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Adolescent, Radicalism, and Terrorism in Indonesia: Experts' View

Arijani Lasmawati[1], Adrianus E. Meliala[2], Ni Made Martini Puteri[3]

[1] Department of Criminology Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Indonesia
[2] Department of Criminology Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Indonesia
[3] Department of Criminology Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Indonesia

Correspondence: Arijani Lasmawati. Email: arijani.lasmawati@ui.ac.id

Abstract
Terrorism involving adolescents in Indonesia has been started since 2009. Currently, the number has reached about 16.5% of the total number of terrorism cases in Indonesia. Referring to this critical situation, we gathered experts in radicalism and terrorism issues in two focus group discussions (FGD) to examine the situation of adolescents and radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia, the vulnerability factors of adolescents, and the prevention strategies that can be done in the future. As a result, we find that radicalism has penetrated in young groups in Indonesia, even at an earlier age. This situation is supported by their vulnerability as an adolescent, including physical, psychological, and psychosocial vulnerabilities. Physical changes that happen in adolescence impact on psychological and psychosocial changes. In general, the need for self-existence becomes the source of all their vulnerabilities. Adolescent efforts to achieve their self-existence in society place them at risk of becoming the target of recruitment by radical and terror groups. Therefore, in the context of preventing radicalism and terrorism among adolescents in Indonesia, alternative identity is important to be pursued further.

Keywords: Terrorism, Radicalism, Adolescent, Indonesia

1. Introduction

Throughout 2019, The Global Terrorism Index recorded 13,826 deaths as victims of acts of terror, while the previous year's death tolls reached 33,438 people. Ten countries with the highest terror incident index scores: Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Syria, Pakistan, Somalia, India, Yemen, the Philippines, and the People's Republic of Congo claimed the lion's share of the body count. (Institute for Economics &Peace, 2019, 2020).

Terrorism in Indonesia has grown every year since the first Bali bombings in 2002. However, adolescent involvement has been a prominent issue since it was detected for the first time in the JW Marriott Jakarta hotel bombing in 2009. The wave of adolescent involvement in terrorism has intensified since then. A study conducted by Goei et al. (2019) towards 400 of 1304 overall verdicts of terrorism crimes in Indonesia in the period 2002-

2018 showed that there were 66 convicts aged between 15-24 years at the time of sentencing. This amount is equal to 16.5% of the total number of court verdicts analyzed in the study.

The phenomenon of adolescent involvement in acts of terrorism shows that adolescent involvement in terror groups is no longer taboo. Wessells (2005) even admits that adolescents play an important role in the strategy of spreading terror acts around the globe. They perform various roles, from supporting roles to being martyrs in self-detonating acts.

In addition to causing casualties, acts of terror also inflict deep wounds on the system of society as a whole in an unpredictable period. The magnitude of the impact caused by acts of terrorism requires a severe handling strategy, starting from prevention to countermeasures. This action applies to the ten countries with the highest number of terror incident index scores and to other countries that have the potential threat of strong radical Islamic ideology spreading, including Indonesia.

To get a vivid picture of the phenomenon of adolescent involvement in terrorism, we gathered experts in the field of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia to discuss the characteristics of adolescents involved in terrorism, especially in Indonesia. This paper describes the situation of adolescents and radicalism in Indonesia, the vulnerability of adolescents as targets for recruitment of terror groups, and alternative prevention solutions that can be applied to the problem of adolescent involvement in radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia.

2. Method

Data were collected by conducting Focus Group Discussions (FGD), attended by experts in the field of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. Twelve experts were invited to two separate FGDs. Each FGD was attended by six experts with academic backgrounds and experienced practitioners. The results of the FGDs were analyzed in terms of adolescents' psychological and psychosocial vulnerability and the development of terror group recruitment.

3. Radicalism and terrorism

At the end of the 19th century, radicalism was generally defined as a way of thinking or behaving based on the belief that political or social change was important to change (Social Research and Training Center for Islamic Countries 2017). In the socio-political context, academics Koselleck and Sartori explain that radicalism refers to the political doctrine adopted by socio-political movements that favor individual and collective freedom against a hierarchically structured government and society. Radicalism as an ideological mindset tends to criticize the existing status quo, pursue restructuring goals or overthrow existing political structures (Bötticer, 2017).

The development of the understanding of radicalism has penetrated the trend of the phenomenon of religious radicalism and violence. Radicalism is closely related to fundamentalism which is indicated by the return of society to religious rules. Fundamentalism is an ideology that makes religion a living principle by society and individuals. Fundamentalism usually comes together with radicalism and violence when religious freedom is disrupted by social and political conditions (Rahmatullah, 2017).

Radicalism is achieved through radicalization. Muro (2016) describes radicalism as the highest level of radicalization and can encourage individuals to engage in violence. Radicalization and radicalism cannot be separated; both have a complex relationship to the involvement of individuals in certain organizations (Muro, 2016). Radicalization can be described as the process by which individuals and groups are socialized to a particular worldview that is considered radical or extremist. Radicalization is often considered a predictor of violent behavior. Radicalization tends to support the use of violence as a legal way to achieve goals (Aly & Striegher, 2012). Thus, radicalization implicitly describes violence as a prerequisite for radical behavior (Rink & Sharma, 2018).

