

# LITERATION APPROACH TO DERADICALIZING TERRORISM

## Case Study of Rumah Daulat Buku (RUDALKU), Literacy Community for Ex-Terrorist Prisoners in Indonesia

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### ***Abstrak:***

*Dealing with the problem of ex-terrorist prisoners is a big problem for countering terrorism in Indonesia. Their return to the community still leaves risks, one of which is the belief in radical ideologies that have been embedded since being in the network. As a result, ex-convicts are vulnerable to rejoining terrorist groups, to carry out similar actions. Terrorism is rooted in radical thinking that directs individuals or groups to take action. The efforts made so far such as by BNPT with the deradicalisation program have not been successful enough because ex terrorist prisoners feels they have a different understanding path. Moreover, the deradicalization program is only carried out within a certain period of time due to limited resources and costs. Therefore, a new innovation is needed that can reduce the risk of terrorists rejoining the group and is sustainable. One alternative program offered is deradicalization using the literacy approach as done through Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku).*

***Keywords; ex terroris prisoners, countering terorism, deradicalization, literacy approach***

### **A.INTRODUCTION**

Ex-terrorist prisoners as a group of people who have been involved in terrorism, then after free, so raises several questions. Where will they go after being released from prison?. Will they repeat the act of terror again? Can they be kept away from terrorism during

coaching in prison? Will they be accepted by the community when they return? Dealing with ex-terrorist prisoners issues is a major problem for combating terrorism in Indonesia. Ex-terrorist prisoners are individuals who were once involved in acts of terrorism, were caught and received prison sentences, to breathe freedom and return to society. However, their return to the community is not without risk. One very important risk is the belief in radical ideologies that have been embedded since they were in their networks. As a result, ex-terrorist prisoners have become vulnerable to rejoining terrorist groups, fearing a relapse and similar actions. In addition to ideology, the stigma that resides in society is also a big challenge for ex-terrorist prisoners.

In Indonesia, the pattern of overcoming terrorism has been divided into two fields, namely the hard approach and the soft approach. The hard approach involves various elements of law enforcement, namely the anti-terror unit in the Police. A hard approach in the short term has indeed proven capable of mitigating radical acts of terrorism. However, fundamentally it has a weakness because it does not solve the main problem, namely the ideological aspect.

In Indonesia, efforts to combat terrorism are entrusted to the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) with a flagship deradicalization program. Deradicalisation carried out by BNPT includes identification, rehabilitation, reeducation, and resocialization both within prisons and outside prisons through synergy and coordination with policy makers.<sup>1</sup> Various activities have been carried out by the BNPT to empower ex-terrorist prisoners. Religious development, fostering national insight, entrepreneurial assistance, training and efforts to fulfill their rights as citizens are de-radicalization programs that have been carried out as an effort to make ex-terrorist prisoners a good citizen and not to repeat their actions.

In the civil society environment, a movement was founded by a group of researchers who had long been involved in the study of radicalism and terrorism. They then initiated to make a program called, Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku). This program is an alternative effort in the context of deradicalization by using a literacy approach while carrying the tagline "Many Reads Be Open Mind, Many Readings Become Tolerant". They departed from research that reading was apparently very much linked to fluctuations in radicalism and terrorism. There is a thesis that has been confirmed that a person can be influenced by radicalism and terrorism due to lack of reading. Conversely, a lot of reading will make

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<sup>1</sup> *Blue Prin Deradikalisasi*, BNPT, 2016, p. 62

someone more open insight and knowledge so that it becomes critical and not easily hypnotized by radical thinking.

The literacy movement of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is considered a program that is still rarely realized in Indonesia. It could even be said as a new movement. So far, in the search for authors of studies or books that elaborate on the literacy approach to deradicalisation of ex-terrorist prisoners, it does not yet exist *in toto*. Especially in the context of the literacy approach that was built on the basis of ex-terrorist prisoners houses. As far as the international journals have been examined that describe the deradicalization program in various countries such as Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Britain, Australia and America, no one has done a comprehensive literacy approach as done by Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku).

