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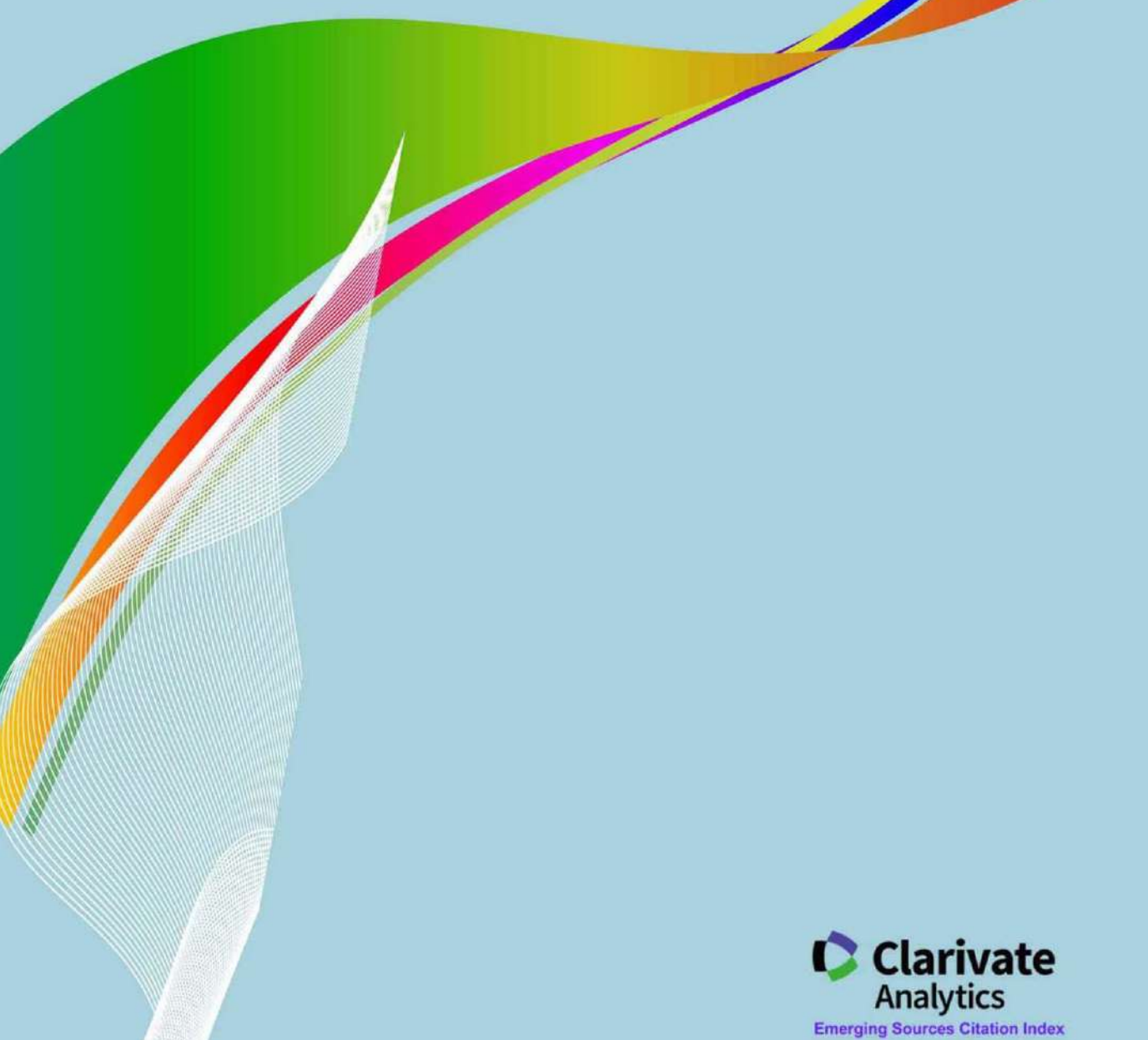
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**From Instruction to Consultative: Reposition of Pesantren in the
Collaboration of Religious Radicalization Policy in Indonesia**