However, in the context of radicalism in Islam, we see the pattern of defining radicalism. Namely as a process of change in the form of increasing beliefs, feelings, and behavior to the extreme to justify violent behavior against other groups and self-sacrifice as a form of defense of certain groups for political purposes. Radical groups show at least three characteristics, namely feeling high dissatisfaction with the current government system, believing that the norms and values of their group are the best/superior, and accepting ideology that legitimizes violence to achieve goals (Crossett & Spitaletta, 2010; McCauley & Moskalenko,2008).

In various theories that discuss terrorism, radicalism is recognized as a prerequisite stage for an individual before taking the path of terror through what is known as jihad (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008; Moghaddam, 2005; Webber & Kruglanski, 2017). Casaca and Wolf (2017) explain that jihad is categorized as a new form of modern terrorism. This new terrorism is characterized by fanaticism, religion, and suicide attacks. Mass brutality is also one of the impacts of the new model of terrorism. The attacks carried out had the most significant impact on spreading the terror. In addition, the use of modern elements such as technology is also seen in the new model of terrorism. International recruitment and the use of mass media are modern elements that distinguish it from previous terrorism. The new model of terrorism shows the form of "suicide" attack as one of its characteristics. Attacks such as suicide bombings distinguish the previous way of terrorists who carried out attacks and killings in general, directly against the target (Crenshaw in Casaca & Wolf, 2017).

Garrison (2004) defines terrorism as the use of coercion or violence or threats to change the behavior of the whole society through spreading fear and targeting specific sections of society to influence the whole society. What needs to be emphasized is the use of coercion to (1) fight against certain sections of society, (2) create fear in the broader community, and (3) change the whole society. The essence of terrorism is the use of violence with the primary goal of spreading fear.

Mullins and Thurman (2011) suggest several tendencies in terrorism. First, violence is a tool used by terrorists, not as a goal in itself. Second, terrorism involves violence or threats of violence. Third, terrorism is a political movement; although it is initiated on a religious basis, its goal is definitely political. Recently, many terrorist movements have implemented their religious beliefs as political goals. Fourth, the purpose of terrorism is to cause fear for those affected. Fifth, violence is also aimed at those who may just be watching. The victims are the target population affected by their attacks. The fear generated will eventually lead to political change.

Garrison (2004) also emphasizes "terrorism as a tool." Terrorism is used to create fear. The use of terrorism as a method to achieve goals is still irrespective of the outcome. Anyone who uses terror to achieve certain goals, such as creating a desired society, overthrowing social structures, resistance movements, revenge for anger or perceived injustice, or creating change in society, they can be called a terrorist. Causes can explain terrorists but do not define them.

The explanation of terrorism above concludes that there are at least four elements that characterize terrorism. First, it involves acts of violence. Second, addressed to people outside the group. Third, it aims to achieve behavioral change in Islamic values and political goals to establish an Islamic state. Lastly, create fear.

4. Journey to radicalism and terrorism

In developing issues related to radicalism and terrorism, social psychology has a major role in explaining the process of individual involvement in terrorism crimes. At least, there are 3 (three) theories often used as references in explaining the process of someone's involvement from the beginning to being active in a terror group.

4.1 Pyramid of political radicalization mechanisms (McCauley, 2008)

The journey of a person to become a terrorist is described by McCauley (2008) in the mechanism of political radicalization (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008). The explanation of this theory departs from the understanding of radicalization as a process of increasing extremism in beliefs, feelings, and behaviors that occur in non-state groups

(individuals, groups, and masses) in supporting inter-group conflict and violence. On a mass scale, there are three stages of a person's transformation into a terrorist as described in the following pyramid:
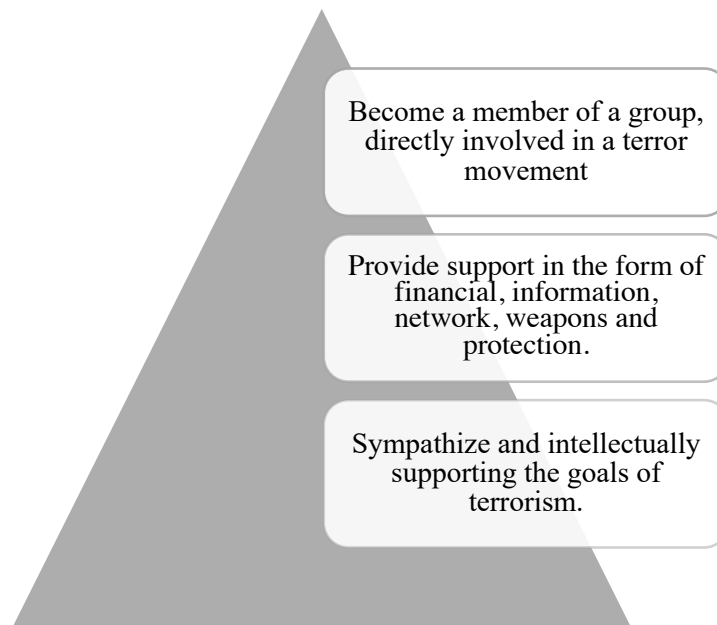

