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*draft only, not to be quoted*

**Deradicalization in Indonesian Mass Media and Business<sup>1</sup>**

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**Introduction**

Since the fall of the New Order regime under the leadership of dictatorial president, Soeharto, Indonesia has been hit by continuous terrorist attacks. It started with bomb explosion in Hayam Wuruk Plaza, Jakarta, in 1999 then, Istiqlal Mosque in the same year. In 2000 saw some other explosions, even towards the end of that year there was the notorious Christmas bombs that exploded in several churches in several cities. After that, there were still other bombs, communal-religious conflicts in Poso, Ambon and Northern Maluku that torn up the nation. Until quite recently there were still some other violence including the hideous suicidal bombs conducted by a family in 3 churches in Surabaya. The list is perhaps too long to mention. The country has suffered a lot, particularly, those who are considered as minority.

The government is by no means silent. Since 2010 they have formed a special body to handle the matter (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme / National Agency for Combating Terrorism).<sup>2</sup> The police has also special unit to confront terrorism, the National Police's Counterterrorism Squad Densus 88.<sup>3</sup> There is also a special law called Antiterrorism Law which has been renewed in 2018, in the wake of the church attacks in Surabaya. Under this law, the police can proactively curb terrorist acts.<sup>4</sup> Several ministerial offices have programs either to prevent, or, to “cure” terrorism / radicalism.<sup>5</sup> Added to this, civil society organizations including religious organizations, and education institutions have also been active in preventing radicalism. Thus far, so many have been done to defuse radicalism.

However, one deserves to doubt whether those deradicalization efforts are successful. This doubt has its reason since by looking at those efforts one sees not a clear picture of what is going on. First, in terms of deradicalization for the detained terrorists (or, ex-combatants as some prefer to call them). Despite the clarity of the target, it has been reported that the coaching programs delivered in the prison were not attracted to the detainee. The preachers sent into the prisons by the government, or, the police were not listened by the detainee who apparently already firm with their belief. Some reports even say that because a lot of people from various government agencies visit the detainee, they are reluctant to meet them. In the meantime, when they are released from the prison, they are sort of left alone. Nobody cares anymore for them. While it is not that easy for them to find a decent job post detention, they would easily be attracted to go back to their previous group. In another case, the returnees from Syria, or other warring places, have also often been neglected. The Antiterrorism Law actually allows the police to detain those returnees, but, it does not seem to have been implemented. If it indeed does, one would question whether such a detention is useful at all, bearing in mind what has happened with the ex-combatants. With this situation the doubt for

the success of deradicalization programs aimed at those who have done violent acts has its base.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, deradicalization as it has been understood in Indonesia also includes preventive acts prior to the conduct of terror attacks. It is assumed that those who do violent acts have been infused by radical thoughts. To prevent the violent acts those who have been influenced by radical thoughts have to be deradicalized. This idea has led the government and non-government organizations to take action for deradicalization. They target especially young people who have been thought as more susceptible towards radical ideology. They conducted various programs like coaching, spiritual guidance, camping, conference, discussion, and so on. This kind of activities are also pervasive and involving wide parties. It shows how serious is the nation in combating radicalism. However, in the same time various studies indicated that the rise of religious conservatism, even, radicalism does happen. A number of parents complain that their children become different after taking religious lessons in their schools. Their view of religion becomes more rigid and intolerant, if not hostile towards other religions. The concern does not limit only among the parents who have children in elementary and high schools, but, also in universities. The bearers of radical messages are various. It can be teachers, lecturers, senior students, even alumni. In public sphere, radical preachers get more attraction than those whose messages are considered too tolerant towards the others. YouTube, and other social media become effective instruments to spread the hardline messages. The tough preachers get more likes and followers in those social media than the moderate ones. All of these give a strong impression that the many efforts of deradicalization seem to fail to compete with the opposite side, the spread of radical messages.

