# Strengthening the Understanding of Pancasila Values for Former Terrorism Convicts (Case Study at Gema Salam Foundation)

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#### Abstract

The aim of this research is to analyze the program to strengthen understanding of Pancasila values for former terrorism convicts, supporting and inhibiting factors, and the impact of promoting Pancasila values for convicts by the Gema Salam Foundation. This research was conducted at the Gema Salam Foundation. Qualitative descriptive research with an embedded case study strategy. Data collection was carried out through interviews, observation and documentation. Data analysis was carried out using interactive analysis techniques. Research results: the Pancasila values strengthening program carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation was able to increase former prisoners' understanding of the Pancasila values demonstrated in everyday life. Supporting factors for implementing the program to promote Pancasila values for former prisoners by the Gema Salam Foundation can be divided into two groups, namely external and internal factors. External factors include government support through government institutions in the form of mentoring, guidance on national insight, religious insight and entrepreneurship, as well as material assistance and capital. Other external factors that support the success of the program to strengthen Pancasila values are family and community environmental factors in the form of support for ex-convicts to live in society, the character factor of ex-convicts who have trust and confidence in Allah SWT by carrying out worship according to his teachings is a supporting factor in achieving the goal. program to strengthen Pancasila values. Factors inhibiting the implementation of the program to strengthen Pancasila values for ex-convicts include: funding, physical and non-physical infrastructure, lack of prison education to the community, and internal factors from ex-convicts themselves who lack selfconfidence. The program to strengthen Pancasila values has had a positive impact on changing the attitudes and behavior of former prisoners for the better.

Keywords: Pancasila, Napiter, Gema Salam

#### Introduction

As a state ideology, Pancasila means that Pancasila is a fundamental foundation for the state. Pancasila regulates how the governance system is run. As a foundation for the state, Pancasila contains national values, namely ways of thinking and as a direction for the nation's struggle. For this reason, Pancasila should be used as a rule of life for the entire Indonesian nation. As a national ideology, Pancasila is something that is a dream and a noble ideal in everyday life for every Indonesian citizen. Pancasila has been established as the basis of the state, this is stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution. Thus, every citizen should be

able to accept Pancasila as a reflection of the nation's personality and is used as a way of life for the nation. The truth of Pancasila has been tested throughout that Pancasila, the truth of Pancasila, cannot be separated from the life of the Indonesian nation (Widjaja, 2020: 83).

As a nation's outlook on life, Pancasila has a special character that can distinguish Indonesia from other countries. The realization of Pancasila values in the life of the nation in real terms must be accompanied by the awareness that every citizen of Indonesia has a responsibility to practice them in their daily lives. The values contained in Pancasila must be used as the main foundation in organizing the state. As a nation's outlook on life, in practicing Pancasila, every citizen is required to be able to transform the values of Pancasila into real attitudes and behaviors both in social, national, and state life.

The important role of Pancasila in the state, not only as a basis and formal goal of the state, but more than that Pancasila is a philosophy, ideology, ideals and law, as well as a unifier of Indonesian society (Darmadi, 2020: 172), for that Citizens have an obligation to know, understand, and practice the values of Pancasila well. Soeprapto (2016: 102) argues that in order to implement the values of Pancasila, every citizen needs to be aware that Pancasila is a necessity as a guide in national and state life (Soeprapto, 2016: 102).

The reality in the field shows that in practicing the values of Pancasila in everyday life, there are often challenges and obstacles, as well as various barriers. This is reflected in the lives of the community which shows that there are still various ideologies that are developing that do not fully reflect the ideology based on Pancasila, but ideologies that are influenced by transnational ideologies. For example, radicalism, extremism, and other ideologies that come from outside, in addition, communist ideologies, individualism. liberalism, and other ideologies need to be watched out for (Arfana, 2022).