Figure 1: Pyramid of Political Radicalization Mechanism

In the first stage, a person shows sympathy and intellectual support to what is considered the goal of terrorism. This condition can be motivated by violent events/tragedies that harm his/her group so that any action taken as a form of retaliation is considered a legitimate rational action to be taken. Countermeasures are considered as acts of resistance. For example, the 9/11 attacks prompted Americans to support the punishment of terrorists. Nevertheless, on the other hand, US punishment and retaliatory attacks against Muslim countries are considered a painful decision for Muslim groups. This situation can trigger some Muslims to take revenge in the form of jihad.

In the next stage, support is limited to intellectual rationalization and develops into a more tangible form of action. This concrete action is marked by providing support in various forms, such as financial support, information, networks, weapons, and protection of groups considered to be jihad. This stage is said to be more extreme than the first stage. At this stage, a person's actions are motivated by hatred towards groups that are considered enemies. This tendency can be so extreme that the enemy is no longer seen as human (dehumanization).

In the final stage or stage of martyrdom, the actions shown are far more extreme. They are being a member of a group and being directly involved in terror movements. At this stage, a person's actions are motivated by a powerful impulse that can even take his own life. Martyrdom shows how one gives up one's life for a particular purpose.

In this theory, McCauley (2008) also notes that joining a radical group is self-radicalization through self-justification where new beliefs and values are adopted to understand past behavior. React events occur in groups as arguments and individuals compete to show acceptance. The reactive character of this mechanism is a critical component. The mechanisms that move people towards radicalization and terrorism will work well on those who react to them.

4.2 The Staircase to Terrorism (Moghaddam, 2005)

Moghaddam (2005) describes the process of someone engaging in terrorism by using the metaphor of the staircase or stairs that lead them to terrorism at the top of the ladder. The essence of this situation lies in how people perceive the options that are considered open to them. The higher the individual goes, the less choice one can have until the most likely outcome is destroying the other person, self, or both.

This staircase consists of a ground floor and five higher floors. Certain psychological processes characterize each floor. A simple explanation of this theory can be described in the following figure:
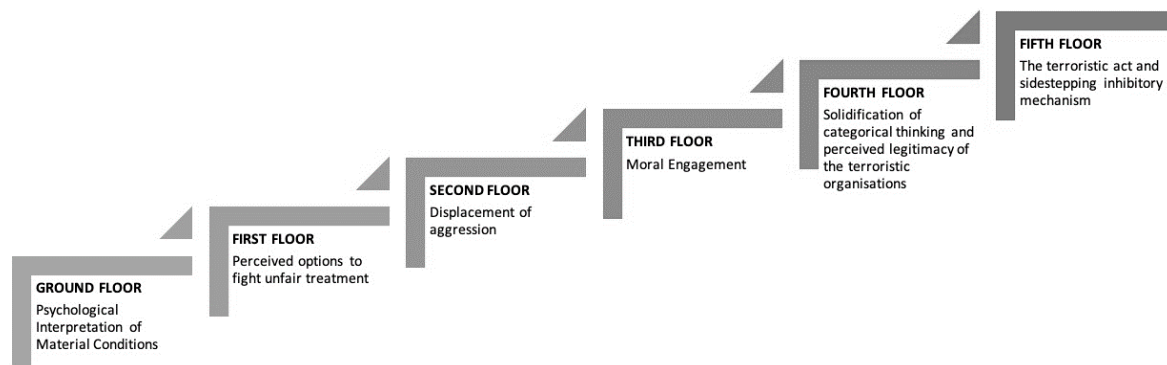

Figure 2: The Staircase to Terrorism (Moghaddam, 2005)

4.2.1 Ground floor: Psychological interpretation of material conditions

To understand the people who climb to the top of the ladder to terrorism, we must first understand the level of perceived injustice and feelings of frustration and shame among the hundreds of millions of people on the ground floor. The central role of psychological factors is underlined by evidence that material factors such as poverty and lack of education are problematic as explanations for terrorist acts. However, it is found that this condition is not dominant because hierarchically, highly educated people occupy high and important positions if they enter terrorist recruitment. In this section, it is important to understand the relative dispossession of perceived injustice, including economic and political conditions and threats to personal or collective identity.

4.2.2 First floor: Perceived options to fight unfair treatments

Individuals who go up to the first floor try different doors to find a solution for what they perceive as unfair treatment. Two psychological factors shape their behavior on the first floor. The first is the possibility of individuals for personal mobility with the aim of improving their situation and the second is their perception of procedural justice.

This relates to participation in decision-making. They feel that the existing procedures are less inclusive, less listening to their voices so that the target government, the West, is considered to be treating them unfairly. So the solution is to find another way and think about what kind of procedure is more effective to achieve the goal.

