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WHEN RADICALISATION MEETS BUREAUCRACY: FLUID RADICALISATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON POLICY ALTERNATIVES IN INDONESIAN DE-RADICALISATION POLICIES

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Abstract. The increasing attention to counter-terrorism practices through counter-terrorism and de-radicalisation policies has not been matched by in-depth and comprehensive studies on terrorism and radicalisation. As a result, there is a misconception of both, leading to discriminatory counter-terrorism and de-radicalisation policies, which allow certain groups and the state to commit violence and take freedom from groups stigmatised as radical. This study seeks to examine terrorism and radicalism by exploring the interpretation of the government as an institution, which has the authority to interpret terrorism and radicalism, resulting in de-radicalization and counter-terrorism policies. A dataset consisted of news items about government activities on terrorism and radicalisation from three ministries/non-ministerial institutions was used for corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) assisted by AntConc application. We found that the three agencies developed interpretations of radicalisation as part of their

main duties and functions. Radicalisation has become a very flexible concept, adapting to bureaucratic spaces, not to be solved but to obtain budget spaces. Finally, the government responded to the entry of radicalism as a public issue by fragmenting the whole concept of radicalisation and splitting it into various agencies, where it is suitable to be resolved, rather than unifying it comprehensively in the National Counter-Terrorism Agency's mission.

Keywords: radicalism, de-radicalization, contra-terrorism, and Indonesia.

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Background

Terrorism is an objective reality and can be interpreted subjectively (Karaffa, 2012, 2015). As an objective reality, academics and practitioners agree that terrorism is a crime against humanity and is also called an extraordinary crime because it threatens civilisation and the sovereignty of every country in the world (Malkki and Sallamaa, 2018). It is part of an organised international crime which poses a threat to security, peace and ultimately affects the welfare of society as a whole (Atkinson, 2019; Feyyaz, 2019).

Although terrorism can be considered a relatively rare event and one of the minor causes of human suffering and death in the world (Heath and Waymer, 2014), it disrupts a norm upheld by societies around the world and by all religions (Malkki and Sallamaa, 2018). On the other hand, terrorism also seeks publicity to influence a larger audience than the direct victims (Crenshaw, 2014; Lauderdale and Oliverio, 2018). Therefore, the significance of terrorism is felt to be greater than how it should be treated and this also stimulates the government to act immediately.

The presence of the state in this situation is manifested in the counter-terrorism strategy, which is a combination of soft and hard policies. The hard policy consists of Law (UU) No. 15/2003 on Counterterrorism and Law No. 9/2013 on the Prevention and Eradication of Terrorism Financing Crimes, and Law 5/2018 on Amendments to Law 15/2003 (Shalihin, 2017). Meanwhile, the launch of the Blueprint for Deradicalization and the Center for Deradicalization for Terrorist Prisoners at the National Counterterrorism Agency are forms of soft policies.

On the other hand, terrorism as a term which can be interpreted subjectively invites academics to discuss what is referred to in the mass media as "radical Islam" (Neumann, Arendt and Baugut, 2018), which is currently considered a cause of acts of terror (Chertoff, 2008; Umar, 2010). Terrorism, in many ways,

is always associated with groups which are labelled as radical (Mubarok and Hamid, 2018). This also has an impact on narrowing the meaning of terrorism, which is often identified with radicalism which results in accusations of terror being directed at those who are considered radical (Hülse and Spencer, 2008). Moreover, radicalism is often seen as the root of terrorism, so preventing terrorism begins with eradicating radicalism.

This labelling creates stereotypes about radical Islamic movements, which in the end, creates discrimination against groups with strong Islamic identities that are suspected of being terrorist, radical, and/or fundamental groups (Umar, 2010). This empowers certain groups of people, or the state, to commit acts of discrimination and violence against radical groups (Karaffa, 2012). It is as if terrorism eradicating is permissible to deprive citizens of freedom of expression. This is a consequence of the narrow understanding of terrorism and radicalism creating a misunderstanding that leads to a misinterpretation of the problem failing to formulate counterterrorism and de-radicalization policies.

Empirically, government and community discrimination against groups labelled as radical is reflected in the findings of Imparsial, an NGO, which works to monitor and investigate human rights violations in Indonesia. As cited by CNN Indonesia (2019), Imparsial found 31 cases of violations of freedom of religion or belief. Moreover, of the total cases, there were 12 cases of violations of rituals, recitations, lectures, or the implementation of religious beliefs.

In a broader context, the study of terrorism has recently been viewed as a social construction rather than a physical fact (Heath and Waymer, 2014). In this case, the main idea is that terrorism is based on discourse. Onuf (2009) states that “we all make terrorism what (we say) it is”. This does not mean that such a constructivist perspective denies terrorism as a fact. Although some people are taking concrete actions to combat terrorism, these attempts have been fragmented, implying that government institutions lack coordinated and comprehensive approaches to resolving this issue. Academics consider this as a matter of interpretation (Malkki and Sallamaa, 2018). In this discourse, it is defined as a group of people as terrorists, their actions as terrorism, the roots of which are radicalism and efforts to overcome these things as counter-terrorism and de-radicalization (Hülse and Spencer, 2008b; Spencer, 2012).