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FROM INSTRUCTION TO CONSULTATIVE: REPOSITION OF PESANTREN IN THE COLLABORATION OF RELIGIOUS RADICALIZATION POLICY IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This study examined the urgency of reconstructing the Pondok pesantren position in the religious de-radicalization policy in Indonesia. Islamic boarding school (henceforth: Pondok Pesantren) is only positioned as a subordinate institution or object of de-radicalization policy in the collaboration of institutional design. As a result, the relationship model built is the instructive pattern from the Government to Pondok pesantren. It, factually, does not contribute to the positive effect on the effectiveness of the de-radicalization policy. The question of this research was how the relationship model or ideal position of Pondok pesantren in the collaboration of institutional design in religious de-radicalization policy is. The research data were collected through interviews, documentation, and literature study, which were then analyzed descriptively. This study summed up that the consultative model would guarantee more toward the support of institutional design in the collaboration of religious de-radicalization policy in Indonesia; to protect the unity of the nation on the one hand, and optimize the role of Pondok pesantren on the other hand.

Keywords: *Pondok Pesantren; Organization Design; Religious Deradicalization.*



A. Introduction

Indonesia is now confronted with two serious problems regarding (Islamic) religious issues to keep the nation's unity. Those two problems are: (1) the amount of (radicalism) violence in the name of religion, and (2) the strengthening of Islamism, which not only puts forward the identity but also moves forward Islam as a doctrine as Muslim. Thus, they are obsessed with establishing an Islamic state in Indonesia (*Khilafah*). Indeed, those religious issues were over in 1945 when the founding fathers agreed to make Indonesia a nation based on Pancasila and not as an (Islamic) religious state.

From the perspective of social science, the term radicalism has characteristics that can be related to personal or group dissatisfaction toward the existence of the status quo and guidance toward something that has been established to do fundamental change toward specific problems (Susanto, 2007). Hence, the relation between the social radicalism perspective and the strengthening of Islamism not only puts forward the identity as Muslim but also moves forward Islam as a doctrine and ideology. Various religious organizations have been rising that are politically oriented, such as Hizbut Tahrir, Front Pembela Islam, Komite Persiapan Penegakan Islam, Laskar Jihad, Jamaah Islam Ahlussunah Waljamaah, Forum Ulama Ummat Islam Indonesia and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (Turmudi, 2005).

As for the amount of radicalism violence, issues in the name of religion are explained by Azra (1999) from the perspective of Islamic radicalism. According to him, (Islamic) religious radicalism/ fundamentalism is the extreme type of indication of "revivalism." If revivalism is the Islamic intensification that is inward-oriented and individual, radicalism/fundamentalism is the Islamic intensification that is also directed until the coercive effort rises.

Mahendra (1999) added that religious radicalism has some characteristics: [1] it tends to interpret holy book texts rigidly and textually; [2] it inclines to monopolize the truth of holy book interpretation (Tafsir) and even recognizes itself as the authority holder as the most valid interpretation of religion. So that it considers other groups of people are misguided and lawful to be despised; [3] it has an a priori view on ideology and western cultures. In

several cases, the accumulation of those three characteristics triggers the movement with violence/ terrorism.

The abovementioned issues encourage the Government to set up a de-radicalization program of religious understanding to dispel radicalism and terrorism. According to Bakti (2004), two strategies of the Indonesian Government support the implementation of de-radicalization that has been done so far, particularly since the tragedy of the Bali Bomb in 2002. The first strategy is to change the thinking paradigm of the leading group and militant to not act in radical terrorism after serving a sentence. The second strategy is ideological deterrence. This strategy is designed for all people not to be easily influenced by doctrine and radical terrorism action. One of the objects of this strategy is a religious, educational institution, particularly *Pondok pesantren*.