This problem has brought some scholars to wonder as to why deradicalization in Indonesia seems to find only a little success, if at all.<sup>7</sup> Of course, we will hear some rationalization from those who do it. It may include the lack of human resources, fund, and others. Another reason that is often used is propaganda by interested politicians which may hypnotize people to believe that the only way to solve their problems is by being radical. It is usually connected to economy issues in which people who suffer from poverty is made to believe that the source of their difficulty is those whose religion is different from them. Nevertheless, we also need to open to other possibilities to answer the question why deradicalization programs are not as successful as many would hope. One that seems most important is the possibility of a more fundamental problem such as the clarity of the often used words like radicalism, terrorism, fundamentalism, and the likes. For those who use them, the words radicalism, and so on may look clear. But, by looking at the context when they are used, one may realize that actually those words function more like a blame. The people to whom the words are rendered seem like the one who should be responsible for a wrongdoing. No wonder the people who are called radical, terrorist, and fundamentalist often cannot accept the rendering. They refuse to be called radicals, even question the call as loaded with interests, unfair and only profiting certain parties. In another word, the words are never seen as neutral, or, objective. Even though, in general it is difficult to find a word which does not contain subjective interest, it is still important to answer the criticism that the use of words like radicalism, and so on should not only reflect the interest of certain parties.

In this presentation I do not pretend that I can solve the problem. The problem which actually is interpretation or hermeneutics problem is too big to solve, let alone by this simple study. Rather, I want to bring to the fore the plurality of meanings according to manifold contexts when the words radicalism, terrorism and so on are employed. But, I realize that I should

limit myself in order to be more focused. For that reason, I chose to discuss mainly the problem of (de)radicalization as it is already apparent from the title of my presentation. I will bring in a study on (de)radicalization as employed in the writings of certain mass media. After that, I will also bring the result of an in-depth interview with a businessman concerning deradicalization that he may have conducted through his business activities. The aim of all of these is to enrich our understanding of (de)radicalization. It will be achieved by learning from those who play a role in public life. There is no doubt that mass media has a significant role in framing public's opinion, but also at the same time, projecting the view of the people they want to communicate with. By studying mass media we can have an understanding of how deradicalization is discussed in public. Whereas with learning from the businessman, we can see that deradicalization may be conducted through business, and that in that way it may seem softer, yet impactful.

### **Mass media**

My colleagues at the Faculty of Theology, Duta Wacana Christian University, Jeniffer Pelupessy-Wowor and Rena S. Yudhita have conducted a research on how deradicalization by mass media. As analytical method they chose Critical Discourse Analysis. The complete result of their research has been recently published in book form with more than 400 pages length. In this occasion due to the limit of time, I just want to highlight some interesting points from the book.

The media that they opt as the formal object of study are *Jawa Pos*, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, and *Kompas*. *Jawa Pos* is a newspaper formerly circulated only in East Java but over time it is circulated in other provinces all over the country under different names. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* is Yogyakarta's local newspaper which has been around since 1945. *Kompas* on the other hand, has been a national newspaper since its conception in 1965. In general in terms of ideological preference none of the 3 newspapers represent other than nationalistic, Pancasilaist kind of ideology. In another word, we cannot expect them to take side with the view that many would identify as radical. As often reinstated time after time, radical view contradict with nationalism and Pancasila. This understanding has long been taken for granted by the society. No one would argue against it, at least not in public. Having said that, the 3 newspapers may not always agree in all their coverages about (de)radicalization.

*Jawa Pos*. The data are taken from coverages in the first semester of 2016. There are 6 news related to (de)radicalization, 3 of them explicitly mention the word deradicalization, the rest implicitly refer to it. All of the news imply deradicalization as a right way to prevent terrorism. It is considered as government program. Towards such the program, the comments indicate that the government has not done its job optimally. They refer to the recent terrorist act as the evidence. As I mentioned before the claim of the failure of deradicalization is always based on the persistent acts of violence by the terrorists. The State is often accused as failing to respond to the problem of terrorism so that it cannot be overcome. Deradicalization is not just about deconstructing radical ideology, but also answering the needs which otherwise would incite terrorism. In a sense, the government should see the problem as a whole, and not just partially. In one opinion column written by a lecturer from a state Islamic university, it is argued that the problem of terrorism has multiple causes, not just economic, but also social and cultural. Therefore the approach should also touch all of those aspects. This is in line with the suggestion made by A.S Hikam who sees the law enforcement approach which often means repression is not enough and may even incite more terrorism.<sup>8</sup> He suggests a cultural approach as priority. Deradicalization should consists of awareness building about Indonesian culture. Most important to this is traditional wisdoms which in the

past have played significant role in forming social unity. One cannot deny that in this argument radicalism is seen as alien to the local cultures. To reverse the argument, the coming of radical thoughts from outside shows that the role of own cultures is decreasing. So it is necessary to uplift the cultures through education formal and informal. This involves not only the government, but also non-government elements. In relation to non-government involvement, the newspaper also criticizes the society who easily forget the threat of terrorism when it has already passed for some time. People just think about it when it already occurs, but, after some time they forget it.

