

Title : Reconstruction Efforts of De-radicalization in Resisting
Radicalism of Youth Muslims in Post-New Order Indonesia

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Reconstruction Efforts of De-radicalization in Resisting Radicalism of Youth Muslims in Post-New Order Indonesia

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Abstract

De-radicalization is a strategy that is based on a conceptual understanding to deal with the problem related to developmental ideologies and actions of radicalism. The organizational network of radicalism had been organically weakened. However, this success does not mean the end of the threat of radicalism in Indonesia. Radical ideology agencies proved to have the ability to adapt or transform themselves to survive. This paper would like to provide an understanding of the reconstruction effort in which the de-radicalization program, which until now have not been able to touch the downstream so that acts of terror are still going on in many places. Young people become part of the target of radical ideology-the ideology of religion. Because young people as agencies have a tendency to be stronger and more likely to engage in radical social movements than adults. It is caused by a phase in the growth of the age of the young man makes them more susceptible "identity crisis".

[Deradikalisasi merupakan suatu strategi yang didasari oleh suatu pemahaman konseptual untuk menangani masalah terakit perkembangan ideologi-ideologi dan aksi-aksi radikalisme. Secara organisatoris jaringan radikalisme memang sudah jauh melemah. Namun, keberhasilan tersebut bukan berarti akhir dari ancaman radikalisme di Indonesia. Agensi ideologi radikal terbukti mempunyai kemampuan beradaptasi atau mengubah diri untuk bertahan. Tulisan ini ingin memberikan pemahaman upaya rekonstruksi di mana program deradikalisasi yang sampai saat ini belum mampu menyentuh ke hilir sehingga aksi-aksi teror masih terjadi diberbagai tempat. Kaum muda menjadi bagian dari sasaran faham-faham radikal yang mengatasnamakan agama. Karena kaum muda

sebagai agensi memiliki kecenderungan lebih kuat dan kemungkinan lebih besar untuk terlibat dalam gerakan sosial radikal dibandingkan dengan, misalnya orang dewasa. Hal tersebut disebabkan oleh fase dalam pertumbuhan usia yang dialami pemuda membuat mereka lebih rentan mengalami "krisis identitas".]

Keywords: Reconstruction, De-radicalization, Ideology, Youth

A. Introduction

The opened climate political freedoms, democracies and following fall of the New Order regime not only provide space for the emergence of various kinds of expressions built based on primordial sentiments and identities, but also pave the way for the expansion of radicalism. The phenomenon of radicalism in Indonesia until this day is still a fascinating conversation and warm continuously. Radicalism is still a serious problem for many people. Relating to the ongoing consolidation of democracy, which is characterized by the role of the state in reaching civil order through de-radicalization program. The organizational network of radicalism had been considerably weakened. However, this success does not mean the end of the threat of radicalism in Indonesia.

If we look back, since the tragedy of the WTC and the Pentagon, 11 September 2001, the vocabulary of terrorism and Islamic radicalism are found in many mass media, books, and academic journals. During this time many people consider this categorization as a creation of Western to divide and prevent Muslims to be developed and united. Because it is not surprising when the first Bali bombing in 2002 and the second Bali bombing happened, many Muslim leaders claimed that the terrorists only "*west custom*" to damage the image of Islam to be always associated with violence and terrorism.

So that when the incident of terror in Indonesia happens continuously, which was followed by the arrest of the terrorists, we witness other facts namely testimony and network set up by them. We could know that there are people who dedicate their life to be terrorists, galvanize potential terrorists, teach the science of terror, and convince people to follow the Islamic understanding of terrorist style. From those phenomena, we can say that radicalism and terrorism is not purely a creation of the West, but it is a real fact because there are who believe, embrace, and

expand from the Muslims themselves. From here we can know that the radical ideology agencies proved to have the ability to adapt or transform themselves to survive.

The agency plays a role even expand the circulation of the radical ideology of limited circle were very disappointed with the circumstances to those who have lower levels of disappointment. If we look at a number of institutions survey shows Indonesia still be fertile ground for the production and reproduction of radical ideology that allows the continued expansion of the organization or network radicalism. This threat is compounded by the high public support against intolerance and violence. The survey results *Center for the Study of Islam and Society* (PPIM) in 2011 proved that 60.4% of respondents supported the acts of intolerance and violence. As well as the survey by Lazuardi Birru year after 2012, found the same tendency.