The choice of the religious educational institution, including *Pondok pesantren*, as the object of the de-radicalization policy, was caused by a massive presumption that the pattern of religious educational institutions in Indonesia. It was proven to involve developing radicalism understanding and action because most perpetrators were the alums of religious education. The research conducted by Ahmed (2004) also mentioned that Islamic education faced severe problems. One is the narrow pattern of Islamic education that encourages the growth of religious chauvinism.

The religious de-radicalization policy that the Government sets in the form of socialization, counseling, training, facilities, and other programs ends up on the truth of the assumption that de-radicalization policy makes its object that all *Pondok pesantren* has been affected radicalism. Whereas *Pondok pesantren*, with its sub-system, is one of the civil societies that can be the agent in preventing and handling radicalism movement in the name of (Islamic) religion.

The contribution of *Pondok pesantren* and civil society organizations toward the success of policy and development generally has been put forward by the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID). First, *Pondok pesantren* and other civil society organizations have been proven to play essential roles in reforming the state and intervening in the power of capital (market). Second, the groups of civil society need political space to



play the role well and legally (INFID, 1999, in Basori, 2017). The study of Harney and Olivia (2003) in Indonesia also explained that the availability of 'political space' is needed and believed as a part of the effort to form democratic governance. Third, *Pondok pesantren* and civil society can contribute to the positive goals of government administration through constructive feedback and advocacy.

Some findings showed that the *Pondok pesantren* position as the policy object is inappropriate. Like the object, the *Pondok pesantren* position is subordinate to the Government, so there is no alignment among governments. Thus, *Pondok pesantren* has no space and opportunity to deradicalize in the formal, legal, and inclusive organization design.

Islamic educational institutions in some countries have significant roles and positions in developing human resources. In Egypt, for example, the University of al-Azhar, as the oldest Islamic education institution in the world, has been successfully graduating a reforming generation in the Islamic world so that its influence significantly impacts the type of thought of Muslim scholars in Indonesia (Sukino, 28: 2016). This is similar to what happened in Middle East Countries. In Turkey, Islamic educational institutions also have a strategic position and role in state development (Habibi: 2018). In Southeast Asia, such as Malaysia and Thailand, particularly in some areas, such as Pattani, Setul, Yala, and Narathiwat, Islamic education, including *Pesantren* and *Madrasah*, has been the primary identity of Islam (Susanto, 2015, p. 72).

Looking at the significant roles of *Pondok pesantren* as Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, it is enough to argue the importance of a better relationship model between the government and *Pondok pesantren* in designing the appropriate organizational framework. What is needed to make religious de-radicalization policy gain its goals in implementing this institutional design framework? The answer to this question will be explained further in this article.

This study aims to describe the urgency of *pesantren's* position in Indonesia's religious understanding de-radicalization program. The position of *pesantren* is not appropriate to be put only as an object of the de-radicalization

program and as subordinate. However, it needs to be a subject in the same position with different roles.

Many researchers have conducted the study of de-radicalization. However, the study on relationship patterns between the subject, object, and stakeholders in this program has not been done yet. This research theme will be the focus of the writer's study. It is the first research that connects the Government's position with *Pondok pesantren* in the religious de-radicalization policy. Besides, the choice to build this consultative relationship model (the second model above the instructive model), not the delegation model (the highest level above the instructive model), aims to keep the Government's dignity regarding authority and court function.

This study is essential to build a comprehensive understanding of the implementation of collaborative policy in the religious de-radicalization program by aims to prevent radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. Besides, this study becomes an essential suggestion for policymakers in running collaborative governmental programs.

B. Literature Review

1. The Concept of Religious De-Radicalization

Charles E. Allen, as cited by Angel Rabasa, stated that de-radicalization is generally identified as the process of the adoption of extremist belief, including the willingness to support and facilitate violence as a method to influence social change. De-radicalization is the process of leaving the extremist view and concludes that extremism and violence cannot be used to influence social changes. Omar Ashour, in his research *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements*, which Rabasa also cites, stated that the recognition of the Government, as a part of the de-radicalization process of the transformation of social, political, and economy, will happen slowly in the plural environment (Rabasa, 2010, p. 166).