4.2.3 Second floor: Displacement of aggression
Out-group aggression has been channeled through direct and indirect support for institutions and organizations that foster authoritarian attitudes and extremist behavior. This includes an education system that encourages rigid us-against-them thinking and fanatical movements, including the violent Salafis, whose fundamentalist movements originated and still have support from Saudi Arabia.

In this context, individuals who develop a readiness to engage in physical aggression and who actively seek opportunities to do so end up leaving the second floor to go up and try to take action against their perceived enemy. As they climb the ladder, these individuals become increasingly involved in the morality that justifies terrorism.

4.2.4 Third floor: Moral engagement

The most important transformation that takes place between those who reach the third floor is the gradual engagement with the morality of the terrorist organization. These individuals are now beginning to see terrorism as a justified strategy.

Terrorist organizations become effective by mobilizing sufficient resources to persuade candidates to disengage from morality as defined by government authorities (and often by the majority of society) and to become morally involved in the morality that terrorist organizations establish. The recruits are persuaded to commit to the morality of the terrorist organization through a number of tactics, the most important of which are isolation, affiliation, secrecy, and fear.

Terrorist organizations become effective by positioning themselves at two levels: (a) the macro level, as the only option open to reforming society, and they point to (alleged) government repression and dictatorship as evidence of their claims; and (b) the micro-level, as "home" to unaffected individuals (mostly young, single men), some of whom are recruited to carry out the most dangerous missions through programs that often have very fast turnarounds.

Starting from a base where they share feelings of frustration, injustice, and shame within a wide population, would-be terrorists now find themselves embroiled in the extremist morality of a closed and secret organization dedicated to changing the world by any means available to them. Those who become more fully engaged with the morality of terrorist organizations and continue to climb the ladder are ready for recruitment as active terrorists.

4.2.5 Fourth floor: Solidification of categorical thinking and perceived legitimacy of the terroristic organizations

Social categorization is a powerful psychological process that can lead to group favoritism and out-group discrimination even when the basis for categorization is trivial in a real-world context. Our categorical us-versus-them view of the world is one of the hallmarks of terrorist organizations and the individuals who are attracted to them.

Commitment to terrorist acts is strengthened when new members are socialized into the traditions, methods, and goals of the organization. Compliance will be particularly high in cells of terrorist organizations, where the cell leader represents a powerful figure of authority and where wrongdoing, disobedience, and disloyalty receive the harshest punishments. The recruits at this stage faced two uncompromising forces. Within the organizations they are forced to conform and comply in ways that will lead to acts of violence against civilians (and often against themselves). Meanwhile, from outside the organizations, especially in regions such as the Middle East and North Africa, they face governments that do not allow democratic voice and participation in dealing with perceived injustices.

As long as they were on the fourth floor, the individuals found that their options had been greatly narrowed. They are now part of a tightly controlled group from which they cannot make it out alive.

4.2.6 Fifth floor: The terroristic acts and sidestepping inhibitory mechanisms

Thus, from the point of view of members of terrorist organizations, acts of violence against civilians are justified because civilians are part of the enemy. Only civilians who actively oppose the targeted "evil forces" will not become enemies. The perception of civilians as part of the enemy helps explain how terrorists evade what Lorenz (1966) calls "inhibitory mechanisms." The inhibitory mechanism serves to limit interspecies killing. Inhibitory mechanisms have also evolved to limit human aggression towards one another and can be triggered through eye contact, pleading, crying, and other means when the aggressor is near the victim.

Individuals who reach the fifth floor become psychologically prepared and motivated to commit acts of terrorism which sometimes result in many civilian deaths. But to understand the actions of the few who rise to the top of the ladder to terrorism and plunge into terrorist acts, one must begin by considering the living conditions and perceptions of justice among the millions of people on the ground floor.

4.3 3N Approach (Kruglanski, 2017)

The analysis of the 3N approach is directly related to the problem of seeking self-significance, namely the problem of the basic human desire to exist physically and emotionally.

This general model of extremism asserts that all types of extremism originate from an imbalance of motivation, either temporary or prolonged, where one need dominates the other. This allows behavior that was previously restricted to be free from restrictions and is considered reasonable and permissible. In the case of extremism, the behavior at issue is the loss of the life of another person, often an innocent civilian, or a random victim who was in the wrong place at a given time. The nature of the dominant need that drives such behavior is explained in significance-seeking theory. The 3N approach identifies three common drivers of violent extremism: the needs, the narratives, and the network.

This general model of extremism asserts that all types of extremism originate from an imbalance of motivation, either temporary or prolonged, where one need dominates the other. This allows behavior that was previously restricted to be free from restrictions and is considered reasonable and permissible. In this context, behavior that results in the loss of another person's life, often an innocent civilian or a random victim who was in the wrong place at any given time. The nature of the dominant need that drives such behavior is explained in significance-seeking theory. The 3N approach identifies three common drivers of violent extremism: the needs, the narratives, and the network.

4.3.1 The needs

The author's theory identifies the need for self-significance as the dominant need underlying violent extremism. All individuals have a basic desire to be important, to deserve respect, and to "be someone." The need for self-significance encapsulates other needs that have been identified as emotional needs, including the desire for respect, competence, self-esteem, and meaning in life. Thus, when individuals experience a loss of fulfilling their need for self-significance, they are motivated to find ways to recover their significance.