The results report the *Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies* (CRCS) in 2011 showed the group's success in building a radically new patterns and continued its existence. Reproduction radical networks often utilize permissive people attitude towards the radical ideology that occurred in the current structural problems; *poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment* which are increasingly choke their lives. These events are reflected for example in the case of a suicide bombing in Cirebon Police Headquarters in 2011. M. Sharif, the main perpetrators of terrorism cases, which were previously active in GAPAS (*Anti-Apostasy Movement and Cult*) that exist in the community. He was then recruited by the old network of radical groups to devise a new strategy known as "*istighlayat*", namely the attack on a small scale and is independent from the larger radical groups (CRCS, 2011).

The phenomenon of radicalization that continue to occur in Indonesia until now is warning us, not only the government's duty, elements of society have a role in it. Related to it, it is true what Sidney Jones said (2003) that the threat of terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia is real, although it is currently only a minority of Muslim radicals, and fewer still prefer to use violence. Being a Muslim liberal, progressive, fundamentalist, radical, or inclusive of course is legitimated and it is part of the rights of every citizen of Indonesia. What to be a problem is when the patterns of diversity we believe in and live threaten the existence of others. What's

worse, when a group claimed itself the most correct and have a single truth, while forcing the other group followed the their group.

The action group of religious radicalism that sometimes use violent ways, whether verbal or non-verbal, of course, is contrary to our constitution which guarantees freedom of religion, expression, and belief. Radicalism is not exactly the same and can't be equated with terrorism. Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif has stated that radicalism is more associated with the model attitudes and ways of expressing religious person, while terrorism explicitly includes criminal acts for political purposes. If the writer can conclude from what is stated by Buya Safi'i that radicalism is more related to internal religious problems, while terrorism is a global phenomenon which requires global action as well. But radicalism is sometimes possible to turn into terrorism, even though not all of them and not always (*Islam and the Challenge of Managing Globalization*, 2002).

The question arises then, the perpetrators of terror that occurred in Indonesia, almost everything was done by a young boy who incidentally was easily influenced. Bombing in front of the Church of Samarinda (27/11/2016) showed that terrorists could appear anywhere and at any time and is not easily detected. This represents a change in the religious landscape of contemporary Indonesia coincided with increasing social problems affecting youth Due to higher competition for jobs. These social groups tend to be susceptible to radicalism.

This paper aims to identify the development of de-radicalization program launched by the government in the context of resisting radical understanding among young people. The following questions that will be answered in this paper are: (1) How to understand the government's efforts in tackling the massive radical happened in Indonesia? (2) How is the effectiveness of de-radicalization program that has been implemented by the government in countering radicalism among young people?

B. Understanding Radicalism and Terrorism in Perspective Sociology

If the writers say what is understood associated with radicalism and terrorism is not exactly the same and can't be equated both of them. Ahmad Syafi'i said that radicalism is more associated with the model attitudes and ways of expressing religious person, while terrorism explicitly includes criminal acts for political

purposes. So, from this explanation the authors could say that radicalism is more related to internal religious problems, while terrorism is a global phenomenon which requires global action as well. But radicalism is sometimes can turn into terrorism, even though not all of them and not always (*Islam and the Challenge of Managing Globalization*, 2002).

It can be said theoretically that radicalism is one stage or one step before terrorism. In general, the terrorists who do a lot of destructive acts and suicide bombings have radical understanding of the various things, especially about religion. Radicalism is a religious attitude characterized by four things: *first*, intolerance, do not want to respect the opinions of others; *second*, bigotry, which is always self-righteous, assuming someone else is wrong; *Third*, exclusive attitude, which distinguishes itself from most Islamic custom and claims that their religious way is true and other different ways of their religion are false, pagan and heretical; *fourth*, revolutionary attitude, which tends to use violence to achieve objectives (Rahimi Sabrin, 2004: 5). At the extreme, the pattern of religiosity like this that led to the group known as fundamentalism that spawned radicalism.