International Crisis Group (ICG), in its report, *Deradicalization, and Indonesian Prisons: Asia Report No. 42-19 November 2007*, stated that de-radicalization is the most basic effort to persuade terrorists and their supporters to abandon



the use of violence (Golose, 2010, p. 164). John Horgan, the Director of the International Center for the Study of Terrorism in Pennsylvania, defined "deradicalize" as a combination of two terms that have different understandings. However, it has the same purpose, to make terrorist leave their terrorist action in the form of violence (Golose, 2010, p. 80).

De-radicalization is a program initiated by the Government in cooperation with other institutions. De-radicalization is a process where groups of radicalism change their strong ideology and delegitimize the use of violent methods to gain political purposes. Meanwhile, they also move to acceptance gradually toward politics, the economy, and other changes (Omar Ashour in Striegher, 2013: 21).

De-radicalization of religious understanding can be said as the process of neutralizing ideology, radicalism, and militant to justify extreme ways of performing Islamic preaching. The term radical means justifying violence to anyone considered enemies and threatening Islam, moreover, the existence of radicalism groups. De-radicalization understanding is done through an interdisciplinary approach by interpreting religious text contextually and putting forward humanity values, inclusivity values, the values of unity, and brotherhood among humans (Mustofa: 2019).

2. The Rationality of Collaborative Governance in the Deradicalization Program

This sub-chapter is essential to answer the question, Can the religious de-radicalization policy be explained from the perspective of collaborative governance? Referring to Chemma's classification (in Keban, 2008), the government administration paradigm has reached the governance paradigm. According to him, there are four phases of paradigm development in government administration; the phase of traditional public administration, public management, and new public management, which are then perfected by the fourth phase, governance. In that perspective, government administration is the coordination, management, and influence of every relation or interaction between the Government and the people.



According to Kooiman (2012), the paradigm development of government administration is a logical consequence of fulfilling the requirement of pattern change of socio-politics interaction between Government and society. That pattern should be different from traditional public administration, which is fundamental in the top-down relationship perspective or the approach of "national-center-regulation." However, this does not mean leaving all ideas conceived by the Government to serve or control people's socio-economy and politics (Kooiman, 2012).

Concerning the concept of reinventing Government, the religious de-radicalization policy is also an effort of government anticipation to reduce the problem before the problem of terrorism becomes serious the next day. It is in line with the concept of anticipatory Government from Osborne and Gaebler (1996). The Government realizes the awareness of limited capability, human resources, or networks that become a factor in supporting the implementation of the policies. The awareness of limitation supports the Government in cooperating with various parties, particularly civil society organizations (including *Pondok pesantren*). The cooperation in the organization forum results in collaborative cooperation and a positive contribution to achieving the goals of the policies (Purwanti, 2016).

Based on the three arguments, the paradigm of governance, reinventing governance as well as the awareness of the Government on limited human resources in the policy implementation, religious de-radicalization in Indonesia is a rational policy to explain and do in the perspective of collaborative governance. The four aspects of collaborative governance; are 1) starting conditions, 2) institutional design, 3) facilitative leadership, and 4) collaborative process, which is discussed or done simultaneously or only choose one. It is optional.

3. The Institutional Design in the Collaborative Governance

Ansell and Gash (2007) described that the institutional design referred to the basic rules to collaborate critically and emphasized the procedure of legitimacy in the process of collaboration. In the collaboration process, what



should be emphasized is that the Government should be open and inclusive so there will be no groups feeling that the opportunity is only for some groups. The open and inclusive process gives equal opportunity for all groups to participate in developing commitment. The Government should be open and give a vast opportunity to the stakeholders involved (Chrislip and Larson, in Ansell and Gash, 2007).