4.3.2 The narratives

In the context of political extremism, ideological narratives fulfill these functions by describing the collective goals by which individuals can attain the significance they desire and the appropriate means of pursuing those goals. Since significance is uniquely defined in different cultures, the way to achieve it is spelled out in different cultural narratives by maintaining the group's unique values.

In times of intergroup conflict, when the group perceives itself to be threatened by the enemy, a narrative can state that group members who commit violence against enemies are considered heroes or martyrs. Such narratives guarantee and legitimize violent extremism as the ultimate means of achieving meaning. In short, the narrative serves to pinpoint the actions that the group glorifies so that individuals can be motivated to perform those actions.

4.3.3 The networks

The significance search network component refers to the group of people who agree on the narrative. There are two ways to contribute to individual radicalization: (a) contact with networks that adhere to narratives of extremism, and (b) validation of acts of extremism.

Networks can range from informal gatherings with like-minded friends or family members to formal organizations aimed at a common goal. Social networks that promote violence as an effective means of gaining self-existence motivate individuals to engage in violent extremism. Thus, individuals seeking self-existence and in social networks that subscribe to violent justification narratives are more likely to engage in violent extremism than individuals who experience only one, or neither, of them.

5. Adolescent, radicalism, and terrorism in Indonesia: An overview

In 2018, there were suicide bombings at three churches and the Surabaya Police Headquarters, as well as a bomb exploded at the Wonocolo Flats in Sidoarjo, East Java. This incident is a bombing tragedy that has attracted considerable public attention because it has changed the landscape of terrorism in Indonesia. For the first time in history, acts of terror are not only carried out by a single person or by a group of perpetrators from certain groups, but involve a complete family, including children.

The suicide bombings at the Church and the Surabaya Police Headquarters show that these actions were not only carried out by adults, but also involved young perpetrators and teenagers. The involvement of teenagers has even become a phenomenon that is no longer taboo. Instead, they play an important role in the strategy of spreading terror acts in the world, from supporting roles to being martyrs in self-detonating acts (Wessells, 2005), as happened in the suicide bombing in Surabaya.

The history of the spread of Islamic radicalism among teenagers is as long as the development of radical Islam in Indonesia itself. No one knows for sure when the spread of radical Islam began to spread among teenagers in Indonesia. However, the 18-year-old DDP suicide bombing at the JW Marriot Hotel in Jakarta on July 17 2009, became the first act of terror involving teenagers as the perpetrators of the bombing. Since then, there have been at least nine terror incidents in Indonesia involving teenagers. The data can be seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1: The involvement of the adolescent in acts of terror in Indonesia

No	Incident	Model	Perpetrator
1	JW Marriot Hotel Jakarta, July 17, 2009	Suicide bombing	**DDP (18 years old)**
2	Cikokol traffic post, October 20, 2016	Assault on 3 police officers	**SA (22 years old)**
3	St Joseph's Catholic Church, Medan, North Sumatra, August 28, 2016	Attacks on church and attempted bombing	**IAH (18 years old)**
4	Batu, Malang, Juli 8, 2017	Assembling a pot bomb and exploding in the perpetrator's room	**AW (21 years old)**
5	Mobile Brigade Headquarter Complex, Kelapa Dua Depok, May 12, 2018	To provide assistance to convicts at the Mobile Brigade Command Headquarters	**DT (18 years old) dan SSK (21 years old)**
6	Cianjur, Mei 13, 2018	Shootout with Densus 88	Total perpetrators 4 people, 1 person named **BBN (20 years old)**
7	Three Churches in Surabaya, May 13, 2018	Suicide bombing	Dita Oeprianto 47 y/o (father), Puji Kuswati 43 y/o (mother), **YF (18 y/o) FH (16 y/o), FS (12 y/o), PR (9 y/o)**
8	Surabaya Police Headquarters, May 14, 2018	Suicide bombing	Tri Murtiono 50 y/o (father), Tri Ernawati 42 y/o (mother), **MDAM (19 y/o) & MDSM (15 y/o) deceased;** AAP (8 y/o) survived.
9	Wonocolo Flats, Sidoarjo, East Java, May 14, 2018	Bombs explode in the flats	Anton Febrianto 47 y/o (father), Puspita Sari 47 y/o (mother), **LAR 17 y/o (children) deceased; AR 15 y/o, FP 11 y/o and GHA 11 y/o (children)** survived.

Source: Directorate of State Security Baintelkam Police Headquarters (2018)

According to information provided by Sydney Jones during an interview on June 2, 2021, there were at least 20 teenagers from 90 terrorists in 2007-2009 and 82 teenagers from 453 terrorists in 2019-2020. In other words, teenagers occupy about 20% of the total number of perpetrators of terrorism in Indonesia. This figure is not much

different from the findings of the sentencing study conducted by Goei et al. (2019). The involvement of teenagers in terrorism is proof that radicalism had indeed spread among teenagers long before the suicide bombing incident occurred.