This proves that the literacy approach so far has not been used as a mainstream approach--not to say neglected--in the deradicalization approach to ex-terrorist prisoners. The de-radicalization endeavor still seems to be done 'monotonously' with an approach that has already been seen as qualified without innovative variations. In fact, the literacy approach has a strategic significance in the context of deradicalization.

As we know, in Indonesia faces the problem of low levels of literacy. One indicator is the low level of public interest in reading. As well as any learning process including instant religious knowledge which is currently carried out by some people through cyberspace or the internet also contributes to the literacy crisis among the nation's generation. The tradition of reading books decreases dramatically so that Indonesia is classified as a country that is low in reading books. Then later, Indonesia launched the Indonesia Reading movement. During this time, in the writer's observation there is still a weakness of scientific knowledge about terrorism and radicalism in the academic environment. This fact is precisely the reason for the inadequacy of deradicalization efforts, especially in ex-terrorist prisoners. The concept and approach of deradicalization which is carried out like a psychological approach has not contributed much to the glitch of deradicalization. Perhaps this is because the theoretical formulation of the approach is not yet mature. In fact, it can also be stated that the formulation of a deradicalization approach like this stems from inappropriate paradigms and theories. Therefore, among academics it is fitting to develop a more innovative approach to deradicalization.

What has been done by Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is a portrait of the civil society movement. In the context of current and future global, regional and national developments, the role of civil society is increasingly recognized and evident. Especially with the increasingly role of what is known as a non-state actor who could have the power that can

rival the power of the state. The civil society movement in the form of the Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) has been proven to carry out a series of activities that have not been or not carried out by the state in relation to institutions serving the interests of the wider community or at least becoming an alternative discourse outside the state bureaucracy apparatus in carrying out the de-radicalization program.

Research on the literacy movement towards ex-terrorist prisoners is very interesting and has a value of 'non-conventional perspective' so that it has significance considering the scarcity of literacy approaches that are applied to deradicalization. Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) has paved the way by formulating concepts and practicing them while continuing to pursue improvements in implementation.

## **B. THEORY STUDY**

What allows a person to become a terrorist is ideology not pathology. This belief system ultimately inspired their actions. Ideology has a strong influence that can explain the actions of individuals and groups, "ideology determines who is the enemy" and has a long justification for political action.<sup>2</sup> Ideology is a collection of coordinated beliefs about how things are versus how they should be from the point of view of groups, or categories of people. Ideology refers to collectivist goals rather than individualists who govern group welfare above individual personal well-being. This is in sharp contrast to selfishness, hedonism, or greed. People may be motivated to kill for greed, even risking one's life or personal freedom for greed, but one will not commit suicide because of greed. People will do it for ideological reasons.<sup>3</sup>

Many circles say that the background of the emergence of radicalism and terrorism is indeed very complex and diverse, in addition to being caused by external factors such as global injustice and the problem of the country's economic distribution of its citizens, individual internal factors also far have a significant role. Jurgensmeyer (2009) mentions factors of economic, political, religious and identity conditions in addition to giving birth to organized movements such as acts of terrorism, also allowing violence. To arrive at the occurrence of violence usually when other factors also accumulate, such as ideological doctrines instilled by charismatic leaders, the development of effective recruitment systems, and established organizations.

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<sup>2</sup> Ranya Ahmed, *Terrorist Ideologies and Target Selection*, Journal of Applied Security Research, 12 Mei 2018, p. 379

<sup>3</sup> Arie Kruglanski, *Inside the terrorist mind: The relevance of ideology*, Studies in Psychology, 23 Januari 2014, p. 272

The emergence of organized terrorism has receded. At present the concern is the generation of lone wolf terrorists, those who move on their own without a network and its resources are the result of learning from the internet. The decline of the organization (tanzim) has now become the main discourse in the study of terrorism. This is what is labeled as "leaderless jihad," which approaches the "system" (*Nizam*). According to some experts, groups such as Al Qaeda have ceased to exist as centralized entities. They no longer control large resources, run training camps, or are in a position to direct operations. Al Qaeda, for example, is no longer an organization and nothing more than a social network that only inspires global jihad. Terrorism has been divided and has become yourself.<sup>4</sup>