The word "radical" that make up the term "radicalism" is derived from the Latin *radix*, meaning "root". Thus, the "radical thinking" is synonymous with thinking up the roots, then that's what is likely to cause anti-establishment attitudes (Taher, 2004: 21). As according to Simon Tormey in *the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (vol.7, p 48), radicalism is a concept that is contextual and positional, in this case his presence is the antithesis of orthodox or mainstream, both are social, secular, scientific, and religious. According to him, radicalism does not contain a set of ideas and arguments, but rather load positions and ideologies questioning or sue something considered an established, accepted, or a common view.

The dynamics of social life Indonesia has not shown a stable condition after the reform era. Stages of transition from authoritarian to democratic constitutional regime has long journey within 17 years old. Nonetheless, it has not been accelerated to the next stage, namely the consolidation of democracy. In fact, the stages of democratic consolidation that determines whether efforts to build a democratic system of constitutional reform objectives can be realized or fail in the middle of the road.

Looking back historically, radicalism is characterized by religion is not new in this country, especially those related to Islamic radicals. In the history of Indonesia, known for example Padri War in West Sumatra between puritan clergy with groups of indigenous people who actually are adherents of Islam but not a puritan. Padri is known as the adherents of Wahabism that efforts to conduct religious purification movement, as well as the violence that cause bloodshed in Minangkabau society. Radical Islam is currently resurfaced, albeit in a different context but through ideas and religious understanding is not much different.

The phenomenon of violence on religious grounds which claimed lives and property is still going on with a form that is different, such as the case Cikeusik, Pandeglang (involving followers of the Ahmadiyah congregation as victims), violence in Temanggung (involving the burning and destruction of the Church), the incidence of shipping bombs-bom book, a suicide bombing at the mosque Cirebon Police Headquarters. In fact, before the celebration of Easter 2011, found bombs ready to explode in the Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD). And the recent suicide bombings in front of the Church of Samarinda (27/11/2016).

The increasing terror problems can't be underestimated by the government. Especially when compared to the New Order era, an era that considered authoritarian rule, but can provide guaranteed security in civil society that really does not give space for terrorism. This is in contrast with the era of reform, the government seemed overwhelmed by the number of acts of terror whose presence really endanger the safety of the nation of Indonesia. It can be seen from the trail of terrorist acts during the era of reform that has been mentioned above in this article.

C. The Concept of Youth and Social Media in the Phenomenon of Radicalism

An understanding of who are youths, according Maesy Angelia (2011: 2) is a social construction that contains relative and bias. According to Law No. 9 Year 2009 Youth, that someone called a young child if they were aged between 18-35 years. According to the UN, someone referred to as a young child when the 15-24 year old range. According Nilan and Fiexa (2006) explains that more proportional for example those that refer collectively to the broad chronological scale, both men and women, ranges between 12 and 35 years. Indeed, age is one of the important criteria that are often used in building the youth category. However, the specifics Yudhistira

(2010: 11) quoting Siegel (1986) and Railon (1989) distinguishes young children Indonesia into two groups, adolescents and youth.

If the author tries to classify such understanding, the *first* apolitical, those who have the same tastes, aspirations and lifestyle, who want to always change and generally refers to the developments taking place on a global level. *Second*, political, those who have a higher consciousness will issue his people, such as the issue of corruption and the system. They also have ideals that are often at odds with the reality that is happening in the community.

According to a leading sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1978) that the youth is a concept that continues to grow in layers, which reflect the values of social, political and moral in his day. Meanwhile, according to Gill Jones (2009) in a treatise entitled "What is Youth?" The youth is a social construction with a variety of different meanings in different settings and often changed and maternity dynamics over the period and history. From another viewpoint, Angelsaksis (in Monks [et.al], 1985: 219) argues that the youth or teen is divided into two phases, namely the phase of adolescence or "towards teens" between 19-24 years.

