, A., Gunaratna, R., & Gelfand, M. (2011), Aspects of deradicalisation. In *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-terrorism*. Routledge.

[44] Putra, I. E., & Sukabdi, Z. A. (2013), Basic concepts and reasons behind the emergence of religious terror activities in Indonesia: an inside view. Asian Journal of Social Psychology (in press).

[45] Rabasa, A., Pattyjohn, S. L., Ghez, J. J., & Boucek, C. (2010), *Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists*. Rand Corporation. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG1053.pdf.

[46] Gunaratna, R., Jerard, J., & Rubin, L. (2011), *Terrorist rehabilitation and counter-radicalisation: New approaches to counter-terrorism*. Routledge.

[47] Shemella, P. (2011), Fighting Back: What Governments Can Do About Terrorism. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

[48] Kruglanski, A., Chen, X., Dechesne, M., Fishman, S., & Orehek, E. (2009), Fully committed: Suicide bombers’ motivation and the quest for personal significance. Political Psychology, 30, 331–357. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2009.00698.x.

[49] Moghadam, A. (2006), Suicide terrorism, occupation, and the globalization of martyrdom: A critique of Dying to Win. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 29(8), 707-729.

[50] Samudra, I. (2004), Aku melawan teroris! [I am fighting terrorists!]. Solo: Jazera.

[51] Bonta, J., & Andrews, D. (2016), The Psychology of Criminal Conduct. London: Routledge.

[52] Maslow, A. H. (1943), A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370-396. DOI: 10.1037/h0054346.

[53] Ashour, O. (2007), Lions Tamed? An Inquiry into Roots for Routes: Perspectives from psychology on radicalisation into terrorism. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Science*, 618, 75-87. https://doi.org/10.3751/61.4.12.

[54] Bjorgo, T., & Horgan, J. (2008), From profiles to pathways and roots through: Perspectives from psychology on radicalisation into terrorism. *The Middle East Journal*, 61(4), 596-625. https://doi.org/10.1086/593636.

[55] Frieden, J. A. (1999), Actors and preferences in international relations. In D. A. Lake & R. Powell, (Eds.), Strategic choice and international relations (pp. 39–76). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

[56] Horgan, J. (2008), From profiles to pathways and roots through: Perspectives from psychology on radicalisation into terrorism. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Science*, 618, 80-94.

[57] Hwang, C. J. (2015), The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists: Understanding the Pathways. Terrorism and Political Violence, 19. http://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1034955.

[58] Koehler, D. (2017a), How and why we should take deradicalisation seriously. Nature Human Behaviour, 1, 0095. DOI: 10.1038/s41562-017-0095.

[59] Koehler, D. (2017b), Understanding deradicalisation: Methods, tools and programs for countering violent extremism. New York/ London: Routledge.
[60] Lowry, K. D. (2018), Responding to the challenges of violent extremism/terrorism cases for United States Probation and Pretrial Services. Journal for Deradicalization, 17, 28–88.

[61] Rokeach, M. (1973), The nature of human values. New York: The Free Press.

[62] Amir, S. (2013), Pancasila as Integration Philosophy of Education and National Character. International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research, 2(1), 54-57.

[63] Amirullah. (2018, July 3), BNPT dikritik soal pemakaian kata radikalisme oleh Sekjen PBB [BNPT is criticised by the UN on the use of term radicalism]. Tempo.co [Jakarta]. Retrieved from https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1103273/bnpt-dikritik-soal-pemakaian-kata-radikalisme-oleh-sekjen-pbb.

[64] Mudassir, R. (2019, November 5), Ini 4 kriteria radikal yang harus dipahami, menurut BNPT [Four characteristics of being “radical” according to BNPT]. Bisnis.com [Jakarta]. Retrieved from https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20191105/15/1167259/ini-4-kriteria-radikal-yang-harus-dipahami-menurut-bnpt.