Each country has a different context in understanding and applying the method of deradicalization. In individual contexts, for example, there is a difference between avoiding the role of the executor (role change), de-radicalization of attitudes and beliefs, separation (disengagement) from acts of violence, and the process of leaving the radical group and reuniting with society.<sup>5</sup>

In the study of terrorism, two approaches are commonly distinguished namely deradicalization and disengagement. These two terms describe the process by which individuals or groups stop their involvement from violence. Disengagement is the process by which members of terror groups, radical movements, gangs or sects choose to stop participating in acts of violence. They can do this either by leaving the movement or by migrating from violence to nonviolence. Disengagement connotes behavior change. In contrast to ideological deradicalization, which shows the ideological delegitimation that underlies the use of violence. In other words, deradicalization shows changes in values and attitudes.

Deradicalization is a combination of two terms that have different meanings, but the end goal is the same, namely to make terrorists want to leave or let go of acts of terrorism in the form of violence. Deradicalization is a reversal of the process of radicalization.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, rehabilitation programs must carefully assess the targeted radicalization process of individuals and then develop programs that can reverse direction. For this purpose, it is important to consider the differences between different types of extremist groups.

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<sup>4</sup> Arabinda Acharya dan Sonal Marwah, *Nizam, la Tanzim (System, not Organization): Do Organizations Matter in Terrorism Today? A Study of the November 2008 Mumbai Attacks*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC , 3 Januari 2011, p. 3

<sup>5</sup> Noricks, D.M.E. *Disengagement and Deradicalization: Processes and Programs*. In P.K. Davis & K. Cragin, *Social Science for Counterterrorism: Putting the Pieces Together*. RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2009, p. 310

<sup>6</sup> Porta, D.D. & Gary LaFree. *Processes of Radicalization and De-Radicalization*. International Journal of Conflict and Violence 6:1, 2012, p. 6-7

Deradicalization usually involves several steps, including changes in values and changes in behavior. Changes in value do not always precede changes in behavior. Individuals often join extremist groups in the same way as they might join gangs through social connections, to get a sense of belonging, and only then do they get extremist views.<sup>7</sup>

In a study conducted by Hwang revealed that out of 50 jihadists in the cities of Jakarta, Solo, Semarang, Palu, Poso and Ampaña it can be concluded that there were 4 factors that made them leave the group, including: disappointed in tactics, friendship and new relationships, changing priorities, and profit and loss analysis. In addition, other secondary roles include remorse for the role and disappointment of hardliners, pressure from parents, humanistic treatment by the police.<sup>8</sup> Barelle found that the reasons for leaving the group were not convinced by the leader, not convinced by the group members, burnout, excessive violence, not convinced by radical ideas, ineffective radical methods, withdrawn for other roles, forced out with arrest, not feeling close with the group again and forced out by the group.<sup>9</sup>

Religious-based terrorism seems to have a higher level of militancy. The rise of Islamic terrorism is a significant reason for the growth of terrorist attacks with the highest number of victims both quantitatively and qualitatively especially in the period 1998 to 2006. Islamic terrorism is identified as terrorist attacks carried out by groups motivated by interpretations of Islamic political principles or by identity Muslim religious and communal. Interpretations of the principles and definitions of communal identities vary greatly between Islamist groups.<sup>10</sup> This interpretation then becomes the ideological foundation that justifies attacks carried out by terrorist groups.