In sociological and historical reflection Taufik Abdullah argued that the term youth often "*interfered*" certain values, for example the various strands of a sentence such as: "young hope of the nation", "young owner of the future" and so forth. According to him, it is caused by the term youth is more to see its shape as a terminus ideological or cultural rather than scientific. The concept of youth described by Jones (2009: 4) also found that at least two of ambiguity, namely: *first*, the tendency to portray the image of youth and youth in a paradox: commendable and yet blamed, regarded as a hero but also as snot; "*Youth is to be celebrated and deplored, and young people is depicted as both heroes and villains.*" *Secondly*, the term youth refers to two meanings is like 'someone' (similar to the mention of 'child' or 'adult') and as part of a trip age (similar to the mention of 'childhood' and 'adulthood').

Youth can be regarded as a sociological concept, Kiem (1993) saw him as a product and an agent for social change. In the context of rapid social changes going on, Kiem (1993: 18) further saw him occupy a crucial position as a mediator in social reproduction and social transformation. On the one hand they are the product of a process of socialization and can only be understood in the context of the charge

of cultural offered to them, but on the other hand, they had a room a certain freedom in choosing the values provided in the cultural pluralism and contradictions contained in the community.

Looking back, in academic term, the youth actually often present in various study and study, but generally only affixed or deposited, as a kind of accessories in the study to focus on something else either population, crime, sexuality, or other development. It is looking at the role the agency of youth in the dynamics of social change and historical proved crucial, however interesting to see that the academic study of the youth into the realm of the displaced while the youth as "subject-academic 'seems to be a creature that excluded and marginalized (Azca and Rahdianto, 2011), These problems, it could be wrapped up with the policy direction of the "New Order" which systematically which weakens the youth as active subjects in the realm of socio-political and directing them as objects of development.

Discusses the phenomenon of radicalism of young Muslims in Indonesia these days people often associate it with violence, even terrorism. It is not separated from the increasing violence and terrorism committed by young Muslims in Indonesia in recent years, especially after the collapse of the New Order regime. Although conceptually radicalism is not synonymous with terrorism and violence, but terrorism and vigilantism could be seen as a variant of the phenomenon of radicalism. Violence committed by young people are also out of the role of social media so quickly fit into their daily lives. Social media in the era now seems to have the power of leading the born of violence and terrorism in recent years.

D. History De-radicalization in Indonesia

De-radicalization is a strategy that is based on a conceptual understanding to deal with the problem of terrorism. This concept reflects a need to make changes in the counter-terrorism. Done previously dominated by *hard power*, but the handling of understanding of radicalization in the reform era using *soft power*. The word comes from the de-radicalization of English vocabulary, "radical" and "de-radicalization". De-radicalization not be separated from the word "radical. Radicalization and radicalism. According to Big Indonesian Dictionary, the word means a radical advance in thinking or acting (Ministry of National Education, 1995: 808).

Understanding de-radicalization means an attempt to stop, abolish or at least neutralize radicalism. The term de-radicalization also has a developmental sense. The word is also interpreted as a termination or "*disengagement*" and *de-ideology*". Purpose termination means to leave or let go of acts of terrorism or violence. De-radicalization has the objective to reorient, as conceptualized by John Horgan (2010), that termination here are the changes in the social and cognitive in the sense of leaving various social norms, values, behaviors, and aspirations that followed along in a way that heart while the heart of the individual concerned is still being a member of a terrorist network (John Horgan, 2010: 82).

De-radicalization into an activity that is more focused on neutralizing the influence of radical thinking that he also has the purpose of counter radicalism. Definition of de-radicalization above are used in the government's policy to fight the terrorists, but still need to be developed to be more inclusive and not limited to terrorist groups or former terrorists. It is due to that effort neutralization of ideology is essentially an effort to strengthen the ideological bulwark against the influence of citizens.

According Golose, de-radicalization program has six objectives: 1) to counter terrorism; 2) prevent the process of radicalism; 3) prevent the provocation, spreading hatred, hostility between religious communities; 4) prevent the public from indoctrination; 5) improve public knowledge for refusing understand terror; and 6) enriched on a comparison understand. (Petrus R. Golose, 2010: 116).