About the role of religious organization, *Jawa Pos* specifically mentions 2 biggest Muslim organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. These organizations are known for their decisive contribution in nation building. By expecting them to do much with deradicalization, it obviously points towards the support of religion for nation building. In another word, the power of religion should be directed towards nation building, the common good of the whole nation. To say it differently, religion should look outside itself, goes beyond the boundary of its own tradition. It should teach people how to struggle for the good of the whole nation. It should not just look into itself. In that sense, deradicalization means to bring people to the awareness that the interest of the whole nation should be put as priority. This can be done through religious teaching and practices.

*Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Almost the same as *Jawa Pos*, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* also turns its eyes towards the government. It surfaces the works of the police in deradicalizing those who have been caught for doing terrorism. But, there is also preventive act by the police. In this relation, this newspaper introduces another word, contra-radical. By this it means anything to defuse radicalism prior to the act of terrorism. This preventive action is aimed towards the society at large, or, those who never do terrorism, or, have that kind of potential. Contra-radicalization as it is understood by this newspaper shows that radicalism cannot just be taken for granted. Becoming radical can take a long process that may not always apparent to the others. Or, that the seeds of radicalism can be planted everywhere without always be detected. Contra-radicalization should create caution by the people no matter who they are. This may seem similar to the message of *Jawa Pos* which underline the importance of cultural approach. Interestingly some of the idioms that are used by this news agency sound medical like sterile, treatment, preventive, and so on. It may indicate that radicalism is seen as some kind of disease. This paradigm represents the view of many members of the society. But, it does not limit just to radicalism. Anything that is seen as destructive to the society would be said as disease as in the case of drug abuse, alcohol intoxication and gambling. Then, deradicalization is interpreted as curing some kind of sickness. Within this paradigm, prevention is more important than curing.

Concerning the role of religious institutions, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* suggests that preaching and coaching activities especially in places of worship should be guided as not to contain radical messages. It seems to refer to the domination of hardline preachers in many religious meetings. It cannot be left alone. The authorities should intervene by providing moderate preachers for those meetings. Again it shows how serious the problem of radicalism is so that all have to participate in stopping it. It is also assumed that to think that religious meetings are sterile from radicalism is simply naive. Although generalization is also problematic, but, naivety with regards to religious activities is also not a good thing. In the following years the government through Religious Affairs Ministry is active in preparing and sending moderate preachers (*penyuluh agama*) to all over places. It also uses website and social media to send moderate messages to the public especially young people. The main goal of this effort is to

provide an alternative view of religion in the face of radicalism. In our case it probably can be included as deradicalization.

*Kompas*. In the same period (first semester of 2016), this Catholic based national newspaper also covered similar news. The message is not that different, that is, the government should take more intensive step towards deradicalization which this time is specifically understood as disengagement. In an opinion column it is suggested that the State should assure that those who have been involved in terrorist acts would not be given a chance to get access to their former group, or, thought. The stress it gives to disengagement is that those who in the past are ready to use violent means, after disengagement are willing to suspend that means. By suspending the violence they do not have to erase all of their past ideology. In another word, the writer wants to say with the fact that one has already given up violence we can be sure that disengagement is already on the right track. Perhaps this idea cannot be accepted by a lot of people. Usually the wish is to erase the whole package of radicalism including any thought that is supportive to it. But, it may be right that while this kind of wish may sound too ambitious, it is also uncritical towards the possibility that there may be some good things within the ideology of the radicals. Unpacking all contents of the ideology may seem like “throwing the baby out with the bathwater”. But, no less importantly this suggestion imply that law enforcement approach for disengagement should not be seen as the only effective way of dealing with radicalism. In fact, looking at how the ex-combatants were treated and what is the result, one cannot but agree that law enforcement seems to work temporarily.