Research Lutz & Lutz revealed that in dealing with terrorism there is no single counterterrorist technique or approach because terrorism is far more complex than just one approach.<sup>11</sup> This is a challenge as well as an opportunity for Indonesia to continue to develop appropriate technical innovations in finding solutions to counter terrorism. Another challenge is that events, the environment and issues that fulfill terrorism are no longer clear, so they cannot be solved in an instant. No program has formally identified a valid and reliable indicator of successful deradicalization or even disengagement, whether in cultural,

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<sup>7</sup> Jessica Stern, *Mind Over Martyr How to Deradicalize Islamist Extremists*, Asian Studies Review, 12 Juni 2017

<sup>8</sup> Julie Chernov Hwang, *The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists: Understanding the Pathways*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, 22 Jul 2015, p. 278

<sup>9</sup> Barrelle, Kate. (2015), *Pro-integration: disengagement from and life after extremism*, *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 7:2, 129-142,

<sup>10</sup> James A. Piazza, *Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous?: An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, 2009, p. 64

<sup>11</sup> Lutz, James M., & Lutz, Brenda J., (2004) *Global Terrorism*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, p. 31

psychological, or other terms. As a result, every effort to evaluate the effectiveness of such a program is overwhelmed with many conceptual challenges because of its practical nature.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, complete deradicalization must continue to be the final goal, if only for practical reasons that terrorists who begin to escape can repeat themselves. These jihadists with some of their typologies retain their beliefs despite spending many years in prison. As illustrated by the examples of Aman Abdurrachman, Abdullah Sonata, and Abdul Rauf, recidivism remains a real possibility if individuals in this category are released. But such reengagement is not a general pattern, because it most often leads to deradicalization. Therefore, doing either disengagement or deradicalization needs to be done systematically. The jihadists, both *napiter* and *ex napiter* in the study, showed that the radical was still strong. They only stopped for a moment, and when there are things that allow them to jump in it is very easy to do.<sup>13</sup>

The literacy approach is related to education. UNESCO recognizes that education has an important role in disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration programs. In the Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for the Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Hard Extremist Violators, the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum (GCF) recommends rehabilitation efforts through cognitive skills programs and basic education courses, as well as job training. The role of education is to create conditions that build defenses against violent extremism and strengthen their commitment to nonviolence and peace.<sup>14</sup>

Educational policies can ensure that learning spaces do not become comfortable breeding grounds for extremism. Community literacy plays an important role in efforts to reduce the exposure to radical understanding, especially for children. All this time, terrorism has been motivated by a particular ideology which is the basis of why acts of terrorism are intensified. Terrorism also departs from the concept of the mind which carries the name of a particular dogma so that it still continues to this day. It spreads viral through a group of doctrinaire-revolutionary actions. In this context, education can play a role in stemming terrorism through educated common sense. During this time, the perpetrators of terror who in their actions are often with the legitimacy and justification of religion as justification, are actually infected with the disease of non-titration (illiterate). Non-literacy is not a matter of

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<sup>12</sup> Horgan, J. & K. Braddock. *Assessing the Effectiveness of Current De-Radicalization Initiatives and Identifying Implications for the Development of US-Based Initiatives in Multiple Settings*. The University of Maryland, 2009, hal 4-5

<sup>13</sup> Ian Chalmers, *Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia: Bringing Back the Jihadists*, Asian Studies Review, 2017, p. 42

<sup>14</sup> UNESCO, *Preventing violent extremism through education Sustainable Development Goals United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization A guide for policy-makers*, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France, 2017, p. 22

how many books are read, but rather how it locates and criticizes the texts it reads. The pattern of reading texts without critical awareness, instead of bringing illumination of mind, instead what happens instead gives birth to an attitude of "short axis." On the one hand, he is also "hegemony" by the dogma he gets from his group. It loses "sovereignty" over its critical power.

### **C. RESEARCH METHOD**

This paper departs from the author's research on Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku). Research uses a qualitative approach. This approach is a form of interpretive approach in interpreting empirical phenomena. The method in this approach is descriptive-analytical, in order to describe a phenomenon to learn aspects of who, what, when, and how from a topic. For Ronny Kountur, descriptive research will provide a description, description or situation as clearly as possible without any special treatment of the object under study.<sup>15</sup>

This type of case study research is consistent with Robert K. Yin's opinion, that case studies do not require a complete or accurate translation of actual events, because they are directed to the development of a framework for understanding complex social phenomena to maintain the characteristics of the organizational cycle, social change and relationships international.<sup>16</sup>

In this limited space, I will give sufficient description of the concept and implementation of literacy-based deradicalization movement which is realized by Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku). This research will produce conclusions or recommendations that can be used as one of the models in deradicalizing ex-terrorist prisoners. This is consistent with hypotheses or assumptions while the writer is based on literature review and observations in the field.