This interpretation creates space for the politicisation of counterterrorism and de-radicalisation policies (Githens-Mazer, 2012; Kolås, 2010). This will have a direct impact on the approach to policymaking as a result of the problem definition process, which forms the conceptual basis for policymaking (Lee, 2009). Radicalism-de-radicalisation and terrorism-counterterrorism are cause-and-effect problems in discourse analysis which are the result of controversial issues associated with political phenomena. This interpretation will contribute to the construction of reality in some way, mostly by setting common sense boundaries, such as those that correspond to the primary functions of each government entity (Hülse and Spencer, 2008). In this process, the most important thing is not why certain results are obtained, but how the subject, object, and the results of interpretation are socially constructed in such a way that certain practices are possible (Lee, 2009; Ömer Taşpınar, 2009).

These facts lead to an argument to be proven in this study, which is radicalism, terrorism and efforts to prevent them such as counter-terrorism and de-radicalization, are part of social construction. They are part of the subjective reality of social problems that can be measured and manifested by the government to legally prohibit, criminalise, and address the individual behaviour that causes the condition, thereby making it a public problem in the government's priorities .

Discussing radicalism and terrorism as a public problem, as well as de-radicalization and counter-terrorism as solutions to these two problems, is important because it influences the political actions of the institutions that have jurisdiction (Lee, 2009; Spencer, 2012). Moreover, cases of terrorism are becoming increasingly complicated because this terminology allows for the definition of alternative problems and framings, which is part of the vague nature of the terrorism phenomenon itself (Nickerson, 2019; Powell, 2011; Wicak-sana, 2019).

This is also a consequence of the lack of consensus among academics on what constitutes terrorism. Several academics attempted to define terrorism (Ganor, 2002; Garrison, 2004; Hodgson and Tadros, 2013; Young, 2006), identify who the real targets of terrorism are (Mccartan et al., 2008), and who the actors behind terrorism are (Bourne, 2018; Gill et al., 2018; Hausken and Gupta, 2016; Jarvis and Legrand, 2018; Sentas, 2010). The findings are very diverse, ambiguous, selective, and politicised, so that it paves the way for the social construction of terrorism that shapes our understanding and response to it, including how the government understands and responds to terrorism .

Academically, this study stands midway between two main schools of research on terrorism (and radicalism). The first one debates the definition of terrorism (Hoffman, 1986; Young, 2006). The other one discusses concrete efforts to prevent terrorism and radicalism. Researchers argue that how the government defines terrorism affects how it acts (Lum, Kennedy and Sherley, 2006; Boer, Hillebrand and Nölke, 2007; Williamson, 2019). Instead of following the two schools, this research tries to combine them by examining the narratives of terrorism and radicalism, and how these narratives become the conceptual foundation of counterterrorism and radicalisation policies.

Based on these academic and practical needs, this study discusses the interpretation of the government as an institution which has the authority to narrate terrorism and radicalism, as well as de-radicalisation and counter-terrorism as social constructs. Moreover, this study explores the government's definition of terrorism and radicalism, which is a process that takes place in the developing discourse on terrorism. It is a process of associating terrorism with a specific term, that enables a policy response to terrorism through particular actions. We argue that government policies, which lead to discrimination and violence are rooted in mistakes in defining terrorism and radicalisation as a whole.

Technically, this research investigates the government's ideology in cases of terrorism and radicalism, which are listed in the government activities on counterterrorism and de-radicalisation embedded in the news on govern-

ment websites and press releases. The website of an organization, in this case, the government's one, is a reflection of the government's ideology because it contains information about the government's activities. The use of news on an organization's website to read the ideology of an organization has been validated by several previous studies by Hsinchun (2007), Qin, Zhou, Reid, Lai, and Chen (2007), Zhou, Qin, Lai, Reid, and Chen (2006), Zhou, Reid, Qin, Chen, and Lai, (2005). The data sourced from the government website were analyzed using the corpus-assisted discourse analysis method to obtain a more complete picture of the social construction of counterradicalism and de-radicalisation policies in Indonesia.

Social Construction

The concept of "social construction" is first introduced by Berger and Luckmann (1966). It states that the social world is not something given and does not stand alone without thoughts and ideas. Social construction helps understand why definitions of social issues are politicised. This leads a person to consciously accept a biased approach to what is right and wrong in their context (Innes and Levi, 2017). Initially, the concept of social construction was widely used by sociologists to define various kinds of social problems. Recently, scientists in the fields of political science, communication and international relations have also begun to explore this concept.

In the social constructionist perspective, social problems are no longer considered as objective conditions that afflict society, in this case, social problems are analysed as a process (Vera, 2016; Zerubavel, 2016). The question is how and why a person, or a group of people understands a condition which is considered a social problem. In this case, sometimes, a social problem is not a real threat manifested by individuals or groups. Nevertheless, social problems are often built through the interpretation of events, the use of claims consisting of language and symbols, and the work of claimants to attract public attention and shake public opinion to support certain interests (Hogan, 1997).