[65] Jannah, M., & Kusno, K. (2020), Peranan Pendidikan Pancasila bagi Masyarakat dalam Pembentukan Karakter dan Moral Berbagas dan Bernegara [The Role of Pancasila in Character Building]. Civitas (Jurnal Pembebasan dan Ilmu Civic), 1(1), 1-7.

[66] Nurhadi, N. (2019), Ideologi Konstitusi Piagam Madinah dan Relevansinya dengan Ideologi Pancasila [the Charter of Medina and its relation to Pancasila]. Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Konstitusi, 2(1), 107-129.

[67] Sahrani, R., Suyasa, P. T. Y. S., & Basaria, D. (2018), Kebijaksanaan berbasis Pancasila dan pengukurannya [The policy based on Pancasila and its measurement]. Seri Sumbangan Pemikiran Psikologi untuk Bangsa, 3, 433-455.

[68] Wijaya, I. K. (2018), Revitalisasi Program Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (P4) pada Jenjang Sekolah Dasar (SD) untuk Membentuk Generas Emas 2045 Bermoral Pancasila [Pancasila Programs for Primary Students]. Prosiding Seminar Nasional Pendidikan Dasar (SENADA III): Moral Literacy for Better Life, 91-102. Retrieved from http://jayapanguspress.penerbit.org/index.php/PN/article/view/27/27.

[69] Benda, H. J. (1980), Bulan sabit dan matahari terbit: Islam di Indonesia pada masa pendudukan Jepang [Crescent Moon and Sunrise: Islam in Indonesia during Japanese occupation]. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.

[70] Asal, Victor, Gary Ackerman, and R. Karl Rethemeyer. (2012), Connections Can Be Toxic: Terrorist Organisational Factors and the Pursuit of CBRN Weapons Studies in Terrorism and Conflict 35:229–254.

[71] Gilmore, W. C. (2004), Dirty money: The evolution of international measures to counter money laundering and the financing of terrorism (3rd ed.). Retrieved from https://books.google.com.au/books?id=mPdnR-ReVTAcC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q=false.

[72] Hardoun, P. (2009), Banks governance and public-private partnership in preventing and confronting organised crime, corruption and terrorism financing. Journal of Financial Crime, 16(3), 199-209. Retrieved from http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/10.1108/13590790910971757.

[73] Irwin, A. S., & Slay, J. (Eds.). (2010), Detecting Money Laundering and Terrorism Financing Activity in Second Life and World of Warcraft. Perth Western: Edith Cowan University, Research Online, Perth, Western Australia.

[74] Kobletztz, G. D. (2011), Predicting peril or the peril of prediction? assessing the risk of CBRN terrorism. Terrorism and Political Violence, 23(4), 501-520. DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2011.575487.

[75] Tucker, D. (2001), What is new about the new terrorism and how dangerous is it? Terrorism and Political Violence, 13(3), 1-14. DOI: 10.1080/09546550109609688.

[76] Denbeaux, M., & Denbeaux, J. (2006), No-hearing hearings. CSRT: The modern habeas corpus? Retrieved from http://law.shu.edu/publications/guantanamoReports/final_no_hearing_hearings_report.pdf.

[77] Felter, J., & Brachman, J. (2007), CTC report: An assessment of 516 combatant status review tribunal (CSRT) unclassified summaries. Retrieved from http://www. ctc.usma.edu/csr t/CTC-CSRT-Re port-072407.pdf.

[78] Savage, C., Glaberson, W., & Lehren, A. (2011, April 24), Classified files offer new insights into detainees. New York Times, p. A1. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/25/world/guantanamo-files-lives-in-an-american-limbo.html?scp1=8&sq=classified%20files%20off er%20new%20insights%20into%20detainees&stcse.

[79] Meehl, P. (1954), Clinical versus statistical prediction: A theoretical analysis and a review of the evidence. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota. DOI: 10.1037/11281-000.

[80] Atran, S. (2003), Genesis of suicide terrorism. Science, 299, 1534-1539. DOI: 10.1126/science.1078854.
[81] Bakker, E. (2006), *Jihadi terrorists in Europe their characteristics and the circumstances in which they joined the jihad: An exploratory study*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations. Retrieved from https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20061200_cscp_csp_bakker.pdf.