*Kompas* has also shown its way of educating its readers by rethinking the present Indonesia. What Indonesia means today with all of these differences in aspiration and idealism. It carefully asks its readers not to make an abrupt decision. It is true that radicalism look alien to the people of Indonesia who for a long time could live together amid ethnic, religious, political differences. It may be also true that radical thoughts were brought in Indonesia from overseas. It is not originally ours. But, after all that evaluation it is still unhelpful if we deny its existence in the mind of the people in Indonesia. Even though one may argue that those who agree with radical ideas are not the majority, perhaps it is wise to think that they are still part of the nation. To deny their existence would merely stop the communication across the elements of the nation. For *Kompas*, the nation needs to be able to communicate across differences. This ability is inherited by the nation’s founding fathers in independence era, even long before it as reflected by the national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity). Therefore, despite the confusion of how we should respond to radicalism, particularly the one that links to religion, according to *Kompas* the nation should include it as part of our national discussion about what Indonesia is nowadays. There is old but still relevant saying, *musyawarah untuk mufakat* (mutual consensus in order to reach an agreement) which has been practiced by Indonesians in any opportunity. *Kompas* seems to guide people into this practice in the face of radicalism. This has indirectly added to the idea of deradicalization that it should not be understood as anything outside of conversation cross differences. It has also pointed towards something more essential for the nation, that is, reconstruction of imagination of what Indonesia is.

In that way, the discourse that has been brought by *Kompas* is inclusive discourse. Perhaps it is easier to say than to do. The damage, fear, and everything that the serial act of terrorism has shown since the end of the last decade would not make the call that *Kompas* has asked from the people easy to implement. We are even still worried that such terrors can take place at any time now. Therefore, it is still difficult to imagine that we can be able to follow the inclusive idea. However, *Kompas* has seemed to direct the public into the thought of

solidarity. That the problem of radicalism, terrorism and so on cannot be left to the hands of the government alone. The public has to show solidarity in facing the problem. In another word, the nation should go hand in hand in dealing with the matter.

Being a Catholic base newspaper, one may wonder what actually is the intention of *Kompas*. The general impression about current radicalism and terrorism is that it is the problem of one religion only, namely, Islam. The Catholic and other religions do not have the problem. This impression is not contained in Indonesia alone. It has become a worldwide impression. Some time it even becomes an unfair generalization that every Muslim has the potency of being radical or worse, a terrorist. Often Islam itself is judged as a violent religion. So whenever the problem of radicalism and terrorism occur every head is turned to Islam. This is of course a wrong judgment. And, *Kompas* does not want to follow the wrong judgment. By suggesting a solidarity to deal with the problem, *Kompas* in a way wants to say that this is our problem, the problem of all nation, even the problem of all humanity. It is a humanity problem. The solution should also be sought by all of us, not just the Muslims. Perhaps the background of this idea is the spirit of togetherness, or, unity as one nation. Whatever a problem faces with one member of the society the other members should lend a hand to solve it. A problem like radicalism should be taken as common problem of the nation.

In fact, this thought has been shared by many people who realize that radicalism can exist in every religion. On the other hand, every religion also has strong element of the opposite, that is, peace. Every religion has a vision of peace on earth. Using Christian language the peace that is envisaged is peace on earth and heaven, a wholistic peace. The present of this vision can rightly be assumed in all religions. Therefore, it is logical to ask for the involvement of all religions to deal with the problem. The contribution from all religions should be considered as important and received with two hands. *Kompas* has urged the nation to play a role and not just to see it as the task of the government and other parties.