The basis of this process is that the claimant uses the dominant language and symbols circulating in the culture to build social problems. Moreover, the problems which are defined as social problems in the real world are the product of ideological power struggles (Searle, 1995; Sica, 2016). The process of defining the problem is very important to discuss, mainly to refer to actors involved in the process of defining the problem as claimants who are supported by interests or values or a combination of both (Hogan, 1997). In addition, (Hogan, 1997) revealed that in the search for a social problem, the construction emphasises the role of interests, resources and legitimacy.

Policy as a social construction

Political issues are often so complex that they open up space for alternative interpretations (Lancaster, 2014). The way an issue is defined (Wagner and Morris, 2018) as a policy problem will affect government action where al-

ternative policy solutions is sought (Nicholson-Crotty and Nicholson-Crotty, 2004). It is important to understand why the government is interested in responding to an issue while ignoring other issues, and why a problem is defined differently. Therefore, it is helpful to know where political power lies in a political system.

Policies as social constructs are developed to understand why public policy does not achieve its goal of solving public problems (Pierce et al., 2014). It focuses on socially constructed values applied to the target population and the knowledge and impact those values have on society in general. It also helps explain why under certain circumstances some groups benefit more than others and how policies can strengthen or change them (Lancaster, 2014; Pierce et al., 2014).

This conceptual thinking is based on past work, on the social construction of knowledge in terms of positive or negative connotations and on policy design (Walker, 1981). In this sense, socially constructed knowledge is linked to a particular type of policy design and these policy designs institutionalise and reinforce socially constructed knowledge.

By pointing out the main elements which have been repeated so far – political motivation, communicative violence and civilian targets – it seems that over-simplification may be needed to prevent confusion. What this research seeks is a direct response to the question of who gets what, when, and how. Central to this concept is the statement that to answer these classic questions, we must also understand why some groups benefit and others are burdened (Spencer, 2012).

Research methods

This study used a mixed-method approach by employing a corpus-assisted discourse study (CADS). CADS is a research method, which combines various CL tools and CDA methodologies to reveal language patterns in large data sets, or corpora, and to guide data interpretation (Baker, 2006; Flowerdew, 2012). First, this research utilized CADS to find certain grammatical patterns, particularly in relation to the methods used by the government in constructing terrorism and radicalisation and counterterrorism and de-radicalisation policies. This involved various forms of linguistic text with the aim and reason to describe the interaction between the writer/speaker and reader/listener as evidenced in the linguistic traces, namely the texts, left by these interactions. Then, CDA was used to expose the ideology, which informed and underlined a text, in this case, the ideology hidden behind terrorism and radicalization and counterterrorism and de-radicalization policies.

To test how the government constructs radicalism, nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs which accompany them and their implications for the design of government policies and programs, we conducted a corpus linguistic analysis of news produced by the government and contributed to overcoming radicalism in Indonesia in 2019, for a period of one fiscal year. To expand the search process and obtain the widest possible results, in the news we were looking for

content or titles contained the words terrorism, radicalism and radicalisation. Table 1 describes the data collection process:

Table 1

Data source

| No | Ministries/Non-Ministry Institutions | The task to Prevent Terrorism | Website Address | 2019 News |
|----|--|--|---|-----------|
| 1. | The National Counter-Terrorism Agency | Coordinator of all Ministries and Non-Ministerial Institutions to implement counter-terrorism programs | https://www.bnpt.go.id | 13 |
| 2. | Ministry of Communication and Information Technology | The ministry's task is to block sites recommended by the BNPT for indications of radical terrorism | https://kominfo.go.id | 44 |
| 3. | Ministry of Religious Affairs | To prevent the spread of radicalism and terrorism in society | https://kemenag.go.id | 125 |
| 4. | Ministry of Education and Culture | To prevent the spread of radicalism and terrorism in schools | https://www.kemdikbud.go.id | 8 |
| 5. | Ministry of Research and Technology/National Research and Innovation Agency of Republic of Indonesia | To prevent the spread of terrorism in universities | http://www.dikti.go.id | 6 |

Source: Compiled by the authors (- hereafter, unless otherwise noted).

Of the five ministries and non-ministerial institutions responsible for implementing the mandate of de-radicalisation and counter-terrorism policies in Indonesia, three of them which are the National Counterterrorism Agency, the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, and the Ministry of Religious Affairs were part of this study. However, two of them, which are the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education, were not included due to the limited amount of news. The aim of the linguistic corpus analysis using the AntConc application was to map the lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic meanings of terrorism and radicalism and their implications for various kinds of counterterrorism and de-radicalisation policies and programs in Indonesia.