Radicalism massive prevention efforts happening in the community, the government made a variety of ways to counteract the radical understand. For example, if we look back, at Zama Old Order government has done de-radicalization. Radical movements in the name of Islam has appeared several years after Indonesia won its independence as a sovereign state. Call it the DI / TII regarded as the first country to clear threat is still done by the government with the concept of hard power.

Implementation of de-radicalization by military means indicates that the government is still using the traditional way in the face of terrorist threats, even though the perpetrators are *non-state actors*. In 1949 the military operations against the DI / TII in West Java and Central Java, the 1960 military operation against the DI

/ TII in South Sulawesi and Aceh, the 1965 military operation against the DI / TII in South Kalimantan (M.A.S. Hikam, 2016: 75- 77).

Viewed countermeasures trip radicalism done on the government seemed comfortable with using military means (*hard power*). Because of the threat of DI / TII categorized as a form of separatist threat to use military force through recruitment of militants. Although the government managed to subside by military means, but other movements that arise as a follow-up to support the return of an Islamic state continue to emerge. Thus, the way the military is no longer the only way to quell terrorism and radicalism. It needs a more comprehensive manner that accommodates the interests of political, economic, social and cultural rights in dealing with terrorism in the modern age is based on the political interests as a primary goal the name of religion in conducting terror (Audrey Cronin, 2010: 5).

Old Order de-radicalization efforts in the use of *hard power*, unlike in the New Order era to *soft power*. Radical organization started using new tactics to recruit the modernists. Where the majority of the modernists who are activists modernist Muslim organization, Muhammadiyah activists such or other mass organizations that are believed to give new strength to this group. In general, given the ideas aimed led public opinion to oppose the ideology of *Pancasila*. The entry of the modernists into radical organizations clearly can't be combated by military forces that previously often performed on the Old Order era.

One of de-radicalization efforts undertaken by the government in the era of New Order is to establish guidelines (*Guidelines of State Policy*) and the determination program P4 (*Guidelines appreciation Pancasila experience*). The second stipulation of the program to have a powerful effect against radical thoughts of potentially disruptive integration of the nation. De-radicalization programs in the form P4 has meaning translation of Pancasila as the state which has implications for the way people view as a good citizen. While the guidelines aim to oversee the direction of Indonesia's development better and evenly so that it can reduce economic inequality areas previously often used as a reason to rebel.

De-radicalization in this reform era not only been developed in the sense of a rehabilitation effort, but also as an effort to counter the *ideology*. De-radicalization programs can do since early prevention against the influences of radical ideology. Thus, de-radicalization not only emphasized on the supporters of terrorism, the

former terrorists, and those who became prisoners only. However, de-radicalization should also be extended to civil society organizations that have a strategic position.

If we look at de-radicalization program which has been implemented by the government during the past few years have yielded concrete results. Approaches that are private, closed, and adjust to the culture of the terrorist networks, useful to understand the root cause of terrorism is mainly related to the motivation of people to join, support, and sympathetic to the ideology and terrorist groups. It is important to avoid generalizations in analyzing issues related to terrorism are extremely complex. The personal approach will give special nuances that can't be known by using other approaches.

The personal approach has another advantage, namely to understand directly from the close problems faced by the target. It also will help in determining what tactics can be used to make members of terrorist groups. Because of the variation in the motive for someone to join a radical group, efforts to change the thinking and their behavior will be effective if officials know the issues related to their personal interests. This concerns an influential figure in the terrorist organization. A deep understanding of their personal problems will give a significant contribution in changing the outlook and behavior of the radical group.

E. De-radicalization Reconstruction in The Reform Era

Implementation of the post-New Order de-radicalization program started in 2005, and the preferred target is the terrorist detainees and their families. As for civil society to be involved then the groups and organizations that are directly linked to radical ideology. For example, Islamic organizations and Islamic figures, both affiliated with the moderate, modernist, nor fundamentalists.