### **Business**

The relation between business and (de)radicalization is apparent in many ways. It goes without saying that radicalism cannot work without the support of business. Radical groups cannot maintain their existence without money. When it comes to terrorist acts financial supports are even more needed. It becomes usual to hear that those involved in that kind of movement either have a business on their own, or, get support from business people small or big. This is the case where business link with radicalism is in supportive manner. But, this is, of course, not the only story we have. There is the opposite side where business is involved in deradicalization. As noted above, deradicalization programs also need big financial support. The government agencies who enact the programs cannot work properly without enough money. It is also true when deradicalization is implemented by other agencies. In this opportunity I would like to highlight some important points of how if a businessman conducted his business with spirit of doing good for his nation, spirit of humanism (the word does not come from him), and, spirit of deradicalization. Perhaps he is one among a few who persistently combine business with philanthropy. But, it is more interesting to see the entanglement of business, philanthropy and deradicalization which in this case is even more specific, that is, religious deradicalization.

Mr. Haidar Bagir is the founder and owner of Mizan, one of the biggest publishing company in Indonesia. For a more complete information about him, we can read Wikipedia ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haidar\\_Bagir](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haidar_Bagir)) and the website of Mizan (<http://www.mizan.com/mengenal-lebih-dekat-haidar-bagir/>). In order to learn his view, I and

my colleagues conducted an in-depth interview with him. The followings are our findings which although strongly connect to his personality we do not want to make it as a personal matter. We rather want to see his view either as representation of the struggle of many others, even, national struggle, or, as an urgent response towards current movements which have created a lot of concerns. It should be honestly said that in the last decade Indonesia has seen the rise of conservatism, radicalism, even, many terrorist occurrences which link with religion. With Mr. Bagir we see how this has been taken as a call to use all of resources he has to meet with the basic problem which has given way to such things.

As in many other countries, book business has recently faced a big challenge because of digitalization. Conventional books are less and less demanded as people are more used to reading materials in digital form, or, through the internet. But, unlike in many other countries, the challenge is doubled in Indonesia when it comes to religious book. The attraction towards religious book is more dominated by radical, even fundamentalist type. This also happens among young people. In several book exhibitions one can notice that booths which sell radical books are more busy than the others. These books may be written by famous radical preachers, or, at least contain a rather black-and-white explanation. They instruct their readers to follow certain paths as the right one, while the others are claimed as wrong. Towards other religions they often show hostility. Even though the impact of these books for social unity may not be good, they are still seen as strengthening faith. In the time when a lot things may invoke uncertainty and doubt, the books of that type is seen as necessary.

Mizan is famous for its production of religious theme books, among other types of publication.<sup>9</sup> But, it is interesting to see that Mizan's books are not of the type that many people like. It does not mean that Mizan's books do not have market. As Mr. Bagir said, Mizan has its own market. Judging from the kind of its readers, Mizan's market is probably those who are ready to learn from others. In Indonesia the word for these kind of people is *terbuka* (being open minded). Whatever that word may mean, Mizan's books seem rightly be considered as promoting pluralistic view. It is not surprising as the word Mizan itself which comes Arabic means balance. To be balance one has to be able to regard even to the opposite side.

It is not easy to be balance, especially in terms of religion. Religion as often said is about subjective preference towards certain truth. But, the truth is claimed by those who adhere to it as objective and universal. Not to believe in that truth is simply wrong. In that sense, it cannot accept differences. To differ is false. Nevertheless, every religion contains differences. It is hard to deny. One religion, especially that which has a lot of followers consists of many streams, denominations, schools, organizations, and so on, which tell about differences of interpretation. For those who understand, the differences may look normal and may even be appreciated. As Indonesians often say, differences is richness.

How has Mizan put the differences? In another word, how it has implemented the balance as envisioned by its founder and owner, Mr. Haidar Bagir? There are at least 2 notes to answer this question. First, as explained by Mr. Bagir, in the early years, Mizan did publish books which from the present point of view can be considered as radical. The intention was to introduce the thoughts which were still alien to the public in general. In those days, radical view was hardly found if any. So, by publishing books which contain radical thoughts, Mizan wanted to balance the view of the people. But, it did not last long. As the time went by, Indonesia entered the next phase in religious life. Mr. Bagir saw that more and more people learned and shared the thoughts which can be considered as radical. Radicalism was in the

rise towards the end of the New Order era. In the same time, criticism towards traditional way of understanding religion was more and more heard. Having faced with this change, Mizan took another direction. It started to publish books which for the followers of radical thoughts would be deemed as unorthodox, perhaps, even heresy. This path is taken until now as radicalism is still hanging in the air.