CADS utilizes the quantitative tools offered by CL and expands the methodological paradigm by integrating techniques commonly associated with critical discourse analysis techniques to understand the discourse in as many contexts as possible. In many cases, the phenomena under investigation are contextualised by considering and relating them to their social, political, or historical context (Partington, 2015). Moreover, CADS also prioritises a comparative approach. Comparisons in the CADS method can take many forms, for example, researchers can compare a discourse with various sources such as newspapers and politi-

cal speeches. By comparing the two sources, researchers can analyse a discourse produced in different circumstances. Another example is a comparison between times to detect changes and shifts in time. Another type of comparison is diachronic, which involves studying certain types of the discourse at different points in time (Taylor, 2013).

The presence of the state in preventing radicalism: why is it important?

The questions addressed in this section focuses on the role of government in preventing radicalism and how and why it needs to be present. First, it is important to emphasise that the state must be present differently in preventing radicalism and violence that arises from these activities. In terms of preventing radicalism, which is the purpose of this research, this is a critical focus. This is because the different rules and regulations governing the prevention of radicalism are ambiguous. For violence triggered by radicalism, the existing policies are adequate, for example, Law No 15 of 2003.

One of the important programs as stated in the BNPT blueprint is de-radicalisation. De-radicalisation is defined as an activity to reduce or restore religious radicalism in normal situations which are not radical. Not only BNPT, but also governments at different levels incorporate the issues of radicalism as public problems and make them priority programs and policies. The problem, before we talk further about de-radicalization, is that the government does not yet have a clear definition of what de-radicalisation is, even though it has become an important function of the BNPT. Therefore, the meaning of radicalism is very diverse, as both governmental and non-governmental agencies feel entitled to define it. Practically, the mistake of defining will be fatal because the policies and programs that are designed also fail to understand reality.

Moreover, religious and educational institutions also feel responsible for taking part in the prevention of radicalism. However, it must be emphasized that they are present and play a role voluntarily depending on their interests. Educational and religious institutions act to tackle radicalism by, for example, providing tolerant Islamic ideas. Civil society also condemns various forms of violence with religious motives but on the other hand, their attitudes and perspectives vary widely. Driven by the ambiguity of the meaning of radicalism which has developed, this study seeks to identify the construction of the word radicalism according to the government and to examine its implications for de-radicalisation policies.

Radicalism in various laws and regulations

This section is to identify constructs, which are developing and related to radicalisation. To do this, we searched for various kinds of laws and regulations, available on the official government website such as regulations.go.id and jdih.go.id. We found three regulations in which the words radicalism and radicalisation appear, such as Presidential Regulation No 12 of 2012 concerning Amendments

to Presidential Regulation No 46 of 2010 concerning the National Counterterrorism Agency, Law No 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law No 15 of 2003 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in place of Law No 1 of 2002 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism Into Law, and Government Regulation No 77 of 2019 concerning Prevention of Criminal Acts of Terrorism and Protection of Investigators, Public Prosecutors, Judges, and Correctional Officers. Appendix 1 provides an overview of how radicalisation is mentioned and constructed in various kinds of laws and regulations in Indonesia. Generally, we did not find a specific definition of radicalism, only the various kinds of efforts to prevent and overcome it. This is dangerous for the resulting policies because without an in-depth construction and development of this understanding, the government could be biased in conducting various kinds of activities. What is more dangerous, the construction is deliberately developed to take away the freedom of certain groups.

The construction of radicalism and its implications for the design of government policies, programs, and activities

Ministry of Communications and Information Technology

This analysis began by entering 43 articles on the Kominfo website whose titles or contents included the word radicalism. What we wanted to obtain from the analysis of these articles were words/word patterns that describe how the government constructs radicalism and the implications of this construction for policy and program design. Kominfo is an interesting subject because of its duty and role in preventing radicalism on the internet. Second, Kominfo also plays a role in disseminating certain information to prevent the development of radicalism. Technically, Kominfo blocks accounts on social media/sites that contain radical content. Table 1 presents our findings regarding the news about radicalism on the official website of Kominfo.

Based on the keyword analysis, we categorised the words that were significant in number into five major themes. The five themes include government agencies, media, contributions, actions, and degree of radicalism. The construction of radicalism is about how Kominfo defines radicalism. To do this, we searched for verbs, adjectives, nouns and adverbs associated with radicalism. Our findings show that the notion of radicalism is divided into three groups. The first group is related to the main duties and functions of the Ministry of Communication and Information, which lead to the use of content and radicalism websites. The second group is based on the understanding that radicalism is the seed of terrorism, so words, like “seeds” and “embryo”, appear. Finally, radicalism is considered as something dangerous, so the words *idea*, *danger*, *issue*, *exposure*, *activity* and *threat* appear.

We also found terms of various government agencies in our keyword searches. This brings us to the second category, which is government agencies. These government agencies can be interpreted as agents collaborating with Kominfo to combat radicalism. These agents include the Ministry of Religious Affairs, BNPT,

the People's Representative Council of Indonesia, Indonesian National Police, and the Ministry of Politics, Law and Security and the Ministry of Home Affairs. Furthermore, various forms of social media are the focus of attention of Kominfo in conducting its duties. Internet, Twitter, Facebook, websites, Instagram, Telegram, Portal, and YouTube are places where Kominfo works to block accounts that spread information about radicalism.