The problem of radicalism spreading among teenagers has attracted the attention of various researchers around the world. In Indonesia, a study related to youth and radicalism was conducted by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta in 2017, involving 1,522 students and 337 Muslim students in 34 provinces and 68 regencies/cities. By focusing on the issue of religious intolerance and radicalism among teenagers, this study at least illustrates that groups of teenagers in Indonesia who were born from 1995 to 2000 or also known as Generation Z (Gen Z) have a tendency to be intolerant and radical.

In a report on the study published under the title "Gen-Z Muslim Diversity, the National Survey on Religiosity in Schools and Universities in Indonesia," Nisa, et al. (2018) explains that the intolerant and radical attitudes of adolescents in the study can be identified from how adolescents view issues about deviant sects, Islam as a victim, enemy of Islam, and jihad, all of which are within the scope of the student learning process.

Regarding the issue of deviant sects, the views of respondents show that 49% of them do not agree that the government should protect Shia and Ahmadiyah followers. As many as 86.55% of them also agree that the government prohibits the existence of minority groups that are considered to deviate from Islamic teachings. On the other hand, only 35.83% of them think that the government does not need to return Shia refugees in Sidoarjo to their place of origin.

Regarding the issue of Islam as a victim, as many as 55.08% of respondents agree with the opinion that Muslims are currently in a state of oppression. As many as 48.04% of them also feel that economically, non-Muslims benefit more than Muslims. Furthermore, 36.79% or 2 out of 5 people among them believe that non-Muslims are responsible for socio-economic inequality in Indonesia.

Regarding the issue of enemies of Islam, Christians and Jews are two groups that are often positioned as enemies of Muslims. As many as 20.93% or every 3 out of 10 respondents agree that Christians are enemies of Muslims. As many as 23.78% even view that Christians hate Muslims. A more severe view is seen when talking about the Jewish group. As many as 53.74% of them agree that Jews are enemies of Muslims and 52.99% of them also view that Jews hate Muslims. At the level of action, 44.49% or every 5 out of 10 of them do not agree if there is a plan to build a house of worship of another religion in their neighbourhood and every 2 out of 10 of these people even object if they are from different religions to provide assistance to religious institutions. Islamic institutions.

Finally, regarding the issue of jihad, 37.71% or every 4 out of 10 respondents agree that the real jihad is fighting against non-Muslims. Every 2 in 10 or 23.35% of them agree that the act of bombing or suicide bombing in the name of religion is the real jihad. Worse yet, as many as 34.43% or every 3 out of 10 of them agree that apostates can be killed.

These data prove that the spread of radicalism has occurred among Gen-Z. They exist and breed in the younger generation of Indonesia. The high flow of information in cyberspace and free radical narratives are suspected to be some of the many factors that create such a situation (Nisa et al., 2018; Team PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2018).

6. Radicalization among adolescents: Vulnerable targets

Referring to the explanation of McCauley (2008), Moghaddam (2005), and Kruglanski (2017), the journey to radicalism and terrorism takes a long time coincides with the self-development process. Thus, in many cases, terror groups targeted the adolescent or even younger.

Adolescence is a period defined in various ways by several experts. Olds (1996) stated that late adolescence occurs between 17 to 19-20 years old. Adam and Gullota (2000) stated that adolescence occurs between 11-20 years old.

In the context of Indonesia, Prof. Dr. Sarlito W.S. stated that adolescence occurs between 11-24 years since 24 is considered the average age at which parents end their responsibilities to their children because their children start to work and live independently (Nisa et al., 2018).

In this study, the experts from Focus Group Discussion (FGD) mentioned two things that can explain why adolescents are vulnerable to being targeted by terror groups. First, adolescents who are still in the developmental process towards adulthood have social vulnerabilities. Second, the intervention of radical and terror groups in the process of adolescent development.

6.1 The vulnerability of adolescent

As ones who are in a transitional period from childhood to adulthood, adolescents experience various changes, both physically and psychologically. In this full of change phase, adolescents face various experiences, including finding new and exciting experiences.

All of the various new experiences make adolescent seems so curious about everything. At the same time, agents of socialization compete to construct values and norms through the socialization process. This circumstance then becomes a reality in which they believe as normal. This situation is also found in adolescents who are involved in radicalism and terrorism. This explanation is conveyed in a statement as follow:

> "When we talk about adolescents, they are at the age of very high curiosity, and they explore various things. On the other hand, (news) mainstream media and social media, they also construct values (socialization)." (FGD 1, May 8th, 2021).

The role of agents of socialization in instilling values and norms in which creating reality in adolescents places adolescents at vulnerabilities. This finding is in line with the findings of previous studies conducted by Coal (2016), Christie and Viner (2005), Hardgrove et al. (2014), Jahja (2011), Sarwono (2018), Shelley (2008), and Widyastuti (2009).

Christie and Viner (2005) explain that adolescence development consists of 3 (three) facets: early adolescence, middle adolescence, and late adolescence. Each facet consists of biological, psychological, and social development.