### **D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The concept formulated in the literacy program of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is to build a library in the homes of each ex-terrorist prisoners, which then becomes a reading park for local residents. Managers with high militancy, trying to encourage ex-terrorist prisoners to want to establish a book house in his house. No need to make a special place that will only cost a lot. The ex-terrorist prisoner' home can be used as a suitable place for a

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<sup>15</sup>Kountur, Ronny, (2005), *Metode Penelitian Untuk Penulisan Skripsi dan Tesis*, PPM, Jakarta, p.24

<sup>16</sup> Yin, K Robert,(2005), "Case Study Research Deseign and Methods", dalam M.Djuazi Mudzakir, eds., *Studi Kasus Desain & Metode*, PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, p.21



reading garden and building creations and endeavors that are significantly beneficial to residents and surrounding communities. From there the former agents of change (agents of social change) for the community, families, and groups through efforts to spread a moderate understanding through the literacy approach.

The manager of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) approach ex-terrorist prisoners with friendship. Managers send books on a variety of topics to ex-terrorist prisoners' homes. Furthermore, the manager will provide assistance (mentoring) by holding activities in ex-terrorist prisoners' homes which are followed by children or teenagers around the house periodically. The material taught at the Book House starts from encouraging reading interest, reading good books, about building a home library to teaching moderate national and religious insights. Ex-terrorist prisoners are asked to gather children and young people around their homes to be taught. This method is at the same time to bring ex-terrorist prisoners closer to the surrounding community as a form of social reintegration. Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) has two benefits, namely as a further deradicalization of ex-terrorist prisoners and as a deterrent to the surrounding community from the threat of radicalism. At present, as many as 20 Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) have been set up in Jakarta, Bogor, Bekasi, Depok, Parung, Banyumas, Semarang, Madiun, Palembang and Medan.

In this way, they are expected to be willing to read books on various topics, so that the radical understanding that still settles in their minds can be opened with broader insights. So that it can stimulate ex-terrorist prisoners to be able to accept pluralism, outside of the identity that has been indoctrinated by radical mentors that the identity of radical groups is absolute and the most correct. Terrorist recruiters want Muslims to forget that they actually have a variety of other identities and that they must decide for themselves important political and moral issues and take responsibility for the decision and not be directed by the recruiters' guidance based on an unconventional understanding of Islam that can be observed and criticized.<sup>17</sup>

Research reveals that efforts that can be made to release individuals or groups from terrorism, even to deradicalize or change their beliefs is to understand the strategies undertaken to motivate prospective members, such as face-to-face recruitment, through media, internet, and even books.<sup>18</sup> It appears that radical books are one of the strategies carried out by terrorist groups to spread the beliefs that are believed to be able to recruit new members by giving away free of charge or sold at very cheap prices. To counter this, efforts

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<sup>17</sup> Sen, Amartya (2006). *Kekerasan dan Identitas*. Penerbit Marjin Kiri, Jakarta. P.75

<sup>18</sup> Speckhard, Anne (2011). *Prison and Community Based Disengagement and Deradicalization Programs for Extremist Involved in Militan Jihadi Terrorism Ideologies and Activities*, Cultural aspects of terrorism, p.325

are needed to reverse this understanding through the establishment of Book Houses by providing varied and moderate literacy in order to change radical understanding. Positive interactions that occur between ex-terrorist prisoners and moderates can be one of the factors that make individuals leave their groups.<sup>19</sup>

In order to support the effectiveness of this literacy movement, Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) organizes monthly religious studies or study groups called Multaqol Rudaller Lit Ta'lim (MRT) managers. The study invited the ex-terrorist prisoners who had already established the Book House and also who had not yet established it. The study activity is also a strategy to recruit ex-terrorist prisoners to establish a book house as well as coordination in its management. This study presents resource persons from moderates by using Arabic book references designed to indoctrinate moderate religious understanding and nationality. In the recitation, ex-terrorist prisoners participants were encouraged to express their views to be openly discussed (*munaqasah*).