The role of Kominfo to block radical content and websites as well as disseminating information for counterradicalism. We found four major activities including blocking, content complaints, socialisation and complaints from state civil servants. Civil servant (ASN) complaints and content complaints are two work programs which require collaboration and the active role of the community and ASN to report various kinds of suspicious activities related to radicalism. In the Actions category, we collected different types of verbs which describe how the Kominfo performs its duties regarding radicalism. The verbs we found included *ward off*, *spread*, *prevent*, *ensure strengthens*, *cope with*, *awaken* and *nurture*. The last one is about the degree of radicalism; it is to find out the difference in the use of words which reflect radicalism and whether it is intervened differently.

Table 2

Keywords on the Kominfo Website

| Category | Keywords |
|---------------------------|--|
| The meaning of radicalism | Content, idea, seeds, pioneer, dangerous, issue, exposure, sites, activities, threat |
| Government agencies | Kominfo (Ministry of Communication and Information Technology), BNPT (National Counter-Terrorism Agency), Indonesian National Police, Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, The People's Representative Council of Indonesia, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs |
| Media | Internet, Twitter, Facebook, websites, Instagram, social media, Telegram, news portal, YouTube |
| Contributions | Blocking, content complaints, socialization, state civil apparatus' complaints |
| Actions | Explain, deliver, ward off, support, create, promote, disseminate, develop, prevent, combat, ensure, strengthen, embed, tackle, make aware, foster |
| The degree of radicalism | Terrorism, radicalism, extremism, intolerance, radical, terrorist |

In Table 3 we have identified certain phrases for the same purpose. The phrases that we found were grouped into four categories such as Crimes which are considered equal, Typical problems, Types of radicalism, and Actions. Crimes deemed equal are related to specific crimes that Kominfo identifies as intervened in the same way. These crimes are usually indicated with the word "and". Some of the crimes that are considered equal include intolerance, extremism, separatism, gambling, pornography and SARA (*Suku* = ethnic group, *Agama* = religion, *Ras* = racial, *Antargolongan* = between groups). Kominfo labels websites and social media which have such content, then blocks them.

The next category is the Typical problems Kominfo tries to solve relate to radicalism. One of these problems, is radicalism that attacks the civil state apparatus, students, and early childhood education. Apart from these problems, there is also radicalism in the digital era, the radicalism on the internet, cyberspace and social media. Moreover, we also identified the types of radicalism from the perspective of Kominfo. Several types of radicalism which appear in Kominfo news include radicalism that promotes terrorism, radicalism in social media, radicalism that develops very rapidly, radicalism in cyberspace, and internet threat radicalism. Finally, a series of actions conducted by Kominfo which are part of the detailed information about Kominfo's actions in tackling radicalism. Kominfo's actions include providing infrastructure, collaborating with Commission I DPR RI, blocking radical content, collaborating with the BNPT, national dialogue, cyber patrols, filtering negative sites and content, and appealing to netizens.

Table 3

Concordance on the Kominfo Website

| Category | Concordance |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Crimes which are deemed equal | Radicalism and intolerance, radicalism and extremism, radicalism and terrorism, radicalism and separatism, pornography, gambling, SARA (<i>Suku</i> = ethnic group, <i>Agama</i> = religion, <i>Ras</i> = racial, <i>Antargolongan</i> = between groups) |
| Typical problems | State civil apparatus' radicalism, radicalism, and intolerance among the State Civil Apparatus. The seeds of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia, the nation's future generation is exposed to radicalism and terrorism, the spread of radicalism and terrorism, Internet content containing radicalism and terrorism, increasing radicalism and terrorism, radicalism since the early childhood education level, students' radicalism, radicalism in cyberspace, radicalism in the digital age, internet threat radicalism, radicalism, and terrorism contents |
| Radicalism types | Radicalism which promotes terrorism, radicalism in social media, radicalism which grows rapidly, radicalism in cyberspace, internet threat radicalism |
| Actions | Provide infrastructures, in collaboration with Commission I of the People's Representative Council of Indonesia, blocking the content of radicalism, cooperation with National Counterterrorism Agency, national dialogue, cyber patrol, filter negative sites and contents, appeal to netizens |

Ministry of Religious Affairs

We analyzed 125 news stories from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to obtain the meaning of the term *radicalism* according to this ministry and how it affects the design of programs and policies to counter radicalism. We divided the various word lists we found into eight categories. The eight categories are the subject of policy, action, degree, moderation, Archipelago Islam, radicalism, and various kinds of crimes which are considered equal. The policy subject is the target group of the various radicalisation policies and programs. Policy subjects we found include students, people, society, students, civil servants, and youth. Institutional target groups include State Islamic University, State Islamic Institute, Islamic schools, schools, campuses, and universities. Another subject is the curriculum and Islamic religious education.