Since the reformation in 1998, ideologies originating from outside have increasingly developed and flourished, especially radical Islamic groups that have led to terrorism. This phenomenon has caused serious problems for Muslims in Indonesia. Various acts of terrorism have occurred in Indonesia, such as acts of terror, robbery and so on. The actions of radical Islamic groups that have been rampant in Indonesia since 2000 include: the terrorist act in the form of a bomb on October 12, 2002 known as the Bali Bomb I, which attracted quite a lot of international attention. The terrorist act continued on October 1, 2005. known as the Bali Bomb II, in which at least 23 people died and 196 people were injured. It did not stop there, the terrorist bombing continued in 2009, at the JW Marriott and Ritz Carlton Hotels in Jakarta, which killed at least 9 people, 53 others suffered serious and minor injuries. The Sarinah Bomb on January 14, 2016 which killed 8 people and injured 23 others. In 2018, a bombing took place at the Surabaya Church, with more than 10 people killed and dozens more injured. The bombing continued in 2019, at the North Sumatra Regional Police Headquarters, with 1 person killed and 6 people injured. On March 28, 2021, a bombing took place at the Makassar Cathedral, with 2 people killed and 20 others injured (Ajeng Wirachmi, 2023).

The violent action shows that, currently, there are still many Indonesian citizens who have not accepted Pancasila as the nation's ideology. In order to overcome the existence of radical Islamic groups that reject Pancasila as the foundation of the state, through Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018, the government has firmly eradicated criminal acts of terrorism. The law emphasizes that acts of terrorism and radicalism that endanger the state ideology and state security are subject to severe criminal penalties (Article 12B of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018).

Counterterrorism in Indonesia is carried government by the through law out enforcement policies (hard approach) and ideology-based policies (soft approach) (Paryanto, 2022). However, these policies have not been able to overcome the terrorist movement. Various government efforts to overcome the problem of terrorism are carried out through various Pancasila ideology training programs in various institutions including educational institutions. Through the Pancasila ideology development policy, based on Global Terrorism Index data, the number of terrorists in Indonesia has decreased by 56% (Triwidayanti, 2023).

The goal of terrorism and radicalism is to replace Pancasila with another ideology and change the Republic of Indonesia into a caliphate state, because this group has a different view from the Pancasila ideology. Pancasila is seen as a deity other than Allah (thaghut). This is because the perpetrators of terrorism actually do not understand the values of Pancasila in their entirety. Justification for their own ideology causes terrorists to try to force their ideology by spreading terror (Hana Faridah, 2022). For this reason, as an effort by the government so that terrorist convicts have a good understanding of the Pancasila ideology, during their detention, the convicts are given guidance in order to instill an understanding of the values of Pancasila.

Instilling Pancasila values for convicts is very important as an effort to prevent radicalism and deradicalization for convicts. Pancasila is an ideal foundation for overcoming various problems related to terrorism and radicalism. Three principles in Pancasila are considered to be in conflict with the terrorist movement. The first is the principle of Belief in the One Almighty God, which is interpreted through the behavior of believing and believing in the existence of the One Almighty God who teaches compassion, rejects violence, and is tolerant. The second principle is just and civilized humanity which is interpreted through tolerant behavior, loving each other, respecting each other, and working together. The third principle is the unity of Indonesia which is interpreted as prioritizing unity, loving the homeland, being willing to sacrifice for the interests of the nation and state, and recognizing diversity. However, radicalism and terrorism are very much in conflict with the values of Pancasila, by imposing their will through violence in achieving goals (Novita, et al. 2022).

Counterterrorism in Surakarta is not only carried out by the government, but former terrorist convicts (napiter) in Surakarta have concern for counterterrorism through the "Gema Salam" foundation which currently has 231 (Two Hundred and Thirty One) members of napiter spread across Central Java, and 132 (one hundred and thirty two) are in the Solo Raya area (Solopos, Saturday, October 29, 2022). Of the 132 (one hundred and thirty two) napiter, most have not been able to understand the values of Pancasila, this is reflected in the low tolerance of napiter towards adherents of other religions, there is hesitation in providing assistance to non-Muslims, some napiter still prioritize their own interests so that they seem less concerned about others, especially adherents of other religions, and do not yet have the habit of working hard to meet their needs (interview, December 22, 2023).

The Gema Salam Foundation aims to accommodate former convicts and provide assistance to convicts and former convicts and their families. The Gema Salam Foundation is a foundation engaged in the social and economic fields as a forum to help former terrorist convicts reintegrate into society and rebuild their family's economy. In order to realize this goal, the Gema Salam Foundation has carried out various activities in order to strengthen the understanding of Pancasila values for convicts, including: strengthening the economy through the formation of cooperatives, legal socialization, strengthening the economy, assistance in processing identity cards, assistance in entering society, commemorating Kartini Day and Earth Day by planting 21 trees on the banks of the Bengawan Solo River, on the slopes of Lawu, and distributing plant seeds to the community, this activity is carried out as a form of love for the nation and the Republic of Indonesia (Awod, 2022).