Every adolescent experience some biological and physical changes as a part of human development. In early adolescence, girls experience the growth of breasts and hair around the body, while boys experience changes in their genitals. In middle adolescence, girls experience somebody changes, while boys begin to show muscles and changes in their voice. Then, in late adolescence, only males have continued growth, such as the appearance of body hair and muscles (Christie & Viner, 2005).

Biological changes in adolescents come with psychological development. In this case, these two changes interact with the social situation where they exist.

In early adolescence, adolescents start to have concrete thoughts related to sexual identity and body image perception. It becomes a source of vulnerability when they have to deal with differences in physical appearance or timing of puberty among peers. In this facet, adolescents also experience emotional changes to their parents. They begin to identify solid friendships and explore risky behaviours, such as smoking or getting involved in violence. In addition, they no longer appreciate their parents' taught. Therefore, it is difficult for them to understand the consequences of their behaviour on others (Christie & Viner, 2005).

In middle adolescence, adolescents begin to explore abstract thinking or use symbols or images to represent reality. Abstract thinking allows adolescents to think hypothetically about the future and assess various outcomes. It makes them vulnerable to absorbing incorrect information and making wrong hypotheses. For example, they cannot identify laws, morality, and ideologies (Christie & Viner, 2005).

In late adolescence, adolescents have experienced the complexities of abstract thinking, building personal identities and establish or reject religious or political ideologies. Meanwhile, socially, they start attached to a romantic relationship and develop self-capacity and financial independence. In this facet, adolescents face challenges in risk-taking behaviour management. Therefore, they are also often found in experimenting with drugs, alcohol, and sex; against morals; seek the spiritual path; get a job; change schools; demanding responsibility for self and others; develop relationships; understand sexuality; and renegotiating rules at home (Christie & Viner, 2005).

The importance of forming self-image in adolescents is one thing that stands out for Indonesian adolescents who were involved in terrorism. Experts view that terror groups used attributes that are closely related to masculine or feminine images defined in society as stated as follows:

> "So, radicalization is not gender-neutral. Boys and girls have different experiences through social media. […] In ABR's case, he wanted to form a masculine image as defined by social media, such as by bringing AK47, heroism, and protection. For girls, their motivation was usually more personal." (FGD 1, May 8th, 2021).

In some cases, they seek to achieve masculine or feminine image to gain attention and recognition from their social network:

> "[…] there is a process of glorification in the search for (radical) identity. […] it is not about right and wrong, nor about their (adolescents involved in terrorism) religious understanding. The critical point is when their circle network said, "if you make something like this, do not worry, it will be the coolest thing." So, they did not jump for their interest, hence their network's interests in which glorification took place. […] this kind of glorification and acceptance finally made them think it was normal." (FGD 2, May 26th, 2021).

Thereupon, referring to Garrison (2004), it is essential to look at the social context when talking about the causes of adolescents' involvement in terrorism. The construction of values and norms, what is considered good and bad, in social environment will significantly affect ones' decisions to involve terrorism.

Biological and sexual maturity, development of personal identity, development of intimate sexual relationships, and self-independence or autonomy in the context of the socio-cultural environment as described above are four main challenges in adolescence (Christie & Viner, 2005). Psychological and social or psychosocial changes are the critical points of other changes (Batubara, 2016; Jahja, 2011), shaping vulnerabilities for adolescents (Shelley, 2008; Widyastuti, 2009).

These characteristics bring adolescents to social vulnerabilities. For example: politically, they are voiceless; legally, they cannot be responsible for their actions; and economically, they are unable to fulfil their own needs. Otherwise, biologically, their physical appearance puts them as adults, independent, no longer need to be fully supervised as they are a child (Hardgrove et al., 2014).

In the process of achieving self-existence in society (not only physically), adolescents finally look for various alternatives, such as making adaptations: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, or rebellion as expressed in the theory of anomie by Merton (1968) (Supatmi & Sari, 2007). However, when situations are changed and caused vulnerability to adolescents, religion becomes a behavioural stabilizer, constructed as the best achievement in society. Religion offers security protection to adolescents who are trying to develop their existence (Sarwono, 2018). Terror groups then see this situation as an opportunity to spread their propaganda.

6.2 The existence of radicalism and terrorism

According to Darden (2019), five things make adolescents vulnerable to be recruited by the terror group. First, geographic proximity to conflict. Geographical proximity to extremist groups is a significant risk factor in recruiting adolescents, both involuntary and voluntary. For example, Boko Haram committed forced recruitment

by kidnapping. However, there are also adolescents in Nigeria, Cameroon, and Chad who voluntarily joined Boko Haram because they had seen or heard of Boko Haram's attacks.

The second cause is economic vulnerability. Relationship between economic vulnerability and recruitment is a complex relationship and have varies context. Although research about the relationship between indicators of economic development and terrorist attacks is doubtful, it shows that nearly 300 young people who joined ISIS in 2013-2014 indicated that the majority of them were students. The findings at the individual level show that the relationship with economic status did not stand alone but was followed by educational factors. In addition, economic vulnerability drives young people to be involved in terror groups in high economic pressure areas or communities.