To describe de-radicalisation activities, we identified a series of actions conducted by the Ministry of Religion. It can be a verb or a noun denoting a specific activity. The verbs we found include moderate, implement, present, disseminate, prepare, manage, and appreciate. Some of the efforts that have been made or recommended to reduce radicalism are preaching, studies, literacy, and competitions. The Ministry of Religious Affairs also specifically uses terms related to radicalism such as radicalism, terrorism, intolerance, extremism, and caliphate.

Efforts to moderate are conducted by using terms such as harmony, nationality, Pancasila, *Bhinneka* (diversity), archipelago, togetherness, and nationalism. These are a set of attributes of the Indonesian which are used to increase the value of nationalism and return Indonesian society to the values of Pancasila. The use of the term *Archipelago Islam* or as the chosen way of Islam is moderate ways that follow the culture, local wisdom, and customs of the Indonesian people.

Moreover, the category of radicalism refers to a set of verbs, adjectives, nouns, and adverbs to describe and construct radicalism. Radicalism is viewed as a virus, a danger, and it is assumed that it can still be prevented. Meanwhile, radicalism also takes the form of actions in such words as *exposure, actions, movements, conflicts, messages, and groups*. The latter are certain crimes which are equated with radicalism, such as intolerance, liberalism, extremism, racism and terrorism. As stated in the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, the use of the word “and” is the reason why we label it an act which is deemed similar.

Table 4

Keywords on the Ministry of Religious Affairs

| Category | Keywords |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Policy subjects | Madrassa, state Islamic university, state institute of Islamic religion, students, people, society, Islamic school, state civil apparatus, school, campus, Islamic school students, curriculum, Islamic religious education, university, youth |
| Actions | Moderate, preach, study, literacy, contest, implement, present, disseminate, prepare, manage, appreciate |
| Degree | Radicalism, terrorism, intolerance, extremism, caliphate |
| Moderate | Harmony, nationality, Pancasila, diversity, archipelago, togetherness, nationalism |
| Archipelago Islam | Culture, local wisdom, customs |
| Radicalism | A threat, virus, idea, measure, action, issue, exposure, comprehension, phenomenon, group, danger, movement, conflict, message |
| Crimes which are deemed equal | Intolerance, liberalism, extremism, racism, terrorism |

Table 4 contains various kinds of phrases we found. Talking about the construction of radicalism and its policy implications, we identified four important categories such as policy variations, messages of tolerance, problems, and Indonesia. The policy variation includes a series of activities, programs, and policies to com-

bat radicalism. We found phrases which fall into this category such as *developing religious education, increase the number of the instructor, organizing competitions, strengthening the literacy movement, strengthen the character and understanding, shape student personality, developing religious messages, interfaith dialogue, scientific approach, religious harmony index, and countermeasures for civil servant radicalism.*

Next, in this section, we present a message of tolerance which states how the Ministry of Religion constructs religion, specifically Islam. This category includes the following phrases *religion teaching goodness, the religion which holds the nation together, the religion of grace for the universe, country and religion are twins, affirms the inclusiveness of religions, enlightening religion of the people, religion is the foundation, religion promotes moderation mainstreaming, religion as the bearer of mercy, religion is moderate.*

Table 5

Concordance on the Website of the Minister of Religious Affairs

| Category | Concordance |
|----------------------|--|
| Variety of policies | Develop religious education, improving instructors, holding competitions, strengthen the literacy movement, strengthen character and understanding, shaping student personality, develop religious glory, interfaith dialogue, scientific approach, religious harmony index, countermeasures for civil servant's radicalism |
| Message of tolerance | Religion teaches kindness, religion holds the nation together, religion is a blessing for the universe, the state and religion are twins, affirming the inclusiveness of the religions, religion is enlightening people, religion is the foundation, religion promotes the mainstreaming of moderation, religion as the bearer of mercy, religion is moderate |
| Problems | Lack of religious experts, religious radicalism and cybercrime, understand the religion in bits and pieces, knowledgeable religious leaders, a religion which teaches hatred, radical and intolerant religion, increasingly massive radicalism, the threat of religious harmony |
| Indonesia | Indonesia is a pluralistic nation, Indonesia is a natural law, Indonesia is the national state, Indonesia is based on Pancasila, Indonesian Islam as an open religion, Indonesia as a nation-state, Indonesia as a destination for Islamic studies, Indonesia was born as a nation-state. A religious and plural Indonesia, Indonesia is pious, moderate, intelligent and superior |

The Ministry of Religion also specifically described the various problems of the Indonesian people related to radicalism. These problems are the lack of religious experts, religious radicalism and cybercrime, fragmentary understanding of religion, knowledgeable religious leaders, a religion that teaches hatred, radical and intolerant religion, increasingly massive radicalism, the threat to religious harmony. Moreover, the concordance which is included in conveying messages of tolerance is how the Ministry of Religion describes Indonesia. We found such phrases as *Indonesia is a pluralistic nation, Indonesia is a natural law, Indonesia is the national state, Indonesia is based on Pancasila, Indonesian Islam as an open religion, Indonesia as a nation-state, Indonesia as a destination for Islamic studies, Indonesia was born as a nation-state, a religious and plural Indonesia, Indonesia is pious, moderate, intelligent and superior, and we included them in this category.*

National Counter-terrorism Agency

Regarding terrorism as an important issue, the government established the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) through Presidential Regulation No 46 of 2020. The three main tasks of the BNPT are to formulate counterterrorism policies, strategies and national programs, to coordinate government agencies involved in the implementation and execution of counterterrorism policies, and implement counterterrorism policies by forming task forces consisting of elements from related government agencies following their respective duties, functions and authorities. The counterterrorism domain includes prevention, protection, deradicalization, repression, and of national preparedness.