De-radicalization that this broad scope, the perpetrators of this program certainly should ideally not only the national police, but includes wider stakeholders. If we compare the scope of the targets and the perpetrators of the program, there is still a gap between the purposes of de-radicalization with the subjects. In this regard, the involvement of civil society organizations that have a strategic position affects the dynamics of the community, such as religious organizations, professional organizations, the media, intellectuals, indigenous organizations, NGOs, and associations of employers and workers. In the context of

global developments, regional, and national current and future, according to Muhammad A.S. Hikam (2016) the role of civil society is increasingly recognized and real. Civil society known as *non-state actors* who may have the power to compete with the power of the state (Muladi. 2011: 3).

The existence and role of civil society in Indonesia has a fairly long history. The seeds of the civil society in the modern era can be found in the cultural tradition that shows the characteristics of self-reliance, awareness and volunteerism. Let's say that the tradition of village barn, boarding educational institutions, cultural cooperation and others. Tradition is the basis for the emergence of the ethos of self-reliance and community resilience can be used to handle the pressure and threat of outsiders on the circumstances of crisis, both coming from natural or man-made.

Look at the role and existence of the modern civil society above, if it is associated with the development and dissemination of de-radicalization program will create synergies with the government. The police and BNPT be working with strategic components of society. When the main runway de-radicalization program is the social dimension of culture that has a perspective of multiculturalism. According to Parsudi Suparlan (1996). This perspective offers an understanding and appreciation among groups of ethnic, racial, and gender. Then through this understanding is expected there will be no more stereotypes which distinguish sharply between 'us' and 'them' where 'we' are superior, and 'they' are contemptible (Parsudi Suparlan, 1996: 47-49).

By looking at the de-radicalization program in which one sub-set of counter-terrorism in Indonesia is still not long held. From the results of the analysis can then be presented problems to be solved so as to strengthen the resilience of ideology and national security.

The government has had BNPT who showed their work in carrying out the functions and role against terrorism. With the rampant acts of terror in various archipelago, involving young people. This shows that the response to terrorist acts not only BNPT task, but the various elements of society must also have a responsibility to prevent radical ideologies among young people.

That is to say, de-radicalization program apparently still encountering various problems. In the matter of conceptualization, de-radicalization is not just limited to the rehabilitation of the fact that the program also includes the family of terrorist

prisoners. De-radicalization also essentially has the purpose of conducting neutralization of ideology so that the de-radicalization program should be charged in the so-called Golose an aspect of "*de-ideology*".

Another issue related to the implementation of this program is the absence of legal protection in the form of legislation regarding the implementation of the de-radicalization program. This created the impression that the national police work alone, whereas the issue of de-radicalization task of all, because of the radical ideologies that in every religion there must be.

There must be a new concept in de-radicalization efforts in the midst of events that still occur in the archipelago. The concept of *hard power* and *soft power* that has been implemented by the government in combating terrorism needs to be reviewed, then the concept is not walk on their own. The integration of *hard power* and *soft power* need to be made by the government so they can show their seriousness for tackling terrorism in Indonesia.

Reconstruction of de-radicalization requires strong coordination between stakeholders. These steps are necessary to synergize and harmonize all aspects of counter-terrorism. The government should open stronger cooperation level, decision-making and policy with the community on the ground. The alignment of the concept of *hard power* and *soft power* needs to be scaled back, so that actions can be treated early.

F. Conclusion

The threat of terrorism which has been proven to require the government is pursuing a strategy that is truly *comprehensive, integrated, and sustainable in the future*. De-radicalization program which has been implemented by the Police since 2005 requires a development and dissemination of a more wide-reaching. De-radicalization programs that have the primary purpose is the neutralization of radical ideology, should be a multi-sectorial activity and also use the perspective of early warning and detection of terrorism.

De-radicalization meaningful *de-ideology* should be a program that is aimed at all levels of society so that they are able to detect as early as possible any danger or threat ideological propagated by the leaders, supporters or sympathizers of the radical movement. De-radicalization programs must involve civil society

organizations, thus requiring effective coordination. Until now the de-radicalization program is still fragmented in terms of its implementation, since it is not clear legal framework and public policy.

De-radicalization program aimed at neutralizing the radical ideologies to strengthen national ideology should have a range and a broader scope. Until recently, the de-radicalization program in Indonesia is *still more focused on detainees, terrorist or terrorist convicts and their families*. The absence of early prevention carried out by the government.

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