The activities carried out by the Gema Salam foundation are a form of activity in order to shape behavioral changes in convicts to be able to know, understand and practice the values of Pancasila in everyday life carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation. However, based on interviews with the management of the Gema Salam foundation, it is known that in its implementation, strengthening the understanding of Pancasila values for former Terrorist Convicts carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation encountered various obstacles and constraints, including: (1) The number of foundation administrators is not commensurate with the number of convicts. (2) Independent funding is not sufficient to cover all operational costs, (3) the vast area of convicts who must receive assistance, (4) The environment does not yet support the efforts of convicts to be independent, (5) There are no regulations governing assistance for convicts after serving their sentences (Interview, December 22, 2023).

From the description above, it can be stated that the emergence of radicalism and terrorism is caused by the development of ideologies originating from outside in society outside the Pancasila ideology, so that intolerant ideologies are formed. In order to counteract the increasing development of ideologies from outside, both from the right such as radicalism and terrorism and the left such as communism, individualism and liberalism, it is necessary to strengthen the character of the younger generation through PKn lessons, to foster a sense of nationalism and moral values of the nation from an early age (Sumario et al. 2022: iii).

Based on the description above, Gema Salam's role in preventing and countering the deradicalization of terrorist convicts needs to be studied in a study entitled "Strengthening the Understanding of Pancasila Values for Former Terrorist Convicts" (Case Study at the Gema Salam Foundation).

In line with the background of the problem, the following problem formulation can be formulated: (1) How is the understanding of the terrorist convicts regarding the program to strengthen Pancasila values carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation? (2) What factors support and inhibit the implementation of the program to strengthen the understanding of Pancasila values for former terrorist convicts carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation? (3) What is the impact of the strengthening of Pancasila values for terrorist convicts by the Gema Salam Foundation?

The objectives of this study are (1) to analyze the program to strengthen the understanding of Pancasila values for former terrorist convicts carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation. (2) to describe the inhibiting supporting and factors in implementing the program to strengthen the understanding of Pancasila values for former terrorist convicts carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation. (3) to describe the impact of strengthening Pancasila values for terrorist convicts by the Gema Salam Foundation.

## Method

This research was conducted at the Gema Salam Foundation, which is located at the Joint Secretariat Office of Surakarta City, Kepatihan Wetan, Jebres District, Surakarta City, Central Java. This research was conducted for 5 (five) months, starting from May 2024 to September 2024. This research is a qualitative descriptive study. The sampling techniques used are purposive sampling and snowball sampling. The samples or informants in this research were three members of the Gema Salam Foundation and four eks napiter. Data collection techniques using observation techniques, interviews, and documentation. Data triangulation in this study was carried out using source and technique triangulation techniques. Data analysis techniques using data reduction, data presentation, drawing conclusions/verification.

## Result

The program implemented by the Gema Salam Foundation is a form of activity aimed strengthening government efforts to at neutralize radicalism. The aim is to ensure that the radicalism in former convicts is completely cleansed and they can become citizens like the general public. The program organized by the Gema Salam Foundation is a form of cooperation between the Gema Salam Foundation of Surakarta City and the Class II Surakarta Correctional Center Number: W13.AS.PAS46.HM.01.03-296 and Number: 001/GEMA SALAM/II/2019 concerning Guidance on the Independence of Class II Surakarta Correctional Center Clients.

The cooperation between the Gema Salam Foundation and the Surakarta Class II Correctional Center is a form of partnership in order to implement a program to strengthen Pancasila values for former convicts to neutralize radicalism and terrorism, and return them to the correct understanding of religion. In line with the opinion of Sumarto and Hetifa (2019), partnership is a collaboration between civil society, government and/or the private sector in order to achieve agreed goals based on the principles of mutual trust, equality, and independence. In this case, the Gema Salam Foundation is a group of civil society, and the Surakarta Correctional Center is a government agency and both have the same view in overcoming the problems of radicalism and terrorism.