Institutionalization can be seen as a code of behavior that has the potential to reduce uncertainty and mediation of various interests (Ostrom, 2005 in Susanti, 2016). Next, institutionalization as a collaborative forum is designed through formal legality (either with an incentive or not), so the involvement of stakeholders can be optimized. The limitation of roles and procedures also becomes an essential aspect of asserting the legality of the collaborative forum.

Ansell and Gash (2007) confirmed that one of the fundamental problems in institutional design is access to its collaborative process, which emphasizes that the collaborative process should be open and inclusive for the stakeholders involved. Therefore, the minimum aspect that must be fulfilled in institutional design is inclusive participation, explicit basic rules, and the use of orderly deadlines. Moreover, the formal exclusive forum has specific roles in achieving the purpose of the policy and functional approach, not the structural ones in collaborator membership in the forum (Mukhlis, 2018).

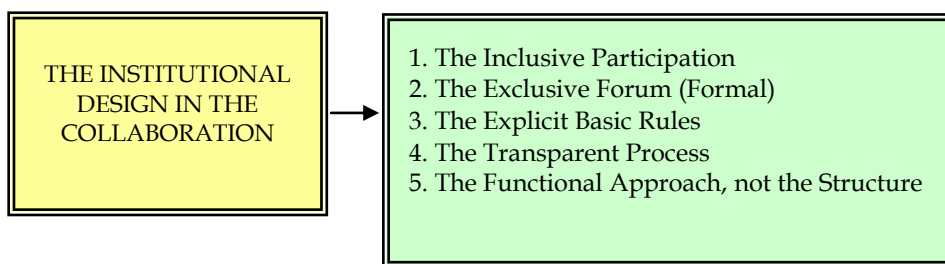


Chart1. The Variable of Institutional Design in Collaborative Governance

4. The Relation Model in the Institutional Design

From the perspective of government administration, there is some relationship model between central government and organization units



under its structural function that relates to the de-centralization matters. In some cases, this relation model is also used to assess and analyze relationships among units and between the Government and civil society regarding the implementation of the policy. By the assumption that Pondok pesantren is also a group of civil society that influences the success of religious de-radicalization policy in Indonesia and has its urgency in the reconstruction of institutional design, this relationship model can be a reference.

According to Hersey and Blanchard (2013), four situational relationship patterns can be used by the Government to the regional Government or group of civil society. The first is the instructive relationship pattern, where the government roles are more dominant than the regional governments or groups of civil society because they cannot run the policy. The second is the consultative relationship pattern, where the Government's intervention is less because the groups of civil society or regional Government are considered capable of contributing to the policy implementation. The third is the participative relationship pattern, where the Government does not intervene because the regional Government has good independence. The fourth is the delegated relationship pattern, where the Government has no intervention because the regional Government has been capable and independent in running the regional autonomy or because groups of civil society are recognized as capable of fulfilling their needs.

The delegated relationship model is not relevant to the focus of this research because it is assumed to disable the role of the Government so that the perspective of religious de-radicalization policy cases does not need government intervention anymore. The Government must still have a dominant position in policy implementation because it has human resources and authority. Theoretically, Kooiman (2012) also stated that the role of the community in collaborative governance does not mean to leave all ideas managed by the Government on its existence with the various instrument. Moreover, its authority can be used to serve and control community socio-economy and socio-politics.



C. Method

This article is the result of qualitative research. This study is based on the theories explained in the literature review, which is then conducted by collecting data, analyzing data, and concluding the study. This method still depends on its validity and reliability. To ensure the level of research trustworthiness by referring to the view of Creswell (2010), the researcher examines the validity by doing triangulation and requesting an external auditor, which in this case is the Manager of Forum Koordinasi Pencegahan Terrorism (FKPT), Lampung Province to review the result of the research.

Qualitative data analysis begins by collecting data based on interviews with some leaders of *Pondok pesantren* in East Lampung, learning various documents related to the research object, and interpreting and reporting the result of the research simultaneously. All statements the informants give, written and oral, are learned thoroughly. Not only does this research state the truth, but also this research tries to understand the truth.