Some of the books read in the study activities include the book of *al-Uswah lil 'Alamin, al-dalil al-Irshadi Ila Maqasid al-Shari'ah al-Islamiyyah* by Muhammad K. Imam and the book of fikh *al-Waroqot* by Imam Jalaluddin al-Suyuthi. The content of the lecture delivered does emphasize Islam as a religion of peace. Ustadz who had been presented to fill the recitations such as Ustadz Sufyan Tsauri, Ustadz Imam Nakhoi were even filled by former Mantiqi III Commander of Jemaah Islamiyah, Nasir Abbas. The management hopes that the ex-terrorist prisoners inmates can get knowledge from the study so that they are not exposed to radicalism again. In essence, invite them to love knowledge and understand the meaning of jihad according to the teachings of the straight.

The study method is seen by the management as a method that is considered far more effective than the deradicalization patterns based on seminar activities such as those held by the government through BNPT, despite the presence of competent resource persons. In the view of the former naples, the resource persons presented were not as complex and authoritative as the previous mentors. In addition, the seminar was not intensive, with one-way communication, so they became passive participants. In contrast to the seminar, the study method opens up a space of two-way interaction so that it is possible for ex-terrorist prisoners to think critically through the questions posed. The method of recitation also bases on the otoritative books (*mu'tabar*), so the answers presented by the cleric are judged to be more authoritative by ex-terrorist prisoners.

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<sup>19</sup> Altier, Mary Beth., Thoroughgood, Christian N., & Horgan, John G. (2014), *Turning away from terrorism: Lessons from psychology, sociology, and criminology*. Journal of Peace Research 2014, Vol. 51(5) p. 647–661

From the research of Hwang & Schulze (2018), recitation (*Islamic study session*) becomes an effective means to recruit members and instill radical doctrine. The results of this study showed 87 of 106 Muslim militants joined radical groups through radical recitation. They have been a key component in Muslim recruitment into the Darul Islam (DI) and Indonesian Islamic State (NII) movements since the 1980s and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) since 1993, until those who have joined pro-ISIS groups in Indonesia since 2013. Recitation for radical groups to function independently and together with other channels such as schools and local conflicts. In their more exclusive form of recitation, prepare a prospective member to be indoctrinated. Besides that, the social ties formed stronger in more exclusive recitals ensure the loyalty of the brothers towards Islamist militant organizations. Referring to this, the study of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) tries to use the model as previously followed by ex-terrorist prisoners until they are consumed by radical doctrine.

Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku)' Program began to form in 2017. It began with a management meeting with Kiagus Muhammad Toni in Ogan Komering Ilir Regency (OKI). Toni has been involved in the Palembang terrorist network under the command of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). At that time, the manager who was researching then invited Kiagus Toni who was just free to establish Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku). A good reception from Kiagus Toni made the manager then sent a number of books and banners to fill the library shelves at Kiagus Toni's house.

One time, Kiagus Toni came to the Rudalku headquarters in Pasar Minggu, south Jakarta. He brought Ani Sugandhi from Palembang and Khoirul Ikhwan from Madiun. Ani Sugandhi himself had been involved in the Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) network in the South Sumatra region, while Khoirul Ikhwan was arrested for planning to blow up the Myanmar embassy in 2013. During a visit to Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku)' secretariat, the two agreed to establish a literacy movement. At the end of 2017, Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) movement attracted Abdurrahman Taib, a former South Sumatra network JI activist who had been trained directly by Noordin M. Top. Taib also wants to join with Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku). Up to 2017 there have been four branches of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) house in several regions. Over time, some ex-terrorist prisoners fighters are willing to join. In 2018, there were already 17 Rudalkus successfully established which were spread across a number of regions namely Jakarta, West Java, East Java, North Sumatra (Medan), and South Sumatra (Palembang). This number increased until 2019 to 20 with the addition of Banyumas and Semarang. This will continue to grow considering that there are still many ex-terrorist prisoners in various regions.