Pancasila value The strengthening programs implemented on the basis of partnership have proven to be able to increase the understanding of former convicts towards the values of Pancasila as indicated by the growth of attitudes of mutual respect, cooperation, and mutual assistance without discrimination, increasingly calm in carrying out their religious beliefs, the growth of attitudes to help people without favoritism, attitudes of mutual love, and former convicts are accustomed to always supporting and being active in humanitarian activities such as social services, helping victims of natural disasters, sharing food with those in need, helping orphanages and nursing homes, and others as a manifestation of the Second Principle of Pancasila. This proves that through partnerships it can benefit the partnering parties, this is in line with the

opinion of Dwiyanto (2020) who stated that partnerships involving civil society can strengthen the sense of citizenship, sense of responsibility, and concern of citizens for public services.

The results of the study show that through the program of strengthening Pancasila values in various forms of activities facilitated by the Gema Salam Foundation in collaboration with various parties, it can increase the understanding of former convicts about the importance of caring to help reduce the suffering experienced by others and train former convicts to work hard, as a reflection of the implementation of the fifth principle of Pancasila. Through discussion activities on national and religious insight and sharing experiences while joining the radicalism network, it can increase the understanding of former convicts about the importance of socializing with the surrounding community, by socializing with the wider community, understanding the diversity of characters and beliefs that exist in the community, mutually respecting the freedom to practice worship according to their respective religions, the importance of the habit of helping each other between one citizen and another, and realizing that there are still many people who need help.

This proves that the program to strengthen Pancasila values for former terrorist convicts by the Gema Salam Foundation is a form of eradicating radicalism through the deradicalization method, namely an effort to invite followers of radical ideology to the right path as stated by Bakti (2019) who defines deradicalization as a form of effort so that radical society returns to the path that is in accordance with religious rules, and ethics that are in accordance with the essence of religion that upholds diversity.

The implementation of the Pancasila Values Strengthening Program cannot emerge by itself, meaning that to instill and strengthen the values of the principles in Pancasila, efforts must be made to achieve them. However, these efforts must be able to raise awareness that Pancasila is a necessity as a guideline in national and state life, for this reason the efforts made by the Gema Salam Foundation are through real activities and involve former convicts directly. The efforts made by the Gema Salam Foundation are a form of effort to accustom convicts to behave in accordance with the meaning of the principles contained in Pancasila. Getting used to living according to the values of Pancasila is very important for every citizen. The implementation of Pancasila values in everyday life, including for former convicts, is very useful so that what is produced can be beneficial for every community. This is in line with the opinion of Soeprapto (2019) who stated that the implementation of Pancasila must come from oneself, meaning that Pancasila has a need as a guideline in national and state life.

The results of the study indicate that the inhibiting factors in the implementation of the Pancasila value strengthening program for former convicts organized by the Gema Salam Foundation are: funding, physical and nonphysical infrastructure, lack of prison education for the community, and internal factors from former convicts themselves who lack self-confidence.

In order to provide assistance to former convicts, adequate facilities and infrastructure are needed, but not all facilities and infrastructure needed to provide assistance to convicts are available at the Gema Salam Foundation, so that this hampers the process of the Pancasila value strengthening program. In order to support the facilities and infrastructure needed, the Gema Salam Foundation in implementing the program collaborates with stakeholders who can support the implementation of the program, including collaborating with the Prison Office, BNPT, Police, and other related agencies.

Obstacles related to facilities and infrastructure are not only faced by the Gema Salam Foundation after the convicts have completed their prison terms, but problems with facilities and infrastructure also occur in the prison hall, this was revealed in the research of Iip Kamaludin (2020), where facilities and infrastructure for the development of convicts are still lacking, so that the development of convicts is not effective.

Lack of education of the prison to the community causes negative views from the community about napiter. Education of prison officers to the community does not have to be done through face-to-face meetings, but can be done through various media about the curriculum and programs provided to napiter,

so that the wider community can understand the existence of napiter after completing their This certainly requires sentences. the competence of prison officers. The existence of these problems shows that the obstacles of the Gema Salam Foundation in implementing the Pancasila value strengthening program include the competence of prison officers, this is supported by the results of research by lip Kamaludin (2020), which proves that coaching Napiter requires officers who have adequate skills, education, competence in carrying out coaching tasks, BNPT as the agency responsible for countering terrorism that implements the program to improve human resources for correctional officers, is still lacking in providing training, education and technical guidance for handling terrorists.