The final step is to explain the instructive pattern and its implication for the success of the religious de-radicalization program in *Pondok pesantren*. The answers of that focus become the essential information to argue that the reposition of roles of *Pondok pesantren* from the instructive pattern to the consultative pattern in the collaborative institutional design of religious de-radicalization policies is very argumentative to do.

In short, the research design can be displayed in the following chart:

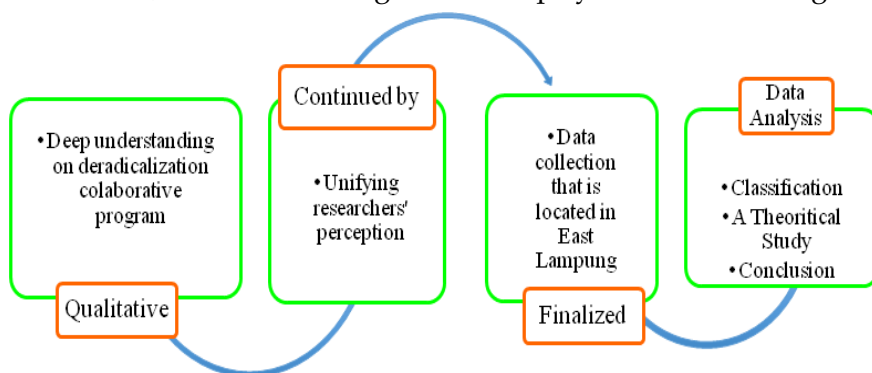


Chart1. The Research Design

D. Result and Discussion

1. Result

This research found two important points regarding the collaborative program in religious de-radicalization. First, even though religious de-radicalization in Lampung province used the collaborative paradigm, however, in fact, *Pondok pesantren* is positioned as the object. *Pondok pesantren* with all elements inside it is used only as complement and subordinate. Second, the relation between the state and *Pondok pesantren* as civil society organizations has not been equal to the policy of the religious de-radicalization program. Whereas, the position of *Pondok pesantren* is so potential to succeed in the program, knowing that human resources in *pesantren* are sufficient to conduct religious understanding de-radicalization.

The things mentioned above showed that the paradox regarding the position of *Pondok pesantren* in the institutional design of collaborative governance in religious de-radicalization programs exists. On the one hand, the principle of governance and collaborative governance must be built based on public involvement (including *Pondok pesantren*). However, on the other hand, the domination of the Government is seen obviously by positioning *Pondok pesantren* in religious de-radicalization policies in a very instructive relationship pattern.

2. Discussion

a. Religious De-Radicalization Policy for *Pondok Pesantren*

Nationally, Hikam (2016) mentioned that the policy of de-radicalization in Indonesia today is developed through rehabilitation and as an effort of contra-ideology. Various models the Government has done are closer to *challenging approaches* by forming particular anti-terrorism troops, Densus 88. In a *soft approach*, the Government forms a new organization under the Ministry of Politics, Law and Security, namely the National Council of Terrorism Prevention (BNPT). As its partner, it forms the Coordination Forum of Terrorism Prevention (FKPT) in the regional district. Furthermore, BNPT launched a de-radicalization program and ant-radicalization.

The Government also arranged a program for either short- or long-term programs, which prefers using the gentle approach to the complex



approach. In short-term programs, the Government strictly said through an official statement in facing terrorism in Indonesia, such as "the declaration to fight against any terrorism threat around the world." Besides, the Government also did socialization the danger of terrorism threat, including expanding control in some provinces to control terrorist movements. For the long-term program, the Government did socialization, interactive dialogue, and intensive communication to encourage people and form a commitment to fight against terrorism.