The third cause is social or political marginalization. Feelings ostracized, discarded, or unseen, whether it is real or just feelings, have a role in the terror group's recruitment. Terror groups can place themselves as communities or alternative network circles for young people where their voice is counted, promised a sense of belonging, and the opportunity to participate in something bigger than themselves.

The fourth cause is permissive family and social networks. Terror groups recruit through many channels, both openly and selectively. Selective recruitment often involves kinship, friendship, or other social relations. A study in Mindanao Philippines in 2017 showed that kinship and friendship have a considerable role in radicalization and terrorism.

Fifth, vulnerability to propaganda. Adolescents are vulnerable to be the target of propaganda. Heretofore, prevention programs put too much focus on the electronic media, though educational institutions also become a place to spread radicalism. For example, Al Shabab used the Koran learning center for recruitment. Meanwhile, in Malaysia, six ISIS supporters built relationships with a Madrassa teacher. The Malaysian government arrested the teacher in 2018 for spreading jihadist propaganda.

In this study, psychosocial changes as adolescents' critical point in their development process are well-read by terror groups. In the Indonesia context, terror groups recruit through the construction of Islamic virtues. Their existence can be found in various forms of radicalization, from family, school, recitation groups, to social media.

Likewise, in Indonesia, technology and information developments have changed the landscape of terror group recruitment. During The Jamaah Islamiyah period, recruitment was held conventionally through recitation activities. During the ISIS period, recruitment moves into social media as acknowledge by experts as follows:

> "We have found that during 2015-2021, adolescents really glued to social media communication. Social media becomes very important factor. This change is very dynamic. In the early period, in 2000, that was the time where terrorist network were so vigorous. At that time, technological developments were very massive, thus shifting the previous one." (M. DJafar Shodiq in FGD 1, May 8th, 2021).

Social media is even recognized as a new battleground, as stated as follows:

> "Online radicalization is the new incubator. The radicalization process is no longer needs a conflict ground. Maturity of ideas and training was no more carried out in conflict areas as before where there was Afghanistan or jihad training in Marawi and others. Hence, it all happens on the internet, such as tutorials on making bombs, tutorials on urban warfare. It is all on the internet." (FGD 1, May 8th, 2021).

Social media as a new battleground encourages terror group to spread massive propaganda and expose their target to feel close to the terror group's vision, so geographical proximity, as Darden (2019) mentioned, is no longer necessary.

This shift in recruitment methods has a significant impact on adolescents' engagement in terrorism. The existence of social media and the ideal self-image constructed on social media facilitate adolescents to find their self-identity, as well as let terror groups create new radical social realities among adolescents easier.

Terror groups run social media algorithms to create a reality in which the world was portrayed as unfair. At the same time, their propaganda offered a better system, as described in the following statement:

> "Social media algorithm build a reality where world seem so cruel, dangerous, and the only way to solve this problem was the way as told by terror group. Terror group constructed what was believed as a reality among adolescents, so they did not see another peaceful world." (Mirra Noor Milla in FGD 1, May 8th, 2021).

By the propaganda, they construct a new and more ideal world among adolescents. Social media algorithms that provide similar information continuously further foster a belief of reality built by the terror group.

In this situation, the social network available around adolescents is a network that is pro-terror group propaganda. Thus, ideal values, norms, and goals are everything constructed by fellow terror group members. In such a condition, adolescents will no longer see the terror group has taught as wrong. On the contrary, terrorism is an action that should be taken as a form of solidarity among Muslims to create a better life under Islamic law as taught in Islam.

7. Discussion: Alternative identity as a promising solution in the prevention of radicalization among adolescent

Adolescents' journey in achieving their self-existence places them at risk for being recruited by terror groups. When the available environment to their self-existence is the one with values, norms, and culture of radicalism and terrorism, their chance to be involved in the vortex of radicalism and terrorism is widely open.

Self-existence tends to be related to self-identity. It is obtained through identification and recognition by the social network in which a person lives. The limited option of identity in the social environment narrows the opportunity of a person to see various choices of self-identity and social network in building their self-existence (Webber et al., 2018).

To prevent radicalism and terrorism, Webber et al. (2018) claimed that alternative identities could be a solution. Starting from 3N (need, narrative, and network) by Kruglanski (2017) as his ground argument, his study about deradicalization in the Sri Lanka terror group proved that deradicalization programs in which deployed sustain mechanisms to the participants significantly reduced extremism for a year. Another finding was that participants' levels of extremism were found lower than their community counterparts upon their release. These findings highlight the vital role of self-significance in deradicalization. Therefore, deradicalization can occur if programs provide alternative pathways for extremists to a self-significance that defeats the appeal of violence. In this view, providing prisoners with educational, vocational, psychosocial rehabilitation and empower them with sustained significance after release can be effectively encouraged deradicalization.

Referring to those studies, alternative identities can be considered essential in preventing radicalism and terrorism among adolescents. Actively participating in various activities by joining as a member of a music group, sports club, study club, or just having supportive friends can be a way to find self-identity and become a way that keeps young people away from radicalism and terrorism.

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