The impact of strengthening Pancasila values carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation in collaboration with stakeholders in the form of real activities that are directly related to the wider community in the form of community service, social action, lectures, and discussions on the insight of the gang, religious insight and entrepreneurship, has a positive impact on the lives of former napiters, especially in terms of changing overall and fundamental views in the life of society, nation and state, specifically the change in the attitude of former napiters after joining the Gema Salam Foundation can be seen from the attitude of tolerance between religious communities. In addition, economically, it shows a change in the spirit of former napiters in trying to meet family needs through various iobs.

The positive impact of the Pancasila value strengthening program by the Gema Salam Foundation shows that programs implemented in the form of real activities and directly related to the community, are able to increase understanding of Pancasila values, so that former convicts are able to implement them in everyday life, and bring about behavioral changes for the better. This proves that the program implemented by the Gema Salam Foundation can be responded to by former convicts. This is in line with the behavioral theory put forward by Notoatmodjo (2018) which states that behavior occurs through the process of stimulus to the organism and then the organism responds.

The positive impacts caused by the Pancasila value strengthening program show that the Pancasila value strengthening program is part of the deradicalization program through motivational reorientation, re-education, resocialization programs, and also striving for social welfare and equality with other communities, for people who have been involved in acts of terrorism, or for those who are only sympathizers. This is in line with the opinion of Zuhri (2019) who stated that the implementation of the deradicalization program is to fully release or abandon violent ideologies within themselves, including stopping these ideologies from spreading. This condition results in deradicalization having to be carried out simultaneously with the deideology process. This deideology process can be the main thing in efforts to raise awareness, as well as reorient violent terrorist ideologies, in order to return to the true teachings.

The impact of the Pancasila value strengthening program by the Gema Salam Foundation shows that the efforts made, although there are still various obstacles, the program is a concrete step in an effort to eradicate radicalism, which is carried out through resocialization and reintegration activities for former napiters. This is in line with the results of research by Indrawan and Aji (2019) which concluded that: the deradicalization program carried out by the government has not been running effectively, but in the implementation of the program, resocialization and reintegration stages have been carried out.

## Conclusion

The Pancasila value strengthening program carried out by the Gema Salam Foundation began when the convicts were serving their prison sentences. The Pancasila value strengthening program was carried out by correctional institutions in collaboration with the Gema Salam Foundation in the form of mentoring, guidance, supervision, and involving former convicts through various real activities with the aim that former convicts would be truly free from radicalism. The Pancasila value strengthening programs carried out on the basis of this partnership have proven to be able to increase the understanding of former convicts towards the values of Pancasila, which is indicated by the growth of attitudes of mutual respect, cooperation, and mutual assistance without discrimination, increasingly calm in carrying out their religious beliefs, the growth of attitudes to help people without favoritism, attitudes of mutual love, and former convicts are accustomed to always supporting and being active in humanitarian activities such as social services, helping victims of natural disasters, sharing food with those in need, helping orphanages and nursing homes, and others as a manifestation of the Pancasila principles.

Supporting factors for the implementation of the Pancasila values strengthening program for former Napiter by the Gema Salam Foundation can be divided into two groups, namely external and internal factors. External factors include government support through government institutions in the form of mentoring, coaching on national religious insight, insight, and entrepreneurship, as well as material and capital assistance. Other external factors that support the success of the Pancasila values strengthening program are family and community factors in the form of support for former Napiter to live in the community. The demeanor of former Napiter who already have trust and belief in Allah SWT by carrying out worship according to His teachings is a supporting factor in achieving the objectives of the Pancasila values strengthening for program. Inhibiting factors the implementation of the Pancasila values strengthening program for former Napiter include: funding, physical and non-physical infrastructure, lack of LP education for the community, and internal factors from former prisoners themselves who lack selfconfidence.

The Pancasila values strengthening program has a positive impact on changing the attitudes and behavior of former convicts and bringing about fundamental changes in views in the life of society, nation and state. Specifically, the change in the attitudes of former convicts after joining the Gema Salam Foundation can be seen from the attitude of tolerance between religious communities, in addition, through the Pancasila values strengthening program, former convicts have been able to realize that what they have been doing so far is wrong, so it needs to be straightened out. Through real activities, the program economically shows a change in the spirit of former convicts in trying to meet family needs.

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