Deradicalization, a program with a gentle approach, is a step to support broader counterterrorism and counter-radicalization strategies. The established de-radicalization strategy was deemed successful in minimizing terrorist acts and regeneration. This strategy is implemented in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, and elsewhere to tackle radicalism and terrorism through education, vocational training, religious dialogue, and post-release programs that help prisoners rejoin society (Mukri & Mustofa: 2019).

There are at least two kinds of de-radicalization, explicit de-radicalization and implicit de-radicalization. Explicit de-radicalization is aimed directly at terrorist prisoners who justify the ideology of violence. This de-radicalization aims to delegitimize the use of violence with a direct confrontational approach to prisoners' minds. Direct de-radicalization programs in Muslim countries (Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Yemen, Indonesia) or countries with sizable Muslim minorities (Singapore), explicit de-radicalization efforts are undertaken by moderate Muslim clerics who involve prisoners in theological dialogue about what they perceive a correct interpretation of the Qur'an (Kruglanski et al., 2014, pp. 87-88)

Meanwhile, implicit de-radicalization avoids ideological confrontation and focuses on the needs and emotions of prisoners. This model introduces alternative ways of significance and alternative objectives that are compatible with these methods. The motivation for this indirect de-radicalization is spread to their hearts. Implicit de-radicalization efforts involve vocational education courses where the possibility of reintegration into society, thus regaining a sense of personal significance in a harmonious (vs. extremist) way that is compatible with various problems. Involving

detainees' families in the rehabilitation process is another implicit way to activate non-biological problems that are incompatible with cruel sacrifices for a purpose (Kruglanski et al., 2014, p. 88)

Technically, the research result showed that the prevention of radical terrorism understanding conducted by BNPT and FKPT is done through formalistic ways such as an interactive dialogue approach in hotels located in big cities by involving public figures, including the representation of *Pondok pesantren*. In contrast, the doctrine of radical terrorism appears mainly in a remote area far from the crowds and is difficult to control by security officers.

Besides, the guide to radical terrorism prevention only uses the legal formalities in which its position is forced from the top down, not based on the people's awareness (bottom-up). From this finding perspective, it needs to use the de-radicalization model by benefiting social capital through local wisdom that grows and develops in society, particularly *Pondok pesantren*, which spreads widely around Indonesia.

b. The Analysis of *Pesantren's* Position in Collaborative Institutional Design

The first condition of successful collaboration is that collaboration must be inclusive to all parties who care and are influential toward the policy issue (Chislip and Larson, 1994 in Ansell and Gash, 2007). In implementing religious de-radicalization policies, this process ideally starts by identifying the stakeholders who have successfully influenced the policy's success. *Pondok pesantren*, as a group of civil society that has a significant influence on the success of the de-radicalization policies, is not involved, instead being a participant in socialization.

The consequence of this fact is that the Government still shows apathy. This condition showed the frame of incapability from the group of civil society to the Government as the dominant group because the process of religious de-radicalization policies is only for the elite community. Because of its exclusivity, many *Pondok pesantren* only know the policy or religious de-radicalization after participating in the socialization and



seminar without knowing what the roles of *Pondok pesantren* are and what *Pondok pesantren* must do after the socialization.

Typically, Chislip and Larson (in Ansell and Gash, 2007) confirmed that participation inclusiveness in the collaborative forum must be built because it becomes the factor of collaboration success. However, from the elaboration of this sub-chapter, it can be concluded that the participation of *Pondok pesantren* in religious de-radicalization policy is still low. Nevertheless, from the perspective of the purpose of the religious de-radicalization policy, it showed that the purpose is accepted very well by the group of *Pondok pesantren* in East Lampung. There is no rejection of this program even though it is found some weaknesses in its implementation.

The second condition in collaborative governance is the existence of basic rules as a part of institutional design that becomes the legitimacy of the collaboration process because of its relation to transparency. It means that the stakeholders will believe that the negotiation can happen in the collaboration, and there will be no personal domination in the collaboration process (Ansell & Gash, 2007). The basic rules can be in the form of procedures, standards, or certain limitations about things that can or cannot be done, either in the form of a written agreement or a non-written agreement that is made transparently. Transparent basic rules minimize the conflict rate among stakeholders in this collaboration (O'Leary and Bingham, 2007 Susanti, 2016).