Building literacy jihad in the community of maritime is felt by the manager is not easy. Even though they have started to open their insights, they are still vulnerable to being ignited if hot issues arise. That is, the effort to return ex-terrorist prisoners to a moderate understanding of Islam is a challenge for managers. They still have the potential to become fierce, for example due to the rise of hot issues such as the 212 action, burning the monotheism flag and so forth. The spirit of jihad often burns. Even in a WhatsApp group, which mostly consists of former ex-combatants, it still often hits sarcastic narratives, heinous blasphemies. Some of them even wrote that they were ready to perform terror action (amaliyat) to defend their beliefs, which they saw as being insulted and wronged. They also had time to invite other ex-terrorist prisoners' members to wage jihad, despite having to die looking for martyrdom. In this context, it can be seen that basically ex-terrorist prisoners even though they have served their sentences and even the deradicalization program can still be categorized as vulnerable groups. For example, Irianto Romdhoni was arrested again by the Densus because of his involvement in the Pasuruan-Bangil network. Romdloni has even participated in the deradicalization program, but he returns to the JAD network (Jemaah Ansharut Daulah), which is one of the Surabaya bombers.

Thus, not a few of the former combatants are still classified as strong radical ideology. The radical doctrine infused by previous mentors is still deeply rooted even at a much lower level after participating in programs organized by Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku). Most of them are still easily emotionally ignited when absorbing information and narratives on social media that have a radical aroma, even though the information is sometimes hoax information. Indeed they still do not have critical reasoning because they do not have the capital of knowledge in identifying various wild information in the virtual universe. Here, Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku)' manager believes that people can become radical because of lack of reading.

Currently, the manager focuses on activities in Jakarta, Bekasi, Depok, Parung and Bogor area by holding monthly recitals with study material on Islam *Rahmatan Lil'alam*. In these regions there are 14 ex-terrorist prisoners who routinely attend monthly prayers held at the Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) secretariat. Every time a study session is held, ex-terrorist prisoners usually come with their families (wife and children). Ex-terrorist prisoners in these regions who joined included Muhammad Thorik. Thorik was once involved in the Depok and Solo terrorist networks that stored bombs in his home in Tambora, West Jakarta. The former napiter, alias Alex Jalani, was once prepared to be a "bride", but was quickly arrested by police. There was another, former Depok ex-terrorist prisoners network that

helped strengthen Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) team, namely Ahmad Sofyan alias Acong alias Rian who was formerly Amir AlQaedah in the Jakarta area. Then in a row Agus Abdillah alias Jodi. "Book Bomb" networks such as Hendi Suhartono alias Jokaw, Riki Riyanto alias Ibeng, and Muhammad Maulana Sani were also enthusiastic in moving literacy. Likewise, Amir Abdillah, an ex-terrorist prisoners of the JW Marriot and Mardiansyah who had been involved in the Cirebon Mapolresta suicide bombing.

One of the challenges faced by ex-terrorist prisoners in implementing Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) program is the ex-terrorist prisoners concern about the potential resistance of surrounding communities to their existence. Because, they are still hiding his identity as a former terrorist. This is because the local community does not want ex-terrorists prisoners living in their neighborhood, there is even an escalator who tries his best to keep his past a secret, including telling his children not to open up the disgrace of their parents' past to others.

Furthermore, the challenges that are mostly faced by ex-terrorist prisoners so far are also related to the economy. Some Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) houses which are managed by ex-terrorist prisoners are still contracted. While their profession is driver, selling herbal medicines and other odd jobs. Because of these economic factors, the educational needs of their children have not been properly met. There are some of their children who are not schooled, and only recite at home.

Functionally, Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) can be likened to community reading house in general. Its existence can be an alternative learning center in order to increase children's interest in reading. This reading house can also be a center of knowledge resources that has a strategic role to create a society with high interest and culture of reading. This step can be an effort to deradicalize families and children who commit terrorism. The presence of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) as a form of Community Reading House is a concrete action of ex-terrorist prisoners to participate in building critical awareness of the community. The existence of the Book House, which was initiated by ex-terrorist prisoners, can at least facilitate both the children and children of the local residents to get their world, namely the world of learning. When they feel comfortable with their world, it will be difficult to be influenced by radical notions.

Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) in the future will provide capacity building to the ex-terrorist prisoners, especially in the provision of building a library, building social reintegration and how to build a literacy society. The manager actually has various agendas such as training, entrepreneurship such as selling books, visits to book publishers, regular

meetings with the reading community, librarians, visits and dialogues with other religions such as in churches, temples and others as well as other things that are essentially an agenda of innovative activities. Some of these agendas are indeed not yet realized given the funding constraints. So far, funding has been done independently by the manager. Some of the agendas that have been realized are the sending of books on a regular basis, monthly study as a scientific mentoring, and monitoring by visiting each ex-terrorist prisoners's home by holding literacy activities with children and adolescents around ex-terrorist prisoners homes.

Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is expected to be an activity for local residents, especially teenagers and children, to have the opportunity to express their expressions and creations in the form of non-formal educational activities but remain free and cheerful. For managers, ex-terrorist prisoners are basically human beings who have the potential to participate in community empowerment efforts through reading houses that they have pioneered as a medium for them and the community as an effort to deradicalize and prevent radicalism and terrorism. Referring to the Pro-Integration Model conducted by Barrelle<sup>20</sup> what is done by Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) through a comprehensive literacy approach shows that detachment from terrorist groups is a transition of identity and survival of release is about involvement proactively, holistically, and harmonious with the wider community.

## **E. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS**

The author concludes that there are no previous studies on the literacy approach, especially in the form of the establishment of a book house for ex-terrorist prisoners. Although the study of literacy has been carried out, it is not in context as an approach to deradicalization of ex-terrorist prisoners. Therefore, the author in this case affirmatively affirmed that what was done by Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) by using a literacy approach to the deradicalization of ex-terrorist prisoners was a new and very innovative step.

Deradicalization program through literacy approach with case study of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is very much needed to complement and also realize the effectiveness of terrorism deradicalization which is currently being carried out intensively by the government and institutions. Also considering that so far, there has not been a literacy-based movement in the context of deradicalization efforts towards ex-terrorist prisoners. The literacy approach of the Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) model needs to get special attention when the country is struggling to deradicalize in the context of combating terrorism. Moreover, it is currently

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<sup>20</sup> Barrelle, Kate. (2015), *Pro-integration: disengagement from and life after extremism*, *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, p.214

pursuing puritanical and radical ideas in the face of identity politics, conservative turn, old-fashioned religious sentiments, and literalism which ultimately turns their backs on critical reasoning and even conflicts between understandings that are often full of curses and brawls to potential acts of terrorism.

The effort of a group of activists engaged in the field of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) to participate in the context of scientific-based deradicalization certainly needs special attention. This de-radicalization endeavor is vital to bring back the ex-military to an open scientific tradition to produce cosmopolitan insights, critical thinking and tolerance.

The Efforts of Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) might be one of the models of the frontline deradicalization approach among other approaches that have been carried out and become a program to be carried out nationally by the Government of Indonesia. Research on Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is expected to be an academic and strategic step in seeing deradicalization in a more innovative way. The literacy approach taken by Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) appears as a critique of the approach that has been used for de-radicalization, which tends to neglect the role of ex-terrorist prisoners as its activator. On the contrary, so far the de-radicalization approach actually looks more to make ex-terrorist prisoners as a 'commodity' that only makes the norms without raising awareness of ex-terrorist prisoners to become a mobilizer.

The literacy model to be realized by Rumah Daulat Buku (Rudalku) is built with a deeper and holistic meaning, touching the sides of individual and collective consciousness. Suggestions in this case, in the future it is necessary to overcome radicalism and terrorism through an integrated literacy approach, which so far has been seen as partially deradicalized and has not yet created many creations and innovations that are 'out of the box' from the community component. All of this demands planned and continuous change in order to improve and enhance the quality of innovative deradicalization.

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