Mr. Bagir himself has taken a more difficult task when he tries to explain Shia Islam to the public. In the internet we can see some people offended him because of that (<https://muslim.or.id/8265-terimakasih-kepada-bapak-haidar-bagir-atas-pengakuannya.html>). He even got a threat. It has happened since the increase of hostility towards Shia Muslims in Indonesia in recent years. Although Shia communities have existed since a long time in Indonesia, lately they were suffered from several attacks especially in Sampang, Madura. Whatever the reason of the current hostility towards Shia, it is undeniable that the life of a few followers of Shia is getting more difficult. Mr. Bagir himself could not avoid from being the target of unkind remarks as he is seen as the defender of Shia, even, the follower of Shia.<sup>10</sup> But, that is not the only condemnation he has got as he also has been criticized as promoting liberal thoughts. The word liberal has also become loaded with derogative meaning particularly in relation with the edicts of MUI (the Indonesian Ulema Council) in July 2005. The same edicts also blamed pluralism. Some observers have seen the edicts produced by the Council, despite their non-binding nature, have shown a signal of the rise of conservatism. It is probably also the case that by those verdicts radicalism has got a boost. From the perspective of the Council, the thoughts of Mr. Bagir and his Mizan would be seen as trespassing the true teaching of religion.

However, the controversy about Shia and liberal thoughts resonate beyond the limit of a few people involved. It has become a national issue. The edicts of the Ulema Council may reflect the undercurrent situation in the society. On the surface the society seems to be divided between those who value freedom of thoughts and those who defend religion from those kind of thoughts. This is actually not a new confrontation. During the New Order era the nation was also having similar division. Only at that time, the government dictated the people. It taught the people to always be suspicious towards foreign elements. With regard to religion, the accusation that Western influence is dangerous and would damage religion was often told to the people. Including in the so-called Western values was liberalism. Therefore when now a council like MUI produced the edicts which condemn pluralism and liberalism among others it only replicates the New Order government. It does not only replicate the contents, but, also the form which is top-down approach. It is true that MUI is not government's office. It even dares to contradict the present President in several cases. But, to say that it does not have major influence would also deny the fact. Despite the binding and non-binding problem, MUI represent the thoughts of a half society. The term a half does not mean number, because the number who agree to conservatism as represented by MUI probably is more than a half. But, this is not certain yet. Only that several studies have proven the rise of religious conservatism in Indonesia.

Although the result of the recent general election may provide a further prove of how the majority feels threatened by what they might see as foreign elements, for those who think differently Indonesia has never been a place for such conservatism. For them, this country has originally and for a long time is a place that welcomes differences. The fact that it welcomes religions which were brought from other places and let those religions mingle with local, or, indigenous religions is hard to deny. Any religion that originally comes from other place when it came to Indonesia received local elements which in the end makes it typical



Indonesian. Of course, one still can see some universal points shared by adherents in other countries, but, there are also unique elements that cannot be found elsewhere. Contextualization whether deliberate, or, natural has happened in religions that come from other places. In line with this view, Mr. Bagir agrees that it is important to remind people of things that we inherit from the past. We should persistently promote local cultures whether as culture, or, as part of religion. There is an awareness here that local cultures have gradually been neglected. On the one hand, globalization has brought great influence which marginalizes local cultures. On the other hand, if globalization is mainly about capitalism spirit which relate more to economy, the influence of religion which has been developed in other regions cannot also be disregarded. Both have made local cultures gone from the stage. Capitalism has made people think anything local is outdated, even less civilized. Foreign religious teachings have attacked anything local as syncretistic, therefore, heretic. Therefore, local cultures have been damaged from every corner. To let it happen without any effort to resist would make situation even worse.