Specifically, we took 13 articles from the BNPT whose titles or contents contained the word radicalism. The purpose is still the same, to find out how the construction of radicalism developed and its implications for the design of policies, programs, and activities. We analysed the articles and we came up with six categories we thought were important to present. These categories are radicalism, government agencies, degrees, values, policy issues, and actions taken. In the category of radicalism, six words are frequently used *danger, content, understanding, exposure and value*.

Table 6

Keywords on the National Counter-terrorism Agency Website

| Category | Keywords |
|---------------------|--|
| Radicalism | Danger, content, idea, exposure, value |
| Government agencies | Ministries, the National Counter-terrorism Agency, the Corruption Eradication Commission, the Indonesian National Armed Force, the People's Representative Council of Indonesia, the National Resilience Institute |
| Degree | Intolerance, radical, terrorism, radicalism, radical |
| Value | Nationality, peace, nationalism, wisdom, Pancasila |
| Policy subjects | College students, society, campus, generation, Islamic school, universities, internet, polytechnic |
| Actions | Deliver, provide, dialogue, education, develop, synergy, provision, tackle, improve, against, combat, mitigation, counselling, socialization, lecture, Memo of Understanding |

In the category of government agents, collaborating with government agencies to counter radicalism are the following ministries: The Indonesian National Armed Force, the People's Representative Council of Indonesia and the National Resilience Institute. This illustrates that the military approach is the way BNPT has chosen to combat radicalism. We found the degree of radicalism which is indicated by such words as *intolerance, radicalism, terrorism, radicalism, and radical*. The values to be re-instilled in the Indonesian nation are related to *fighting radicalism, namely nationality, peace, nationalism, wisdom, and Pancasila*.

The target groups of the policies, programs and activities organized by BNPT are students, communities, campuses, generations, Islamic schools, universities, the internet, and polytechnics. We found these words in the various reports pro-

duced by BNPT. The last one is action in the form of *delivering, providing, dialogue, education, building, synergy, provision, overcoming, increasing, fighting, mitigation, counselling, socialization, lectures, and the MoU used to prevent radicalism.*

Table 7

Concordance on the National Counterterrorism Agency Website

| Category | Concordance |
|--------------|--|
| Radicalism | Radicalism on campus; radicalism in the archipelago; negative radicalism; radicalism as a threat to national unity; radicalism which continues to grow; long-rooted radicalism; radicalism threatens resilience; intolerant Indonesian society |
| Intervention | Empowerment of students; social empowerment; MoUs with universities; dialogue mechanism; national insight; nationalism values; de-radicalization program; counter-radicalism program |

Next, we present different types of phrases to show how BNPT constructs radicalism. Some of the phrases which fall into this category are *radicalism on campus, radicalism in the archipelago, negative radicalism, radicalism as a threat to national unity, radicalism which continues to grow, long-rooted radicalism, radicalism threatens resilience and intolerant Indonesian society.* We also identify phrases included in BNPT's actions in tackling radicalism such as student empowerment, social empowerment, MoUs with universities, dialogue mechanism, national insight, nationalism values, de-radicalisation program, and counter-radicalism program.

Discussion

This section provides several explanations of the construction of radicalism developed and developed by the government. As previously stated, the definition of radicalism in both academic discourse and policy in various works of literature is generally defined to show that this phenomenon is broad and has different meanings for different people, different places and different times. Therefore, this study aims to examine how radicalism is constructed by the government through a series of analyzes of various kinds of news obtained from the official government website.

Our findings show that the terms radicalism, radicalism and radicalisation are constructed as a form of action which approaches extremism and terrorism by focusing on the process in which individuals commit acts of violence based on ideological differences. From the various terms and definitions of radicalism developed in the literature such as radicalisation, fundamentalism, violence and terrorism, and religious extremism (Arifianto, 2019; Bafadhhal et al., 2020), we found that all of these terms are used overlappingly by the government. We found that radicalism is often equated with the word "*terrorism*"; "*Intolerance*", "*extremism*", and "*caliphate*". This has fatal consequences for policies and various kinds of interventions carried out by the government because a failure to define an issue is a failure to design a policy (Parsons, 2001).