[82] Gartenstein-Ross, D., & Grossman, L. (2009), *Home-grown terrorists in the U.S. and U.K: An empirical study of the radicalisation process*. Foundation for Defence of Democracies, Center for Terrorism Research. Retrieved from http://www.defenddemocracy.org/content/uploads/documents/HomegrownTerrorists_USandUK.pdf.

[83] Krueger, A., & Maleckova, J. (2002, June 24), Does poverty cause terrorism? *The New Republic*, pp. 27-33.

[84] McCauley, C., & Segal, M. (1987), Terrorist individuals and terrorist groups: The normal psychology of extreme behaviour. In J. Groebel & J. Goldstein (Eds.), *Terrorism: Psychological perspective* (pp. 39-64). Seville: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla.

[85] Merari, A. (2005), Social, organizational, and psychological factors in suicide terrorism. In T. Bjorgo (Ed.), *Root cause of terrorism, Myths, reality, and ways forward* (pp. 70-89). London, UK: Routledge. DOI:10.4324/9780203337653_chapter_6.

[86] Merari, A. (2010), *Driven to death: Psychological and social aspects of suicide terrorism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

[87] Sukabdi, Z. A. (2017), Psychological rehabilitation for ideology-based terrorism offenders. International Journal of Neurorehabilitation, 4(01). DOI: 10.4172/2376-0281.1000247.

[88] Bohart, A. C., & Tallman, K. (1996), The active client: Therapy as self-help. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 36*(3), 7-30.

[89] Farber, E. W. (2012), Supervising humanistic-existential psychotherapy: Needs, possibilities. *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy, 42*(3), 173-182.

[90] Greenberg, L. S., & Rice, L. N. (1997), Humanistic approaches to psychotherapy. In P. L. Wachtel & S. B. Messer (Eds.), *Theories of psychotherapy: Origins and evolution* (p. 97–129). (Reprinted in modified form from D. K. Freedheim (Ed.), «History of Psychotherapy: A Century of Change», Washington, DC: American Psychological Assn, 1992, pp. 197–224) American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/10239-003 .

[91] McLeod, J. (2003), The humanistic paradigm. Handbook of counselling psychology, 140-160.

[92] Rogers, C. (1959), *A Theory of Therapy, Personality and Interpersonal Relationships as Developed in the Client-centered Framework*. In S. Koch (Ed.), *Psychology: A Study of a Science*. Vol. 3: Formulations of the Person and the Social Context. New York: McGraw Hill.

[93] Schneider, K. J., Pierson, J. F., & Bugental, J. F. (Eds.). (2014), *The handbook of humanistic psychology: Theory, research, and practice*. Sage Publications.

[94] Borum, R. (2011), Radicalisation into violent extremism II: a review of conceptual models and empirical research. *Journal of Strategic Security, 4*(4), 37-62. DOI: 10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.2.

[95] Pressman, D. E., & Flockton, J. (2010), Risk assessment decisions for violent political extremism. Consultative Version 2. Unpublished manuscript.

[96] Silke, A. (2008), Holy warriors. *European Journal of Criminology, 5*(1), 99-123. DOI: 10.1177/1477370807084226.

[97] Aspinall, E. (2014), Health care and democratization in Indonesia. *Democratization, 21*(5), 803-823.

[98] Hanandita, W., & Tampubolon, G. (2015), The double burden of malnutrition in Indonesia: Social determinants and geographical variations. *SSM-population health, 1*, 16-25.

[99] International Labour Organization. (2003), Restructuring of the social security system (Part 4): The Feasibility of Introducing an Unemployment Insurance Benefit in Indonesia. Geneva: Author.

[100] Leigh, A., & Van der Eng, P. (2009), Inequality in Indonesia: What can we learn from top incomes? *Journal of public economics, 93*(1-2), 209-212.

[101] Measey, M. (2010), Indonesia: a vulnerable country in the face of climate change. *Global Majority E-Journal, 1*(1), 31-45.