As a businessman, Mr. Bagir admitted that profit is still important. Even though Mizan's books (with religious and philosophy genres) may not be that trendy, it does not mean that they cannot create profit. The key is to find the right market. Mr. Bagir is not only the owner who let his staffs to work, he is also directly involved in the marketing of his company's books. He walks to universities to launch new books. By doing that he also can promote the values that are in the books. It is like doing 2 things at the same time. Economically speaking it is efficiency. But, it is also effective since the targets of the promotion are not just random. They were selected from among institutions which would respect the values that Mr. Bagir brought. In doing this, Mr. Bagir has strengthened those who agree to ideas which for some looked heretic. In another word, Mr. Bagir has functioned himself as educator. He educates people to broaden their knowledge and awareness. As we all know that education is basically a way to enlighten the mind. That is the main difference between education and indoctrination. Indoctrination does not introduce new, including different, ideas because the fear that these might endanger the mind of the people. In education, the students should be imposed with different thoughts and views. In the end, when they make their decision they can do it with options. It is important to create options in decision making process, otherwise, in Indonesian saying, people just see with horses' glasses (narrow view). It is true not only in the context of teaching sciences, but, also in the context of religious teaching.

Like some other business people, Mr. Bagir has also strongly involved in education. He formed an education foundation, Lazuardi Hayati, which organizes a network of schools (pre-K to K-12) in some cities. In the beginning the schools were given explicit religious identity, but, lately the identity is no longer explicit. He argued that it does not mean there is no longer religious nuance in his schools. For him being religious should make people be able to go beyond the boundary of his / her religious identity. He bases his religious understanding on compassion. It is in fact the value that he dearly adheres to. He wants his schools be a place to nurture compassion. The question then is whether his schools has nothing to do with business? Telling from the students who go to his schools it is doubtful if the schools do not generate any profit. Of course, schools are non-profit organization. Mr. Bagir would not agree that he forms the schools with profit intention, just like other wings of his business sections. But, the fact that his schools have grown shows the appreciation of the public. For a businessman like him, this is a sign of success. Success in business has various connotations, not limited to earning a lot of money only. Business is after all not against humanism as many would think of it.

Business in the hand of people like Mr. Haidar Bagir could do a lot in deradicalization. It is even very strategic as it works almost silently but also have a potency to transform the mind of the people. We do not have to agree to the saying “there is nothing that money cannot do”, because it is not about coercing people to change with the lure of money. It is rather to make a gradual change which may or may not happen. The change is open. It is up to the people. The role of business is just to give an alternative. Just like in the practice of trading where the role of a trader is to offer goods that may be needed by the customers. The trader should be ready to suffer lost because people do not like his / her goods. But, a good trader never gives up. He / she should be ready to change and come back with a different offer. This kind of strong adaptive mentality is needed to gain success in business. And, it can only make possible if the businessman/woman is ready to read the need of the market. Mr. Bagir has read his market. But, he is also able to influence his market for a good reason. For that he seems to prepare himself from being attacked. Perhaps, he sees the attacks as part of a competition. In business he must have been exposed a lot to harsh competition. He may be used to it when he faces attacks from people who disagree with his religious views. More importantly, he does not seem to surrender to his opponents. He perhaps conceals a hope that one day his opponents will see the truth of what he has been saying all the time.

### **Conclusion**

Deradicalization is an ongoing process which involve various agencies. It is important to study and realize the involvement of those agencies. For the actors the realization that they are not alone would give a strength to themselves and to their works. They would also learn to synergize with the others. To avoid overlapping in this kind of work is really important.<sup>11</sup> In terms of labour division, it is good they can map out what is the task of the government with its various sections and the civil society organizations. The great enthusiasm as shown by many organizations and people lately should warn us of the importance to keep the energy and not to exhaust it at one time. The run may still be long, like a marathon.

It is often said that radicalism is like a virus, perhaps a slow release one.<sup>12</sup> Those who have been infected may not always be aware. But, as in viral infectious cases, the best solution is to increase our anti-body. It means our social life should be made healthier. A healthy social life requires a healthy family, neighbourhood, community, and cross-community life. Religion can, and, of course should take part in creating those things. But, it should not be taken for granted that religion will automatically in support to the healthy social life. Religion must be checked in order to suit to the intention of creating a healthy social life. In this case, religion should be seen as one of the many factors in social life. It certainly is not the only one there, and even more certainly not the factor that is above the other factors.

The best way to put is perhaps by imagining that religion is part of social conversation. In that conversation religion can play a role as the subject of conversation, but, at times it should also humbly surrender itself to be the object. Religion talks with other aspects of social life about anything, but, can also be talked by the others. There should not be any fear that by letting religion be talked about, it may loose its esteem. Just like in religious dialogue, rather than loosing faith, people would get a more consciousness of their own faith. Religion needs a reflection in order to be more aware of itself.