In literature, there are two main definitions of radicalism: as a political phenomenon that is an expression of legitimate thinking and as a phenomenon

related to terrorism (Suyanto, Sirry and Sugihartati, 2019). Our findings suggest that the constructs of radicalism by the government follow the second definition of radicalism which leads to terrorism. This can be seen in the discovery of such words as *radicalism on campus*, *radicalism in the archipelago*, *negative radicalism*, *radicalism as a threat to national unity*, *radicalism which continues to grow*, *long-rooted radicalism*, *radicalism threatens resilience*, and *intolerant Indonesian society*.

When radicalism meets bureaucracy, it becomes a very fluid entity whether it is the problems developed or the policy options offered. In the Ministry of Religious Affairs, it is defined as threats, viruses, ideas, actions and conflicts. However, at the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, it becomes content, messages, websites, social media, and so on. This shows that when radicalism meets bureaucracy, ministries and non-ministerial institutions try to define it according to the main tasks and functions assigned to them, so that the problems of radicalism are constructed following their authority to obtain a budget for the implementation of programs and policies.

Depending on how the problem is defined, the alternative policies and programs offered also vary, so that the antithesis of the problem is the answer (Coletti, 2015). We found examples in the Ministry of Religious Affairs; they offer actions such as moderation, studies, literacy and competitions. Besides, the concept of Archipelago Islam is offered here, based on culture, local wisdom and customs. This shows the assumption that radicalism does not originate from Indonesia because it is directed against Indonesian culture.

The Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, handles blocking, content complaints, socialisation, and civil servant complaints. This shows that this ministry is actually in charge of conducting this function. This kind of understanding comes from the fact that they define radicalism as part of content and websites. In BNPT, the policy provided is varied if we look deeper, which shows the combination of the other two ministries. In this case, we found the words *dialogue*, *education*, *counselling*, *socialization*, *lectures*, and *MoU*. This research confirms that as an object which is interpreted subjectively, each actor feels entitled to define what radicalism is based on the interests of the organisation (Sedgwick, 2010; Wahid Foundation, 2014; Aiello, Puigvert and Schubert, 2018). Rigidity and strict procedures in budgeting and program planning in Indonesia also contribute to the fact that radicalism has very diverse definitions.

In terms of target groups or policy objectives, we discovered that they are generated in response to the preceding problem definitions. The terms "Internet," "Twitter," "Facebook," "website," "site," "Instagram," "social media," "Telegram," "Portal", and "YouTube" emerged as a result of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics' definition of radicalism as it relates to social media and websites. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Religious Affairs is going to target groups such as madrasa, state Islamic university, state institute of Islamic religion, students, people, society, Islamic school, state civil apparatus, school, campus, Islamic school students, curriculum, Islamic religious education, university, and youth. This is because the Ministry of Religious Affairs defines radicalism as the result of a lack of religious experts, a fragmented understanding of religion, insufficient knowl-

edge among religious leaders, religions that teach hatred, radical and intolerant religions, growing radicalism, and threats to religious harmony.

Finally, the fluidity of radicalism constructed by the government is due to the government's response to the inclusion of radicalism as a public issue by fragmenting the entire concept of radicalism and splitting it into different ministries where it is appropriate to be resolved, not to be comprehensively unified as the task of BNPT. One definition or many definitions, both practices have their respective weaknesses and therefore some countries choose to single-define and use research to capture the dynamics of the case as a basis for implementing policies (Sedgwick, 2010; Sawalha, 2017; Mubarok and Hamid, 2018). Based on the research findings, we recommend to generate a single, unified definition of radicalism. The complete definition is translated into each ministry under their respective primary mission-and functions.

Conclusions

This research investigated government ideology in cases of terrorism and radicalism which are listed in government activities regarding counter-terrorism and de-radicalization in the news published on government websites. We investigated five ministries and non-ministerial institutions which are directly aimed to combat the spread of radicalism. Of the five government agencies, only 3 met the requirements for data analysis which were the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and The National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT). Before analysing the news published on the government website, we first analysed various kinds of laws and regulations, and none of the regulations mentioned the definition of radicalism. This led us to examine how radicalism is constructed and its impact on the design of policies, programs, and activities.

We found that the three agencies developed radicalism following their main tasks and functions. Radicalism has become a very flexible concept, adapting to bureaucratic space, not to be resolved but to maintain budgetary margins. The colours of the policies and programmes created vary greatly according to the main mission of the ministry which oversees them. Moreover, the colours of the policies produced by the BNPT are still too mixed, influenced by the colours of the Ministry of Communication and Information, the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Religion, and added with the colours of the military. Finally, the government responded to the entry of radicalism into the public issue by fragmenting the whole concept of radicalism and dividing it among different ministries where it can be resolved, rather than unifying it comprehensively in the BNPT's mission.

This finding has practical implications for the function and role of the BNPT as the agency mandated to coordinate the prevention and countermeasures against terrorism, including radicalism. The failure to fully define radicalism causes the ministries that are the subject of this study to have their own version of the definition of radicalism. This is dangerous because mistakes in defining the problem have implications for the policies and programs offered. The space that is too wide to construct radicalism must be immediately limited without denying that it is a dynamic and continuously developing concept.

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