If various social actors effectively participate in desertification control, collaborative governance would be possible in a strong-government society even if the Government might play a more critical role than in non-strong-government societies because the role of Government lies on a continuum ("at one end, there is no government involvement, that is, total free-market control and total national government control over environmental policy"). A strong-government society is in between (Yang, 2017, p. 3).

Skillern and Silver explained that there were four network principles for collaboration success. 1) A strategy is determined by mission impact before organizational growth; 2) Building partnerships based on trust, not control; 3) Promoting others; 4) Building constellations (Wei-Skillern & Silver, 2013).

Suppose it is related to that concept in the context of religious de-radicalization policy. In that case, there will be no written or basic unwritten rules arranged because no formal institution is formed to involve *Pondok pesantren* in its implementation besides the FKPT at the province level as the elite forum. All research informants also recognized that no agreement becomes a fundamental argument to involve *Pondok pesantren* in implementing the policy. The presence or the absence of *Pondok pesantren* in the meeting will not imply the de-radicalization policies made by the Government.

According to Ansell and Gash (2007), the third variable of institutional design influencing the collaboration process is the transparent process with a precise time target. The transparent process showed the good intention of the collaborators to make a collaboration forum the only space to argue and build the agreement or consensus formally so that it is not valid if the consensus occurs outside the forum. The time target in the collaboration is essential because it can evaluate the goals.

Susanti (2016) stated that the transparent process is close to its relation to the clear basic rules as the second variable of institutional design in collaborative governance. Meanwhile, in the use of time, there must be a realistic schedule arranged based on the goals to achieve. Therefore, all argumentation and risk assumptions must be considered before deciding the time target. Because there is no formal forum made as a collaborative forum with the involvement of *Pondok pesantren*, thus the transparent process with a precise time target will never happen in implementing de-radicalization policies.

Besides, the three findings in the aspect of institutional design as success pre-requirement of the collaboration, the participation absence because of the lack of a collaborative forum, undrawn basic rules, and the unclear process and time target are also found about the instability of *Pondok pesantren* representation in the meeting and socialization that is done either by BNPT or FKPT. Suppose it is related to the collaboration's first variable from the institutional design. In that case, a successful collaboration is a collaboration that must be inclusive to all stakeholders who are concerned about the policy issues. Thus the instability of *Pondok pesantren* representation that focuses on



the following training or socialization organized by BNPT or FKPT also directly influences the success of religious de-radicalization policies.

Based on the fact above, instead of hoping for the appearance of a consultative relationship pattern, where the government intervention is less because *Pondok pesantren* is recognized as capable of giving of contributing to the implementation of religious de-radicalization. The fact shows that what happened is the appearance of an instructive relationship pattern, where the role of Government is very dominant to *Pondok pesantren*. *Pondok pesantren* is the object of policy because it is assumed that *Pondok pesantren* cannot run the de-radicalization policies.

E. Conclusion

Based on data analysis, this study concluded that it is essential to position all parties involved in the religious de-radicalization policy using a collaborative paradigm. The success of religious de-radicalization policies is influenced by the active role of other parties (non-government). The domination of the Government in the religious de-radicalization program in Indonesia philosophically has injured the paradigm of governance in government administration and public policy. As the implication of government domination, the instructive model kills local wisdom and other social potencies owned by *Pondok pesantren* as educational institutions or social community entities.

The Religious de-radicalization policy in Indonesia must be developed together by all stakeholders (the Government and civil society) in one collaboration model, not only as a form of cooperation or coordination. It is not negotiable that the paradigm of public administration must be realized through collaborative governance. It is conducted by formal institutional design in which *Pondok pesantren* are involved directly as the subject of implementation and developed in the consultative relationship model by placing the Government as the holder of authority.

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