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<sup>1</sup> It is delivered in the 2<sup>nd</sup> PCI NU Biennial Conference entitled “Seeking the Middle Path (Al-Wasatiyyah): Articulations of Moderate Islam” on 18-20 June 2019 in the Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> Information about this Body can be read in their website: <https://www.bnpt.go.id/tentang-bnpt>

<sup>3</sup> For a short information about Densus 88 one can read [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Detachment\\_88](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Detachment_88)

<sup>4</sup> This Law can be downloaded from <https://sipuu.setkab.go.id/PUUdoc/175528/UU%20Nomor%205%20Tahun%202018.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> Among others is an agreement signed by the Religious Affairs Minister, the Education and Culture Minister and the Head of National Agency for Combating Terrorism in July 2018. See <https://kemenag.go.id/berita/read/508158>. The agreement is formulated in 8 points: 1. To spread the information about prevention of radicalism and intolerance in all education units; 2. To develop co-curricular and extra-curricular activities in all education units which aim at hampering the expansion of radical and intolerant ideologies; 3. To bolster the contents of moderation and tolerance in religiosity as part of the development of materials about the danger of radicalism and intolerance which are integrated in class courses; 4. Capacity building for teachers and school staffs in terms of the prevention of radical ideologies and intolerance through education and coachings; 5. Exchange of data, information, and experts related to the prevention of radical ideologies and intolerance with keeping in mind of confidentiality and the interest of the State; 6. To involve families in the prevention of radical ideologies and intolerance; 7. To develop materials on family education for the prevention of radical ideologies and intolerance; 8. To provide an education for the students who face the charge of the law and suffer from the stigma caused by radical ideologies dan intolerance.

<sup>6</sup> For a similar evaluation see M. Affin Bahtiar and Arwin D. W. Sumari, “The Implementation of The Deradicalization Program in Indonesia: A Case Study of Counterterrorism in Indonesia” [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330619167\\_The\\_Implementation\\_of\\_The\\_Deradic\\_alization\\_Program\\_in\\_Indonesia\\_A\\_Case\\_Study\\_of\\_Counterterrorism\\_in\\_Indonesia](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330619167_The_Implementation_of_The_Deradic_alization_Program_in_Indonesia_A_Case_Study_of_Counterterrorism_in_Indonesia).

See also Cameron Sumpter, “Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia: Priorities, Practice and The Role of Civil Society” *Journal for Deradicalization*, No. 11 (2017), pp. 112-147. <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/103/86>

<sup>7</sup> The problem of uncertainty regarding deradicalization is by no means limited to Indonesia alone. An evaluative study on deradicalization in several countries by Tom Pettinger has shown the problem. See his article “De-radicalization and Counter-radicalization: Valuable Tools Combating Violent Extremism, Or Harmful Methods of Subjugation?”, *Journal for Deradicalization*, No. 12 (2017), pp. 1-59. <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/109/91>

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad A.S.Hikam, *Deradikalisasi: Peran Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia Membendung Radikalisme*, Kompas: Jakarta, 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Its website describes the width of its business: <http://www.mizan.com/>

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<sup>10</sup> In the website of Mizan there is an explanation to the accusation that the publisher has produced 60 books about Shia. It basically argues that the books are indeed written by Shia writers, but, only 2 of them are about Shia. Even the 2 books are an explanation about Shia which were published in the time of Iranian revolution in the 80s.

<http://www.mizan.com/benarkah-mizan-menerbitkan-60-judul-buku-karya-penulis-syah/>

<sup>11</sup> For the need of coordination among government departments see Chaula Rininta Anindya, “Deradicalization Programme for Indonesian Deportees: A Vacuum in Coordination” *Journal for Deradicalization*, No. 18 (2019), pp. 217-243.

<http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/195/149>

<sup>12</sup> This metaphor is used several times including the recent one by Buya Syafii Maarif, a much revered Muslim scholar: <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1188860/buya-syafii-beri-contoh-virus-intoleransi-rusak-anak-anak/full&view=ok>

